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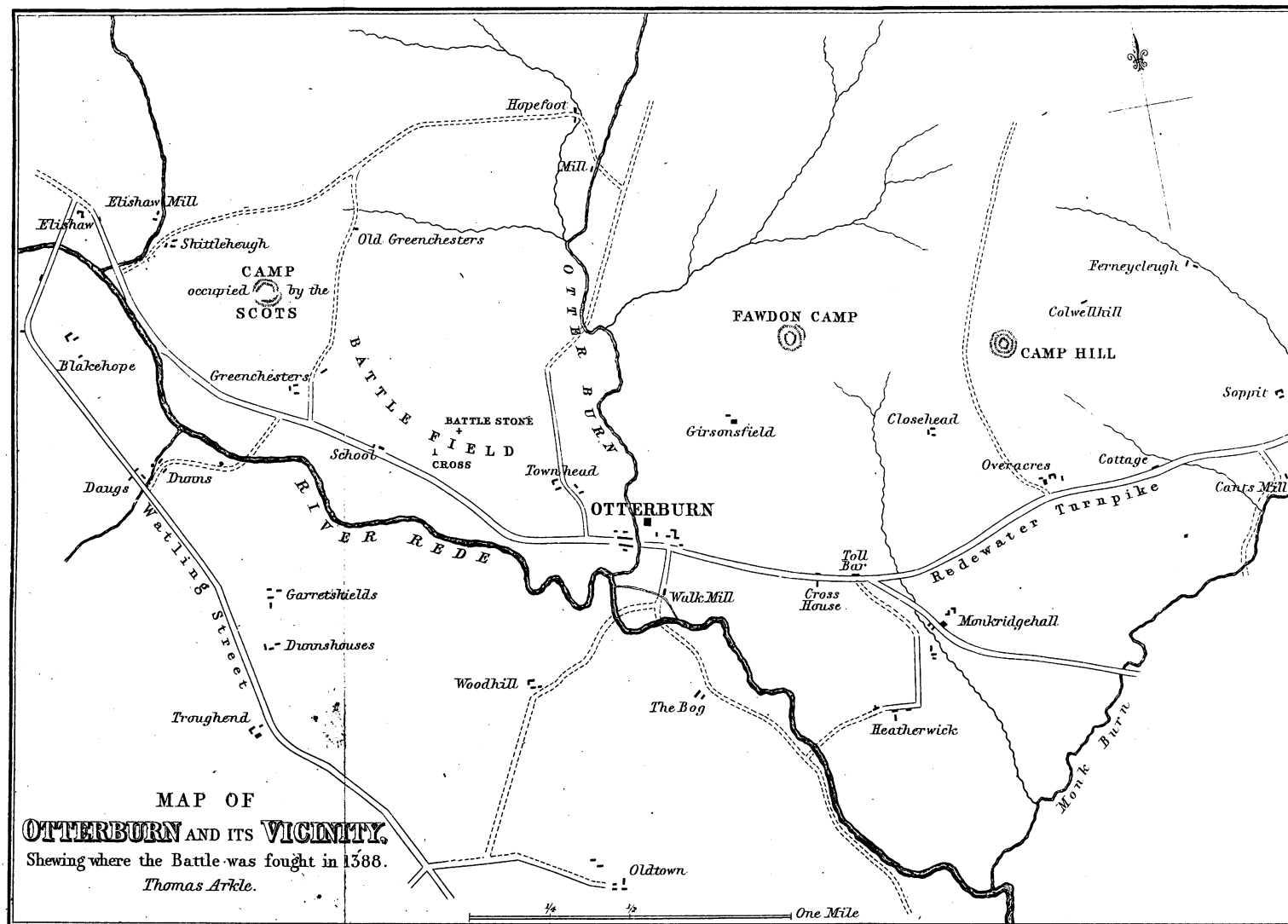
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HISTORY
OF THE
Battle of Otterburn,
FOUGHT IN 1388:
WITH
MEMOIRS OF THE WARRIORS WHO ENGAGED^d
IN THAT MEMORABLE CONFLICT.

BY
ROBERT WHITE.

Is there a tract upon the circling earth
That can outvie our rugged BORDER-LAND
For scenes of song and feats of chivalry?
Or, through the stirring annals of the past,
Are there heroic chieftains to be found
Who, by their noble deeds, eclipse the fame
Of gallant PERCY or of DOUGLAS bold?

London :
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.
EMERSON CHARNLEY, BIGG MARKET, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.
THO. G. STEVENSON, 87, PRINCE'S STREET, EDINBURGH.
M.DCCC.LVII.

TO THE MOST NOBLE
ALGERNON
DUKE AND EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND K.G.
EARL AND BARON PERCY
ETC. ETC. ETC.

THE HIGH-MINDED AND PATRIOTIC DESCENDANT
OF THE RENOWNED

Hotspur

THIS HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN
IS WITH PERMISSION MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

HIS GRACE'S
OBLIGED AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

AMONG the manuscripts in my possession there is one written by myself, and dated so far back as the summer of 1830. It contains, in verse, the old ballads of "Chevy Chase," and "The Battle of Otterbourne," from the *Reliques*, the Scottish ballad on the latter subject from the *Minstrelsy*, and a romantic extract relative to the same conflict from the *Lay of the Reedwater Minstrel*, by my late friend Mr. Robert Roxby. The prose extracts comprise the several accounts of the said battle from Froissart, Buchanan, Hollinshead, and Godscroft, fragments from Douglas's *Peerage*, and copies of two letters—one to and another from Sir Walter Scott, on the subject of Bird's Picture of Chevy Chase. Here, then, is a considerable portion of material, which, after lying untouched for a quarter of a century, has been taken up and expanded over the following pages.

On our journey through the world, we come to know certain individuals of superior mental endow-

ment, whose faculties, compared with those of others, seem to be invigorated by a love of literature into more healthful activity and exhilarating cheerfulness. If they write good books, so much the better: if they write none, ourselves and posterity are the losers; but in any case, their conversation is like a banquet that never cloy—a basket ever filled with ambrosial fruit and flowers. To such men we willingly pay all due homage and regard; and, therefore, a word of counsel or encouragement, or an offer of assistance from them, is exceedingly gratifying. For favours received in this way, my acknowledgments are due to the Rev. James Raine, M.A., to his amiable son the Rev. James Raine, Jun., M.A., to John Fenwick, Esq., F.S.A., and to the Rev. John Collingwood Bruce, LL.D. It was in accordance with a hint from the two gentlemen last named, that I embraced the subject handled in the following pages; and, if such advice has proved not unfruitful, the soil where it fell had in some measure been prepared to receive it. To W. Hylton Dyer Longstaffe, Esq., F.S.A., I have been indebted for information upon several heraldic matters, and for assistance in preparing drawings for the shields which accompany the Memoirs of the Otterburn heroes.

I have to thank Thomas Arkle, Esq., of High Carrick, for the drawings he supplied of the Map of Otterburn, and Plan of the Camp above Greenchesters. Mr. M. Aislabie Denham, of Pierse Bridge, also merits my obligation for the readiness with which he tendered me any assistance I required.

Lastly, my gratitude is due to Mr. James Telfer, of Saughtree, Liddesdale—an old, a true, and a valued friend. At all times he has responded most devotedly to my wishes, and in no instance on my part, has any appeal to his judgment been made in vain.

The shields which accompany the Biographical Notices were cut by Mr. John Cleghorn, whose skill was so strikingly displayed on the heraldic embellishments of *The Visitation of the County of Huntingdon*, printed for the Camden Society in 1849. Mr. Fairholt designed the cut at page 38; and the map of Otterburn and plan of the Camp have been executed by Mr. W. H. Lizars, of Edinburgh.

I have long regarded the North of England as my home, and in writing this volume, my attachment to that district has considerably increased. To the gallant Northumbrians was assigned, in former days, the honour of rolling back the inroads of a fierce

and implacable foe, which they ever performed faithfully and well. Hence, when reverence is paid to the memory of those who have raised this renowned land to its present greatness, we ought to comprehend in that union, some remembrance of "the brave defenders of the English Borders." To me, the spots where such men dwelt, are of deep interest; and the battle-fields where they "fought, bled, and died," are as hallowed ground. In gazing upon such scenes we feel our patriotism kindled; we are moved to love humanity more, and hold still dearer the places of our nativity. Life even at best being uncertain, there are, indeed, nobler purposes in our destiny, than the acquisition of property or wealth. It is, therefore, wise to consider more attentively our heroic ancestors; and as we escape their lower vices, let us emulate them in their loftier virtues—living less for ourselves than for others, and, if need be, ready at any time to offer up all we possess, on the sacred altar of our beloved COUNTRY.

R. TH.

*Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
December 30th, 1856.*

CONTENTS.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.—BATTLE FIELD OF OTTERBURN.

Residence at Otterburn, xiv.—Mr. James Ellis, *ib.*—His Letter to Scott, xv.—Scott visits Otterburn, *ib.*—Remarks on Mr. Ellis's Letter, xvi.—Rev. John Hodgson, xviii. Extract from his History, *ib.*—Description of Battle Stone, xix.—Erection of the present Cross, xxi.—Letter to Mr. Hodgson, xxii.—Letter from Mr. Hodgson, xxiii. Remarks thereon, xxiv.—Treatment of subject, xxvi.—Authorities, xxvii.—Biographical Notices, *ib.*

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTORY: ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

State of England, 1.—Wealth of the Nobility, 2.—Oppression of the People, 3.—Condition of Scotland, 4.—Decline of the Feudal System, 5.—Various ranks in the English Armies, 6.—Knights and Men-at-Arms, 7.—Of the Archers, 8.—Men of War in Scotland, 9.—Armour and Weapons, 10.—Expeditions to England, 11.

CHAPTER II.—INTRODUCTORY: DESCRIPTION OF THE BORDERS.

Appearance of the Borders, 12.—Account of Redesdale, 13.—Of its Inhabitants, 14.—The meanness of their Dwellings, 15.—The Scottish Border, 16.—Number of Population, 17.—Places of Abode, 18.—Best Warriors on the Borders, *ib.*—Sir Henry Percy, 19.—William, first Earl of Douglas, 20.—James, second Earl of Douglas, 21.

CHAPTER III.—EXPEDITION OF THE SCOTS TO ENGLAND.

Meetings near Aberdeen, and in the Forest of Jedburgh, 22.—Division of the Army, 23.—Number of Warriors under Douglas, 24.—Movement through Northumberland, 25.—Excitement of the English at Newcastle, 26.—Encounter between Douglas and Hotspur, 28.—The Scots retire to Otterburn, 30.—They fortify the Camp, 32.—Advance of the English Army, 33.—Preparation for battle, 36.

CHAPTER IV.—ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE.

Commencement of the Struggle, 40.—The war-cries of both Armies, 41.—A Cloud overshadows the Moon, 42.—Bravery of Douglas, 43.—Sir Ralph Percy taken prisoner, 44.—Douglas discovered lying wounded, 45.—His advice and death, 46.—Capture of Hotspur, 47.—Prowess displayed, 48.—Slaughter of English in the camp, 49.—English lines give way, 49.—Pursuit of the fugitives, 50.

CHAPTER V.—CONCLUSION OF THE BATTLE.

Advance of the Bishop of Durham, 51.—Encounter between Lindsay and Redman, 52.—Capture of Lindsay, 53.—Arrangement and manœuvre of the Scots, 54.—Sir Ralph Percy conveyed to Newcastle, 55.—Ransom of prisoners, 56.—Numbers of slain and wounded, 56.—Departure of the Scots, 57.—Burial of Douglas at Melrose, 59.—Respective ages of Douglas and Percy, 60.—Battle a fit theme for the minstrels, 61.—Interest excited by it, 62.

AUTHORITIES 63

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

ENGLISH WARRIORS.	PAGE
Sir Henry Percy	67
Sir Ralph Percy	74
Sir Robert Ogle	75
Sir Thomas Umphreville	77
Sir Robert Umphreville	79
Sir Thomas Grey	81
Walter Skirlawe, Bishop of Durham	83
William, Baron of Hilton	85
Sir Matthew Redman	87
Sir John Lilburn	89
Sir Aymer de Athol	89
 SCOTTISH WARRIORS.	
James Earl of Douglas	91
George Earl of Dunbar	94
John Earl of Moray	98
Sir James Lindsay	100
Sir David Lindsay	102
Sir Alexander Ramsay	105
John de Montgomery	106
Sir Patrick Hepburn	107
Sir John Swinton	108
Sir Henry Preston	110
Sir William de Dalzell	111
Addenda	113
Appendix of Notes	115

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATES.

Map of Otterburn	to front title.
Plan of Camp	page 30

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

Cross on battle-field, near Otterburn	page xiii
Battle Stone	xxviii
Arrow-Head from Otterburn, in collection at Abbotsford.—See illustrated edition of Waverley Novels, vol. ii. p. 78.	11
View from above Greenchesters	38
Spur from Otterburn, in Abotsford Collection.—See illustrated edition of Waverley Novels, vol. i. p. 199.	50
Arms of Sir Henry Percy	67
Arms of Sir Ralph Percy	74
Arms of Sir Robert Ogle	75
Arms of Umphreville	77
Arms from Elsdon Tower	79
Arms of Sir Thomas Grey	81
Arms of Walter Skirlawe, Bishop of Durham	83
Arms of William, Baron of Hilton	85
Arms of Sir Matthew Redman	87
Arms of James Earl of Douglas	91
Arms of George Earl of Dunbar	94
Arms of John Earl of Moray	98
Arms of Sir James Lindsey	100
Arms of Sir David Lindsay	102
Arms of Sir Alexander Ramsay	105
Arms of Sir John Montgomery	106
Arms of Sir Patrick Hepburn	107
Arms of Sir John Swinton	108
Arms of Sir Henry Preston	110
Ancient Flag preserved at Cavers	129
Spear-heads found near Otterburn, presented by Sir D. W. Smith to the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Jan. 3, 1816	167



Cross on the Battle Field near Otterburn.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

IN early life I was led to pay especial attention to every particular relating to the Battle of Otterburn. Born and nurtured on the Borders, I listened to my mother while sitting at her knee, as she chanted the stanzas of the modern ballad of "Chevy Chase." The names of Percy and Douglas thus came to occupy in my youthful mind the place of heroes, whom, at a more advanced age, I felt unwilling to dethrone,

b

in favour of a Napoleon, a Wellington, or any warrior, ancient or modern, however illustrious. As I approached maturity, my father removed to a farm at Otterburn, a locality which afforded ample scope to my enthusiasm, for his landlord, Mr. James Ellis, resided on the spot where the tower stood, which Douglas besieged previous to the night when he fell, and I was only about a mile from the very scene where the memorable battle had been fought. Desirous to know the details of the event, I listened patiently to all I could learn respecting it, from the lips of people who had spent a long life in that neighbourhood.

Mr. Ellis had been a solicitor in Newcastle, and, possessing some amount of capital, he at length abandoned his profession and became a landed proprietor. He was a clever man, had written verses in his youth, he read much, had a taste for antiquities, and when I say he possessed a good library, I ought to acknowledge his kindness in favouring me with the loan of several books, which I perused with great pleasure at the fireside of my father, after the toils of the day were over. His estate comprised the demesne lands of Otterburn, with the adjoining farm of Girsonsfield, the boundary of which, on the top of Fawdon Hill, runs through a small circular British camp. Now, Mr. Ellis, with a partiality which I feel reluctant to condemn, not only entertained the idea that this camp was the one occupied by the Scots previous to the battle, but endeavoured, so far as he was able, to impress his friends and correspondents with the

same opinion. The first letter* on this subject, which he addressed to Walter Scott, Esq., Feb. 22nd, 1812, contains the following passage:—

“The place where the Scottish Army was encamped, and where the battle commenced, is tolerably well ascertained, not only by intrenchments still remaining, but by the description given by Froissart, as lately translated by Mr. Johnés. It is on the summit of a considerable eminence, called Fawdon Hill, belonging to me, but extends into the adjoining grounds of Mr. De Lisle, and is distant more than a mile from the place called Battle Croft, belonging to Mr. Davidson. The expression in your ballad, that ‘they lighted high on Otterbourne,’ also perfectly agrees with this situation. The Castle of Otterburn (which Douglas was beleaguering), with its demesne lands, is not only my property, but my place of residence, and the room in which at this moment I am writing, actually comprehends part of the ancient walls. There is another part of my ground which would seem to have some relation to the battle, though I know of no tradition respecting it. It is called ‘Earl’s Meadows,’ and has in it a fine spring of water, called ‘Percy’s Well’! Perhaps the spot where Hotspur was taken prisoner.”

In the same year, 1812, on the 25th September, Mr. Ellis was favoured with a visit from Mr. Scott, with Mrs. Scott and two children, on their way to Rokeby. Next morning he accompanied his guests on their journey,† and, on ascend-

* The letters which passed between Mr. Ellis and Mr. Scott were edited by my friend John Fenwick, Esq., and published as a Tract of the Typographical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1850.

† The route Mr. Scott took was by Watling Street, and Mr. Ellis went with him beyond Woodburn. They viewed the Roman station of *HABITANCUM*, and on the eminence about a mile to the south-east, they examined the figure of “Robin of Redesdale,” carved on

ing the acclivity above Woodhill, Mr. Ellis would no doubt point out to his friend the several localities connected with the history of the battle. Scott, after all, was perhaps more a gentleman than an antiquary, and the result of the influence of Mr. Ellis may be seen in each edition of the *Minstrelsy* published after that period. It may be necessary to glance over what has come before the public from this quarter.*

The small camp on Fawdon Hill appears to have been constructed at a much earlier date than that of the battle of Otterburn. It is upwards of half a mile, in a westerly direction, from the larger and more elevated camp to the north of Overacres, called Camp Hill. The view from it extends chiefly to the south-west, comprising the dale of the Rede for a considerable distance both above and below the village of Otterburn. But the prospect to the east, the direction whence the English might be expected had Douglas planted

the side of a huge stone. The use that Scott made of that morning's observations may be seen in *Rokeby*. He was like a skilful fisher, who allows not a feather to escape him that may be employed in dressing an artificial fly. When the stone which contained "Robin of Redesdale" was broken by the late proprietor, a cutting anathema upon him came forth in the dedicatory epistle to *Ivanhoe*, which confirmed Mr. Ellis in the belief that Scott alone was the "author of *Waverley*."

* Private feeling ought to have no influence over us when we deal with HISTORY, and though I am opposed to the theory of Mr. Ellis, both as to where the Scots were encamped, and where the battle commenced, yet the memory of that gentleman I shall ever respect. By the interest he took in my welfare, I attained a position, in which, under the divine blessing, my integrity has been liberally rewarded.

his standard upon it, is very limited, owing to the loftier hill on the summit of which the remains of the larger camp already mentioned may still be observed. Besides, the little valley of the Otter intervenes between it and the field where the combat was decided, which, as Mr. Ellis remarks, is distant upwards of a mile. Any person, therefore, who is acquainted with the leading events of the battle, calculating upon the prudence of the Scottish leader aided by his associates, and is aware of all that Time has left us, whence posterity may draw its conclusions, will demur in assenting to the statement, that the Scots either encamped on Fawdon Hill, or commenced the battle there. Mr. Ellis was, however, correct when he said the room in which he wrote comprehended part of the walls of the Tower of Otterburn.* The other remark, that "Earl's Meadows," which consist of a small field lying between the lands of the Bog and those of the Old Town, might be the spot where Hotspur was taken, cannot possibly obtain credit. The place is on the opposite side of the Rede, fully two miles from the battle-field, and the ground is so marshy, that probably at the above period it would in a great measure be impassable, especially for horse.

While endeavouring to unravel the skein of modern allusion to this subject, I cannot forbear to touch on the doubts

* The site of the old Tower is included in the northern corner of that on which the modern one was recently erected by Thomas James, Esq., the proprietor.

thereon which occurred to the great historian of Northumberland, the late Rev. John Hodgson. It must be understood that he also paid an occasional visit to Mr. Ellis, and undoubtedly the same means of persuasion would be employed upon him that were previously addressed to Mr. Scott. One doubt leads to another, hence it is not altogether strange that Mr. Hodgson, after relating the leading circumstances of the battle, should wind up his narrative in the following words:—

“The place where this bloody encounter is said to have been fought, is, in the notes to the *Border Minstrelsy*, and to Johnes’s *Froissart*, called *Battle-crofts*. Dr. Percy calls it *Battle-riggs*. It is on the west side of the Otter, between the public highway and the farm called Greenchesters.* Armstrong, on his map, 1769, marks the spot with a cross, called ‘Battle Stone’; and another cross, now erroneously called *Percy’s Cross*, was erected by Henry Ellison, upon the spot where Douglas is said to have fallen. John Codling, parish clerk of Whelpington, says, he was employed to put it up; that he got the shaft of it, which is eleven feet long, in Davyshiel Cragg; and that he does not recollect to have seen or heard of any cross, either there or near that place, before it was set up. All around, when the land was ploughed, he has heard the people say, that pieces of swords and spears, and the iron trapping of horses, were turned up. But Froissart expressly says, ‘I was told by those who were of the victorious party, that this battle was fought *between* Newcastle and Otterburn;’ and further tells us, that when the Scots first encamped here, ‘they made huts of trees and branches, and strongly fortified themselves. They placed their baggage and servants at the entrance

* This is incorrect. The battle commenced chiefly on the farm of Greenchesters; but the main struggle took place and terminated on the farm of Townhead.—W.

to the *marsh* on the road to Newcastle, and the cattle they drove into the marsh lands.' When the English first 'forced their way into the camp, they mistook the huts of the servants for those of their masters;' and when the Bishop of Durham came up the day after the battle, they had 'formed themselves into a strong body, and had fortified their camp in such a manner that it could be entered by one pass only.' Indeed the bishop, at 'two bow-shots' distance, 'examined with surprise how well they had chosen their encampment, and strengthened it to their advantage.' Buchanan says that the bishop found the Earl of Moray's (March's) position defended in the rear by *morasses*, and on the right and left with the dead bodies of the former conflict. In Speed's map of Northumberland, the localities of four battles are marked by a tent—that of Hexham, on the Linnels or Devilswater; that of Flodden, in the defiles between Crookham and Brankston; that of Alnwick, in the spot traditionally assigned to it: these three are all exactly where they should be; and the fourth tent is on the east side of the Otter, near a wood, in the Davy-shiel district, about ten furlongs from Otterburn, and at a short distance from the ancient track-way from Newcastle through Elsdon, by the Broken-moss, into Scotland."

The cross called "Battle Stone,"* upon Armstrong's map of Northumberland, 1769, first demands attention. At the time when the map was laid down, this stone, which was about three feet in length, occupied the spot indicated thereon, and stood, or rather lay, in an oblique direction, for it was too small for the socket or base in which it was placed. The top of the socket was exposed to view, and a quantity of stones lay around it, as if they had been gathered from the land. The spot where it stood was about one hundred and

* Shown on the map accompanying this volume.

eighty paces east from the present cross, or standing at that distance on the precise spot, you have the modern cross on the direct line between you and the farmhouse of Garretshiels.* Immediately on the west side of where the old stone was set, a strip of marshy land ran up in the direction of Greenchesters. This ancient mark of remembrance continued till 1777, when the turnpike road was made up Redesdale, an act for which had been obtained in the previous year. At that time the Duke of Northumberland signified his willingness to build on the spot some memorial of the battle so associated with the renown of his family; but the proprietor of the land, Mr. Henry Ellison, supposing that His Grace might thereby attach some claim either to what was put up, or the ground on which it was to stand, declined the proposal, and resolved to erect one himself. Instead, however, of adhering to the spot consecrated by the old stone, Mr. Ellison chose another site within view of the highway, that what he built might be observed by those who passed by. Here, then, was the commencement of what is

* These particulars I obtained in early life from Andrew Thompson, of Otterburn, who walked over the ground with me only a few weeks before his death. It was a delightful day, and in company with us were two other individuals, now no more—James Thomson, of Otterburn, a most remarkable man, profoundly versed in local antiquities; and James Lunn, an intelligent old soldier, who had served his country under Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt. Andrew Thompson was a mason in his early days, and had a perfect recollection of "Battle Stone," from having frequently passed it on going to and returning from his work.

“now erroneously called *Percy's Cross*.” It was raised at a trifling expense. A circular pedestal of rough masonry, about eight feet in diameter at bottom, and upwards of five feet in height, tapers to the top, in the centre of which, I am glad to observe, is placed the old socket which belonged to the previous stone. Into this, instead of a new shaft from Davyshiel Cragg, was inserted an old architrave, which had been removed from the kitchen fireplace at Otterburn Hall. This stone, the cross section of which is $15\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 inches, still shows a bevelled corner throughout its length, besides two small pieces of iron project from one of its sides, which in its former period of usefulness were probably connected with some culinary apparatus.* On its top is another stone, tapering to a point, which completes the erection. The entire length of the shaft above the base is nine feet and a half. The socket is a worn, weather-beaten sandstone, about two feet square, without any tool-marks upon it, and appears to have been in use much longer than any of the stones connected with it. Several trees were planted around it, with an avenue to the south-west, through which it may be seen. It stands upwards of an hundred yards north-east of the turnpike road, and about half a mile higher up the valley than Otterburn. In the early part of 1831, led by my enthusiasm, I took the liberty to write to the Rev. John Hodgson on this subject, detailing at length all the particulars I have

* These are shown in the cut one above the other, with tolerable accuracy, on the left side of the obelisk, near the bottom.

enumerated. These it is unnecessary to repeat; and the following detached passages are supplied merely as additional memoranda :—

“Rev. Sir,

“Newcastle, 13th April, 1831.

“Some time ago I had an opportunity of perusing, with great satisfaction, a portion of your valuable *History of Northumberland*. On looking over the notes I took down, I am induced to transmit you some suggestions respecting the battle-field of Otterburn, and information of *Percy's Cross*, of which you may possibly not be aware.

* * * * *

“After the lapse of four centuries and a half, it may be difficult to select with certainty a plot of land, and affirm it to be the place where a battle like that of Otterburn was fought. Yet, from a deliberate examination of the ground, and by comparing it with what tradition tells us, and the accounts given thereof by Froissart, Buchanan, Hollinshead, and Godscroft, we may arrive at the probability of it having been contested in a particular tract. . . . The camp above Greencheaters is, in my opinion, the one occupied by the Scottish army, being at no great distance from where it is generally said the battle took place. On the haugh-lands at the bottom of the valley, the cattle would find excellent pasture; and to the north is a little hill, mentioned by Godscroft, around which a detachment of troops might readily wind, to fall unexpectedly on the wing of an approaching army.

* * * * *

“Mrs. Buddle, of this town, recollects that part of a sword was found by the work-people who trenched the ground upon which the trees are now growing around the present cross. The rusty relic was brought to the house of Mr. Goldburn, of Otterburn, but what became of it she is unable to tell.

* * * * *

“Living myself during an important period of my youth at

Otterburn, I was led to pay much more attention to the history and traditions of this battle, than if I had been only a casual visitor; and being fully satisfied that your excellent and elaborate work will prove a source of reference to the lovers of antiquity, long after the present generation shall have passed away, I thus venture to write you, feeling reluctant that these notices, trivial though they seem, should be lost for ever.

“I am, Rev. Sir,

“Your most obedient Servant,

“The Rev. John Hodgson, &c.”

“ROBERT WHITE.”

The following is an extract from Mr. Hodgson's reply :—

“Sir,

“Whelpington, May 23, 1831.

“I am much, very much obliged, by your note respecting the neighbourhood of Otterburn, and fully intended answering your letter on the day after I received it, but by some accident shut it up in my book under Otterburn, and forgot where I had put it till I found it there to-day. I do not know how to account for the difference between the late clerk of Whelpington's account of Percy's Cross and yours. He was a mason, and worked much for Mr. Ellison, at Otterburn, and built Keildar Castle for the Duke of Northumberland; and a man, in my own opinion, and indeed in the opinion of every one that knew him, of the strictest veracity. He was certainly an old man when he gave me the information, which I have printed, and his memory on the subject might not be quite correct. Do you think that the stone he remembered procuring in Davyshiell Cragg could be put to any use about the house at Otterburn—be, for instance, made the architrave of the kitchen chimney, and the stone you describe put into the base of the old Cross?

