

THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS,
FOUGHT 17 OCT., 1346.

WHEN King Edward invaded France in 1346, arrangements were made for the defence of England against the Scots, and, accordingly, on the 20th of August, the English Regency issued a proclamation of array,¹ appointing William de la Zouch, Archbishop of York, Henry de Percy, and Ralph de Neville, or any of them, to the command of all the forces in the north. Again, after the battle of Crescy, when the King, with the chief military strength of the kingdom, sat down to besiege Calais, that port affording a safe entrance into France, he despatched John de Moubray, William de Ros, and Thomas de Lucy,² for the purpose of endeavouring to persuade the Scots to remain at peace, and forbear to invade England; or, if on that point they were unsuccessful, these leaders were to assist his subjects to defend themselves. In this crisis the English commissioners proposed to deliver up to Scotland possession of the town and castle of Berwick, and some writers say³ they also proffered to hand over Baliol, for whose sake the war was ostensibly commenced, on condition that an amicable position should be maintained between the two kingdoms.

But the loss of the battle of Crescy being a severe blow to France, Philip the King considered how to raise the siege of Calais. The likeliest way he conceived to accomplish this movement was to induce the Scots to plunder and waste England to the uttermost, so that Edward might be compelled to return home to save his own territory.⁴

¹ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. 673.

² Barnes' *Hist. of Edward III.*, p. 376.

³ Boece, Hollinshead, and Barnes.

⁴ "About the same time did Edward King of England beseige the towne of Calais. The French King therefore devising all waies possible, whereby to save that towne, and to cause his adversarie to raise his seige, sent ambassadors into Scotland to require King David, that with an armie he would enter into England, and doo what damage he might into the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes, King Edward would be constrained to leave his seige, and to return home for defence of his own country and subjects."—Hollinshead's *Hist of Scotland*, ed. 1685, p. 240.

Accordingly he wrote to King David, praying him to make war upon the English, and he himself engaged to combat with them also, so that between both, he observed, they should be hardly beset.⁵ Some authors say he sent over to Scotland a number of troops,⁶ and an amount of money; also, by way of encouragement, he represented to the Scottish King that the whole of the fighting men of England were with Edward before Calais.⁷ David communicated the proposals from England and France to his council. Several of his wisest senators deemed it advisable to accept the offers of England: others wished to accede to the request of France; and as no correct tidings could be obtained of the actual military force that might be raised in England, these advisers probably supposed they had now a chance of being avenged for all the wrongs Scotland had endured from that quarter. David, swayed also by the kindness and liberality he had experienced at the court of France, felt anxious to perform the request of his ally.⁸ He was in his twenty-third year, and being, "stout and right jolly, and desirous to see fighting,"⁹ he held a meeting of parliament at Perth, when it was determined he should invade England at the head of a large army. True it is he stood in close relationship with King Edward,¹⁰ who in the early part of his reign styled him "his dearest brother," yet he could not entertain any feelings of amity towards a prince by whom, in the words of our great Durham historian, "he had been driven into exile, and persecuted from his cradle."¹¹

A mandate went forth accordingly over all Scotland, ordering the

⁵ Wyntown, ii. 256.

⁶ Barnes, p. 377, most inaccurately transfers the whole 15,000 Genoese cross-bowmen who he says fought at Crecy, to the assistance of the Scottish King. Some auxiliaries might be sent, but they would be few, for Philip had ample occasion for whatever forces he could raise. Besides, England was in possession of the channel, and would, if possible, prevent all communication with Scotland.

⁷ "It was suggested to the Scots there did not remain in England any unless husbandmen and shepherds, and imbecile and decrepit chaplains."—Knyghton.

⁸ "David concluded that Edward sought only to amuse him until he should have humbled a more powerful adversary, that he might subdue Scotland at his leisure when she should have no ally upon whose assistance she could depend."—Smollet's *Hist. of England*.

⁹ Wyntown, ii. 256.

¹⁰ Edward himself had slight reluctance to make war upon his relations. David married his sister, yet up to the time of the battle of Neville's Cross, the King of England never ceased to do his brother-in-law injury. Philip de Valois, of France, was his uncle, the mother of his Queen being Jane of Hainault, who was sister to Philip (Andrews' *Hist. of Britain*, i. 356), yet Edward strove with all his power to wrest from him his crown.

¹¹ Surtees' *Hist. of Durham*, i. xlvi.

whole martial force of the kingdom to assemble at Perth before the end of September. Numbers came at the appointed day, even from the most northern parts of the land, and a tragical incident occurred, shewing how the law could be broken almost in the presence of royalty. William Earl of Ross, who was at enmity with a most worthy chieftain, Raynald of the Isles, caused him to be murdered in his bed, with seven of his household, in the neighbouring monastery of Elcho, and instantly retreated to his own mountainous territory. Those who had come with Raynald departed also, in company with several neighbouring chieftains, who quitted the royal camp in order to preserve their lands from being wasted, as destructive war was anticipated between the conflicting parties. Many considered this cruel act foreboded much evil to the enterprise, and, impressed with that conviction, silently withdrew, by which the army was considerably diminished.¹² The advisers of the King urged him to punish Ross for the murder, but the season being far advanced, David would admit of no delay, and instantly ordered the army to march to England.

Quitting Perth, a few days' march brought the whole force to the Western Marches, and the King laid siege to the Pile of Liddel, a fortalice upon a steep clay cliff, overlooking the stream of that name, on the extreme border of Cumberland, and about two miles north of Netherby.¹³ It belonged to Thomas de Wake, one of the *Disinherited*,¹⁴ but was then commanded by Walter Selby, who, twenty-nine years before, assisted Gilbert Middleton to rob the two cardinals, and take Lewis Beaumont, Bishop of Durham, and his brother, prisoners at Rushyford. After a siege of four days,¹⁵ the place was taken by storm, and, except the women and children, all within were put to the sword, Selby himself being beheaded without time granted him for confession.¹⁶ The fortress

¹² Wyntown, ii. 258.

¹³ Camden's *Brit.*, ed. 1806, iii. 453.

¹⁴ These were the English barons who possessed estates in Scotland, and the Scottish nobles who leagued with England, both of whom were *disinherited* by Bruce, and their lands seized by the crown. Among them were Henry de Beaumont, Gilbert de Umfreville, David de Strathbogie, Richd. Talbot, Thos. de Wake, and others. Henry de Percy was of the number, but he obtained restitution.—Hailes' *Annals*, ii., 142.

¹⁵ *Chronicon de Lanercost*.

¹⁶ In 1342 Selby commanded the castle of Lochmaben, which was besieged by the Scots, but by his energy and the assistance of the Bishop of Carlisle, with Thomas de Lucy, the assailants were constrained to retire.—Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, ii, 211. He had a grant from Baliol of the lands of Plenderleith, in Roxburghshire, which were restored to his son James by Edward III. in the beginning of 1358.—*Rot. Scot.* i. 820. Stowe and Barnes say that King David caused two of Selby's children to be strangled in the sight of their father before he was put to death, but this statement, not being borne out by other historians, is liable to objection.

was utterly demolished, whereupon Sir Wm. Douglas, who was considered to have had the greatest experience in war, well knowing what opposition his countrymen were likely to experience in England, endeavoured to dissuade the King and the other leaders from entering that kingdom. But as the knight of Liddesdale, after the murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay,¹⁷ did not possess the confidence of the King and his subjects, his advice was rejected, and the barons observed that having by their valour taken and destroyed the Pile of Liddel, they had more effectually secured the territory of Douglas,¹⁸ and it was unfair in him endeavouring to prevent them from carrying off the spoil which was now within their reach, especially as they might march to London, none being left to oppose them save ecclesiastics and base-born artizans.

This agreed with the desire of the King, who was partly influenced by the advice of Malcolm Fleming, Earl of Wigton,¹⁹ and hence, about the time of full moon, which took place on Tuesday the 3rd Oct, he advanced with his army through Cumberland, and wasted the Abbey of Lanercost. Thence, proceeding by Naworth Castle,²⁰ he entered Northumberland, and keeping near the course of the Tyne, sacked the Ab-

¹⁷ Four years previously, Ramsay, by the King's approval of his valour, superseded Douglas in the sheriffship of Teviotdale. Douglas, at first, appeared to be reconciled; but when Ramsay presided at the court of justice which was held in the church of Hawick, the knight of Liddesdale, through revenge, entered with his armed followers, and dragging Ramsay from the bench, carried him bound on horseback wounded and bleeding to the castle of Hermitage, where that noble patriot, after living for seventeen days on some grains of corn which fell from an upper apartment, died of hunger.

¹⁸ "Tu satis abundas de bonis Anglorum, nec velles in lucro socios habere, sed in bello;"—Fordun, l. xiv, c. i. The expression is highly characteristic, but the full force of it could not be conveyed in the narrative; the castle of Lidel was connected with the territory of W. Douglas, and it served as a frontier garrison to his castle of Hermitage. The meaning of the Barons was this: "By our valour in storming the castle of Lidel, you have rounded, as it were, and secured your own territories, and now your ambition is satisfied."—Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, ii. 214.

Wyntown is also very clear on this point:—

"Than consalyd Williame of Dowglas,
That of Weris mast wys than was,
To turne agayne in thaire Cuntre:
Hesayd, that wyth thair Honeste
Thai mycht agayne repaire rycht welle,
Syne thai of fors had tane that Pele.
Bot othir Lordis, that war by,
Sayd. he had fyllid fullyly
His Baggis, and tharris all twme war.
Thai sayd, that thai mycht rycht welle fare
Til Lwndyn, for in Ingland than
Of gret mycht wes left na man,
For, thai sayd, all war in K'rawns,
Bot Sowteris, Skynneris, or Marchawns."—*Cronykil*, ii. 239.

¹⁹ *Latin Poem*.

