

chief event was the cession of the Sudreyar or islands on the west coast to the Norse king Magnus Barefoot, who also conquered Man and Anglesea. The terms of the treaty which, after two expeditions, he extorted from Edgar were that every island was to be his between which and the mainland a helm-bearing ship could pass, and by carrying one across the mainland he included Cantyre. Magnus was killed in Ulster; but the Hebrides remained in the hands of the Norse kings or lords, and acknowledged their sway till the battle of Largs (1263). Their cession was the necessary price for the consolidation of the Scottish monarchy in the south of the kingdom. Edinburgh was the capital of Edgar, a circumstance which marked the removal of the centre of the kingdom to its southern and Saxon district. His standard had been blessed at Durham when he recovered the crown, and it was to Durham or Dunfermline, where he was buried, that his benefactions were made. Iona had passed into the hands of Magnus, but he, being a Christian, respected its sanctity. Scone was henceforth only the scene of the coronation ceremony.

Alexander I.

Edgar, dying childless, was succeeded by his brother Alexander I. (1107-24). Educated by his mother, and after her death in England, Alexander, like his brothers, brought to the government of Scotland Saxon combined with Norman culture. The singular will by which Edgar left Cumbria to his younger brother David was not to Alexander's taste; but the support which the Saxon population and the Norman barons, now beginning to hold land in that district, gave to David forced his brother to acquiesce in the division of the kingdom. It was now restricted to Lothian, Merse, and the country beyond the firths, as far as Mar and Buchan. His hold of Moray and Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, must have been rather as suzerain than as sovereign; the mainland of Argyll was now or soon after in the possession of Somerled, ancestor of the lords of the Isles; the northern isles (Nordreyar) as well as the Sudreyar remained Norse. The chief towns of Alexander were Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen. At Scone he founded a monastery for canons of St Augustine; but St Andrews was still the sole Scottish bishopric. Alexander married Sibylla, a natural daughter of Henry I. of England, and secured peace with that country. His only recorded war was with the men of Mearns and Moray, who surprised him at Invergowrie. He pursued them to the Moray Firth, where a signal victory (1114) gained for him the epithet of "The Fierce." The change from the Celtic to the Roman form of church government commenced by his mother and his brother Edgar was continued. Anselm congratulated him on his accession, and asked protection for monks sent to Scotland at Edgar's request. On the death of Fothad, the last Celtic bishop of St Andrews, Alexander procured the election of Turgot, his mother's confessor and prior of Durham. His consecration was delayed through a dispute between Canterbury and York, and, having failed to effect the anticipated reforms, he went back to Durham. On his death Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury and chronicler of note, was selected for the office by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury. The choice was confirmed by the clergy and people; but a quarrel with Alexander as to his investiture led to his return to Canterbury. Robert, prior of Scone, became bishop in the year of Alexander's death, but his consecration also had to be put off. These disputes as to the consecration and investiture of the bishop of St Andrews turned on the rival claims of Canterbury and York to be the metropolitan of Scotland, and the refusal of Alexander to cede the independence of the Scottish Church, though anxious for an English monk to organize the diocese. National feeling was already strong in Scotland, even in a king with English sympathies.

Without the aid of Turgot or Eadmer, Alexander himself laid the foundation of diocesan episcopacy. The first bishops of Dunkeld and Moray date from his reign, and the first parish on record, Ednam in Roxburghshire. At Inchcolm, as well as Scone, he introduced the canons regular of Augustine, and on an island of Loch Tay a cell from Scone was built in memory of his wife Sibylla. He restored the "Boar's Chase" to St Andrews and increased the endowments of Dunfermline. The offices of chancellor, constable, and sheriff also now appear; and the mormaers of the Celtic districts are designed as earls (*comites*) in one of his charters. The transition from the Celtic to the feudal monarchy had begun. Alexander was a learned monarch, like his father-in-law Henry Beauclerk, pious and friendly to the church, but severe to his subjects.

David I. (1124-53), the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret, became king at the ripe age of forty-four. He had been trained at the court of Henry I. and his sister Matilda, so that "his manners were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity." After Edgar's death he served an apprenticeship for the royal office as earl or prince of Cumbria, where his power was little short of regal. He married a Saxon, the daughter of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, widow of Simon de St Liz, Norman earl of Northampton, and his friends and followers were chiefly Norman. His marriage brought him the earldom of Huntingdon, and he was guardian of the earldom of Northampton during his stepson's minority, so that he entered into feudal relations with the Norman king of England. In the government of his principality he succeeded in reducing a wild part of Scotland into order, using for this purpose the agency of the church.

The history of the church in Strathclyde since Kentigern's death is obscure. The records of York claim the consecration of a bishop of Glasgow in the middle of the 11th and another at the commencement of the 12th century; but they are unknown in the records of Glasgow, and were perhaps invented to support the metropolitan claim of York over that see. Glasgow certainly was restored after some considerable lapse in the person of John, the tutor of David, who at his request was consecrated by Pope Paschal II. This was a parallel step to the summons of Turgot and Eadmer to St Andrews, but David, like Alexander, maintained the independence of his own bishopric, and, though pope after pope sent letters and legates exhorting obedience to York, neither John nor his successors yielded it. A new see erected at Carlisle by Henry I. and the restoration of Whithorn by Henry II., both subject to York, were counter measures on the part of the English sovereigns. The independence of the Scottish from the English Church (with the exception of Galloway and some places of Lothian still under Durham) thus asserted by the rulers of Scotland was of great moment in its subsequent history, and was promoted by the liberality of David and his brothers. The inquest by David's order by which the land of the see of Glasgow was made may refer to ancient possession, but it had the effect of a new grant. Its extent—covering lands in the dales of the Clyde, Tweed, Teviot, Annan, Nith, and in Ayrshire—corresponds to the district of Cumbria under David and, with slight deviations, to the future diocese of Glasgow. While David's province did not include all of ancient Cumbria, it did include some parts of ancient Lothian, the future shires of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Selkirk. The Cumbrian nobles were a mixed class,—some Saxon and others Norman. There were few of pure Celtic blood.