* * * * *

“I am, Sir,

“Your obliged Servant,

“Mr. Robert White, &c.”

“JOHN HODGSON.”

Being then a resident of Newcastle, I had no opportunity to procure the information necessary to answer Mr. Hodgson's question. In relation, however, to John Codling, I must do him the justice to say, that if his memory was at fault about the shaft of the cross, he was correct as to the report, "that all around, when the land was ploughed, pieces of swords and spears," and portions of what appeared to be "the iron trapping of horses, were turned up." I have heard the same frequently repeated, and have seen what were said to be some of the fragments.

As to Mr. Hodgson's allusion to Froissart's remark, that the battle was fought between Newcastle and Otterburn, I would observe, the circumstance is not supported, so far as I have seen, by any other historian; and if the same party who related this to Froissart, told him also that the Tower of Otterburn was "situated among marshes," the first statement is equally liable to objection, as the last. Buchanan, at the time he wrote his history, was an old man, and, very probably, never saw the battle-field of Otterburn, but gathered his knowledge of it from Froissart, whence he was led to deem it must have been almost surrounded by morasses.* And if, as Mr. Hodgson observes, referring to Speed's map of Northumberland, there be three battle-fields correctly

* From the field of battle westward to the stream, the ground in several places is still marshy, and before the present turnpike was laid through it, the old road at this point was continued up the opposite side of the Rede, which may be seen on reference to Armstrong's map.

marked with each a tent thereon, that laid down on the east side of the Otter to show the locality of the battle, would appear to be nearly as far from Otterburn as it is from Elsdon—indeed, were the map enlarged, the tent would occupy the high moorish ground at almost equal distances from Farney Cleugh, High Carrick, and the Dean Head.* Much room is thereby left for conjecture. Could it be that the person who formed the original draught of the map, which was completed before 1610, not having the courage of the learned Camden and Sir Robert Cotton, felt unwilling to hold much intercourse with the thieves of Redesdale,† and observing the camp north of Overacres at no great distance from Otterburn, fixed on this as the likeliest place where the battle had been fought? The exact spot where the battle of Alnwick was stricken, might, by tradition, be better ascertained than that of the battle of Otterburn; and the battles of Hexham 1464, and of Flodden 1513, had taken place at a comparatively recent period, so that scarcely any doubt remained of their respective localities. On scrutinizing the point at issue still more closely, we have no corresponding evidence that

* Speed was by no means infallible in marking battle-fields on his maps, when he indicated that of Neville's Cross to be between Durham and Shincliffe.

† They who feel desirous of maintaining the honour of Redesdale must not take offence at this expression. In the "Musters for Northumberland in 1538," printed in *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv. p. 157, the "hable men with horse and harness," in Redesdale, amount to 185, "beside all the foot theues." The "Northe Tyndell theues" number 391.

Percy met Douglas on the high ground north-east of the camp near Overacres—no battle-stone—no tradition—no remains of any temporary intrenchments—no tumuli—no fragments dug up of swords or spears;—nor is it likely that, possessing the numbers of valuable cattle they had secured during the inroad, and requiring good pasture for them and their horses, they would select a tract of high moorish soil, producing only bent or heath whereon to encamp, when they had free access to the fine meadow land bordering on the Rede, about a mile north-west of Otterburn.

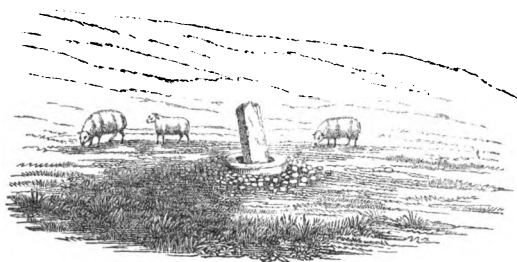
Having treated the following subject altogether as a matter of history, it would not become me to offer any remarks on the connexion which may exist between the actual circumstances of the event, and the ballads written thereon, including the ancient one of Chevy Chase. That has already been defined by Bishop Percy, the ablest judge of ballad-literature which the last century produced. The writers of the earlier class of these exquisite specimens of minstrelsy aimed rather to please an audience than adhere strictly to truth. Like the authors of the Metrical Romances, they “paid slight regard to the actual history of their respective heroes, but boldly contradicted the best known and best established facts.” Hence I have drawn almost nothing from them, unless either the name of the warrior or the incident was corroborated by proof from authentic history.

On the point of awarding faithfully to every historian whom I consulted the honour to which he is entitled, I may

have laid myself open to some blame. It has been the custom with modern writers to annex the name of the author whom they quoted to any passage which threw considerable light on the subject before them. Instead of adhering to this mode, I have adopted a more extensive scale, and given my authorities at the termination of each division of the text. I was almost constrained to adopt this plan when I found several authors agree in the leading incidents of each successive portion of the narrative; and I had a precedent in Scott himself, who in the *Minstrelsy*, on several occasions, acted precisely upon the same principle. With regard to the Chroniclers whence I derived my information, I have been, as it were, placed in a chamber which was chiefly lighted from one side, and that light flowed from Froissart. When a stronger light, however, came in upon me from another quarter, such as from Wyntown or Godscroft, I have availed myself of its benefit. And in no instance has any important statement been made without the most careful consideration of its dependent circumstances—my chief aim being only to ascertain and abide by the truth.

On writing the history of a battle, as the various men of might are made to pass before us, we become interested in their fortunes, and are prompted to inquire into the particulars, both of their previous life and subsequent history. In this way I was induced to draw out the biographical notices which follow the text. I might have supplied a lengthened extract from Froissart, and printed other accounts of the

battle, but as these are accessible through a variety of channels, I felt disposed, even at the commencement of my undertaking, rather to extract the essence from every source of information within my reach, and present it in one continued narrative, than to furnish my readers with a variety of authorities which not one in twenty would be disposed to peruse. And if I have been successful in exhibiting one small portion of the annals of my country more clearly than any writer has already done, I have enjoyed my reward, for during such periods as it occupied my attention, thought and intellect were brought into that delightful activity, by which we are enabled to regard life with the same pleasure as we looked in boyhood upon one long, bright, lovely summer day.



BATTLE STONE, removed in 1777.

HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN.

CHAPTER FIRST.

If I could raise
Again to life with all his faculties
One of the warriors who lie buried here,
He would, my country, tell me of the arms
And bearing of thy sons, when Hotspur came
To fight with Douglas on this very spot,
Endowing it with fame which has outlived
Tablets of brass and marble monuments !

OUR historians, both ancient and modern, have thrown much light on the state of England in the reign of Richard the Second, previous to the battle of Otterburn. A species of ferment pervaded every class of the people: the lower being dissatisfied sought an extension of privileges; while the higher not only endeavoured to set aside all appeals of that nature, but made considerable encroachments on the royal prerogative. Under pretence of defending the nation from enemies, the youthful monarch required vast sums of money, which he expended in riotous living and splendid entertainments,* bestowing wealth also profusely upon his

* Hardyng says he had three hundred "servitours" in his kitchen, and ten thousand people usually dined at his tables.

numerous favourites. The church was no less secure from annoyance ; for many considered her acquisitions, which amounted to a third part of the kingdom, inconsistent with the spirit of humility so becoming in those who disseminate divine truth, when more than one half of the people, following the path opened out by Wickliffe, adhered to the doctrines taught by that early reformer.*

It was an age especially of action. Printing was not then discovered ; and the people, having neither books to read nor the ability to decipher manuscript, were led to delight in public spectacles and processions. The tournament, with its horses and armed combatants, was peculiarly adapted to this period, the doubtful issue of each successive encounter possessing to all the most attractive interest. Some of the chief men of the land, being enormously rich, possessed household establishments which, from their magnitude, resemble more the fables of romance than what may be supposed to have actually existed in this country.† When not employed in warfare, hunting was their delight, some keeping not less than sixteen hundred dogs for the chase, which formed when they met the main subject of conversation. Their feasts were of the most extravagant kind, the wines served up being exquisite. Those who could afford the cost were desirous to possess rich and beautiful articles of clothing. Yeomen and grooms of the royal household were arrayed in fabrics of silk and

* Hardyng, Knyghton, Henry, Turner.

† Knyghton records, that when the palace of the Savoy, belonging to John of Gaunt, was burnt in the insurrection of 1381, the keeper of the wardrobe declared upon oath that the silver, silver-gilt, and gold plate in that palace would have loaded five carts.

gold, many wearing satin and damask in colours of green and scarlet. Even the shoes were ornamented, and these having long points, the latter were sometimes fastened to the knees with chains of gold or silver. But amid all this profusion, large numbers of the middle classes, with the mass of the people, though they lived most frugally, were subjected to grievous oppression. Demands of taxes and aids were made continually upon them, while the collectors thereof, with the purveyors in every department, were most rigorous in their exactions. They also sustained much injury from a species of banditti called maintainers, who either were or had been persons of property or title, but who then had numerous bodies of armed followers, to whom they gave suits of livery, and who roved over the country, subsisting by plunder, and supporting each other in quarrels without regard of law. Owing however to a variety of causes the free population were greatly on the increase. Burghs and towns were not only becoming larger, but many were rising up over the land; and these, being encouraged both by the crown and the church, tended greatly to promote the freedom of the subject. Still among the quiet glades of the country, and when the harvests were reaped, multitudes of labourers, even above the villeins and serfs, were exposed to great distress; and, feeling their own excessive burdens the more from observing the privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of towns, all began to consider personal slavery as odious in the extreme. This system of debasement was more prevalent here than in any principality in Europe; and it seems to have embraced a wider range than the agricultural districts, for during the period of which we write, a contemporary author

of undoubted credit* assures us that men and women slaves were publicly sold like beasts in the fairs of England.†

We may presume that in Scotland less excitement prevailed; but that country being poor in comparison to her affluent rival, the people were borne down by a still greater amount of destitution. Still we observe in her history at this period several indications of improvement. Fortune for a time told heavily against her, the pecuniary resources she could command having for nearly forty years been drained away in ransom for her unfortunate king.‡ But her inhabitants, endowed with passive fortitude to a large degree, bore up well under privation, and looked steadily forward to the time when they would be able to cope more successfully with their powerful enemy. In periods of relaxation, or when engaged in the lighter duties either of industry or war, music and poetry proved to them of great advantage; for in these was not only embalmed the recollection of their former achievements under Wallace and Bruce, but the influence of the harp and the song bound together the better aspirations of every class, purifying the intellect and kindling under many a rough exterior principles of the most ardent patriotism. Her hills and valleys were also favourable to her freedom, and though her succeeding monarch, Robert the Second, was advanced in years and unable to lead his troops to war, there were chieftains within her boundaries, surrounded by their followers, ever ready to avenge an injury. When, therefore,

* *Bartholemeus de Prop. Rerum*, quoted in Hawkins' History of Music.

† Chaucer, Froissart, Hardyng, Knyghton, Stowe, Hume, Henry, Turner, Hallam.

‡ David II, taken prisoner at the battle of Durham, 1346.

the English chivalry and archers by thousands carried fire and sword beyond the gates of the Scottish capital, these leaders would have made a rapid movement through Northumberland or Cumberland,* and returned again to their fastnesses laden with spoil.†

After the decease of Edward the Third, England abounded with men accustomed to arms, many of whom had been employed from youth in the wars with France, and either attached themselves to parties who afforded them wages, or endeavoured to glean in the best way they could a scanty subsistence during the remainder of their days. Pillage and robbery were of frequent occurrence owing to the feeble administration of the laws, and the difficulty of detecting delinquents, who, when roads were few and forests plentiful, had many chances of escape. The feudal system, having been found insufficient for public defence or the levying of armies destined to foreign service, fell rapidly into decay, while the chief men of the land, instead of continuing faithful and rendering due service to the king, endeavoured to make their own position secure by increasing the number of their followers and entering into associations with each other for mutual protection. Indeed, when united with the Commons some were enabled to carry out measures directly opposed to the wishes of the crown. If one of these nobles appeared in London on business of importance, it was not an unusual occurrence if he had with him a multitude of armed men, as

* On one occasion, in 1380 according to Walsingham, they brought off from Westmoreland and Cumberland, besides other spoil, about forty thousand head of cattle.

† Froissart, Godscroft, Rapin, Bidpath, Scott.

if resolved to overcome all resistance. At home he resembled an absolute monarch over the extent of his domains, having almost always the power of imprisoning or putting malefactors to death ; and, being legally entitled to the labour and property of the villeins, he accounted it his duty to hold them in complete subjection. His vassals had to be ready in arms whenever he required them ; and frequently on the Borders, in cases of emergency, he had authority to call out over a whole district all the free men or hired labourers whose ages were between sixteen and sixty, armed also according to statute, and arrange them under his banner. In raising the martial force of any county the law was most stringent, no individual being allowed to escape without paying a ruinous fine. All above the humble bondmen were compelled to render personal assistance in war ; and it may in this place be necessary to offer some remarks on the order of our armies at that turbulent period.*

In absence of the king the first in military command was the constable, and next to him was the marshal, whose duties and claims were very numerous. But when an army was required for any particular service, to make the charge on these officers less onerous and provide for contingencies, a commander-in-chief was generally appointed. After the marshal were the knights-bannerets, and next again the knights, accompanied by their own squires, and others of that title who formed the regular cavalry of the army. Much depended on the standard-bearer, who was always a chosen squire, and whose duty in battle was to advance before his lord under the care of a sufficient guard. Each knight had

* Rot. Scot., Selden, Hume, Turner, Hallam.

about him several personal attendants, amounting frequently to five. He was arrayed in plates of steel, over which upon his breast and back, but open at the sides, was his tabard, usually of fur or silk, whereon were displayed his armorial bearings. His weapons were a lance from twelve to fifteen feet long, a strong sword and dagger attached by chains to the girdle,* besides a battle-axe or steel mace. Next were the men-at-arms, sometimes called "lances," upon whom great confidence was placed, for generally they were tenants of considerable substance, and accounted the main strength in the battle-field. They fought much more frequently on foot than on horseback, but always mounted to join in pursuit of the enemy. Each was covered from head to foot in plate-of-mail; indeed the joints of his armour were defended by plates. Beside the lance or spear, the handle of which was sometimes shortened for efficiency in close combat, he had a heavy sword, with a small but strong dagger; and he was usually attended by two or three servants to wait upon his horse, and assist him to mount, or to enable him to rise when he was stricken down in battle. In addition to these were some few troops of men named hobilers, who performed the part of light horsemen in the celerity of their movements, and were useful both in conveying intelligence and harassing an enemy: each rode a small active horse, and wore slight plate-armour, while his weapons were a lance and sword-knife. After these were the archers, an important body of

* Fosbroke is my authority here. On the royal seals, from Edward III to Henry V, the chain or cord is shown at the sword, though it seems to be fastened to the person behind the shoulders, rather than at the girdle.

men, of which one part, being mounted, were called horse archers, who like the hobilers, moved speedily from one point to another, availing themselves of places whence they could use the bow against the enemy with the most fatal effect. Another portion, not by any means numerous in this country, were the cross-bow-men, whose service was chiefly required in besieging towns and castles. But by far the greatest division, for they outnumbered considerably the whole force of the army besides, were those who employed the long bow. Trained from youth to the use of that formidable weapon, and reared amid the woodlands and fair fields of fertile England, with the clear complexion, broad shoulders, and powerful arms of the Anglo-Saxon type, they consisted generally of freemen who were of some weight in the country, and formed a class of warriors the best that ever entered a battle-field.* Each bore a bow nearly the same length as himself; a sheaf of arrows under his belt each a yard long, trimmed with the feathers of the goose, the swan, or the peacock; often a spear, which was called into efficient practice at Otterburn; a sword on one side, and a dagger on the other, with a horn suspended beside it. He wore a light iron scull-cap, and was defended round the body by a brigandine, being a jacket of leather or linen, so as to leave his limbs perfectly at liberty. With these were the men levied from towns and large villages, who chiefly bore the glaive and brownbill,† all of whom were defended nearly in the same

* At the battle of Homeldon in 1402, the victory was won alone by the English archers. Not a sword or spear was employed save in pursuit of the vanquished.

† The glaive, says Fosbroke, differed from the bill in having its edge on the outside curve of the blade.

way as the archers, and were probably classed under the same denomination.* In every rank might be seen the red cross of St. George upon a white ground above their armour, which cognizance down to the sixteenth century was assumed by those Borderers who became for a time subjects of England.† Besides the various degrees of fighting men already mentioned, a suitable number of masons, carpenters‡ and other artificers, with multitudes of camp-followers and domestics, accompanied the army, ready to perform whatever duties were required by those of superior position.§

In the rank and arrangement of the men of war in Scotland, nearly the same order prevailed. The defensive armour of the knight was almost similar to that worn in England, combining strength with elegance, and he also bore the lance, the sword, and the dagger. Some however of the most powerful had the two-handed sword, some the iron mace; others had the battle-axe (a most effective weapon) slung from the neck, and each was also attended by several servants. The armour of the man-at-arms consisted of the plate-jack, the hauberk or brigandine; he had also the spear and dagger; while his sword, like that of the knight, was of excellent temper. The horses on which they rode were of a less size than those of England, still they could traverse a wide extent

* See Appendix, Note A.

† Seven hundred Borderers who were on the English side at the conflict of Ancrum Moor in 1545, threw away their red crosses as the tide of battle flowed in favour of the Scots, and, joining in the pursuit, made great slaughter among the flying invaders.

‡ The earl of Worcester, uncle to Hotspur, in his second expedition to Ireland, agreed to take with him a carpenter and mason to every twenty archers.

§ Chaucer, Grose, Scott, Fosbroke.

of country in a short space of time. The main portion of the infantry, being somewhat spare in bodily frame and slender in limb, never attained any perfection in the management of the long bow. Their armour consisted of the skull-cap, with a haqueton or stuffed jacket, to which it is likely they had great partiality, for it was worn by their ancestors at the battle of Bannockburn. The main weapon was a long spear, used also in the days of Wallace and Bruce, together with a battle-axe instead of a bill, and a short sword or dagger. Several likewise, in every division, wore the white cross of St. Andrew, and if the armour was white the badge appeared upon a square or circle of black cloth.* Beside these were some few mechanics, with the servants and camp-followers, whose numbers, like those in England, were very considerable. A great many youths were among the servants; for every man of the lowest rank, who possessed the necessary means, rode on the march a small horse,†

* This was observed in the agreement made with Sir John de Vienne in 1385.

† On joining battle it was customary for the pages to retire with the horses, and sometimes when the combat was lost on the side of the Scots, these grooms would ride off to save themselves. In the notes to Minot's Poems, edited by Ritson, the following sentence appears in an extract from one of the Harleian MSS. relative to the battle of Hallidon Hill in 1333 :—"Butt wanne the knaves and the Skottische pages, that weren behinde the Skottes to kepe her horses, seyen the discomfiture, thei priken her maisters horses away to kepe hemselfe from perelle; and so thei towke no hede off her maisters." When the camp was pitched at evening, according to the ballad,—

—"he that had a bonnie boy
Sent out his horse to grass;
And he that had not a bonnie boy
His ain servant he was."

which required attention both when he engaged in battle and on encamping for the night. Expeditions were generally made into England during summer or autumn, when the streams were not likely to be flooded; and these horses grazed by the way whenever a halt was made. All below the principal leaders bore some provisions, of which the chief part was usually oatmeal. He who was mounted carried this in a bag behind or before his seat; the foot soldier bore it on his back. Each man had suspended at his right side a large horn,* which he blew when necessary, of which the sound could be heard at a very great distance.†

* According to Pinkerton, the officers of the burghs of Scotland, when they appeared in public at that period, "all bore horns."

† Froissart, Pinkerton, Meyrick, Scott, Mills.



ARROW-HEAD from Otterburn—part of
the Socket broken off.

CHAPTER SECOND.

I value not fair England's vales,
Nor Scotland's lovely strand ;
But give to me the hills and dales
Throughout the Border land.

O that I might one season dwell
These classic scenes among,
To see the fields and streams that tell
Of battle and of song !

ON the Borders the line of division between England and Scotland is boldly marked by nature through a large portion of its course. Running up Tweed for a considerable distance, it strikes across westward from Cheviot, and keeps by the range of hills in a south-west direction for nearly thirty miles, till they merge down into the wastes of Cumberland. It then chiefly pursues the water courses of the Liddel and the Sark, accompanying the latter till it is lost in the Solway. Accordingly, when the English invaded Scotland, instead of marching over the midland barrier of mountains, or veering towards Carlisle, they usually kept on the way from Newcastle either by Coldstream or Berwick, and thence proceeded through almost a level country to the metropolis. By the same route the Scots often made incursions into England, hence were fought the battles of Hallidon Hill, Homeldon, and Flodden. Yet the range of hills from Cheviot

to Cumberland could be crossed without much difficulty, where the valleys ran far up among them. One pass was by the Roman road of Watling-street, leading from High Rochester (Bremenium) over by Coquet-Head, and down into Scotland, crossing the Jed and Teviot above the junction of these streams. The other was by Redeswire,* nearly fourteen miles south-west from Cheviot, and of easy access from the north. Over these both Wallace and Bruce had entered England. At the latter the Rede arises, lending its name to the dale through which it flows, and running in a south-eastern direction, it leads down for about fifteen miles towards the centre of Northumberland. Ancient records tell us a part of the history of this valley, and by comparing such notices with what remains of its general appearance, a slight sketch may be obtained both of its features and its people.

William the Conqueror, in the tenth year of his reign, granted to his kinsman, Robert de Unfranvill, the lordship, valley, and forest† of Redesdale, "to hold the same by defending that part of the country from enemies and wolves." It is bounded on each side by hills and broad wastes of moor and moss, covered chiefly by heath. Below Elishaw the wastes recede, while the haughs expand as they verge on the east towards Otterburn, and attain their utmost width in the marshy level from Hatherwick to Smoutel-ford. The primitive

* The place where subsequently two noted skirmishes occurred—one in 1400, on Michaelmas day, when Sir Robert Umphreville routed the Scots under Sir Richard Rutherford, who lost 200 men; the other in 1575, which forms the groundwork of the ballad "The Raid of the Redeswire," in the Border Minstrelsy.

† The names of places here terminating in *wood* or *shaw* prove how extensive this forest had been. Decayed trees are still found in the mosses on the summits of the hills.

woods, consisting of alder, birch, mountain-ash, &c., which sheltered the wolf, grew not so plentiful on the banks of the main stream as in the narrow dells which opened out upon it, and on the rounded or rocky eminences projecting towards it, especially from the east. Yet amid hill, moor, and forest, were many places well adapted for pasture, and some suitable for agriculture. From the time of the Romans, who led Watling-street through it, and occupied the station of Bre-menium,* it had continued very populous, as the rounded camps everywhere evince, down to a comparatively recent period.† When Richard the Second ascended the throne, Elsdon, Otterburn, Davyshields, Troughen, Garretshiels, and other places could send out under the Umphreville banner, free tenants equipped for war, in considerable numbers. Of the houses or rather hovels they occupied, none remain, owing to the slender way in which each was constructed.‡ A few poles were in all likelihood fixed vertically in

* See Appendix, Note B.

† Corsenside parish, containing the station of Habitaneum, was, according to Hodgson, left out of the bounds of Redesdale in the survey of the manor of Harbottle and its members made in 1604.

‡ In a very excellent volume on Domestic Architecture in England from Edward I to Richard II, Oxford, 1853, the following passage occurs:—"In the extensive parish of Elsdon, which extends upwards of twenty miles in length from the Scotch border, and contains 74,915 acres, there is not a single house which is one hundred years old, nor is any such remembered, except the Rectory, which is a fortified tower, and the tower of Otterburn, which was lately razed to the ground, and one or two other little towers." This statement is scarcely correct; for the farm-house at Chattlehope, whose windows we admit are defended by iron bars, bears the date of 1704. We may however with safety affirm that, with exception of Elsdon Church and the Castle or Rectory, not a building in Redesdale has been erected so far back as the middle of the seventeenth century.

the ground, the open spaces between them filled with sod or perhaps stone, and the low roof formed of branches covered with rushes or turf. No glass was in the window, nor had they any grate or chimney, for the fire was lighted in the middle of the floor. Some seats might be placed around, and a rude box or two, but little more, save the defensive armour and weapons of the occupant placed in the driest corner. In such dwellings were the brave men on the confines of England reared; here they listened to the feats of prowess related by those who had battled with the Scots; and thus they were led to look upon arms and warfare as the only means of elevating their position or of acquiring renown. It may be ascribed to policy rather than to poverty, or the general condition of society, that they had such mean dwellings and so few articles of furniture, since an inroad from the north might in one night have deprived them of every moveable species of property they could call their own. Nearly two centuries afterwards, a landed proprietor of the Old Town, who was "one of the Redesdale commissioners for enclosures on the middle marches, and a setter and searcher in the watch for Troughen and Garretshiels," left to his family by will about twenty-four head of cattle;* and his *inside gear*, meaning all he had in his house, was valued after his decease only at ten shillings, or about half the cost of a cow! Accustomed as we are to so much domestic comfort, we can form a very slight idea of the scanty share of household accommodation enjoyed by our forefathers.†

On the Scottish Border, north from Redeswire and extending to Teviotdale, lay the forest of Jedburgh, a wide range

* See Appendix, Note C.

† Hodgson, Hallam, &c.

of undulating country of which the chief portion was covered with oak, birch, and other species of wood which thrive on a light soil.* In 1316, when Robert Bruce was absent in Ireland, Thomas de Richmond, who commanded under the Earl of Arundel, entered here with ten thousand Englishmen, provided with axes to cut down the trees and attack Sir James Douglas, to whom the defence of the march had been entrusted; but that cautious leader having constructed for himself and his followers a camp at Lintalee, a short distance above Jedburgh, issued thence, and, giving battle unexpectedly to Richmond, killed him and routed his army.† Hither also in 1384 the Duke of Lancaster undoubtedly came on an expedition to the north, when he caused, it is said, no less than eighty thousand axes to be employed in cutting down the timber. So plentiful had been the trees, so impenetrable

* The remains of large oak trees are, from the statistical account, found in morasses on the higher lands in the parish of Southdean, where a shrub would scarcely now be expected to grow.

† A pedigree of Richmond's family is given in the notes to *The Siege of Carlaverock*, edited by the late Sir H. Nicolas. Barbour says that Douglas caused young birch-trees to be knotted together in the way through which the English were expected to come, and thus he took them by surprise when they could not readily defend themselves. In a beautiful poem written by my friend William Oliver, Esq. of Langraw, on "The Capon Tree," a very ancient oak near the scene of conflict, the following stanza appears:—

"Twas in yon glen that Richmond's knight
Was caught by Douglas in the toil;
In vain were numbers, valour, might—
The well-plann'd ambush all could foil;
Entrapp'd and conquer'd all, or slain,
It was the Southron's fate to yield,
And Douglas from his king did gain
Another blazon to his shield."

the underwood, and so numerous the deep ravines over this district, that previously, when all the country around was in possession of the English, a number of the Scottish nobles with their followers, like Robin Hood and his men, resided here summer and winter for several years. Its general aspect to the south-west was wild and uncultivated, though, like Redesdale, this part contained a great many inhabitants. The remains of a church at Old Jedworth may be seen, a few miles higher up the stream than the populous burgh of the modern name. Near the head of Jed, upon its margin, sheltered on the east by a rounded green hill, arose the church or chapel of Southdean, to which early allusion will be made, and of which the ruins still remain, bounded by its small burying-place, with the tomb-stones decayed or half sunk into the soil. Several miles farther in the same direction, on the high land near the sources of Tyne, Liddel, and Rulewater, stood Whele-Kirk, of which few traces can now be seen, though it occasionally afforded rest and shelter to one or more kings of England.* These furnish proof of the number of people who dwelt in that neighbourhood, whose subsistence would be chiefly derived from the few sheep and cattle they possessed,† the ground being unfavourable for culture. In more fertile places the inhabitants had no inducement either to plough or build, from the uncertainty with which any description of property could be retained. To this cause may be ascribed the very few bondmen or serfs who were located upon the south of Scotland, while the free males as they came

* See Appendix, Note D.