²⁰ "Owing to a truce the Scots were prevented from marching towards Carlisle."
—*Chron. de Lanercost*.

bey of Hexham, and plundered the town. That place and Corbridge, which must then have been of importance, with Durham and Darlington, he intended to preserve as depositories for provisions and spoil during his continuance in England. Hereby we have another proof that it was the resolution of David to remain in England for a considerable period,²¹ wasting and destroying it, so that Edward might be induced to raise the siege of Calais, and return to his own country. Remaining at Hexham three days, he numbered his army, and found the knights, squires, and men at arms, all fully equipped for war, amounted to 2000. The other portion of his army were only half armed, of which the principal effective soldiers were spearmen, and the whole might number from 15,000 to 18,000 men.²² Moving down to Corbridge, the Scots assaulted Aydon Castle,²³ in the neighbourhood, which was given up on condition the inmates were allowed to depart with their lives. Thence they proceeded in the direction of Newcastle, and again crossed the Tyne at Ryton, where the King was warned in a vision by night that he should forbear to spoil or otherwise destroy the territory of Saint Cuthbert, otherwise his expedition should have a miserable end.²⁴ But considering an admonition of that kind undeserving of notice, he rejected it—and, advancing into the Bishoprick, crossed the Derwent and halted at Ebchester. Pursuing his way still onward to the south-east, he reached Beaurepaire, the manor-house of which he occupied, while his army encamped near a wood within the park. Thence large detachments roamed over the neighbourhood, pillaging the churches, burning the granges, wasting wherever they went, and bringing cattle and plunder to the camp. They also levied a capitation tax from every person without distinction, and those who refused to pay it are said to

²¹ "It was the King's intention to spend the winter in England."—*Chron. de Lanercost*.

²² The numbers quoted of the armies of England and Scotland by our old historians are exceedingly apocryphal. On this occasion, in the Scottish army,—

Knyghton says there were	36,000 men.
Hollinshead "	40,000 "
Froissart, from 40,000 to	50,000 "
Hume, Henry, and Smollet	50,000 "
Walsingham "	62,000 "

In *Chronicon de Lanercost*, we are told King David had 20,000 hobilers and 10,000 foot and archers. Our own Surtees puts down 28,000 or 30,000. Men do not grow up in a dozen years, and it is highly improbable that after the wars and famine which devastated Scotland previously, any such numbers of warriors as are mentioned above could possibly be raised in that country. The infantry might number from six to seven times the men-at-arms; but, in this expedition, the camp followers would be numerous, from the expectation of sharing the spoil collected in England. See Note on the numbers of our early armies in the *History of the Battle of Otterburn*, p. 115.

²³ Prior Forser's *Letter*.

²⁴ Fordun, ii. 341.

have been put to the sword.²⁵ As the crops had recently been gathered, much property and corn was destroyed—the labourers with their families flying southward for safety,²⁶ and still more would have been consumed had not some of the monks, who were either taken prisoners, or who went forward and compounded with the enemy by promise of a payment of one thousand pounds, that the lands, manors, and tenants of the church might be spared.²⁷ Then the Scots made great mirth, and feasted most plentifully upon the abundance they had collected—the King, and those around him, not even supposing that the chief men of the neighbouring counties would make any attempt for defence.²⁸

With that alacrity, however, for which the people of England have ever been distinguished when the line of duty was clear before them, all the military men north of Trent, including the sheriffs of the northern counties, with many of the most powerful barons, and large numbers of ecclesiastics²⁹ had assembled together on the Monday next before the feast of Saint Luke, 16th Oct., at Auckland Park. The Archbishop of York, Henry de Percy, and Ralph de Neville, already mentioned, were present. The army consisted, as usual, of knights, squires, and men-at-arms, which are said to have numbered 1,200, the archers 3,000, the spearmen, including the Welch, 7,000; and some say, in addition to these, there were 4,800 expert soldiers, who either came from before Calais, or being about to be sent there, were ordered back to defend the northern frontiers of England, the main portion of whom were likely

²⁵ "A penny was demanded from every English person."—Knyghton. "The Scots took one penny for every head and one penny for every foot, which done, they were left free."—Barnes, p. 378. "Save the monks, they made all others pay three pence a head for their lives."—Tyrrell's *Hist. of England*, iii. 534.

²⁶ *Latin Poem*.

²⁷ "In consequence of the battle being fought before the time of settlement, the money was not paid."—Knyghton.

²⁸ Wyntown, ii. 261.

²⁹ "A certain person testified that when the priests of the north parts were called against the Scots to battle, he saw a great crowd of them assembled at Beverley, who coming to the end of the town, took off their shoes, and with uncovered heads, having swords and arrows under the thigh, bows under the arm, marched in procession, so prepared for the expedition to which they were called, beating the ears of God and his saints, invoking his mercy and grace, to prosper the business of their journey for the delivery of the English nation from their enemies, who wish to exterminate them utterly. The populace truly seeing their indescribable devotion, turned to an admirable repentance, bent their knees with a lamentable countenance and ejaculations, beating the clemency of the Saviour that he would afford helping hands to them in such a necessity; not in vain, for God was their helper to the full. * * The same thing is said to have been done by the priests and people, as well in York as in many other places."—Knyghton.

archers.³⁰ Surtees quotes the whole as numbering from 16,000 to 18,000 men, and they may even have exceeded that amount. Looking considerably at this matter, we know that, when opposed to their enemies in battle-array, they had one-fourth of their force in reserve; and besides being the assailing party, every movement they made was conducted with such perfect confidence and admirable judgment, and calculated even to the advantage of the sun's rays, that the probability is they equalled, if they did not exceed, in number the whole effective force of the Scottish army.³¹

The Scots being altogether ignorant of this movement,³² it was probably on the morning of the said Monday, the 16th October,³³ that Sir William Douglas, having left the camp with a large number of horsemen, proceeded to Ferry-hill, either for the purpose of observation, or with intent to plunder, when the English cavalry from Merrington, appeared against him, and, being surprised, he endeavoured to retreat,

³⁰ These numbers I have given from Barnes, p. 378, who supplies them from *Giov. Villani*, the Florentine historian, L. xii., c. 75. Lord Hailes, in his *Annals*, ii. 213, observes that "*Villani's* account of the battle of Durham is exceedingly superficial; and which is remarkable, he says nothing of what Barnes quotes as from him. See *Muratori Script. Ital.*, T. xiii. p. 759." Bower in Fordun says the archers were 10,000, while Wyntown makes them amount to 20,000. According to the *Latin Poem*, Angus had 200, and Percy 20,000 men. Tytler's statement of 30,000 men is also without confirmation.—*Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 68.

³¹ Abercromby remarks, "The English authors talk of no more than 16,000 men, whereas it is more probable that they were by far more numerous than the Scots. I am sure that England, Ireland, and Wales, could not be so much depopulated by the army under King Edward's command in France, which did not amount to 40,000 men, as not to be able to raise twice that number in defence of their own habitations and that all the King's subjects in England (*Foed.* v., p. 524), and no doubt elsewhere, had been previously commanded to take arms in opposition to the Scots." *Martial Achievements*, ii. 95.

³² Wynton, ii. 261.

³³ Carte in his *History of England*, ii. 467, is the only authority I have seen who remarks the excursion of Douglas took place on the day preceding that of the battle. I adopt his view for this reason, that if he went very early, as is generally stated, he had no light, for it was new moon on the 18th, the day after that when the battle was fought; and as the sun would rise about half-past six, three hours were insufficient for riding to Ferry-hill, fighting at Sunderland Bridge, returning to the Scottish camp, and affording leisure for marshalling both armies in due order on the Red Hills. Surtees tells us that King David disposed his army for the contest on the day preceding that of the battle, and as Wynton, alluding to the English who were collected in Auckland Park, previous to the departure of Douglas, expressly observes:—

"The Scottis men
Wyst right noucht of that Gadryng."

We have here something like proof that Douglas with his horsemen rode to Ferry-hill on the Monday morning. Besides, the strength of the English army would, in all probability, be considerably increased by many connected with the church at Durham, and we have evidence the leaders had leisurely communication with those dwelling in the city, for the monks knew exactly what particular services to perform before the strife commenced.

but was so closely pursued that, on his return, at Sunderland Bridge a skirmish took place, in which he lost 500 of his best men.³⁴ Escaping himself, he carried back to the King tidings that the English in large numbers were only a few miles distant. Percy, also, is said to have dispatched a herald at arms to King David, requiring him to desist from wasting the land, and return to Scotland till a peace might be agreed upon between him and the King of England, else he should have instant battle.³⁵ But the King of Scotland, inheriting the bravery, though not the wisdom of his father Robert Bruce, despised this message,³⁶ and resolving not to retire without trying his fortune in war, he disposed his army on Durham Moor, with standards flying in order of battle. Other foraying parties, as they came into camp, were detained for the approaching struggle; while the King himself, most imprudently, passed the night in Beaurepaire Park and wood, without the precaution of a scout or sentinel on the watch.³⁷

Of the identical locality where the battle was fought, we have satisfactory evidence. A few days after the conflict, Prior Forser wrote to the Bishop of Durham, telling him it was stricken on the Moor of Beaurepaire, between the city of Durham and the rise of Fyndon Hill. This would lead us to suppose we must search for the scene half-way up from the first to the last-mentioned place; but as a check to this statement, letters of thanks to twelve of the English leaders, including the Archbishop of York, were written from the Tower of London on the third day after the battle, dated the 20th of October, and in the title to that document, as it stands in our records, we learn it was fought near to Neville's Cross,³⁸ thereby drawing the line slightly to the south. Moreover, in a Scottish historian, and the narrator appears to have derived his information from eye-witnesses, we have evidence precisely to the same effect.³⁹ Now where the present cross stands, we have

³⁴ The *Chron. de Lanercost* "relates Douglas was overtaken by severe weather before the English cavalry appeared; and that he had 600 horsemen with him, of whom he lost 300. Robert de Ôgle killed many of the Scots with his own hand.

³⁵ Hollinshead's *Hist. of Scot.*, p. 241.

³⁶ We learn from *Chron. de Lanercost*, "that two black monks went from Durham to treat with King David for a truce, but the monarch being enraged at the supposition they had come to induce him to defer putting his troops in battle array, ordered them for instant execution. Owing, however, to the bustle which prevailed in the army, the poor churchmen escaped."

³⁷ Surtees, i. l.

³⁸ The words are, "in praelio apud Nevill's Cross."—*Rot. Scot.*, i., 675. In *Foedera*, alluding to the conflict, the words are either "apud Dunelmum," or "in Bello Dunolmensi."