Three years after his accession David was present at the council of London, where, along with the English barons, he swore to accept his niece Matilda as the successor of

David I.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

Henry I., who had lost his only son by the shipwreck of the "White Ship." Soon after a rising of Scottish Celts under a natural son of Alexander and Angus, a grandson of the mormaer of Moray, was defeated at Stracathro (Forfar) by David's troops in his absence in England, and four years later another under Wilmund, who pretended to be Malcolm MacHeth, a chief in Ross, aided by Somerled of Argyll, who had acquired some of the adjacent isles, was put down by Wilmund's capture. The death of Henry I. and the claim of Stephen to the English throne led to the invasion of England by David, in support of Matilda, with an army drawn from all parts of his kingdom,—the men of Galloway, Cumbria, Teviotdale, Lothian, Lennox, the Isles, Scotia (the country south of the Forth or Scots Water), and Moray. Their defeat at the battle of the Standard at Cuton Moor (1138) near Northallerton by the barons of northern England was due to the want of discipline of the men of Galloway, and, though signal, was not decisive. At Carlisle peace was made on condition that David's son Henry should hold Northumberland as an earldom under Stephen, with the exception of the castles of Bamborough and Newcastle. David gave hostages, but retained Carlisle and Cumberland without any condition of homage. Two years later, when Matilda seized London, David joined her; but she was unable to maintain her advantage. David was forced to return to Scotland, and did not again engage in active hostilities against Stephen. His death was preceded by that of his only son; but his power was so firm that he procured the acknowledgment of his grandson Malcolm, a boy of twelve, as successor to the Scottish crown, while William, his younger grandson, succeeded to Northumberland and the English fiefs his father had held.

The comparative peace of his last twelve years gave David opportunity for the ecclesiastical and civil organization of the kingdom. He found three and left nine bishoprics, adding to St Andrews, Moray, and Dunkeld the new sees of Glasgow, Brechin, Dunblane, Aberdeen (transferred from Mortlach), Ross, and Caithness. Closely connected with their establishment was the suppression of the Celtic Culdees at Dunkeld, St Andrews, and Loch Leven, and perhaps also at Dunblane and Dornoch, where canons regular of St Augustine became the chapters of the bishop. The abbeys, chiefly Cistercian, which he founded were Holyrood, Newbattle, Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso, Cambuskenneth, Urquhart, and Kinloss. He added to the endowments of his father and mother at Dunfermline, and so lessened the crown lands that James I. called him "a sore saint for the crown." The division into dioceses stimulated the formation of parishes endowed by the bishops or by the lords of the manor; but the first steps of the parochial division of Scotland are obscure. The diocesan episcopate now included the whole of Scotland except what was held by the Norsemen, who had bishops of their own for the Orkneys and the western isles, subject to the metropolitan of Drontheim. It preceded the civil division into sheriffdoms, which also began in this reign, but took a longer period to complete. The Celtic chiefs in the north and in Galloway were as yet too powerful to allow royal officers to hold courts within their territory, and regalities with the full rights of the crown in matters of justice were more lavishly granted in Scotland than in England, where they were confined to the few palatine earls or bishops on the border. The feudal system in Scotland, erroneously antedated to the reign of Malcolm II. or Malcolm Canmore, really took root in that of David. The king administered justice in person. The great judicial officer of state, the justiciar, who went circuits in the king's name, appears either in this or the preceding reign; so also do the seneschal or steward of the royal household

and the chamberlain who collected the royal revenues. 1127-1166. The tenure of land by charter, of which there are a few examples by Edgar in favour of Durham and by Alexander I. in favour of Scone, now became common. The charters of David to the abbey of Holyrood, to Robert Bruce of Annandale, and others are in the regular style of the Norman chancery. There are also instances of subordinate grants by subjects, which the king confirms. Though no charter to a burgh is extant, David refers to Edinburgh, Perth, and Stirling as his burghs. The inquest in favour of the see of Glasgow is, by the verdict of those best acquainted with the facts, similar to the Norman inquest. The laws of the four burghs of Lothian—Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling—are records of customs existing in this reign, while a variety of other laws called *assizes*, chiefly relating to tolls and matters of criminal jurisprudence, were the legislative acts of the king, assisted by the council of his great nobles. The beginning of the feudal system in Scotland was invigorated by the personal character of David. The absence of any large body of settled Celtic or Saxon customs gave full play to its assimilative influence. In the reigns which followed Scotland became a purer example of a feudal state than England, where a large number of Teutonic customs contributed to form the common law. A few of these found their way into Scotland, chiefly through the burghs or the medium of Norman charters, in which they had been incorporated. But the Scottish common law was in the main derived from the Roman code through the canon law, and not from Anglo-Saxon customs. Though never canonized by the church, this great monarch, for his faithful administration of justice and the purity of his domestic life, was deemed a saint by the people.

David's grandson and successor Malcolm IV. (1154-65), Malcolm called "The Maiden," died too young to leave a permanent impression. A rising by Somerled, lord of the Isles, and the sons of Malcolm MacHeth, mormaer of Moray, was suppressed in the early years of his reign, and peace was made with Somerled in 1158. A treaty by which Malcolm surrendered Northumberland and Cumberland to Henry II., and his following that king (who knighted him at Tours) in an expedition to Toulouse, led to the revolt of the earl of Strathearn with five other chiefs. This brought him suddenly home. An attempt to take him by surprise at Perth failed, and next year he succeeded in reducing Moray and Galloway, whose earl, Fergus, had also taken advantage of his absence. Moray was occupied by foreign settlers (1160), amongst whom, besides Norman barons, were Flemings,—a race fitted to civilize a new country by their industry. It is to this settlement that the permanent subjection of Moray to the Scottish kings, and perhaps the peculiar dialect and character of the inhabitants of that part of Scotland, were due. Four years later Somerled again attacked the west coast, but was defeated and slain at Renfrew, when the isles south of Ardnamurchan, which he had won from Godred the Black, son of Olaf, king of Man, were divided amongst his sons Dugall, Reginald, and Angus. Next year (1165) the young king himself died at Jedburgh. While he was reproached for yielding too much to the powerful English monarch, his service abroad enabled him to obtain the necessary experience to contend with the Celtic chiefs. The reduction of Galloway and Moray more than compensated for the loss of the earldoms in northern England, the possession of which by the Scottish king must have been precarious. Before his death Bute had been taken by the steward of Scotland,—the first footing the Scotch got on the larger isles, but it was afterwards recovered by the Norwegian king Haco and restored to Ruari, a descendant of Reginald.

