Within a month the Estates meeting at Scone appointed a regency in the absence of the Queen Margaret, now fifteen years old, in Norway, and messages were sent to King Eric and to King Edward,

While the former prepared to send his daughter, the latter conceived the notion of marrying her on her arrival in Scotland to his own son, by which means it was to be hoped that their descent would unite Scotland and England under one throne.

A dispensation from the pope was actually obtained, and the sanction of the Scotch Estates was given to the proposal, 12 bishops, 12 earls, 23 abbots, 11 priors, and 50 barons signing the act of consent.

As soon as Edward received these authorities, he instructed Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, to act as "the *locum tenens* of Queen Margaret in concert with the guardians of Scotland, viz., the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the Earls Comyn, Bruce, and with the advice of the Estates," and the bishop lost no time in repairing to Edinburgh.

But in October a rumour which soon spread, and which grew into a luckless certainty, reached the king and the alarmed people of both countries, that the youthful Queen Margaret had been lost in the Orkney Isles.

How she came by her death still remains a mystery, but ten years after it was supposed to have occurred, "a woman came from Leipzig to Norway, who pro-

claimed herself to be the daughter of Eric and the lost Queen of Scotland." She said she had been followed to Orkney and kidnapped and sold, and she gave circumstantiality to her tale by naming as the perpetrator a woman of high rank, Ingebjoerg, the wife of Thore Haakonsson.

King Haco, who had succeeded his brother Eric, had her tried as an impostor and sentenced to death by burning. The sentence was executed at Bergen, and on her way to the stake, the poor woman told how as a child she had been at that very port with her father King Eric when she sailed for Scotland. An expiatory chapel marks the spot where she was burned. The people believed what justice had condemned.

This last stroke of misfortune, while it laid Scotland open to civil war unless matters were promptly settled between the competitors for the throne, was of very great moment to Edward, who thenceforth saw that his only chance of sovereignty over that country lay in the assertion of his overlordship, and the homage to be required by all claimants in proof of such paramount power.

He was still to learn that the Scottish throne was only to be held, as the late king had said, "from no one but God."

As soon as King Edward heard of the death of the young queen he hurried north, but the death of his wife Eleanor, November 28, 1290, obliged him to

delay his departure northwards, so that he only reached Darlington on the 15th of April 1291.

Here he issued summonses to fifty-seven of his military tenants in the north of England, enjoining them to meet him, and "accompany him with horse and arms, and all the service they owed him, at Norham for six weeks reckoning from Easter," then proceeded to Newcastle where he spent the Easter festivities. The munificence of his alms was such, that according to an old chronicle of the time, "many, attracted by the liberal donations, were not ashamed to appear poor, so as to partake of them." *

He then proceeded to Alnwick, which still belonged to the family of de Vescy or Vescy, but which was shortly to be made over to Bishop Bek, and sold by him to the Percys, and punctual to a day he arrived with his large retinue at Norham Castle on the 9th of May. If Norham had once before seen a pageant worthy of remembrance, all memory of it was to be eclipsed by the splendour of the present gathering; and while notice is being sent to the Scotch claimants to bring their case before the king on the 31st May, it may be interesting to note those personages who were gathered round the mighty Edward.

And first and foremost was Sir Roger Brabazon, accompanied by Master Henry de Newark and John, son of Arthur of Cadomo.

* "Multi, partitione tam larga allecti, non erubescerent pauperes se prætendere."—"Lanercost," p. 140.

These were the legal advisers of the crown, who were understood to be impartial, and to have no connection whatever with the parties interested.

John de Cadomo was the notary public who minuted the events as they occurred, and certified by his signature to their correctness. Against these minutes there was no appeal.

Chief-Justice Sir Roger Brabazon drafted the summonses to be sent out, and Master Henry, being in a way the king's private secretary, most carefully introduced into the royal state papers such phrases as embodied the king's wishes and commands. All these being men of the law were dressed very plainly—"a coat of mixed stuff girt about them, with a girdle of silk ornamented with small bars or stripes of different colours," and a white coif or close cap of silk.

Still their appearance must have been striking, for if the "coif" was white, the coat or gown was scarlet faced with blue, and the shoes were scarlet.

Then came the warrior Bishop of Durham, Anthony Bek, with a mitre "embellished with pearls like the head of a queen, and a staff of gold set with jewels as heavy as lead," clothed in double worsted to the heels, with broad buckler and long sword, riding on his courser like a knight with his horses and his hounds, and his hood ornamented with precious stones, and followed by abbots in gay gowns of scarlet and green ornamented with cutwork, and long pikes to their

shoes; by monks with long sleeves to their tunics edged with fur, "their hood fastened beneath the chin with a golden pin, and bells on their horses' bridles, jingling as they rode;" and by friars whose appearance was "not that of a poor man in a threadbare cape, but more like the pope himself."

The king himself, arrayed in a gorgeous robe of scarlet silk, over which a tabard or mantle was thrown, covering the front and the back of the body, but open at the sides from the shoulders downwards, richly embroidered with the arms of France and England, a brooch of gold on his breast, and every kind of jewel on his shoulders, wearing a crown of gold on his head, was a sight to behold.

The courtiers were no less magnificently arrayed, and conspicuous among the host of office-bearers was one "with a cap of gay colours, with ass's ears and cock's-comb, a fool's sceptre, and bells attached to his cap and dress, with legs of a goat and the thighs of a sparrow," who, though but the court jester, had saved his king and master at the siege of Ptolemais.

The knights mostly rode in military array, and their dark coat of mail, brecches of mail, and hood of mail, which covered both head and neck, were only enlivened by the rich appearance of their saddles and harness, on which their coats of arms were embroidered, and by the gold spurs which marked their rank.

Behind them came the squires or knights com-

panions, in short gowns painted green, with white and red flowers spotted all over; hose and shoes of white, locks curiously tressed, a blue cap, and a girdle with pendant ornaments.

Behind these were the squire yeomen, in coat and hood of green coloured cloth, upon their arm an ornamented bandage, and beneath their girdle a bundle of arrows plumed with peacocks' feathers.

When all this crowd of courtiers, prelates, lawyers, knights, and attendants on King Edward had found their way into the castle, which was then commanded by Walter de Roubiry, silence was ordered to hear the king's proclamation, which was read aloud in Norman-French by Chief-Justice Brabazon :—

"Touched by the condition of Scotland, deprived of her natural rulers by a succession of calamities, and involved in great perplexities, we are influenced by affectionate zeal for one and all of the community, who look to us for peace and protection. We have, therefore, asked you to assemble here, and we have come ourselves from distant parts to meet you, feeling that, as superior or overlord of the kingdom, it lies with us in virtue of such superiority to do justice to all, and to restore peace. We shall take nothing unjustly from any one, nor refuse, delay, or impede justice to any one; but as superior or overlord will do ample justice to each and all. Therefore, for the facilitation of business, and that we may have the

benefit of their assistance in transacting it, all present shall do us the favour to acknowledge our right as superior or overlord."

Chief-Justice Brabazon then made this speech intelligible to all by showing the necessity of the king being recognized as superior of the kingdom, so as to insure impartiality in the arbitration; but things were not to be done in a hurry, and three weeks hence the Scotch answer had to be given—a proof of how desirous the king was to see matters fairly dealt with.

During the three weeks that elapsed the king visited the country. The village of Norham was in the height of its prosperity, the animation around was unprecedented, and various feuds occurred among the many knights who had flocked to the Tweed either to befriend their candidates or to attend on their sovereign.

William de Vesci had a natural son John, who resented his father giving to the Bishop of Durham the honour of Alnwick, and thereupon began to use very intemperate language.* The bishop, furious that a bastard should grumble at the gracious acts of a father (who was a candidate for the Scotch throne,

* "Tôt après cet hour William de Vescy donna l'honour de Alnewyk à Antoyn de Bek, euesque de Duresme, qui pur chaudes paroles de Johan fils bastard le dit William le vendy à Henri de Percy."—"Scala Chronica," fol. 197.

and appears to have given up Alnwick rather in a hurry, and perhaps also because he had no legitimate sons), retorted by calling to his side young Henry Percy, then the squire of the Earl of Arundel (whose daughter he afterwards married), and informing him that he would sell Alnwick to him if he pleased. Percy purchased it for £15,000, and became, at the death of John, William de Vescy's brother, in 1310, the first Percy, Lord of Alnwick.*

Among the other gentlemen who attended on the king on this occasion was Thomas Gray Hugtoun, son of Sir John Gray, knight and burgess of Berwick, and himself the undoubted author of the "Scala Chronica," whose son, Sir Thomas Grey de Heton, was soon to become Constable of Norham.

Thus, in the above two personages, we find that the ancestors of the two most illustrious families of Northumberland came into notice at Norham.

William Heron of Ford and his son came from the Till to do homage to their sovereign; and Sir Roger Heron, the son of William Heron, was the first to

* "The Baronage of Anwicke and the signorie
Was first the Lord Vescy, but this fourth Henry Percie,
Of Anthony Becke, Bishop of Durham, of noble memory,
Did purchase it to him and to his heires lineally."

From the "Metrical Pedigree of the Percyes," among the Dodsworth MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Edited by D. A. Richardson, in "Reprints of Rare Tracts," vol. i., Biographical. Newcastle, 1845.

receive a coat of arms—three herons argent on a field gules. His male descendants died out in 1553, and his possessions of Ford, Twizell, and Tilmouth passed by marriage into the family of Carr, and thence, in 1640, into that of Sir Francis Blake, Knight, of Oxford.

On the 31st of May 1291, upon the little island opposite the castle, on a meadow upon which the new grass had spread its verdant carpet, and whereon the stately battlements of the castle groaned ominously, the king had a throne erected, and, surrounded by his counsellors, his bishops, and his court, gave orders that the claimants alone and their advisers should stand before him.

All around, from the castle downwards, a motley crowd of knights and squires and yeomen looked down with interest and fear.

The Scotch hills opposite were filled with equal crowds of expectant warriors, eager and intent upon the proceedings which were going to take place.

Here stood Florence, Count of Holland; Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March; William de Ross, Baron of Wark; William de Vesci, Lord of Alnwick; Robert de Pinkeny, Nicholas de Soulis, Roger de Mandeville, Patrick Golightly, and Sir John de Hastings.

Then came (and his arrival caused commotion) Robert de Brus, followed by Comyn, Lord of

Badenoch; by ambassadors of Eric, King of Norway; and finally, by John de Baliol.

When these were all in their places the Prior of Bath and Wells, the famous Thomas de Wynton, got up and read the king's speech.

The king bemoaned the unhappy condition of Scotland, and came to its rescue in the hour of its need. The bishops, prelates, counts, magnates, and nobles of Scotland had been invited to bring forward reasons why the king's rights of superiority over Scotland should be impugned; but nothing to that effect was proffered, exhibited, or shown by them. It was true that the community had given some answer in writing, but nothing to the point, seeing that the objection turned only on the fact that the recognition of overlordship on this occasion did not prejudice the interests of Scotland. Thus the king, through his interpreter, ignored a third party existing in the councils of the nations—viz., the community—and accepted only the statements of the other two, of which the claimants formed a part.

As most of these held as much property in England as in Scotland—property which, as feudal vassals of the King of England, they knew had his powerful protection—no wonder that they all performed without a word of dissent the act of homage which was next required, and which ran thus:—

"Inasmuch as we have all come to do homage to

the noble prince, Sir Edward, King of England, we promise for ourselves and for our heirs, for as much as we can incur such liability, that we shall be loyal and loyally hold our kingdom against all who may live or die, and shall neither damage the king nor his heirs knowingly, nor disturb him if in our power. To which we oblige ourselves and our heirs by swearing on these holy gospels."

Each knight then advanced, and taking the gospels in his hand, kissed the book, and swore as follows:—

I shall be feudal and loyal and shall be true and loyal to the King of England, Edward, and his heirs, in life, in limbs, and in my lands, against the living and the dead.*

Those nearest in blood to the deceased king then put forward their claim.

Nicholas de Soulis was the son of Marjory, an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II. by Alan the

* "Pur ceo que nous fumes toutz venutz à la fay le noble Prince, sir Edward roy Dengleterre, nous promettons, pur nous et pur noz heires, sur quant que nous puyssons encure, que nous serrons leals et lealment tendrons de vous encountre tute gent qui purront viver et morir: et que nous les damages le roy, ne ses heires, ne saverons, que nous ne le desturberons a notre pouer. A ceo nous obligeons nous et noz heires, inter ceo sumes juretz sur seyntz evangels.

"Jeo serra feel et leal, et fay et lealte porteray, au roy Dengleterre Edward, et ses heires, de vie, de membre, et de terrien honur, encountre toutz qe purront viver et morir.—"Chronicon de Lanercost," fol. 1988.

Durward, and therefore a brother-in-law of the late king. But the Church of Rome, although it had already asserted the dogma in England that an illegitimate issue lost all rights to succession, had not proclaimed it as yet so emphatically in Scotland; it was, however, well known there, for this same De Soulis had, previously to these incidents, applied to Rome unsuccessfully to have his marriage with Marjory legitimized. Before the English prelates his plea found no response, and his claims in right of his wife were set aside.

For similar reasons the Earl of March, the Lord of Ros, William de Vesci, Roger de Mandeville, and Patrick Golightly, descendants of William the Lion's miscellaneous progeny, were not given any lengthy hearing.

Robert de Pinkeny claimed his descent from Henry, youngest son of Malcolm Caenmore, and father of William the Lion, who predeceased the latter. This claim was through the female line.

Florence, Count of Holland, was the grandson of Ada, sister of William the Lion; and this would have been a serious claim had there not been male descendants of William the Lion in legitimate issue.

David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, had married Matilda, daughter of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and his grand-daughter and heiress, Devergoil, had married John de Baliol, Lord of

Nivelles in Normandy, and of Harcourt and of Castle Barnard in England, besides inheriting the possessions and titles of his father, Allan, Lord of Galloway.

This lady, who had just founded the college which bears her name at Oxford, had two sons, the eldest of whom was now pleading for his great-great-uncle's throne. This was a serious claim.

The "Lady of Baliol" had a sister Marjory, married to John Comyn of Badenoch, who pleaded likewise on this occasion, but could not but plead second to Baliol; indeed it is probable that he only claimed for the purpose of registering the fact for future times and contingencies.

David, Earl of Huntingdon, had a second daughter married to Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale in Scotland, and of Hert and Hertness in England, and her grandson, Robert, the seventh of his name since the Conquest, Earl of Carrick by right of his wife, was now a rival to his younger cousin Baliol.

It was at once clear that this claim also was directly contingent on Baliol failing of issue; but while acknowledging this fact, Bruce insisted that Alexander II., when childless, had had him recognised as his heir should he die without children.

This special title was dismissed on the ground that Alexander II. having had children since then, he could not dispose of the realm for his children, whatever he might have wished for himself.

It was true that Bruce was nearer by one generation than his competitor Baliol, and the question to be decided was whether the direct male descendant of the eldest daughter had prior claim to one who, though direct male descendant of the second daughter, was nearer to the throne in blood by one generation.

The point was debateable then, though it could not be so now; and in accordance with his desire to do justice to all parties, the heralds proclaimed the king's wish that the meeting should be adjourned till August 3d, when the parties interested met again in Norham Church,—not the old Norham Church of Bishop Egfrid, but a fine spacious church, built by Bishop Pudsey about the year 1160 as a sequel to the castle which, like the church, he had found in want of repair.

On the 3d of August King Edward informed the claimants that, as the competition lay between two candidates only, he had determined on prolonging the adjournment to the following year, when his good clerk, William of Kilkenny, Professor of Civil Law, assisted by forty men, chosen in equal numbers by Baliol and by Bruce, and twenty-four appointed by himself, should report to him for final decision the result of their deliberations.

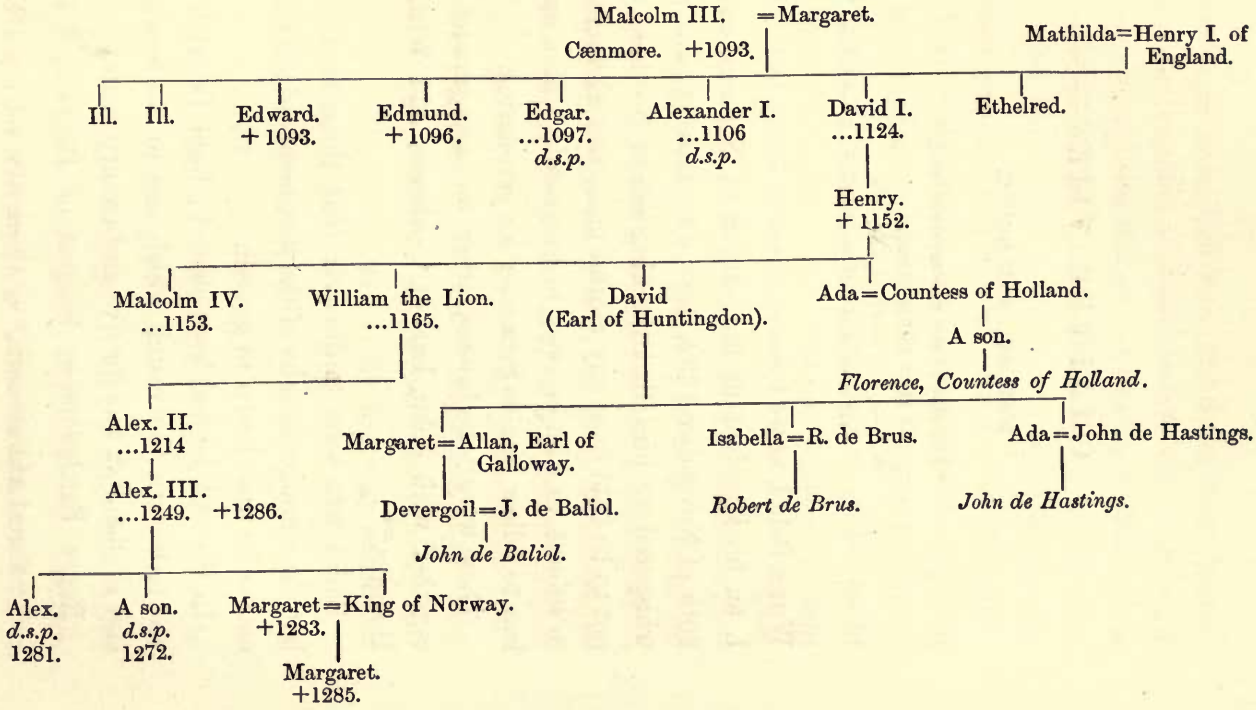
With this announcement the king withdrew from the castle, and the many days of rejoicing in the little village were over. It remained, with its river, and its

scenery, and its church, and its castle, expectant of what the future might bring, and proud that in its midst two candidates had arisen whose claims to the Scottish throne were soon to be decided in favour of one or the other.

It could not foresee that out of this gay meeting passions would become inflamed, and days were fast approaching when Scotland would be humbled in the bloody wars of the fourteenth century, and that the light of England was to be sadly dimmed at Bannockburn.

We do not follow the referees in their search for documents and their interminable arguments. Mr J. H. Burton, in his "History of Scotland," 1874, has exhausted the subject with admirable care and precision; but in the decision given at Berwick, in June 1292, in favour of Baliol, and in the act of homage which he at once made to the king in Norham Church, the seeds were sown which were to bring Wallace, and Brus, and Edward III. to the fore.

TABLE to elicit claims of John de Baliol, Robert de Brus, Florence, Countess of Holland, and John de Hastings, to the throne of Scotland. 1091.



CHAPTER VIII.

WALLACE AND BRUCE.

"The star of the unconquered will,
He rises in his breast,
Serene, and resolute, and still,
And calm and self-possessed."—*Longfellow.*

When Baliol, as we have seen, swore fealty to Edward I. for his kingdom in the church of Norham, on the 20th of November 1292, there were those present who whispered to him that the kingdom of Scotland was not to be held from any mortal man, and who refused to submit to him or even to congratulate him much less to follow him to Scone for his coronation.

These were "the Bruces, father, son, and grandchild, together with John, Earl of Caithness, and William Douglas."*

Baliol was soon to discover that these men were but the courageous echo of the sentiments of the whole nation he was chosen to govern.

In Berwick he had been elected; from Berwick he was to receive the match which was to set Scotland and England at war for five-and-twenty years.

Roger Bartholomew, burgess of Berwick, "who

* "Martial Atchievements," by Abercromby, vol. i. p. 475.

owned a town in Scotland, had the unprecedented impudence to offer a complaint to King Edward against some of the officers appointed by King John of Scotland, that is, against the king himself. He was favourably heard, and justice was ordered to be done according to the laws and customs of England: than which 'twill be own'd that a greater affront could not be put upon the king and kingdom of Scotland."