³⁹ The Scots were drawn out "super moram de Beaurepaire;" they then advanced "et illi ad eandem moram se in quodam loco, juxta crucem quæ Nevileross dicitur prope Dunelmum," formed into three divisions, as if disposed for battle.—*Fordun*, ii., 342.

conclusive authority that a *Neville's Cross* stood on the spot long before the battle of 1346 was fought.⁴⁰ William de Packington, a contemporary, who was clerk and treasurer to Edward the Black Prince, also states that King David issued from the park of Beaurepaire, "and fought upon a more nere to Duresme towne."⁴¹ Again, from a Scottish chronicler, we learn that towards the close of the conflict, the standards were seen upwards of two miles by those who fled from the field;⁴² whence the deduction is, that the struggle took place on elevated waste ground; and as the Red Hills agree to all these sources of authority, we arrive at the conclusion that the battle must undoubtedly have been fought there. They were probably open upon the higher portion, over which an old path leads from the main road on the west toward the city of Durham; but either where this track branches off from the said road, or farther north and nearly opposite to Harbour House, the ground was intersected by ditches and high fences, consisting of paling or upright stakes, wattled with branches of trees,⁴³ so that the place was most unfavourable for the movement of any portion of an army.

Before mention is made of the principal English commanders, it may be necessary to observe there were three individuals, if not more, whom superficial writers, following Froissart, have attached to that number, and of whose presence at the battle we have no direct proof. Queen Philippa is by the Frenchman represented to have been on horseback, and to have exhorted each division to defend the honour of her lord the King. That royal lady, according to the testimony of the last of our three chief county historians, to whom we have already alluded, was, at the time, in the south of England.⁴⁴ Edward Baliol is said to have commanded the reserve division of cavalry; but from the doubt which the chief historian of Durham,⁴⁵ with mature judgment, has thrown

⁴⁰ "I have seen documents in the Treasury of a date long antecedent to the battle in question, which prove that there was *then and there a Neville's Cross*, but whether of wood or stone I know not."—Raine's *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 106.

⁴¹ Leland *Coll.*, i., 470.

⁴² Wyntown, ii., 263.

⁴³ Would the fence of the park of Beaurepaire extend on its south-east corner near to the Red Hills? The description given of the paling, &c., by our old historians would appear almost to warrant this conclusion. Speed, in his *Map* comprises Neville's Cross within the park, but this, I suspect, like the tent he placed between Durham and Shincliffe to indicate where the battle was fought, is a mistake. "The ground," observes Lord Hailes, "where the army formed, was intersected by ditches and enclosures."—*Annals of Scotland*, ii., 216

⁴⁴ Raine's *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 105. Grafton, in his *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England*, 1572, at the close of 1346, first folio, 93, says, "this yere the Queene of England was delivered of a daughter named Margaret."

⁴⁵ Surtees, iv., 57.

over the statement, and as Lord Hailes, with the sound discrimination of a lawyer,⁴⁶ observes, "the whole strain of *Foedera* is inconsistent with the hypothesis of Baliol having had any such command," he cannot be admitted to that honour. Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, who was tutor to Edward the Black Prince, is also reported to have been present, but who, on good authority, in 1346, "appeared at the siege of Calais with eighty archers."⁴⁷ Moreover, the letter already mentioned, written to him by the Prior, giving an account of the battle, furnishes ample proof of the absence of that prelate. From the ancient records I have examined, I find no corroborative evidence of the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishops of Lincoln and Carlisle, though several writers embody them among the leaders on that occasion.

Accordingly on Tuesday morning, the 17th day of October, the whole English force, in four divisions, under the chief command of Ralph Lord Neville, proceeded forward, past Neville's Cross, to the Red Hills.⁴⁸ In front of the lines was borne a large crucifix, "the English trusting confidently in the cross;" and around on every side waved the flags and standards of the principal men of the northern English counties. Some of the clergymen bore their crosses as banners before the men of war, singing "*Miserere*," ere the battle commenced.⁴⁹ At that period, and long afterwards, the right wing formed the van of an army, and this division was under charge of Lord Percy, who "led the way." With him were Gilbert de Umfreville, third Earl of Angus, Henry le Scrope of Masham, and Thomas Musgrave, heading chiefly the brave Northumbrian warriors. The central body was commanded by Ralph Lord Neville himself, his son Sir John Neville, the Archbishop of York,⁵⁰ and Ralph Lord Hastings, and consisted mainly of the forces of the Bishoprick. At the head of the left wing was Sir Thomas Rokeby, Sheriff of Yorkshire, John Lord Moubray, and John de Leyburue, with the military strength of the district south of the Tees, and the archers of Lancashire.⁵¹ The fourth division, we are told, consisting chiefly of

⁴⁶ Among the intricate labyrinths of Scottish History, we have no guide more certain than Lord Hailes, and his account of the battle of Neville's Cross, though brief, is very clear. I, among others, regret that his *Annals of Scotland* were not continued down to a recent period.

⁴⁷ Surtees, i., xlvi.

⁴⁸ The *Latin Poem* tells us the English came in three divisions. The fourth probably followed.

⁴⁹ Knyghton.

⁵⁰ "The Archbishop was a good shepherd, and having called his men together, blessed them. Another bishop of the order of Friars Minors, for his blessing commanded the English to fight manfully, and not to spare the Scots, under threat of the greatest punishment."—*Chron. de Lanercost*.

⁵¹ Stowe's *Annales*, p. 243.

cavalry, was placed in reserve, and commanded by William Ross of Hamlake and other barons, for Thomas de Lucy, Thomas de Grey (the author of *Scala Chronica*), Robert de Ogle, John de Coupeland, Robert Bertram, and William Deyncourt, were on the field.⁵² On selecting their ground, most judiciously, upon the Red Hills, the three first divisions fell into their proper places, Lord Percy on the right, Lord Neville in the centre, and Sir Thomas Rokeby on the left. The knights, squires, and men at arms dismounted, being fully armed with spears in hand, and delivering the horses to their attendants, took up their position in the respective lines. Each body was flanked by archers, and, in particular, the third division, under Sir Thomas Rokeby, seemed best supplied with these stern warriors. Behind each of these three divisions a large number of servants and horses were accordingly collected together.⁵³

The King of Scotland being aware of the approach of the English, put his troops in motion on Durham moor,⁵⁴ and descended along the highest part of the ground to meet them—Sir Alexander Ramsay, bearing the royal banner, Separating his whole force into three divisions, he placed the van or right wing under command of John Earl of Moray,⁵⁵ and Sir William Douglas. The latter, possessing great knowledge of military movements, was probably selected by the King to lead the army; though one authority states⁵⁶ he was taunted by his sovereign, and,

⁵² The leaders of the divisions of the English army I have supplied from Barnes, p. 379, rejecting those who were not authenticated by Dugdale, in his *Baronage*. These are the names of the twelve commanders who received the especial thanks of the Regent, written from the Tower of London on the third day after the battle, 20th Oct. 1346:

Willm. Archbishop of York.
Gilbert de Umframvill.
Henry de Percy.
Ralph de Nevill.
John de Moubray.
Thomas de Lucy.

Thomas de Rokeby.
Thomas de Gray.
Robert de Ogle.
John de Coupeland.
Robert Bertram.
William Dyencourt.

Rot. Scot. i., 675.

⁵³ I consider it as a display of no mean skill for the English to take up their position on the highest part of the Red Hills, extending their lines across the old path, not far from the angle where it bends towards Durham. Having sufficient room themselves, their foes were confined before them to a space not half the width which they themselves occupied. A careful examination of the ground will convince any prudent observer that if the Scots had possessed a good general, he had not fought on such a field.

⁵⁴ "The King would appear on that eventful morning to have had no breakfast, for the servants allowed the pot containing that meal to boil over, by which it was spoiled."—*Chron. de Lanercost*.

⁵⁵ "The honour of commanding the van was first offered to Patrick Earl of March, who declined it."—*Chron. de Lanercost*. The Earl of Moray was March's brother-in-law.

⁵⁶ *Latin Poem*.

being of a proud spirit, rushed to the first encounter. King David in person led the central division, surrounded by the officers of the crown, and the principal nobility of Scotland. The left wing being much more numerous than any other,⁵⁷ was placed under charge of Robert the High Steward of Scotland, and Patrick Earl of March. A slight depression intervenes between Durham Moor and the ground of the Red Hills, so that when the King had passed that hollow, a gentle ascent led him to the point of strife. On his way pipes and clarions filled the air with martial music.⁵⁸ It would appear that he had advanced beyond the narrowest part of the ridge, and was nearly in an eastern direction from Harbour House, when his lines were confronted by the English. Confiding in his own strength, he probably regarded his situation with indifference, and was only desirous to bring forward his forces to the struggle; else he had not reached the ground he intended, for our best authorities say he was taken by surprise—that the position of his right wing was most disadvantageous for battle—and that he himself occupied an inconvenient place, where his troops were unable to raise their arms either for assault or in self-defence. The general narrowness of the field may in some measure account for these unpropitious circumstances on the side of the Scots, who, being thus crowded together, presented a fair mark to the English archers.⁵⁹ The left wing was less confined; for the high land widens eastward, and the flank of that body would overlook the valley north-west of Durham. The chief portion of the horsemen dismounted, and with their spears and battle-axes were ready for battle, while the attendants and horses were placed as usual in the rear of each division.

From the long vista of departed centuries a voice like an echo comes down to us, whether of truth or tradition we cannot tell, that the Church was no idle spectator of this eventful scene. The brethren of the convent at Durham, from the tower of the cathedral, witnessed the march of both armies to battle, and poured forth hymns and prayers on behalf of their countrymen. Also, we are apprised by the like uncertain sound, that at the same time, the Prior of Durham, influenced by a vision of the previous night, bore out from the Cathedral, in company with a few of the monks, the holy corporax cloth of

⁵⁷ "That wes the mást be mekil dele."—Wyntown, ii., 262.

⁵⁸ Knyghton.

