ON THE SUFFERINGS OF THE NORTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND THEIR CHIEF TOWNS, INCLUDING RIPON, FROM THE INVASIONS OF THE SCOTS UNDER ROBERT DE BRUS, BETWEEN THE YEARS 1314 AND 1319.[1]

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It may, perhaps, appear somewhat presumptuous that a stranger to Ripon should select for the subject of his remarks a period of history, which, with its effects on this county and neighbourhood, may be far better known to the learned archæologists to whom the antiquities of Yorkshire are so much indebted. There are some reasons which may be urged in behalf of the undertaking. In the first place, no Scotsman, however humble his exertions in the field of literature, can be indifferent to the glorious episode in the annals of his country which commenced at Bannockburn; though, happily, the renown of the Yorkshire baron, who abandoned his English possessions, with his allegiance to the English King, to win a crown for himself and independence for Scotland, is now the common inheritance of both kingdoms. And I trust that, having studied with some attention the career of this great man, I may, with the aid of the best authorities, offer some observations which, while not opposed to the facts of history, may draw from others more conversant with the antiquities of the Northern Counties, additional information, hidden, perhaps, in hitherto unexplored charter chests, tending to cast farther light on the numerous invasions which for so many years left those great counties at the mercy of the poorer and weaker nation. Lastly, and this is a personal reason—Scotsmen, though Mr. Freeman refuses to call those who are born south of the "Scots' water" by that name, being in a minority among the members of this Institute, as one of that minority, and deeply

[1] Read in the Historical Section of the Ripon Meeting of the Institute, July 28, 1874.

sensible of the advantages which I have enjoyed in reading the essays of the learned and able writers which adorn the thirty volumes of our Journal, I desire to follow in their wake, and do what I can to elucidate a small portion of the history of the middle ages.

As to authorities—the learned and accurate Lord Hailes, and such of the early chroniclers as were accessible in his day, have been consulted. Many of the later historians of the Northern Counties, as Hutchinson, Nicholson and Burn, and others, make but slight mention of the invasions we are about to discuss, and as their indexes, even when given, are generally poor and defective, little information is to be obtained there. But in Whitaker's "Richmondshire" and "Craven," Surtees' "Durham," and the publications of the Surtees Society, with which the name of Raine has been so long and so honourably identified, valuable information is to be found upon this subject. The most important of all for the present purpose, however, are two works of the noble series of the "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages" (Rolls Publications), lately printed, (1) "Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers," edited by Canon Raine, 1873, and (2) "Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense, or Bishop de Kellawe's Register" (1311—1316), edited by Sir T. Duffus Hardy, 2 vols., 1873-4. As respects the records from which the first of these works has been compiled, Canon Raine remarks in his preface, while lamenting the scanty remains of the Episcopal records of Carlisle and Durham, that those of York, during the Archiepiscopates of William de Greenfield (1306—1315), and of his immediate successor William De Melton (1317—1340), illustrate, in the most "painfully interesting" manner, the bitter and prolonged struggle of these Scottish wars. He says (p. xxiv.), "There was an amount of savagery and cold-blooded brutality about them that would disgrace nations which made no pretence to civilization." This makes one glad to believe, with Sir Francis Palgrave,[2] that the modern Scots have little in common with the turbulent marauders who behaved with such sacrilegious ferocity.

The field of Bannockburn must be fixed as the point at which the systematic invasions of England under Robert de

[2] Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, p. 227.