No appeal from a Scotch court to that of his overlord had ever been allowed since the days of William the Lion, and the right of free justice was indisputable; but Edward, in whose mind the original plan of obtaining the union of the two countries under one sovereign by marriage and lawful means had got lost in the maze of the discussions upon the overlordships appertaining *de jure*, as it were, to an arbiter, had forgotten that the *de jure* was only *pro tem.*, and had come to consider his rights as absolute and legitimate, and Baliol his creature, his viceroy.

Baliol, who cowed before the vigorous mind and will of Edward, wanted to give way, and came to Westminster for the purpose, but his people and his baronage forced him to resist.

Edward summoned him and the Scotch nobles to follow him in arms against the French. Baliol and the Scotch nobles refused, and allied themselves with the French against Edward. The Bishop of Durham was instructed to strengthen his fortresses, while, at

his request, he was allowed to form part of the army which Edward ordered to advance on Berwick. Among the defendants of this place, which was so cruelly handled by Edward for having dared to taunt him—"Kynge Edward, waune thou havest Berwick pike thee: waun thou havest geten dike thee"—was a body of Flemish traders, who held the Redhall or town hall so stoutly under the command of Adam Flandrensis, that most of them were burned alive in it.

These Flemings had been banished from England by Henry II., and had settled on the borders. One of them, Berowald, had helped Malcolm IV. so materially in his struggles to put down the revolt of the Moray men, 1161, that he had obtained for himself and his descendants the lands and name of Innes. From him are descended the dukes of Roxburgh, and the present duke is the thirty-first descendant of Berowaldus.

The capture of Berwick was the easy prelude to an easier conquest of Scotland, the only fruit of which, however, appears to have been to secure a prison to Baliol instead of a throne, and a chair for the kings of England to sit upon at their coronation; for the sacred stone on which the old sovereigns of Scotland had been installed, and which legend asserted to have been the pillow of Jacob as angels ascended and descended upon him, "was removed from Scone, placed in Westminster by the shrine of the Confessor, and

enclosed by Edward's order in a stately seat, which became from that hour the coronation chair of English kings."

But there was one on whom the misfortunes of Scotland had made a deep impression. He had just left the college of Dundee, and returned to his father's place at Craigie, when he heard that the King of England's justiciary, William Ormsby, was governing his native county with extreme insolence and oppression, and that throughout Scotland the English representatives were doing the same.

Gifted with a gigantic stature, he possessed enormous strength, and withal a pensive face, a poetical mind, and a will of iron. The most remarkable trait perhaps in his character, and which has made him so popular a hero, was the manner in which he brought his bodily gifts to be servants of his will, and that will in turn to become the instrument of his noble dreams.

He was the first to assert in Scotland what in England had been long asserted—that freedom is a national birthright.*

* " Wallace, stature of greatness and height,
Was judged thus by discretion of sight,
That saw him both on Cheval and in Weed.
Nine quarters large of height, he was indeed
Third part that length, in shoulders broad was he,
Right seemly strong and lusty for to see:
In limmer great, with stalwart pace and sound,
His brands hard, with armes long and round;
His hands made right like to a palmeir

Who answers not to the cry of freedom? Launched at the head of the Scottish nation, even in this, one of their darkest hours, it found a noble response.

Outlawed and hunted like a wild beast in the caverns of Ayr, and near the Falls of the Clyde in Lanarkshire, Wallace eluded all pursuits, while he gathered friends and adherents wherever he went. Military service was not for gentlemen alone, said he. All men to arms who have a common cause to fight for: peasants and labourers, artisans and clerks, knights, barons, earls, and kings are one in a patriotic cause; and to this call there came in response a crowd of men who gave to feudalism its deathblow, and who constituted into a compact mass became the prototypes of those armies which Europe was eventually to raise at the expense of its working population.

Of manlike make, with nails long and cleir.
Proportioned fair and long was his visage,
Right sad of speech and able of courage,
Both breasted high with sturdy craig and great,
His lippes round, his nose square and neit.
Burning brown hair on brows and brees light,
Cleir asper eyes like diamonds full bright.
Under his chin, on his left side, was seene
(By hurt) a wan, his colour was sangueene;
Wounds he had in mony divers place,
But fair and whole well keeped was his face.
In time of peace, meek as a mind should be,
When war approached, the right Hector was hee."

Old poem quoted by Hutchinson, "View of Northumberland," vol. ii. p. 57.

All answered to the call, and Stirling, 1297, saw the fall of the king's vice-regent, the Earl of Warrenne.

At last in 1298 the battle of Falkirk won by Edward stopped Wallace in his glorious career, and Scotland again was under English guardianship.

The hero pursued and betrayed fell into the hands of Edward, 1305, and, brought to Westminster, was tried and condemned on charges of treason, sacrilege, and robbery.

"Sir John Monteith, one of those he most trusted, brought a party of Englishmen upon him as he lurked somewhere near Glasgow, and carried him to London." *

His head was fixed on London Bridge, and his legs and arms were sent to Scotland and placed over as many cities of his native country.

> "Edward! . . . . . .
> But now the infamy is thine;
> His end crowns him with glorious Bays,
> And stains the brightest of thy praise." †

Though ruined for a time, the cause of freedom was not extinguished. Though Wallace was dead, Scotland was roused into life. It was not for baron's

* "Martial Atchievements," book iii., vol. i. p. 543.

† ". . . . sed scin quid in ista
Immanitate viceris?
Ut vallæ in cunctas oras spargantur et horas
Laudes tuumque dedecus."
—"Martial Atchievements," vol. i. p. 548.

wish or king's fancy that Scotchmen now would have to fight. Wallace had pointed out the common cause; his words would never be forgotten.

A young man had noted the great mind which Wallace had possessed. He had claims himself upon the Scottish throne. His parents, though loyal to Edward as lords of Annandale in England, had never recognised the Baliol, and never praised him for his subserviency. "If he were only King of the Scots, the work of Wallace would be completed under his special charge."

He wrote in this strain to the Bishop of St Andrews. His letter was intercepted, and the boy flew to Scotland to punish the Lord of Badenoch, who had betrayed him, as he thought.

Before the high altar in the church of the Grey Friars at Dumfries, he reproached his cousin, and, regardless of the place, stabbed him in the heart, then rode to Scone, where the Countess of Buchan, sister to Duncan, Earl of Fife, placed the crown on his head, 27th March 1306.

"I fear we are only playing at royalty like children in their games," said Mary, his wife. "We shall see," replied Robert Bruce.

Indeed at first Mary's words seemed but too painfully true.

All went wrong: she was a prisoner, he a fugitive, and the Countess of Buchan exposed in a cage repre-

senting a crown in the streets of Berwick; but death came to his aid, and Edward died in 1307.

Bruce had then learned the value of adversity. Brave and genial in temper, Bruce had borne the hardships of his career with a courage and hopefulness which never failed him. The game of king and queen was not to be child's play. Light came little by little to illumine the darkness of his days and future. James Douglas rallied round him, thirsting for revenge, and to reconquer the lands of his father which had been given to Lord Clifford.

Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, came to his uncle's rescue, and a host of others.

Confidence revived in the sacred cause, and by the year 1314, although an army of near 100,000 men were marching against Bruce and his 30,000 adherents, so great had become his generalship, so hopeful his chances of success, so sanguine the Scottish expectations, that the battle of Bannockburn became not only possible, but the starting point of his greatness and his celebrity.

The battle has been rightly represented as the fight between the feudal and the free systems of warfare. On Wallace's plans the Scottish footmen had been drawn up in squares, on which the English cavalry broke, and could make no impression.

The day remained with the advocates of freedom, and the magnificent army of knights with their

banners and brilliant horsemen were soon floundering in the pits which Bruce had caused to be dug to protect his admirably chosen battle-ground near Stirling.

Edward II. had lost Scotland in a day.

It was now the turn of the Scotch to pursue their victory over the Border, and Norham and Berwick were their first aim.

Old Bishop Bek had died in 1309, and been succeeded by Richard Kellow or Kellawe, who in 1311 appointed William de Ridell, Constable of Norham Castle, the same who was knighted three years afterwards on his reappointment to the same office.

This Sir William de Ridell, who received as a coat of arms a *fesse* between three garbs *azure* on a field *argent*, is the ancestor of the old Northumberland family of Ridell of Gateshead, Fenham, Swinburne Castle, and Felton, and they too had their beginning at the old castle.

On his way to Norham, William de Ridell stopped at Hagerdeston, where Edward II. had come to receive the homage of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, for his Earldom of Lincoln, and was the guest of John de Haggerstone, the descendant of old Saxon settlers in Northumberland, of whom Raine says, "though their name seldom occurs in connection with the public history of the Borders, and are recorded by no monumental inscription in the parish church of Holy

Island, the burial place of the family, yet few families can boast such a pedigree or such a shield of arms." *

These Haggerstones have come down through time to the present baronet, and their seat was until very recent years the same old place whereon their Saxon forefathers had settled, four miles from Berwick and close to Goswick.

Lady Marjoribanks of Ladykirk, opposite Norham, is an aunt of the present Sir Carnaby.

Lancaster had been the prime mover in the destruction of Gaveston, and had incurred the king's displeasure, but the meeting at Haggerstone had brought about a temporary reconciliation.

He returned to Lincoln, where parliament met to grant supplies for prosecuting the war against the Scots, whose ravages in Northumberland and in the lands of the Palatinate had been such that "famine raged throughout these lands, that wheat sold at 40s. a quarter (which is nearly £5 of our own money), that children were hid with all imaginable care by their parents to prevent their being stolen and eaten by thieves, that prisoners in goals devoured one another, and that people died in such numbers daily that hardly could the living suffice to bury the dead."

Composition with the enemy became the rule, and if such composition constituted political treason, in

* Raine's "History of North Durham," page 224.

most cases it afforded relief, for matters were at their worst.

Bishop Kellawe in the interests of his suffering people had purchased a truce from Bruce; and the addled-brained King Edward II. ("there is always a fool between an illustrious father and grandson") could not be made to recognise the title of king which Bruce had fairly won at Bannockburn, and which would have put an end to his depredations, but suspecting the bishop of treason, he requested the loan of his castles of defence.

Walter de Goswike was appointed bailiff of the shire of Norham and keeper of the castle in the place of Sir William Ridell, and the following inventory of the armour and provisions shows that if famine was raging as violently all around as the account given above would seem to warrant, Sir William Ridell had taken care that the garrison of Norham should be well provisioned:*

62 cod-fish (fresh).
2200 stock-fish † (salt).
18 cheeses.
23 tuns of wine.
6 carcases of salt beef.
20 „ mutton.
20 quarters of salt.
50 pigs.
3 goats.

* No salmon it will be observed.

† Stock-fish is still the German word for salted cod.

24 beeves.
34½ quarters of wheat.
52 „ of barley in stack.
35 „ „ thrashed out.
7 „ 3 bolls of barley in granary.
129 „ of malt in the tower.
84 „ of oats in the low hall.
40 „ of sea coals.

The other articles were articles of war:

87 pair of leathers.
9 targets.
88 steel hats.
136 crossbows.
103 bandricks or belts.
9 pair of cuishes, armour for the thigh.
19 actons.
20 haubergeons.
154 pieces of iron.

And for domestic use there appears to have been:

8 table-cloths.
7 coarse table-cloths.
2 old towels.
8 tankards.
9 pots of pewter.
6 pots of brass.
9 pails of brass.
1 great vessel of brass for making candles.
3 caldrons.
2 basins.
2 wash basins.
1 wash basin hanging in the hall.

The furniture appears to have been scanty:

2 three-footed stools.*

* "History of North Durham," Raine, p. 285.

And in the chapel:

2 towels.
1 chalice, parcel gilt.
2 old missals, and a set of priest's vestments.

In 1316 Kellawe died, "moribus et vita dignus," and Lewis Beaumont was elected Bishop. On the 23rd of May 1316, however, Norham was restored to the bishopric, and the names of the commissioners who received the castle from the king are recorded as Walter de Gosewyk, who was continued in office, William de Brakenbury, Galfrid de Edenham, and Roger de Saxton.

Affairs in England had been going from bad to worse, and in Northumberland every place of importance had surrendered to the Scots excepting Alnwick, Berwick, Bamborough, and Norham.

An invasion even worse than that of the Scots was overrunning the unfortunate country. Robbers of every description were plundering whatever remained to be plundered, and their principal chiefs were Gilbert de Middleton, who was keeper of Mitford Castle, and Wallis de Selby, who had his castle near Wooler.

The pope had sent two cardinals, Gauselinus and Lucas, to settle matters if possible; but as they were not instructed to recognise Brus as king, their mission came to naught, and they returned to tell "how the Northumbrians, under Middleton and Selby, had

robbed them of all they possessed excepting their clothes, and how the Scots had afterwards plundered them and sent them back naked to Berwick."

The Bishop of Durham, who had accompanied these legates of the pope some little way, was taken with them, and only liberated in the year 1318, on the 26th of March.

During his captivity, Sir Thomas Grey de Heton had been appointed Constable of Norham by the crown, and his first care was to put the place in such order as to hold out against any assault or surprise.

The Scots were becoming furious at the resistance which Berwick and Norham still made, and taunts of every description were levelled at the Governor of Norham. Northumberland was becoming fast the watchword of England as the place of danger, and Norham the most dangerous spot in Northumberland.

"About this tyme there was a greate feste made yn Lincolnshir, to which came many gentlemen and ladies."

The place in Lincolnshire was the Manor of Scrivelby, which was held by the family of Marmion, who having before the Conquest been royal champions to the Dukes of Normandy, had since continued to be the champions of the kings of England.

The direct line had become extinct in the person of Philip de Marmion, who died in 20th of Edward I. without direct male issue; but there were col-

laterals, and among others William Marmion, who married Lora,* a daughter of Richard, natural son of King John.

The Manor of Scrivelby itself had been confirmed to Sir John Dymoke, who was heir to it by one of the co-heiresses of Robert de Marmion, together with the office of champion—namely, of riding completely armed upon a barbed horse into Westminster Hall on the day of the coronation, and there to "challenge the combat against any who would gainsay the king's title."

At Sir John Dymoke's table sat, on a day in the year 1318, this William Marmion, the relic of an old family though a young man still. Among the ladies present there was one who had brought with her a helmet with a rich crest of gold, destined to William Marmion, knight, with a letter of commandment from her lady, the Lady Lora we have mentioned, "that he should go into the daungerest place in England, and there to let the heaulme be seene and known as famous."

Marmion at once got up, and accepting the challenge, bade the lady inform her mistress that to Norham forthwith he would proceed, and that he would there obey her wishes, and make the helmet known "as famous."

While on his way to Norham he fell in with the

* She afterwards married Richard de Berkeley, 1236.—"Collin's Peerage," Fitz Hardinge.

commissioners from England, who, eight in number, were on their way to Berwick to obtain a truce from the Scotch king.

But the embassy came to naught; for Bruce, who then was at Auld Cambus, twelve miles from Berwick, with his troops, had added to his resolve not to treat with the English until his royal title was acknowledged, that of not doing even this unless Berwick were in his hands.

The governor of this place was one Peter Spalding, a Scotchman by descent though in the English pay. The commander of the fort was Roger Horseley.

Spalding and Horseley were enemies; and in a fit of anger against his brother-in-law, Spalding sent a message to Douglas that if a party of Scots would, on a certain night, scale the wall at the Cowgate Port, which faces the Magdalen Fields, he would see that the watch kept on that night should not be strict.

The proposal was hailed with rapture by Bruce, who entrusted the expedition to the two heroes of Bannockburn, Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Douglas, the "flower of chivalry."

These met at Duns, ten miles from Berwick, and marched silently towards the town, opposite which they arrived about three in the morning. Going round by the Bell Tower and the Greenses, they arrived before the Magdalen Fields before any one was aware of their presence, excepting Spalding him-

self, who, anxious and desperate, was pacing alone along the Cowgate walls.

One by one the Scotch were admitted; and though it had been arranged that they were to remain hidden till the opportunity offered for a rush to the castle, such was the greed of Douglas' soldiery that before daybreak fighting had already begun.

At the Scots gate the Douglas with his battle-axe was fighting desperately against all comers, and Sir William Keith, who had just been knighted, was winning his spurs against the brave old governor, who came out of the encounter with the loss of one eye; but though hardly pressed and scarcely conscious, back to the castle he got with a few of his men, and the gates being closed, encouraged them to resist to the last, even though, as he knew, his last hour had come.

The castle "kept up for eleven weeks,"* and no succour arriving, surrendered at last; but Roger Horseley had died of his wounds long before.

The news of this surrender reached Norham just as a knight with a magnificent golden helmet was riding up to its gates and demanding admission of the governor, Sir Thomas Grey.

"I have come," said he, "to the daungerest place in England to let this heaulme be seen and known as famous for sake of God and the Lady Lora."

"You will soon have occasion to prove your

* Leland, vol. i. p. 547.

courage," said Grey, "for Berwick is taken, and the Scots will be here presently."

Indeed the "Scottes became so proude after they got Berwick that they nothing esteemed the Englishmen, and it were a wonderful processe to declare what mischief cam by hungre and asseges by the space of xi yeres in Northumberland."

As Grey had predicted, within four days of Marmion's coming "Sir Philip Moubray,* Guardian of Berwick, appeared before Norham, having in his band 140 men-at-arms, the very flower of men of the Scottish marshes.

"Thomas Grey seeing this, brought his garrison before the barriers of the castel," and looking round saw William Marmion on foot, "richly arrayed, as al glittering in gold, and wering the heaulme, his lady's present.

"Then said Thomas Gray, 'Sir Knight, ye be come hither to fame your helmet. Mount up on yon horse, and ride like a valiant man to yon even here at hand, and I forsake God if I rescue not thy body deade or alyve, or I myself will dye for it.'

"Whereupon Marmion took his courser and rode among the throng of the enemies; the which laid sore stripes on him, and pulled him at last out of his saddle to the ground.

"Then Thomas Gray, with all the whole garrison,

* Throughout history the Mowbrays appear to have been Scotch or English as suited their fancy, or may be their interest.

lette pryk yn among the Scottes, and so wondid them and their horses that they were overthrown; and Marmion, sore beaten, was horsid again, and with Gray persewid the Scottes in chase."

Fifty horses of price were taken, and these the women of Norham brought to "the foot men in the castle that they might follow the chase."

The brave knight Sir Thomas Gray "himself killed one Cryne, a Fleming, an admiral, and great robber on the se, and in high favour with Robert Bruce: the residue that escaped were chased to the nuns of Berwick."

A few days afterwards "Adam de Gordon, a baron of Scotland, came with 160 men to drive away the cattle pasturing at Norham;" but the young men of the country rose to the occasion, and fought desperately for their property.

Sir Thomas from the castle saw the fight, and seeing the Norham men unable to cope with such tried soldiers—"standing, in fact, in jeopardy"—sallied forth from the castle with only 60 men, and killed most part of the Scots and their horses."

Such daring deserved punishment, and Bruce sent a whole army to besiege the fortress.

For a whole year Sir Thomas was the butt of the attacks of that Scotch army, which had reaped so many laurels and was distinguished for so many valiant knights.

Two fortresses were raised against the castle—one at Upsettlington, a little below Ladykirk; and another at Norham Church, remains of which can still be traced in the churchyard a little to the east of the church.

Here every engine of war and besieging weapon was arrayed against the castle of "the fighting bischoppes." The balista, which shot large arrows; the catapult, which shot large stones, balls, and pieces of rock; the battering ram, for making breaches in the walls; the iron scaling-ladders; and the slings with which to arm (together with the bow) the soldiers on foot.

Here also were the fire instruments—the "armed dog" carrying a torch to set fire to a camp, and the "cat" with torch to set fire to a besieged place.

Inside the castle there were jugs in baked earth filled with quicklime to be thrown against the enemy, scatter their contents among them, "sprinkle them as with holy water, and enter into their mouths;" incendiary barrels to roll among the besiegers; chevaux de frise to spike the horses of the enemy; lances, knives, catapults, and slings.

With these and a trusty troop did Sir Thomas nobly hold out against his powerful foe. Twice, indeed, he was relieved by the timely arrival of Lord Henry Percy, second Lord of Alnwick, the same who was to receive the castle and manor of Warkworth

for his distinguished services, and to take King David, son of Robert Bruce, a prisoner near Durham; and by Ranulph de Nevile, first Lord of Raby, married to Eufemia, daughter of Sir John de Clavering of Callaley, Axwell, and Berrington, in Northumberland, who was still Baron of Warkworth, and a direct descendant of one of the noblest families that the Norman Conquest had seated in the north of England.*

Meanwhile the besiegers went on with their work, and undermined a passage by which they had got in at dead of night into the outer bailey, their scaling efforts having proved utterly useless, their fire-engines powerless against the strong walls, their battering rams of no avail, and the ardour of the most zealous destructive to themselves.