† An old French historian, quoted by Pinkerton, observes, "the country was more abundant in savages than cattle."

to maturity, were constantly drawn into the numbers of fighting men. Hence it may be perceived why famines were then so prevalent ; and, as such calamities fell most heavily on the lower portion of the community, we are enabled to trace the poverty and indigence of which Sir John de Vienne and the knights of France so loudly complained, when in 1385 they came to assist the Scots. Their dwellings indeed, like those in Redesdale, seem to have been of the meanest kind : a few posts contributed to support the turf walls, boughs formed the roof, and the interior accommodation may be guessed from the circumstance that sixty years afterwards, when Æneas Sylvius, a private legate, lived here, he observed that "a cow's hide usually supplied the place of a door." Men however of the most consummate bravery were found in the Scottish ranks, but they were neither so well maintained, nor so amply furnished with armour as those of England. Less difference could be perceived among the knights and chief men of the land : they had the means to procure the necessaries of life more abundantly, and though few artificers were found north of the Tweed, large quantities of arms and articles of war were imported from Flanders and other places on the Continent.*

From being almost constantly engaged in military movements, either of attack or defence, the most redoubted warriors in both kingdoms resided on the Borders. Some suspension of hostilities might take place during the continuance of an occasional truce ; but when that terminated, either country seemed to those on the opposite frontier an open field which

* Barbour, Froissart, Knyghton, Grafton, Camden, Godscroft, Pinkerton, Lingard.

they might waste as they pleased, and gather from it what plunder they could obtain. The Wardens themselves, from the onerous nature of their duties, appear at all times to have had sufficient employment. On the English side the names of Percy and Neville occur—nobles of high lineage and vast power, whose experience in every particular relating to warfare recommended them especially to that important office. They were supported by the knights and barons—Ogle, Grey, Umphreville, and others—men to whom the strife of battle was familiar as the sight of their own domains, and who with their vassals formed a living barrier of defence to the kingdom. No single individual in England however, for martial spirit, approached Sir Henry Percy, eldest son to the first earl of Northumberland. Nursed amid the clang of armour and the tramp of war-horses, when very young he spread his banner under the command of his father at the siege of Berwick, where in the assault, and subsequently at the battle near Melrose, he displayed extraordinary courage. By the time he reached manhood, he had been constituted a commissioner for guarding the Marches, and was appointed governor of Berwick, which were great honours to bestow on so youthful a hero; but the superior qualities he evinced in performing his charge showed how well he deserved them. In the foray and the field, previous to the battle of Otterburn, he gave promise that as a warrior he was destined to occupy the very first place among all who aspired to military renown. Bold, resolute, and determined if possible to bear down all opposition, he exerted himself with the utmost vigour against the Scots; and being continually on horseback, making the most rapid incursions among them, he came to be known

there by the appellation of **HOTSPUR**, a term so appropriate to his character, that it was forthwith employed by his friends and countrymen. If a leader of this description be supported by men on whom perfect dependence can be placed, it usually follows that he kindles them with his own energy, till they become in every respect suitable to his purpose. Here Hotspur was peculiarly fortunate: his followers were the hardy sons of Northumbria, inured to every hazard of war, and ready to perform whatever duty he imposed upon them.*

On the Scottish frontier the Douglasses, who held large possessions there, had been long renowned as brave and sagacious chieftains both in war and peace. After the departure of the Duke of Lancaster in 1384, William the first earl, by his courage and address, recovered from the English the valley of Teviotdale with all its strongholds, except the castles of Jedburgh and Roxburgh,† which they had held since the battle of Durham in 1346; and he expelled thence a number of thieves and robbers, who subsisted solely upon the plunder they acquired from both kingdoms. At his death, which took place immediately afterwards, he was succeeded in his estates and honours by an only son, James, the second earl of Douglas, one of the first men of his day,

* Froissart, Dugdale, Collins, Ridpath.

† That of Jedburgh was not taken from the English till 1409, when it was levelled with the ground, and the expenses incurred by this service were defrayed out of the royal customs. The site is now occupied by the County Gaol. The Castle of Roxburgh was besieged in 1460 by James II, on which occasion he lost his life; but his queen with heroic fortitude urged the Scottish nobles to continue their exertions, when it was taken and destroyed.

who likewise inherited all the noble qualities both public and private of his distinguished race. By marriage with a daughter of his sovereign, he stood high in royal favour, and in the course of his life he was not less remarkable for valour than prudence. His lands were frequently wasted by the English during their inroads upon Scotland: this however he was wise enough not to prevent, by which he husbanded his own strength; and as England at such times was left unprotected, he would, in co-operation with his brethren in arms, have swept over the Border and taken the most ample measures of retaliation. Those friends and vassals on whom he relied were men accustomed to hardship and of mighty heart, entertaining no dread of danger, but eagerly anticipating the time when they might in a fair field measure spears with the enemy. The slaughter of Wallace, and long years of insult and wrong which their fathers and themselves had suffered from England, awakened within them feelings of vengeance,* which however were held partly in subordination by the principles of chivalry and the influence of their leaders, who disdained to stoop to any action unworthy the fair fame of a gallant warrior.†

* The best view of this vindictive spirit among the middle classes in Scotland may be obtained by a perusal of Blind Harry's Wallace. The biographer of the Scottish patriot was a young man about the time of the battle of Otterburn, and by frequenting hall and cottage he imbibed the public opinion so fully, that his pages cannot be read without awakening a feeling of hatred against the oppressor.

† Godscroft, Ridpath, Douglas.

CHAPTER THIRD.

Yt fell abowght the Lamasse tyde
When husbondes wyne ther haye,
The dowghtye Dowglasse bowynd him to ryde
In Ynglond to take a praye.

OLD BALLAD.

TOWARDS the close of the summer of 1388 the King of England, being about twenty-two years of age, was so much occupied in dissension with his uncle the Duke of Gloucester and the Parliament, that he could not possibly bestow any attention on the outward defence of his kingdom. Meantime the King of Scotland, Robert the Second, was far advanced in years, while his eldest son, being lame, was considered incapable of taking an active part either in the field or the council. But the main portion of the chief men of Scotland, who had been trained from their youth to regard war almost as a pastime, met in the north near Aberdeen, where the Earl of Fife, another son of the king, was present, and it was arranged they should make an inroad upon England by way of reprisal for the injury they had sustained from an army led by King Richard as far as Edinburgh about three years previously. As a farther step towards the accomplishment of this design, they appointed another meeting to be held in the forest of Jedburgh on St. Oswald's day, the 5th of August, when they would arrange to enter the

lands of the enemy.* Assembling at the time in great force, for they amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men, the leaders adjourned to a small church in the forest at Southdean† already mentioned, about ten miles south-west from Jedburgh, in a retired locality on the east side of Jed-water. After deliberating there how to advance into England, a spy was discovered who had been present at their consultation, and having secured him, and learned from him the intentions of the English, who were aware of the Scottish movement, the chief leaders resolved to divide the army, of which by far the most numerous portion should depart to the right in the direction of Carlisle, while the others would turn to the left and ascend the acclivity leading into Northumberland by the Redeswire. The latter division, with whom our narrative continues, comprising nearly four hundred knights, squires, and men-at-arms, with two thousand infantry, all select

* Buchanan mentions this, and afterwards commits an error by stating the battle was fought on the 21st July. James Earl of Douglas, preparatory to his expedition into England, executed a charter of confirmation to the Abbey of Melrose on the 27th day of July 1388, at Etybredschesel, which document appears in *Liber de Melros*, p. 465, printed in 1837 for the Bannatyne Club.

† Pronounced *Sooden* in the present day. Froissart calls it *Zedon*, and Pinkerton *Salom*. It was a spot well adapted for a meeting of this kind, being only about four miles from Redeswire, the place at which Douglas and his army were about to enter England. Our ancestors, as we learn from the metrical Life of Wallace, often resorted to a church to deliberate on matters of war. All our recent historians who have written on the place of meeting, erroneously state it to have been Yetholm church, which is far distant to the east from Jed-forest, and nearly fifteen miles from Redeswire. The father of Thomson, author of the *Seasons*, was minister at Southdean for a time, and the young poet must have known the locality well. The old church has for a long period been in ruin.

warriors and suitably mounted,* together with their various attendants and camp-followers, numbered nearly six thousand men.† It was placed under command of James Earl of Douglas, who had with him the brothers, George Earl of March and Dunbar, and John Earl of Moray, also Sir James Lindsay, Sir David Lindsay,‡ Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John Montgomery and his son Sir Hugh, Sir Patrick Hepburn and his two sons, Sir John Swinton, with several other knights of great bravery and experience in war. In order to divert the attention of the English from the main body of the army, it was the design of Douglas and his companions to make an incursion through Northumberland, and enter the county of Durham, so that they might secure as much spoil as lay in their way, or such as they could readily remove into their own country. St. Oswald's day in that year fell upon a Wednesday, hence we may suppose the Scottish leader would cross the Border at Redeswire and advance down Redesdale on or before Friday the 7th day of August.§

* " The wear twenty-hondrith spear-men good,
 Withowte any feale;
 The wear borne along be the watter a Twyde
 Yth bowndes of Tividale." *Old Ballad.*

† See Appendix, Note E.

‡ Lord Lindsay, in the *Lives of the Lindsays*, says that five of the name were in the expedition to England:—

" Sir James of Crawford.
 Sir David of Glenesk.
 Sir William of the Byres.
 Sir Alexander of Wauchopedale.
 Sir John of Dunrod."

§ Froissart, Wyntown, Buchanan, Hollinshead, Godscroft, Pinkerton, Scott,

Moving forward over "Ottercops' Hill," and down by "Rothley Crag," this division, under Douglas, swept silently yet swiftly through Northumberland, crossed the Tyne above Newburn, nor once thought of retreating till they had penetrated beyond the centre of the county of Durham.* Here they commenced to remove cattle, with other spoil, and destroyed the farm-houses and villages, the smoke whereof, eddying away, told where it went that the enemy was occupied in the work of destruction. Tidings of the inroad were instantly circulated all over the country; and Sir Henry Percy being Warden of the Marches, who was residing at Alnwick, and whose duty was to repel the incursion of Douglas, came with his brother, Sir Ralph Percy, and such a force of men as they could raise, to Newcastle, the most populous place in the district, to endeavour to arrest the progress of the Scots. When the latter had wasted the bishopric wherever they came, and raised from it all the plunder they could obtain, they drew back towards the north, and, recrossing the Tyne, marched down the north side of the river, till they came before Newcastle. It is probable that about Friday the 14th of August, they took up their position, according to one of our chroniclers, on that side of the town which looks towards Scotland,† whence Douglas saw all around the points where he could best attack the

* According to a deed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, the English monarch admits they advanced to the gates of York.

† The original is given by Brand, in the notes to his brief account of the approach of Douglas to Newcastle. His first quotation is, as he states, from Major; but those which follow are not in the Edinburgh edition, 1740, of that author.

place ; and if we select this as the highest part of the Leazes, north-west of Saint Andrew's Church, and beyond arrow-range from the wall,* he and his followers had thence an excellent view, not only of Newcastle and its mural defences, but of nearly all the immediate neighbourhood.†

On this occasion we may imagine the excitement which prevailed among the military force of the country who assembled at Newcastle with Ralph de Eure, sheriff of Northumberland, together with Adam Buckham, mayor, the bailiffs‡, burgesses, and other inhabitants of the town. Securely defended by the outward fosse, which was twenty-two yards broad, the surrounding walls and semicircular towers thereon, which had been completed in the reign of the previous king, and were now manned with their best soldiers, they probably smiled at the audacity of the Scots who ventured to encamp before them. Undoubtedly it was the intention of Douglas to attempt to win the place, for a brave man is never slow to undertake a gallant deed ; but the outworks of defence were so complete as to afford him only a slender prospect of success. In a state of blockade, from the spot

* When Douglas viewed the town earnestly if he might win it, the elevated ground mentioned in the text was especially adapted to his purpose. Had he pitched his camp on the Cow-hill, and sent a detachment of troops to skirmish at the barriers before the gate, either division would have been more easily circumvented and cut off. By keeping together, they were more able to resist any attack that might be made for recovery of the cattle and spoil they had with them.

† Froissart, Old Ballad, Buchanan, Hollinshead, Pinkerton, Brand.

‡ These, from Brand, were Lawrence Acton, Robert de Raynton, Sampson Harding, and John de Horton.

at that time supposed to be occupied by the Scots, their motions would be continually observed by the townsmen from the steeple of Saint Andrew's Church, which seems to have been erected close to the wall almost for the purpose of a watch-tower. It commanded a prospect of the Leazes, and of the greater portion of the town-moor; and, as this would be perceived by the besiegers, it may have been on the part of the founder a piece of sly policy at first to dedicate the building to the patron saint of Scotland. A little to the east rose the massive fabric of Newgate, with its barbican and bridge; and before the moat extended a large open space bounded northward by the barriers* formed of strong palisades, at which the contending knights on either side might encounter each other. Sweeping round to the right and left, arose the wall and towers, between which were generally "two quadrangular speculating turrets," with stone effigies at the angles, cut to resemble warriors†, and mingling with these were harnessed soldiers bearing the "bill and bow," men to whom relatives and countrymen

* Froissart observes, they were a sort of outward wooden fortification to the gates of many towns in France. They were also erected before New-Gate, at Newcastle. "Ever-Tower," observes Brand, quoting from an old MS., "shall have in warde . . . all the Gallowe-Gate without New-Yate, unto the Barriers, as men goe to the Gallowses." They consisted of grated or upright palisades, with openings about half a foot wide, and so high that a horse might, without much difficulty, leap over them. Probably they were made to open at certain distances, by which individuals might go out and in, and where opposing knights could try their prowess, without any danger of the invading party being able to enter the chief gate, or possess themselves of the place.

† One or two specimens are in the collection of antiquities preserved by the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

looked for protection, and on whose bravery and prowess depended the safety of the town.*

When an inroad of this kind took place, it may be supposed that, in addition to the military force who assembled at Newcastle, very many people for miles around would seek shelter within its walls. Accordingly the place was so filled, that large numbers scarcely knew where to find accommodation. Frequent skirmishes occurred between those who were thus confined and the Scots, while brilliant feats of arms were achieved, Hotspur and his brother Ralph being ever the first at the barriers. Towards the close, probably, of the following Monday, it fell out that at this place James Earl of Douglas, the Scottish leader, either by challenge or otherwise, came to be engaged on horseback, hand to hand with Sir Henry Percy, and had the good fortune not only to drive him out of his saddle, but to snatch from him his spear with the silken pennon attached thereto, on which was probably depicted the Crescent of the Percys†, and, waving it above his head, he said he would carry it into Scotland, and plant it on his castle at Dalkeith, whence it might be seen from afar. "That shalt thou never accomplish, Earl Douglas," replied Percy, much grieved at his loss. "Then you must come," answered the other, "and seek it to-night, for I shall place it in the ground before my tent, and we will see if you will venture to take it away." ‡

* Froissart, Hollinshead, Wallis, Brand.

† Scott says the silken pennon was embroidered with pearls, and bore the lion of the Percys.

‡ The pennon, from *pannus*, cloth, as Mills observes, was a kind of silken streamer, with one or more indentations at the end, fastened near the head of the knight's lance, on which appeared some principal part of the insignia of the bearer. On the march it fluttered

By this time the friends of Sir Henry Percy gathered around him, and, being desirous for his safety, conveyed him unharmed within the gate. The Scots, beholding the courage and address of their chieftain, brought faggots and other material, which they threw into the moat or ditches, and made an attempt to enter the town, but were beaten back with considerable loss.* Hereupon Douglas, like a wise leader, consoled his followers, telling them the cause of failure was the small number of ladders they possessed, many of which would not reach the top of the wall.† They afterwards withdrew to the camp, where they supped, having a large supply of flesh-meat. In lying down to rest they doubled the watch, lest Hotspur should endeavour to regain the trophy which Douglas had so bravely won.‡

Before break of day however, next morning, Douglas, considering that a force was gathering around him much superior to his own, prudently departed with his army on the way to Scotland. The road at that time would appear to have run nearly in the same line as the present one; for on arriving early at Ponteland, they assaulted a tower in pos-

gaily in the breeze; and on encamping, it was usual to strike the lower end of the weapon into the earth, before the door of the owner's tent, that the bearings on the slender flag might indicate his rank and family.

* In 1390, Richard II. granted that a sword, the ensign of royal state and authority, should be carried before the mayor of Newcastle. This honour may have been conferred as a mark of his majesty's approval of the bravery which the inhabitants had previously shown in defending the town.

† See Appendix, note F.

‡ Froissart, Boece, Buchanan, Hollinshead, Godscroft, Wallis, Brand.

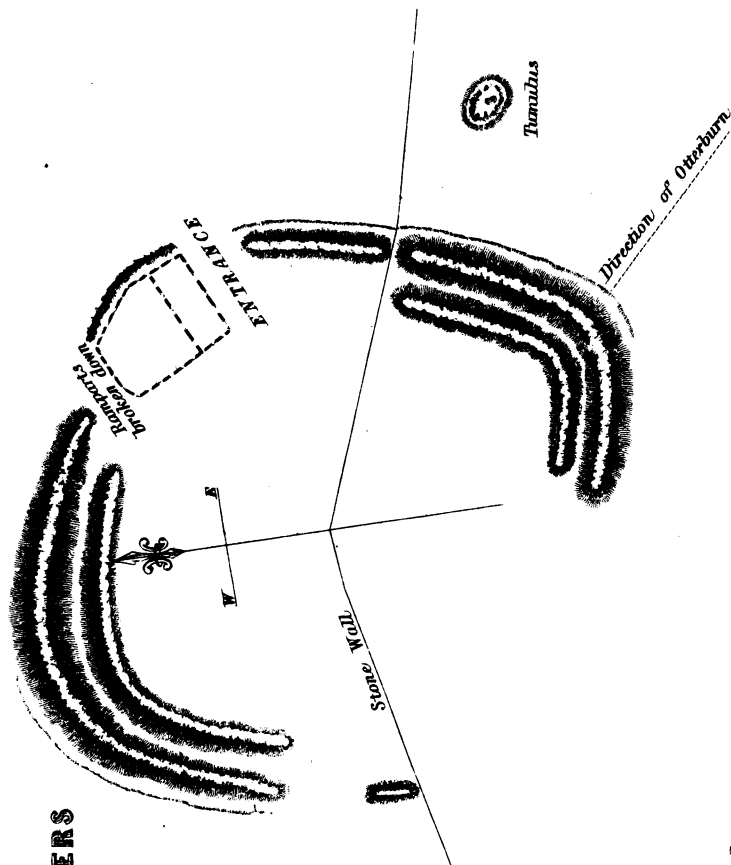
session of Sir Aymer de Athol, which they speedily won, and took the knight prisoner.* Pursuing their way onward by Rothley Crag to the north-west, in the afternoon they reached the vicinity of Otterburn, passing the woods that crowned the heights near it, which the Umphrevilles had previously surrounded by a wall, and kept as a park wherein to preserve the roebuck and the pheasant, that they might, whenever they pleased, enjoy the sports of hunting or hawking.† The Scots tarried not here, but, continuing their way past the tower, they crossed the rivulet which was to be associated for centuries with the combat about to take place, and marched farther up the open valley, till “they lighted high on Otterburn” upon the eminence north-west of Hott-wood‡, above Greenchesters. This forms a kind of promontory, jutting out to the south-west from the high land behind; and to the Scots it commanded a good view, both up Redesdale and around the central part thereof, for several miles. The tower of Otterburn was situated about a mile and a half below them; and they had an open prospect to the south-east, the direction whence they might reasonably expect the approach

* A portion of the walls of this fortalice may still be seen northward from the church, and near to the small inn, the Blackbird. For an account of Sir Aymer de Athol, see Biographical Notice.

† See Appendix, note G.

‡ The front of a lower eminence, towards Otterburn, covered by a modern plantation, chiefly of pines; but the name Hott-wood, being a pleonasm from Holt, a small wood or grove, indicates the natural trees that formerly grew there. On the summit of the higher eminence are the remains of the camp, of which a plan is annexed. A small sketch of it is given by Mr. Maclauchlan, in his Map of the Watling-street, executed by commission from His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.

CAMP near GREENCHESTERS



Scale 100 feet to an Inch

Thomas St. John, del.

W. H. L. 1000. 20.

of the English. On taking possession of the spot,* which probably had been occupied as a camp ages before, they erected their tents and made temporary huts for their accommodation, fortifying themselves with all possible precaution, and driving the cattle they had with them, under charge of their followers, into the marsh lands bordering on the Rede. The horses also, accompanied by the grooms, were sent to pasture wherever the grass grew most plentiful. On the north, their position was somewhat exposed; but on the west and south it was closely surrounded by natural wood, of which some straggling birch-trees and a few solitary remnants of the mountain-ash still grow at no great distance from the place.† Upon the east side was the entrance; and this part, we learn, was likewise shaded with underwood‡ and trees.§

On the following morning of Wednesday 19th August, the trumpets sounded, and, marching down to the tower of Otterburn which stood elevated on the east side of the brook, they attempted to win it through the course of the day; but

* "They lighted high on Otterbourne,
Upon the bent sae brown;
They lighted high on Otterbourne,
And threw their pallions down." *Old Ballad.*

† When "remains of birch, alder, and hazel trees" are found in the mosses above Chattehope Spout, it would be difficult to say what portions of Redesdale were not covered with wood in the fourteenth century.

‡ Wyntown observes:—

"Wyth þis þe Erle Jámys wes passand
Toward his Fáys þe nerrast way,
Qwhare Buskis ware, as I herd say,
Qwhare Inglis men saw noucht his cummyng."

The "buskis," of course, mean hazel and other lofty bushes.

§ Froissart, Wyntown, Buchanan, Godscroft, Tytler.

found they were unable to gain any advantage. Withdrawing to the camp in the afternoon, the principal men, with Douglas, consulted together what plan to pursue, and the majority were inclined to proceed instantly homeward; but this measure was opposed by Douglas, who felt desirous to afford Hotspur an opportunity of gaining back his pennon, should that hero be disposed to try his fortune again in the chance of war.* With becoming deference to their leader, the others at last assented, and it was arranged that in the meantime they should vigorously renew the attack on the tower, and remain for two or three days ready to receive the enemy. Then they began to entrench themselves more securely, defending the camp with earthwork towards the north, and laying down felled trees wherever it was desirable. At the entrance, which extended to a considerable distance, they cut down trees to cross the path, and placed the baggage and plunder† they had secured among the huts of the servants

* "He tooke his logeynge at Oterborne,
Upon a Wedynsday."

Old Ballad.

† These, I am inclined to believe, were carried on horseback, and not, as Tytler observes, upon "carriages and waggons," which he says were employed to defend the entrance to the camp. The historian must have forgot what Froissart relates, and which is also quoted by Lord Hailes in the *Annals of Scotland*:—"The Scots take no carriages with them, by reason of the uneavenness of the ground among the hills of Northumberland." Waggon were used by the English in 1313, from Newcastle to Berwick, on the way to Bannockburn. But in Redesdale, nearly three centuries afterward, Camden tells us, "the hills hard by were so boggy, and standing with water on their summits, that no horsemen were able to ride through them;" and, the tract being "mountainous, desert, and impassable," the steep banks and water-courses therein were serious obstacles to the use of wheel carriages. Still the main booty consisted of cattle; and as we learn from Nicolas that Henry the Fifth, in 1415, upon quitting

and camp-followers, which were erected on both sides of the way leading to Newcastle. Large numbers of these domestics were armed, so that they might defend themselves; and if a sudden onset was made by the English, they would oppose it for a time even with bills and staves till the knights, men-at-arms, and infantry were suitably arrayed for battle.*

From the morning of Tuesday, when the Scots quitted Newcastle, all those people bordering on the tract through which they went noted their movements, so that on the early part of Wednesday, intelligence was conveyed to Newcastle both of their actual numbers, and of the spot where they had taken up their position. Sir Henry Percy, who had considered the force under Douglas as only a detachment of the Scottish army, was much gratified on receiving these tidings, especially when they were corroborated by succeeding statements; and without delay he drew up his available force, which amounted to six hundred knights, squires, and men-at-arms, or upwards, together with eight thousand infantry.† The Bishop of Durham was expected at Newcastle that evening, with all the spearmen and archers he could raise; but Hotspur, conceiving the numbers already under his command sufficient to obtain victory over the Scots, commenced his march after dinner, which in those days took place an hour or two before noon, and held on his way direct to Otterburn. He had with him his brother, Sir Ralph, Sir

Harfleur, before Agincourt was stricken, caused all the baggage to be borne on horseback, we may conclude the same conveyance was employed on this occasion.

* Froissart, Wyntown, Godscroft, Tytler.

† "But nyne thowzand."—*Old Ballad*.

Thomas Grey, Sir Robert Ogle, Sir John Lilburn, the Baron of Hilton, Sir Matthew Redman, Governor of Berwick, and many other brave men of distinction. On entering Redesdale he would take such advantage as the ground afforded of covering his troops from observation of the Scots, which he was enabled to do more successfully, from the natural woods growing almost on every side where his course lay. He had also with him the two brothers, Sir Thomas and Sir Robert Umphreville, who both knew the locality well, and under whose especial guidance he no doubt moved forward. It is probable he went by Elsdén,* and keeping northward, on the west side of Elsdén-burn, till he reached Davyshield, he swept over one of the lowest parts of the waste, and entered the valley of the Otter, covered also at that period with wood. The sun set about this time, so that under the shadow of evening he was enabled to steal upon the Scots, encamped as they were among the trees, when probably a slight and soft breeze from the west wafted away from their ears such sounds as arose from the advancing tramp of men and horses.†

It is evident that Douglas, with his fellow-chieftains and followers, had not, at that late hour, expected an attack from the English. Fatigued with assaulting the tower, and completing the outworks of their camp, for the day had been oppressively warm, some, having wide gowns or robes upon them, were at supper, while others had retired to repose. Yet, not altogether unprepared for what might occur, the knights and men-at-arms had their armour placed in readiness to put on; and when we consider how difficult it was in

* See Appendix, note H.

† Froissart, Wyntown, Hollinshead.

these days, by "closing rivets up," to don a warrior in complete mail, it is surprising how speedily on this occasion, with some slight exceptions, these preliminaries were accomplished. Douglas, it is said, was so much occupied in ordering his company to prepare for the struggle, that he failed to be sufficiently armed; and from the same cause the Earl of Moray forgot to put on his helmet, and fought all night as if he had been in the camp; but the main body of heavily armed men were more careful, and arrayed themselves with the utmost expedition. They were individually attended by their domestics; and, though they had no need of horses, yet care was taken that every steed should be at hand when required.*

Standing on the site of the camp, and looking in the direction of Newcastle, we have high ground behind us on the left; on our right the Rede winds onward in view, through level haughs, for nearly three miles, till we lose sight of its banks as it bends to the south below Meadowhaugh; while in front, for upwards of a mile, the undulating ground descends in a southern direction, down to the point where the Otter flows into the main stream. On the east side of the higher ground, to the left, Sir Henry Percy, with his adherents, made the necessary preparations for attacking the Scots.† The knights and men-at-arms, dismounting from their steeds, would arrange to fight on foot, generally cutting

* Froissart, Wyntown, Tytler, Lindsay.

† "He lyghted dowyn upon hys foote,
And schoote hys horsse cleue away.