Brus or his lieutenants, commenced to rank as the regular military operations of one kingdom against the other. There had been certainly two dreadful invasions of the Scots at an early period of the struggle for independence. One under Comyn, Earl of Boghan, on 8th April, 1296, when Hexham was ruined,[3] and, as the chroniclers tell, no mercy was shown to man, woman, or child.[4] Two hundred children were burned in the grammar-school, the effigy of St. Andrew destroyed, the relics, church furniture, &c., carried off, and the clergy massacred or dispersed. The other, under Wallace, in October, 1297, when the work of the previous year was completed, and the canons reduced to beggary.[5] And Robert de Brus himself, during the years 1311, 1312, and 1313, headed the invasions which swept Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham. In October, 1311, Edward II. writes to Pope Clement V., describing the devastations of Brus and his accomplices, as those of "publici proditores," and asks that the Bishop of Durham may therefore be excused attending the General Council.[6] On 12th November in the same year, the Bishop prorogues his Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland for the same reasons, till after Christmas.[7] On 4th November, 1312, the Bishop writes to Guy, Earl of Warwick, that as Barnard Castle had escaped damage, asking him therefore to contribute to the fund for buying off "Sire Robert de Brus."[8] A truce had been already arranged, to last from 16th August of that year to the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24th June, 1313), on condition that the "communality" of Durham between Tyne and Tees, should pay promptly ("sancz delay") to the "noble prince Monsire Robert, par la Grace de Dieu roi d'Escoce," or his attorney, the sum of 450 marks, at the Abbey of Holme Cultram, on the intervening Michaelmas.[9] During the second of these invasions, in 1312, Hartlepool, the ancient possession of the Brus family, was sacked and plundered by Sir James Douglas.[1]

On 1st July, 1313, Bishop Kellawe wrote to Edward II., praying to be excused from attending parliament on account

[3] Hexham Priory, Surtees Soc., vol. i. pref. p. lxxx.
[4] Chron. Lanercost, 192-3.
[5] Fordun, xi., c. 29.
[6] Bp. Kellawe's Reg. I. p. 74.
[7] Ib., p. 75.
[8] Ib., p. 191.
[9] Ib., p. 204.
[1] Surtees' History, Ann. of Durham.

of an expected invasion of "Sire Robert de Brus vostre enemye."[2] But these expeditions were viewed by the English kings as mere insurrectionary risings against their authority as Lords Paramount, and Edward II. and his officials heaped all manner of opprobrious epithets on his rival, styling the chosen of the Scots, "nuper Comes de Carryk," "proditor Angliæ," down to a late period.[3]

The reference in the last note, to an estate once belonging to the only cadets of his family which could boast of the same royal descent, induces a digression to notice one of the Earldoms which Robert de Brus forfeited by aiming at a throne. Deep in the heart of England lay the Honour of Huntingdon, of which Conington and Exton were members, once the fief of old Siward Biorn and his unlucky son the martyred Waltheof. With Maud, the daughter of the latter by Judith, niece of the Conqueror, it passed on her second marriage to David, Prince of Cumbria, afterwards David I. of Scotland, whose grandson, David of Huntingdon (the hero of Scott's "Talisman") afterwards enjoyed the Earldom. On the death of his only son, John le Scot, Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, in 1237, without issue, the great possessions of the latter were divided between his three sisters, the second of whom, Isabel, by her marriage with Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, brought Huntingdon, besides the subsequent claim to the Scottish throne, into that family. Edward I. declared it forfeited after Brus's rebellion, along with his other English possessions, and it appears to have afterwards remained with the crown till the Earldom was revived by Henry VIII. in the person of George, Lord Hastings of Ashby, representing the junior branch of another great house which once claimed the Scottish throne ; a portion of whose estates, with a share in their blood, are inherited by the Marquess of Ripon.

Edward bestowed Hert and Hertness in Durham on Robert Clifford, ignoring altogether the rights of the Lord Palatine, and he had previously granted Annandale, the oldest possession in Scotland of the Brus family, to the Earl of Hereford, and the Earldom of Carrick to Henry Percy.[4]

But to return. With the victory of Bannockburn affairs

[2] Bp. Kellawe's Reg., I. p. 386. Observe the change of style, Bruce was called "king" in the truce.

[3] Inq. p. m. Bernardi de Brus de Conington & Exton, 12 Edw. II. Es. No. 38.

[4] Hailes' Annals.

underwent a material change. Though Brus and his adherents still lay under the ban of the Pope for the sacrilegious murder of the Comyns, and Edward II. prevailed on Clement V. and his successor, to issue fresh fulminations from the Vatican, denouncing the incorrigible Earl of Carrick and the whole realm of Scotland, yet the *de facto* King of Scots, whose rights, and those of his family, to the hereditary succession, had been solemnly settled by the Parliaments of the Estates, held at Cambuskenneth and Ayr, occupied a very different position from the rebel who had fled before the bloodhounds of Aymer de Valence and the Lord of Lorn. The Scottish King and his people were singularly indifferent for that period to the yoke of Rome. Clement V. excommunicated him on the 18th May, 1306, and three years later Edward II. prevailed on the same Pope to issue a mandate from Avignon, dated 21st May, 1309, addressed to the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Carlisle, ordering him to be denounced for contumacy, as he "cared not for the excommunication."[5]