They kept the outer bailey three days, but not an hour longer, and a brave onslaught of Grey and his small garrison put the Scotch to flight, and restored the old castle to its natural strength.

After a year's fruitless attempt the task appeared to be given up; but the Scotch returned with pertinacity, and a seven months' siege was no more successful than the first.

Unfortunately the resistance of Norham was of no

* The last of the Claverings of Callaley married, in 1859, Sir Henry Paston Bedingfeld of Oxburgh, and the old family seat was sold to Mr Brown in 1880.

avail, for Wark had fallen into the hands of the Scots, and they could thus leave Norham behind them, and ravage Northumberland and Durham at their leisure.

But while everything was giving way before the prowess of Bruce and his army, while castle, fortress, and camp were surrendering to his victorious banner, the stout old Border castle, the queen of Border fortresses, was reminding Bruce of the humiliations of his younger days, and teaching Edward how a brave Northumbrian knight could do his duty to his king if the king forgot to do his by his people.

In 1322, Edward, who "kept much the sea-coasts and delighted in ships, too much using the vile company of maryners, whereby he lost much favour of his people,"* heard that Norham was besieged again, and that he must come to its relief.

He, therefore, summoned all his military tenants at Newcastle for the express purpose of relieving Norham, not venturing on a second attempt to recover Berwick, in which he had so signally failed two years before (1319); but the rapidity of Bruce's movements obliged him to return with all speed to Yorkshire, where he was nearly made prisoner, and lost his privy seal for the second time. Edward II. seems to have attached much price to this seal, for again, as he had after Bannockburn, he issued a proclamation promising a reward for its recovery.

* Leland's "Collectanea," vol. ii. p. 549.

Norham, a third time under the valiant Grey, withstood the new engines and machines brought against it, 1322; but in 1326, Bruce himself came before its walls, resolved not to leave them until he had planted his standard upon the keep.

Robert Maners had succeeded the veteran Sir Thomas Grey, of whom it was said, "Many other great deeds and feats of arm did he accomplish which are not recorded," but whose name will ever remain with those of Flambard and Pudsey, one of the glories of which Norham Castle boasts.

Stoutly did Maners maintain the reputation of Norham for strength. Once he suffered sixteen assailants to scale the wall; but when they had got over it, they were put to the sword by a party of his men lying in ambush against the walls within, unseen and unsuspected of the besiegers.

In 1327, however, a similar ruse may have been again resorted to, and too great a rush of men have been allowed to scale the walls, for the castle was taken by storm, "three knights of great military fame in the Scotch army falling in the attack—William de Montraud, John de Clapham, and Maillis de Robery."

It was during this siege that "Thomas Grey, sone of the late governor, who had been three tymes besegid by the Scottes in Norham Castel in King Edwarde the Secunde dayes," sallied forth with fifty men of the garrison to engage "a bannaret with his

banner and four hundred men," who had been sent to collect forage by Patrick, Earl of March, who was "imbuschid upon the Scottish side of Twede.

"Lighting apon foote, and not knowing of Patrick's band behynd, Grey set upon the foraging party with a wonderful corage, and killed mo of them than they did of the English men. Yet were there vi Scottes yn number to one English man, and came so sore on the communes of England that they began to fly;" but at that moment Thomas Grey was taken prisoner.

The castle remained but a short time in Scottish hands, for it was restored in May 1328, when the treaty of Northampton, recognising formally the independence of Scotland, had been ratified, and in this crowning act of Bruce's life, we still have proof how essential was the part which the old castle played in the fortunes of both countries.

Though successful in the Wear country, "a fresh foray on Northumberland forced the English court to submit to peace."*

"In 1327, soon after their flight from Weardale, the Scots laid siege to Norham, and took it by storm."†

We thus see that the last act of the Scotch war of independence was the capture of Norham, and the

* Green's "History of the English People," p. 208.

† "Hutchinson's "History of the Palatinate," vol. iii. p. 400.

crowning act of Bruce's life was the recognition of his sovereignty obtained through that capture.

The Baliol and the Bruce had disputed each other's claim before Norham in 1299. The Bruce had asserted his, and the independence of Scotland at Norham in 1328.

CHAPTER IX.

EDWARD III.

"Goes your complaint to this? that we display
A tale unsuited to the modern day?
Does this fam'd island then produce no more
The bright achievements of the days of yore?
Avert the thought! still ancient glory's towers
And warm heroic virtue still is ours!
—*Edward Jerningham*, 1794, "*Siege of Berwick.*"

EARLY in June 1329, feeling that his death was fast approaching, King Robert Bruce—"good King Robert," as his people were wont to call him—summoned his best friends and counsellors to his bedside at Cardross, near Dumbarton, and after recommending his son David, a boy five years old, to their care, expressed the hope that, should his marriage with Joan Makepeace (a nickname given to the beautiful girl, sister of Edward III., because her betrothal was one of the conditions of the Treaty of Northampton) not turn out fruitful of issue, the crown might devolve on his grandson Robert, son of his daughter Marjory, who had married Walter, Lord High Steward of Scotland.

He then recommended (1) that when "they should

again have chance of wars with England, they would avoid set battles, and never hazard their all upon the fortune of one field, but keep off the enemy by frequent skirmishes, brisk onsets, and sudden incursions, and (2) that henceforth they should not make any lasting peace nor any truce longer than three or four years with England."*

Then turning to the "black" Douglas, he committed his heart to his care, to be taken by him to the Holy Land. On the 7th of June he died.

True to his friend and sovereign, Douglas set out for Palestine, but "was cast by storm of weather upon the coast of Spain, and forced to go ashore on the borders of Granada."† Here he at once joined Alphonso, King of Leon and Castile, who was at war with the Moors of Granada.

During a keen engagement with the latter, the old warrior, who carried the king's heart embalmed and put into a box of gold tied to a string round his neck, impatient of distinction, threw the gold casket among the Moors, crying out, "Onward as thou wert wont, thou noble heart! Douglas will follow thee;" but he was slain, and his body having been recovered as well as the heart in the gold casket, they were taken back to their native Scotland, and from this time

* "Martial Atchievements," vol. i. p. 639.

† "Life of Good Sir James, 1st James and 8th Lord of Douglas." David Hume, 1748. Vol. i. p. 95.

permission was given to the Douglas family to wear a crowned heart in their coat-of-arms.

As Bruce had anticipated, peace with England was of no long duration.

The Baliols were again at work, and had got round the martial King Edward, the illustrious father of the Black Prince.

On the 12th of April 1333, the king appeared before Berwick, the possession of which he had determined upon, and which was commanded by Sir William Keith and Sir Alexander Seton.

On the 19th of July, forgetting the wise and dying recommendations of their late king, the Scotch "hazarded their all upon the fortune of one field." The battle of Halidon Hill, long memorable as one of the most disastrous incidents in the annals of Scotland, decided the fate of Berwick, which from that day has remained a portion of English soil, and at the cost of some of Scotland's best blood, told in its results of the loss which Scotland had experienced by the death of Bruce.

"Seven earls, 900 knights, 400 esquires, and 32,000 men" are said to have died on the field of battle before the stout old Border town was abandoned by the Scotch.

It was then that the incident took place at Tweedmouth, at a place which still is called "Hang a dyke nook," which caused the life of the two young Setons,

sons of Sir Alexander Seton, Scotch governor of Berwick, and which has been the subject of many ballads and plays, and of still more strictures upon the faithlessness of Edward III.*

By the year 1342, David Bruce had reconquered his territories from Baliol, excepting Berwick, and marched to Durham, where he spared neither clergy nor sacred edifices. Edward, however, followed him on his return to Scotland, and reached Wark, which was gallantly held by the Countess of Salisbury.

It was then and at Wark† that the Order of the

* A poem on this subject, written in 1794 by an ancestor of mine, was re-edited last year for the people of Berwick.

† Wark, or Werk, Anglice work, or "the honour of Carham," as it is called in old MSS., was after Bamborough one of the earliest fortified places of which the Saxon annals make mention; but its strength dates only of the time when the feudal barons of the Conquest believed their homes to be so many forts which they were obliged to defend, and which everybody envied, and though existing as a defensive settlement before Norham was thought of, it was only erected into a stronghold a few years after its "eastern" sister, A.D. 1158.

Thus the Dacres had their castle at Naworth, the Umfrevilles at Prudhoe, and the de Vesci at Wark.

Bamborough was strengthened in 1131.

Mitford was erected in 1150.

Norham in 1121.

Harbottle in 1155.

Naworth in 1280, and

Alnwick about 1130.

As, however, a special licence was required for the towers to be crennelled, that is, for archers to shoot from small apertures, it is no wonder that public fortresses had prior right to private

Garter is said to have been instituted. Lady Salisbury happening to drop her garter, the king picked it up, presented it to her, and seeing his courtiers smile, turned round upon them, saying, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," cleverly adding, "Shortly you shall see that garter advanced to so high an honour and renown as to account yourselves happy to wear it."

But though possible and even probable, the story has not the additional value of being strictly corroborated by history either in the category of facts or in the testimony of contemporary writers.

The neighbourhood of Wark to Norham justifies the legend finding its place here.

In 1546 took place the great battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, where David was made the prisoner of Henry de Percy, though he had surrendered himself to one who was not even a knight, a certain John de Coupland of Coupland Manor, within the barony of Wooler.

This distinguished soldier, who was awarded a pension of £500 a year out of the customs of London and Berwick, received a moiety of the lands of Wooler, and also the shrievalty of Northumberland;

residences, and that Norham should thus be the oldest of them all. The reader will find interesting details as to Wark in a monograph by the Rev. Peter Mearns of Coldstream, and is specially referred to a remarkable and searching article on border fortresses in the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute," 1852, vol. ii.

and his old castle, which was destined later to receive fugitive royalty within its walls, is now the property of Mr M. Culley.

In 1355, the action at Nisbit Moor, won by the Scotch, so irritated Edward III. that he returned from France, arriving at Newcastle for Christmas; he proceeded to Scotland on the following day, laying all Lothian waste, committing Edinburgh and Haddington to the flames, and received from Baliol a formal surrender of all his rights to the crown of Scotland.

David Bruce was still a captive in London, but in 1357 he received permission to return, and from that moment to his death in 1371, what might be called peace in those days reigned between England and Scotland.

At his death Robert Stewart succeeded, in accordance with the wish of Robert Bruce, and in 1377, on the 31st of June, Edward III. was gathered to his fathers.

His death was the signal for further warfare on the Borders. Roxburgh was burnt by the Scotch, Norham village was burnt. The Duke of Lancaster ingloriously invaded Scotland. Richard I. himself, advanced to Edinburgh, and the Scots in retaliation overran Cumberland and Durham.

* Queen Margaret, the wife of Henry VI., after the battle of Northampton, 1460.

At last, in 1388, the battle of Otterburn,* celebrated by the moonlight encounters between the Earl

* "It fell about the Lammas tide,
When husbandmen do win their hay,
Earl Douglas is to the English woods,
And a' with him to fetch a prey.

Earl Douglas to the Montgomery said,
'Take thou the vanguard of the three,
And bury me by the braken bush
That grows upon yon lilye lee.'

The Percy and Montgomery met,
That either of other were fain,
They swapped swords and they twa swat,
And aye the blude ran down between.

This deed was done at Otterburne,
About the breaking of the day;
Earl Douglas was buried at the braken bush,
And the Percy led captive away."

Mr Robert White has written a very interesting history of the battle of Otterburn, and after a good deal of research fixes the spot where the battle began to be the farm of Greendesters, and that where the main struggle took place and terminated to be the farm of Townhead, on the east side of the Otter in the Davysheil district, near a wood and only a short distance from the ancient trackway from Newcastle to Scotland through Elsden by the Breken Moss.

In the list of English and Scotch warriors which he gives, we find the names of Hotspur—

"Schere Henry, quhat makis you to be
Sa werelike as yow now we se?"

because perhaps

"He had byn a Marchman all his dayes,
And kepte Barwyke upon Twede,"

of Douglas and Hotspur, the grandson of Henry, 1st Earl of Northumberland, in which Douglas was killed and Hotspur taken prisoner, was succeeded by the death in the following year of Robert II., and the accession of his son John, Earl of Carrick, known as Robert III., "the name of John having become odious to the Scottish people, who associated with it the

though

"Speaking thick, which nature made his blemish."

Sir Ralph Percy, Hotspur's brother.
Sir Robert Ogle.
Sir Thomas Umfreville.
Sir Robert Umfreville, his brother—

"Robin mend market."

Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, governor of Norham.
Walter Skirlawe, Bishop of Durham.
William, Lord Hilton.
Sir Matthew Redman.
Sir John de Lilburn.
Sir Aylmer de Athol, Lord of Jesmond and Ponteland,
and of
James, Earl of Douglas and Mar.
George, Earl of Dunbar and March.
The Earl of Moray.
Sir James Lindsay of Crawford.
Sir David Lindsay, Lord of Glenesk.
Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie.
Sir John de Montgomery of Eglesham.
Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hales.
Sir John Swinton de Swinton.
Sir Henry Preston.
Sir William de Dalzell.

memory of John Baliol, the special object of popular hatred.

A period of eight years followed this accession without, "mirabile dictu," the peace between the two countries being infringed, and it may generally be said that throughout the fifteenth century the history of the Borders is one of predatory warfare, carried on with unremitting energy rather by factions and rebellious subjects than by kings, despite repeated efforts to obtain peace, and innumerable truces which, in accordance with Bruce's advice, were never kept for "longer than three or four years when sued for by the Scots," or for much longer time when asked by the English.

The old castle during all this time was never attacked, its impregnable strength being asserted, and all the documents in connection with it only tell how its governors were paid, how its repairs were conducted, and the cost of these repairs.

Thus in 1382 Sir John Heron was paid "£50 for guarding the Castle of Norham, William de Eland, £3, 6s. 8d. for masonry work, and John de Kent, the bishop's messenger, 13s. 4d. for going to Norham with a letter from Bishop Fordham," of whom we read that "he was so deeply engaged in affairs of state that he had little time to attend particularly to the duties of his bishopric."

He, however, sanctioned the expenditure of 12s. on

ten sheaves of arrows without heads, and the purchase at Gateshead of twenty-four bows for the sum of 18s., the cost of their carriage being 8d.

In 1404, during the rebellion of the Percies, caused more by the fact that they could not get their outlays in the king's service repaid to them than by any other disloyal motive, Bishop Skirlaw, "whose life was occupied in works of munificence," appears to have given the watchers at Norham 1d. a night in addition to their ordinary wages, and an agreement entered into by the bishop and Robert de Ogle, their governor, is stated to have cost 6s. 8d., which was paid to the clerk who wrote it out.

This agreement is interesting, inasmuch as the Ogles, who had now come to the fore as one of the great families of Northumberland, were evidently intent on war, and discontented with their defensive position at Norham.

In the year 1403, on the 2d February, Robert de Ogle, son of Sir Robert de Ogle, knight, had been appointed Constable of Norham, justice, seneschall, and sheriff escheator in Norhamshire and Islandshire for seven years. In September he was appointed to the office for life, and was thus free to delegate his duties to a lieutenant while he sought fame elsewhere.

This Ogle was the sixth in descent of Sir Thomas de Hoggel, who came into notice in 1240, and whose subsequent heirs appear until the Robert Ogle of

Norham to have applied themselves very cleverly in putting the old Latin saying about Austria into practice—

> "Bella dum gerant alii tu felix Austria nube,
> Namque Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus."

What with the marriages of his ancestors and his own, he was possessed at his death of no less than six castles and thirty-five manors and tenements.

His son became the first Lord Ogle, and he himself was a most distinguished administrator and soldier.

His descendants are still bearing the name in Northumberland.

In the same year, 1404, the accounts show that the governor was an energetic constable.

Twenty-four "flekys" or hurdles, costing 4s., were bought for the outer bridge of the castle; 3s. 4d. were paid to divers men who repaired the outer bridge; also various sums for repairing "the hall, the great chamber, all the chambers, the kitchen, and all the towers," and for bringing a sufficient stream to the mill of Bowden, and examining all the heads of the streams.

Again we find that the west gate of the castle was rebuilt from the ground in 298 days, from the 16th February 1408 to the 8th of December, and that William Caton was the clerk of the works, and the masons were William de Priors, William Spilbery, Robert Bank, and Walter de Scremerstone.

In 1422, as Sir Robert Umfreville, Governor of

Berwick, "with an army composed only of men of the palatinate and Northumbrians, in retaliation of the injuries received by the Scotch incursions," carried fire and sword through Teviotdale, burning all the Eastern March, with its market towns of Hawick, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Dunbar, and Lauder, the very year that Henry V., the hero of Agincourt (1415) was dying in France, Thomas Langley, Lord Chancellor of England and Bishop of Durham, gave instructions to Sir Robert de Ogle to build a new tower within the castle; and we find accordingly that Robert Fekenham, mason, got £22 for his share of the work; that Robert Shirwent, "quawrreour," and his associates, received £20, 16s. for winning stone in the quarry; that Robert Watson was paid £6, 4s. 8d. for carting, buying and burning lime, and that every door and window received new iron bars and bolts.

On his return from his raid into Roxburghshire, Sir Robert Umfreville stayed at Norham, a place which during his captaincy of Berwick he often visited, he and Ogle being such friends that, in the language of those days, they shared both "bed and meat."

Sir Robert Umfreville is particularly interesting to Northumbrians as the last of the celebrated family who bore that illustrious name.

He was a Knight of the Garter, a Vice-Admiral of England, and Lord of Redesdale, at the death of his

nephew Gilbert, Earl of Kyme, slain in Anjou in 1421.

The admiral was not married, and at his death in 1436, the estates passed into the family of Talboys; but as if the Umfrevilles, to whom the Conqueror had given the lordship of Redesdale in 1076, and who for four centuries had been distinguished in both their male and female members, were to continue so in those who might succeed to their lands if not to their name, the lordship of Redesdale has ever since continued in the possession of families of distinction. King Henry VIII., on the demise of George, Lord Talboys, got possession of Redesdale in 1539; George, Lord Hume, Earl of Dunbar, on the accession of James I. of England, succeeded to it; the Howards of Corby purchased it in 1640 from the Earls of Suffolk; and in 1750 it was bought of William Howard by Sir Hugh Smithson, a Yorkshire baronet of old standing, who married Lady Elizabeth Seymour, the grandchild and heiress of the last of the Percies, and who in 1766 assumed by Act of Parliament the surname and arms of Percy, and was created Duke of Northumberland.

In 1425, John Daunce was paid 30s. for two cords of hemp, one of them 25 yards long, bought at Doncaster, for the works at Norham; and Thomas Smyth of Durham, "who worked 60 stones of my lord's iron into nails for the Castle of Norham, at 4½d. a stone, received 22s. 6d."

In 1429 the accounts show that some new "latrinæ" were commenced near to the great tower on the west, and were not finished till 1433.

Among other work done was a great doorway of stone under the vault of the dungeon of the great tower, in which an iron door was placed, and a new outhouse was built within the outer ward near the west gate, to be occupied, "half of it by the cart oxen, and the other by the masons when at work."

Sharpening 500 pikes and 100 axes cost 8s. 4d., while six extra pikes or axes cost 2s.

Lime brought from Shoreswood by Thomas Williamson was paid 13s. 4d. as the price of carting, and winning a coal pit at Bukton cost 45s. 3d.

In 1431 we have other interesting particulars as to the price of corn and coal.

Thus coal cost 1s. 4d. per chaldron (53 cwt.), or about 4s. of our present money.

Eight quarters, five bushels of wheat came to £2, 3s. 2½d., or 5s. a quarter, which is equivalent to 14s. a quarter present value.

Seventeen quarters, three bushels of barley was paid £4, 7s. 10½d., or £52, 14s. 6d. current coin, which shows barley to have been sold then in actual currency at about 14s. 1d. a quarter.

In the same year, James Strangways, Christopher Boynton, esquires; Sir John Woodryngton, knight;

Sir John Bertram, knight; Sir John Middleton, knight; William Chauncellor, William Strothes, John Cartington, and Robert Whelpyngton, appointed commissioners of assize, justices of the peace, and commissioners of gaol delivery in Norham and Islandshire, arrived at Norham Castle, and were the guests of the constable.

The cost and expenses of these gentlemen, who only stayed a day and a half, but who had brought with them twenty-two horses, was only 42s., which, at the rate of £2, 16s. to the £ sterling, is equivalent to £5, 18s. of our money.

In 1476, William Dudley was appointed Bishop of Durham, and in the very month of his installation, one Alexander Lee Clerk was commissioned by King Edward IV. to examine into the repairs at Norham, and was accompanied by John Asseby, secretary to Bishop Dudley, and Thomas Metcalf, the bishop's auditor. The latter was commissioned also to make a survey and valuation of the bishop's lands in Norhamshire. The expenses of all three for ten days appear to have been altogether £5, 6s. 8d. or £14, 18s. 8d.