Malcolm, dying childless—though he had an illegitimate

son who predeceased him—was succeeded by his brother William the Lion (1165-1214). His reign, the longest of any Scottish monarch, though not so uniformly successful as that of his grandfather, was an important era in Scottish history. It is divided into nearly equal portions by the accession of Richard Cœur de Lion. The first consists of the war with Henry II., in which William was captured (1175), and this made him the subject of the English king for fourteen years. In the second he recovered his independence, and, resuming the task of his predecessor, consolidated the Scottish kingdom in the north and west. William commenced his reign by taking part in the war with France as vassal of Henry II. for the fief of Huntingdon; but, being disappointed of the promised restoration of the northern earldoms, he entered into negotiations with Louis VII. of France. This memorable event is the first authentic connexion between Scotland and France, and was afterwards antedated by a fiction to the time of Charlemagne. Dictated by the situation of the two countries, equally exposed to danger from the power of England under the Angevin or Plantagenet kings, the alliance between France and Scotland continued with few breaks until the close of the 16th century, and even in the 17th and 18th was relied upon by the last of the Stuarts. France proved a broken reed to the Scottish kings; but the intercourse between the two countries brought the Scottish people, when war with England after the close of the 14th century shut them out from the advancing civilization of that country, into contact with the chivalrous manners of the court and the learning of the schools of France during the best period of French history. Nothing came of the alliance at this time, and two years later William and his brother David, in whose favour he resigned the earldom of Huntingdon, attended the coronation (during his father's life) of the younger Henry at Windsor. That ill-judged step and the murder of Becket led to a domestic revolution, and William, tempted by the promise of the earldom of Northumberland, joined the young king against his father (1173). He failed in the sieges of Wark and Carlisle, and next year was taken prisoner at Alnwick by Ranulph de Glanville and sent by Henry's order to Falaise in Normandy. To procure his release he made a treaty with Henry by which he became his vassal for Scotland and all his other territories. The Scottish Church then for the first and last time owned subjection to that of England. This treaty settles the disputed question of the Scottish homage. It was only by conquest and the captivity of its king that such terms could be obtained. To secure the observance of the treaty the four burghs of Scotland were to be placed in Henry's hands and hostages given till their delivery. The ambiguous terms of the clause as to the church enabled the Scottish bishops to refuse obedience to the see of York, and Canterbury having advanced a rival claim, Henry, not displeased to see ecclesiastics quarrel, allowed the Scottish bishops to leave the council of Norham without acknowledging it. The foundation of the abbey of Arbroath in memory of Becket, whom he had known at Henry's court, was almost the only endowment of William. At home he put down revolts in Galloway, Ross, and Caithness. A long dispute with successive popes as to the see of St Andrews afforded a signal example of the perseverance of William. He also procured a distinct acknowledgment of the independence of the Scottish Church and its immediate subjection to Rome alone, which Henry II., now approaching the calamitous end of his reign, could not prevent; nor was he able to enforce payment of the Saladin tax from the Scottish bishops. Immediately after Henry's death Richard Cœur de Lion, moved by the necessity of money for the crusades, consented for a payment of 10,000 marks to the abrogation of the treaty of Falaise (1189) as having been extorted

from William when a captive, and restored Scotland's ancient marches.

The second part of William's reign was occupied with internal affairs. Richard's absence and John's disputes with the pope and his own barons gave a relief from English war. The raising of the ransom tried the resources of Scotland, and was met by an aid from the clergy and barons. Risings by Harold, earl of Caithness, and his son Torphin (1197), and another by Guthred (1211), a descendant of the mormaer of Ross, were quelled. The birth of a son strengthened William's throne. He at one time contemplated an invasion of England, for which John's weakness afforded a good opportunity, but desisted, it is said, in consequence of a vision, perhaps remembering his own age and that of his heir. The proposed erection by John of a castle at Tweedmouth to overawe Berwick led to a rupture; but, after protracted negotiations and threats, a treaty was made (1209) by which William agreed to pay 15,000 marks. John was to procure suitable matches for his two daughters, and Tweedmouth was not to be rebuilt. The barons promised at a council in the following year to raise 10,000 and the burghs 6000 marks. This is the first mention of a contribution by the burghs to a feudal aid. William was their great benefactor, as Henry the Fowler in Germany and Richard in England: many of their charters date from his reign. Legislation continued in the form of assizes, which required the sanction of a great council. As in England, the necessity of raising money first gave rise to municipal rights and to facilities for some discussion of public affairs in what afterwards grew to be the parliament. This assembly was still the *curia regis* of the vassals of the king, and the Scottish parliament never lost marks of its origin. William died at Stirling in 1214 in the seventy-second year of his age. The lion rampant, which he took for his seal, became his epithet, and represents his chivalrous and determined character. He set the example, which his son and grandson followed, of cultivating friendly relations with the English sovereign, and his efforts to maintain the independence of Scotland were rewarded by internal peace. It was only in the outlying districts that risings had now to be feared. The number of shires where the king's sheriff, frequently (by a policy wise at the time, but afterwards dangerous) the chief baron of the district, administered justice at the head towns increases, and this, as well as the growth of trade, brought into prominence the burghs, each with a royal castle where the king in his frequent progresses held his court, and if needful summoned the great council of his realm. The chief burghs whose charters date from this reign are Perth, Aberdeen, Inverness, Dumfries, Lanark, Irvine, Ayr, Forfar, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Inverurie, Kintore, Banff, Cullen, and Nairn. Their number and sites, spread over the whole country, mark a settled policy and the progress of the kingdom in the arts of peace. A new diocese—Argyll—was founded by separation from Dunkeld, to which John the Scot, then bishop, sent his chaplain as knowing Gaelic; and, though the Hebrides were still Norse, this was a step towards the complete organization of the church and to the extension of the kingdom which followed in the next two reigns, when the Isles also were added (1266) to Scotland.