We may here cast a glance at the respective positions of the two countries after the defeat at Bannockburn. In England the weak and vacillating Edward, neglecting the dying injunctions of his stern father, had entirely failed to make any head against his wary opponent. Though, according to Froissart,[6] Edward I., almost with his last breath, in the presence of his barons, made his successor swear to bury his flesh only, but to keep the dry bones above ground, and carry them before his army in every Scottish expedition, in the hope that the spirit which once animated these remains might still lead the English to victory, yet the dying wishes of Kings are seldom, it has been said, respected. And the unmutilated corpse of the greatest Plantagenet was straightway committed to the hallowed fane of Westminster, where for five centuries and a half it has rested beside the "Stone of Destiny," a silent witness to the realization of the long-cherished hopes of the "Malleus Scotorum." Moreover, by his injudicious choice, in Gaveston and the Despensers, of favourites on whom he

[5] Raine's Historical Papers, &c., p. 189. This document contains a curious account of the murder of the two Comyns.

[6] Vol. i. c. xxv. This story is supposed to be somewhat exaggerated.

lavished wealth and honours, Edward II. alienated his proud nobility, many of them veterans who had served under his father in the Scottish wars, and thus gave rise to the intestine dissensions which culminated in the rebellion and treasonable negotiations of Lancaster and Hereford with the Scottish King, finally ending with his own deposition and miserable death at Berkeley. In Scotland again, Brus now felt that success had brought in its train heavy responsibilities. He who had been but one among the magnates of England and Scotland, was now elevated above them—"primus inter pares,"—but his brow was weighted with the circlet of royalty. He was deeply indebted to the nobles, who through good and evil fortune had adhered to his cause, and especially to his chivalrous and impulsive brother Edward, for whom and himself the realm of Scotland was too limited. Occupation must be found for these fiery spirits, and the Scottish king now attained his object by the self-supporting devastation which we are about to consider.

Accordingly, soon after Bannockburn, his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas were despatched into England by the Eastern Marches, with an army which devastated Northumberland, burned Hexham and Corbridge, occupied Newcastle and adjacent places, and levied contributions from the Palatinate. They are said to have penetrated to Richmond, and to have re-entered Scotland by the West Marches, (after burning Appleby and other places), loaded with spoil and ransom extorted from the religious houses. On 7th October, 1314, Durham was ransomed by the Prior and convent giving bond for 800 marks to the Earl of Murray, to be paid at Jedburgh, one half at the next Martinmas, and the other half in the Octave of the Circumcision, immediately following; and gave hostages for the due performance of these stringent conditions.[7] Archbishop Greenfield about the same period granted various large amounts for the ransom of prisoners captured at Bannockburn.[8] The Brethren of Finchale, besides their own expenses, had to contribute to the "Domus Dunelmensis, Dominus Papa, et *Scoti*." In their "status" for "Dominica in Ramis Palmarum," 1314, there is an entry, "Domino R. de Bruys . . . . imposicionibus xxxvi^{s}. viii^{d}."[9] and in the following year, "Die

[7] Raine, Hist. Papers, p. 232.
[8] Ib. p. 248.
[9] Priory of Finchale (Surtees Soc.) 1834, App. p. viii.

Veneris ante festum S. Lucæ Evangelistae," "D. Robertus de Bruys" again appears as a creditor for xviii^{s}. iv^{d}."[1] He was now plundering a house to which his ancestors had been benefactors. Cumberland was occupied from 25 Dec., 1314, to 24 June, 1315, and was forced to pay 600 marks to the Scottish king, "pro tributo."[2] Such was the demoralization among the English that it is said the sight of two or three armed Scots was sufficient to put 100 of them to flight, while the Marchmen of the English border, who, as the old song says,