"Every man sawe that he dyd soo,
That ryall was ever in rowght;
Every man schoote hys horsse hym froo,
And lyght hym rowynde abowght." *Old Ballad.*

shorter their lances, and each man delivering his horse to the care of his attendants. In the usual way, by far the greater number of the infantry probably bore the bow, so fatal to all whom they opposed; but on this occasion, as Hotspur meditated a night attack, when the bow was useless, and carried his design into execution, it is likely the chief offensive weapon on which they relied was the spear, whence on an equal footing they could encounter the enemy. Some would also be armed with the sword,* others with the bill in its various forms. Each division was arranged under its respective banner, so that flags innumerable waved in the twilight above the host, while here and there, among every rank, might be observed the cross of Saint George, worn over the armour; and equally conspicuous would appear the lion of the Percys, with the silver crescent, so intimately blended with the bearings of that noble family. And here we ought to take some slight retrospect of the circumstances under which these dauntless men so gallantly prepared for battle. Since dining at Newcastle, they had ridden or walked a distance of nearly thirty-two miles, over a country without roads, save a kind of rugged bridle-way; and it may be thought, that after such exertion, through the middle and after-part of a sultry day, they required rest and repose; but no prudent considerations of that kind could stay or change the "heady current" of Hotspur's impetuosity. The stain which Douglas had thrown upon his prowess was to be effaced; and possessing the power, as he conceived, of taking

* "The Ynglyshe men let thear 'bowys' be,
And pulde owt brandes that wer 'bright.'" *Old Ballad.*

possession of the camp, and routing or dispersing the enemy, every minute seemed to him an hour till this was accomplished. As the means also of rendering his triumph still more complete, by securing the spoil, and cutting off from his opponents any chance of escape, he arranged that a detachment, headed by Sir Thomas Umphreville, with his brother Sir Robert,* Sir Thomas Grey, Sir Robert Ogle, and Sir Matthew Redman, should sweep round northward from the position occupied by the Scots, and “holde them in y^t they fled not away.”† At the same time the main body of his army,

* The Umphrevilles were most suitable to send on such a commission, having a perfect knowledge of the ground all over the neighbourhood. They would prize Otterburn much when they came over from the dark fortress of Harbottle; but their most delightful residence was Prudhoe Castle, perched on its commanding situation, and looking down upon the Tyne.

† So says Hardyng; but he introduces the circumstance as occurring after Douglas was slain, unless we are to understand him as recapitulating the leading events of the battle. Wyntown is more clear, and, as may be supposed, he assigns a different cause for the detachment of the English outflanking his countrymen, who at the commencement of the fight,

“saw þare Fáis nere cummand
 Owte-oure a Brá downe awaland,
 Ðat delt ware in Batallis twá:
 Ðe Percy had þe mást of þá;
 Ðe toþer Rowte, þat þy þame ráde
 Schyr Mawe of þe Redmane and Ogil hade.
 Ðat had ordanyd þe Percy
 Wyth all þame of his Cumpany
 To mete þe Erle, gyve he wald fycht:
 Ðe toþir Rowte þan ryde suld rycht
 Til þe Pavillownys, and þare
 Quhen þe gret Rowte fechtand ware,
 Destroy and sla all, þat þai fand.”

under their various leaders, were to attack them with the utmost rapidity as they lay in their tents, never dreaming of danger.*

* Froissart, Hardyng, Wyntown, Buchanan, Godscroft.



View from above Greenchesters, looking down towards Otterburn.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

Thys fraye bygan at Otterborne,
 Bytwene the nyght and the day;
 Ther the Dowglas lost hys lyffe,
 And the Perssye was lede awaye.

OLD BALLAD.

WHEN the detachment ascended the higher ground to the right of the English lines, that they might surround the Scots, Sir Henry Percy advanced with the main battalion over the slight ridge already mentioned, and bore down immediately upon the entrance to the camp, where the servants lodged and the spoil was collected, and which, being partly concealed by trees, he mistook in the twilight for the camp itself. A horseman, it is said, first gave intimation that the English were at hand, when the Scots instantly prepared for defence, and as the shouts of "Percy!—Percy!—Esperancé!—Percy!" from the approaching ranks * fell on their ears, a thrill of kindling excitement would be felt in every bosom there.† It was a moment when much depended on

* Hall, who observes, "Esperancé!—Percy!" was the war-cry of Hotspur at the battle of Shrewsbury, is my authority for introducing it here.

† "Ther was never a tym on the march-partes,
 Sen the Doglas and the Persé met,
 But yt was marvele and the rede blude ronne not
 As the reane doys in the stret." *Old Ballad.*

the firmness of the lowest class of the army; and when we know that they opposed undauntedly the furious onset, it may have been that a portion of the infantry mingled with them, so that not only strong clubs and long knives, but spears also were employed in staying the advance of bristling steel. In a short time afterwards, bodies of spearmen came forward to the charge, shouting "Douglas!—Douglas!" who also bravely endeavoured to check the progress of the English.* Meantime Douglas, with the greater number of his best warriors, according to the arrangement previously made, armed themselves with all speed, and drew off northward to the higher ground, which was likewise shaded with trees, above the place where the main bodies of the troops were engaged. The Scots being now very hardly pressed, and upon the point of retreating, Douglas with his companions and their followers, under no less than twelve displayed banners, issued from the straggling trees and copse-wood†, and came directly upon the right flank of the enemy. This movement being unexpected on the part of the English, threw them for a time into great disorder; but retreating by degrees, they at length presented a compact front to the Scots, and the latter following up such advantages as they

* "The Dogglas pertyd his ost in thre,
Lyk a cheffe 'cheften' off pryde,
With suar speares off mightté tre,
The cam in on every syde."

Old Ballad.

† Wyntown observes,

"Schyr Jámys þan of Dowglas
Wes passyd þe Buskis, and suddanly
He boltyd up welle nere-hand þame by
Wyth twelf displayid Baneris, or má."

possessed, merged finally into one opposing line. On either side the banners became more generally dispersed over the field, and the simultaneous cries of "Percy!—Esperancé!—Percy!" "Douglas!—Douglas!" "Saint George!—Saint George!" "Saint Andrew!—Saint Andrew!" with many other peculiar slogans, arose from both armies with all the energy of martial enthusiasm.*

Some time after the commencement of the battle, Sir Thomas Umphreville and his party, who had gone a considerable distance northward—so far indeed as not to intercept Douglas, returned in the expectation of meeting fugitives; but none appearing, they effected an entrance to the camp on the north-east side, the entrenchment there showing a breach as if it had been broken down. Leaving a body of men to keep the booty secure, the leaders withdrew, having with them such followers as could be spared; and hearing the shouts of the combat in the direction of Newcastle, instead of hewing their way through a crowd of squires, grooms, and horses, they advanced by the north-east side of the Scots, till at last they fell into the right wing of their own countrymen, who were beaten back far down the slope on which the camp is situated. The rounded moon had now arisen majestically above the eastern moors, throwing her silvery light over each division, so that it was easy to distinguish where ground was lost or won.† Flags and banners floated over the mingling masses of combatants; fearful was the pushing of lances; dreadful the strokes of battle-axes descending on helm or

* Froissart, Wyntown, Old Ballad, Buchanan, Godscroft.

† "The tooke 'on' on ether hand,

Be the lyght off the mone." *Old Ballad.*

mail, while sometimes the wielders of these weapons dashed aside or lopped off the heads of the spears opposed to them, and the shouts and clang of conflict echoed over all the vicinity. As yet the fighting men were not separated into detached groups, and all were exulting in the hope of victory, for every one, high or low, acquitted himself as if the fortune of the field depended on his own individual prowess. Thus the battle continued till a cloud overshadowed the moon, when the warriors on each side, being unable to discover their own position and that of the foe clearly, rested on their arms for a space till they had again sufficient light to renew the struggle.*

This was a brief breathing space to all, and would seem to have been of especial benefit to the English after the toil they had endured, for when the moon shone forth again in full radiance, the charge they made on the Scots was almost irresistible. Under the influence of their heroic leader, and emboldened by undoubted confidence in their own strength, they engaged with their opponents so fiercely and with such effect, that the banner of Douglas was in imminent peril of being beaten down. Stationed with one wing of his body of soldiers, the Scottish leader, perceiving how the "tide of battle" ran against him, was excited to the highest degree of courageous daring, and seizing a mace, as some say, or according to others a two-handed battle-axe, which few, save himself, could wield, he passed through the ranks of his own men, and advancing to the place where the danger was most apparent, engaged with the enemy, striking down every one in his way. From the other wing, Sir Patrick Hepburn of

* Froissart, Boece, Buchanan, Godscroft.

Hales, with his son of the same name, observing likewise the bravery of the English, and how near they approached the standard of Douglas, made a most vigorous charge, and seconded so well the efforts of their principal leader, that the Scottish lines were restored to order, and the English beaten back to their former position. But the blood of Douglas was too much heated to cool down again while the conflict was undecided; his standard waved before him; his chaplain* and two squires of his body fought beside and behind him, and he pressed onward against the foe as if the battle had to be gained by his own unequalled arm. His followers, animated by the brilliant example afforded them, followed closely behind, shouting, "Douglas!—Douglas!" and assailing the enemy so fiercely with their long spears, that the latter were driven back, fighting however face to face with their more successful opponents. At length Douglas, like his ancestor, the good Sir James, when he fell amid the swords of the Saracens in Spain, having advanced far into the ranks of the English, was borne to the ground by three spears, of which one pierced him on the shoulder near the neck, another on the stomach, and the last was thrust through his thigh. After he fell he was struck on the head by a battle-axe, he received another wound in the thigh from a spear, and a large body of the English in retreat passed over him.†

In the other parts of the field, the battle was continued with determined valour. Influenced by the example set by Douglas, and probably hearing of the attempt which the two

* Fosbroke says, the commander-in-chief was always attended by a chaplain, a physician, and a crier.

† Froissart, Boece, Buchanan, Hollinshead, Godscroft.

Hepburns had so gallantly made to support him, George Earl of Dunbar fought most valiantly, leading his followers on with such spirit, that they succeeded in driving back the English. In the same way his brother, John Earl of Moray, amid his brave dependents, repelled the enemy, so that fortune again appeared to favour the Scots. About this time it occurred that Sir Ralph Percy had either ventured too far into the Scottish ranks, or too firmly maintained his ground without the due support of his followers, for being severely wounded and much exhausted by the struggle, he surrendered to a Scottish knight, Sir Henry Preston,* who was under command of the Earl of Moray, and desired his captor to pay him attention, since his drawers and greaves were soaked with blood. At this moment the banner of the Earl of Moray was advancing, and Preston presented his prisoner to that leader, observing that care should be taken of him by reason of his wounds; upon which the earl remarked he had well earned his spurs †, and gave orders Sir Ralph should be attended with the utmost care. He was then conveyed to the rear, where his wounds were dressed. In the field every foot of ground was disputed, for the opposing ranks being engaged hand to hand, never battle was more bravely contested; and the English, though compelled to retire, steadily confronted their foes, acquitting themselves as became warriors of renown.‡

* See Biographical Notice.

† The Earl of Moray's expression to Preston on taking Sir Ralph Percy, according to Major, is, "Thou art a lime-kiln richer!" alluding probably to the value in which such property was held at that period.

‡ Froissart, Major, Godscroft, Pinkerton.

Following on in the track of their illustrious chieftain, the adherents of Douglas, accompanied by Sir James Lindsay, Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and squires, pressed onward among fighting men till they reached the spot where he lay. His banner was beaten down at no great distance from him, and the bearer thereof, Archibald Douglas,* his natural son, whom he had charged to defend it to the last drop of his blood, probably lay wounded beside it. Simon Glendinning, one of the squires of his body, a man of great prowess, well formed in his limbs, and fitted to excel in close combat, was killed shortly before, when Douglas was making way amid the enemy; the other squire, Robert Hart, lay dead by the side of his master, covered with fifteen wounds. His chaplain, Richard Lundie, afterwards arch-deacon of Aberdeen, was likewise wounded; he had fought beside him incessantly during the struggle; even now, armed with a spear, he was still able to maintain his ground, and stand over the dying warrior defending his body from farther injury.† “Cousin, how fares it with you?” inquired Sir John Sinclair. “Only indifferently,” replied the hero: “I think I am dying, yet I thank God that I meet death as my ancestors have done, on a field of battle, and not on a sick-bed. I have, however some requests to make, and I trust you will see them performed. In the first place, do not tell of my death to either friend or foe; for such tidings would

* He was, says Scott, ancestor of the family of Cavers, hereditary sheriffs of Teviotdale.

† So says Godscroft. Froissart calls him William of North Berwick, probably from residing there, and observes, he was a tall, hardy man.

dishearten our own party, or afford great encouragement to the English. Again, raise up my standard as if I were still fighting like a brave knight, and continue to shout 'Douglas!' that the cry may be heard over the whole field. Thirdly, exert yourselves to avenge my death. We have suffered much from our enemies, and if I thought we were on this occasion to be victorious, I should die with more complacency. There is an old prophecy connected with my family, that *a dead man shall gain a field*; and to-night I trust it will be accomplished. So farewell!" They threw a cloak over him; his banner was speedily raised by Sir John Sinclair, who afterwards bore it during the battle; shouts of "A Douglas!—A Douglas!" echoed far and wide; numbers rushed onward to the cry, till the English, who had been fighting around the dying man, were driven beyond the place where he delivered his last injunctions, and shortly afterwards he expired.*

By this time the night was considerably advanced, the moon having risen high over the combatants; and as the gathering point of the Scottish troops was around the Douglas' banner, these, with the Earl of Dunbar, who succeeded to the command of the army, and other chieftains all bearing long levelled spears, pressed so hard upon the English, that the latter were still moved farther from their position. The impression that they were giving way inspired the Scots with fresh courage, so that on the side of the latter the combat was continued with unabated ardour. No lack of energy however could, with propriety, be attributed to the

* Froissart, Buchanan, Hollinshead, Godscroft, Douglas, Scott.

English, when we consider they had come all the way from Newcastle during the day, and during the night had been almost constantly engaged foot to foot in the stern turmoil of battle. But the field now presented a different aspect from what it bore shortly after the commencement of the conflict. At first the English and Scots were separated by a slightly curved line into two divisions, the latter numbering scarcely more than one half of the former. This "ideal line" became afterwards broken in several places by one party of men advancing, while another retreated—hence these came to be more and more separated; and at length, as morning approached, the scene was occupied by larger or smaller detached bodies of combatants, all fiercely contending for victory.*

Nearly in the centre of these, at no great distance from where the younger Percy was taken, his elder brother Hotspur, in battling with the foe, came to be engaged weapon to weapon with Sir John Montgomery, of Eglesham, in Renfrewshire. They fought long together without any impediment, for every subordinate man was so fully employed with his opponent, he had no chance of attempting to rescue those on his side whom he knew to be of loftier rank. Ultimately the prowess of Montgomery prevailed, and Sir Henry Percy, like his brother, was made a prisoner. It is likely that, under charge of a few chosen men-at-arms, he was immediately sent off the field, probably to the castle of Dunbar,† by way of securing his ransom, whatever might

* Froissart, Major, Godscroft.

† Hardyng observes :—

"The earle of Marche, with preuy men alane,
Full priuely to Dunbarre with hym rode."

I have some doubt of the Earl of March quitting the field at this

be the result of the battle. His followers, in the course of the morning, found it impossible to repel the furious and successive charges of the Scottish spears. Still they strove to keep their ground, fighting with the utmost bravery, and on both sides most daring deeds of valour were performed, even by individuals whose names up to that memorable time had never been distinguished.* For the prowess displayed by Robert Campbell, a Scotsman, and his two sons, John and Robert, they were knighted on the field. Sir John Swinton of that ilk, a valorous knight and most brave soldier, on pressing forward with a mighty lance, successively struck aside the English spears, and by his consummate ability contributed much on the side of his countrymen to earn the victory.† An English squire named Thomas Felton, attached to the household of Percy, acquitted himself nobly in resisting the onward movement of the Scots; but being surrounded by those under the banner of the Earl of Moray, he engaged with Sir John Glendonwyn, said to be cousin to the King of Scotland, and after a desperate encounter, was

time, especially as the incident is not borne out by any other historian. Had he himself captured Hotspur, the case would assume a different aspect.

* "Ther was no freke that ther wolde flye,
But styffely in stowre can stond,
Ych one hewyng on other whyll they myght drye,
Wyth many a bayllefull bronde." *Old Ballad.*

† Something of the manner of the author of "Marmion" may be traced in this stanza:—

"The moon was clear, the day drew near,
The spears in flinders flew;
But mony a gallant Englishman,
Ere day the Scotsmen slew." *Border Minstrelsy.*

slain. Two squires of Gascony on the English side were captured by the Scots—one under the banner of the Earl of March, another under that of the Earl of Moray. The former spoke most favourably to Froissart of his captor, who had the generosity to allow him to fix his own ransom.*

It has been stated, that prior to Sir Thomas Umphreville and his companions joining battle, they left in the camp a party of English, to secure whatever spoil or effects were deposited there. A cruel fate awaited these men, for, having probably made free use of the stores therein, their enemies, on discovering the camp was thus occupied, fell upon them fiercely, and slaughtered nearly the whole. In the meantime, morning dawned over the field, when the broken groups of the English began to waver and give way. Hence it occurred, that whenever the Scots perceived an Englishman of superior rank, whom they generally knew by his armour, attempt to fly, they mounted the horses which their servants had at hand, and gave instant chase. With the wealth of the prisoner the amount of ransom usually corresponded, and to each pursuer that object commanded his especial attention. We can readily imagine with what haste both parties would quit the field; and it is amusing to contemplate how the one would strain every nerve to save his person and money, while he who followed was equally earnest to secure the fugitive for pecuniary gain.† Frequently, as the English

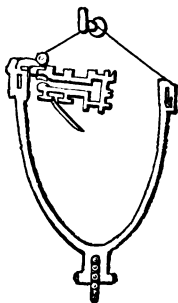
* Froissart, Fordun, Godscroft, Scott, Hodgson.

† The ransoms were commonly as great as the captives were capable of paying. Many prisoners were obliged to sacrifice their fortunes so as to obtain their freedom. To say nothing of the ransoms of the Kings of France and Scotland, the Constable of France, who, in 1368, was taken by the English, paid no less than one hun-

were flying, they turned and fought with those who pursued them, which to the Scots occasioned a large additional loss of life. In many instances the pursuit was continued nearly five miles. Almost every Englishman of distinction was taken prisoner; and when at last the sun rose over the scene of battle, the Scots remained masters of the field, which was entirely clear of combatants.*

dred thousand francs of gold for his liberty. War in this way became a gainful trade to those who were so fortunate as to take many prisoners, or such as were wealthy.

* Froissart, Wyntown.



Spur from Otterburn.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

Then on the morne they mayde them beerys
Of byrch and haysell graye;
Many a wydowe with wepyng teyres
Ther makes they fette awaye.

OLD BALLAD.

ON the evening of the same day on which Sir Henry Percy departed in pursuit of the Scots, and, as had been anticipated, Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, arrived at Newcastle with the principal forces, both of the bishopric and the northern part of Yorkshire, amounting to five thousand foot and two thousand horse. On learning that the Percys had gone towards the north-west with all the men they could raise, he ordered his followers supper, and soon after, setting out at their head, he pursued the same track, with the laudable design of reinforcing his fellow-countrymen. When the sun set he had the advantage of moonlight, and thus, while the battle was both fought and won, he was threading his way, crossing the streams and winding over the moors, in the direction of Otterburn. Arriving withing a few miles of the place when morning arose, he met several fugitives, who related that the Scots were victorious; and the numbers who came to him in this way so increased, that his own followers being disheartened, and having no wish to encounter the foe, nearly four-fifths of the number

abandoned their leaders and returned homeward. Still, the bishop advancing with those who remained, he had almost met the victorious party, when he asked counsel of the leading men in his company, and not receiving any encouraging reply, he considered the best way would be to return to Newcastle, to which they most readily assented. On their way back they met many of the Scots, who, by various paths, had been pursuing the English, and some of these they succeeded in making prisoners. Among the number was Sir James Lindsay, of whose adventure we deem it necessary to give some account.*

After the battle was lost on the English side, without hope of recovery, Sir Matthew Redman, Governor of Berwick, mounted his horse which his attendants had in readiness, and with all celerity quitted the field. The beauty of his armour attracted the notice of Sir James Lindsay of Crawford, who, on supposing him to be a knight capable of paying a good ransom if he were captured, leaped also upon his horse, which was at hand, and gave him instant chase. Having his battle-axe slung from his neck, and his spear in hand, Lindsay came up with Redman, after they had galloped above two miles; and the horse of the latter, being rapidly urged forward, stumbled, while he himself leaped off, and, drawing his sword, stood prepared for his enemy. Lindsay made a thrust at him with his lance; but the other escaping the blow, the point entered the ground, upon which Redman with his sword cut the weapon across, dividing it into two pieces. Lindsay instantly dismounted, and attacking

* Froissart, Hollinshead, Buchanan, Godscroft, Scott.

him fiercely with his battle-axe, he handled it with such dexterity, that ultimately the Englishman yielded himself his prisoner. He asked leave however to return to Newcastle, undertaking to surrender himself to Lindsay at Edinburgh within fifteen days, to which the latter assented. But when Redman was gone, and as the Scottish knight was returning alone to his own people, he met the Bishop of Durham with his force retreating towards Newcastle, who immediately surrounded and took him prisoner. Nor, so far as we have been able to discern, was the same liberality extended to him that he had shown to Redman; for being conveyed to Newcastle, where he was detained, an order of the king and council, dated at Cambridge, 25th Sept. following, commissioned the Earl of Northumberland not to permit Sir James Lindsay to depart out of his custody, either for ransom or pledge, without further orders.*

In the course of the day succeeding the battle, the Bishop of Durham, and such of his party as remained with him, returned to Newcastle. More fresh troops had entered the town, and upon consulting with his chief adherents as to the disastrous defeat at Otterburn, it was agreed they should again depart towards the Scots on the following morning, Friday, August 21, and offer them battle. On drawing up their strength next morning at the Sandhill, or "before the bridge," it amounted, horse and foot, to ten thousand men; so they proceeded up through the town, and quitted it by the "gate leading to Berwick."† The Scots were not

* *Fœdera*, Froissart, Buchanan, Hollinshead, Ridpath, Hodgson.

† Newgate, in all probability; for, according to Brand, the gate which preceded it appears to have been called "Berwick Gate."

without timely intimation of their approach, and having a large number of prisoners, it was a matter to them of consideration whether they should retreat, or remain and oppose their adversaries.* After such prudent arrangements had been made as they could devise, and having put their camp in a more perfect state of defence, by securing it on every side save the entrance, they bravely resolved to abide the onset of the English. Being partly concealed by the natural wood growing around their position, when they first beheld the bishop approach with his army, each man set to his mouth the large horn he wore by his side, and blowing thereon as loudly as possible, the noise, when it reached the ears of the enemy, was most alarming. The same manœuvre at intervals was repeated, which among the English created no slight astonishment.† At length, when the latter approached so near

* Godscroft observes, that the Scots, having prisoners to nearly the half of their own number, would not kill them, but had their promises to remain *true prisoners*, however the field went; and having only pinioned them together with small cords, they let them remain under a small guard in the camp, and prepared themselves to encounter the bishop.

† The Scots seem to have been fertile in devising plans to annoy the enemy. "In 1372," says Ridpath, "Lord Percy," father to the two Otterburn heroes, "crossed the Border with seven thousand men, to lay waste the country. Encamping near Dunse, his progress was arrested by the following stratagem. The shepherds of Lammermuir had, at the end of a long pole, a kind of rattle, made of dried skin, into which they put pebbles, and on shaking these violently, the noise frightened away from the corn the deer and wild cattle. During the night, and in the vicinity of the English camp, a number of these implements being put in motion, the sound so excited the horses of the enemy, that they broke from their keepers, and ran wildly over the fields, where they were taken by the Scots. On awakening, the English perceiving themselves deprived both of their war-horses and

as to discover how admirably the camp of their opponents had been chosen, and with what skill they had strengthened it, the bishop with his chief men, seeing around them the dead bodies of their countrymen, and perceiving how difficult it would be to attack the Scots, consulted together what measures to adopt, and very pacifically resolved to retreat, since, in the event of another engagement, they might still be unable to bear away the triumph of victory.*

No sooner had they retired than the Scots, well pleased at the success of their operations, consulted how to dispose of their prisoners, who numbered altogether one thousand and forty men. Sir Ralph Percy, having been severely wounded, entreated for liberty to return to any place in Northumberland where the best surgical assistance could be had, a request at which some of our readers may smile, on considering the low state of the art of healing at that period.† This was granted, and, a litter being prepared, he was, according to his desire, conveyed to Newcastle. A great

beasts of burden, retreated as rapidly as they could, leaving their baggage behind them."

We observe, in Patten's account of Somerset's expedition, that these rattles were used by the Scots to frighten the English horses so late as 1547.

* Froissart, Buchanan, Hollinshead.

† Surgeons, according to Ardern, quoted by Andrews, used at this time to take bonds of their patients, to make certain of their reward for a cure. "They who practised as medical men," says Cauliaco, quoted by Henry, "may be divided into five classes. The first applied poultices to all wounds and abscesses. The second, for the same cases, used wine only. The third treated wounds with ointments and soft plasters. The fourth, who generally followed the army, used charms, potions, oil, and wool. The fifth were old women chiefly, who in all cases had recourse to the saints."

many knights and squires obtained leave of absence, at the same time appointing the period and place when and where they should return. Others promised to procure the various amounts of their ransoms, and transmit them to their respective captors.* On verbal agreements of this nature, either for the prisoner to return to an appointed place on a certain day, or to pay a sum of money in a stipulated time, the utmost fidelity was observed. Many of the common soldiers who were unable to pay any ransom, and might be considered burdensome to the Scots, were dismissed in possession of their liberty. The remainder, which consisted of about forty knights, a number of squires, and others, amounting nearly to four hundred, awaited the pleasure of their conquerors to accompany them into Scotland.†

In this battle, on the side of the English, there were left dead on the field and in the pursuit, eighteen hundred and forty men. Upwards of one thousand were wounded. Of the Scots, above one hundred were slain, and more than two hundred taken prisoners. The latter were captured by the English chiefly during the continuance of the pursuit. On comparing the loss of the Scots with that of the English, the former appears much diminished; but we must bear in mind, that as personal strength and intrepidity were the most important requisites in this struggle, the Scots were more

* These ransoms were estimated at 200,000 francs. Barnes gives the value of a franc at two shillings in 1352, and Anderson says a gold franc was at this time worth three shillings and four pence sterling. Assuming the value to be two shillings and sixpence, this multiplied by 24, that it may be reduced to the worth of money in the present day, the ransoms would amount to £600,000.

† Froissart, Buchanan, Hollinshead, Godscroft.

likely to be in full possession of these qualities, from the repose they were enjoying before the combat commenced, whereas the English were fatigued by their long march from Newcastle. The long spears also and battle-axes, borne by the Scots, might contribute greatly to their defence when opposed to the English archers, who were not expressly trained to the use of these weapons; and besides, as the former party came off conquerors from the field, any statement of the killed and wounded might be given more in their favour than could be warranted by impartial investigation. Had Sir Henry Percy allowed the brave men he had under him the benefit of a night's repose, and engaged with the enemy on the following morning, when the English long bow could have been employed, Fame ought to have told a very different tale of the fortune of that hard-fought field.*

After some time spent in committing to the earth the remains of their comrades, and those who had fallen in the battle, the Scots, according to ancient custom, and with the laudable design of marking the place to posterity, appear to have prepared an upright stone, and a socket or base adapted to it, which they erected probably upon the very spot where Douglas fell.† They also placed a number of stones on the graves of those who were either greatly beloved or renowned,

* Froissart, Buchanan, Godscroft.