Alexander II. (1214-49), son of William, was crowned at Scone in his seventeenth year, in time to take part in the great struggle in England for Magna Charta, which had reached its crisis. He sided with the English barons, who made an agreement by which Carlisle and the county of Northumberland were to be given to Alexander. In fulfilment of his part he besieged Norham, while the barons inserted in Magna Charta a clause by which John

promised to render to Alexander what was his right with reference to the marriage of his sisters and his kingdom, unless the charters of his father William authorized otherwise, and this was to be decided by the judgment of his peers in the *curia regis*. The position of the Scottish king as one of the English barons in whose favour Magna Charta was granted is pregnant evidence of the fact that he was not, like John, Henry III., and Edward I., a monarch with imperial tendencies, the adversary of the rights of the barons and the people. The Scottish kings in this century and Bruce in the next were popular sovereigns, and their memory supported the crown when it was worn by less worthy successors. Next year John broke the charter, reduced by the aid of mercenaries the northern counties of England, and, advancing into Scotland, stormed Berwick and burnt Roxburgh, Haddington, and Dunbar. On his return he pillaged Coldingham and set fire to Berwick. Alexander retaliated by wasting England as far as Carlisle, which town, but not the castle, he took in the autumn; then, marching to Dover, he did homage to Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, whom the English barons had chosen as king. Next year (1217) he again invaded England, but made peace with Henry III., which was confirmed three years later at York. Alexander agreed to restore Carlisle, do homage for his English fiefs, and obtain release from the excommunication which the pope had declared against the barons and their allies. Henry promised to give Alexander one of his sisters in marriage and to procure suitable husbands for the Scottish princesses. Accordingly, Alexander married Joan, the elder daughter of John, while Margaret, his sister, became the wife of Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, and Isabella of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, both nobles who took a prominent part in the Barons War. These alliances rendered the peace with England more secure, and allowed Alexander to devote himself to the reduction of the periodical insurrections of the Celtic and Norse chiefs on his northern and western borders. He reduced Argyll (1222), which he created a sheriffdom, and forced John, earl of Caithness, to surrender part of his lands and pay compensation for his share in the burning of Adam, its bishop. The wisdom of his settlement of Argyll was proved by the inhabitants repelling an attack by Haco, the Norse king. He was equally successful in quelling the risings of two chiefs of the same name, Gillescop, one in the west, the other in Moray. Five years later (1230) a disputed succession in Galloway gave him the opportunity of chastising that turbulent province and dividing it among three co-heiresses. The fall of Hubert de Burgh and the succession of Peter des Roches to the chief place in the council of Henry III. changed the attitude of that king towards Scotland, but Otho, the papal legate, preserved peace by a compromise of the rival claims. A little more than a year after the death of his wife Joan without issue, Alexander married Mary de Couci, daughter of a French noble house, which counted itself the equal of kings, and Alexander III., the child of the marriage, was betrothed when an infant of a year old to Margaret, daughter of Henry III. Two years later (1244) a serious rupture, fomented by Walter Bisset, a Scottish exile, and caused by a projected alliance of Alexander with France and the erection of castles on the border, was averted by the treaty of Newcastle, by which the kings of England and Scotland bound themselves not to make alliances with the enemies of each other. The last year of his life was occupied in putting down a second rising in Galloway, and in preparing for an expedition against Haco, with the view of annexing the Hebrides; but he died of fever at Kerrera, in the Bay of Oban, while mustering his fleet. These expeditions, all successful, are proof of the active

character of the king, who must have been called "Peaceful" because he preserved peace with England, for he was in fact a warlike monarch, enforcing the feudal levy, which, according to Matthew Paris, amounted in his time to 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot, and extending the feudal civil government. Like his predecessors, he was a benefactor of the church, especially of the new mendicant orders, whose monasteries were founded in all the principal towns. The most important of his statutes were the substitution of trial by jury for the ordeals of fire and water, and the regulation of trial by battle, with provision for the case of women and the clergy. He was deemed, like David, a protector of the poor.

Alexander III. (1249-85) was only eight years old when his father died. A succession of contests for the regency between a party of nobles who favoured English influence and a national party was the consequence. The former tried to delay the coronation on the pretence that the young prince was not a knight; but Comyn, earl of Menteith, baffled them by the proposal that the bishop of St Andrews should perform both ceremonies. The rehearsal of his descent from the Celtic line of kings was made, according to a custom becoming old-fashioned, for the last time by a Highland sennachy, to please the Gaelic subjects, while the translation of the corpse of St Margaret into a precious shrine at Dunfermline was calculated to have a similar effect in the Lowlands. Henry III. had asked the pope to declare the coronation illegal without his consent, but the pope refused. Foiled in this, Henry celebrated at York the nuptials of his daughter and the young king, whom he asked to render homage for his kingdom. The reply that he had not come to answer such a question and must advise with his counsellors implied that he had counsellors little likely to grant it. About this time Durward the justiciar and Robert the chancellor were dismissed, and the earl of Menteith held the chief power for five years. A secret mission of Simon de Montfort led to the earl of March, Durward, and other nobles seizing the young king and queen, and at a meeting with Henry at Kelso the Comyns and their supporters were removed from office (1255) and other regents appointed. Two years later the bishop of St Andrews got the pope to excommunicate Durward and the English regents. Next year a compromise was effected and a joint regency appointed, consisting of the queen dowager and her husband, the earl of Menteith and Durward, and the supporters of both parties. When Alexander was nearly of age the earl of Menteith died, whereupon the king took the government into his own hands (1261). Henry, engaged in the dispute with his barons, could not interfere. Alexander at once resumed his father's project for the reduction of the Hebrides; but Haco, the Norwegian king, forestalled him by invading Scotland, when a storm, which dispersed his fleet, and the loss of the battle of Largs (1263) forced him to retire to the Orkneys, where he died. Magnus Olafson, king of Man, the chief Norse feudatory, a descendant of Godred the Black, submitted to Alexander, and although some of the islands held out they were reduced by the earls of Buchan and Mar and Alan Durward. At last Magnus, the son of Haco, concluded a treaty at Perth (1266), by which he surrendered Man and the Sudreyar for a payment of 4000 marks and an annual rent of 100; the rights of the bishop of Drontheim were reserved. From this time the western isles were subject to Scotland. At the parliament of 1284, which settled the crown on the Maid of Norway, their great nobles, descendants of Somerled, attended as vassals, and the subsequent revolts (of which there were many) were instigated by the English king, who found useful allies in the chiefs of the Isles. In the Barons War Alexander aided his father-in-law on

Reduction
of the
western
isles.