> "Sought the beeves that made their broth,
> In Scotland and in England both,"

joined the invaders in plundering their countrymen.[3] Negotiations, which, on the proposal of Robert de Brus to treat for peace, had been entered upon, by Edward granting a safe conduct to Neil Campbell of Lochow and other Scottish Commissioners,[4] were broken off by Edward's obstinacy in refusing to renounce the claim of feudal supremacy, and again the Scottish hosts poured through the passes of the Cheviots, carrying fire and sword along the vales of Rede and Tyne.[5]

Encouraged by their unmolested return, the Scots, in 1315, advanced for the third time since Bannockburn into England. They ravaged the Palatinate, and for the second time plundered Hartlepool. This invasion took place, "circa festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli,"[6] and in the graphic language of the chronicler, "Villam de Hertelpole, hominibus fugientibus ad mare in navibus, spoliaverunt sed non combusserunt." This shows how completely the King of Scots had severed himself from his English possessions, for Hartlepool, with its church, and the chapel of St. Hilda of Hertpol, was an old and valued inheritance of the family of Brus. It was even then a place of importance, for in 21 Edward I., his grandfather the "Competitor," was found to have a seaport there, and to be entitled to a "killagium" of 8d. for every ship with a boat, and of 4d. for one without a boat, touching there.[7] In illustration of one death caused by this invasion,

[1] Priory of Finchale (Surtees Soc.) 1834, App. p. ix.
[2] Hexham Book, App. lviii–ix.
[3] Chron. Lanercost; Walsingham, p. 106.
[4] Fœd. T. iii. 495-7.
[5] Chron. Lanercost.
[6] Book of Hexham; Chron. de Lanercost.
[7] Blount's Antient Tenures, 1st edition, p. 146.

there is a curious verdict (in Bishop Kellawe's Register) by a jury, on 30th July, 1315, on the death of John Sayer, a villager of Houghton-le-Spring, who had climbed the campanile of the church for safety from the Scots, and was killed in coming down by a fall.[8]

We now first meet with the name of Ripon in connection with these events. On 13th April, 1315, Archbishop Greenfield summoned the Archdeacon and the chapter to attend, with the other clergy of the diocese, a council against the Scots, to be held at Doncaster on the first Monday after Ascension Day.[9] Their deliberations do not appear to have averted the invasion. It was part of Robert de Brus's policy to harass the English by rumours of expeditions, and perhaps to this period may be referred a letter from some person unknown, and without any date but the 14th July, in which he tells Edward II., "that Robert de Brus had held his parliament at Ayr, at which he had ordered his brother Edward to make an inroad into England, with the main force of the Scots, while he himself besieged the castles of Dumfries, Botyll, and Caerlaverock, and remained at the latter place while his light troops made a foray into England." The letter "desires credence to be given to the bearer, who would relate matters touching the Royal dignity."[1]

The invasion, however, took a different direction so far as Edward de Brus was concerned. Within a month after the Parliament of Ayr,[2] he sailed with 6,000 men for Ireland, and after being crowned as its King and fighting numerous battles with various success, he closed his stormy career near Dundalk on 5th October, 1318, where he fell rashly opposed to superior numbers. The King of Scots was absent with his brother during a part of this Irish campaign, A.D. 1316, and Edward II. made unsuccessful attempts to organize expeditions into Scotland, which were defeated through the vigilance of Douglas and the young Steward. The most notable of these actions were at the camp of Lintalee near Jedburgh, where the Earl of Arundel was defeated by Douglas with much loss, and Thomas of Richmond slain; and the death of Robert Nevill, the "Peacock of the North,"

[8] Raine's Hist. Papers, p. 250.
[9] Ib. p. 245.
[1] App. II. to viii[th], Report of the Dep.-Keeper of Public Records, first portion of Calendar of Ancient Correspondence (including some Royal Letters), now in the Public Record Office.
[2] 26 April, 1315.

who was also killed by Douglas in an obstinate fight near Berwick. (Hailes' Ann.)