⁵⁹ "It is not possible to conceive how upon the ground such forces could be arrayed, and engage in any order."—Hutchinson's *Durham*, ii, 341. That the Scottish divisions were much crowded, there can be no doubt: here, however, we have indirect proof that the numbers of that army were not so large as are represented by our English historians.

Saint Cuthbert, elevated on the point of a spear, to the valley adjoining the battle field, and there, placing the sacred relic on a little romantic hillock, which may still be seen, these devout men knelt around it, and implored heaven and the saint to bestow victory upon the English.⁶⁰

The sun had been above the horizon nearly two and a half hours; and, if the sky was clear, as it frequently is after harvest, he shone full in the faces of the Scots. On both sides the trumpets sounded; and the English left wing, probably approaching the place where the old path runs eastward from the main road, was about to commence the battle, when Sir John Graham, a sagacious Scottish knight, observing the archers attached to that division, and well knowing the tremendous power of their arrows, implored the King for one hundred mounted horsemen to break and disperse them.⁶¹ The request was denied; and Graham, with his own horsemen, rode forward and compelled them to give way; but, being unsupported, he had his horse killed under him, and he escaped, wounded and bleeding, to his own party. The archers then attacked the infantry under Moray and Douglas, who were entangled among the ditches and enclosures already mentioned, and being thereby unable to charge their assailants with the spear, a shower of steel fell incessantly upon them, and they were slaughtered in great numbers.⁶²

The English van or right wing under Lord Percy, with Angus, met the Steward and March most vigorously, and they fought long without gaining any advantage. From the Scottish infantry using constantly the spear and battle-axe, with a knife or dagger, and as archers could not maintain their place when opposed to such arms, it may have been that the men of Northumberland at that period had partly laid aside the bow, and

⁶⁰ *Rites and Monuments of the Cathedral Church of Durham*, 1842, p. 20. The work is shewn on the plate accompanying this paper.

⁶¹ "A movement like that proposed by Graham decided the battle of Bannockburn. It was the English archery which proved fatal to our countrymen at Halidon."—Hailes' *Annals*, ii, 217. Their prowess at Homeldon was even more remarkably displayed.

⁶² Wyntown is very graphic at this point of the narrative. He says:—

"The Earle of Murrawe and his menyhè
 Than nere wes that assemblè:
 At hey Dykis assemblid thai,
 And that brak gretly thaire Aray;
 Tharfor thai war swne dyscumfyte.
 Thai that held hâle, sped thame full tyte
 To the Kyng, that assemblid was
 In-til a full' anoyus plâs
 That nane, but hurt, mycht lyft his hand,
 Quhen thai thaire Fâyis mycht noucht wythstand.
 To the Stewartis Rowt than went thai,
 That was assemblyd nere that way.
 Thare had thai rowme to stand in fycht;
 Thare mycht thai welle assay thare mycht,
 Than bâthe the fyrst Rowtis rycht thare
 At that assemblè wenoust war."

Cronykil, ii., 263.

met their enemies with weapons whereby they might be more effectually repelled. From the same cause the warriors of the Bishoprick, under Lord Neville and the Archbishop, may not have been so successful in their attack on the middle line of the Scots. But upon the division of Moray and Douglas the English long bow was doing its usual execution. It is probable that Sir Thomas Rokeby, on perceiving this wing was more easily assailable, from the confined nature of its position, bent his whole force against it, and continued the attack, till, broken and beaten down, the Scots gave way—the Earl of Moray being killed, and Douglas captured by Sir Robert Bertram of Bothal. Those warriors in this body who were unhurt, drew back to the King's division, and when they could not fight there, they again removed to that of the High Steward. While, therefore, the men of the Bishoprick opposed, spear to spear, the middle division of the Scots, the archers of the midland counties, with the whole left wing, who had dispersed their opponents, followed up their advantage, and assailed forthwith the exposed right flank of the King's contral division.⁶³ In this position both maintained the conflict most fiercely; nor, from the commencement to the close thereof, did the Scots ever succeed in driving back to a distance any detachment of the English.⁶⁴ The sun rising high and higher shone probably still in the faces of the invaders; but they also, with most enduring fortitude, though pierced everywhere by arrowy steel, remained firm, and fought on like desperate men in extremity.

On the left wing of the Scots, Robert the Steward is said to have assailed Percy so successfully for a brief period, that the division of the latter, being partly broken, was on the point of defeat; but fortunately for the honour of Northumberland, the reserve of cavalry came up, and, assisting Percy, turned again the tide of battle in favour of England. They who relate this seem to be mistaken; for, at that time and long after, the battles of this country were chiefly fought on foot. No cavalry

⁶³ Some allusions to the principal English warriors from the *Chronicon de Lanercost* are interesting:—"Great praise to Angus. Percy, a short man, of much forethought, and putting forward his own body to meet the enemy, encouraged all to do the same. Neville was strong, truthful, cautious and brave, much to be feared, and he fought so that traces of his blows *stuck* to the enemy. Sir Henry de Scrope took his station in front, cutting down the foe. John de Moubray was full of grace and goodness; his worthy fame was widely spread, and he and his men performed their duty so as redound to their honour long afterwards. Sir Thomas de Rokeby like a noble leader gave the Scots such a *cup* that they who drank of it, were not desirous to taste it again. John de Coupland distributed such blows among his enemies, that feeling as it was said, the weight of his *thumps*, they did not care to fight any longer."

⁶⁴ In the recent cut made for the railway, north of Neville's Cross, no human remains deserving of notice have been discovered, proving the English uniformly kept the ground upon which they first encountered the enemy.

effected any important movement either at Otterburn, Shrewsbury, or Flodden. Some commanders, heralds, or an occasional detachment in reserve, might remain on horseback, but when about to engage in close combat, the knights, squires, and men-at-arms, generally dismounted and left the horses in charge of their attendants. From the weight of the armour they wore, they could not travel save on horseback; and when engaged in conflict, the servants waited behind with the horses, ready for their masters to mount, either in flight if the battle went against them, or in pursuit of the vanquished if victory was won. When seated in the saddle they could only hope to be successful if they bore down upon broken and dispersed infantry, or archers who, at that period, had no staves pointed with iron to strike slantingly into the ground before them, as at Agincourt. Many years previously the serried masses of Flemish and Scottish spearmen, at Courtray and Bannockburn, had shown they were able to withstand and defeat the most vigorous attacks of French and English cavalry.⁶⁵ Indeed, from before this period down to the time of the Commonwealth, mounted horsemen never performed any important part in gaining the battles of England.⁶⁶ Hence we draw the conclusion that the assistance Percy derived was either from the spears of the men-at-arms, or perhaps from a body of those archers who had already dispersed the Scottish right wing, and who plied their shafts upon every point they could assail with the most fatal effect.

Still close and more closely did the English lines press upon the Scots, till those who had witnessed battles before, saw enough to convince them that the latter, though they "dealt many severe strokes with hard and sharp axes," would ultimately be defeated. This appears to have been the impression of the High Steward, who, to save his division from death or captivity, resolved to withdraw from the field—not without suspicion of perfidiously deserting the King, by whom, for that and other causes, he was never afterwards forgiven. This movement he and the Earl of March accomplished in full view of the Northumbrians,

⁶⁵ At the battle, of Courtray, fought in 1302, the horsemen of France were totally discomfited by the spearmen of Flanders. At Bannockburn, in 1314, the success of Randolph's foot soldiers over Clifford's mounted warriors, and the subsequent repulse of the whole English cavalry by the spearmen of Scotland, prove that horsemen had no chance to compete with armed footmen, when the latter, as in the hollow squares at Waterloo, kept closely together.

⁶⁶ Cromwell's Ironsides, were indeed invincible, but the arms of the foot soldiers had then undergone a change, and the bayonet of modern times was not introduced. Besides, that great general's mode of attack was altogether new, for his cavalry, like the waves of a stormy sea, charged again and again into the enemy's lines, till they were compelled to give way.

Lord Percy permitting them to depart without molestation; nor would it appear that any troop of men-at arms attempted to give them chase.⁶⁷ Their absence only hastened the termination of the battle, for then the English right wing fell upon the unprotected left flank of King David's remaining division.

Loyalty and devotion to a monarch, though observed in an enemy, cannot fail to inspire us with feelings of admiration and respect. David the Second had errors, but Fortune had gone hardly with him; and as he exhibited both courage and determination, a gallant band of nobles placed themselves around him like a strong tower of defence, and fought with the most unwavering resolution.⁶⁸ They were hemmed in by the fierce squadrons of England, whence there was indeed slight chance of escape; yet the devoted band saw floating above them the royal standard, whereon, within the double tressure,

"The ruddy Lion ramped in gold;"

and their monarch being the only son of Robert Bruce, the great deliverer of his country, those brave men, influenced by many dear associations, confronted their foes foot to foot, and repelled every attack, till one by one they were stricken down.⁶⁹ We are informed by a chronicler, who undoubtedly learned the particulars from those who were present on that occasion, that such "hard fighting" occurred at this period of the battle, the like was never witnessed before.⁷⁰ If no scene

⁶⁷ A slight difference on this point exists among our historians—some observing that the Steward and March did not quit the field till after the capture of the King. Our best historians, however, agree upon what is related in the text.

⁶⁸ "The residue of the Scots continuing faithfully with the king, stood about him like a round tower, keeping him in the middle, who so continued till there were scarce forty of them left alive, of the which not one of them could escape."—Stowe's *Annales*, p. 243.

⁶⁹ As an illustration to the text we may introduce a passage penned by the greatest of our chivalrous poets, when describing the strife of another Border battle-field, still more fatal to Scottish royalty:—

"The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep
To break the Scottish circle deep,
That fought around their King.
But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though bill-men ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;
The stubborn spear-men still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight,
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well."

Scott's Poetical Works, vii, 353-4.

⁷⁰ *Wyntown*, ii, 263

in the battles of Bannockburn, of Dupplin, or Halidon Hill could be compared to what took place here, the struggle must indeed have been tremendous, and maintained with indomitable energy to the last.