In 1491, John Johnson was paid 6s. 8d. for the carriage to Newcastle from Auckland of two "fother of lead" for the castle of Norham; and in 1493, while the Bishopric of Durham was vacant, Henry VII. appointed Sir Thomas Gray, captain and receiver of Norham, with orders to pay £80 to the next Bishop of Durham.

Richard Fox was appointed bishop, and he appointed Thomas Garth captain of the castle of Norham, with one Hamerton as his lieutenant.

In the year 1496, James IV. of Scotland avowed himself a supporter of Perkin Warbeck, whom he either looked upon, or for purposes of his own chose to look upon, as Richard, Duke of York, the legitimate heir to the throne and brother to the queen, who had married Henry VII., and thereby put an end to the disastrous War of the Two Roses.

Having this Perkin in his company, James invaded England with a powerful army, declaring that "he wald onely forbeir to invaid the boundis quha wold assist to Richard, Duik of York and none uther . . . bot seing that no Inglisheman did resort to the saide Richard, nochtwithstanding of the gret extremitie used, returned agane within his awin cuntrey of Scotland, and considering that the said Richardes promesseis of the assistance of his frindes followed not in deid according to his wordis, causit the king to chaunge the guid opinione quhilk he had of him; and this wes the occasione of the beginning of great weir betwixt the tua realmes." *

Henry VII. raised an army, and placed it under the command of Lord Dawbeny, but other troubles postponed its march northwards, and meanwhile James IV. appeared in person before Norham.

* Lesley of Ross's "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 64.

For fifteen days the new and murderous engines of war were brought to bear against the old castle, * but the valour of Garth and of Hamerton were better than stone balls and scaling ladders.

So gallant was the fight that at the end of a fortnight the shouts of the little garrison proclaimed the raising of the siege, and the departure of the Scottish king and his great army.

"In persoun with his army did the king causit siege the castell of Norame, qwhilk was then weill furneisit be Richard Fox, Bishop of Durame, with men, munition and victuallis, quhair he lay long tyme at the siege thereof; bot seing that he couth not win the same, albeit that he had done great domage and skaith thereto, he returnit within his realme, and left greit cumpanyes of men upon the boundouris for defence of the samyn."

* It was at this siege that "Mons Meg," a cannon from the Mons Foundry in Belgium, was supposed to have been used, but I am of opinion it was not brought to bear against the walls until the second siege by James IV. immediately before Flodden; and am the more convinced of this, that, as the following chapter will show, it was not till after this first siege which Edward undertook on the Borders, more with the intention of giving time to Perkin Warbeck's friends to rally round him, as he had assured King James they would if once he took up the offensive, than with any intention of invading England, that James IV. received numerous presents of arms and munition from France and Belgium. It is true, however, that "Mons Meg" was cast in 1476, and might easily have been used therefore at the earlier siege.

Meanwhile the bishop appealed to the Earls of Surrey and Northumberland to come to the relief of Norham, but as the Bishop of Ross quaintly puts it, "on the cumming thereto, the king and his army were departit."

Garth had won the day, and an annuity of five marks for life was granted by the bishop to Thomas Garth and John Hamerton, "for their strenuous defence of the castle of Norham, when besieged for fifteen days by James, King of Scotland in person, 19th August 1498."*

We are hurrying to the days of Flodden, and the historical life of Norham is ebbing fast. This last gallant resistance of the impregnable fortress is like the flickering of a light which must soon die out, but before it goes out completely, from Norham Castle comes the little incident which is to bear the fruit of Scottish and English Union.

* 4 Fox, Rot. A., 22.

CHAPTER X.

MARRIAGE OF JAMES IV.

"Take with thee thy dower,
Britain's best blood, and beauty ever new,
Being of mind; may the cool northern dew
Still rest upon thy leaves, transplanted flower."
—*Lord Houghton.*

THE events which precede Flodden, read by the light of history, point very significantly to a desire on the part of the Scotch turbulent nobility, if not on that of the politic James IV. himself, to avail themselves of an opportunity of waging war upon England, the condition of which was weaker than at almost any other period of her history.

The bloody contest known as the War of the Two Roses had not been waged against property but against men. Towns, villages, crops, and homesteads had been respected, and commerce indeed had developed, but the blood of English nobles had been spilled with reckless prodigality and cruelty.

The working classes were not fighting classes, but left this occupation to their betters! And what better cause could these dying remnants of a chivalrous age find to fight for than to give England another king, "albeit they already had one,"—be-

cause John of Gaunt had by his mistress, Catherine Swynford, a Lancaster descendant in Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and the Duke of York was a descendant of the fifth son of Edward the Third. Henry VI. was still on the throne; and with pitiless good sense, at the very time he was supposed to be insane, he asked how his right could be disputed, "his father having been king, his grandfather also, himself having worn the crown forty years from his cradle, and all these nobles now clamouring having sworn fealty to him, representative of the House of Lancaster."

For thirty years, however, the adherents of the white rose of York slew, murdered, and butchered, or were slain, murdered, and butchered, by those who preferred the red rose of Lancaster; and the result was that when at last common sense prevailed, and the two badges were united in the person of Henry VII. by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, the fighting element of England was at its lowest ebb, and the country was open to any invader.

No wonder then that James IV., who could not ever really have believed in the claims of Perkin Warbeck to be the brother of the boy murdered in the Tower, since he was well aware that the Yorkists in England entirely repudiated this Flemish impostor, found it politic to convert him into an instrument for political uses in the promotion of the warlike aims of his nobles, and to give some colour to his belief in

him by marrying him to Lady Katherine Gordon, the daughter of Lord Huntly.

Even in those days the brutal murder of Edward V. in the Tower had caused great commotion throughout Europe, and it is not to be wondered at that the old Duchess of Burgundy should have been gulled into the belief that Perkin Warbeck was the brother of the murdered child.

She gave him special letters of recommendation to James IV.; and as an alliance with France under certain circumstances was a very desirable object to attain, no wonder again that the King of Scots received with favour a *protégé* of France.

Again, the ease with which the chivalrous James gave up the cause of his friend, and the long time he tarried with him before Norham without ostensible cause, all show that Warbeck was in his hands a good political weapon rather than an accepted claimant to a throne, an alliance with which may even then have been crossing his mind.

Be this as it may, James IV. received a rude shock when, after his unsuccessful attempt on Norham, he found that the rebellious north, so ready usually to enter upon the game of war,

"For war is the Borderer's game,"

refused to join his ranks or the pretender's banner.

A truce was concluded at Melrose by Bishop Fox on behalf of King Henry; and though James IV.

refused to give up Perkin Warbeck, "as ane that trublit the quietness of the realme of England," because "he esteemed his honour mair precious nor any other thing," he agreed "that the saide Richard, Duik of York, suld be sent furth of the realme of Scotland, and nocht to be resett thaireftir."

Warbeck thanked the king and was not slow to leave Scotland, intending, as he said, to go to Ireland with his wife; but he was taken in the sanctuary of Bewdeley, pardoned with his life, and expelled the country.

King Henry seeing the Lady Catherine's beauty, "thought her a prey more mete for an emperor than a soldier, and therefore sent her with a company of honourable women to the queen, who entertained her well at the king's desire, and she was afterwards known in England as the white rose of Scotland, and lived there very honourably for many years thereafter."

While these incidents in the life of Perkin Warbeck and his wife were taking place, a "sudden discord betwixt certain young Scotchmen of the Borders and the keepers of the Castle of Norham" occurred which, as the Scotch historian Lesley says, "almaist had renewit the wearis betuix the said tua realmes."

While the feeling at Norham was still running high, and the guardians and garrison of the castle still kept a vivid remembrance of their fourteen days'

siege a little more than a year before, it happened that certain Scotchmen, having crossed the Tweed for sake of plunder, "albeit that menit na fraude nor evill," were observed from the castle, near which they strayed incautiously, whereupon a number of soldiers issued from the castle, gave them chase, killed many and wounded some.

The incident* was a trifling one, and matter for judgment before the courts rather than for political notice, as the Scotch marauders were caught "flagrante delicto," and, but for the feeling of the day, should have been captured and delivered up to justice.

But on the matter being reported to King James, then staying at Melrose, he was much incensed; and declaring "that there was nothing more uncertain than the maintenance of peace with England," despatched at once sharp and angry letters to King Henry, who replied, somewhat satirically as was natural, that the

* Hutchinson gives another version: "An accident which happened about this time was near destroying what had been effected with so much attention. In the intercourse which immediately took place between the people of both nations on the borders, some Scottish youths came upon a party of pleasure to Norham. The garrison thought they were too speculative, and paid too near attention to the works of the castle, considering the recent hostilities between the states. The sentinels, in a manner offensive to the Scots, prevented their curiosity, and a fray began in which some were slain."—Hutchinson's "Antiquities of Durham," vol. i. p. 374.

"condign punishment of these Scotchmen was not by his counsall nor command," but rather due to the rash and venturous spirit of the keepers of Norham, that therefore the truce was in no wise violated or broken, but that to show his good faith and spirit of amity he would shortly take knowledge of the case, and should any of his subjects be found guilty, he would have them duly punished.

The Bishop of Durham wrote in the same strain to King James. "I regret," said he, "that through the occasion of my men who guard the Castle of Norham, which appertains to this bishopric, trouble should arise again between England and Scotland, and I beg you to accept 'mendis for the injuris done, quilk suld be reparit at your pleasour.'"

King James, "considering the wisdom, faithfulness, and gravity" of Bishop Fox, sent satisfactory answers to the bishop, and also to the king's letters; while he expressed a hope that the bishop would find time to come to Melrose, talk the incident over, and discuss with him "uther matters."

Fox, who is said to have been "a man of considerable political abilities, and appears to have been more of the artful statesman than of the Christian prelate," guessing the purport of the "uther matters," at once applied to King Henry for leave to be his plenipotentiary in Scotland, and to repair to Melrose; an application which received the royal assent as soon as it was made.

To Melrose Bishop Fox repaired early in 1500, after spending a night at Norham, and hearing from Thomas Garth himself the details of the affray which had so much displeased the King of Scotland.

At Melrose he was received with all due honours, and lodged in the abbey, and after a first meeting with one who, in the king's opinion, "had such power to charm his passions and silence his wrath," James IV. expressed himself satisfied with the measures proposed by the "wise bishop" for the redress of the wrongs he complained of, and then "revealed to him the secret of his bosom."

In strict secrecy and confidence, the king declared to Fox "the guid will and mynd quhilk he had to intertayne perpetuall frindschip with King Henry, and wald wische the same to knit, that it mycht in na wayis be dissolvit agane."

The surest way, thought the king, would be for the King of England to give him his eldest daughter in marriage, and to obtain this end he was ready to send ambassadors to England; but before acting on this notion he expressed himself anxious to have the bishop's advice, "for he wolde be loth to desire that thing quhilk suld be refusit."

The bishop remarked that although a dispensation would be required from the pope, owing to the princess' youth and the degree of relationship which already existed between the two courts, he clearly

entered into the views of the king, and was in good hopes of cementing the alliance between the two countries in the manner suggested.

Anxious to obtain the credit of this alliance, which was to bear such fruits in future times, Bishop Fox hurried back to London, where he found King Henry, and reported to him the result of his interviews.

"The King of England, quha hering his proceedingis, and being glaid thairwith, causit the saide bischop adverties the King of Scottis to send his ambassadouris for the effect above written."

Upon this an embassy, composed of the Archbishop of Glasgow, of Patrick Hepburn of Crichton, first Earl of Bothwell—

> "'Twas a brave race before the name
> Of hated Bothwell stain'd their fame"—

and other noblemen, was despatched to London to ask the hand of Margaret Tudor for their king.

On their arrival a council was summoned, and the Bishop of Durham, together with the Scotch ambassadors, was present.

Remarks were made which were not altogether complimentary to Scotland, and show how strong the feeling still was against it, since the contingency of a Scotch prince having at some future day any right to the throne of England by reason of the proposed marriage appears to have frightened some of the

king's advisers, who believed it to be a lesser evil for the king to marry the princess to a foreigner.

The prophetic tone of the king's reply is also particularly noteworthy and interesting:—

"Some of the counsellouris did prepone certane ressonis for staying of the saide marriage, allegeing that it mycht happin that the heretage and successioun of the realme of Ingland mycht fall to Margaret, his eldest dochter, and to her successioun of her body, and thairfor semit best that she should be marieit apoun ane forane prince."

King Henry thereupon replied, "What then if such things did happen?—which God forbid! I see that it would come to this, that our realme would receive no damage therefrom; for in that case England would not accrue to Scotland, but Scotland would accrue to England, as to the most noble head of the whole island. For at that time the thing which is least is used to be joined to that thing which is greatest, to the honour of the same; even as when Normandy came into the power of Englishmen, our forefathers."

The wise reply was much commended and approved, the immediate result being that the Lady Margaret was "granted unto the King of Scotland, and certain contracts and indentures were made," furnished with which the Scotch commissioners returned to Scotland "with great comfort," 1501.

A treaty of peace and amity, to last the lives of

both kings, was signed at the same time, and in the following year (1502) the marriage contract was ratified by the same persons who had been sent before to arrange about the marriage. It was stipulated that Margaret should receive as a jointure a sum equivalent to £6000 Scots, and a dowry of 30,000 nobles of gold, or about £10,000, and that she should be delivered at Berwick, which was to remain for ever an integral portion of the English realm, into the hands of her future husband's representatives.

On the 25th day of January 1502, Earl Bothwell, "as commissioner and by mandate in the name of King James, his master, contractit and handfastit*

* The ceremony of hand-festing, which consisted in the right hands of the contracting couple being joined in the presence of the priest, was a remnant of Danish days, and was the occasion of the public avowal of the intention of a couple to become man and wife.

In an old publication of the year 1543, forty years after the time of which we are writing, there is this remark, which shows that people who had once hand-fested were not so prone to get married :—

"After the handfastynge and makyng of the contract ye church going and beddyng shuld not be deferred too longe, lest the wicked sow his ungracious seed in the mean season. Into this dish hath the devil put his foot, and mingled it with many wicked uses and customs."*

At Eskdalemuir, in Dumfries, there was an annual fair, and "at that fair it was the custom for the unmarried persons of both sexes to choose a companion according to their liking, with whom they were to live till that time next year. This was called hand-

* "Popular Antiquities." Brand & Ellis. Vol. ii., p. 20.

the saide fair lady publictlie, at Sanct Paul's croice in Lundoun, with great rejoicing and triumphe in the kirk, and great fires made through the whole city of Lundoun."

Leland, from whom most of the following interesting narrative of the Princess Margaret's betrothal and journey to Scotland is taken, and who gives as his authority a manuscript written by John Younge, Somerset Herald, who attended the princess on her journey, mentions the ceremony above described by Bishop Lesley as having taken place at St Paul's, in London, to have been held "on St Paul's Day in the king's royal manor of Richmond."

Having heard mass and a "notable sermon made by the reverend fader the Lorde Richard Fitz James, Bishop of Chichester," the bridal party repaired to the queen's chamber, where the Earl of Surrey "well and right sadly, with very good manner," declared the cause of the present assemblage.

Dr Ruttall, the king's secretary, then read publicly the commission of the Scotch ambassadors; a canon of Glasgow, Mr David Coningham, read the pope's

fasting, or hand in fist. If they were pleased with each other at that time, then they continued together for life; if not, they separated, and were free to make another choice as at the first. A priest came from time to time from the Abbey of Melrose to marry the couples, and he was called Book-i'-bosom, because he carried the book with him wherein to register the marriage."*

* "Popular Antiquities." Brand & Ellis. Vol. ii., p. 20.

bulls of dispensation "for consanguinity, affinity, or nonage;" the Archbishop of Glasgow asked the king whether His Grace knew of any impediment, and also the queen, and also the princess, and all three having replied "there was none," the same question was put to the Scotch ambassadors by the king, who besides asked the Earl of Moray "whether it was the very will and mind of the King of Scots and full intent that the said Earl Bothwell should in his name affiance the said princess?"

This having been answered in the affirmative, the princess herself was required to say whether "she were content without compulsion and of her free will?"

She then answered, "If it please my lord and father the king, and my lady my mother the queen," whereupon she received the king and queen's blessing.

Then were read the words by which Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, "having sufficient authority, power, and commandment to contract matrimony, 'per verba de presenti,'" in the name of his sovereign lord did "contract matrimony with thee Margaret, and take thee unto and for the wife and spouse of James, King of Scotland," plighting his faith and troth thereto.

Margaret did the same, the trumpeters sounded a merry note, "and the loud noise of minstrells played in the best and most joyfullest manner."

Banquets and tournaments minutely described

followod this ceremony, and the Earl of Bothwell presented to the officers at arms the gown of gold cloth that "he wore when he was fyanced," besides a hundred crowns.

A year clapsed after this, during which time the young princess remained with her parents at Richmond in strict retirement.

On the 27th of June, however, 1503, King Henry VII., accompanied by his daughter, proceeded to Coliveston in Northamptonshire, on a visit to the Countess of Richmond, Margaret's grandmother.

On the 8th of July, the king parted affectionately with his daughter, confiding her to the charge of the Earl of Surrey, treasurer of England, who was to deliver her into the hands of the King of Scots, and accompany her throughout the journey.

Surrey was the son of Jock of Norfolk, who fell gallantly fighting for his friend Richard III. on Bosworth field; and little did he think when escorting this young and blooming girl of fourteen to the court of James, that he was destined to defeat that king some ten years later, and make her a widow whom he was now hurrying to make a bride.

Many lords and ladies accompanied her to York, but Lord Hastyngs appears to have distinguished himself, for he is reported "to have done marvellously well on horseback in steering of his horse."

The princess was richly dressed and mounted on a

fair palfrey, and before her rode Sir Davy Owen, three footmen, "very honestly appointed," being always near her.

A little behind, two footmen, "arrayed as the others, conveyed a very rich litter borne by two fair coursers, in the which litter the said princess was borne when entering towns, or otherwise to her good pleasure."

Then came the ladies mounted, squires and gentlemen, then a chariot in which were the four ladies who had to travel the whole journey, then the gentlewomen attendant upon the ladies, then minstrels, trumpetters, officers of arms in their coats, sergeants-at-arms with their mace, and other retinue, "which was fair to see."

Half way to Grantham Sir Robert Dymock, Sheriff of Lincolnshire, met the princess and accompanied her with thirty horses in his livery to the limits of the county.

At Grantham she lodged "with a gentleman called Mr Hioll."

From Grantham she proceeded to Newark, the people on the way "bringing great vessels full of drink, and giving the same to them that need had of it, saying that if better they had had, better they should have brought."

At Newark "she lodged at the Hert," thence she proceeded to Tuxford and to Sirowsby, a place belonging to the Archbishop of York.

On the 13th of July Sir William Conyers, Sheriff of Yorkshire, arrived with sixty horses, and accompanied her to Doncaster, where she lodged at the Carmelites.

On the 14th she reached Pomfret, and lodged at the abbey.

On the 15th she proceeded to Tadcaster, where she was greeted by Lord Latimer and his wife and fifty horses.

On her leaving this place Lord Scrope of Bolton, Lord Scrope of Upsall, and twenty horses met her two miles out of the town, and two miles further Lady Conyers came with sixty horses to greet her.

When two miles from York, she was met by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Warden of the Marches, who with the Earl of Surrey was to deliver the princess into the hands of her future husband.

He rode a charger, on which was a cloth of crimson velvet, "all bordered with precious stones," his arms richly embroidered on his saddle and harness, his stirrups gilt, and himself arrayed in a gown of crimson, fringed at the collar and sleeves with stones of price.

Two footmen were by his side, and in his numerous suite were Sir John Hastings, Sir John Pennington, Sir Robert Aske, and a host of other gentlemen resplendent with gold and silver.

With him also was his officer-at-arms, called Northumberland Herald, arrayed in his livery of velvet, bearing the Percy arms on his surcoat.

According to the chronicler Hall, both Scotch and English who saw him "esteemed him more like a prince than a subject."

His memory has come down to posterity, not only as a man "of great magnificence and taste," but what is better still, as "a generous patron of learning and of genius."

This commendation is all the more creditable, that, in the words of the chronicler, "perhaps at no period of time were his brother peers in general more illiterate."

The princess' reception at York might form the subject of a whole volume, so interesting are the customs of those days, the dresses worn, and the pageants held in her honour.

Thomas Savage, Archbishop of York, of whom it is said "that he was more of courtier and a sportsman than of an ecclesiastic," the Lord Mayor, Sir John Guillott, "in satin crimson," and the aldermen in gowns of scarlet and gold chains, received the princess "very meekly" outside the town, and when the procession entered York, "all the windows were so full of nobles, ladies, gentlemen, damsels, burgesses, and others in so great multitude, that it was a fair sight for to see."