The inroads of the Scots now became so numerous that it is difficult to separate one from the other. In 1316-17, (A°. Regis Edwardi 10°.), the Bishop of Carlisle narrates how "Robert de Brus cum suo exercitu *bis* intravit nostram diocesin, et eam transeundo et morando, per deprædationes et combustiones quasi *totaliter* devastavit: et ideo nulli collectores erant deputati, quia" [says the record] "nichil superfluit unde decima potuit levari"![3] There are numerous mandates about this period by Edward II. to the Bishop of Durham regarding service against the Scots.[4] The royal letters already referred to show how anxious he was on the subject. On 18th October, 1316, he writes to Aymer de Valence, in reply, that he had arranged with Henry de Beaumont to undertake the wardenship of the Marches during the ensuing winter; is himself on his way to York to be near if aid should be required. And on 17th June following he writes to the Earl, that . . . . he is setting out on his way to the north parts for the Scottish war, and directs the Earl to hasten to him.[5]

Later in the same year, the Scots, under their King in person, obtained an important acquisition in the fortress of Berwick, which was betrayed into their hands, and, unlike the other places which were captured from the English, was not dismantled, but strongly fortified and victualled for a siege, under the command of Walter the High Steward, and an eminent Flemish engineer, named John Crab. While these preparations were in progress, the King of Scots invaded Northumberland, reducing the strong fortresses of Wark, whose green mound still overhangs the Tweed, and of Harbottle,[6] where, in later times a descendant of his own, Lady Margaret Douglas, the mother of Henry of Darnley, was born. Later in the same year, in May, he advanced into a new and unplundered country,[7] and making the head-quarters of his army at Fountains Abbey, which suffered severely, sent his foragers to the north-east as far as Northallerton, and southwards to Boroughbridge and Knaresborough.[8] The

[3] Hexham Book, App. p. lxii. (Bishop Halton's Register, 221).

[4] Bishop Kellawe's Register, vol. ii. *passim*.

[5] Appx. II. to viii[th], Report of Deputy-Keeper of Public Records (sup. cit.)

[6] Hexham Book, Pref. p. xciii.; Chron. Lanercost, 235.

[7] Raine's Hist. Papers, Pref. p. xxvii.

[8] Ib. 282.

Scots burned down this last place, and the tower of its parish church is said yet to show the marks of the fire, doubtless raised with the intention of burning out the fugitives who had taken refuge there.

Thence he continued his march to Ripon. A mandate by Archbishop Melton to the bailiff of Ripon, dated 1st June, 1318, in which the prelate relieves his feelings by the hardest of language against his enemies, shows that Ripon paid the large amount of 1000*l.*, as ransom for its safety.[9] And on 7th of same month, the Archbishop commanded the Scots to be excommunicated for their "nefanda scelera and horrenda facinora," committed at Ripon and elsewhere in the diocese.[1] Perhaps the heavy fine inflicted on Ripon was a punishment for its having taken arms against the invaders. For on 14th Kal. Aprilis (19th March) 1318, we find that the Archbishop orders his receiver, Mr. Thomas de Cave, to allow Thomas Deyvill, bailiff of Ripon, 40^{s}., in aid of the tenants of that bailliwick coming to York to join the army about to set out under Edward II. against Scotland,—also that 20^{s}. was allowed for a banner "de sindone" for the said tenants.[2] Turning westward, the Scottish army rolled up the valley of the Wharfe, plundering Otley, Bolton, and Skipton in Craven, ere they set their faces homewards.[3] An interesting re-valuation on 26th July, 1318, of the numerous churches and religious houses which they plundered, marks their progress with the accuracy of a chart.[4] The taxable value of the Archbishopric was said to have been reduced to *one* thousand marks, instead of *two* thousand as formerly, by the devastations in the manors of Hexham and Ripon alone. So important a part of the diocese were these. The rich abbey of Bolton in Craven was so thoroughly plundered that even, after the lapse of several years after this invasion, the canons had to disperse, and were recommended to the charity of Worksop and other monasteries, by Archbishop Melton, on 26th October, 1320.[5]

But dire as was this visitation, this great county was destined to suffer far greater losses in the following year. On his return to Scotland, Robert de Brus held a Parliament at Scone, in December, 1318, and passed

[9] Raine's Hist. Papers, &c., p. 274.
[1] Ib. p. 276.
[2] Ib. p. 375.
[3] Ib. Pref., p. xxvii.
[4] Ib. pp. 279-82.
[5] Ib. p. 306.