Noon came, and the fight had continued three long hours. Arrow after arrow went pouring in upon the enemy—man after man fell—till out of the whole division only from forty to eighty remained. Nearly all the nobility and those of the royal household were slain. David himself was severely wounded with one arrow in the leg and another in the face. Still no thought of retreating ever seems to have entered his mind; for he fought as if unwilling to live, and resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible. Eventually, John de Coupland, a squire of Northumberland, who commanded a hundred men-at-arms,⁷¹ and one of the leaders to whom the letter of thanks already mentioned was addressed from the Tower, rushed upon the King, and dashed the axe or sword out of his hand; but when attempting to seize him, the latter, either with a knife or his gauntlet, struck Coupland so forcibly on the mouth, he drove out two of his teeth.⁷² Well knowing, however, the value of

⁷¹ Abercromby's *Martial Achievements*, ii, 97.

⁷² In the *Lat. Poem* the account of the capture of David differs from that given in the text. The monkish poet says that Thomas Carre, a standard-bearer in the Scottish ranks, who being near the King, was desirous to save his own life, and seeing nothing save death before him if the struggle was prolonged, said to his opponent, John de Coupland, "that is the King: take him!" Again, Leland, in his *Itinerary*, viii. 6, supplies the following passage:—"Thomas Carre *veixillarius dixit Joanni Copland 'cape Davidem regem.'*"

Some authorities say King David was not captured in the field fighting, but that he withdrew, and was caught while endeavouring to escape. "The King of Scotland," observes Knyghton, "fled from battle, and was wounded by an arrow in the head, and was taken at Merrington by a servant of John Coupland, and led to the castle of Bambrough." Lord Hailes, in a note on this passage, says—"Meryngton is considerably to the south of Durham. It is impossible to imagine that the King, if he had left the field, would have passed forward into England."—*Annals*, ii. 218.

From a paper (of which more will be said hereafter) in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1822, contributed by the Rev. John Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, we are told, "a tradition still preserved on the banks of the Brownney, (a small stream near the field of battle) relates, that David, after the discomfiture of his army, fled from the field of battle, and was taken prisoner under the bridge on that stream, on the road from Witton-Gilbert to Ash." Also, from information kindly communicated by my respected friend, the Rev. James Raine, jun., M.A., and others, I learn the above tradition has been prevalent in Durham and the neighbourhood from time immemorial, with this difference, that the King was captured by John de Coupland below Alden Bridge, over the same stream. If David fled, the circumstance of his being taken below one of these bridges is not unlikely; for, in either case, a great breadth of waste land lay before him, and he had a better chance of reaching his own kingdom. The ancient report also embraces a circumstance noticed by some of our historians, that King David would not yield to any one whose degree was below that of a knight; and the stern resistance he made agrees with that statement, for it is evident he was taken by force alone. I am willing to give a tradition of that kind its due weight, and it is even possible it may have had its origin in truth. Still, the testimony of our most authentic historians is opposed to this view of the subject, and, on

his prize, the squire secured him,⁷⁴ and with great promptitude, assisted by eight chosen companions, placed his captive on horseback, and conveyed him off the field, riding twenty-four miles, till about the time of vespers they reached Ogle Castle on the Blyth. This fortalice had been newly erected; and from Coupland's intimacy with its owner, Sir Robert Ogle, he deemed it a suitable place for the safe keeping of his royal prisoner.

During the whole period of the battle, we are told, the monks, both on the tower of Durham Cathedral and on the hillock in the depth of the valley, put up orisons without intermission, that heaven and the saint would be propitious to the English. Hence, when victory was proclaimed by sound of trumpet,⁷⁵ the brethren upon the high tower sang the *Te Deum*; and the Church ascribed the success of the English, not to the unshaken fortitude and consummate bravery they had evinced, but to the hallowed relic of Saint Cuthbert being borne towards the battle-field, and to a gracious return from above, vouchsafed to the supplications of her ministering sons.⁷⁶

With the capture of the King, however, the slaughter of the invaders did not terminate. It is certain that a great number of the Scots not

calmly examining it, one is apt to ask, if the King fled, why was such a determined stand made on the field to the last by the nobility of Scotland and the officers of the royal household, who were nearly all killed? This consideration induced me to regard the matter as stated in the text.

⁷⁴ "The King himself was taken prisoner by John Coupland, but not till he had wrested Coupland's dart from his hand, and struck out two of his teeth with his fist, though he himself was cruelly wounded with two arrows."—Rev. John Hodgson.

⁷⁵ "The victory was declared by sound of trumpet at noon."—Hutchinson's *Durham*, ii. 341.

⁷⁶ "The monks being on the bell-tower of their church, and seeing the flying Scots, lift up their voice, and filled the air with the sound of their acclamations, crying out and praising God, and weeping with tears of joy, saying '*Te Deum laudamus*.'" Which voice the English heard as if they had come near to the back of them, and thence taking greater courage in God, more sharply followed their enemies, and more strongly trode them under foot."—Knyghton.

"According to the firm belief of the church of Durham the victory was mainly owing to a relic of St. Cuthbert, and to the prayers of the monks by whom that relic was carried to the field of strife."—Raine's *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 106. And in an illustrative note the historian proceeds:—"The story goes that whilst a few of the monks guarded the sacred relic at the foot of the hill upon which the battle was fought, the rest of their body was stationed in awful anxiety upon the middle tower of the Cathedral, and that seeing the result, they sang forth their *Te Deum* in glad exultation. In commemoration of the event, long after the Reformation, and in fact till the year 1811, the organist, singing men, and singing boys of the Cathedral, went once a year to the summit of the middle tower, and sang the *Te Deum* to an audience in the churchyard below. For some time before the custom fell into disuse, the 29th of May was the day on which it was observed; but I have good authority for stating that it was the battle of Neville's Cross which was intended to be commemorated. Twenty shillings were divided among those who took a part in the ceremony."

only sought their safety by flight, but that they were closely pursued and many killed; for the Prior's letter, already mentioned, says the fight extended to the rise of Fyndon Hill, showing that in retreat they had fought with their pursuers even to this place. When that venerable head of the convent rode out on his mule through Shaw Wood, and upward along the east side of his park at Beaurepaire for a mile or two, he may have seen by the dead bodies lying around him sufficient proof of what he stated, that "the most powerful of the Scottish nobles lay dead and despoiled of their arms, and stripped bare on Beaurepaire Moor." This forms a striking picture of the insatiable love of plunder which on that occasion prevailed among our countrymen, and we have evidence it was drawn in accordance with truth.⁷⁷ Great activity was likewise manifested in taking prisoners, for a document contained in our Records shows the names of forty-eight of the chief men of the English army who had captured a like number of the Scots, whose names are also supplied.⁷⁸ Besides, we have proof that many of the victorious party connived at the escape of the enemy, who doubtless paid them money to be set free.⁷⁹ Still, a large number of the fugitives would appear to have been killed. The camp-followers also, in their flight, may have suffered as severely as their armed countrymen. Pakington says there were "greate nombre of the communes of Scotland slayne,"⁸⁰ and Stowe observes, "The Englishmen pursued the chase after them which were fled, slaying and taking them, as farre as Prudhow and Corbridge,"⁸¹ indicating that the fugitives strove to gain the Roman way of Watling Street, as the most direct road to their own country.

The whole loss of the Scots is by some stated to have been 1,000, and by others 15,000; so that if the first is too small, the last is greatly overrated.⁸² Of the actual number, however, we have no certain ac-

⁷⁷ Walsingham observes "that day would have been the last of Scottish rebellion, had the English, neglecting the spoil and the making of captives, urged the pursuit of the fugitives, and cut off from the land of the living that nation which has ever been rebellious." "We can now smile" says Lord Hailes, "at the pious regret of Walsingham—a regret which has been impatiently reiterated on other occasions."—

⁷⁸ *Rotuli Scotie*, i. 678.

Annals, ii. 219.

⁷⁹ "The English commanders, allured by the lucre of ransom, connived at the escape of many of their prisoners. This practice became so prevalent, and seemed of such hazardous example, that it was prohibited by proclamation under pain of death."—Hailes' *Annals*, ii, 219.

⁸⁰ Leland, *Coll.* i. 470.

⁸¹ *Annales*, p. 243.

⁸² Fordun, ii. 343, relates that one thousand were slain. Wytown writes the same :

"Fyve hundyr slayne ware, as sayd thai,
But thai, that deyd in the Forray;
Swá thai all, that slayne war thare,
Nowmyde til a thowsand ware."—*Cronykil*, ii. 264.

Stubbs *apud* Twysden says, that more than nine hundred armed men were killed. Froissart and his followers quote the loss at 15,000.

count; nor do any of our historians even allude to the common men who were either wounded or taken prisoners. Among the slain were the Earl of Moray⁸³ already mentioned; the Earl of Strathearn; David de la Haye, constable; Robert Keith, marshal; Robert de Peebles, chamberlain, and Thomas Charters, chancellor of Scotland, with other nobles, amounting altogether to about thirty-seven. Of the captives, exclusive of the King, were the Earls of Fife, Mentieth, and Wigton, the Knight of Liddesdale, and about fifty other barons and knights.⁸⁴ The loss of the English was comparatively small—some say, four knights and five esquires, though on the authority of Froissart “they lost many of their men,” and Ralph Lord Hastings was mortally wounded after he had made Roger Kirkpatrick prisoner. Of the common people who fell we have no account whatever.

After the battle, Ralph Lord Neville and his brave companions went to the Church of Durham, and there, with great solemnity, at the fere-tory of St. Cuthbert,⁸⁵ offered up most grateful thanks for the victory—presenting at the same time, within that venerable place, his own and King David's royal banner, with many other standards and *ancients* (or flags), both of England and Scotland, which continued to wave over the shrine of the saint down to the Dissolution.⁸⁶ He also presented to the said shrine the HOLY CROSS of Holy-rood-house, “none knowing whether it was of metal, stone, or wood,” which had come to David the First of Scotland in a marvellous manner, and which was taken from the person of David II., who, with superstitious reverence, had brought it with him, deeming it a safeguard from personal danger and disaster.⁸⁷

About the beginning of the following year the King of Scots was committed to a long confinement in the Tower of London, where the parsimonious Edward, with ungenerous economy, compelled his captive to bear the whole expenses of his establishment, and imposed the same

⁸³ “He was the younger son of Randolph the Regent. With him the male line of that heroic family ended. He was succeeded in his honours and estate by his sister the Countess of March, commonly called *Black Agnes*.”—Hailes' *Annals*, ii, 322.