† I incline to this opinion from the circumstance that Malcolm's Cross, near Alnwick, and Percy's Cross, at Hedgley Moor, both of wrought stone, were erected to mark the places where these men were killed. Blocks of unhewn stone, of a greater or less size, have been set up and still remain at Bender, near Homeldon, at Yevering, and also at Crookham West Field, north of Flodden, to commemorate the battles fought there, but not to distinguish the spot where any particular hero lost his life.

several of which might be traced in the vicinity of the camp about the beginning of the present century.* Then enclosing in coffins the bodies of the Earl of Douglas and of the two squires who fell near him, they placed them upon slender biers† constructed for the purpose, by which they might be conveyed homeward; and setting fire to the huts, they commenced their march up Redesdale. Reaching very soon the Roman Watling-street, they kept upon it, passing the station of Bremenium, and moving onward behind the biers, where they had more the appearance of an extended funeral procession than an army of brave men returning to their native land honoured with victory. The first night they encamped at the station of Chew Green, on English ground; but arising early next morning, they departed without delay, and at evening reached Melrose. In the course of two days afterwards, the obsequies of the church, in the most honourable manner that could be devised, accompanied with the august

* Wallis, whose History of Northumberland was published in 1769, observes,—“tumuli, or sepultures of the slain, are still conspicuous.” The evidence also of Robert Roxby, author of the *Lay of the Reedwater Minstrel*, Newcastle, 1809, is deserving of notice. In 1778, being then ten years of age, he was at school at Otterburn, and in the said work he observes, in a note relative to the battle:—“Several intrenchments are still discernible, and the number of tumuli scattered over the adjoining ground, mark to future ages the slaughter made there.”

† The translator of Froissart calls them cars, but in this instance we prefer the reading of the old ballad:—

“Then on the morne they mayde them beerys
Of byrch and haysell graye;”

which in all likelihood approached the shape of sledges, and were formed from the surrounding wood, by the carpenters present.

ceremonies of the abbot and monks in solemn order, were performed before the whole army over the body of Douglas, when it was placed in a suitable tomb of stone beneath the high altar, and the soiled banner,* behind which he had acquitted himself so well in the field at Otterburn, was suspended mournfully, but most appropriately, over his remains.†

Thus on the night of Wednesday the 19th, and morning of Thursday the 20th August, the latter being the time of full moon, in the year of our Lord 1388,‡ was stricken the far-famed battle of Otterburn. From the leading circumstances of its history, we are enabled to perceive at the time how independent the nobles of Scotland were of the sovereign, and the vast resources they possessed, when they could raise in arms between twenty and thirty thousand men; and enter England, committing such ravages as they pleased, without the consent of royalty. It is true no high national destinies depended upon it; for when the banners were furled which had waved above its warriors, and when those slain in the field were honourably covered with the green turf, the people on each side of the Border, save those who had sustained the loss of kindred, observed no change whatever, either in their public or private relations of life. But arising as it did from the aspiring rivalry of two eminent and powerful chieftains,§ in its commencement, its progress, and

* See Appendix, Note I.

† Froissart, Buchanan, Godscroft.

‡ See Appendix, Note J.

§ History opens up matter for much thought on this subject. Julius Cæsar, by his wars, occasioned a fearful amount of carnage.

termination, it forms by far the most brilliant example we have of what chivalry could accomplish when it kindled into flame the martial spirit of our heroic ancestors. On one side we behold Douglas in the full vigour of manhood, for he would be about thirty-eight years of age,* bearing himself everywhere as became his gallant family; on the other, Sir Henry Percy, aged upwards of twenty-two†, so bent to the thrilling purpose of war, that his spur was scarcely ever cold: these, with their brethren in arms equally brave, heading their followers, encountering each other, and performing prodigies of valour during a whole night, under the mellow beams of a full harvest moon—all combined to form a subject of most marvellous interest to baron and peasant, knight and squire, man-at-arms and archer, over the whole length and breadth of both kingdoms.‡

In our own day, there are men of large heart and sincere piety who decry war in every shape, and, guided by the purest principles of philanthropy, would embrace with love and benevolence the whole human race. If all in the world were regulated by the same motives, and were education accompanied with knowledge and liberality, gaining an ascendancy over every evil, earth would become like a paradise. But when men in power, through motives of ambition, put forth their strength to trample under foot the rights of others, and

The battle of Agincourt may be traced to the bold but wayward humour of Henry V. The life of Napoleon I. affords several instances of the same kind; and in the present day the conduct of Russia has caused an immense sacrifice of human life.

* See Biographical Notice.

† See Biographical Notice.

‡ Stowe, Douglas, Nicolas, Lindsay.

afford evidence they are bent on making whole provinces like a slaughter-field, it becomes necessary to arrest their progress and deprive them, if possible, either of life, liberty, or the capability to do wrong. Hence arise both aggressive and defensive wars, with all their development of energetic feelings, of lofty achievement, of noble enterprise; and producing likewise an incalculable amount of suffering, privation, and death. There is also an aptitude in man's nature, when his attention is fully employed on any stirring case of emergency, to experience highly pleasurable sensations, which, like the electric current, flow from one bosom to another, till all are under its sway. In preparing therefore to meet a public enemy by land or wave, moments will occur when the flourish of a bugle or the display of a military standard, aided by the glittering of weapons and the march of armed men, will cause within us a rush of delightful enthusiasm, which the most agreeable realities of every-day life never supply. This was felt especially during the long struggle between England and Scotland, arising from the grasping policy of the first Edward, whence the public mind became imbued with an ardent love of heroism, and was highly susceptible of impressions from noble deeds of arms, whether performed by friend or foe. Accordingly the bards, not slow to perceive what told so well in their favour, made the conflict at Otterburn the theme of several exquisite effusions, which the wandering minstrels sang to the harp, and which, by competent judges, have been placed at the very head of that department of literature.* If we learn that the heart of Sir Philip Sidney was "moved more than with a trumpet"

* See Appendix, Note K.

as he listened to a poor blind musician sounding these lays, nearly two hundred years after the event took place, we have here only one instance of their power preserved from the number lost ; and are left to conceive how many ears were gratified, and bosoms beat high, while the same strains were echoed in " hall and bower " through previous and succeeding generations. Even in our own day, when Scott, the mightiest of our chivalric poets, worn down by his gigantic efforts to dispel the clouds that obscured his setting sun, was returning from Clydesdale to his beloved home, he chanted to his son-in-law that " first favourite among all the ballads—The Battle of Otterbourne* ; " and such was its influence over him, that the simple pathos of the closing stanzas brought tears into those eyes which had gazed with so much interest and delight on every relic and portion of his country's history. We freely admit there are battle-fields which fan more fervently the spirit of patriotism ; but in the stirring and romantic associations to which allusion has been made, none can equal that of Otterburn. And as man alone by his virtues, his actions, or his bravery, stamps a peculiar charm upon spots of earth, the pilgrim to this limited range of classic ground, if he linger about three hundred yards south-east from the present cross, and will look up the valley in the direction of Greenchesters, the sloping and undulating soil before him is the famed locality where Hotspur fought and Douglas fell.

* See Appendix, Note L.

AUTHORITIES

CONSULTED IN DRAWING UP THE MATTER ON THE
FOREGOING PAGES, AND ARRANGED ACCORDING
TO PRIORITY OF DATE.

COLLECTIONS IN THE COURSE OF FORMATION, OR AUTHORS
LIVING NEAR TO THE TIME OF THE BATTLE OF
OTTERBURN.

Fœdera: papers in	Fœdera.
Barbour, John: The Bruce	Barbour.
Rotuli Scoti: papers in	Rot. Scot.
Chaucer, Geoffrey: Works	Chaucer.
Froissart, Sir John: Chronicles	Froissart.
Hardyng, John: Chronicle	Hardyng.
Knyghton, Henry de: History.	Knyghton.
Fordun, John de: Scotichronicon (continued by Walter Bower)	Fordun.
Wyntown, Androw of: Cronykil	Wyntown.

The period when Bower and Wyntown flourished was succeeded
by a long pause in the progress of historical writing.

LATER AUTHORITIES.

Ballads on the Battle of Otterburn	Old Ballad.
Major, John: History of Scotland	Major.
Boece, Hector: History of Scotland	Boece.
Grafton, Richard: Chronicle or History of England	Grafton.
Buchanan, George: History of Scotland	Buchanan.
Hollinshead, Raphael: Historie of Scotland	Hollinshead.
Camden, William: Britannia	Camden.

Stowe, John : <i>Annales, and a Summarie of our Englysh Chronicles</i>	Stowe.
Godscroft, David Hume of : <i>History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus</i>	Godscroft.
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Wallis, John : <i>History of Northumberland</i> . . .	Wallis.
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Grose, Francis : <i>Military Antiquities</i>	Grose.
Pinkerton, John : <i>History of Scotland</i>	Pinkerton.
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Lingard, Rev. John : <i>History of England</i>	Lingard.
Meyrick, Sir Samuel R. : <i>Treatise on Ancient Armour</i>	Meyrick.
Fosbroke, Rev. Thos. D. : <i>Encyclopædia of Antiquities</i>	Fosbroke.
Mills, Charles : <i>History of Chivalry</i>	Mills.
Hodgson, Rev. John : <i>History of Northumberland</i> .	Hodgson.
Tytler, Patrick Fraser : <i>History of Scotland</i>	Tytler.
Nicolas, Sir Harris : <i>History of the Battle of Agincourt, and Scrope and Grosvenor Roll</i>	Nicolas.
Hallam, Henry : <i>History of the Middle Ages</i>	Hallam.
Lindsay, Lord : <i>Lives of the Lindsays</i>	Lindsay.

NOTE.—In Fordun there is a long Latin poem on the Battle of Otterburn, written in various measures, by Thomas de Barry, provost of Bothwile.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF THE PRINCIPAL

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH WARRIORS

WHO FOUGHT AT

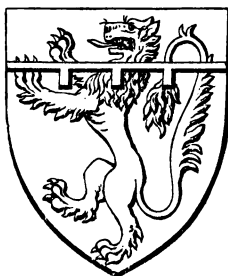
THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN,

A. D. 1388.

THE Memoirs of the following English Warriors have been compiled from Dugdale's "Baronage," Collins' "Peerage," Hodgson's "History of Northumberland," and other sources. The shields were chiefly arranged from "A Roll of Arms of the reign of Richard the Second," edited by Thomas Willement, London, 1834. Some assistance has been derived from the Seals in Surtees' splendid "History of Durham."

The Notices of the Scottish Warriors have been drawn up from Douglas's "Peerage," and other authorities. Some points of information were derived from Robertson's "Index to the Records of Charters granted by the Scottish Kings from 1309 to 1413." The arms were principally designed from Nisbet's "Heraldry," Laing's "Ancient Scottish Seals," and the Seals in the first volume of the "Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland," &c.

MEMOIRS OF ENGLISH WARRIORS.



Sir Henry Percy.

Faire branch of Honour, flower of Cheualrie.—SPENSER.

OF all the men of valour who fought at the battle of Otterburn, none, either in literary or historical interest, approaches to Hotspur. Sprung on the maternal side from the Nevilles, and being the eldest son of Lord Percy, afterwards first Earl of Northumberland, the martial blood of both these noble families would in his own person seem to have reached the highest point of ascendancy.

His father, the fourth Lord of Alnwick, married, at her father's castle of Brancepeth, in July 1358, Margaret, aged only seventeen, daughter of Ralph Lord Neville of Raby, whence our hero was descended, being born about the year 1366.* Shortly after the coronation of Richard II. he received the honour of knighthood, and in the following year, November 1378, when upwards of twelve years of age, he first spread his banner under command of his father, at the siege of Berwick. On this occasion, and at the subsequent conflict near

* From an article which appeared in the "Quarterly Review" for April 1836, on a very scarce work, "The Scrope and Grosvenor Roll," edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, 1832, we learn that Sir Henry Percy, previous to the battle of Otterburn, was summoned to give evidence on that controversy. Part of his deposition was taken at Plymouth, in June 1386, when "he was of the age of twenty, first armed at the taking of Berwick." Collins, quoting "Collectanea, Thos. Butler, Arm.," says he was born May 20th, 1364. The first authority is, we think, preferable. From the above roll we also learn that Chaucer the poet bore arms from his thirteenth year.

Melrose, between William Earl of Douglas and a detachment of English headed by Sir Thomas Musgrave, when the latter was defeated, he is said to have acquitted himself so "valiantly that he deserved singular commendation."

In the early part of 1385 he was appointed a Commissioner for guarding the Marches towards Scotland, and by the end of that year was constituted Governor of Berwick and Warden of the Marches. It was during the performance of his duties in the latter office that he acquired the appellation of Hotspur. He was then sent to Calais, to defend it against the King of France, but, becoming weary of inactivity, he returned to England. About his twenty-first year he was elected Knight of the Garter. Some however at court, envying him because of the fame he won in harassing the Scots, induced the King to send him to sea, for the French threatened an invasion, which he readily undertook, and returned with additional honour. In his twenty-third year was struck the battle of Otterburn, where fighting bravely he was taken prisoner; yet almost immediately after having paid his ransom, with which the castle of Penoon in Ayrshire was erected, he was again appointed Warden of the East Marches. Being sent to Calais soon afterwards, he made several excursions towards Boulogne, and thence went to Brest, where he raised the siege of that place, demolishing one bastile of wood, and better fortifying another of stone. Returning again to his own country in 1389, he was made General Warden of the West and East Marches, and Governor of Carlisle, with power of granting safe conduct to persons going to or returning from Scotland. He was also retained to serve the King, both in times of peace and war, during his whole life, for which he had a grant out of the Exchequer of £100 per annum.

In 1392, being at Calais, he was appointed Governor of Bordeaux; but being again required at home, he was recalled, and constituted Warden of the East Marches, also Governor of Berwick. Amid these duties other matters occasionally devolved upon him, for he was appointed judge at a tilting which was to take place at Carlisle. In 1394, being commissioned, with his father and others, to treat with the King of Scotland upon peace, a truce for four years was concluded. During the following year he was employed in France, and, returning home, had a renewal of his appointment, both at Berwick and the East Marches. In 1396 he went into France with the King, when, after a splendid interview near to Calais and Guisnes between Charles VI. and the King of England, the latter espoused the

Princess Isabel. Shortly after his return, a report having reached the King that the Earl his father, and himself, had spoken words in derogation of his Majesty, the former was summoned to London, but neglecting to go, he was banished the realm. Affairs being thus in a doubtful state, about the beginning of 1397 it occurred that Hotspur appeared at a March-meeting, held at Hawden-Stank, in complete armour,* when Sir David Lindsay, according to Wyntown, thus addressed him :—

“ ‘ Schere Henry, quhat makis you to be
 Sá werelike as yow now we se ? ’
 Til hym þan ansuerit þe Percy,
 ‘ I wil, þat yow wyt, Schere Dávy,
 Of Scottis men I dreid ná fors ;
 Bot þis I do for Ynglis Hors.’
 Dan said þe Lyndesay Schere Dávy,
 ‘ Dou kennys rycht weile yeit, Schere Henry,
 Dat ofte has Scottis men wyth þare Fors
 De sarare grevyt, þan Inglis Hors.’ ”

In the beginning, however, of the following year he was admitted to favour, and appointed General Warden of the East March, and conservator of the truce with Scotland. By this commission he had full power to punish all offenders against the peace, or those who corresponded with the enemy ; to call out of Northumberland, and the liberties thereof, all the able men between sixteen and sixty, and also to see they were properly arrayed for service. But after this time, from the ungrateful treatment he and his father had received of the King, they, in company with the Earl of Westmoreland, met Henry of Lancaster on his landing in Yorkshire, when Hotspur took command of all the forces that could be raised in his favour, being accounted the most gallant and approved knight in England. After the accession of Bolingbroke to the throne, the Percys, to whose aid he was so much indebted, received additional honours at his hand. Hotspur was made Warden of the West Marches, Sheriff of Northumberland, Governor of the town of Berwick and castle of Roxburgh, Justice of Chester, North Wales, and Flintshire ; besides, he had a grant of the castle and lordship of Bamburgh, with the fee-farm of that town for life. In the same year he was also made Constable of

* Scott is in error when he observes Hotspur was at this time meditating the insurrection immortalized by Shakespeare. That took place five years afterwards.

the castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, and Carnarvon, and Sheriff of Flintshire for life. Moreover he obtained for life a grant of the whole county and dominion of Anglesey; also of the castle of Beaumaris, with the manors, lands, fee-farms, and rents belonging thereto.

In the spring of 1402 he laid in, for the consumption of the town and castle of Berwick, 2900 quarters of beans, peas, and oats, and 800 quarters of corn and *mixtillion*, probably meslin, which he had license to purchase in the counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, and Norfolk, and ship for Berwick. This year he was with his father at Homeldon, when they intercepted Archibald Earl of Douglas, who at the head of a number of nobles, together with ten thousand men, was returning from England laden with spoil. Partly under his own direction, but more especially under that of George Earl of Dunbar,* the English archers alone gained the victory.† Upon learning the particulars of this conflict, the King, with extreme selfishness, demanded the prisoners taken, which order was refused, since, according to precedent, they had ever in the north of England been the property of the captors. But the conduct of Henry IV. was in other respects offensive to the Percys. The brother-in-law of Hotspur, Sir Edmund Mortimer, who was grandson to Lionel Duke of Clarence, had been taken prisoner by Owen Glendower, a patriotic Welsh leader, and, though he had been fighting for the King, the latter refused either to advance money for his ransom, or allow his friends to procure him his liberty.

Aroused therefore by such illiberal policy, and swayed by solicitation from his uncle the Earl of Worcester, Sir Henry Percy in 1403 arrayed himself and his followers in arms against the King. His influence was great, and by the assistance of Archibald Earl of Douglas, whom he had taken prisoner at Homeldon, with other Scottish warriors, he raised a large portion of his army on the Borders. Wearing on their armour a Hart, the cognizance of Richard the Second, all his followers marched to the south, where their numbers increased to fourteen thousand choice men. The King, having due

* See biographical notice.

† On this occasion Hotspur has been charged by our historians with an act of cruelty, by contriving, under the appearance of justice, to put Sir William Stewart of Forest, in Teviotdale, to death. One of the quarters of his body being exposed on the gate at York, a soothsayer is reported to have said that the limbs of the individual who was guilty of this murder would ere long occupy the same place—a prediction, so far as Hotspur was concerned, which speedily came to pass.

notice of Hotspur's movements, levied a still larger army, and advancing to Shrewsbury, sent the Abbot thereof to offer him pardon, if his forces would lay down their arms. But our hero, having cause of complaint, despatched his uncle Worcester to procure redress, who on his return, by misrepresenting the King's words, so enraged his nephew that he instantly ordered the trumpets to sound, and, raising the cry, "Esperancé! Percy!" the battle commenced. He received most effective assistance from Douglas, who throughout the conflict conducted himself with the most heroic bravery. At that period, as has already been stated, military discipline or skilful evolutions were seldom displayed in battle—each man in every degree having unbounded scope for his prowess; so that after the archers on either side had for a time poured forth their showers of winged steel, Percy and Douglas, with their immediate supporters, charged into the centre of the royal army, sweeping the field, and with irresistible fury making directly towards the King. A great many royal adherents having put on armour similar to that worn by Henry IV., either by way of shielding him from the enemy, or infusing courage among his troops, brought by this pretence certain destruction upon themselves. Even the life of the King was saved by the timely interposition of George Earl of Dunbar, who had previously gone over to his side, and being near him, and knowing the impetuosity of Sir Henry Percy, and the indomitable courage of Douglas, advised him to retreat from the point of danger, which he did, while the royal standard-bearer and all around him were slain, the young prince being wounded in the face by an arrow. The northern heroes, who had fought their way through the enemy, on missing the King, charged back again most desperately, when Hotspur having raised the visor of his helmet for air, the day being warm, for it was the 21st of July, an arrow from an unknown bow pierced his brain and he fell. His army, of which he was the very life and spirit, on learning his fate, speedily became confused—some escaped by flight, but many brave men were slain, and Douglas, severely wounded, was among the captives.

Henry IV. exhibited the despicable meanness of his nature by treating unworthily the remains of Hotspur. Stowe, in his "Annales," p. 329, quoting from Scroope's "Manifesto," gives the following sentence:—"The body of Henry Percy was delivered to the Lord of Furnivale to be buried; but the King caused the same body to be taken up, and to be reposed betweene two Milstons in the Towne of

Shrewsbury, there to be kept with armed men, and afterward to be beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried into divers cities of the Kingdome." Again, in the "Chronicle of London," p. 88, we are told, "forasmoeche as som peple seyde that Sir Herry Percy was alyve, he was taken up ayen out of his grave, and bounden upright betwen to mille stones that alle men myghte se that he was ded." Probably his limbs were afterwards gathered together by his friends, and interred at York, for in a metrical pedigree of the Percys, written after the time of Henry VII., and published in Richardson's "Reprints," Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1844, this couplet relating to him occurs :—

"in Yorke minster this most honourable knight
by the first Earle his father lyeth openly in sight,"

meaning his effigies carved in stone, and placed beside those of his father, which we learn, from the same source, were at the right hand of the high altar.

From numerous historical associations, we feel great interest in everything connected with Sir Henry Percy. With what earnestness one would look upon his sword or any portion of his armour, had such relics been preserved! It would even be a rare treat to see the "salseller, in the form of a Dogg," which descended to his wife from her father, or the "little cup, made like the body of a Hart, with the head of an Eagle," which the same Earl bequeathed to his illustrious son-in-law. On visiting the castles either of Alnwick or Warkworth, the question immediately arises—how would this structure seem when Hotspur was here? His residence, however, was chiefly at Berwick, when he had charge of the East Marches :—

"He had byn a March-man all his dayes,
And kepte Barwyke upon Twede."

Still, for the great charm with which Hotspur comes home to our thoughts, we are indebted to the transcendent genius of Shakspeare. The mighty dramatist drew first the outline of his subject from the "Chronicles," filling it up from his own unlimited resources, and relieving it with such effect that it remains one of the most striking of his various portraits. True it is that Lady Percy was not baptized Kate, yet there is such meaning in names, that, for the part she

performs both in hearing and speaking, not a better could be substituted. Again, her husband could not with historical propriety speak of "basilisks, of cannon, culverin," before these were of general use; yet the poet, as a monarch, availed himself of the power he possessed to turn every point to his purpose in the formation of a character to be appreciated according to the extent of art and knowledge in his own day. The hero's manner, whether real or ideal, of

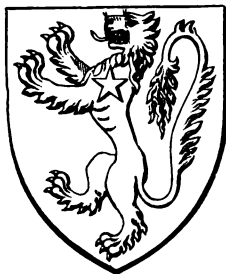
"Speaking thick, which Nature made his blemish,"

so illustrative of a warm temper, is another of the artist's inimitable touches. So also the development of Hotspur's qualities—his noble daring—the height of his ambition—his high-mindedness—the quickness of his perception—his sarcastic humour—the contempt he shows for the traditionary impressions of Glendower, and his dislike of ballad-mongers and poetry, though the former love him so much, and the spirit of the latter operated so largely through his whole course of action—all contribute to make him stand out most lifelike from the canvas.

Sir Henry Percy married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March, by the Lady Philippa Plantagenet, daughter and heir of Lionel Plantagenet Duke of Clarence, and third son of Edward III. By her he left an only son, Henry, born February 3, 1393, afterwards second earl of Northumberland, who married the Lady Eleanor Neville, daughter of Ralph, first earl of Westmoreland, by Joan de Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt and aunt of Henry V. Hotspur left also by Elizabeth his wife an only daughter, Elizabeth, first married to John, seventh Lord Clifford, K.G., and after his death to Ralph Neville, second earl of Westmoreland.

ARMS.—Or, a lion rampant azure, a label of three points, gules.

The lion on the cut is designed from the Percy seals in Surtees, from the Percy arms over the eastern gateway of Lumley Castle, and likewise from what is said to be an impression of Hotspur's seal, presented by Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., to Mr. M. A. Denham, of Pierse Bridge.



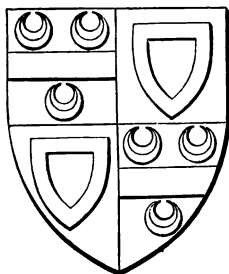
Sir Ralph Percy.

HE was brother to Hotspur, and the third son of the first earl of Northumberland; but we have no lengthened memorial either of honours bestowed upon him, or of achievements he performed. That he was a valorous knight is already proven by his heroic conduct at Otterburn, when we consider he was at that time a very young man.* On being taken prisoner by Sir Henry de Preston, it appears that he continued in Scotland about two years, or at least till after the accession of Robert III., who granted to Preston† a charter of towns and lands for redemption of the Northumbrian Knight. On obtaining his liberty in 1390, he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with those of France and Scotland as to the truce formerly made between England and these realms. Again, in 1394, he had a grant of the custody of Berwick to himself and his heirs male. He took to wife Philippa, the youngest of the two daughters and co-heirs of David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athol, both of whom were wards to his father; but being abroad in 1400, he was slain by the Saracens, and descended to the grave without issue. The valour he displayed on the field, already mentioned, forms the chief monument of his fame.

ARMS.—Or, a lion rampant azure, charged on the shoulder with a mullet of the field.

* His mother had five children, including Hotspur, from 1366 to 1372, when she died, aged upwards of thirty-one years, hence Sir Ralph, the third son, would only be aged about nineteen when he encountered the Scottish forces at Otterburn.

† See biographical notice.



Sir Robert Ogle.

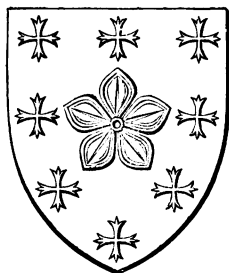
THIS knight was the son of Robert de Ogle, by his wife Eleanor, daughter and sole heir of Sir Robert Bertram of Bothal Castle, Knight, who died 1363. On 10th July, 1386, he was appointed a conservator of the truce between England and Scotland. Being one of the chief men who accompanied Hotspur to Otterburn, he was, according to Hollinshead, taken prisoner, but of his ransom we have no account. In the second year of Henry IV., being again taken prisoner by the Scots, he obtained from the King a grant of one hundred marks out of the customs of wools at Newcastle towards the payment of his ransom. In 1404 he served in the garrison of Berwick under John, the King's son, who was Governor thereof; and in the following year, on the decease of David Holgrave, his mother's last husband, doing homage, he had livery of the castle and manor of Bothal, which were of her inheritance. Being thereby possessed of that manor and castle, together with "Heppale and Lourbottil," he enfeoffed therein William Themilby, John Redshawe, and William Shireburne, chaplains to himself for life; remainder to his second son John, surnamed from his grandmother, Bertram, and to the heirs male of his body for ever; and for lack of such issue, to Sir Robert de Ogle, Knight, his eldest son, and the heirs male of his body, on condition that such heirs bore the arms of Ogle quartering Bertram; and again, for want of issue, to him the said Sir Robert Ogle the elder, and his own right heirs. On the decease of his mother in 1407, he had livery of her lands, the manor of Lourbottil, and of twelve

husband lands and twelve cottages there, with respite of homage. His possessions were extensive, for in the same year, on the 30th June, he granted to his son John Bertram, and his heirs, an annual rent of £200 out of Ogle, Shilvington, Saltwick, Twysell, Seaton near Woodhorn, Longwitton, North Middleton, Heppale, Great Tosson, Flotwayton, and Loubottill. Dying 31st October, 1410, he left by Joan his wife, third daughter and co-heir of Sir Alan de Heton of Chillingham, Knight, two sons—Robert, who succeeded him in possession of the manor and castle of Ogle; and John Bertram, to whom descended the castle and manor of Bothal, besides two daughters, Joan and Margery. He was buried in the conventual church of Hexham, under a black marble plated with brass, bearing his figure with the arms of Ogle quartering Bertram, and this inscription:—

*Hic jacet Robertus Ogle, fili. Elene Bertm filie
Roberti bertm militis qui obiit in vigilia omnium
sanctorum A dni M CCCC X cuius anime propicietur deus amicus.*

We learn from Cal. Inq. p. m. iii, 329, that at his death he was possessed of a burghage near the White Cross in Newcastle, of the manor and castle of Ogle, lands in Saltwick, the ville of Twysell, the manor of Shilvington, lands in Aldworth, Mitford, Longwitton, Woodhorn, a place called Culport, lands in Folbery and North Middleton, half the barony of Heppale, a tenement called Shepbank in Sharperton, a tenement in Dalton, besides lands in Newham, Blackheddon, Whalton, Hertwayton, and Stantonshales, &c. His will appears at page 47, in the vol. of "Wills and Inventories" issued by the Surtees Society in 1835.