various important statutes respecting the civil, military, and ecclesiastical interests of the kingdom—one in particular levelled against the Pope — prohibiting the clergy from sending money to Rome for the purchase of Bulls. Edward, on the other hand, procured from that quarter fresh fulminations against the Scots, which produced little or no effect on his hardened adversaries. He took, however, a more practical step, which taxed all the energies of the King of Scots to meet it. The English King summoned the powers of his kingdom to meet at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on 24th July, 1319,[6] and in September of the same year, a strong army sat down before Berwick, while the fleet occupied the mouth of the Tweed. The fortress was valiantly defended by the High Steward, as minutely told in the graphic pages of Barbour, and the accurate narrative of Lord Hailes,[7] but after numerous assaults, the English army so completely invested it, that surrender was only a matter of time. Their numbers and strong position deterred the wary King of Scots from a direct attack, but like Hannibal, when he marched on Rome from Capua, besieged by the stern Fulvius, Robert de Brus resolved on a powerful diversion in favour of the defenders of Berwick, by invading England. This exploit met with the success which was denied to the famous march of the immortal Carthaginian. The King did not accompany the expedition, but despatching Randolph and Douglas at the head of 15,000 men, he remained in observation before Berwick. The Scottish leaders plundered Gillesland, and in addition a grievous murrain carried off the oxen and cows in the northern dioceses, so few being left alive that men were compelled to use horses at the plough.[8]

Truly the hand both of man and Providence lay heavily on the North of England at that era. The little nunnery of Lambley, in Tynedale, where, as Mr. Raine observes, a few holy women subsisted on a pittance which at the Dissolution only amounted to *5l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*,[9] was so utterly ruined that in 1321 Archbishop Melton issued an indulgence in their favour, recommending them to the charity of the faithful. Numerous similar instances occur in the local

[6] Fœdera, iii. 774-784.
[7] The Brus, xii. 1-230, 330-565; Hailes' Annals.
[8] Chron. Lanercost, 240.
[9] Hexham Book, App. p. lxv.

Records. Sweeping all before them, the Scottish army after, it is said, endeavouring to capture the Queen of England, plundered the whole country up to the suburbs of York.[1]

They again presented themselves, most unwelcome visitors, for the second time, before the burghers of Ripon. No ransom was apparently offered or asked. Probably, after the exactions of the previous year, the predecessor of the Worshipful Mayor was unable to raise anything from his fellow townsmen, and the good town of S. Wilfrid was given up to destruction.[2] No doubt the waters of the Yore, and the walls of the venerable Minster, reflected the blaze of burning roofs and rafters, a dire prospect at the close of an English autumn. We can well picture to ourselves, with no great stretch of imagination, the townsmen lucky enough to possess horses, bestriding them as they fled from the burning town and driving their "Ripon rowels" into their smoking sides, as they escaped the Scottish prickers. The invaders marched southwards in the direction of York, and halted at Myton-on-Swale, near Boroughbridge, where they established their headquarters. The picturesque description given by Froissart of a Scottish army of the period is well known.[3] How all were on horseback—the knights and squires on large horses, the common people on little nags—and their continuous marches of twenty-four leagues without halting. How they carried no baggage or provisions except a little oatmeal, always finding abundance of cattle in the enemy's country, which they boiled in the skin, or roasted on spits. Such men trained to fight either on foot or horseback, were invincible in border war under leaders like Randolph and Douglas.

To oppose a hardy force like this, the Archbishop summoned a motley array composed of archers, burgesses, yeomen, priests, clerks, monks, and friars.[4] This hastily-summoned army advanced, and as it defiled across the Swale, the Scots, repeating the manœuvre by which Wallace destroyed the forces of Surrey and Cressingham at Stirling Bridge, charged and put it to utter rout. Many were drowned, and among the 3000 who fell there, were

[1] Walsingham, pp. 111-12.
[2] Barbour, The Brus, xii. 272, says,
"They are cummyn to Repoun.
And destroyit haly that toun."
[3] Froissart Chron. Chap. xvii.
[4] The Brus, xii. l. 280

300 priests. Hence the action was called in derision, the Chapter of Myton. One person of note fell there—Nicholas Flemyng, Mayor of York, for whose soul an indulgence was granted by Archbishop Melton on 22nd August, 1320.[5] The Archbishop not only lost many of his tenants in the fight, but also his plate and household effects, &c., which, as he said, had been "injudiciously brought" (inconsulte adducta) to the field by his retainers,[6] and so heavy was his loss, that he was obliged to ask assistance from the great Cistercian and other religious houses of his diocese, in very moving terms, on 16th November, 1319.[7]

When this disastrous intelligence reached Berwick, the Earl of Lancaster, and other great barons whose estates lay in Yorkshire, withdrew from Edward's army to look after the safety of their own domains, and thus deprived of a large part of his force, he was obliged to raise the siege. He is said to have attempted to intercept Randolph and Douglas, but they, having accurate intelligence, eluded him, and made their way back by the West Marches with much booty and many prisoners.