On the 16th, being Sunday, she heard mass in the minster, and the sight was magnificent.

After church the Countess of Northumberland was

presented to her, "the princess kissing her in the welcoming," and during dinner "trumpets and other instruments rang in the ancient manner."

On the 17th the princess left York for Newborough, where she slept at the priory.

On the 18th she went to Allerton, where she was conveyed to the manor house belonging to the Bishop of Durham.

On the 19th she moved on to Darneton under the conduct of Sir James Strangways, and thence to the village of Hexham under that of Lord Lumley and his sons.

Here she was met by Sir William Bulmer, with "six score horses," as captain of the Bishop of Durham's forces, and on the 20th reached Durham, outside which town Sir Edward Stanley and his wife met her.

At the entrance to the cathedral, to which she at once proceeded, she was greeted by Bishop Sinews, a Benedictine monk, who had succeeded Fox, created Bishop of Winchester, and by the Prior of Durham, dressed in their pontificals, after which she went to the castle, "where her lodging was prepared and dressed honestly."

She remained four days at Durham, "her costs being borne by the said bishop, who gave double dinner and double supper to all comers worthy to be there."

On the 24th she left Durham, and three miles outside Newcastle she was met by the Prior of Tynemouth with thirty horses, "all his folks in livery," and by Sir Ralph Harbotle with forty horses.

At Newcastle she was received by the Sheriff of Northumberland, Sir Henry Ewers; by the mayor, John Snow; the ex-mayor George Carr; the sheriff, Robert Baxter; the ex-sheriff, Thomas Hall, and all the aldermen, among whom were George Bird, Bartholomew Young, John Blaxton, Thomas Riddell, and John Brandling.

At the bridge end children dressed in white were singing hymns and playing various instruments.

The princess was conveyed to the Austin Friars, where she lodged the night.

On the following day arrived Lord Dacre and "his folks," who a few years later was to find the body of her dead husband on the field of Flodden.

On the 26th she left Newcastle for Morpeth, having been joined by Sir Humphrey Lisle and the Prior of Brinkburne.

On the 27th the princess went to Alnwick, and on her way thither was complimented by "Maister Henry Gray, Esquire, with his folks in his livery, to the number of one hundred horses."

Two miles from Alnwick the Earl of Northumberland, who had hurried before her from Newcastle, came to meet her, "well accompanied, and brought

her through his park, where she killed a buck with her bow, after which she was conveyed to the castle, where she and her company were welcomed, the which made her very good cheer."

On the 29th she left Alnwick for Berwick, and stayed at Belford on the way, "for Sir Thomas d'Arcy, capitaine of Berwick, had made ready her dinner at the said place very well and honestly."

"Maister Henry Gray being Sheriff of Islandshire and Norhamshire, he bore his rod before the princess" until her entry into Berwick.

Betwixt Alnwick and Berwick she was accompanied by Sir Richard Cholmeley, Constable of Norham, by Sir Ralph Widdrington, and a hundred gentlemen of Northumberland, among whom were names well known in the present day—Thomas Haggerstone, Bertram Mitford, Nicholas Blenkinsop, Lancelot Ridley, Roger Fenwick, Ogle, Clavering, Orde, Collingwood, and Selby.

At Tweedmouth the pretty little princess alighted at the house of Sir William Tyler, who, on the 1st September 1491, had, for the sum of £27, 2s. a year,* leased "all the lands, tenements, rentes, houses, meadows, pastures, and arable lands lying within and about the town of Tweedmouth, together with all manner of fishing waters of Tweed, with the coal-mine."

* £75, 18s. of our money.

Tweedmouth was a portion of the Palatinate, and the above indenture had been signed by Bishop Fox of Durham.

After changing her riding apparel, the young princess, who was tired with her journey, albeit that at Belford she had "dined well and honestly," drove by the bridge to Berwick, and on arriving at the end of it she was received by Sir Thomas d'Arcy and a numerous company of gentlemen and men-at-arms.

Such was a royal procession in the days of merry England, and before railways were thought of.

Having tarried a couple of days in the old fortified Border town, to possess which more blood had been spilt of both English and Scotch than any other town in both countries, and therefore was more than any other place entitled to rejoice at the prospect of even a distant union of the two kingdoms, Margaret and her long train of splendidly attired knights entered Scotland, and proceeding to Lambertonkirk, four miles to the north of Berwick, was received by the Archbishop of Glasgow and by the Earl of Morton, who, with a pompous train, received the bride and conducted her to Fast Castle, from whence, on the 2nd of August, she proceeded to Haddington by Dunbar, "where on her passing they shot ordnance for the love of her."

"Great quantities of people assembled for to see their queen, bringing with them plenty of drink for

each one that would have of it in paying therefore."

After a night's rest she proceeded to Dalkeith, called "Acquik" by Leland, where the Countess of Morton knelt before her, and the earl presented the keys of the castle, "welcoming her as lady and maitresse."

On the 3d of August King James arrived, "his lyre behind his back, his beard something long," and "head bare," kissed Margaret, "and likewise kissed the ladies and others also."

On the 4th the king, "flying as the bird that seeks its prey," came privately to Dalkeith, "where he found the queen playing at the cards," but on his entering "she kissed him of good will," and he only saluted the company present.

It were too long to tell all the rejoicings that took place,—how "Lord Gray led the queen to the dance;" how "the king played the lute, much to her pleasure;" how "Sir Edward Stanley sang a ballad;" how at supper the king gave the queen the chair on which he sat, "because the queen was not at her ease on a stool;" how the courtship progressing, the king and queen embraced, "without sparing courtesy;" how at last, unable to be separated from her, "he mounted the palfrey of the queen and she behind him, and so rode through the town of Edinburgh;" how there being two cushions in the church for the king

and queen to kneel upon, the king "would never kneel first but both together;" and lastly, how, "holding always the queen by the body," he brought her to Holyrood.

The marriage was celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and altogether this assemblage of the great knights of both countries must have been a most wonderful sight; for according to the Bishop of Ross, "the Scottis men at this tyme war nocht beheynd, bot far above the Inglis men baithe in appareill, rich juellis, and massive chains, and mony ladies having thair habilyemantis partly set with goldsmith work, garnished with precious stones, with their gallant and well-trappit horses, wer cumly to se."

Indeed, according to Rymer, "even foreigners came to attend the festival;" and "when all things were done and finist according to thair commission, the Earl of Surry, with all the Inglis lordis, returnit into thair country, geving greit praise not only to the manhood of the Scottish men, but also to thair guid manners and hartlie intertenyment which they receivit of them."

Thus was celebrated the marriage which, one hundred years after, was, in the words of the commissioners of Scotland to Henry the Seventh, "possibly to cause the succession of the realm of England to fall to the succession of the body of Margaret, his

eldest daughter," and, in the king's words, "was not, even if this were to happen, to cause any damage to England thereby."

We may be excused for having tarried a little longer on this subject than perhaps the object of this volume might seem to warrant; but it must not be forgotten (besides the brief insight into the manners of the day) that any serious means of stopping Border warfare directly affected the standing purposes of Border fortresses, and in particular the object for which Norham had been built. So true is this, that within a very few years of the wedding which has just been related, Norham Castle ceased to have a history.

But it is ever to be remembered that whether or not the project of the marriage between King James, a young man twenty-five years of age, with a girl only twelve years old when he disclosed his object to Bishop Fox at Melrose, had been decided in his mind some time before, it was an ordinary broil caused by the impetuosity of the garrison of Norham Castle that brought about the negotiations for the marriage, and subsequently the marriage itself.

Thus from Norham came that seed of peace which was to unite England and Scotland in sympathy, in strength, and in unity of purpose against the world. Time and vandal hands have shorn the old Border castle of its strength and of its walls, but still the

keep stands proudly forth in assertion of her old power, which generations have learnt to respect even since the days when she forced others to respect her, and the great tower with its side open towards Scotland appears to tell even now of the peace she won for England through the marriage of Margaret Tudor, while the still impregnable wall on the south seems to point to Englishmen of the present day how in times gone by she could uphold the might and honour of England's fame.

CHAPTER XI.

FLODDEN.

"Now ballad, gather poppies in thine hands,
And sheaves of brier and many rusted sheaves
Rain-rotten in rank lands.

. . . . . .

Seek out Death's face ere the light altereth,
And say, 'My master that was thrall to love
Is become thrall to death.'"—*Swinburne.*

In 1509 Henry VII. died, bequeathing the enormous sum for those days of two millions sterling to his son Henry VIII., together with the mad notion that England had rights upon the French crown, which must never be abandoned, as if nations in their development counted with mortals, be they kings or friars, and were to accept them as hereditary rulers against their will.

As a counterbalance to the power of France, Spain, under Ferdinand, had become a great state, and to secure her aid against France, Henry VIII. married Ferdinand's daughter, Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his eldest brother Arthur.

Watching the opportunity of spending the money left him by his sordid father, and of gratifying his ambitious views, Henry VIII. ratified the treaty of peace with Scotland, which had been signed by Henry

VII. in 1502, and being asked by Spain to join the league, which the Italian states with Pope Julius II. at their head had formed to expel Lewis XII. of France from Lombardy, Henry consented so as to secure the good-will of Ferdinand.

The aim of Ferdinand was really the conquest for himself of the French province of Navarre, and Henry soon found to his cost that he had only been made use of, and that he alone was to derive no benefit from the successful issue of the war waged by the league. Furious with the pope, with Ferdinand, with the French, with everybody, the impetuous Henry resolved upon invading France in person.

After taking leave of Catherine, he commanded the Earl of Surrey to draw towards the north, fearing the Scots would invade it in his absence, and constituted him lieutenant of all the northern provinces, empowering him to raise all men able to bear arms in the counties of Chester, Lancaster, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland.

The Earl of Surrey then accompanied Henry to Dover, and here the king, taking Surrey's hand, said, "My lord, I trust not the Scots, therefore I pray you be not negligent;" to which Surrey answered, "I shall so do my duty that your grace shall find me diligent, and to fulfil your will shall be my gladness."

The chronicler Hall, from whom these particulars are gathered, went over to France in the same ship

with Henry, and tells how Surrey could scarcely speak with emotion and concern at being left behind, and said to some around him, "Sorry shall I be if I don't see the King of Scots, who is cause of my abiding behind; but if ever we meet, I shall do that which lieth in me to make him as sorry as I now am, or die."

The king having embarked, Surrey returned to London, and attended on the queen, comforting her as best he could, and shortly sent for his gentlemen and tenants, five hundred able men, whom he mustered before Sir Thomas Lovel on July 21st. The following day he rode through London northward on his way to Doncaster.

Rumours by this time had reached him of the bellicose intentions of the Scotch, so he pushed on to Pomfret, where he had summoned the noblemen and gentlemen of the counties in his charge to meet him, and certify to him as to the number of able men, horsed and armed, they could raise at an hour's warning to attend him.

This was done on the 1st August, and posts "having been laid every way to advertise them," he sent a message to Sir Ralph Grey of Warke, and to Sir Richard Cholmeley, captain of Norham, informing them that "if in their opinion the castle of Norham was in any danger, he would be ready to relieve it."

Cholmeley, however, wrote back, "thanking the earl, and praying that the King of Scots would come

with his puissance, for he would keep him in play till the King of England came out of France."

This reply reached Surrey a few days only before the 22d of August, when "the King of Scots did come before Norham with his puissance," just about the same time that Henry, who had landed in the north of France, and had routed the French cavalry at Guinegate (when their precipitate flight had shown the victor so many heels that the day was called the "battle of spurs"), was besieging Terouenne.

Events in Scotland during these early months had been hastening to a crisis, and the following (briefly told) will explain how it was that Henry on leaving England had some justification for his saying to the Earl of Surrey that he "trusted not the Scots."

A year before, in June 1512, one Andrew Barton, a sea-pirate, who was waging a little war of his own with Portugal, was returning to Scotland with his plunder, when in the Downs he encountered Sir Edmund Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, and son of Lord Surrey, who called upon him to surrender.

Barton refused, and an engagement took place, during which he was slain. His Scotch sailors were taken prisoners to London, and his two ships, the *Lyoun* and the *Jennypirryne,* were captured.

James IV. at once remonstrated against this breach of the peace between England and Scotland.

Henry replied that the capture of a Scotch pirate was no breach of the peace with Scotland, but that nevertheless to satisfy James he would send commissioners to the Borders to treat upon "that and all uther enormities betwixt the tua realmes."

Meanwhile France was looking everywhere for an ally, and already in 1506 she had sent a herald, le Sire de Montgommery, with overtures to James, who received him kindly, but promised nothing; and in 1512 she entrusted John, Lord Gordon, who had been Scotch ambassador at the French court, with a confidential message, which was communicated to the king's council.

As time was wearing on, and Henry's commissioners made no appearance according to promise, the capture of Barton's ships still remaining unredressed, James received openly M. de la Mote, who came over to persuade the King of Scotland to make war against England, promising him, if he did so, both money, munition, and war materiel on behalf of the French king.

James Ogilvy, Abbot of Dryburgh, arrived from France at the same time with still more pressing letters, and at the end of July 1512, de la Mote returned to France with the king's assurance of support in the manner desired by Louis XII.

In November following the king received "ane greit schip, send fra the King of France, full of

artailyrie, pulder, and wine," and in the following May 1513, four more laden with guns, powder, harness, and other kinds of ammunition.

All these were forwarded at once to the Tweed, and de la Mote, who had come over with them, was attached as ambassador to the staff of the king.

The commissioners appointed by England, probably in consequence of these French overtures to Scotland, met, however, in June 1513, contrary to James' expectation, but "they would not consent to make any redress or restitution till the 15th of October following, believing that by that time they might know the state of the King of England's proceedings in France."

On this being reported to James, he, on the 26th of July 1513, despatched Sir David Lindesay, Lyon King-at-arms, to France with a letter, and with orders to declare to Henry, wherever he found him, that "because of the injuries and wrangis done to him and his subjects by the said King of England, and also because of the present invasion which he made upon his considerate friends, the most christian King of France and Duke of Gueldre, the King of England was therefore requirit to return into his own realme and desist fra the pursuit of the said princes, and to repair and redress the injuries which he and his lieges had sustained, otherwise that the said Lyon Herald must denounce war to him."

Lyon reached Henry VIII. before Terouenne, and "arryving in his army with his cote of arms upon him, he desyrit to speike with the king," into whose presence he was shortly brought by Garter King-at-arms.

Henry received him well, took the letter, and said he would read it.

After he had considered it, he sent for Lyon, and told him that he would give him a verbal answer which he might carry home to the king his master.

Whereupon Lyon said, "Sir, I am the king's natural subject, and he my natural lord, and that he commandis me to saie, I may bauldy saie, with favour; bot the commandments of others I may not nor dare not say to my sovereign lord; bot your letters which your honour may send, I may take with your pleasure; albeit your answer requires doing and no writing, that is, that immediately you should return hame."

Henry replied somewhat hastily, "I will return at my pleasure to your damage, and not at your master's summoning."

Whereupon Lyon declared war, and departed for Flanders, where he hoped to take passage across, but the chronicler adds, "he gat not redie passige, and come nocht in Scotland quhill Floudoun field was strikin and the kinge slain."

Henry meanwhile sent word to the Earl of Surrey that war had been declared to him, and ordered him

to send his son, the Lord High Admiral, by sea, capturing the while all that he came across, to Berwick, where they could unite their forces for the invasion of Scotland.

James heard of these preparations in the first days of August, though wondering at his herald not having returned with an answer. He also heard of the Earl of Surrey's presence at Pomfret, and anxious to be first in the field, he allowed Lord Home, Lord Chamberlain and Warden of the Scottish Marches, to invade Northumberland, while he levied an army of between sixty and one hundred thousand men to invade England in earnest.

Lord Home was unsuccessful, though he set fire to twelve villages which he had plundered. Sir William Bulmer, captain of the Palatinate forces, with two hundred archers lying in ambush "amongst the tall broom which then covered the sandy plain of Millfield near Wooler," disposed of three thousand Scotch so effectually, that all the Scotch chronicler has to say is, that "the said Lord Chamberlane eschapeit on the day of ill rode, 13th of August 1513."

On the 22d of August, the herald not having returned, and no war having been openly declared, though the preparations for war on both sides had been tantamount to such a declaration, James IV. at the head of his magnificent army arrived at the village of Coldstream, and crossing the Tweed "with a few cum-

pany," rode to Twisell, where he encamped, and thence to Ford Castle, the property of Sir William Heron of Ford and Twisell, whose wife the beautiful Agnes is reported in romance to have exercised such a spell over King James.

> "O'er James's heart, the courtiers say,
> Sir Hugh the Heron's wife held sway."

Sir William Heron had been sent some years before a prisoner to Scotland, because of an affray at a Border meeting, when he killed Sir Robert Ker, the Scotch Warden of the Marches. He was kept a prisoner in Fast Castle Tower, in the Mers, on a rock, above the Frith of Forth, and thus it was that his wife was left alone with her step-daughter Margaret, at Ford Castle, which on this occasion was wholly undefended, although some Scotch historians maintain that it was taken by them as if siege had been laid to it.

Margaret, who afterwards married Sir W. Carr, was the last of the Herons and the heiress of their estates.

The charms of Agnes, vaunted as they have been, cannot, however, have exercised much influence on this occasion, for on the 23d, in the afternoon, King James appeared before Norham Castle with all the guns and siege artillery which during a year of peace he had received from France and Flanders for the purpose of being used against England.

Since the siege in 1497, when Garth and Hamerton so distinguished themselves, Norham had been thoroughly repaired, but the items of expenditure on this count, when compared with those which were sanctioned after its capture on the present occasion, clearly prove that the seven "Borthwick" guns and "Mons Meg" were not brought into action against its walls in the first siege.

From the list of expenditure we gather that John Aynsley was in the first instance paid £153 for repairs done between the years 1497 and 1509; and in the year 1510, when King Henry's suspicions of the Scotch intentions were coming to the fore, the expenses for material, ammunition, and wages at Norham amounted to £343, 4s. 6d., while the repairs were completed in 1511 at a cost of £254, 6s. 8d.

The details of this gross total of £750, 12s. 2d., or about £2100 of our present money, show that stones, lime, wood, lead, sand, and coal were the principal items bought, and that the wages paid to the labourers, masons, and carriers formed the greater portion of the expenditure; and the conclusion necessarily drawn is, that the damage actually done to the walls was not of a very substantial nature, and that the firing on the Scotch side was still in its infancy and ill-directed, since a fortnight's bombardment was not productive of any greater damage than the "fall of one tower," for which all these stones dressed in the Tweedmouth quarries were led to Norham.

As soon as "Mons Meg" * was in position in the village of Norham, facing the barbican, her power was tried against it, and in its shock the old castle felt the might of coming ages, and her inability to cope with the murderous weapons which succeeded the days of chivalry.

At the end of two days the barbican was a mass of ruins, and the outer ward was taken by assault.

In the year 1521, Lord Dacre commented on the weakness of this outer ward, and reported that the "outer ward is so feeble that it cannot be kept by reason that the four towers founded for bulwarks is of that lowness, that it is not able to abide a siege;" but of the inner ward he added, "it is so fynished and of that strength that with the help of God and the prayer of St Cuthbert it is impregnable."

Masters of the outer ward, the Scotch could make no impression upon the inner ward, though they damaged the donjeon and the chapel and most of the offices within.

Sir Richard Cholmeley defended himself valiantly, and so did his gunners; but they too were new at the work of artillery, and fired somewhat too rapidly, the result being that by the 25th he ran short of ammunition.

* This gun, cast at Mons in Belgium, and called after Queen Margaret, is now in Edinburgh, and is said to have been used against Norham in 1497.

Seeing this, the Scotch called upon him to capitulate, but Sir Richard declared he would hold out till the 29th even without ammunition, promising at the same time that unless he were relieved by that date he would surrender the castle to King James.

He was thereupon allowed to send a herald to Surrey, who was at Newcastle; but it seems certain that the messenger did not reach the latter in time to allow of his fulfilling his promise to relieve Norham.

The 29th arrived, and anxiously from the old battlements did Sir Richard Cholmeley, a brave soldier himself, scan the horizon in hopes of seeing an army of relief; but at nightfall his hopes went down with the sun, and he marched out a prisoner.

Norham had surrendered; not for long, however, for in less than three weeks she had been reconquered; and it is a curious fact that in her 500 years' history of resistance to Scottish arms she never was, on the three occasions when she was taken, by King David, by Bruce, and by James IV., longer than a month in Scottish hands.