ARMS.—Quarterly, first and fourth, argent a fesse between three crescents gules, for Ogle; second and third, or, an orle azure, for Bertram. The cut is from the scutcheon of brass on the tombstone of the Knight in Hexham Abbey Church. The Ogle quartering in the metal is much decayed.



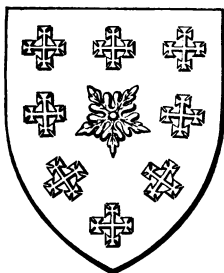
The above cut represents not the arms of Sir Thomas Umphreville, but the genuine Umphreville shield, being taken from that on the effigy of an early Umphreville in Hexham Abbey Church, and agreeing with the family arms quoted by Surtees, namely, Gules, a cinquefoil within an orle of crosses patonce Or. The beauty of the cinquefoil is remarkable. That figure, changed in outline, was retained by the later members of the family, but cross crosslets appear to have been substituted for crosses patonce.

Sir Thomas Umphreville.

THIS knight was of the family of that powerful race of chieftains who possessed the lordship of Redesdale upwards of three centuries; and how sombre the history of that district appears under their sway! The otter burrowed by the burn which derived its name from that amphibious animal—the antlered deer bounded over bent and heath towards the heights of Rooking and Cottonshope—and the wolf and wild cat lurked in the brakes and woods which covered almost every hollow from Woodburn to Redeswire. These, at length, were succeeded by men little more humanized than the fiercer beasts they expelled, but who lived under a leader whom they were bound to obey and follow in peace or war. Even the Baron himself, save for the ameliorating influence of chivalry, partook much of the character of those around him. Issuing from his gloomy stronghold, when his banner was displayed, he was accompanied by numbers equipped for battle—active-looking men, but wild in appearance with bristling spears, and mounted on shaggy, untrimmed horses. Such a troop passing Birdhope Crag, which, travellers say, resembles Fidenæ, near Rome, had formed a fitting subject for the canvas of some old Italian master.

Sir Thomas Umphreville, grandson of Robert de Umphreville, second Earl of Angus, was aged twenty-three in 1386. During that year, he and several others had a mandate on their allegiance, on pain of the King's heavy displeasure and other punishments, to see that they and all under them strictly observed the truce on the Borders, and at all times were ready to assist the Wardens of the Marches. In the following year, after the death of his father, he became heir to his property, in which were included the castle of Harbottle and manor of Otterburn, of which, however, Maud, Countess of Angus and Northumberland, being still alive, held one-third in dower. He sat in Parliament for Northumberland in 1387, and again in 1389. In the intermediate year, being that of the battle of Otterburn, whence he escaped without being captured, he was in a commission to array the militia of the county, and have them in readiness to march. Next year, 1389, he, with others, was appointed to see that the soldiers stationed at Berwick did not burn or destroy any buildings there, before the arrival of the Earl of Nottingham as Warden. He was likewise appointed to inquire into, and give and receive compensation for any infraction of the truce between the two nations, of which he was a conservator; and, besides, was made a commissioner for receiving 4000 marks due from Scotland for the ransom of "David de Bruys." In March 1389-90, he, among others, was deputed on the part of England to treat with deputies from Scotland to fix on the Borders a place where ambassadors from both kingdoms might assemble and deliberate about a treaty. But in February 1390-1 he departed this life, possessed of the Castle of Harbottle, two parts of the manor of Otterburn, two parts of the park of Helme, two parts of six husband lands and four cottages in Alwenton; the service of two parts of the freeholders of Alwenton, Clennel, Biddleston, Burrowden, Sharperton, Farnham, Netherton, Ingram, and Reveley; and the reversion of the third part of the premises held by Henry de Percy and Maud his wife by endowment of her first husband, Gilbert Earl of Angus. He had also lands in Yorkshire. By his wife Agnes he had one son, Gilbert, and five daughters.

ARMS.—According to Willement, gules, crusilée a cinquefoil or, pierced.



The arms of Sir Robert Umphreville are not recorded in the roll edited by Willement, but the above shield is probably his. It is taken from the sculptured stone in front of Elsdon Tower, now the rectory, of which an engraving is given in Hodgson's "Northumberland." The historian is however mistaken in ascribing the shield to the family of Taylboys. The cinquefoil within the orle of eight cross crosslets belong to the Umphrevilles, and if ever assumed by the Taylboys, it must have been by the marriage of Henry Taylboys with Alianora de Burrowden, daughter of Elizabeth de Umphreville, through whom the lordship of Redesdale descended to the Taylboys family.

Sir Robert Umphreville.

SIR ROBERT was brother to the last-named Sir Thomas Umphreville, and, like him, was also so fortunate as to escape from the battle of Otterburn without being made a prisoner. Subsequently he attained a very high position among the public men of his day. About the time of the accession of Henry IV., during a severe pestilence on the English border, the Scots, having destroyed Warke Castle and harassed Northumberland by successive inroads, were met in one of these fearful forays at Fulhope-law by Sir Robert, who, having charge of the castles of Harbottle and Roxburgh, routed them and took a great many prisoners. The King therefore, esteeming him highly, made him a Knight of the Garter. In the following year the Scots sustained from him another defeat at Redeswire, where, besides several individuals of rank being taken, two hundred men were slain, and three hundred sought their safety by flight. He was sheriff of Northumberland in the same year, and again in 1404, when he was also appointed chamberlain and receiver of the customs at Berwick for life. After the battle of Shrewsbury, John Hardyng the chro-

nicler, who had been a retainer in the family of Hotspur, enlisted under the banner of Umphreville, and on Warkworth Castle falling into possession of the latter, he made Hardyng constable thereof, keeping him in his service for many years. Besides being employed frequently in peaceful negotiations, Sir Robert was appointed Vice-Admiral of England; and in 1410, commanding ten ships of war in the Forth, he took fourteen Scotch ships, burnt other vessels, and landing, took and burnt the town of Peebles on a fair-day; so that, by harassing sea and land with sword and fire for fourteen days, he returned to England laden with abundant spoil. Soon afterward he entered Teviotdale, when he plundered and burnt Jedburgh, with the neighbouring country; and these forays he made so often and successfully, that he got the name of *Robin Mend Market*, for the corn and cattle he procured by such inroads lowered the prices of provisions in England. He appears to have been married in 1413, his wife's name being Isabella.

Still employed in public affairs, and retaining command of the castle of Roxburgh, he fought, on the level ground north of Yevering-bell, with the Scots, 22nd July, 1415; and, though he had only seven score spears and three hundred bows, he obtained the victory, slaying sixty, taking three hundred and sixty prisoners, and putting to flight one thousand men.* After this he went to France, and, accompanied by Hardyng, he was with King Henry V. at the siege of Harfleur, and remained with him till he "smote the battail of Agyncourt." Two years afterwards he was on the Borders, where, for a considerable period, he burned and wasted all the towns of Scotland on the east and middle marches, assisted only by such men as he raised in the counties of Durham and Northumberland. He was one of the Commissioners who met James I. of Scotland and his bride at Durham, and concluded the seven years' truce, which served as the ground-work for future agreements of that nature. At last, on the 27th January 1436, he departed this life, leaving no issue; and on the last day of the same year, his wife Isabella died also; they were buried close to each other, at the altar of St. Mary Magdalen in Newminster Abbey. On the death of his nephew, Sir Gilbert Umphreville, in 1421, he succeeded to the estates of Redesdale, Kyme, and Holmside; and at his own decease he was found possessed of these, with the castle of Harbottle and lands in Coquetdale,

* The spot is marked by a huge block of stone, fourteen feet high.

besides a manor in Yorkshire. Being the last of the gallant race of the Umphrevilles who ruled in Redesdale, he sank to the grave full of honour and fame; for, although like a lion in conflict, he was mild and gentle to his followers, dividing the spoils of war liberally among them. So much reliance was placed on his wisdom and judgment, that even in Scotland parties came from a great distance to submit matters of dispute to his decision.



Sir Thomas Grey.

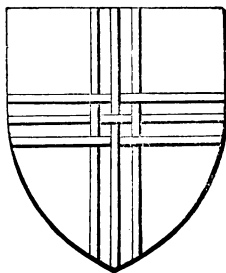
THE father of this knight was Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, a brave soldier, who distinguished himself as Constable of Norham Castle, and is believed to have compiled the work "SCALA CHRONICA," many of his exploits being recorded there. At his death, which took place before the year 1369, the son was only ten years of age. The latter, on arriving at manhood, became Lord of Warke Castle, and, like Sir Matthew Redman, Governor of Berwick, appears in 1388 to have joined with the Percys in repelling the aggression of the Scots, retiring from the battle-field at Otterburn without being taken prisoner. On the 20th August of that year, the day on which the battle terminated,

his name appears among those authorized to array the men of war in Northumberland. Two years afterwards he was appointed one of the Justices of Assize in Norham and Islandshire. In 1395 he was made Constable of Norham Castle, and in the following year was constituted Justice, Seneschal, Sheriff, and Escheator for Northamshire and Islandshire. In the same year, 1396, and also in 1399, he was one of the representatives of Northumberland. The following year he departed this life, possessed of the castle of Warke-upon-Tweed; messuages or cottages in Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne; lands held by various tenures at Doddington, Ewart, Howick, Alnwick, Heddon, Coldmerton, Prestfen, and Kilham, all in Northumberland. He married Catherine, daughter of John Lord Mowbray of Axholme, father of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, by whom he had four sons, of whom the eldest, John, by marriage became Lord Powis, and Thomas, who succeeded his father, but who was subsequently beheaded at Southampton. The third son, William, was Bishop of London in 1426, and translated to the see of Lincoln in 1431.*

ARMS.—Gules, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed, argent.

The lion on the cut is from the family seals in Surtees.

* Hodgson says, Sir Thomas Grey is one of Fuller's worthies. I have not found it so; but the name of his son is in Fuller's work as Sheriff of Northumberland in 1407. Overlooking the premature mistakes of Wallis and Hutchinson, I drew the above brief sketch chiefly from the "History of North Durham," by the Rev. James Raine, M.A. In the said volume is an extensive and carefully compiled pedigree of the Grey family.



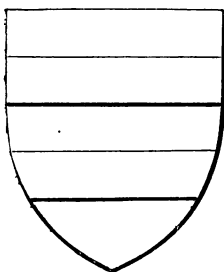
Walter Skirlawe, Lord Bishop of Durham.

THIS prelate, educated at Durham House, in Oxford, where he proceeded Doctor in Divinity, was Prebendary of Fenton, and Archdeacon of the East Riding in York Cathedral. In 1385 he was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield, and removed to Bath and Wells 18th August, 1386. By exertion of the barons, who succeeded in removing from Durham John Fordham, on account of the prominent part he took in political affairs, Walter Skirlawe, by virtue of a bull from the Pope, was again, 3rd April, 1388, translated to that see. At Swine, in Holderness, his native place, he erected a beautiful chapel, in which he founded a chantry, and gave the manor of Roding, in Essex, towards the foundation of three scholarships in University College, Oxford. A great part of the tower of York Minster, called the Lanthorn, was reared at his expense; and in the south transept thereof he founded a chantry, endowing a chaplain to celebrate mass every day. He built a new bridge over the Wear at Shincliffe, and another over the Tees at Yarm. He also threw a bridge over the Wear at Auckland, and built the great stone gateway which led to the Manor-house. The great tower of the church of Howden, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, was of his erection, as a place of safety to the inhabitants in case of inundation; the Chapter-house he also built, restoring the Manor-house, and adding the great hall and gateway. He likewise erected a portion of the beautiful cloisters at Durham Cathedral, besides a part of the dormitory. Affectionately regarded by his friends and domestics, this prelate was also greatly

beloved by his sovereign. He departed this life on the 24th March, 1405-6, at the Manor-house of Howden, whence his body was conveyed in a chariot drawn by five horses to the Cathedral at Durham, and interred there before the altar of St. Blaze, between two pillars in the north alley of the quire.

From his will and its codicils, published by the Surtees Society in the vol. of "Wills," &c., 1835, and from the "Historical Account of the Palace of Auckland," by the Rev. J. Raine, M.A., we learn many additional particulars of the life of this amiable man. Plate of the most costly description, vestments on which no expense had been spared, beds covered with embroidery, and books of the utmost value, were among his personal property, while the friends who were near him in his declining years, whether he journeyed from one manor-house to another, or reposed in his own quiet chamber, are enumerated with the most graphic fidelity. He lived at a time when the see of Durham, by reason of the wealth in the land, had attained its loftiest point in splendour and magnificence. On recalling the part he took against the Scots after the battle of Otterburn, it is evident his talents were not by any means suitable for active warfare. He desired to live and die in peace, and be remembered by posterity through his various acts of charitable munificence.

ARMS.—Argent, six willow wands interlaced, or *in true love*, sable.
The shield is in Surtees.



William, Baron of Hilton.

WILLIAM HILTON, Baron of Hilton Castle, near Sunderland, in the county of Durham, was the eldest son of Robert de Hilton by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Felton, Chevalier. Being born about 1356, he was heir to his mother, and one of the co-heirs of Sir William Felton, in his eleventh year; and in 1377, heir to his father. Before 1380 he married Joan, heiress of the house of Biddick, by whom he succeeded to much landed property, including North Biddick, which for several generations was the occasional residence of the Hiltons. About this time he was appointed Admiral of the Irish Sea, his authority extending from the Land's End to the Hebrides, having Ireland under his inspection. His seal* when in this office shows a ship with three cinquefoils on each gallery, fore and aft; the shield, argent, two bars azure, is beautifully exhibited on the sail, which appears filled with the "wanton wind." His name is found in the records of 1380, in connexion with some Scottish vessels which had been taken off the eastern coast of England.

About his thirty-second year, 1388, he was at the battle of Otterburn, where he was taken prisoner; and it is probable he had some difficulty in raising the sum requisite for his ransom, for in the following year we find him executing a bond to the Prior of Durham

* The matrix belonged to Dr. Rawlinson, and was bequeathed by him to the Bodleian Library. Some impressions from it were presented by Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., to William Hyton Dyer Longstaffe, Esq., F.S.A., who kindly supplied nearly the whole substance of this notice.

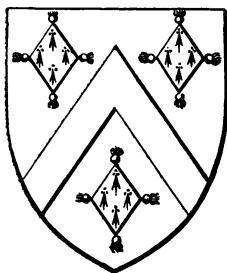
for six pounds of silver. The seal to this document is shown by Surtees, who considers it splendid. In 1391 there was an appeal in the Court of Chivalry between Henry (Spencer) Bishop of Norwich, and William Baron of Hilton, in which Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland was appointed commissioner to decide the difference. Seven years afterwards, Baron Hilton, by indented charter, confirmed a number of messuages and a large breadth of land in Barmeston to his son Robert Hilton, and Matilda his wife, daughter of Matilda, Lady Clifford. He likewise gave to the said Robert and Matilda two parts of the manor of Great Usworth, and of the manor of Biddick, save an enclosed wood called Biddick Wood, to hold by the services of right accustomed. His advice seems to have been courted. He was present at the Parliament which consented to the accession of Henry IV., though not summoned to it; and in 1401, he was ordered to attend at the Great Council. In 1405 he attended a Privy Council relative to the expedition of the Duke of Somerset.

During the latter part of his life, the erection of the castle of Hilton would require much of his attention, for the central structure of that baronial pile, judging from the shield thereon of the family of his second wife, was built from about 1412 to the period of his decease, which took place 25th May, 1435. His possessions were extensive, as shown in the Inq. p.m. two months afterwards.

William Baron of Hilton, as has been observed, married, first, Joan, heiress of Biddick, by whom he left two sons, Robert and Alexander, and two daughters, Margaret and Matilda. Robert, the eldest son, succeeded to the popular appellation of "Baron of Hilton"; and the youngest, Alexander, was an executor to his father's will. Margaret became wife to Sir Ralph Bulmer, of Wilton Castle, in Cleveland; and to Matilda, Maud Lady Bowes of Dalden, by will dated 1420, left "j romance boke is called ye gospelles."* Secondly, the baron married Dionysia, daughter of Sir Robert Hilton, of Swine, by Maude, called of Campaigne.

ARMS.—Argent, two bars azure. His coat occurs on the gateways of the castles of Lumley and Hilton.

* See Surtees Society vol. of "Wills," &c., 1835, p. 65.



Sir Matthew Redman.

THIS warrior was of the family of Redman, Over Levins, Haversham, Westmoreland, which manor was granted to Henry, son of Norman de Redman, shortly after the Conquest. He was in France with John of Gaunt in 1373, where in an encounter with the enemy he was taken prisoner. In 1379-80 he was with Robert de Clifford, Warden of the West Marches; but shortly afterward was appointed Governor of Roxburgh Castle. Being by favour of the Earl of Northumberland made Lieutenant of Berwick in 1381, he refused to admit within the gates of that fortress the Duke of Lancaster, on the return of the latter from Scotland, which occasioned much hostile feeling between John of Gaunt and Percy. Afterwards, in 1383, he was a commander in France, under the Bishop of Norwich, against the supporters of Pope Clement, in which he defended Bourbourg against the French King, but ultimately capitulated. From 1384 down to the period of the battle of Otterburn, he was appointed with others to inquire into the ruinous state of the defences of the castles of Berwick, of Roxburgh, and of Newcastle-on-Tyne; to overlook the garrison of Berwick; to provide stores for Roxburgh Castle; and to negotiate a truce with Scotland. Being Captain of Berwick when the Scots entered Northumberland, his connexion with the Percys drew him to their assistance; and it was conformable to the custom of those times that he entered the battle-field arrayed in his best armour. His adventure with Sir James Lindsay, on retreating from the field, has already been mentioned. On the day

following the battle of Otterburn, his name appears first on the list of those who were commissioned to array the militia of Northumberland, and have them ready for service. But after that time he was seldom employed in public duty, being probably advanced in years. His wife was Joan, daughter of Henry Fitzhugh, Lord of Ravenswath, in Yorkshire, who married, first, William de Greystock, Lord of Greystock, and who had issue to him four children, but was left a widow in 1359. She married, secondly, Anthony de Lucy, Lord of Cockermouth, by whom she had issue one daughter,* who died very young, while the said Anthony her husband departed this life in 1368. Sir Matthew was her third husband, and about 1388 she would be upwards of fifty years of age.† She lived till 1403. From the time when her daughter Joan died, in 1369, down to the period of her own death, she was possessed of much property. She had lands at Morpeth, Horsley, Benton, Killingworth, Benridge, Benwell, Heddon, and Middleton. She had also assigned to her for dowry, as the widow of her second husband, the castle and manor of Langele in Northumberland, the third part of the manor of Egremund, the free farm of Allerdale, and the manors of Aspatrik, Crosseley, and Bretby, in Cumberland. By her Sir Matthew appears to have had a daughter, Felicia, who was married to Sir John Lumley, Knight, of Lumley Castle.

ARMS.—Gules, a chevron argent, between three lozenge cushions, ermine, tasselled or. In the Roll edited by Willement he is called Monsr. Mays Redmane.

* Her name was Joan (see Dugdale, 563), and not Maud, as Hodgson, by mistake, says in the Greystock pedigree. Maud was sister to Anthony de Lucy, and aunt to his daughter Joan.

† Her brother, John Fitzhugh, being probably under the banner of her husband, was killed at Otterburn.

Sir John de Lilburn.

THE residence of this knight was at West Lilburn, in Northumberland. About 1370 the English Borderers, in resentment of an outrage, entered Scotland, and wasted the lands of Sir John Gordon. The latter made a repayment in kind, but, on returning with great booty, he was attacked at Carham, by a superior force under Sir John Lilburn, when, after a most severe conflict, Gordon prevailed, and Lilburn, his brother, and many of his followers, were taken prisoners. In 1377 he received the honour of knighthood, and in 1384 his name appears as one of the representatives of Northumberland. After being taken prisoner at Otterburn, according to Holinshead, which occurred about the fortieth year of his age, he does not appear again in any public capacity. He died in 1399, possessed of lands in Belford, Shawdon, Glanton, and Lilburn.

ARMS.—Sable, three water-buckets argent, two and one.

Sir Aymer de Athol.

HODGSON, in his pedigree of the Lords of Mitford, says that Aymer, or Adomar de Athol, Lord of Jesmond and Ponteland, was brother of David, twelfth earl of Athol. Queen Philippa appointed him one of her Justices of Assize in the franchise of Tindale. He was Sheriff of Northumberland in 1381, and for that year one of the representatives of the same county, in which office he had an allowance of four shillings a day during his attendance on Parliament, out of a rate levied on the several townships of the county, the particulars of which are printed in the Appengix to Wallis's "North-

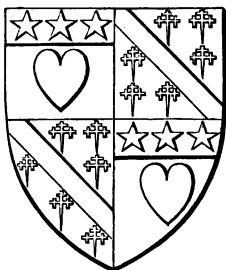
umberland." Being taken prisoner by Douglas, at Ponteland, in 1388, he would be retained in safe keeping during the battle of Otterburn. He died in 1402, being possessed for life of the manor of Ponteland, holden as of the manor of Mitford; and also of several rents and other property in Yorkshire. John Stainsby, of Clement's Inn,* who visited Newcastle in 1666, has stated that Sir Aymer gave a piece of ground to the town, called the Town Moor, on which the fair is now kept. He is supposed to have been the founder of the chantry of the Holy Trinity in St. Andrew's Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, in which he and his wife Maria were buried under a very large stone, curiously inlaid with brass, the remains of which are still seen. By his wife he left one son and two daughters.

In the time of Brand, 1789, the Athol arms and those of the family of Sir Aymer's wife were to be seen on the tombstone, cut upon brass. These, according to Stainsby, already mentioned, were:—first—a fess chequy, surmounted by a bend engrailed: second—paly of six. The scutcheons and inscription are now removed, and the feet only of the knight's figure remain, resting on a leopard or other feline animal. Brand gives the inscription as follows:—

"Hic jacent Dominus Adamarus de Atholl Miles & Domina Maria uxor ejus quae obiit quarto decimo die mensis. Anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo. Animarum propitiatur."

* Arch. Æliana, vol. iii, p. 120.

MEMOIRS OF SCOTTISH WARRIORS.



James Earl of Douglas and Marr.

A name that rouses like the trumpet's sound.—HOME.

WILLIAM, the first Earl of Douglas, married for his first wife, whom he afterwards divorced, Lady Margaret Marr, daughter of Donald Earl of Marr, and sister and heir of Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Marr, who died 1377. His second wife is said to have been Lady Margaret Dunbar, eldest daughter of Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar and March. Thirdly, he married Lady Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus, and relict of Thomas, who was brother to his first wife.

By the Lady Margaret Marr, he had a son, James, who succeeded him in the earldoms of Douglas and Marr, and one daughter, the Lady Isabel. We have no particular evidence when James was born, but the probability is that it was two or three years later than 1348. Froissart, being born about 1337, would be twenty-three years of age in 1360; so, assigning that to be the date when he first visited Scotland, if the period of the birth of James be 1350, he would be nearly ten years old when the Chronicler saw him at his father's house near Dalkeith, which agrees with Froissart's relation of the circumstance. In public documents James is not named till the year 1371, when a papal dispensation was obtained for his marriage with Margaret, eldest daughter of King Robert II., by his second wife,

Euphemia Ross. A safe conduct into England was granted to him 12th August 1372; and three years afterward, he had a license to purchase in the counties of Lincoln and Norfolk, 100 quarters of corn and 300 quarters of malt, and carry it into Scotland. On the 5th March 1376, another safe conduct into England was granted him; and in 1378 he was knighted by his father on the field of battle near Melrose, with his two brothers-in-law, Robert and David, sons to the King. He had, under the title of James de Douglas of Lydalisdale, 15th May 1380, a grant from King Robert, his father-in-law, of 200 marks annually out of the great customs and King's rents of Haddington, till he or his heirs should be infeft in land of equal value in a competent place.

In the year 1381, it is stated, he was sent into France, in company with the Bishop of Glasgow and Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway, to renew the ancient league with that kingdom. On his return in September, he succeeded in recovering the town of Berwick from the English, and, entering England, spoiled the country almost to Newcastle. Still, on 15th December of the same year, he and James Lord of Lindsay had a safe conduct into England with 80 horses. In July 1384, he was deputed with others to deliberate on a truce with the Kings of France and England. Before 21st September of that year, he succeeded to the title, a royal charter of that date having been witnessed by James Earl of Douglas. After this he and Sir William Lindsay of Byers avenged an inroad, made by the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham after the truce already mentioned had been completed in France, by entering England with displayed banners, and wasting the lands of the aggressors. On the expiration of the said agreement in 1385, John de Vienne, Admiral of France, came to Scotland with a thousand men-at-arms, knights, and esquires, together with their followers; twelve hundred suits of complete armour for Scottish gentlemen; and 50,000 livres to distribute among the chief men of the kingdom, of which Douglas had 7500, being the highest amount bestowed on any individual, save the King, who had 10,000, each livre being worth upwards of £4 in our present money. Douglas now united with the Earl of Fife in raising an army, when, in company with the French auxiliaries, they crossed the Tweed, and took the fortresses of Warke, Ford, and Cornhill, ravaging the country from Berwick to Newcastle. Immediately afterwards, Richard II. entered Scotland at the head of a very large army, with which he destroyed the abbeys of Melrose,

Dryburgh, and Newbottel, and advanced to Edinburgh and Stirling. De Vienne urged the Scottish leaders to give Richard battle; but Douglas, taking him up to the summit of a hill, whence they were able to perceive distinctly the numbers of the enemy, convinced the Admiral of the impropriety of taking the field against the vast squadrons of England. Without delay, however, the Scottish troops, with the French cavalry, proceeded over the Western Marches, and, ravaging Cumberland, laid siege to Carlisle. In a short time the English, observing every species of food or provender wasted in Scotland, withdrew to their own land, while the Scots, having due intimation thereof, also retired home, carrying with them the great booty they had acquired. Subsequently, when much dissatisfaction arose between the people of Scotland and their allies, Douglas exerted himself as a mediator among them, and was in a great measure successful. During 1387, in company with Robert Earl of Fife and Archibald Lord of Galloway, he entered Cumberland with 3000 men, when, proceeding to Cockermouth, they gathered much spoil, and returned without hindrance to their own country. Next year the battle of Otterburn was fought, which completed the monument of his prowess and fame.

By his wife the Princess Margaret, the Earl of Douglas had one son, who died in infancy.* He had likewise two natural sons, who became the founders of distinguished families:—William, ancestor to the illustrious house of Queensbury; and Archibald, whence descended the house of Cavers,† hereditary sheriffs of Teviotdale. He was succeeded in the earldom of Douglas by Archibald Lord of Galloway, called the Grim, an illegitimate son of the good Sir James Douglas, and father to Archibald, commonly called *Tine-man*, the Douglas of Shakspeare. The earldom of Marr, after the death of the hero of Otterburn, devolved upon his sister, the Lady Isabel.

ARMS.—Quarterly, first and fourth, argent, a man's heart gules, and on a chief azure, three stars of the first, for Douglas; second and third, azure, a bend between six cross salets fichés, or, for Marr. The scutcheon is in Nisbet, and the description of the seal of Douglas may be found in the same author, vol. ii. part iv. p. 12.

* The Princess Margaret, in the same year her husband was killed, married secondly, Andrew Edmondstone of Ednam, near Kelso, the birthplace of the poet Thomson.

† Thomas Baliol, Lord of Cavers, sold that estate to William Earl of Douglas, in 1368.—*Surttees*.



George Earl of Dunbar and March.