whose side three Scottish barons, John Comyn, Robert Bruce, and John Baliol, fought at Lewes, where the first two were taken prisoners. In the matter of the independence of his kingdom Alexander was as firm as his predecessors, and would not allow Henry himself or the legate Ottobon to collect within it a tithe for the crusade which the pope had guaranteed to the English king. On the accession of Edward I. (1272) Alexander attended his coronation, but neither then nor six years later, when specially summoned to Westminster, would he do homage for Scotland. The closing years of Alexander were saddened by domestic losses. His wife died in 1273, his younger son David in 1281. His only daughter, Margaret, married two years before to Erik of Norway, and his elder son, Alexander, both died in 1283. The following year the estates at Scone recognized the succession of Margaret, the Maid of Norway; but Alexander, in hope of a male heir, married Joleta, daughter of Count de Dreux. At the festivities in Jedburgh in honour of the marriage a ghostly figure in the masque was deemed an omen of the king's death, which followed from a fall near Kinghorn (1285). The prosperity of Scotland in his reign was celebrated in one of the earliest verses preserved in the Scottish dialect—

"Quhen Alysander our kyng was dede,
That Scotland led in luv and le,
Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle,
Oure gold was changed into lede.
Cryst, born into virginite,
Succour Scotland and remede
That sted in his perplexitie."

Under the wise rule of three kings, extending over more than a century—a circumstance rare in that age—Scotland attained a degree of wellbeing before unknown, which did not return till the 18th century. The extent of the revenue is attested by the returns of the sheriffs to the chamberlain and by the accounts of the tax which Boiamund de Vicci, the pope's representative, levied from the clergy for the crusade. Berwick, the chief Scottish port, was likened to Alexandria, and attained an importance it never recovered after its union with England. Its customs were reckoned as equal to a third of those of all England,—a statement hardly credible till we remember that the trade of Britain was chiefly with France and Flanders, and that a harbour for small craft was sufficient. The personal character and bravery of these kings subdued the turbulence of the outlying districts and kept in check the ambition of the nobles. The bounds of the kingdom were almost as they now are, and the name of Scotland permanently passed to the whole country south as well as north of the Forth. In spite of differences of race, the unity of the nation had been secured, and its independence was acknowledged by the pope and other sovereigns; the English alone kept up a nominal claim to rights which had for short periods been held by Canute and the Conqueror, and for longer by the second Henry, until they were abandoned by the treaty of Canterbury. But now all was to be changed. Three centuries of war, though diminishing in intensity as time went on, display heroic character, but imply an amount of suffering to the people which cannot be told. Perhaps a contest between the two proud nations which shared Britain was inevitable, yet the reigns of the Alexanders suggest a different possibility. That the contest came when it did was due to the disputed succession on the death of Margaret, the Maid of Norway. This gave to the ambition of Edward I. an opportunity to reduce the whole island to his sway, which he was quick to seize.

5. *War of Independence; from Death of Alexander III. to Accession of House of Stuart.*—The Maid of Norway, whose right was at once acknowledged (for Scotland, like England, knew no Salic law), was not to wear the crown.

A regency administered the kingdom for five years after Alexander's death. A conference at Salisbury between commissioners of Erik of Norway, Edward I., three of the regents, and Bruce, lord of Annandale, agreed that Margaret should be sent home unbetrothed. Her marriage to Edward's son, for which a dispensation had been got from Rome, was sanctioned by an assembly at Brigham near Roxburgh (18th July 1290), in a treaty which made anxious provision for the independence of Scotland. This country was to remain free, and, saving the right of the king of England in the marches or elsewhere, separate from England by its lawful bounds. No parliament was to sit, and no Scottish suit to be tried, out of Scotland. Edward confirmed this treaty by oath; but the death of Margaret in the Orkneys rendered it abortive. To prevent an armed contest for the crown, Fraser, bishop of St Andrews, invited Edward to intervene, and certain Scottish nobles made a similar request. He accordingly summoned the Scottish estates to meet him on 10th May, and the English parliament on 3d June 1291, at Norham near Berwick. When the Scots came Edward refused to judge the cause of the Scottish succession unless his title as superior of Scotland was admitted. After some delay the barons and clergy gave the admission, as also did the claimants—no fewer than thirteen—but the representatives of the commons withheld any such acknowledgment. The court for the decision of the cause was then appointed. Forty members were named by Baliol and as many by Bruce, between whom the competition really lay, while Edward chose twenty-four. On the following day the competitors agreed that sasine of the kingdom should be given to Edward; a week later the regent surrendered the kingdom of Scotland and the keepers the chief castles into his hands as lord paramount. He restored possession after adding several Englishmen to the regency. After another adjournment the competitors put in their claims. Three descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion—all English barons, though one, Bruce, had large estates in Scotland—were alone serious. John Baliol claimed as grandson of David's eldest daughter Margaret, wife of Alan, lord of Galloway; Robert Bruce as son of David's second daughter, wife of the lord of Annandale; while David de Hastings, grandson of the third daughter Ada, contended that the kingdom was partible. This last question was postponed until the claims of Baliol and Bruce had been considered. After two long adjournments it was at last decided (14th October 1292) that the case was to be ruled by the law of the kingdom applicable to titles of earldoms, baronies, and other indivisible inheritances, and "that by this law in every heritable succession the more remote by one degree descended from the eldest sister was preferable to the nearer in degree from the second." Edward accordingly decided (17th November 1292) in favour of Baliol. Two days afterwards the regents were ordered to give sasine to Baliol; the day following he swore fealty to Edward at Norham; ten days after he was crowned at Scone; within a month he did homage to Edward at Newcastle.

The judgment was just, according to the principles of feudal law afterwards fixed, though then imperfectly established, in favour of primogeniture; the acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Edward was a different matter. In the course of the proceedings Edward obtained from the cathedrals and religious houses of England returns of homage by Scottish kings. No such returns were asked from Scotland. Those from England recited the well-known cases of isolated conquest followed by homage to Saxon, Danish, and Norman kings, Edward the Elder and Athelstan, Canute and the two Williams, and the treaty of Falaise by which William the Lion surrendered the

Competition between Bruce and Baliol.