Historians have endeavoured to prove that treachery was at work in the surrender of Norham, and that the belief was strong even at the time is undoubted, as the following will show; but Mr Lamb, whom Dr Raine somewhere calls an "imaginative antiquarian," but whose notes to the "Poem of Flodden" are

curious and interesting, founds his belief in treachery on the fact that James IV. was encamped on Lady-kirk Bank, that is to say, on the Scotch side, whereas we have positive evidence of his having crossed the Tweed on the 22d of August, to have encamped at Twisell, and to have come before Norham on the 23d.

A traitor, whose name is not given, is supposed to have gone to the king and advised him to descend into the flat ground near the Tweed, now called "Gin Haugh," whence with his cannon he threw down the north-east corner of the castle wall.

This, too, is contrary to fact and to possibility, for from the village the north-east corner could not be hit, and it was the barbican that was first destroyed.

Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of Henry VIII., believed in the treachery, as can be seen in the following epigram, wherein he lays stress on the short-lived pleasure of possessing Norham :—

"Scote quid oppugnas Norhanam viribus arcem
Ante tibi falsa proditione datam ?
Artibus ergo malis capta fuit arce voluptas
Magna tibi forsan, sed brevis illa fuit.
Teque tuisque malâ, meritâ sed morte peremptis
Arx intra est paucos, capta, recepta, dies
Proditor inque tuo peteret cum præmia regno
Mors sceleri est merces reddita digna suo
Proditor ut pereat, pereat cui proditor hostis
Invicta in fatis arx habet ista suis."

There is a field near the castle in which the traitor is supposed to have been hanged, and which is called Hangman's Land; but this, again, refers to the administration of justice by the Norham magistrates.

The following lines may, however, interest the reader:—

"It was the king's express command
To waste with cruel sword and flame:
A field of blood he made the land
Till he to Norham Castle came.

Which soon with siege he did beset,
And trenches digged without delay;
With bombard shot the walls he beat,
And to assault it did essay.

The captain great, with courage stout,
His fortress fiercely did defend;
But for a while he lasted out,
Till his ordnance did spend.

His powder he did profusely waste,
His arrows he hailed out every hour;
So that he wanted at the last,
And at the last had none to pour.

But yet five days he did defend,
Though with assaults they him assail'd;
Though all their strength they did extend,
Yet all their power had not prevailed.

Had not there been a traitorous thief,
Who came King James's face before,
That in that hold had got relief
The space of thirty years and more.

'Oh king,' quoth he, 'now quit this place,
And down to yonder vallies draw;
The walls then shall you rend and raze,
Your batteries will bring them low.'

Which as he said, so did the king,
And against the walls his ordnance bent;
It was a wretched dismal thing
To see how soon the walls were rent.

Which made the captain sore afraid,
Beholding the walls how they reeled;
His weapons all then down he laid,
And to King James did humbly yield.

So when the Scots the walls had won,
And rifled every nook and place,
The traitor came to the king anon,
But for reward met with disgrace.

'Therefore for this thy traitorous trick
Thou shall be tried in a trice.
Hangman, therefore,' quoth James, 'be quick;
The groom shall have no better place.'"

Another tradition tells how the king was informed of the weakest side of the castle by a letter fixed to an arrow which was shot over the Tweed into his camp; but this, too, I believe to be a mere legend.

Mr Hutchinson's remarks with regard to the powers of resistance of Norham are of great interest, and tell powerfully how, when the use of artillery came to be a portion of regular warfare, even such strongholds as Norham were unable to cope with the new engines.

"When the outward walls were in repair, and filled with troops; when the oillets and other devices for

the garrison's fighting and defence were properly supplied with experienced archers, and the bastions were kept by men of valour, it seems almost incredible that this place could ever be taken by assault. But when there was a regular blockade, and time for mining and raising engines, the defence then consisting of different manœuvres would consequently harass the most powerful garrison; frequent sallies becoming necessary, by which the troops are exposed to the superior numbers of besiegers; incessant watchings and severe duties wear down the greatest fortitude of soul, and scarcity of provisions, with perpetual anxiety, subdue the most vigorous heart. Such are the calamities of a siege, and such were many times experienced at Norham."

Proud of his conquest, James went back to Ford Castle, whither even during the siege of Norham he had several times ridden.

On one occasion, according to Mr Lamb, the king, returning from a visit to Lady Heron, and wishing to cross the Tweed at Norham to his camp at Ladykirk, got into very deep water at the west ford, upon which he made a vow to the Blessed Virgin Mary, that if she would carry him safe to land he would erect and dedicate a church to her upon the banks of the Tweed, a vow which, tradition says, he had not time to fulfil, but which was done for him by heavenly powers, who in a single night built the old Gothic church which

still stands, and which is all of stone, even to the roof.

An old inscription on the church, which is almost illegible now, gives, however, the interesting particular, that in the jubilee year 1500, King James erected the chapel to our Lady in gratitude for his miraculous escape from drowning while fording the river Tweed.

As we cannot accept the legend as history, and we cannot believe Sir William Heron, who was twice married, to have had the singular ill luck of finding each of his wives unfaithful to him and enamoured of James, we must come to a conclusion, if more prosaic at least more rational, namely, that in the hurry consequent on the Scotch departure from Norham in 1497, on hearing of the approach of Surrey's army, James IV. got out of his depth, and owed his life to the swimming powers of his horse.

Impatient though his army was to advance,* it is certain that the king unaccountably delayed his march forward; and, according to one writer, it was suspected by many that Surrey, being acquainted with the king's "amorous constitution," privately recommended the Lady of Ford and her daughter to remain in their castle, in order to stay the advances

* And why stands Scotland idly now?
. . . . . .
What checks the fiery soul of James?
Why sits that champion of the dames
Inactive?

of the Scotch troops till he could by long marches come up with them.

The weather appears to have been very bad for the time of the year. Bishop Lesley says, "thair wes nevir ane fair day nor scarce ane hour, bot gret cold, wind, and weitt during thair remaining in England, so that onely the principall noble men of the realme nor few cumpanys remaynit with the king,"* an amusing attempt at explaining the battle of Flodden Field by a desertion of the bulk of the Scottish army through the badness of the weather, which is deserving of record.

Meanwhile Surrey had been hurrying to make good his word, "that he should make the King of Scots sorry, or die."

On the evening of the 8th of September, Surrey arrived at Barmoor, where he established his head-quarters, the Till river winding slowly and deeply between his army and the Scotch, who were encamped on the ridge of Flodden hill, a low and detached eminence from the ridge of Cheviot.

This position was almost impregnable, but King James had "determined to have his enemies before him on a plain field," and when on the morning of the 9th,

> "The Scots beheld the English host
> Leave Barmoor Wood, their evening post,
> And heedful watch'd them as they crossed
> The Till by Twisel Bridge,"

* Lesley's "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 93.

he would not allow the English army to be interrupted in their passage across the river, even though this strategical movement on the part of Surrey deprived the Scotch of the Till as a line of defence, and placed the English army between King James and his supplies from Scotland.*

As soon as James considered the moment come for a battle in the open field, contrary to the dying advice of King Bruce, which every Scotch monarch knew by heart, he sent Islay, his herald, to Surrey, with a letter bearing the following words :†

"When it is alleged that we are come to England against our bond and promise, we answer thereto our brother was bound as much to us as we to him;

* Lesley tells the story differently to Pitscottie :—"The king wes made to believe be an Inglishman, callit Giles Musgrave, which was his companion and espy, that the same (Surrey's march across the Till) was done for ane pollicie to cause the king and his army to leave the strength, and come down fra the hill callit Flowdoune; and in his doune cumin the Inglis ordinance shot fast and did great scathe, and slew his principal gunners; bot the king's artillery did small scathe, be reason of the hight where they stood, they shot over the English army."—Lesley, vol. i. p. 94.

† According to Stowe, Surrey sent a challenge on the 7th of September from Wooler, dated 5 p.m., and subscribed by Surrey, by his son, by Thomas Lord Dacre, by Lord Clifford, by Henry Lord Scrope, Sir Ralph Scrope, Richard Lord Latimer, William Lord Conyers, Sir John Lumley, Sir Richard Ogle, William Lord Percy, Sir Edward Stanley, Sir William Molineux, Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir William Gascoyne, Sir William Griffith, Sir George d'Arcy, Sir William Bulmer, and Sir Thomas Strangways, but James did not accept the challenge.

and when we swore last before his embassy in presence of our council, we expressed specially in our oath that we would keep with our brother if our brother kept to us, and not else. We swear our brother broke first with us, and since his doing so we have required divers times him to amend, and lately we warned our brother as he did not us. And this we take for our quarrel, and with God's grace shall defend the same at your fixed time, which we shall abide."

The herald returned, and shortly afterwards a rush was made by the Earls of Huntly and of Home, who commanded the Scotch vanguard, upon the sons of Surrey, who commanded the English vanguard, and the banner of Sir Thomas Howard was beaten down.

"The Scottis vanguard fairlie set on with spears and lang weapons, threw the maist part of the said vanguard of England to the earth, slew mony of thair folkis, and the uthers fled; yit thay quha did escape joinit themselves to thair greit battell."

This "greit battell" was the centre of the English army, commanded by the Earl of Surrey in person, whose rear was under Sir Edward Stanley and Lord Dacre, while on the Scotch side the king commanded the centre, and by him were the Earls of Argyle and Lennox, and his rearguard was under the Earls of Crawford and Montrose.

At four in the afternoon the battle had begun, and by five Lennox and Argyle were slain, and their

undisciplined highlanders put to flight, which decided the day.

On seeing their discomfiture, James altogether forgot "his character of monarch and general, and rushed on with the illaudable valour of a common soldier."

The English leaders, cool and collected, preserved their station, from which, while they saw all that was going on, they gave their orders and controlled the actions of their bands.

James, carried away by enthusiasm and excitement, dismounted, and his nobles with him, then rushing forth to the front actually struggled with the mass of English bill-men.*

Bothwell, seeing his king in danger, advanced with his reserves, and valiantly supporting the king's attack, was near capturing the standard of Surrey; but at this critical moment Surrey's son, Admiral Sir Edmund

* "They close, in clouds of smoke and dust,
With sword sway and with lances thrust,
And such a yell was there
Of sudden and portentous birth,
As if men fought upon the earth,
And fiends in upper air.
Oh life and death were in the shout,
Recoil and rally, charge and rout,
And triumph and despair.
. . . . .
Spears shook and faulchions flash'd amain,
Fell England's arrow flight like rain."
—*W. Scott*, "*Marmion.*"

Howard, the type of a cool soldier, calling Lord Dacre and his cavalry to his aid, attacked Crawford and Montrose, slew them and routed their forces, while Stanley on the left, wheeling round the eminence, came to his help, and all united their strength against the king and Home, who had been abandoned by Huntly. Though Stanley, having routed the right wing, came upon the rear of the Scotch centre, these arranged in the form of a circle maintained their ground, and disputed the victory till the approach of night.

Home* had been alone successful, and the Scotch centre had not retired when darkness put an end to the fight; but on the morning of the 10th of September, Surrey discovered that the field had been abandoned by the foe, and that he had won a victory of the most decisive character.

Among the dead Lord Dacre found King James IV., lying amidst a heap of his warlike peers and gentlemen, pierced with an arrow and mortally wounded on the head with a bill. The bodies of the Archbishop of St Andrews, James' natural son, four abbots, twelve earls, seventeen lords, four hundred knights, and seventeen thousand others, told how keen the fight had been.

* Besides Lord Home, there were present many members of his clan, and conspicuous among these were the "seven spears of Wedderburn," viz., Sir David Home of Wedderburn and six sons. He and his eldest son George were slain, and the standard which they carried on the occasion still remains in the family of Mr David Milne, who married a Home, heiress of Wedderburn, added her name to his own, and is now resident at Milne Graden.

As soon as the body of the king was found, it was taken to Norham Castle,* and thence to Berwick, where it was identified by two of his subjects who had been made prisoners, Sir William Scott, his chancellor, and Sir John Forman, his sergeant-porter. The body was pierced by several arrows, the left hand was severed from the arm, and the neck was "laid open to the middle." His last words had been, according to the old poem,—

"'Fight on, my men . . . . .
Yet Fortune she may turn the scale;
And for my wounds be not dismayed,
Nor ever let your courage fail.'

. . . . . .

Thus dying, did he brave appear,
Till shades of death did close his eyes;
Till then he did his soldiers cheer,
And raise their courage to the skies."

The body was embalmed at Berwick, and then conveyed to the monastery of Sheen in Surrey.

Such was the end of a prince who, notwithstanding his frailties, deserves well of his countrymen, for his faults proceeded from a gentle and kind disposition, to which he gave way when the higher duties of the State allowed him to throw off a severer garb.

In the administration of justice, "which he exercised during the time of his reign, he deservit to be

* "View not that corpse mistrustfully,
Defaced and mangled though it be;
Nor to yon Border castle high
Look northward with upbraiding eye."

numbreit amangis the best princes that ever regneit abone that nation, . . . and if it had pleased the high will of the Almighty to have lent him longer life, he should have brocht that realme of Scotland to sic flourishing estate as the like in none of his predecessors' days was never yit heard of."

The King of England was before Tournay when the news of the victory reached him, and immediately after a letter from the queen was received, in which she said, "To my thinking this battell hath been to your grace and all your realme greater honour than if ye should wyn all the crown of France;" and added, "For the hastynesse with Rougecroix I could not send your grace the piece of the King of Scots coat which John Clyn now bringeth, in which you see how I can keep my promise, sending you for your banner a king's coat." In a postscript she wrote, "I send your grace herein a bill found in a Scottish man's purse, of such things as the French king sent to the said King of Scots to make war against you."

In the month of October, when Henry VIII. returned to Richmond, he was not unmindful of the services of those who had fought so well at Flodden. To the Earl of Surrey he made a special grant to himself and the heirs of his body, in tail male, of an honourable augmentation of his arms, to bear on the bend thereof in an escutcheon *or* a demi-lion rampant, pierced through the mouth with an arrow within a double tressure *flory* and *counterflory gules*.

Among other English noblemen and knights whose names have been recorded as present at the battle were Richard Lord Nevill, Lord Latimer, Lord Scrope of Upsal, Henry Lord Clifford, Thomas Lord Conyers, Sir Richard Cholmondely of Cheshire, Sir William Percy, Sir Philip Tilney, Sir John Radcliffe, Sir John Mandeville, Sir Christopher Clapham, Sir John Willoughby, Sir William Molyneux, and Sir William Bulmer.

Under the latter were gentlemen of the Palatinate —Grays of Chillingham and Horton, Fosters of Bamborough, Carrs of Wark, Muscamp of Barmoor, Orde of Newbiggin, Selby of Twisell, Collingwood of Etal, Selby of Grindon, Clavering of Scremerstone, Carnaby of Haggerstone, and others.

Thus ended the last real attempt at invasion on the part of Scotland.

Norham had been the last of James IV.'s successes. From its keep, which had not been actually taken but had surrendered for the want of ammunition, the Scotch garrison had seen the distant firing on Flodden field, and almost distinguished the various fortunes of the day.

The Cheshire men who deserted * gave them hope

* Hall, who was present with the king before Tournay, says that "on September 25, 1513, the king received the gauntlet with letters of the Earl of Surrey, and highly praised the earl and the lord admiral his son, and all that were in that valiant enterprise:

as they ran past, until the men of Huntly, who did the same, told another tale, and on the morrow of Flodden no Scotch soldier was seen within the castle. Left to itself for the first time within its history, the moment told of its fallen state.

The age of English chivalry died at Flodden, and the Castle of Chivalry received for a brief moment as a dying token the rash but chivalrous king whom it had helped to find peace in a union with England.

We have come to the end of our historical task. Flodden marks the beginning of an era with which this generation is better acquainted, and with which Norham had nothing left in common.

Built by the hands of a clergy that was doomed to disappear for good or for evil within the next few years, it was meet that the bishop's castle should have run its course before the bishop's downfall.

It had nobly done its duty, had helped Scotland to independence, and England to unity. It had contributed to strengthen the latter in its hours of need, and had thwarted the former's plans in its moments of greatest expectation. It could do no more, and it did no more.

"Sic transeat gloria mundi."

but that the king had a secret letter of the Cheshiremen's flying from Sir Edmund Howard, the earl's son, which caused heart-burning, but the king would have no man be dispraised."—Hall's "Chronicle," folio 43, b. 44.

CHAPTER XII.

PATCHING UP.

"Lost sight of, hidden away out of sight,
Clasped and clothed in the cloven clay;
Out of the world's way, out of the light,
Out of the ages of worldly weather,
Forgotten of all men altogether."—*Swinburne.*

On the 24th of October 1513, a month after the battle of Flodden, the following letter from Bishop Ruttal of Durham was sent to King Henry VIII.'s almoner Wolsey, who already was making rapid strides in the confidence of the sovereign, and towards his own advancement:—

"As towching the Castell of Norham, thanked be God and Saint Cuthbert it is not so ill as I supposid, for the Dongeon and the Inner ward shall be renewyd shortly; and if I be not lettyd by the Scots, I trust, if all promysses be kept with me, they shall be in better cas than they war by Whitsuntide. I have my smythys working on the iron gates and dorys, my carpenters upon roofs, my masons in divysing for stonys and other necessaries for the re-edifying of the sayd dongeon and Inner-warde, my lime breuners set in wark, and within brief tyme I purpose to send

unto the king's grace for commyssions to take warkmen agenst the tyme of year for re-edifying of ye Castell, for I purpose, God willing, to spare no money though I live a poor life till it be fynished."

The bishop dated his letter from Auckland, where, apparently, he was entertaining somewhat sumptuously, for he adds in the same letter:—

"The hospitality of this country agreeth not with the building so greate a wark, for that I spend here wold make many towris. I brought hider with me viii tunne of wyne, and our Lord be thanked, I hafe not two tunne left at this hour, and this is fair utterance in two months."

An entry in the accounts for 1514 bears out the bishop's statement :—

"Paid to William Fraunkelyn, Clerk, my Lord's Treasurer, at different times, for re-edifying and amending the defects of the Castle of Norham, and for the wages of the soldiers there, which Castle was lately thrown down and rased to the ground (prostratum et disruptum ad terram) by the rebellion (*sic*) and cruelty of the Scots, as is indented between Hugh Asshton, clerk, Chancellor of Durham, and William Fraunkelyn, dated 29 April 1514. £1108, 5s. = to £3103, 2s."

A further sum of £113, 18s. 4d. was paid to the same William Fraunklyn towards the end of the year. (£318, 19s. 4d.)

In 1516, a long bill for repairs and provisioning of Norham, amounting to £133, 10s. 7d., was paid to Robert Athe, clerk of the works.

One of the items is "for taking down of the lead at Middleham, and for carrying it to Durham: imprimis to William, Plommar, for 5 days' work, per day 6d., 2s. 6d.; to six labourers for five days, per day a man 4d., 10s.; to my lord's tenants of Cornforht and Medlam for carrying of 44 fodar of lead from Medlam to Durham, 44s.; paid for watching of the lead 3 nights, 12d.; for watching of the vans with lead all a night on the moor, 4d."

This shows that, as Mr Raine observes, the bishop was dismantling one of his castles to repair another.

"John Kowpar, for removing the brewing vessels and copper pans from Stockton Castle to Norham," was paid 20d., and most of the iron and guns and powder appears to have been bought of "Maistar Branleng, a Newcastle merchant," ancestor of the Brandlings of Gosforth Park.

Mr Brandling, who, I believe, now represents this old family, has left Northumberland, and is the husband of Julia Lady Jersey, the daughter of Sir Robert Peel.

In 1517, more lead was carried to Newcastle from Stockton Castle for Norham; and it is interesting to note that the lead was first conveyed to Newcastle to "Maister John Batemanson, the plumber," on which occasion the porters received 10s., and that it was then

put on board a ship, at the cost of 33s. 4d. for the freight and carriage to Holy Island.

Between the years 1517 and 1521, a sum of £350 was paid, so that in seven years from the time of the repairs being begun the bishop spent no less than £2000 equal to £5600, besides dismantling two castles.

These numerous accounts, however, had to be audited, and the work performed to be inspected and reported upon.

The Chancellor of Durham, William Franklyn, had intrusted the repairs to Robert Athe (a name still borne in the neighbourhood of Norham), and it was necessary to have the opinion of him who was most interested in the repairs to the castle—namely, of Thomas Dacre, its captain, as to the efficiency of such works.