⁸⁴ See a “List of the persons of distinction in the Scottish army killed or made prisoners at the battle of Durham,” in Hailes' *Annals*, ii, 321-29.

⁸⁵ A place beyond all comparison the most remarkable in the northern counties of England. The great men who in successive centuries have visited the venerable spot, only make it more sacred and solemn. The very pillars of that majestic temple look down upon us as we enter the hallowed ground, and indicate by their silence: “You are the beings of little more than half-a-century: we have stood for nearly a thousand years, and like the everlasting hills, exhibit no symptom of decay.” For much interesting information, both of Durham Cathedral and the early history of the church in the northern counties, see “*Saint Cuthbert*,” and “*A Brief Account of Durham Cathedral*,” both by the Rev. James Raine, M.A.

⁸⁶ Raine's *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 109.

⁸⁷ For an account of this Cross, see Appendix, No. 1.

charge upon the other Scottish prisoners.⁸⁸ Subsequently, he was at times permitted to visit Scotland on business, and for periods of some duration he was detained in the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, chiefly under the charge of his captor, John de Coupland. High rewards and honours were bestowed upon the latter, who was made a knight-banneret, and had lands and manors assigned to him in Northumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire. But he was chiefly employed in responsible offices on the Borders, being occasionally Warden of Roxburgh Castle, and more frequently Governor of Berwick; besides, he was Sheriff of Northumberland from 1349 to 1355.⁸⁹

Such was the battle of Neville's Cross. It was most disastrous to Scotland, and not attended with any especial benefit to England. On looking over the scene where it occurred, no cherished associations of liberty to a people, or the stern impression that tyranny was beaten back there, arise in the mind, to make us prize more dearly our own freedom, and heave a sigh for nations that are still under the despot's sway. Yet an Englishman may justly be proud of the locality of the battle, since upon it was consummated one triumphant proof that if his countrymen be true to themselves they need fear no enemy; and should the time again come when an insolent foe shall dare to set foot upon England, may he remember that, like his ancestors, his duty is either to die in her defence or live for her renown!

ROBERT WHITE.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

⁸⁸ *Rot. Scot.* i. 690, 696, 705, 706.

⁸⁹ Some particulars of his history will be found in the Appendix, No. 2.

[In collecting material for the above narrative, Mr. Garvin, classical assistant to the Rev. Dr. Bruce, supplied me with translations of the *Latin Poem* on the battle of Neville's Cross, in Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, ii. 342, and of Prior Forser's *Letter* to the Bishop of Durham on the same subject, written a few days after the conflict, printed in the volume of *Wills and Inventories*, 1835, p. 30, and in that of *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, 1839, p. ccccxxxiv, both issued by the "Surtees Society." W. Hylton Dyer Longstaffe, Esq., also placed at my service his translations of Knyghton's account of the said battle, with some fragments of collateral history from one or two other sources, embodied in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*. I have likewise availed myself of a few notes I took down from a statement of the same battle in the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, which was kindly read to me in English by the Rev. James Raine, M.A., the historian of "North Durham."]

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE CROSS TAKEN FROM DAVID KING OF SCOTLAND.

The work entitled, "*The Ancient Rites and Monuments of the Monastical and Cathedral Church of Durham, &c.*," is erroneous in another point than that of the date of Neville's Cross. It tells us the **Black Rood of Scotland** was taken from King David in this battle. Had such been the case, he must have conveyed it with the army in a kind of portable chapel, for it had "Pictures of our Lady on one side of our Saviour, and St. John on the other side; which Rood and Pictures were all three very richly wrought in silver, and were all smocked black over, being large pictures of a yard or five quarters long." On this subject some inquiries were made in *Notes and Queries*, ii., pp. 308 and 400, whence this rood appears to have been taken into Scotland by St. Margaret, on the occasion of her marriage with Malcolm III. On August 23rd, 1292, it occurs in the Catalogue of Scottish Muniments received within the Castle of Edinburgh in presence of the Abbot of Dunfermline and Holy-rood, and the Commissioners of Edward I., and was conveyed to Berwick-upon-Tweed.—Robertson's *Index of Charters*, p. xiii. Simeon says it was bequeathed to Durham Priory by St. Margaret; and it occurs in "a list of the reliques preserved in the Feretory of St. Cuthbert, under care of the shrine-keeper, which was drawn up in 1383, by Richard de Sedgbrok."—*See MS. Dunelm*, B ii. 35.

Bellenden's translation of the *History of Scotland* by Hector Boece (*Edin.* 1821), vol. ii. p. 296, contains the representation of a Rood, and probably the one in question. It is copied from that in the edition of 1536, and to local collectors may possess some interest, being, with another cut in vol. i. p. 119, from the burine of Thomas Bewick, the celebrated wood engraver.

But the cross which was taken from King David must have been of small size, when he bore it upon his person with other jewels. In the absence of better authority, the succeeding quaint extract from the work last mentioned, in which the apocryphal history of the relic is given, may not be unacceptable to the reader. King David I., in the fourth year of his reign, 1128, had gone to visit the castle of Edinburgh, when all around that fortress were woods and meadows. On Rood-day, after the services of the church were over, several of the barons came, and earnestly desired him to hunt in the adjoining forest, to which he at length consented:—

"At last quhen he wes cumin throw the vail that lyes to the gret eist fra the said castell, quhare now lyes the Cannogait; the stail past throw the wod with sic noyis and din of rachis and bugilles, that all the bestis wer rasit fra thair dennis. Now

wes the King cumin to the fute of the crag, and all his noblis severit, heir and thair, fra him, at thair game and solace, quhen suddanlie appearit to his sicht, the farest hart that evir wes sene afore with leavand creatour. The nois and din of this hart, rinnand, as apperit, with aful and braid tindis, maid the kingis hors so effrayit, that na reneyis nicht hald him; bot ran, perforce, our mire and mossis, away with the king. Nochtheles, the hart followit so fast, that he dang baith the king and his hors to the ground. Then the king kest abak his handis betwix the tindis of this hart, to haif savit him fra the strak thairof; and the haly cross slaid, incontinent, in his handis. The hart fled away with gret violence, and evanist in the same place quhare now springis the Rude Well. The pepill, richt affrayitly, returnit to him out of all partis of the wod, to comfort him efter his trubill; and fell on kneis, devoutly adoring the haly croce: for it was not cumin but sum hevynly providence, as weil apperis; for thaire is na man can shaw of quhat mater it is of, metal or tre. Sone efter, the king returnit to his castel; and in the nicht following, he was admonist, be ane vision in his sleip, to big ane abbay of channonis regular in the same place quhare he gat the croce. Als sone as he was awalkinnit, he schew his vision to Alkwine, his confessor; and he naithing suspendit his gud mind, bot erar inflammit him with maist fervent devotion thairto. The king, incontinent, send his traist servandis in France and Flanderis, and brocht richt crafty masonis to big this abbay; syne dedicat it in the honour of this haly croce. This croce remanit continewally in the said abbay, to the time of King David Bruce; quihilk was unhappely tane with it at Durame, quhare it is halden yit in gret veneration."—*Croniklis of Scotland*, ii. 298

No. 2.

MEMOIR OF JOHN DE COUPLAND.

From the important duty performed by John de Coupland in capturing the King of Scots, it seems desirable to annex some particulars of his life, and the part he took in public affairs. Among other sources, the compiler has derived much information from two papers, entitled "Coupland Castle," written by the Rev. John Hodgson, which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July and August, 1822.

Ritson, in his Notes to *Minot's Poems*, says, that John de Coupland's residence was at South Coupland, near Wooler. That he lived chiefly in that district there can be no doubt, for the manor of Wooler occurs under his name in *Cal. Inq. p. m.* ii. 172. He married Joan, sister of Henry del Strother, of Kirknewton. He would appear to have been with the Earl of Salisbury in 1338, at the siege of the Castle of Dunbar, for when a secret agreement had been made for that commander to enter one of the gates of the fortress, John Coupland pressed on before him, but the portcullis being let down, he was taken prisoner. He had an annuity of 20*l.* out of the manor of Edrington, and other property in Berwickshire, in lieu of certain lands at Ormeston, in Roxburghshire, which the King took from him and bestowed on their former owner. In company with Thomas Grey the elder, and Robert Manners with the garrison of Roxburgh, he routed in 1340 the Earls of March and Sutherland, who had made an incursion into England. (Hollinshead's *Hist. Scot.* p. 238.) Three years afterwards, he was associated with the Bishop of Durham and others to keep the truce with Scotland, being appointed one of the justices for punishing the violators of the said truce. In the year following he was a com-

missioner for raising forces in the northern parts, and had an order to see two ruined windmills repaired at Berwick.

There is a tradition that Crook Hall, near Durham, was his property about the time of the battle of Neville's Cross, and that he slept there one night preceding the conflict. His fortune was greatly advanced by the capture of King David, though for some time after the battle he was much occupied, with others, in making arrangements for the safe keeping of the Scottish prisoners. The King created him a Knight-banneret, the patent for which, though given by Prynne, appears also in *Fœdera*, v. 542, which conferred upon him, in addition to that honour, an annuity of 500*l.*, of which 400*l.* was payable out of the customs of London, and 100*l.* out of those of Berwick. About two months after the battle he and others were summoned to Westminster to confer with the council about certain state affairs. From this and other facts it seems improbable that he went to Calais as represented by Froissart. Early next year, in lieu of his annuity of 500*l.*, he had a grant from the King to himself and his wife of that part of the barony of Kendal called the Richmond fee, which comprised moieties of Kirkby, in Kendale, and Ulverstone, in Lancashire, the manors of Coghulle, in Yorkshire, of Morholm, Warton, Cranford, and Lynheved, "for his acceptable and laudable services done unto us, and the good state which he has holden in our wars, and particularly for his valiant behaviour in the battle of Durham."—*Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii. 187-8,

After this period the King put him into places of great responsibility. From 1347 his name occurs as governor and constable of the castle of Roxburgh, and sheriff of Roxburghshire. In 1348 he was a commissioner for treating with the Scots about prolonging the truce; and from 1350 to 1354 he was high sheriff of Northumberland. He had an order in 1351 (*Fœdera*, v. 727), to keep David de Brus in the castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, unless Henry de Percy and Ralph de Neville agreed at Berwick to release him for certain hostages. Again, in the year following, he had directions to receive David, who had been permitted to go into Scotland on business, at the hands of the Bishop of Durham and others, and to relieve all the hostages for him then detained at Berwick. Also, in 1352, he had 100*l.* a year as warden of Roxburgh Castle (*Rot. Scot.* i. 749.), when he succeeded to the collectorship of the forests of Selkirk, Ettrick and Peebles, and was permitted to levy, collect, and receive the fee-farm rents, proceeds and profits of Roxburghshire.