Baliol made king

independence of Scotland. They ignored the treaty of Canterbury by which it was restored, the clause of Magna Charta relating to Scotland and the rights of its king, the refusal of the last two Alexanders to render homage for their kingdom, and the treaty of Brigham by which Edward had acknowledged the independence of Scotland. One result of the submission to the English king overlooked by the eager competitors, but not by the lawyers who advised Edward, immediately emerged. An appeal was soon taken from the court of Baliol to the court of his superior at Westminster. Baliol referred in vain to the express clause in the treaty of Brigham that no Scottish suit was to be tried beyond Scotland; Edward replied this was an appeal from his own officers during the interregnum, but asserted his right to hear appeals in all cases. Other appeals followed, and Baliol weakly surrendered his claim to independent jurisdiction. Shortly afterwards (October 1293) he was himself summoned to Westminster as defendant in a suit by Maoduff, son of the earl of Fife. Declining to appear, he was condemned for contempt, and three of his principal castles were ordered to be seized. He again yielded and promised to attend next parliament. There could be no longer doubt what had been the effect of submitting the dispute as to the crown to Edward. Instances of homage had not been difficult to find; but the records might be ransacked in vain for an example of what would now become frequent,—the adjudication by the court of the English king on the rights of Scotsmen. The execution of this decision by force in Scotland carried with it at no distant date the subjection of the kingdom. Baliol quitted Westminster suddenly in 1294 to escape service in the Gascony war. By yielding in the question of appeal he had lost the confidence of the Scottish barons. In the parliament of Scone a council was appointed to control him, and all fiefs held by Englishmen were forfeited. In the following year he formed an alliance against England with the French king, and his son was promised the daughter of that king's nephew, the count of Anjou, in marriage. The Scottish army headed by six earls then invaded England, but was repulsed at Carlisle (28th March 1296), and Edward, leaving his French campaign, at once marched northwards. Before the end of March 1296 he stormed Berwick. While there the abbot of Arbroath brought him a renunciation of Baliol's homage. Dunbar was taken soon afterwards by the earl of Surrey; Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Edinburgh fell before the end of June; Stirling, Perth, and Scone surrendered without a blow. At this time no Scottish town was walled and no resistance could be made against the English feudal levy led by such a general as Edward. In the churchyard of Stracathro in Forfar Baliol renounced his alliance with France, and a few days afterwards (10th July) surrendered Scotland to Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham. Edward marched as far as Elgin, but it was a conquest of Baliol, not of Scotland. This impotent monarch was carried captive with his son to London and vanishes from Scottish history. He died at one of his French fiefs twenty years afterwards, never having attempted to regain the kingdom. On his homeward march Edward took and recorded in the Ragman Rolls the homage of the Scottish nobility, and carried to Westminster the sacred stone of Stone, on which the Celtic monarchs had been crowned, and the black rood of Margaret, the hallowed relic of the Saxon line. Surrey was appointed guardian, Sir Hugh Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormsby justiciar of Scotland; the nobles were treated with lenity and the bishops bribed by the privilege of bequeathing their movables like their English brethren. The most important result of the campaign was the capture and fortification of Berwick. That city, the key to the Lothians, was the commercial capital;

and Scotland was left without one until the rise, after the union, of Glasgow and the mercantile centres of the Clyde.

When the fortunes of Scotland were at the lowest, when the country was deserted by the king, and its nobles and clergy were making terms with the conqueror, Wallace, the man of the people, appeared. The second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie near Paisley, his name indicates a remote Celtic origin from a Welsh or Cambrian stock. In the spring of 1297, in revenge for the murder of his wife, Wallace slew Hazelrig, sheriff of Ayr, and burned Lanark. Collecting a band of followers animated with like patriotism, and aided by a single noble, Sir William Douglas, he surprised and drove Ormsby, the justiciar, from Scone and Beck, the bishop of Durham, from Glasgow. Some of the barons, headed by James the Steward, joined him, and Wallace and Douglas carried everything before them in Lennox and Galloway,—districts more favourable to the national cause than Lothian. The nobles fell away from Wallace almost as soon as Percy appeared at the head of an English force, and Douglas, the Steward, Bruce the future king, and others capitulated at Irvine (9th July 1297). Wallace, while engaged in the siege of the castle of Dundee, heard that Surrey and Cressingham were advancing on Stirling, and he marched to its relief. There at the bridge over the Forth near Cambuskenneth he won his most famous victory (11th September). The English were totally routed and Cressingham was killed. The disparity of numbers was great, for the English had 50,000 foot and 1000 horse, against at most 40,000 foot and only 180 horse. The generalship of Wallace, who tempted his adversary to cross the bridge in his face and held his troops in hand until the moment of the charge, won the day, the first in which a feudal army was beaten by light-armed peasants. Wallace attempted to organize the kingdom he had won. He assumed the title of guardian of the realm in name of the Lord John (Baliol), and associated with himself Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, son of the only baron who stood by him and who fell in the battle. He held the nobles in awe, while he rewarded his adherents. The grant (fortunately preserved) of the office of constable of Dundee to Alexander Scrymgeour can scarcely have been a solitary one. He introduced better discipline in the army, and tried also to revive trade.¹ Shortly after the battle of Stirling Wallace carried the war as far as Hexham, whose monks he protected. That he penetrated farther south and won the favour of Eleanor, Edward's wife, is one of the romantic additions to his scanty history in the poem of Blind Harry. Edward recognized the crisis and, leaving Flanders, sent a force before him under Pembroke, following in person at the head of 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse. For a brief space success attended Wallace, who defeated the English in Fife and Ayr; but the bishop of Durham retook the castle of Dirliton, and Edward himself, by the victory of Falkirk (22d July 1298), in which the nobles again proved false to the popular cause, reversed that of Stirling. Wallace took refuge in France, and, although the French king at Amiens offered to surrender him, he was soon released and provided with a safe conduct to the pope. Papers found on him when captured show that he received similar letters from Haco of Norway and Baliol. Whether he went to Rome is not certain, but he may have been one of the Scots who at this time induced Boniface VIII. to claim the superiority of Scotland. The claim was indignantly repelled by the English barons at the parliament of Lincoln; Edward, however, thought it prudent to lay before the pope a statement in which he advanced not only

¹ A letter from him and Moray to the citizens of Lübeck and Hamburg who sympathized with the Scottish commons has been found in the archives of Hamburg.