With this formidable devastation the visits of the Scots to Ripon seem to have ceased. Its subsequent disasters in the "Rising of the North," and later events of English history, must be laid at the account of English hands. Though the King of Scots was once again, towards the close of his career, at no great distance off when he commanded for nearly the last time at Byland Abbey, in 1322, the troops whom he had so often led to victory, and inflicted a severe defeat on the young Edward III., yet Ripon does not seem to have been again destroyed, though the Scots in their march to Beverley, are said "after Byland to have murdered many ecclesiastics at Ripon."[8]

The subsequent invasions of the Scots do not come within the scope of these remarks. Though the disastrous battle of Halidon Hill, and the still more brilliant victory of Neville's Cross, must have gone far to soothe the wounded pride of England, yet such was the aversion with which the Scottish nation was regarded, long after the wars between the two peoples had come to an end, that no person of the nation was allowed to become a citizen of York or Newcastle.

[5] Raine's Hist. Papers, p. 305.
[6] Ib. p. 294.
[7] Ib. p. 295.
[8] Hailes' Ann. (citing A. Murimuth).

The civic registers of York contain many certificates to show the English origin of men who were kept back from rising in their trades by being falsely accused of drawing their birth from across the border.[9] The noble series of muniments from which Canon Raine has selected so many interesting documents, show how this dislike arose. The Scots were looked upon as excommunicated barbarians, and the merchant who trafficked with them, and the priest who said mass in their presence, were involved in the same ecclesiastical censures.

May it be long before Ripon sees a foreign foe, or is subjected to any invasion other than that which has now taken place—of visitors, not with acton and basnet, gloves of plate, and sword and spear, to plunder, burn and destroy—but with note-book in hand, to remark and fix in their memories the numerous and interesting relics of a bygone age, with which the hand of Time has dealt more kindly than that of man.

Penned as these observations have chiefly been, on the other side of the Channel, among scenes which recall the names of Hugh of Avranches and Robert of Mortain, with other surnames inseparably connected with the most stirring events of English history, some, as Granville, Hay, and Montgomery, still flourishing in their adopted country, while others, as Argentine, Avenel, and de Vere, redolent of all that is noble or knightly, survive only in the pages of the novelist or poet, the mind of the historical inquirer is irresistibly led to ponder on the striking contrast between the memorable expedition of the Conqueror, and those which we have been considering, under the descendant of his follower the first Robert de Brix.[1] The objects of both these great men were different, and yet how similar have been the results of their labours. The Norman Duke fought at Senlac to vindicate his claim to a throne, and though he and his immediate successors apparently trampled on the liberties of England, these liberties and laws revived in a united England, never again, we trust, to perish. And so

[9] Raine's Hist. Papers, &c., Pref, pp. xxix-xxx.

[1] The surname of this Royal house being originally, not a personal one, but territorial, from the Castle of Brix, near Valognes, in the Cotentin, it is as incorrect to speak of the Robert Bruce and John Balliol of the thirteenth century without the territorial "de," as it would be in the contemporary instance of the great Picard House of the Sieurs de Couci. The lower classes in Scotland still pronounce the name of Bruce with a close approach to its original Norman form—Bris, *i* short, as in *is*.

the Scottish monarch, when ravaging the North of England, with, as we may well believe, deep regret, when he looked on the old possessions of his house, and using the stern necessities of war with the highest of earthly objects,—the protection of the throne which he had so hardly won, and of the followers whose nationality he had established, perhaps little thought that the rough discipline to which he was subjecting his foes, was in the lapse of time to convert both nations into a free and united people.

If this imperfect sketch shall in any degree, however slight, contribute towards the examination and illustration of the period of our common history on which it touches, the expectations of its author will be fully realized.