In the following year, 1353 (*Fœdera* v. 756.), he was again appointed to receive David de Brus, whose days of captivity were not completed; and in 1354 he was ordered to deliver in Newcastle-upon-Tyne the Scottish monarch "now remaining in our castle there," to the Bishop of Durham and others. About the same period he was appointed a conservator of the truces on the East Marches. But in 1355 he had an order to resign the offices of governor and constable of the castle of Roxburgh, and sheriff of Roxburghshire, in favour of Henry de Percy (*Rot. Scot.* i. 781.); and, in the same year, his advice and assistance were solicited by the garrison of Berwick. During 1357 he was or-

dered with Richard Tempest (*Fœdera* v. 876.) to superintend the works upon the "Douglas Tower" in the same place; and that year, he was made governor of Berwick. The chamberlain thereof had an order to pay him 10s. a year out of lands and tenements in Berwick, and Robert Erskyn was put into his custody as an hostage for payment of Bruce's ransom. Mandates to him occur at this time respecting repairs in the fortifications, and appointing a market without the walls, to which the Scots might resort for all kinds of merchandise, save war-horses, bows and arrows.

He and Richard Tempest in 1359 were appointed lieutenants to the Earl of Angus and Ralph Neville, Wardens of the East Marches, who were called thence on urgent business; and on 24th June of the following year (*Fœdera*, vi. 201), the King acknowledged to have received the third payment of 10,000 marks from John de Coupland for redemption of David de Brus. He was appointed Warden of the Marches in 1361, and was also re-appointed to the Sherifalty of Roxburghshire. In the following year he had directions to repair the Castle of Roxburgh. Subsequently, however, on account probably of declining health, he had an order to deliver up the office of Governor of Berwick to Richard Tempest (*Rot. Scot.* i. 864.) Considerable obscurity hangs over the close of his life. Hodgson says he died at Werk, but, judging from the evidence before us, we think there is truth in Knyghton's statement, that he was slain, or rather murdered in 1362, or the following year, and not by the Scots, but by his own countrymen, for in 1366 the county of Northumberland obtained a pardon for his death by the payment of 1000 marks. (*Abbrev. Rot. Orig.*, ii. 290, and *Fœdera*, vi. 494.) He was buried at Carham, but his widow obtained a license to remove his body to the Priory of Kirkham, in Yorkshire. His will, dated 9th Oct., 1359, is printed in the volume of *Wills and Inventories*, p. 29, 1835, issued by the "Surtees Society," and was proved in London by his widow, 12 July, 1365. She received large profits from lands in Werk, a receipt for which is printed by Mr. Hodgson. The *Cal. Inq. p. m.* ii. 340, 49 Edw. III., shows her property to have been very extensive, comprising manors in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Westmorland.

No. 3.

COMMENCEMENT OF A POEM ON THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS.

By intimation of the Rev. James Raine, M.A., and the liberality of Richard W. Hodgson, Esq., I am enabled to supply an extract from the commencement of a poem by the Rev. John Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, on the Battle of Neville's Cross. What he wrote was in blank verse, and it comprehends a dialogue between King David and the barons of Scotland, when meditating the inroad upon England. It is singular how the poetic vein will run through the mind of one capable of attaining the highest degree of excellence as a county historian; and

this is exemplified not more in the case of Mr. Hodgson, than in that of his renowned friend, Mr. Surtees. But, indeed, were a historian not possessed of something like a poet's enthusiasm, he could not accomplish the labour necessary to his success. The scene is a large hall, and the following forms part of the speech of the monarch and that of Sir William Douglas:—

“ . . . This land of mountains and of vales,
Of hills, of hazels, and of gloomy pines,
You all must equally adore. Here lived
Our sires, and here our helpless babes were laid
On bosoms of affection. Records show
No time when Scotland yielded to the yoke
Of foreign power. Preferring stormy hills
To loss of liberty,
The sons of Scotland stood at bay with Rome,
Till from the oppressor's hand, imbecile dropt
The reins of Tyranny; and shall the sons
Of ancestors like these, inglorious kiss
The feet of conquerors?”

Then Douglas, chieftain of the warlike race
That dwelt by Liddel from his seat arose.

“ My counsel is for peace :
Let us go back, and in our halls suspend
Our bilged shields, not like despairing men,
But with determined purpose of revenge.
While Danger on our frontier stalks around,
We need not fear our soldiers will repose
Upon the lap of indolence or ease :
Our poverty our bravery will protect ;
And while by day, o'er rugged hills we drive
The stag wind-footed, and by night enjoy
The hunter's mirth, and each domestic bliss,
We shall increase in numbers and in strength ;
Our hearts for Scotland glow with warmer love ;
Our ruined forts will rise, our valleys smile
With joyful harvests, and our armies rush
Cheerful to battle, as the lark that sings
Sweet roundelays to hail the blushing morn.”

No. 4.

LATIN POEM ON THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS.

A copy of this Poem was transmitted by Ritson to George Allan, Esq., but it was not printed in Hutchinson's *Hist. of Durham*.—See that Work, ii., 342.

[*Cotton MSS. Titus, A. xx. Fol. 82. b.*]

The following documents are in a hand nearly cotemporary with the events they mention, in a sort of olio of poetry. The writer has not understood all the barbarous Latin of his original, and has made it more corrupt still. After some time spent in collation, there are still words in almost hopeless corruption, and we do not venture to do more than to print the verses merely as they stand. They have their interest as a manifestation of the feelings of the day, and are amusing in more points of view than one.

DE BELLO SCOTIE, UBI DAVID BRUS ERAT CAPTUS.¹

Dux Valeys hinnit Francia grinnit territa tinnit
 Francia plorat falsa colorat se dehonorat
 Fortes ecce greges ventos contraria fila
 Pugnabunt reges rex leo rex aquila²
 Rex leo vincetur cor cauda capud ferietur
 Vincet rex aquila regia flos simila
 Fictus non fortis leo filius est cito mortis
 Se regnum gentes leo parde jure carentes
 Anglia gens jubila metuas leo nescius ausis
 Est leo rex Francus Anglicus est aquila
 Cecus era plene qui prælia secus emit
 Laudem quæsit cessant sibi laudis avene
 Ecce Deus pro te rex pugnat ubique
 Sis tibi sincerus cultor faciens nil unquam
 Injustus cupidus cecidi veracia nolens
 Elatus rugidus se bene non recolens
 Rex esto justus paciens dans ore venustus
 Mitis et ignoscens tacitus tua te bene noscens
 Contra nos populi multi veniunt caveamus
 Ad te sunt oculi nostri Jesu ne pereamus
 Tu scis quæ cogitant in nos nos respice Christe
 Justiciam vitant cor eorum destrue Christe
 Bella premunt et corda tremunt nos respice Christe
 Mens gemit arte fremit hostis da Christe tuis te
 Non est pro nobis qui pugnet ni Deus unus
 Demus ei munus dat se pro munere nobis
 Corde superborum Scotorum destrue Christe

¹ This title and that of the subsequent article are added in a later hand.

² The eagle was a badge of Edward III., but the designation of the English King as the eagle, and of the French King as the lion, sound strangely to modern ears.

Hostibus Anglorum Scotis bone Christe resiste
 Idras capita sunt Scotis cesa polita
 Tres uno ceso crescunt sine corpore læso
 Tutus Brus care cum Francigenis sociatus
 Estimât elatus Anglorum corda vorare
 Res ut mercatur vendendo malum paciatur
 Nos sic mercari voluit nequit inde lucrari
 Ecce spei fortis intendens spiracula mortis
 Anglos invadit In mala fata cadit
 Scotorum banna surgient clame⁹ Osanna
 Scotos obsanna[?] Deus ut clame⁹ Osanna
 Scoti leviathan sunt sint Abiron Chore Dathan
 Felle nigro pleni Gebal Amon Agareni
 Dum rex longinquas abiit noster regiones
 Scoti felones guerras movere propinquas
 False credentes boream virtute carere
 Insurrexere pomposo corde tumentes
 Se fore Sampsones Machabeos vel Gedeones
 Credunt ratones cito fugiunt et stricones
 Sub duce Brus David gens Scotica corda levavit
 Pars nobis davit fit reddet spoliavit
 Scoti vim faciunt vastant erraria jura
 Occidunt rapiunt faciunt incendia plura
 Multiplicem nummum quæerunt pacem fugientes
 Ergo bonum summum confundantur renuentes
 Dum pax offertur Scotis motu pietatis
 Anglis infertur bellum dire feritatis
 Inveniunt certam bonam probitate refertam
 Fidam confertam probitatis honore disertam
 Patria collecta primate suo duce recta
 Concordi secta probitatis amore refecta
 Ymnis insistens Scotis ex corde resistens
 Insultis cantos fecit divinitus antos
 Terram defendit et prælia dira reppendit
 Terrentur Scoti mirâ formidine moti
 Exacuunt corda viri fidei sine corda
 Ruperunt pacta nature lege peracta
 Siccant confracta fera corda timore subacta
 Elati cordis fuit autrix Scocia cordis
 Egressi mures ausi sunt bella movere
 Volentes fures a bello se cohibere
 In campo Duram statuunt pugnam sibi duram
 Nos protecturam dat Christi gratiâ curam
 Confidunt in equis in cruribus in probitate
 Credentes ne quis sit eis par nobilitate
 Est domini nomen nobis fortissima turris
 Stantis scurris nos Christi protegat omen
 In Sancti Luce festo celi duce luce
 Sub ductrice cruce Scoti perire çaduce