We have accordingly the following "Answer of Thomas Lord Dacre and Philip Dacre his brodre, deputies to William Dacre, Lord Graistock, to a Bill of Instructions brought by Robert Athe from Mr William Frankleyne, Chancellor of Duresme, the 5th daye of February, the 12th year of the Pontificacion of the said Lord."*

* This report, which is the most important document extant upon Norham, has already twice appeared in print, the first time in the "Archæologia," xvii. 201, and the second time in Dr Raine's "History of North Durham," p. 294; but I need not apologise for its third appearance in print, for no history of the castle could be complete without it, and I have given it therefore

"In the first article my said lord by his writing to his Chancellar of his awn hand bering date at Duresme place besides Westminster upon Saint Swithyn day is desirous to knowe in what suyrtie his castell of Norham standes in and how it shalbe ordred heraftre. In the second article to knowe, how the said castell is furnysshed with vitaill, men and other necessaryes for suyrtie of the same. In the third article that a book might be drawn, how the said castell is and shalbe ordred for ther is so evill reaports maid oppenly to his lordship, that he can not be quiet unto sixche tyme as he knowe the certainte therof. In the iiijth article, that my said lord or this tyme has spoken with the Lord Roos and William Heron for warrauntes for Tymbre, In the vth article, finally to be assertaiyned how every thing is, and shalbe ordred for the savegard and custodie of the said castell to thintent that my lord may be aduertised of the same.

"As vnto thes Articles affor written, as vnto the estate of the Castell the said Lord Dacre saith, that is

as it has been copied for me in the British Museum by the kindness of Mr Maude Thompson, from the Cotton Manuscripts, Caligula, B. viii. f. 249.

The reader will especially note that the height of the long wall between the entrance to the inner ward and the lower gate "next the water" is given as over 14 yards or 42 feet high, which seems to me excessive; and also that much attention was given to stabling, there being actual stables for sixty horses, cow-byres fitted to hold fifty more in time of war, and a room under the chapel turned into a stable for twenty more horses.

to say, not vnknowen to my said lord how it is past and covenaunted by Indenture how many solders, how many warkmen and otheris shuld be kepit in the said castell. In the tyme of peas whiche is kepit in nombre according to the tenour of the same Indenture, And also it is further covenaunted that in the tyme of warr, the said wark shall cease and the Fees and wagies of the same to be Imployed for the sure custodie of the said castell. And now it is more likely to be warr then peas, And if the wark shuld cesse the vttre ward is so feble that it can not be kepit bereason that the four Towres founded for Bulwarkes, is of that lawnes that it is not able to abide a sege and the mantill waull of siche febilnes, without it be countermored whiche can not be done if the wark shuld cesse.

"And as vnto the Inner ward it is so fynysshed and of that strienth, that with the help of God and the prayer of Saint Cuthbert it is vnpringnable.

"The long waull betwix the Inner ward and the nethr yate next the watre is fynysshed redie to the Batalling, And so it mistres no more for a necessitie for it is of hight xiiij yerdes and more besides the avantage of the bank of clene waull in sight.

"Ther is achlers redie hewen, and othr filling stuff redie getten in the quarrey that nightand will fynysshe the said fowr towres being bulwarkes or at the lest will furnysshe thre of them.

"Ther is also one stable maid substantiall of stone and Tymbre in five severall roomes that will serue lx horse, Also ther is a bire made for oxen whiche in the tyme of necessite the oxen being awey will serue l horse, Also, ther is vndre the chapell a roum whiche was made affor myn entre, which I have orissed with hek and mangeor for xx horse, And so ther is good stabilling redie at this owr for vixxx horse, besides logies whiche is made for servauntes of none effect.

"And as vnto the vitailling of the said castell, ther is of salt beves in salt Barrelt in thre grete Fates, xliij oxen and kye, besides the common beif dayly spendit and occupied, Also in fisshe iij hogishedes of salt salmon, c salt fisshe besides the store of the house, Also ther is whiche shall alwey be redie vnto grisse Beif com vj fed oxen, and ccccth shepe lieng vndre the castell waull nightly as well for suyrtie of the same as for a necessitie.

"Also ther is corn in the garners, and within the castell in stakes by estimation in whete and rye fourty quarters, In malt whiche is now in making at the castell yate fowr score quarters, whiche cornes is to be kepit for perill and Jepiordie of segeing besides the garners dayly to be occupied.

"And in this case as is affor declared standes the said castell like as Robert Athe has sene every particular of the same which I trust will make reaport accordingly.

"And if it be warr my lordes pleasure must be knowen whedre his lordship will have the wark to go forward or to cesse, for if it contynue, and go forward my said lord must be chargied with the wagies of the same out of his coffres during the tyme of warr, for according to the covenauntes of Indentures the wagies and fees of the warkmen must go and find able men, whiche with thos that is covenaunted to be and remane in tyme of peas shall make the full nombre, of lix for the which I have provided of harnes to be abov ther Jakes of myn awn charge, for the deputie of a complete curase, and for every of the other, ane almane Belett, a Bever and a Sallett, besides the Counte my lordes Tenauntes whiche must com in, as they ar appoynted having mete and drink, with a reward, according to ther service, that is to say.

"The Capitain or his sufficient deputie having with his awn person of his awn charge xiiij persons, that is to say hymself, his servaunt, a chaplain, two cookes a Brewer, besides Childre, a butler, thre hynes being personable men, iij servauntes of the said hynes, a carter, and has but to his wage xx. ℔., And the constable and a servaunt with hym whiche comyth never here to look at his charge x. ℔, vj Soldees icheuer at C. s, xxx ℔, ij porters viij ℔, iiij wattishmen xvj. ℔ all thes ar kepit and remanes at this day except the constable whiche nothing regardith his charge.

"Also ther shalbe kepit upon the wagies of vj

waullers, vj gonners whiche must have takin out of the thre masons wagies, lx. s. and so every gonner shall have vj ℔ x. s. by yere. And the Reversion of the thre masons wagies whiche is xv ℔ shall kepe iij soldees, Also ther shalbe kepit upon the c. ℔ whiche in the tyme of peas shuld be spendit, of lyme lawborers, wrightes and other artificers xx^{ti} able men, icheuer aftre c. s. a pece by yere. And so the hole nombre of lix besides childre, shalbe kepit according to my covenauntes with the best husbandrie that I can make.

"And if it pleas my Lord that the wark be kepit whiche semes to me must be of verey necessite for my lord's honor and suyrtie of his castell and also for the kinges pleasure and sklandre of yll tonges seing the losse of the said castell before his lordship shalbe chargied with no more out of his coffers but only with the som clvj. ℔ that is to say for the masons, wallers and quarriors, lvj. ℔ for lyme lawborers and other artificers C. ℔.

"And as for ordinance, it is knowen by Indenture wherof one part remaynyth with Maister Chancellar what remanyth in the said castell, fyrst of strete peces a saker, two fawcons a fawcon of Maister Chancellars, viij small serpentyns going upon iij pare of wheles of metal, a grete slaing of Iron and iij serpentyns wherof one has no chambres as for haggbusshes ther is metely knowe and so we have never one pece nor a serpentyn for the fowr bullwarkes

with the two yatehouses in the vttre ward. As for gunpowder ther is metly of it to be doing withal And ther must be certain Brimstone and Saufpeter be provided for to thintent that a gonner may sharpit for I fere me that ther is overmiche cole in it wherby it is somthing flatt, as I perceive it upon my hand when I Burn it.

"And as for arrowes ther is certain of them howbeit bereason of evill keping they want feeres, wherby many of them will do no good vnto suche tyme as a fletcher have them throughe handes, And as for bowes ther is none but only xl^{ti} whiche is of none effect, x of them not able, And therfore ther must be provided for, cth or ccth of good Bowes, for commonstore bowes ar of non effect, And in this case standes my lordes castell, with myn opynyon in every thing Refering the correction therof, adding or mynysshing to my lord and in his absence to maister Chancellar, what informacion soever be made the troughe shalbe knowen at lienth And the service whiche I doo to my lord is not for prouffit but only for his pleasure seing that he is so good lord to me as he is, And also it may appere seing that my son has but xx. li by yere for the whiche he findith xiiij persons, And also his kyn and friendes stand bound by ogligacion in the som of Two Thousand poundes for the sure keping of my lordes castall, And the constable having x li for hymself and his servaunt never loking at his charge

for the whiche has his patent made sens the making of myn Indenturs for terme of his life. Howbeit it is covenaunted in the same Indenturs that ther shuld be no Constable but suche as I shuld be content with, Nothwithstanding yf he will do his duytie I shalbe content with hym as wele as with ane oder At my said lordes castell of Norham the vijth daye of February the yere of God a m^{l} v and xxj$_{t}^{i}$ And the xiijth yere of the pontification of the said lord Thomas by the grace of God busshop of Duresme And lord of the Shires of Norham and Eland.

"THOMAS DACRE."

Endorsed.—"Tho. l. Dacre about the fortificacon of Norham Castle. 7° Februarij 1521."

In the above interesting document Lord Dacre points out that "now it is more likely to be war than peace," and surely he had every reason, if such was his opinion, to impress the bishop with the necessity of strengthening Norham, for his Chancellor Frankleyne had a short time before written to say :—

"Please it your good lordship, on Tuesday, the 28th day of August, I came to Norham, which is right wele and substantially furnished both with victuall ordynaunce, men and all other necessaries, and so strongly fortified with countermines and murderers that it is now out of all danger, both of gunshot and also of assault. The wall called the long high walle, extending from south-west part of

the dongeon to the north-west end of the kitchen, being in length 44 yards and in height 30 foot, is countremined, and the same wall with his contremine is 28 foot thick. The chapel walls 7 foot in thickness, in length 30 foot, and in wideness 18 foot, with a closet over the same, and the battlement of the said closet and long wall all of one height, and so for to go round about from the south-west of the dongeon unto the north-east part of the dongeon."

Nothing, however, came of Dacre's fears in 1521, but in 1523, there being serious apprehensions of a Scotch invasion under the Duke of Albany, Lord Surrey, Norfolk of Flodden's eldest son, surveyed the castles of the Marches, and thus reported to Wolsey, now a cardinal and Bishop of Durham :—

"I have surely viewed the house at Norham all round about, leaving nothing unlooked upon, and have divised divers platforms, ramparts, and mending of broken places with turf and earth, which may be done within six days. The same being performed as Sir William Bulmer has promised, I doubt not, God willing, if the duke come to lay siege, he shall not obtain the same within eight days, by which time I trust to be ready to encounter with him."

In the same letter he, too, dwells on the inefficiency of the outer ward. "It will not be holden one day after the ordnance be laid, wherein there can be no remedy at this time."

Berwick at that time appears also to have lost much of its strength, for in the same report Surrey says:—"For Berwick I fear more than for any of the others, for undoubtedly it is not tenable against a siege royal, having no bulwarks nor fausbrays, nor any defence, but the walls, ramparts and dikes; and as for the castle, if the duke knew how feeble the walls be and and how thin, he would not fail to assay the same, which would not hold out the balles of six cortowles eight hours." Sickness, too, was prevailing in the district at the time, and in the very house in which the Earl lodged in Berwick, "one man died full of God's marks."

In the same report he asks for gunners, of whom he only has "thirty-six, which are too few for Norham and Wark alone," and recommends the dismantling of Dunstanburgh Castle, "that does no good there."

But Surrey knew not the weakness of the Duke of Albany, for although he laid siege to Wark and took it, "peace was keipit all the nixt wintar following betwixt the twa realmes, and thair wes no invaisione one nather syd quhill the moneth of May."

It was on this occasion that the Duke of Albany ventured upon sending a challenge to Surrey, "requiring him apoun his honour to come forduart and he suld meit him at the marche in Scotland and gif him battell," which the earl proudly disdained to accept, informing the duke's herald that he had not

come to invade Scotland, but to defend England by commission of his king.

The incident points to the contempt in which Albany was held, but marks also that departure from the old days of chivalry which the introduction of artillery had already completed.

On his way to Barmoor from Alnwick, Surrey stopped at Lowick (indeed he had his headquarters there), which is at right angles between Norham and Wark, and received a message from the prioress of the nunnery at Coldstream, that Albany, having been assured that he was coming, had departed with his army, "complaining of ill health and anxious to be discharged of his command," and dated his letter, "Lowicke, the poure village, in my hall, my kitchen and my bed chamber all in one."

Wolsey, while Bishop of Durham, took a great interest in the Borders, as is evinced by the extensive correspondence which appears during the years of his bishopric; but no great event seems to have marked his passage in that see, except that many of the letters are addressed to him as "Cardinal, Lord Norham," and the appellation is the first and only one of the kind with which we can meet.

The fact is that the history of Scotland during the whole of the sixteenth century, as well as that of Northumberland, is one of private rather than public feuds, of theft, rapine, plunder, and carnage, carried on

by those who were to see the law maintained as much as by those who were anxious to set it aside; and the long lists of depredations which are extant only tell of the captains of Norham having for every sheep lost to the Scots taken 100 from them, and for every head of cattle, some 50 in retaliation.

Lord Dacre, the Warden of the Marches, a warrior of distinction, who had materially helped in the success of Flodden, vindicates his loyalty to the throne by enumerating all the harm he has done to the Scotch, "albeit they love me worst of any Englishman living, be reason that I fande the bodye of the King of Scots."

"I assure your lordship for truth that I have and has caused to be brent and destroyed sex times moo townes and howsys within the west and middle Marches of Scotland in the same reason then is doone to us."

Frankleyn, on the other hand, complains that the "Borders of England sore exclaimeth of despoils made unto them by the Scots."

Elsewhere Lord Dacre writes, 29th October 1513: —"On Wednesday at three o'clock afternoon, my brother, Sir Ch. Dacre, assembled diverse of the king's subjects being under my rule, and rode all night into Scotland, and on Thursday in the morning they began upon the middle Marches, and brent the manor place of Trewyn, with the hamlets belonging

to them down, continually from the break of day to one o'clock afternoon; and there was took and brought away 400 head of cattle, 300 sheep, certain horses, and very miche household furniture."

The Bishop of Carlisle, writing to Cardinal Wolsey, 1522, says significantly:—"There is more theft, more extortion by English thieves than there is by all the Scots of Scotland.

"In Hexham every market day there is four score or a hundred strong thieves, and the poor men and gentlemen also seeth them which did rob them and their goods, and dare not complain of them by name, nor say one word to them. They take all their cattle and horse, their corn as they carry it to sow, or to the mill to gryne, and at their houses bid them deliver what they will have, or they shall be fired and burnt."

Interesting though these documents undoubtedly are, that tell of these well-planned raids, cruel surprises, and retaliatory acts of violence, so numerous that, as Dr Raine says, "it appears a matter of surprise that the country at large within fifty miles of the Borders on either side should have been inhabited at all, as neither by night or day could a man reckon upon his life or substance for a single hour," still they are foreign to the purpose of this book; and the temptation of describing how not only in times past, but especially at this stage of English history, North-

umberland which was so uncultured as to possess only 53 out of 146 county gentlemen who could sign their names to a public document, rose out of a heap of ruins, ignorance, and demi-savage state into its present prosperity, must be reserved to other hands. The subject is inviting; but Norham then was part of Durham, and the bishops of that see were jealous of their prerogatives.

These prerogatives appear to have been of the same kind which the Border robbers claimed, as may be seen by the following letters of Lord Dacre to the Bishop of Durham:—

22d October 1513.—"Ready to make a roodes (inroads) according to order, when moon and weather permit."

23d October 1513.—"I caused four roods to be made in Tevidall—one to the tower of Howpaslot, and there brent, took, and brought away 28 sheep with goods; another rood to Carlanrig, and there brent and wan 4 head of cattle; and a great rood made by the inhabitants of Tyndale and Reddesdale to the Castle of Ancrum, and burnt the town of the same, and took and brought away 60 prisoners, with much goods, cattle, and insight (household furniture). I cannot attack the Mers—too far off."

That the incursions of the moss-troopers from Scotland, and the rebellion of the Tynedale men, when the family of Charlton especially gave trouble and came

into notice,* kept the wardens of the several marches and the Bishop of Durham's lieutenants constantly on the watch, we have abundance of proof; for although unbesieged, Norham continued to be maintained in a state of efficiency, and on two occasions—in 1542 and in 1551—was minutely inspected and reported upon.

In 1542, on the 2d December, Sir Robert Bowes informed the king that "the Castle of Norham, standing nere unto the river of Twede, belonging to the Bishop of Duresme, is in very good state both in reparations and fortifications, well furnished and stuffed with artillery, munitions, and other necessaries requisite to the same."

But in 1551 there came a different report, which is, however, very intelligible, when it be remembered that most of the resources which enabled the Bishop of Durham to maintain his fortresses in a state of efficiency had been forcibly taken from him by a lustful king.

The Marquess of Dorset, Warden-General, having requested Sir Robert Bowes to report to him upon the state of the frontier fortresses, this is what he said about Norham:—

* "As to Tyndale and the E. and M. Marches, I have apprehended three of the most principal headsmen and captains of the same Tyndale—William Charlton of Bellingham, Roger Charlton, his brother, and Thomas Charlton of Caretell, by whom all the inhabitants were governed."

Lord Dacre, Morpeth, 20th May 1524.

"The next hold from Barwick upon Twead is the Castle of Norham, which belongeth to the Bishop of Duresme, who alloweth no mo therein in wages but a captayne, a constable, and two gunners.

"That castle standeth marvellously well for the defence and relief of the country, as well from incourses of enemys in time of war as from thefts and spoils in tyme of peace; for it standeth upon the utter (extreme) frontier, and upon a fray made, or any other warning given by fire beacon or otherwise, the inhabitants of that castle, or a garrison of horsemen lying there, may be in the way of any enemies that shall pass into Scotland between Barwick and Wark, or between Wark and Tevershеughe. Also, such as lye in that castle have used in time of need to watch the fordes of Twead between the boundes of Barwick and the mooth of the river Till.

"That castle, for want of continual reparation, is in much decaye, for the first utter walles of the inner ward towards Scotland, endlong the banks of the river of Twead, be much corrupted by occasion that the said wall hath beene covered with leade, but that the rayne water fallinge thereon hath alwaies discended into the walle, and by contynuance hath soe putryfied the lyme and stone of the same that there hath sundry pieces fallen forth of the same. And more is like soe to doe, and as appeareth a small batterye on the north syde from Jeynham, in Scotland, opposite therunto,

would bring downe that long walle endlong the halle and kitchen from the newe walle at the stayre or turnpike uppon the north-east corner of the said inner warde, unto the ende of the oven in the kitchen, whiche is a full quarter of the saide inner warde, and leaveth alle the rest thereof open to the sight of Scotland. The said inner warde of that castle is in no place flancked save by a little bulwarke or casamata made in it towarde the utter warde, which flanketh betweene the yates and the doungeon, and maye with hagbuttes heat a great parte within the utter ward, albeit the poynt of that little bulwarke is (by no meanes) warded or flanked.

"The dungeon of the castle hath beene a verye large and strongly bayldid tower of great height, whereof almoste the one halfe hathe beene decayd and fallen longe sithend. It is flanked in no place, save that the said little bulwarke flanketh a great portion thereof towards the utter warde; the gates of the inner warde lye very playne and open, and might wele be more coertly casten and better for defence.

"The utter warde is invyroned towards the est, south, and west with a very old, thynne, and weake wall, save that there be sundry little towers made therein to flank the foote of the said wall, which were not ingenyously devised, for the poynts or grounds of none of the said towers be flanked, but that a man maye come to the poynts thereof without danger of

any shote, other than such as is shotte forthe right; and the said walles of the utter warde be both olde and much decayd. There is a place also towards the north side of the said utter warde, at the west end of the chappell, where the wall is soe lowe that a man maye forthe of Scotland, upon the bank head towards the Lady Church, view and see any man that stirreth within the said utter warde, specially in passage from the upper gate into the inner warde, which would be ameanded with no great charge.

"Fynally, that castle, standing in soe meete a place for the defence of the frontier and country thereabouts, were convenient (as we thinke) to be in the kinges ma^{tyes} handes, and soe would it be better repayred and maynteyned then it is.

"And if it were the kinges ma^{ties} castle, first the wall of the utter warde being ameanded, as it might be with no great charge, and shedds or toofalls made toward the inner side of the same from the south-east corner thereof to the north-west part wher the gate hath gone of old tyme towardes the towne, the same tyme of warre, when enymies did invade; and therein also might be their soldiers lodged and stabling for their horses, one hundreth and mo horsemen in tyme of warr; those shedds and toofalls being made bylowe for stables, and a lodging abone for souldiers. The iron gate of the utter warde lie hong very unwisly uppon the utter side, for the enemyes may come and

pike the crukes of them forth of the wall, whan they might hang better to purpose ynnermor in that gate-house in a payre of wood gates without them to cover them.