PATRICK, ninth Earl of Dunbar and March, married Lady Agnes Randolph, daughter of Thomas Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, and by her had several children, of whom George, the eldest, from 1363 to 1368, by resignation of his father, who at the latter period was eighty-four years of age, obtained the greater part of his estates and the earldom of March, which was confirmed by charters from David II. These consisted of half the baronies of Tivris and Morton, in Dumfries-shire; and with the earldom he came into possession of the lands of Cumnock in Ayrshire, Blantyre in Lanarkshire, and Glenkens and Mochrum in Galloway. He inherited from his mother, commonly called Black Agnes, the lordship of Annandale, the Isle of Man; and the baronies of Mordington, Longformacus, and Dunse, in Berwickshire.

About the year 1371, a follower of his being slain by the English, at a fair held at Roxburgh, he applied for redress to Henry Percy, Warden of the English Marches; but receiving no satisfactory reply, in the following year, when the fair was again held, he, with his brother John Earl of Moray, attacked the town, killed all the English whom they found, set the place on fire, and in triumph carried off the plunder. In the same year, 1372, he was a Warden of the Marches, and was present in Parliament at Scone when the succession of the crown of Scotland was settled, April 1373. About 1380 he was a commissioner to treat of a peace, which ended only in a truce. It is said he joined the Earl of Douglas in 1384, when

they burnt the town of Roxburgh, took the castle of Lochmaben, defeated the English, who had invaded their borders, and took from them a rich convoy. During the following year, when De Vienne came from France to assist the Scots with men-at-arms and money, the Earl had for his share of the latter, 4000 livres; and when Richard the Second was wasting Scotland, he united with the Earl of Douglas and the French Admiral in entering England and conveying home a vast amount of spoil. In 1386 he and Douglas were Wardens of the East March of Scotland, when they concluded a truce with Lord Neville, the English Warden. Next year he obtained a safe conduct from the English monarch to enter his kingdom with an hundred horsemen, and remain there for half a year. He next appears at the battle of Otterburn, where he acquitted himself nobly, and succeeded Douglas as leader of the Scottish army.

Descended from Gospatrick Earl of Northumberland, and possessing a portion of the duplicity attributed to his father, who received Edward II. into his castle of Dunbar after the battle of Bannockburn, he seems not to have been particularly devoted to the welfare of his native country. By his wife, Christiana, daughter of Sir William Seton of Seton, he had six sons and two daughters. Of the latter, Lady Elizabeth, the eldest, was in 1399 betrothed to David Duke of Rothsay, son to King Robert III., and heir to the Scottish throne. It is said, her father paid to the Duke a large part of her marriage portion, receiving a bond under the Duke's seal to perform his espousals. Yet, disregarding this contract, Rothsay married in Bothwell Church, February 1400, Lady Marjory, eldest daughter to Archibald, third Earl of Douglas. Enraged at the lack of honesty on the part of the Prince, he complained by letter,* dated at his castle of Dunbar, 18th February 1400, to Henry IV. of the wrong done to him, requesting a safe conduct to go into England with an hundred knights, squires, and servants, goods, horse, and harness, which was granted. He, therefore, withdrew to England in the following July, leaving his castle of Dunbar in charge of his nephew, Maitland of Lethington, and, meeting the King of England at Newcastle, he renounced his allegiance to "Robert, that pretends himself King of Scotland," while Henry IV. engaged to give the earl, his wife, and their heirs male, by his letters patent, an estate in Lincolnshire, and an assignment on the customs of a town in that

* See Pinkerton, i. 449,

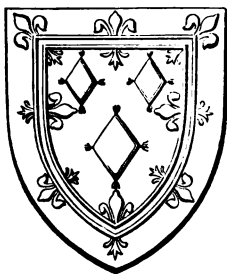
county to the amount of five hundred merks a year, besides another manor for the earl's life. In return, March obliged himself to perform liege homage and fealty to the King of England, agreeing to send his son Gawyn as an hostage to remain at his court. Afterwards, in conjunction with Lord Percy, he made inroads upon the territory of Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, penetrating as far as Haddington; but that chieftain came suddenly upon them at Linton, when they left their spoil and fled to Berwick. Still advancing into favour with the King of England, and receiving fresh instances of his bounty, the earl, in union with the English Borderers, on the termination of a temporary truce, began again to make inroads upon Scotland. The Earl of Douglas, by way of avenging these depredations, sent forth parties to waste the marches of England. It accordingly occurred that, after some slight success, Patrick Hepburn the younger of Hailes, having advanced a considerable way into England, was returning with much booty, when he was attacked at West Nisbet, in the Merse, by the Earl of Dunbar or his son; in which encounter, Hepburn, with the best of the youth of Lothian, was slain, and many valiant men taken prisoners. Eager to be revenged for so great a loss, the Earl of Douglas, with an army of ten or twelve thousand men, among whom were a number of the best warriors in the kingdom, entered England and destroyed the country to Newcastle. On returning with a large amount of spoil, they were overtaken upon the eastern slope of the base of Homeldon-hill, near to the village, and about a mile west of Wooler, by the Earl of Northumberland, his son Hotspur, the Earl of Dunbar, and several other barons and knights, with a number of men-at-arms, and a goodly force of archers. Hotspur and the men-at-arms occupied a commanding eminence opposite to the Scots, and south-east of the village of Homeldon; and, that hero being about to lead them against the Scots, the sagacious Earl of Dunbar, it is said, caught hold of his bridle, entreating him to allow the archers on the declivity before them, who were nearest the foe, to commence the battle and await the result. This movement was attended with complete success, for no armour could resist the discharge of arrows from the Northumbrian bows. The Scottish leaders attempted to descend from their position that they might come into closer combat; but the English archers retiring, continued to pour upon them an incessant shower of steel till the victory was won. Douglas, after receiving five wounds through armour which took an eminent artisan three years

to finish, and losing an eye, was taken prisoner. Many other eminent warriors were captured, while the greater portion of the Scottish army was destroyed.

After this period, when the Percys began to turn their arms against the King, the Earl of Dunbar forsook them, and espoused the royal cause. We next perceive him along with his son at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, where by his prudence he rendered essential service to Henry IV. Well aware of Hotspur's warmth, and the energy of Douglas in battle, when he observed the Percy banner advancing steadily through the opposing ranks to the point where the King was stationed, Dunbar besought him to withdraw from that position, which he did, and thereby in all probability saved his life, for nearly all around the royal standard were killed. About four years afterwards he obtained from Henry IV. a pardon to himself, his son Gawyn, and thirty-eight of his men, with their wives, for the murder of John Bleswell, of Nanneby, in a dispute with the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, about tithes. At length, becoming weary of the fair and fertile plains of England, he sighed for the rugged features of his native land, and applied to the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, for leave to return home, which at last he procured, not however without sacrifices of his property, nor was his earldom placed beyond the reach of forfeiture. The castle of Dunbar and earldom of March, had been bestowed on the Earl of Douglas, and by granting to him the castle of Lochmaben and lordship of Annandale, he was induced to deliver the former up to Albany, that they might be restored to their previous owner, who returned to Scotland in 1409. He was appointed a commissioner for negotiating a truce with England in 1411, and, being now advanced in life, he does not again appear in any public capacity. Having seen many changes, both in Scotland and England, and witnessed eventful battles, in which his own military skill was most conspicuously displayed, he departed this life in 1420, aged upwards of eighty-two years. Of his sons, George, the eldest, succeeded him in the earldoms of Dunbar and March.

ARMS.—According to Nesbit, gules, a lion rampant argent, within a bordure of the same, charged with roses of the first. This is the lion, says the historian of North Durham, which “‘shook his brinded mane’ upon the shields of at least an hundred Scottish families descended from the noble house of Dunbar.” The cut is from the seal of the earl appended

to the act of the Parliament of Scotland, 26th March, 1371, settling the succession of the crown. The sixteen roses appear to form a bordure of themselves. It would seem that subsequently he adopted the original bordure charged with only eight roses. The seal of his successor in Laing shows the same number.

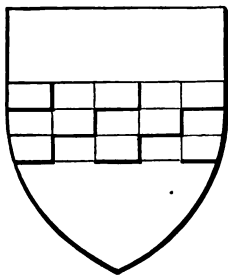


John Dunbar, Earl of Moray.

THIS earl was brother to George Earl of Dunbar and March, receiving the title by his mother, Lady Agnes Randolph, the heroic daughter of the Regent of Scotland. He married Marjory, daughter of King Robert II., for which a papal dispensation was obtained 11th July, 1370, permitting them to marry, although related in the fourth degree of consanguinity. By charter, dated 9th March, 1373, in a full Parliament at Scone, he obtained from the King the whole earldom of Moray (except the lordship and lands of Lochaber and Badenoch, and castle of Urquhart), and the great customs of the earldom to him and his wife and the longest liver of them, and their

heirs legitimately procreated, or to be procreated between them, failing which, to descend to George Earl of Dunbar and March, and his legitimate heirs whatsoever. He also, with his wife, obtained from the King, 26th August, 1375, a charter of the King's lands of the thanage of Kyntor with the same remainders, and himself had a pension of £100 sterling out of the customs of Elgin and Forres, and of the same amount out of the customs of Aberdeen. On the 15th December, 1381, he had a safe conduct into England with fifty attendants on horseback; and in 1384 he was one of the commissioners sent to endeavour to get Scotland included in the treaty between England and France. He had in the following year 1000 livres for his share of the money brought by John de Vienne from France into England, and three years afterward was present at the battle of Otterburn. A safe conduct into England was granted to him 16th March, 1389-90; and on the 16th July following, he was a guarantee of a treaty with the English. Soon afterward he obtained the escheat of the baronies of Deskford and Findlater, besides £20 sterling annually out of the great customs of Inverness. Having however, in 1394, challenged Thomas Mowbray, Earl-Marshall of England and Earl of Nottingham, to joust or tilt with him, they met at Smithfield, in which encounter Moray was thrown down, had two ribs broken, and was otherwise so much bruised, that, being conveyed homeward in a litter, he died by the way at York. By his wife Marjory he had two sons, Thomas and Alexander, the former of whom succeeded him, and one daughter, Lady Isabella, who married Robert Earl of Sutherland.

ARMS.—Or, three cushions within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered with *fleurs-de-lis*, gules. This was the shield of Randolph, and appears on the seal of our Otterburn hero attached to the Act of the Parliament of Scotland, 3rd April, 1373, settling the succession of the Crown in favour of the King's heirs male.



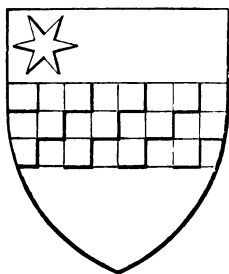
Sir James Lindsay of Crawford.

THIS hero was the only son of Sir James Lindsay, by his wife Egidia, daughter of Walter, High Steward of Scotland, and sister of King Robert II. It is presumed he succeeded his father about 1358. He obtained a charter, dated 3rd of April, 1370, of one hundred marks sterling out of the great customs of Dundee, as Sir David de Lyndsay, Knight, his grandfather, received the same, but reserving a third part thereof to Egidia, mother of the said James, for her terce. In the following year he was present at the coronation of his uncle, Robert II., at Scone, and next day took the oaths to him of homage and fealty. In the course of ten years onward from 1372, he obtained not less than seven charters from the King, of property over the north and western parts of Scotland, in favour of himself and the heirs male of his body. Besides, he had a charter of other property and honours, which, failing himself and the heirs male of his body, were left to "David de Lyndsay," and the heirs male of his body; whom failing, to Alexander, William, and Walter, brothers-german of the said David, and the heirs male of their bodies respectively; whom failing, to the nearest heirs of James, bearing the name and arms of Lindsay. In the years 1374 and 1381, he was a commissioner to treat with the English. Having a quarrel in 1383 with Sir John Lyon, of Glammis, Chamberlain of Scotland, and son-in-law to his royal uncle, he killed him in a duel, to the great indignation of the King. He does not again appear on the page of

history till the battle of Otterburn, where he bravely performed his part, and acquired in the encounter with Sir Matthew Redman an augmentation of his fame. It is doubtful if he obtained his freedom in exchange for that of Redman when taken prisoner by the Bishop of Durham; for an order was issued at Cambridge, 25th September, 1388, by King Richard, "with advice of his Great Council, to the Earl of Northumberland, not to dismiss Lindsay either for pledge or ransom until further orders." About 1395, his lady was besieged in her castle of Fyvie, by her nephew, Robert de Keth, when Sir James, gathering nearly four hundred men, marched north to relieve her, and, attacking Robert near the kirk of Bourtie, defeated him, killing fifty of his men. Shortly afterward, it is said, in company with Thomas, second earl of Moray, he brought about the combat at Perth between the respective deputations of the clans Kay and Chattan, and, as this tended most effectually to allay the feuds between the Highland clans, he and Moray congratulated themselves on the success of that fatal experiment. He died without issue in 1397, and was succeeded by Sir David Lindsay, hereafter mentioned. His wife is supposed to have been Margaret, daughter of Sir William Keith, Marischal of Scotland, and heiress of Fermartine or Fyvie in Aberdeenshire.*

ARMS.—Gules, a fesse chequé, argent and azure. The cut is from his seal in Lord Lindsay's "Lives of the Lindsays."

* For the latter portion especially of this notice, I am indebted to Lord Lindsay's "Lives of the Lindsays." That nobleman, greatly to his honour, has in the said work most generously discharged a debt he owed his illustrious ancestors. When will the descendants of our great families adopt the same course?



Sir David Lindsay, Lord of Glenesk.

HE was the eldest son of Sir Alexander Lindsay, of Glenesk, by his wife Catherine, daughter and heiress of Sir John Stirling, of Glenesk, and was probably born about 1366, the year after his mother made a settlement of Glenesk on his father Alexander, whom he succeeded in 1382. Being cousin to Sir James Lindsay, of Crawford, on the decease of the latter, he was also his successor. Marrying Catherine, fifth daughter of Robert II., he obtained of that monarch several charters, both of revenue and lands. From his brother-in-law, Robert III., he had also two annuities out of the great customs of Aberdeen, of which one was given him in life-rent, for services he rendered to David Earl of Carrick, eldest son to the King. Being a most accomplished knight in every point relating to the chivalry of those times, we may suppose he acquitted himself bravely in the field of Otterburn. Two years afterwards, he was the chief actor in a "passage of arms" on London Bridge. John Lord Welles, the English Ambassador, at a solemn banquet in Scotland, whither he was sent by Richard II., had foolishly offered battle to any who would question the valorous deeds of Englishmen, which was accepted by Sir David, and Lord Welles chose London Bridge whereon to decide the combat. Going to London with a train of twenty-eight persons, Lindsay appeared in the lists against Lord Welles on the appointed day. They ran together fiercely with ground spears, when Lord Welles' weapon was broken upon Lindsay's

helmet, during which adventure, the latter sat so firm, that the spectators cried out he was bound to the saddle; upon which, riding up to the royal chair, he dismounted, and again without assistance resumed his seat, so that in the third course he threw Lord Welles to the ground. Descending himself again from horseback, then commenced with their daggers a desperate foot-conflict, which ended in the overthrow of Lord Welles; for Sir David, introducing his weapon between the joints of his opponent's armour, lifted him on his feet, and hurled him to the ground, where he lay at Lindsay's mercy. But here the latter showed his knightly courtesy, by raising him from the ground, and, taking him kindly by the hand, he led him to the Queen, wishing "that mercy should proceed from woman." The Queen granted Lord Welles his liberty, when Sir David not only supported his adversary in his arms, but visited him daily till he recovered from the effects of his bruises.

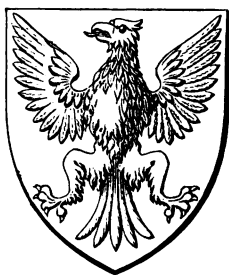
In 1392 he had a narrow escape with his life, in an encounter with a party of Highland freebooters at Gasklune in the Stormont, county of Angus. They had burst down from the Grampians, and were plundering the inhabitants, when Lindsay in company with the Sheriff Walter Ogilvie, and Sir Patrick Gray, heading only a small company of men, rushed upon the invaders. The conflict, as may be expected, was fierce, for Ogilvie, his brother, and many of his kindred, were slain. Lindsay, being armed and on horseback, in bearing one of the caterans to the ground with his lance, received a blow from the dying man's broadsword which cut through his stirrup-leather and steel boot, and wounded his leg to the bone; so that he was borne by his followers in the most imminent danger out of the field.

His retort to Hotspur at a march-meeting held at Hawden-Stank, early in 1397, has been given in the notice of the English hero. After succeeding his uncle Sir James Lindsay, he was on the 21st of April 1398, "by solemn belting and investiture in the Parliament held at Perth," elevated to the dignity of Earl of Crawford. Shortly after attaining this title, he sought for renown in the wars abroad, and from foreign records we learn that on 1st January 1401-2, he gave a letter of service and homage under his seal, to Louis Duke of Orleans, and that in the following May, probably as a partisan of France, he was hovering with a fleet off the coast of Corunna in Spain. Hence we may presume by his absence, he escaped death or capture at the battle of Homeldon, and the pain of witnessing the

disagreeable investigations that followed the murder of the Duke of Rothsay. Returning however again to his native country, he was one of the commissioners appointed to treat of peace with England in 1404, and two years subsequently, one of the Ambassadors to the English Court. At this period, though still not advanced in years, and active as before in the transaction of business, he seems to have made preparations for the close of life. In 1400, he had appropriated a sum of money to the cathedral of Aberdeen for the souls of his parents; and again in 1405 he endowed a chaplaincy in the cathedral of Brechin, to celebrate services for the souls of his ancestors. At the close of 1406, having charters from the King of several baronies and other extensive divisions of land, he, with the concurrence of his eldest son, executed a series of charters endowing five priests in the parish church of Dundee, besides founding an additional altar there, and appointing two more chaplains for its service. He also settled lands and annual rents on his youngest sons, not forgetting his sister Euphemia; and, thus having arranged his temporal affairs, he departed this life at his castle of Finhaven, in February 1407, aged forty-one. By his wife, the Princess Catherine, he had four sons, the eldest of whom, Alexander, succeeded him, and three daughters.*

ARMS.—Gules, a fesse chequé, argent and azure, in the dexter chief point a mullet of six points, probably or. Laing furnishes a description of the knight's seal appended to a grant in the Athol Charters, dated 1389.

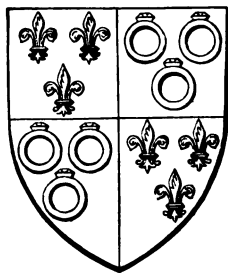
* Lord Lindsay's "Lives" has again supplied me with much important information which I have embodied in this memoir.



Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie.

THIS knight is said by Crawford to have been a grandson of the brave Sir Alexander de Ramsay of Dalhousie, who, in the reign of David II., distinguished himself against the enemies of his country, and was made Sheriff of Teviotdale, in consequence of which he was dragged by Sir William Douglas, lord of Liddesdale, from the seat of justice in the church of Hawick, 20th June 1343, carried to Hermitage Castle, and there cruelly starved to death. The name of the subject of this notice first appears in a charter of King Robert II. to Margaret Countess of Marr, 2nd January 1378. To the Abbey of Newbottle he made a donation for the welfare of his soul and that of his wife, which was witnessed by William the first Earl of Douglas; and he gave a charter of confirmation of the donations made by his predecessors to the same house. He was present at the battle of Otterburn, and appears to have been a man of great courage, for his house of Dalhousie was attacked by the English under Henry the Fourth, and so well he defended it, that the assailants were compelled to retreat. He was also at the battle of Nisbet, in the early part of 1402, but was killed at the battle of Homeldon, on the 14th September of the same year.

ARMS.—Argent, an eagle displayed sable, beaked and membered gules.



Sir John de Montgomery, of Eglesham.

MONTGOMERY was an ancestor of the earls of Eglintoune. By his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Hugh de Eglintoune, Knight, he obtained a considerable accession of property, particularly the lordships of Eglintoune and Ardrossan, in the county of Ayr, with other lands, which are still in possession of his descendants. He is not mentioned as being actively engaged in the affairs of his country till he signalised himself at the battle of Otterburn, taking prisoner Sir Henry Percy, whom, according to the testimony of Crawford, he obliged to build, for his ransom, the castle of Penoon, the chief messuage of the lordship of Eglesham. On 8th October, 1392, he granted to William de Blakeforde a charter of the lands of Ardbenane. By his wife Elizabeth he had four sons, of whom the eldest, Hugh, was with his father at Otterburn, and by some writers is said to have been killed there, his heart being transfixed with an arrow.* Others observe that he was taken prisoner by the English, and finally "delyvered for the restorynge of Persy." On account of the possessions which his wife brought to him, Montgomery quartered the arms of Eglintoune with his own.

ARMS.—Quarterly, first and fourth, azure, three *fleurs-de-lis* or, for Montgomery. Second and third, gules, three annulets or, stoned azure for Eglintoune.

* The Scottish ballad says Sir Hugh captured Percy.



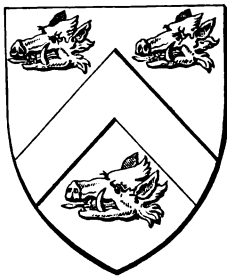
Sir Patrick Hepburn, of Hales.

THIS warrior was born about 1321, being the eldest son of Adam Hepburn. Having to transact some important affairs in England, he obtained, in 1363, a safe conduct for that purpose; and four years afterwards he witnessed a charter of Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, to the prior and convent of Durham and the monks of Coldingham. To the act of settlement of the Scottish crown, 27th March, 1371, his seal is appended, on the shield of which are his arms. In December 1381, he received a safe conduct to go into England, with twelve men and the same number of horses. At the battle of Otterburn, though about sixty-seven years of age, he and his son Patrick exhibited the most chivalrous bravery, by preventing the banner of Douglas falling into possession of the English. According to Fordun, he was alive in June 1402, and upwards of eighty years of age. He married, first, Agnes, whose family name is not known, by whom he had an only son, Patrick, above mentioned. Secondly, he married Eleanor Bruce, Countess of Carrick, the only daughter of Archibald, Lord of Douglas and of Galloway, Regent of Scotland, who was killed along with her first husband, Alexander Bruce, Earl of Carrick, at Halidon Hill, 1333. She had been four times married before she was espoused by Hepburn, at which period she was probably advanced in life, as they appear to have had no issue.

Patrick Hepburn the younger was, like his father, a brave warrior. In 1402 he commanded a party who made an incursion into England,

and on his return he was intercepted at West Nisbet by the Earls of Northumberland and March. In the conflict which ensued, fortune favoured the Scots, till, a reinforcement arriving under the son of March, the English were enabled to gain the victory, and Hepburn, with the flower of the youth of Lothian, was slain. He married a daughter and coheir of the family of Vaux, lords of Dirlton, whose armorial bearings, or, a bend azure, he quartered with his paternal arms, and with whom he got a large accession to his estate. Dying in the lifetime of his father, he left two sons, Adam and Archibald, the former of whom succeeded him in his title and possessions.

ARMS.—Gules, on a chevron argent, two lions pulling at a rose of the first, within a bordure engrailed.



Sir John Swinton.

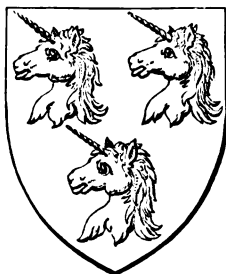
THIS hero was the son of Henry de Swinton, whose ancestors derived their surname from Swinton in Berwickshire. He was a man of great ability, being a brave soldier, and, as he stood high in favour of the King, he had a yearly pension of £20 sterling, to him and his heirs, confirmed also by charter, 24th June, 1382. At the battle of Otterburn he rendered most important service to his countrymen, for, being of a powerful frame, and a tried warrior, he came,

according to Fordun, with a mighty lance, sideways upon the English lances, struck them aside successively, and so opened a way for the Scots, who followed up, and at length forced the English to retire. On another occasion it is said of this hero, that he went to the English camp, and gave a general challenge to fight any of the army, which it seems was not accepted. By a charter under the great seal, from King Robert III., dated at Perth, 20th March, 1391, he had confirmed to him an annuity of two hundred marks sterling, on the resignation of Sir Malcolm Drummond. Next year he was appointed, by the King, one of four ambassadors extraordinary to negotiate a treaty with the Court of England, for which they obtained from King Richard II. a safe conduct for themselves and sixty horsemen in their train. In 1400, being employed in another negotiation, he obtained a safe conduct from Henry IV. to go to England, accompanied by twenty horsemen. By his marriage with Margaret Countess of Douglas and Marr, and mother to James Earl of Douglas, who was killed at Otterburn, a close intimacy existed between him and the Douglas family; for in 1401 he acquired from Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas, the lands of Cranshaws, in which deed he is named by the earl, *dilectus consanguineus noster*, &c. At the fatal battle of Homeldon he acted a most remarkable part; for when the English archers were shooting down his countrymen on every side, with the true spirit of a hero, he cried out, "O brethren in arms, why stand we thus, to be stricken down like deer by the arrows of the enemy? Descend with me, and in the name of God, we shall either overcome the English, or die as becomes brave men!" Upon which, he with Sir Adam Gordon, between whom up to that moment a feud existed, led down to battle one hundred men, who broke the opposing ranks, and made great slaughter; but not being supported by the rest of their countrymen, and overpowered with the enemy, the whole were slain.

Sir John Swinton married, first, as has been observed, Margaret Countess of Douglas and Marr, by whom he had no issue.* He married secondly, Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of King Robert II., by whom he had a son, John, who was heir to his title and property.

ARMS.—Sable, a chevron or between three boars' heads, erased argent.

* In the charter granted by James, Earl of Douglas, to the Abbey of Melrose, 27th July 1388, at Elybredscheil, Sir John Swinton, who witnesses the document, is called the earl's dearest father.



Sir Henry Preston.

THIS knight, supposed to be the third son of Simon de Preston, of Craigmillar, in the county of Edinburgh, occupied a considerable position in the reign of King Robert II., for when Sir John de Vienne came to Scotland in 1385, with fifty thousand livres of gold, to assist in the war against England, sixty thereof were allotted to him. Moreover, if we attach credit to unimpeachable evidence, he was at the battle of Otterburn, and had the good fortune to accept the surrender of Sir Ralph Percy, who, remained a prisoner in Scotland till the accession of Robert III. That monarch, in the first year of his reign, 28th September, 1390, granted a charter "to Henry de Prestoun, for the redemption of Sir Ranulph de Percy, Knight, Englishman, of the lands and barony of Fermartyn, in Aberdeenshire; the town of Fyvie and place thereof, the town of Meikle Gurdnies, and five-merk land of Parkhill; resigned by James de Lyndesay."* Previously he had a safe conduct into England, with six horsemen in his train, to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury; and about this period, 1390, and the following year, he was a commissioner to treat with the English. From Thomas Colvill, of Oxenham, he had a charter of confirmation of his respective parts.

* This charter is witnessed by Walter Bishop of St. Andrew's; Matthew Bishop of Glasgow; Robert Earl of Fyfe and Menteith; Archibald Earl of Douglas *Domnus Galwydie*; John Earl of March (Murray?); David de Lyndesay of Glenesk; Robert de Keth; Thomas de Erskyne; and Alexander de Cocburne de Langtoun Keeper of the Great Seal.

of Fromertein in Aberdeenshire, likewise of the castles and tolls of the burgh of Fyvie. Also from John Herries, lord of Tarriglis, he had a charter of confirmation of his part of the barony of Fromertein, with the castle and tolls of the burgh thereof. In June 1413 he witnessed a charter of Robert de Keth, Marischal of Scotland, to his son John de Keth, of the barony of Troup, in the shire of Banff. The time of his death is uncertain. The estates of Fromertein and Tolquhoun were subsequently carried by the heiress, Marjory Preston, to Sir John Forbes, brother of Alexander, first Lord Forbes.

ARMS.—Argent, three unicorns' heads, erased sable.

Sir William de Dalzell.