the instances of homage collected for use at Norham but the fable of Brute the Trojan, from whose eldest son Loerinus he claimed descent, and therefore superiority over the Scottish kings sprung from Albanactus the second as well as those of Wales descended from Camber the third. Baldred de Bisset, the Scottish commissioner at Rome, in his answer admitted the pope's right, but replied to Edward's fiction by another as bold,—the descent of the Scots from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh. A more solid argument was founded on the treaty of Brigham. The pope delayed judgment, and in 1302 suddenly changed sides and exhorted the Scots, by several bulls, to submit. Edward had not waited for this sanction; the period between the battle of Falkirk and the taking of Stirling was a continuous and bloody struggle. In person he laid waste Galloway and took Caerlaverock (1300); in 1302, his general Sir John Segrave, having fought a battle of doubtful issue with Comyn and Fraser at Roslin, Edward returned (1303), marched as far as Caithness, and reduced the whole east of Scotland by the capture of Stirling (24th January 1304). Scotland was subdued, yet Wallace lived, and we catch glimpses of him, in the woods of Dunfermline, in the forest of Etrick, in the neighbourhood of Lanark. A price was set on his head, and at last he was betrayed by a servant of Sir John de Menteith near Glasgow and taken to London, where, after a mock trial in Westminster Hall, he received the traitor's doom (23d August 1305), though he denied with truth that he had taken any oath to Edward.

Settlement of Scotland by Edward I.

This time Edward, in order to make the conquest of Scotland permanent, proceeded to incorporate it in the empire of England. With apparent fairness an assembly was summoned to Perth to elect ten representatives to attend a parliament at Westminster to treat of the affairs of Scotland. Nine commissioners came to London, where they were associated with twenty Englishmen. The result was the "Ordinacio facta per dominum regem pro stabilitate terræ Scotiæ" (1305). Though never fully carried out, this document, on the model of similar ordinances for Wales and Ireland, discloses Edward's designs. English nobles were appointed to administer the government of the country, and eight justices to administer the law. The law and usages of Scotland (except those of the Bretons and Scots, which were abrogated) were to be observed in the meantime; but the lieutenant (John of Brittany, the king's nephew) and council were to amend what was contrary to God and reason, or in case of difficulty refer to Edward at Westminster. The whole country was divided into sheriffdoms, the sheriffs being removable at the discretion of the lieutenant. The office of coroner, more important than now, was also regulated; certain persons were nominated constables of the chief castles; and many nobles were fined and others banished. Bruce (the competitor's grandson) was ordered to put Kildrumny Castle (Aberdeen) in charge of an officer for whom he should be responsible. The ordinance was suitable to its object,—moderate, even humane. The banishment of the nobles was limited as to time. Relief was given in the payment of fines. Many old officers were continued. Edward's aim at this time was to pacify the country he had conquered, to put down resistance, but to encourage submission. It is as wrong to call him a tyrant as Wallace a rebel: the one was a statesman king with imperialist aims, the other a patriot leader with keen popular sympathies. The king triumphed; but before his death his well-laid plans were shattered: Scotland again rose in arms, and this time the nobles joined the people, under the leadership of Robert the Bruce.

The position, as well as the character, of Bruce contrasted with that of Wallace. Instead of being a cadet of the ordinary landed gentry, Bruce represented a family in

which for more than two centuries the purest Norman blood had flowed. The English branch of Skelton in Cleveland and the Scottish branch of Annandale divided their large possessions; but those of the latter sufficed to make its head one of the most powerful nobles in Scotland, who still retained, as so many did, English fiefs. More than one of his ancestors had intermarried with the royal house of Scotland (see ROBERT THE BRUCE, vol. xx. p. 592). On his father's death Bruce succeeded to Annandale. He held besides several manors in England. During the early part of the War of Independence, like many barons with conflicting interests, he had wavered, sometimes supporting Wallace, more frequently the English king. In 1303-4 he assisted Edward in the preparation for the siege of Stirling. He had been consulted with regard to the ordinance of 1305. But there were already signs of mutual distrust. The provision in the ordinance as to Kildrumny shows that Edward was aware special precautions had to be taken to secure the loyalty of Bruce, and on 11th June 1304 Bruce secretly met near Cambuskenneth Lambertson, bishop of St Andrews, and entered into a bond referring to future dangers from Edward. Of all the Scottish clergy Lambertson had been most friendly to Wallace, and this bond was a link between the two periods of the War of Independence and their leaders. Bruce had attended at Westminster when the ordinance was settled, but left suddenly, arriving at Dumfries on the seventh day. There he met in the church of the Friars Minor John (the Red) Comyn of Badenoch, Baliol's nephew, and slew him before the high altar (10th February 1306). The die was cast, and indecision vanished from the character of Bruce. Collecting his adherents at Lochmaben and Glasgow, he passed to Scone, where he was crowned by the bishop of St Andrews. It at first seemed likely that a saying of his wife would prove true,—that he was a summer but would not be a winter king. His defeat at Methven (19th June 1306) was followed by another at Strathfillan (11th August), and Bruce took refuge in the island of Rathlin (off Antrim, Ireland). The tales of his hairbreadth escapes, his courage and endurance in all changes of fortune, were gathered by Barbour from the mouths of the people, who followed the life of their champion with the keenest interest. Meanwhile Edward came north and gave a foretaste of his vengeance. But his severity strengthened the party of Bruce, which grew daily. All classes now made, with few exceptions, common cause against the enemy of all. Edward's death at Burgh-on-Sands (7th June 1307) at once changed the whole aspect of the invasion. Edward II. wasted in the ceremony of a funeral and the diversions of a youthful court the critical moment of the war. Bruce seized his opportunity, and by the close of 1313 Berwick and Stirling alone remained English. The independence of Scotland was finally determined by the ever-memorable victory of Bannockburn (24th June 1314).