"Also the olde gates, towardes the towne at the north-west corner of the saide utter warde were best, as we think, to be mowved upp and a privy postern couertly conveyed that waye, which might serve either for assayly to yssue forth of the castle, towards the rescues of the towne for a suddayne, or ells if the inhabitants of the towne being overlayed with enemies, retyred to the castle, they might most readily that way be received in. And for the most sure fortifying the inner warde, myne opynion were to have that uppon the north-east corner of the dungeon, to be massively rampired with earth, both to the hall and kitchen and other houses in that part. And the hall to be made in that part of the dungeon that is decayed, which might be with no great charges (in respect of a king's worke) made to or three howses high above the vault that nowe standeth. And the nethermost of the houses, to be the hall, buttery or pantry. And yet the last end thereof to be fower and twentieth foote, rampired within the utter wall and the other two heightes above that would serve for lodgings for the captayne and his howshold. And the dungeon being nowe overhighe, might be taken downe one story, leaving only the turnpike thereof

for a watch howse. And the stone taken of the dungeon head, would all moste serve to make upp the walles of the decayed parte of the saide dungeon soe thick as they be standing inward towarde the saide inner warde. And the lead and tymber of the hall and kitchen would almost serve for the roufes and floures of the said parte of the dungeon, which shoulde be reedifyed, and then should all the saide inner warde be strongly rampired round about. Also the gates at the entrye of the inner warde would be (as I think) where the gates nowe enter towards the west, rampired for a cowered gate. And the waye more couertly conveyed to passe by the rampire at the east ende of the chappell, and soe to come forward to the north, and the wall of the gatehouse unto the entry that now is, and soe eastward in at the iron gates that be nowe. I thinke also if it were thought convenient, there might be bulwarks or casamats made without the wall to flank the north and east side of the said inner warde, which I refer to more ingenious men such feates than I am."

Contrasting these two reports, the rapid strides of events must explain their singular discrepancy, for while the report of 1542 was written when the Bishop of Durham was still in possession of all the revenues of his bishopric, Sir Robert Bowes was only acting as the lieutenant of a bishop, and had no great desire to find fault with a castle which, as he says, should be "in

the king's majesty's hands ;" but ten years later when the suppression of the small monasteries had taken place, when the privileges of the Palatinate had been withdrawn, and the means of the bishopric to strengthen Norham had been curtailed, the same Sir Robert finds everything wrong, and conceiving the possibility of the crown taking the castle in its own hands, points how the crown can spend its money.

But the two reports are even more instructive, showing as they do the progress which a soldier like Sir Robert Bowes had made in military matters between the dates of each.

When the first report was written, belief in the power of the English archers had not altogether vanished, and hence the confidence in the old walls of defence had not altogether disappeared; but by 1551 such confidence had gone for ever, and the possible improvements in the art of gunnery had to be considered.

With this view all about the old castle was necessarily wrong, and instead of walls, "ramparts of earth" were to be the new order of defence.

But even ramparts require labour, and labourers require to be paid; and although W. Bennet, master of the king's ordnance at Berwick, was paid £7, 10s. for $1\frac{1}{4}$ ton of Spanish iron to be used at Norham, and 53s. 4d. were paid to Cuthbert Fletcher for endeavouring to secure workmen at Berwick, "ridynge sundry

times from Northam to Berwick to gytt license for warkemen to come from Berwick to worke at Northam," not much appears to have been done for the old fortress, for in a letter dated 30th September 1557 from one Richard Norton to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the following passage occurs :—

"Since I am informed that the Scots will not fail to besiege Norham as they intend, wherefore I thought meet for mine own discharge to declare the estate of that house. There is but in powder two barrels ; which last is too little as good gunners say. There is but one gunner that my Lord of Durham sent yesterday, and one that was there before who has discharged himself because he saw no help, and is offered better entertainment, and two gunners are too few besides him. If a siege comes there lacks weapons, bills and pikes with baskets ; there are none neither for the walls nor for to carry to fill up breaches. No balls nor trunks to amuse the enemy with, nor as yet know I not what companie shall be assigned to remain with me in the house and towne. I shall not fail my part, God willing, otherwise it is but a casting away of the house and of them that are in it."

In 1559 the temporalities of the shires of Norham and Island were for ever alienated from the See of Durham, because Bishop Tunstall refused to take the oath of supremacy to the "maiden queen."

The act recited that "upon the voidance or vacation

of any archbishopric or bishopric, the queen was empowered to take into her hands as much of the honours, castles, &c., belonging to the same as shall amount to the clear yearly value of all parsonages appropriate and yearly tenths belonging to the crown in the same, and was enabled to discharge the succeeding bishop from the payment of such tenths accordingly."

The value of the See of Durham in the queen's books, which had been £2821, 1s. 5d., was put down at £1821, 1s. 5d., and Norham and Island constituting a part of the reserved territory, the sum of £1000 yearly was paid to the crown as rental of such reserved property.

It was time that the castle should fall into ruins, when the crown wanted its possession merely to farm it out at interest.

It had shown signs of decay. Queen Elizabeth hastened its destruction.

CHAPTER XIII.

DECAY.

"Though thou art fall'n, while we are free,
Thou shalt not taste of death;
The generous blood that flow'd from thee,
Disdain'd to sink beneath,
Within our veins its currents be
Thy spirit on our breath."—*Byron.*

ALREADY, in 1524, Lord Dacre, writing to Cardinal Wolsey, said, "There is little left upon the frontiers except old houses, whereof the thak (thatch) and coverings are taken away, so that they cannot be brent," and we have seen to what poor condition the castle had been reduced after the siege.

Notwithstanding this, Roger Lassells, writing to the "Cardinal Norham," 8th September 1828, from Norham Castle, said:—

"Apon Saturday the v day of September, the Earl of Anguishe, the Abbot of Holyrowdhous, come to Tweedside, and callyd over upon me and descried me that I would come and speek with thaym; and so I did, and the said earl askyd me if that I knew the king's gracious pleasure and my lord cardinal's, as my lord cardinal dyd promise his servant to send to your lordship, and I shewed him that I supposed

verily that your lordship had no farther knowledge since your servaunt come home. Whereof he had great marvel, desiring me that he might have a chambre for his daughter which he had with the Queen of Scots and the young Earl of Huntly, and the wife of Archibald Douglas to wait upon them, and another chamber for himself, the Abbot of Holyrood-howse, George Douglas and Archibald Douglas, if he be of necessity driven thereunto, and those that be his partakers, he desireth that they may be in the town of Norham two or three days unto such time as the king return homeward and scail his host.

"And I have promised him that if the king come with his great hoste, I shall suffer him to be in Norham Castle and in the town unto such time as I shall know farther of your lordship's pleasure."

No words could better describe the subservient spirit which was gaining under the strong rule of Wolsey, and the cautious temper of his lieutenants.

The Angus here referred to was Archibald, seventh Earl of Angus, who was married three times.

His first wife, daughter to Patrick Hepburn, died in childbirth "within the year of her marriage as they say, immediately after the field of Flodden," and his second wife was Queen Margaret, the widow of James IV., killed at Flodden, and daughter of Henry VII.

The daughter alluded to in the despatch of Lassells is the Lady Margaret Douglas, the issue of this

second marriage, who married the Earl of Lennox, and was the mother of Henry Darnley, who married Mary Queen of Scots, and by her had a son, James VI. of Scotland "and first of Great Britain."

Here, then, was the grandmother of England and Scotland's first joint sovereign knocking for admission at the gates of Norham Castle.

In 1542 some suspicion of treachery was put forth, so as to facilitate the gradual absorption of ecclesiastical lands in the hands of the crown.

The Duke of Norfolk received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 20th September, purporting thus: "Whereas the king's highness is informed that a certain treason concerning the delivery of Norham Castle to the Scots in such sort as your lordship may perceive by a schedule herein enclosed (which has not yet been found), you will cause the place in secret wise to be serched, and try whether there be any parson in the house mete to be suspected, and take order as convenient."

The suspicion was probably aroused by the fact of France sending more guns and ammunition to Scotland, of which in England they had had easy notice, for we find that "on the penult day of October, the King of France send in Scotland 1000 crowns and 50 piece of artillery," although be it remarked negotiations for peace were going on at the time. If treachery was suspected in 1542, indifference was

the watchword in the castle in 1557, when Lord Westmoreland writing, 19th August, to the Earl of Shrewsbury upon a successful raid upon his troops before Norham, says, "It is said the most part of our men that had the last overthrow were taken before the gates of Norham and between the bridge and the iron gates, as it was reported to my Lord of Northumberland and my Lord Wharton at supper the same night. There was not past four men within the castell who shot not so much as one hasquebush to relieve any man.

"The old custom hath been that when a fray came, all the country brought their goods and chattels into the hollow ditches under the walls, where they were as safe as within the castel, nor it was never seen before that any Scot durst come near the castell, but now they went into the hollow ditches where they took 30 score sheep, with a great number of cattle, and none to resist them, nor yet so much as one man to cast down a stone over the walls at them.

"Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis."

Men, times, customs, buildings, all were changing, and the above letter, sad as it reads, remains a standing proof how mighty had been the fabric which on its decay could bring forth such sentiments.

This was the year when the Carrs of Ford, aided by the Collingwoods, disputed with the Herons of Chipchase their claims to the castle of Ford, and the

whole county took part in the quarrel, the result being that justices of the peace dared not hold their usual session at Morpeth, and that these Northumbrian Montagues and Capulets, while destroying each other, united against the king's lieutenant of the Marches, Lord Wharton.

"We think this hundred years forepassed never happed there so perilous a seed of malice, full dissension and hatred to be sown in this country as is presentlye in planting, and like to take root if not hastily met withall and prevented."

At last the decay of the bishop's power was complete. On the 13th October, Lord Westmoreland, writing to Lord Shrewsbury, says:—

"The bishoprick men doth covet to come home, there pass not 400 of them. Your lordship told me there was a hundred horsemen of the bishopric, but I believe it will fall out there is no horsemen here but mine, except it be Robert Tempest. I have seen the bishopric service at such a time with a thousand men, but it will be so no more."

It was "so no more," for in less than two years from the date of this letter Norham had become a portion of crown property, which might be sold or given at the will of the sovereign.

But it was not the habit of the queen who now reigned to allow matters to be half done; and before disposing of her newly acquired property, she wished to know its strength and its value.

In "the order taken the second year of the queen (20th August, 3 Elizabeth, 1561) for her fortifying the Borders," we have a long list of commissioners, among whom were Sir Henry Percy, knight, Captain of Her Majesty's castles of Tynemouth and Norham; Sir George Bowes; Thomas Carns, serjeant-at-law; and Valentine Brown, Esq., treasurer of Berwick.

These commissioners appointed gentlemen of the county—"Sir John Witherington, knight; Thomas Foster, George Heron, Nicholas Ridley, Alban Featherstonhaugh, Cuthbert Carnaby, Robert Clavering of Callalie, Robert Mydleton of Bellrowe, James Ogle, Esquires; Thomas Collingwood, John Selby the elder, John Carre of Ford, Ralph Collingwood of Tythington, gentlemen—to view and survey the execution of the premises, for the queen wishes to put in force a statute, 2 and 3 of Philip and Mary, for the inclosures of grounds within twenty miles of the Borders of Scotland, so as to protect them against murders and robberies."

This commission recommended that "little crofts or closes be enclosed of the lands next adjoining every town, village, or hamlet, so as to strengthen the town, village, or hamlet.

"2. That each field should be surrounded by a hedge and a ditch.

"3. All commons and wastes within twenty miles to be ditched round.

"4. Several castells, towers, houses, barmekins, tounes, and villages having been found in great ruin by reason of wars, a certain undetermined sum shall be set aside yearly for their repair by their owners, a sixth of the income, however, having to be expended on repairs in the event of the castle or house, &c., having fallen into decay by reason of the negligence of its possessor."

As to Norham it was remarked that, "entrance being easy by the Tweed between Berwick and Cheviot, the lords, owners, farmers, &c., of towns, &c., within four miles of Tweed, shall at their common costs, by order of the Captain of Norham, make near the fords ditches of 6 foot deep and 8 foot broad before All Saints next."

Then follows a list of the names of those lords, freeholders, tenants, and inhabitants that "have consented and agreed to the above articles"—

Lords Northumberland, Dacre, Ewrye, and Ogle, all of whom could sign their names; Sir John Dallyrell, knight, who also signed.

Three Ogles who could write, and six who put a cross in token of their inability to sign their names.

Four Fosters signed, one put a cross.

Two Grays signed.

Six Herons, of whom four could not sign.

One Clavering, who signed.

Two out of three Ridleys could write.

Two out of four Collingwoods could write.

Only one out of twelve Fenwicks could sign his name.

Two out of three Selbys signed.

Not one of the five Erringtons could write.

Two out of the four Carnabys signed.

And as to John Clennell, Edmond Crostor, John Burrell, Oswald Midford, Francis Armer, a X marks their inability to sign their names.

Following upon this survey came a statement of the charges of the East Marches, and of the pay of the garrison of the several fortresses on the Border.

At Norham it was stated that there was or should be a captain of horsemen, whose wages were 6s. 8d. a day; a lieutenant, at 3s. 11d. a day; 24 horsemen, at 10d. each man; an ensign-bearer, at 20d.; a trumpet, at 16d.; a porter, at 10d.; an under-porter, at 6d.; a master gunner, at 12d.; a quartermaster gunner, at 8d.; 16 gunners, at 6d.; one chaplain, at 16d.; and a surgeon, at 16d.—bringing up the total cost of keeping the castle properly manned to £11, 8s. 8d. a day.

The old usages also had been superseded, and extended powers had been given to the captains of Norham, holding as they did that property for the benefit of the crown.

"This captain hath in rule all Norhamshire, and the rents growing to the queen in the right of the

bishopric within the same, whereby he hath all the farmers and tenants at commandment for service, which farmers and tenants he must see sorted into horsemen and footmen, furnished with horse, armour, and weapon meet for the wars, to attend the queen's service at all times when he shall call; in the which shire he hath both pasture and water sufficient, fish and flesh. What estate he hath therein I know not, but wish that neither he nor any man else had any estate in any ground of the queen's majesty belonging to any castell longer than he serveth in that place."

The result of this enactment was a clear inducement to men of enterprise to become possessors of a place which, by the privileges attached to it, was a lucrative post as well as one of honour.

In the reign of Elizabeth, however—a sovereign of whom this realm may justly be proud, albeit a portion of her subjects felt her power in the direst fashion, "At home she threatened particular persons, and they felt her anger; abroad she threatened kingdoms, and they felt her power"*—this was not possible, and favour alone with Her Majesty was a passport to advancement.

Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick, had a son, Robert Cary, born in 1560, of pleasing manners and good appearance, who, when seventeen years of age,

* Preface to the "Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth." London, 1759.

became aide-de-camp to Lord Essex, then commander of the English forces in France.

On the disgrace of this nobleman young Cary hurried to the queen in London, and so touched the willing feelings of Elizabeth that he obtained the reinstatement of his patron, who, "as soon as he saw him, drew his rapier, and running up to him laid it on his shoulder and knighted him."

Shortly after his return to England Sir Robert Cary married the heiress of Witherington, and was made Governor of the East Marches in the absence of his father, who could not return to Berwick before he had "borrowyde £1000 of a merchant, of which the interest comes not to £100" (8th June 1584), "for the intertaynment of Barwyke and the wardenry," and on his death became absolute warden in his place, with the grant of Norham, 1593.

On becoming possessed of the castle an inventory was made for him of the goods therein, and which had previously been placed in the charge of his brother William, a captain in the army, then deceased.

This inventory, made on the 25th of March by Captain Carvile and Hector Widdrington, gives the following items :—

In the Hall.

Two armours of proof, . . .	£2	15	0
Two cuirasses (curates), . . .	1	10	0
A plackett, ...	0	4	0
A black target of proof, . . .	0	10	0

Ten muskets and a bastard musket, .	10	0	0
Four callyvers, ...	1	0	0
A pair of mail sleeves, . . .	0	10	0
A case of pistols, ...	0	10	0
Nine black moryons, . . .	0	9	0
A graven moryon, ...	0	6	8
A gilt rapier and dagger, . . .	0	10	0
A Scottish sword, ...	0	6	0
A rapier varnished black, . .	0	6	8
A drum and a case of fifes, . .	2	0	0
A steel cap, ...	0	2	0
A presse, ...	0	8	0
A jack and sleeves of plate, . .	0	13	4
A two-handed sword, . . .	0	10	0
	£22	10	8

In the Stable.

Two cotch horses, ...	£8	0	0
One cotche, ...	8	0	0
Plate, 102 ounces, ...	25	10	0
	£64	0	8

On the 24th March 1603 Queen Elizabeth died, and that very morning Cary, to use his own words, "took horse between nine and ten o'clock and rode to Doncaster. On the Friday night I arrived at my own house of Witherington, and gave order the next morning the King of Scotland should be proclaimed King of England at Morpeth and at Alnwick. On the Saturday I took horse for Edinburgh, and came to Norham about twelve at noon, so that I might well have been with the king at supper-time, but I got a great fall, and my horse with one of his heels

gave me a great blow on the head, that made me shed much blood. It made me so weak that I was forced to ride a soft pace after, so that the king was nearly gone to bed by the time that I knocked at the gate of Holyrood House.* I was quickly let in, and carried up to the king's chamber. I kneeled by him, and saluted him by his title of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. He gave me his hand to kiss, and bade me welcome. After he had long discoursed of the manner of the queen's sickness and of her death, he asked what letters I had from the council. I told him none; and acquainted him how narrowly I escaped from them. And yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair lady, that I hoped would give him assurance of the truth that I had reported.† He took it, and looked upon it and said, 'It is enough; I know by this you are a true messenger.' Then he committed me to the charge of my Lord Hume, and

* Not bad riding, two days from London only!

† "King James kept a constant and private correspondence with several persons of the English court during many years before Queen Elizabeth died. Among them was Lady Scroop, sister of Sir Robert Cary, to whom His Majesty sent by Sir James Fullarton a sapphire ring, with positive orders to return it to him by a special messenger as soon as the queen was actually expired. Lady Scroop had no opportunity of delivering it to her brother Sir Robert Cary whilst he was in the palace of Richmond; but waiting at a window till she saw him on the outside of the gate, she threw it out to him, and he well knew to what purpose he received it."—Preface to the "Memoirs of the Earl of Monmouth."

gave streight command that I should want nothing. He sent for his cherurgions to attend me, and when I kissed his hand at my departure he said to me these gracious words, 'I know you have lost a near kinswoman and a loving mistress; but take here my hand, I will be as good a master to you, and will requite this service with honour and reward.'"

The next day he was sworn a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber; and continues Cary:—

"Now I was to begin a new world. My office of the wardenry ceased and I lost the pay of forty horse, which were not so little as a thousand pounds per annum. I relied on God and the king. The one never left me, the other, shortly after his coming to London, deceived my expectation."

To set himself right, he proceeded to sell Norham Castle.

"Having nothing but Norham to live on, my good Lord of Hume, Earl of Dunbar, begged the keeping of it over my head, and I did see it was folly to strive, and therefore thought on the next best course to do myself good. Dunbar thirsted after nothing more than to get of me the possession of Norham. My Lord Cecil was umpire between us; he offered five thousand pounds; I held it at seven thousand; six thousand pounds was agreed upon, which was truly paid, and did me more good than if I had kept

Norham; and I sold him as much goods therein as I received eight hundred pounds for."

Our task is done; and without laying too great a significance upon the fact, it may seem strange to the reader, as it does to us, that while Scotland's independence had been recognised before the gates of Norham, while a broil from the garrison of Norham had occasioned that historical marriage which made it possible for James VI. of Scotland to become James I. of England, it was the owner and captain of Norham Castle who was the first to salute James VI. as "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland."

It is gratifying to find that when the old castle was at last offered for sale, it was bought by the descendant* of that first Earl of Dunbar whose tomb rested already in the church of Norham; and it is significant of how small things have their interest, that for the 600 years during which Norham Castle

* He was the third son of Alexander Hume of Manderston, a favourite of James VI., who appointed him gentleman of the bedchamber in 1585, master of the wardrobe in 1590, and High Treasurer of Scotland in 1601.

He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1603, and created Baron Hume of Berwick in 1604, Earl of Dunbar in 1609, and a Knight of the Garter.

He died in 1611, poisoned by "some tablets of sugar given him for expelling the cold by Secretary Cecil," and left two daughters, coheiresses—Anne, married to Sir James Hume of Cowdenknows, and Elizabeth, to Theophilus, Earl of Suffolk.

had stood the price fixed for its purchase was £6000.

The lands which the crown had appropriated, and which went with the castle, included the estates of Horncliffe, Loanend, and Longridge.

These estates have since passed through many hands—Ordes, Fenwicks, and Blakes—but the ruins have not fared the better for it.*

"How came this waste and wilderness of stones?"

Little remains to tell of past opulence or past grandeur, but what there is still marks the pride of power, and with the poet we yet will say—

"To weep would do thy glory wrong,
Thou shalt not be deplored."

* "Others, as Bamborough, Norham, Wark, &c., and innumerable more, are sunk in their own ruins by the mere length of time."—"Travels of Daniel de Foe," reprinted by Richardson, 1845.

FINIS.