Drui [duri?] dente bruceo silens pleni miro fuceo
 In Duram luco morbo cecidere caduco
 Ut leo venerunt dispergere nos voluerunt
 Errabant ut oves et rediere boves
 Anglorum primas docet eleyson ymas
 Scotorum primas sedes deduxit ad ymas
 Cor capud ora pedes fecit deponere sedes
 Scotorum sedes Anglorum protegit aedes
 Id repeti Scoti siciu't vertigine moti
 Cum siciit Scotus diros dedit Anglia motus
 Scotia militia perit et multi moriuntur
 Capti vincuntur nos defendente Mariã
 Rex regum Scotis facit ut servitur Olofernus
 Temporibus imis nostris dulcedine focis
 Inclitus Henricus Pertiboro pacis amicus
 Fit Scotis amicus instans obstans munitus
 Mos girfalconis fuit illi cor Gedeonis
 Virtus Sampsonis Joab ars sensus Salomonis
 Totus divinus urbanus ut ille Gawynus
 Fit sibi dulcori nescia fama mori
 Se probis armavit et carcia forcia stravit
 Sepe renitravit acies fortes penetravit
 Scoti fugerunt latuerunt morte ruerunt
 Percy persequitur permutus rapit arte potitur
 Percy Machabeus fuit et Brus David Etheus
 Percy non pigritat se clari nomine ditat
 Illustris miles Titus Hecto Brutus Achilles
 Hunc Deus instilles Scotos fecit fore viles
 Fortes parti leo quia gigas par Machabeo
 Junctus amore Deo necat hostes cum jubileo
 Mittit ad infernum Scotos multos bene pictus
 Semper in eternum suus ensis sit benedictus
 Et benedicantur generosi Percy parentes
 Sed maledicantur Scoti sibi mala volentes
 Utens loricã fidei probitatis amicæ
 Pugnans magnificè vicit nobis inimica
 Magnates tales debemus semper amare
 Qui defensare quærunt populos animales
 Scoto deludit et aves prius falco recludit
 Victos confudit et eorum vicera fudit
 Ut mors non paroit nec quasi marsupia farcit
 Christo confidit Scotorum bella recidit
 Quos infestabat aquila velocior omni
 Temporibus sompni vigilans dormire vetabat
 Intrat in eclipse fines ejus David ipse
 Virus dans dipse frustrabitur apocalipse
 Brus David affugit fugiendo quasi leo rugit
 Coplond attingit fugiente vulnere cingit

Copland arestat David cito se manifestat³
 Rex fugiens capitur et honos regis sepelitur
 Regem Scotorum vicuit [liceat?] captum retinere
 Regem scaccorum jura vetant capere
 Copland cogn[atus?] est Johannes sibi vere
 Qui Brus accepit sibi gratia crescere cepit
 Ore nomen habens cui cogn[atus?] *cape terram*
 Capto Brus guerram finit sic Scocia labens
 Orung' ipse bonus fugientes exanimavit
 Letum cepit onus Brus capiendo David
 Prede mane rapax In vespere dividis escas
 Epicharis crescas Bruys probitate capax
 Expers dulcoris fuit expers est Bruys honoris
 Fercula fetoris In primis obtulit horis
 Dum puerum David præsul baptismate lavit
 Ventrem laxavit baptisterium maculavit
 Fontem fedavit In quo mingendo cacavit⁴
 Sancta prophanavit olei feces reseravit
 Brus nimis eiunxit cum stercore sacra perunxit
 Se male disjuxit urine stercora junxit
 Dum baptizatur altare Dei maculatur
 Nam super altare fertur mingendo cacare
 Fat singularis puer his celestibus aris
 Optulit in primis stercora feda nimis
 Discinctus lumbis mirum thinnama refudit
 Optulit et fudit pro turturâ sive columbis
 Mirram thesaurum non optulit iste renatus
 Sed proprium staurum ventris rumpendo meatus
 Stercora concepit peperit quæ ventre recepit
 Qui non dum repit fedare tum sacra cepit
 Sic domus alma Dei fedo repletus odore
 Anthiochi more fætor adheret ei
 Ecclesiæ Christi non competit hostia talis
 Laus baptismalis violatur munere tristi
 Credo prophanavit qui templa Dei violaret
 Facto firmavit qui ei mala gratia flaret
 Filius altare mox stercoribus temeravit
 Sanguine fedare pater ecclesiam properavit
 Ergo prophanarunt qui jus regni viciarunt
 Ex quo sincero cultu domini caruere
 Pravè vixerunt Manasses Amon duo reges
 In sacras leges committere non timuerunt
 Rex Bruys Robertus feritatis mole refertus
 Dux homicida feras patens et aptus

³ This version of the capture of David is accordant with the English statements. Probably the English and Scotch accounts are to be reconciled by the supposition that the King had retired from the field of fight, but fiercely assailed his captor. It is stated by a very old native of Durham, that when under Alden Bridge, as has been stated, the King, refused to submit to any person under the degree of a knight.

⁴ The same improper conduct is ascribed to Ethelred the Unready.

Filius uxorem contempnit adulter adultus
 Stupor consultus fidei miro perdit amorem
 Non est ipse davit manibus vultu venerandus
 Ut siba clamavit a rege David superandus
 In David forti nullas partes habuit ille
 Tradendus morti forti privatur Achille
 Fit lepra pena patri confusio capcio proli
 Suæ proli soli superest sibi pena baratri
 Privatur prole quia conjugii bona sprevit
 Oppressus mole mala messuit et mala sevit
 Scotorum comites quorum Patrik fuit unus
 Præsto fugit comites sunt nobis nobile munus
 Clamabant *In a day gowe to the tyrie*⁵ *Wyth-hay*
 Ipsi sit *Waleway*⁶ *Meschef* tristissima *Woday*
 Scoti triphones nos invenire tirones
 Hii sunt dolones et eramus corde leones
 His nox fervoris fuit illis arra doloris
 Fitque dies Martis Scote confusio partis
 Vincere credebant Deus hoc et jura vetabant
 Wo propinabant sua pocula prima bibebant
 Quæ cum gustassent et mortis dona vorassent
 Nostri steterunt et pocula tela dederunt
 Ibant gaudebant deridentes veniebant
 Confusi flebant victi redeundo dolebant
 David deductus est sunt sua gaudia luctus
 Achab Michee non credit sed Sedechie
 Presumens nummas vires sunt corde perito
 Surgit Amasias corrui ipse cito
 Londonias vere Scoti novere venire
 Hoc notum mirere multi meruere tenere
 Scoti vicine sunt per mala nota ruine
 Est miser insultat sibi magna tamen tumultus
 Jampropter peccata laus est Scotis breviata
 Anglia nunc timeat crimina præcaveat
 Christo devotum gentis electum sibi notum
 Turma sacerdotum facit illos solvere votum
 Tales novere debent qui voto tenere
 Optant et jurant et hoc se ponere curant
 Cor Levitarum Scotis donat cor amarum
 Sit cor Sanctorum benedictum presbiterorum
 Visio magnarum vovetur Londoniarum
 Hii vovent vane quos votum perdit mane
 Invite solvent veniens solvendo dolebunt
 Vires dissolvent sibi nil sua vota valebunt
 Ibunt et flebunt nolentes vota tenebunt
 Debent debebunt se plus non posse tenebunt
 Callidus ille comes Patrik per devia fugit
 Fraus sibi cara comes quia vox cornupeta rugit

⁵ What is *tyrie*?⁶ Well-away.

Hic nostre fidei quondam se sendo subegit
 Sæpe fidem fregit nec habet loca nunc requiei
 Mentis contritæ patuere sui ter godite
 Ceduntur rite quia non fugere peritè
 Gente reinvitâ redit cum fraude polita
 Fraus sibi mentita confusa fuit sua vita
 Willielmus Douglas sal Scotis sit que nitam
 In bello Douglas sit nobis ductile vitam
 Laudis honore caret fere Scocia viribus aret
 Convenit tristis tibi sors in partibus istis
 Languens ponetur in carcere nec redimetur
 Falsus marcessit sua vis ut cera liquessit
 Vires nobilium vicit per nos Deus almus
 Scotorum palmus migrat in exilium
 Mentis mentitur in campo morte feritur
 Vivit perdit vitam modica bonitate potitam
 Ecce senescallus Scotorum falsus onallus
 Festinans fugere non cessat corde pavere
 Anglia letare bellum domini meditare
 Clerum preclare collaudando venerare

Explicit de bello Scocie ubi David Brus fuit captus qui erat rex eorum et alii magnates.

[Folio 86.]

BELLA DE CRESSY ET NEVYLE CROSSE 1346.

Annis bis sex C quater X bis ter simul et C
 Carmina pando lira tunc contingentia mira
 Gallia mota nimis declinat forte ruinis
 Dum properat Vesci bello sub nemore Cressi
 Corruit ecise per E. Subito gens Gallica sub P.
 Funeris ex pena Periunt tria milia dena
 Bina dies vere post festum Bartholomei
 Hæc virtute Dei testatur mira patere
 Plebs nitet Edwardi de gestu Machabeorum
 Laus patet Anglorum sub vexillo leopardi

¶ Fastu commotos percussit et Anglia Scotos
 Sub regente David quatuor ter milia stravit
 Cruxque Nove Ville belli sit testis et ille
 Qui verum scivit que Scocia victa subivit
 Præ festo Jude [*sic*] lux Anglis dena vacavit
 Sed tunc calcavit Scotos sors aspera rude
 Sanguine stillante necat illos gens borealis
 Quos ibi regalis presumptio duxerat ante

¶ Reges dux et comites barones et milites qui tunc bellaverunt
Prioratús præsules plures viri nobiles nece ceciderunt
Mox audaces Angliæ tunc majores Scociæ
Plures tacti vulnere Rex et Douglas propere capti carcerantur
Sub-dola Scotorum gens laudem perdit honoris

Isti versus sunt de bellis de Cressi et de Nevilecros.