Bruce reigned fifteen years after Bannockburn and (if the Irish expedition of his brother Edward be left out of account) with almost uninterrupted success. On his return from Ireland he reduced Berwick (March 1318) and converted it from an English to a Scottish frontier town. His recognition by the pope was followed by the acknowledgment of Flanders and France; and the long truce which Edward II. had been forced to agree to before his death became in the new reign a formal treaty known as that of Northampton (April 1328). By its leading article "Scotland according to its ancient bounds in the days of Alexander III. shall remain to Robert, king of Scots, and his heirs, free and divided from England, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever." In pursuance of another article Johanna, Edward's sister, was married to David, the infant son of Bruce, at Berwick on

(24th July). As an administrator and legislator he showed an ability not inferior to that which in his earlier years he had manifested as a warrior and a general. He obtained from the estates a settlement of the succession, reformed abuses in the feudal law, regulated the courts, providing equal justice for poor and rich, and framed strict Acts against sedition. He also encouraged trade, especially shipbuilding, foreseeing its future importance to Scotland. Never off his guard, amongst his most anxious legislative provisions are those relating to the defence of the kingdom,—arming all able-bodied men, prohibiting exports of arms, fortifying the towns and castles on the borders, arranging signals to give notice of invasion. Though attacked by leprosy contracted in his campaigns, he remained active to the last,—a monarch such as occurs only once in many centuries, brave, liberal, wise, and pious, like the English Alfred, the darling of the nation he had delivered. (For fuller details, see ROBERT THE BRUCE, vol. xx. p. 594 sq.)

The wise provision that Bruce made for the regency secured the peaceful succession of his son David II. (1329-70), who was the first Scottish king anointed at his coronation,—a privilege conceded to Bruce in a bull which reached Scotland after his death. According to the ideas of the age this placed the Scottish king on an equality with the sovereigns of Europe. The War of Independence quickened the sentiment of Scottish nationality, and left the country poorer in wealth but richer in spirit. The memories of Wallace and of Bruce educated the people and produced in the next generation their earliest literature. England, unconscious of the benefit, gained by its own defeat. But for the resistance of the Scots it might have become earlier than France a centralized feudal monarchy. The distinct character of the Scots—a blend of the Celt, Saxon, Norseman, and Norman—strengthened by variety the collective force of Britain. The loss which must be balanced against the gain was the bitter hatred between two races of kindred origin within one narrow isle, which for centuries retarded the progress of both, especially of the smaller kingdom.

The almost contemporaneous reigns of David II. and Edward III. reversed the position of the two countries: Scotland had now one of its feeblest and England one of its most powerful kings. Had not the love of liberty become the life-blood of both nobles and commons in Scotland it must have succumbed in the desperate struggle. After the death of Robert, Randolph, earl of Moray, governed with wisdom and vigour for three years. On his death the estates chose Donald, earl of Mar, another nephew of Bruce, whom he had passed over, foreseeing his incapacity. Encouraged by the divisions of the nobles, Edward, son of John Baliol, with the barons who had lost their land by espousing the English side, suddenly landed at Kinghorn. Nine days after his election, Mar was met and worsted by Baliol on Dupplin Muir (11th August 1332), where Mar himself and many nobles were slain. Baliol was crowned at Scone; but Perth was immediately retaken, and Baliol, having been defeated at Annan by the young earl of Moray, left Scotland. Next year Edward came with a large army to his support and defeated at Halidon Hill (20th July 1333), chiefly through the skill of the archers, the Scots led by Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, who was now regent. Berwick capitulated and Baliol surrendered it to England, pledging in addition the castles of the Lothians, including Edinburgh and Linlithgow, in security for an annual tribute of £2000. Like his grandfather, Edward III. made a new ordinance for the government of Scotland, but his officers never obtained possession of their posts. Meantime David and his queen fled to France, where they remained seven years. Fortunately for Scotland a new race of patriotic leaders appeared: Moray of Bothwell handed down the

traditions of Wallace and Bruce, while Robert the Steward, Douglas the knight of Liddesdale, and Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie sustained the fame of Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas. The attraction of a French campaign with the crown of France as prize prevented Edward from ever using his whole force against Scotland, and a French fleet made a diversion by attacking the Channel Islands and threatening the Isle of Wight. Edward retaliated by assuming the title of king of France, and after two years' preparation invaded that country from Flanders. The armies met at Vironfosse (26th September 1339), where David of Scotland was present. Never was the pomp of chivalry seen in greater splendour, but the first act of the Hundred Years' War, which seemed destined to make French and English eternal enemies and French and Scots perpetual allies, passed without a blow.

Two years later the recovery of the Scottish castles and the repulse of Salisbury's attempt on Dunbar made it safe for David to return to Scotland, which Baliol had abandoned. Though scarcely eighteen, he assumed the government (30th March 1342). Before his arrival Edinburgh had fallen, and next year Roxburgh was taken by Sir Alexander Ramsay, whom David unfortunately rewarded by the sheriffdom of Teviotdale, which the knight of Liddesdale claimed, and Ramsay, seized by treachery, was starved to death at the Hermitage by the knight of Liddesdale, who entered into correspondence with the English king, and dishonoured his name of the "Flower of Chivalry." Bullock, an ecclesiastic who had risen to the office of chamberlain under Baliol and transferred his services to David, met the same fate at the hands of the king on a suspicion of treason. Other signs of weak government were not wanting. On the conclusion of a brief truce, David, tempted by Edward's absence, invaded England in spite of the defection of some of his chief nobles, and was defeated at Neville's Cross (17th October 1346) near Durham by the archbishop of York and the northern barons, the king and several of his nobles being taken prisoners. The rigour of David's captivity (which lasted eleven years) was relaxed so far as to allow him to return frequently to Scotland and try to persuade the people to raise his ransom, which the English king urgently required. Though Baliol was still acknowledged as nominal king by Edward, he resided in Galloway, while Robert the Steward, elected regent in the name of David, really governed. At length by the treaty of Newcastle (13th July 1354) David's ransom was agreed on, sufficient hostages being taken for its payment. Next year the French king resumed the Scottish war by sending Eugène de Garancière with men, money, and arms. Several border engagements followed, but Edward, advancing to the frontier, took Berwick, and obtained from his puppet Baliol an absolute surrender of the Scottish kingdom for an annuity. He ravaged the Lothians in the raid called the Burnt Candlemas, but failed really to reduce the country. Edward's victory over the French at Poitiers, in which many Scots were slain, forced the Scottish parliament to grant the terms dictated by the English king. Peace was finally concluded by the treaty of Berwick (3d October 1357), and confirmed at Scone,—the ransom being raised and the condition as to hostages made more severe. David at once returned to Scotland. But his sympathies had become English; he revisited that country almost every year, and it required all the strength of the Scottish estates to prevent the son of Bruce from making a surrender of his kingdom more ignominious than Baliol's. The enormous ransom pressed hard on so poor a country. An attempt to induce France to resume the war failed, and David, like a debtor dealing with a money-lender, had to renew his bills at usury. Negotiations for this purpose