SIR WILLIAM DALZELL,* an ancestor of the Earls of Carnwath, and at first a landless knight, was not less remarkable for bravery than humour. In 1364 he obtained from King David II. a grant of the fee of five pounds sterling per annum as serjeant of Lanark, either out of sheriff-court or justice-air held in that town. He lost an eye at the battle of Otterburn, and accompanied Sir David Lindsay to the tournament at London in 1390. On this occasion an English knight, speaking of the bravery of the Scottish warriors, reflected on the honour of the ladies of Scotland during the occupation of that kingdom by the warriors of England. Dalzell replied, the remark might perhaps be true, but it was certain a corresponding degree of degeneracy might be seen among the English knights, the progeny of valets and father-confessors, whom the English ladies admitted to favour during the absence of their lords in Scotland.† His adventure with Sir Piers Courtenay, the royal champion and brother to the primate, is equally pointed and amusing. That knight appeared

* The name of Dalzell is ancient, being taken from the barony of Dalzell, in the county of Lanark, which estate it is thought the family forfeited, for in 1343 it was given, by King David II., to Sir Malcolm Fleming.

† Lord Lindsay awards this reply to Sir David Lindsay, the subject of a previous memoir.

at the tournament, wearing on his sleeve an embroidered falcon, with the motto:—

“I beer a falcon, fairest of flicht,
Whoso pinches at her, his death is dicht
In graith.”

Dalzell procured a similar dress, with the badge of a magpie, and the device:—

“I beer a py pykkand at ane pes,
Quhasa pykes at her, I sal pyk at his nese
In faith.”

A challenge was given and accepted ; but in running the courses with sharp lances, Dalzell's helmet being left unlaced, it gave way twice before Courtenay's weapon, by which he escaped the shocks. On the third encounter, Dalzell struck out two of his antagonist's front teeth. Courtenay blamed Dalzell much for not fastening his helmet, and both agreed to run six courses more, each man staking two hundred pounds in the King's hand, to be forfeited if any unequal advantage was discovered. Hereupon the sly Scot demanded that Sir Piers should consent to lose one of his eyes, in order that the opponents should be precisely equal. The English knight refusing to comply with this request, Dalzell claimed the forfeit, which, after much debate, King Richard II.* ordered to be paid him, observing, he surpassed Courtenay, both in valour and wit.

He was successful in recovering the estate of his ancestors. He had two sons, George and John, of whom the first, being heir apparent to his father, on the resignation of James Sandilands, brother-in-law of King Robert III., obtained, in 1395, a charter of the barony of Dalzell, in the county of Lanark, to him and the heirs male of his body, which failing, to the heirs male of his father, Sir William de Dalzell. But this George the son died before 1400, without issue, when the barony came into possession of his father. Hence William de Dalzell *dominus ejusdem* is witness to a charter of Johanna de Keth, lady of Gallystoun, to her son Andrew de Hamyltoun, of her lands of Gallystoun, in the barony of Kyle, and shire of Ayr, dated 1406. He was living in 1407—the latest date at which we find his name attached to any public document.

ARMS.—Sable, a naked man proper.

* Not Henry IV., as related by Scott, in the Notes to *Marmion*, canto i.

A D D E N D A.

It was the compiler's intention to draw up brief accounts of Sir William Keith, Marischal of Scotland, and his son John, between whom some authors assign the credit of taking, on the field of Otterburn, either one or both Percys prisoners. Bellenden, in his translation of Hector Boece, speaking of the conflict, says, "In this battal, Hary Perse and his brother Radulphe war taken be Keith, Marsheall of Scotland." Hollinshead, quoting Boece, says the same, but adds from Lesly, that Henry Hotspur was taken by Montgomery, who for his ransom did build the castle of Pounune, which his heirs to this day do enjoy. Froissart observes, Sir Ralph Percy was taken by Sir John Maxwell, a knight of the Earl of Moray; while Hume of Godscroft relates, Sir John Mackerell took the young Percy named Ralph, and delivered him to his master the Earl of Murray. Later historians, and among them Sir Walter Scott, have translated Sir John Maxwell or Mackerell into Keith, Marischal of Scotland.

Sir William Keith was employed in several public offices from 1357 to 1374; but being Great Marischal, an especial officer of the King, and the movement, which resulted in the Battle of Otterburn, having been conducted in opposition to his Majesty's desire, the probability is, he could scarcely be justified in entering upon it. Nisbet, in his *Heraldry*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 5, says, Sir William's eldest son John, "a man of great valour, was at the battle of Otterburn; he took his father's post as Marischal, he being then indisposed; and, after James Earl of Douglas, General of the Scots army, fell in the battle, took upon him the chief command, defeated the English, and brought home with him Henry Hotspur Earl of Northumberland, prisoner." Again, Douglas, in the *Peerage of Scotland*, last edition by Wood, observes that this John de Keth, marrying a daughter of King Robert II., on the resignation of his father, Sir William, and mother, Margaret Fraser, had a charter from the King, dated Jan. 17, 1373-74, of all the lands, possessions, and offices belonging to the said William and Margaret, reserving the life-rent of the said father and mother; but he, the said John, died not long afterwards. In the first edition of his work, Douglas quotes 1375 as the year of

John's decease; and, from the names of Sir William Keith and his son Robert being appended to writs in the chartulary of Aberdeen dated 1378, 1382, and 1393, some dependence may be placed on that statement.

Sir William, the father, married Margaret, already mentioned, the only child and heiress of Sir John Fraser, eldest son of the High Chamberlain of Scotland, and Mary, sister of King Robert Bruce. With this lady he became possessed of much landed property, including the forest of Cowie, the thanedom of Durris, the baronies of Strachan, Culperso, Johnston, and other lands in the county of Kincardine. By her he had three sons and four daughters, and departed this life about 1407.

Owing to the kindness of William N. Fraser, Esq., of Edinburgh, whose family represents that of Cowie and Durris, I am enabled to investigate this matter still further. A manuscript, embodying a sketch of the Keith family, and written by several hands, passed from the Rev. Mr. Hepburn, chaplain to the last Earl-Marischal, into possession of his nephew, Mr. Duncan, of Peterhead, at whose sale it was bought by Peter Buchan, the ballad editor, who published it very inaccurately, and at present it is the property of Dr. Keith, of Aberdeen. From this document the Rev. John Longmuir, author of a handbook of Dunottar Castle, supplied Mr. Fraser with the following extract, who most obligingly communicated it to me. The reader will observe it is nearly similar at the commencement to the quotation already given from Nisbet's *Heraldry*:—"The eldest son, John, was a man of great valour, for at the battle of Otterburn he took his father's post as Marischal, he being then indisposed; and after James, then the second earl of Douglas, general of the Scots army, was killed, and the English held to have proved victors, he recovered the battle, beat the English, and took Ralf Peircy, brother to, and conjunct commander with, Henry Hottspurrs, earl of Northumberland, prisoner with his own hand."

Such evidence might at least have formed some claim to one of the family of Keith as the captor of either Sir Henry or Sir Ralph Percy, did not the erection of the castle of Penoon point to Sir John de Montgomery as having taken Hotspur; while the charter granted to Sir Henry de Preston affirms him to have made the younger Percy prisoner, unless by negotiation, which is highly improbable, the latter had eventually come into his possession.

APPENDIX.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE A.

Men-at-arms and archers—p. 9.

ON reading the history of England from the old chroniclers during the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth centuries, our armies are said to have consisted almost wholly of men-at-arms, or "spears," and archers. The first of these divisions were men fully armed, including bannerets, knights, and esquires. The latter term seems to have comprised, in many instances, not only the whole infantry, but the attendants, artificers, and camp-followers—a large and important addition to the fighting men; hence, when numbers are introduced, the archers are generally much overrated, and the reader ought to receive such testimony with caution. Also, in the accounts of battles, our historians, probably to heighten the effect of their narratives, have augmented the numbers of those who were engaged, and those likewise who fell. When, therefore, our modern writers copy the figures supplied by their elder brethren, they ought to be careful lest they deviate from the truth.

One illustration on this point may be satisfactory. In 1385, when Richard II. raised an army and made an inroad upon Scotland, Froissart tells us the Duke of Lancaster's division and that of the King amounted to 6,000 spears and 65,000 archers. Grafton says that there were on that occasion, 8,000 men-at-arms and 60,000 archers. Hollinshead reports there was a mighty army; and Godscroft, following Froissart and Grafton, quotes 60,000 foot and 8,000 horse. Hume relates the number levied was 60,000; and, lastly Lingard, not to be behind any of his predecessors, says the King had with him an army of 80,000 men.

Now, among our national archives, Sir Harris Nicolas, in the right spirit of a true antiquary, has discovered three manuscripts relating to this expedition, a transcript of which he printed in *Archæ-*

ologia, vol. xxii. p. 13.* One is in the Ashmolean collection, two in the Harleian collection; and the difference between them is very slight. None, however, contain the forces of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham; but Sir Harris says, "If we assign to those powerful prelates one thousand men-at-arms and two thousand archers, we shall probably not overrate the amount of their retainers." The several numbers will then be:—

	Men-at-arms.	Archers.
Harleian MS. No. 369	4640	7124
Assigned to the Bishops of York and Durham	1000	2000
	<hr/> 5640	<hr/> 9124
Harleian MS. No. 1309, and Ashmole's MS. .	4660	7224
Assigned to the Bishops of York and Durham	1000	2000
	<hr/> 5660	<hr/> 9224

From one authority we have 5,640 spears and 9,124 archers, making 14,764 men. From two others, 5,660 men-at-arms and 9,224 archers, amounting to 14,884 fighting men, or not quite 15,000 altogether. But attendants on each man-at-arms, workmen, and camp-followers, are not comprised in the said computation.

Here, instead of eight or ten archers to each fully armed man, we have not quite two; and this leads us to another branch of inquiry, namely, what proportion could the men-at-arms bear to the archers in the armies of England?

We learn from the contents of another MS., sought out also by Sir Harris Nicolas, and printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 493, that in the expedition of Edward I. into Scotland, in 1296, the King had with him "v thousand horses coverid and xxx" thousand fotemen."

Again, from *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 42, we perceive that in 17 Richard II., Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, "accompanied the first expedition into Ireland, having in his retinue an hundred men-at-arms, of which two were bannerets, and eight knights, two hundred archers on horseback, and four hundred archers on foot."

Also, in the same vol. p. 15, we are told that in 22 Richard II., Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester, being appointed Admiral of

* From this paper we learn that the Earl of Northumberland was placed in the "Rier-warde," and had "iiij C men of armes," and "four hundreth archers." In the same "warde" Hotspur had "C men of armes" and "C archers."

Ireland preparatory to the second Irish expedition, "was to take with him thirty-five men-at-arms, knights, and esquires, and one hundred archers; to every twenty archers, one carpenter and one mason."

In the expedition of Henry V. to France in 1415, the most correct account, according to Nicolas, states the King had with him two thousand five hundred and thirty-six men-at-arms, four thousand one hundred and twenty-eight horse-archers, and three thousand seven hundred and seventy-one archers on foot. These numbers, however, do not include servants, artificers, or camp-followers.

The said authorities, therefore, prove that to every man-at-arms there were from two to six archers; or, on an average, one to three or four.

In Scotland, owing to the poverty of the country, the average proportion of men-at-arms may be estimated as one to five or six, or perhaps seven infantry. Where ten foot-soldiers are quoted to one horseman, as in the Roman armies, the statement in almost every case may be considered erroneous.

NOTE B.

Station of Bremenium—p. 14.

About half way up Redesdale, on the east side of the valley, and on the south-eastern bank of Sills-burn, upon a gentle descent from a rocky hill, may be seen the station of Bremenium. Much curiosity has of late been excited about the spot, His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, lord of the manor, having ordered the earth to be broken up in several places within its outer walls, by which a portion of the foundations of its buildings has been revealed, and several interesting remains of pottery and implements, &c. found.*

The station is situated upon the western verge of Watling Street, and, according to the Rev. Dr. Bruce, from whose valuable work on the Roman Wall these remarks are mainly supplied, would appear to have been erected chiefly for protection of the road. Forming a boundary station of the Roman settlement in Britain, it is the starting point of the first Iter of Antonine in his Road-book of the Em-

* These, by the liberality of His Grace, have been presented to the Society of Anti-quaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

pire. Being thus the capital of the Ottadini, and especially exposed to the assaults of the ancient Britons, the site is very strong. On all sides, save one near the south-east corner, the ground descends from it, and at this angle, by way of defence, it has four separate fosses. Other portions have two; and on the north, where the station appears like a breastwork, one only has been deemed sufficient. Within the intrenchments and before the wall, is a strip of level ground, evidently for military operations. The wall is not only composed of larger stones than those of the other stations in Northumberland, but is much stronger, being in one place seventeen feet thick. A great many buildings have been erected in the interior, the excavations proving there have been two or three different periods of occupation. Sections of the soil exhibit floors below each other, the stones of which are much worn, and, besides, the remains of the buildings afford evidence that the era of occupation commenced with the Romans, and terminated probably within the last two or three hundred years.

About half a mile to the south of the station, on the eastern side of Watling-street, are the foundations of some Roman tombs. One has been circular and two are square. A beautiful representation of the whole is given in *Collectanea Antiqua*, part 3, vol. iv., by Charles Roach Smith, Esq., who in the same division of his work supplies a plan of Bremenium.

In remarking that the archæologist is indebted to the liberality of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland for the excavations made at this station, it is only doing justice to that nobleman to add, that by his generosity Mr. Mac Lauchlan, who executed a beautiful map of Watling Street, has now surveyed and laid down throughout its whole length a map of the ROMAN WALL.

NOTE C.

*Will, &c. of Clement Reyde**—p. 15.

The Will and Inventory of Clement Reyde are curious as specimens of the language of Redesdale spoken in the sixteenth century. They are taken from the volume of *Wills and Inventories*, published by

* See "Border Laws," pp. 180, 226. Hodgson's "Northumberland," part ii. vol. i. p. 137.

the Surtees Society in 1835, p. 146. The testator lived nearly thirty years after his will was made. The name of William Hall Clerke* is an interlineation.

WILL.

"In the name of god Amen the xiiij day of september the yere of ovre lord God mccccclv I clemet red of the havld tovn sek In my body and holl of mynd makes my last woll and testyment In manere and fovrme followyng: fyrst. I. geve my sovll to god almehty and my body to be bered w'in my pareche cherche of elsden w^t my duties thereto belongen It' I make my son thomas red and my son Archebald red my exsekeutors It' I give to my son thomas red all my steden In the hovld tovrne And I well that he be gud to hys breder In his steden that he maye for goye so long as thye and he dothe gre It' I give to my son thomas red my two dauhgters It' I geve to my daughter Janet red xij ky and oxson and I woll that my son Arche red be pait and the rest of my gudys not legeset I geve to my son thomas and edward and to my yongest doughter It' I mak gawyn red and James foster supervisors to se my woll perfurmet mad the day and yere above sad before thes wetnessys Will'm hall Clerke clement colson curet of elsden Jhon red lord of trowen robart red of y^e same gawyn red of corsensyd James foster of clowys feld & peter red.—[Pr. 1582.]"

INVENTORY.

"An ENVITORI of the gudys of clement red prased be Jhon red of trowen and roger red of the hoold tovn. fyrst vj oxson pris iiij povnd It' vj ky pris iiij povnd It' iiij stotys pris xl^s It' iiij ky pris iiij mark It' iiij yong novt pris xxvj^s. viij^d. It' inseth gere x^s."

NOTE D.

Whele Kirk and Population of the Borders—p. 17.

Whele Kirk is marked out on Speed's Map of Northumberland, first published in 1610, as a building similar to the parish churches of Elsdon and Corsenside. It stood in the centre of Whele Rigg, a

* William Hall was appointed clerk of Elsdon Church in 1543. He was rector thereof in 1577, and died before July 1585.—*Hodgson*.

slightly elevated piece of ground about two miles long and half a mile broad, along which the *Maiden Way* is continued from Dead-water into Scotland, under the name of the Whele Causeway. On this locality and the district adjoining, I have been favoured with a letter from an old and respected correspondent, whence the following extracts are taken :—

“The site of Whele Kirk, whence in former days the Gospel was preached to the illiterate Borderers, is on Whele Rigg, at the head of Liddesdale, about a mile west from the Scots Dyke, the boundary between Liddesdale and Tynedale. The only vestiges of the building that remain are some stones,* which may be seen in the wall of a sheep-fold that occupies the venerable spot. Southward from this fold may yet be found a flat stone or two, half sunk into the earth, which are all that remain to show the ancient burying-ground.

“Nearly due east, between three and four miles from the site of Whele Kirk, is the site of Bell’s Chapel in North Tyne-head, Northumberland, which is also marked by an ancient burying-ground unenclosed and deserted. But here likewise the graves are so much sunk, and the grave-stones so decayed, that the archæologist in search of either spot may seek in vain, unless he could meet some intelligent shepherd to point them out to him.

“The land in Liddesdale-head as well as in Tyne-head is wholly pasturage. The farms are large, and, a great part of them being led-farms,† the scanty population consists of a few shepherds with their families. From the sites and ruined remains of peel-houses, and the yet visible marks of ancient tillage on almost every dry croft, it is quite vident that the Scottish side of the Border (the middle march especially) had formerly been far more densely populated than it is now. Men were more in request than sheep in those days, and sheep are more in request now. Old Sir Thomas More’s prediction has on the Border been verified—*the sheep have eaten up the men*.

“In Liddesdale there have been at least, previous to the Reformation, no fewer than five separate places of worship : *namely*,

* Some twenty-two years ago, a labouring man at Peel, distant a short half-mile from the site of Whele Kirk, carried home the stone which had contained the holy water at the door, for the purpose of making it a trough for his pig. It was like a stone basin, which projected from the wall, supported by a rudely sculptured hand. The writer made inquiry about it in 1851, and was told it had been broken and beaten into sand for the floor!!

† This is applied to all the farms which a single tenant may rent beyond the one upon which he himself resides.

Ettleton, Hermitage Chapel, Whele Kirk, Flight Chapel, near Clintwood, and there are vestiges of a chapel at Clerk Leap on the farm of Flatt. In the *Platt of the Borders*, 1590,* Flight Chapel is called 'Ladies Faine.' Since the Reformation down to the middle of the last century, the only church in Liddesdale was at Castleton.

"The Causeway Rigg-head, and Note of the Gate, are the only two passes from the south-eastern parts of Teviotdale into Liddesdale. In 1745, one division of the army of Prince Charles came into Liddesdale by the Note of the Gate, and another by the Causeway Rigg. An old woman, lately deceased, said that her father remembered seeing the rebel army at a distance, as they came down the latter place, and that it had exactly the appearance of a drove of Highland kyloes."

In 1296, about two months after King Edward I. had sacked and destroyed Berwick, in which it is said upwards of eight thousand men were put to death, he had occasion to be at Castleton in Liddesdale; and on Thursdaie, the 24th May, he went to Wiel (Whele Kirk); on Friday to Castleton; on Sunday the 27th he returned to Wiel; and on the following day to Guydeford (Jedworth).*

It is also said that Edward III., after making an inroad on the eastern marches of Scotland, performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Ninian in Galloway; and on his return to England, tarried a night at Whele Kirk.

We would, therefore, infer that a considerable population dwelt near the sources of Jed, Liddel, and North Tyne, when a church was erected on each of these localities: and on this point, about 1551, when Sir Robert Bowes drew up his *Book of the State of the Frontiers and Marches*, he tells us:—

"The Countrie of Riddesdale hathe mo inhabitants wthin yt then Tyndale, but not so many able and active men, the inhabitants of Riddesdale be muche richer and live more vpon the laboure of the ground then Tyndale dothe, but surelie the great occasion of the disorder of bothe those Countries, is y^t there be mo inhabitants wthin eyther of them, then the said Countries may susteine to live

* *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 161.

† *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. pp. 486 and 495. The place *Wiel* or *Wyel* seems to have puzzled Sir Harris Nicolas and others, as to its locality. Thomas Thomson of Edinburgh, in his note to *The Ragman Rolls*, 1834, described it as a consisting of "the remains of a peel or small castellated house," near to Wheel-rig.

trewlie, for vpon a ferme of a noble rent there do inhabite in some place there, iij or iiij^r householders, &c."*

Again if we turn to "a Rental of the ancient Principality of Redesdale in 1618," printed in *Archæologia Æliana* ii. 327, we have an additional proof that down to that period, this tract of country was still "overcharged with an excessive number of inhabitants."

NOTE E.

Scottish army under Douglas—p. 24.

Number of the army according to the following authorities:—

FROISSART . . Three or four hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand infantry.

WYNTOWN . . Near to seven thousand.

BUCHANAN . Three hundred horse and two thousand foot, besides servants and attendants.

GODSCROFT . Some say there were four thousand horsemen in all, which is most apparent.

RIDPATH . . . Three thousand men.

SCOTT Three hundred men-at-arms, who, with their followers, made up from a thousand to fifteen hundred men, with two thousand chosen infantry.

From a note in *Rapin*, i. 463, we learn that in 1386 the Duke of Lancaster embarked at Portsmouth, for Spain, with 20,000 men, of whom 2,000 were men-at-arms, and 8,000 were archers: the remainder must have consisted of artificers, servants, and camp-followers.

Froissart describes a Scottish host as consisting of 4,000 men-at-arms, knights, and esquires, mounted on good horses, and other 10,000 men of war, armed after their fashion, right hardy and fierce, mounted on little horses, the which were never tied nor kept at hard meat, but let go to pasture in the fields and bushes.

We may therefore suppose the divisions of the army of Douglas to be nearly as follows:—

* *Newcastle Reprints*, 1847.

Men-at-arms	400
Attendants on ditto, several of whom would be mounted, but consisting chiefly of footmen, lackeys, and grooms, being an average of three to each man, and taking into account that every knight had about five . . .	1200
Infantry, mounted	2000
Attendants on ditto, of which many would be boys to take care of the horses, being one to each man, with sutlers, and persons following the camp in expectation of plunder	3000
Total amount of army	6600

NOTE F.

Douglas consoled his followers—p. 29.

After the Scots were beaten off from the wall, the author of the old ballad, alluding to Hotspur, observes in a stanza:—

“A pype of wyne he gave them over the walles,
Forsoth, as I yow saye:
Ther he mayd the Douglas drynke,
And all hys oste that daye.”

If in this instance we can attach credit to the minstrel's statement, the act was one performed in the true spirit of chivalric courtesy. Pursuing the supposition still farther, it were interesting, could we learn that Roger Thornton, then a youth, and afterward the wealthy merchant of Newcastle, was one of the number engaged in furnishing this commodity. He would be well aware of all the acts of heroism which were performed on both sides; and the wish again arises that he had jotted down a brief summary thereof. Such a note-book had now been of the utmost importance to the student of local history. The last line of the old saying,

“At the West Gate came Thornton in
With a hap and a halfpenny and a lambeskin,”

occurs in *The Tales of the Priests of Peblis*, written before 1492, the best edition of which is given in *Early Metrical Tales*, Edin. 1826,

edited by David Laing, Esq., a gentleman whose labours in bringing to light the remains of our early Scottish poetry cannot be estimated too highly. The author, in alluding to the profuse expenditure of the sons of burgesses, commends highly the prudence of their forefathers, who, being poor, he says,—

“can begin
With hap and halfpenny and a lamb’s skin.”

NOTE G.

Otterburn—p. 30.

The Otterbourne’s a bonnie burn,
’Tis pleasant there to be.—OLD BALLAD.

The village of Otterburn, from its fine position, with rising grounds behind, and haughs of deep rich soil in front, ought to have been the principal town in Redesdale; and beautiful the parish church would have appeared in its vicinity, with the tower or spire rising in summer through the fresh foliage of its stately trees.

By the glimpses we obtain from those ancient records which are embodied in Hodgson’s *History*, we learn that in 1245, before the prosperity of the country was interrupted by the first Edward in his efforts to subjugate Scotland, the manor of Otterburn comprised 168 acres of arable and 43 acres of meadow land, besides ground let to free tenants, and other portions set apart to ten bondagers, with several cow-pastures. In addition to the free tenants, there were assart-men (*cresmanni*), who, by clearing land of wood, made it useful; and the bondagers were probably villeins to whom land was allotted for service. These men had all cottages; and the mill, which was likely employed at that time to grind corn, and undoubtedly occupied the same spot as the present fulling mill, was worth £8 per annum—a large sum when land let at only 4*d.* or 5*d.* an acre. In 1308, there was a capital messuage upon it, and a park nearly a league in circuit stocked with wild beasts; 80 acres of arable land and 40 of meadow, nine bondages of 18 acres each, and nine cottages with 24 vaccaries or cow-pastures, and also a number of free tenants. After this period, however, from the inroads made by the Scots subsequently to the battle of Bannockburn, the tower appears to have

been erected, and the place gradually declined in prosperity; for in 1330, although the same quantity of arable and meadow land was attached to it, and the same number of bondages and cottages, the park for wild beasts was unenclosed, the rents from free tenants had decreased more than one half, and there were only ten cow-pastures. At the time of the battle, however, upwards of half a century later, many of its earlier features would be seen. The fortalice arose proudly from the high eastern bank of the Otter, on the spot occupied by the northern corner of the present tower, and was of considerable strength; for a portion of the wall which I have seen was of great thickness, and, unlike the stronghold at Ponteland, it withstood the whole force brought by Douglas against it. The manor had likewise its inhabitants of the degrees already mentioned—the mill, and probably a malting. The woods that had been surrounded by the park-wall would wave on the higher lands to the east, which were afterwards to be held in remembrance by the genius of the old minstrel, who made Hotspur exclaim:—

“ The roo full rekeless ther sche rinnes,
 To make the game and glee:
 The fawkon and the fesaunt both,
 Amonge the holtes on hye.”*

On the lower grounds were the arable and meadow lands, the allotments for the villeins, and the cow-pastures. In the neighbourhood was the small town of Elsdon, with several villages; while the road, such as it was, passed by the place, proceeding upward in the direction of Elishaw, where was an hospital endowed to afford food and shelter to the weary traveller.

Otterburn, according to Hodgson, continued in possession of the Umphreville family from after the Conquest until near the middle of the fifteenth century. In the early part of the succeeding century it was possessed by the family of Hall, with whom it continued till 1715, when the owner, John Hall, having taken part in the insurrection, was executed at London in the following year. It was then purchased by one of the same name, Gabriel Hall, of Catcleugh, who left it to his son Reynald, by whom, in 1745, it was again bequeathed to Robert Ellison of Newcastle. In the time of the latter, only one

* Another northern minstrel has also, in the introductory couplet to this note, made Douglas bear similar testimony to the loveliness of Otterburn.

house stood on the west side of the Otter, at the end of a wooden bridge. The estate next came to his son Henry Ellison, a merchant at Whitehaven, and sheriff of Cumberland in 1764, who sold it to Mr. James Storey, a shipbuilder of North Shields. The present turn-pike road up Redesdale having by this time been completed, Storey built nearly the whole village, west from the bridge. After his decease, the property at Otterburn, with the estates of Soppit and Fairney Cleugh, were, by a decree of the High Court of Chancery, made 12th November 1794, appointed to be sold in Newcastle on the 22nd day of October 1796. Mr. John Davidson bought the lands and houses west of the Otter: the eastern portion, comprising the manor-house and demesne lands, with the adjoining farm of Girsonsfield, became the property of Mr. James Ellis. At his decease in 1830, the eastern division was again purchased by Thomas James, Esq., the present proprietor.

“ When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
I summon up remembrance of things past,”

Otterburn occupies a large space in the history of my early life. There I resided under the roof of my father for several years—indeed from boyhood to manhood—hence the place is endeared to me by many interesting associations. Still, on recalling vividly those which are agreeable, others of a painful kind rise up in shadowy array. The loss of a parent, who, in her domestic circle, was like a summer sun shedding around her light and happiness—besides the breaking up of other ties by death—give a sombre tint to the whole. The retrospect to me is like a musical instrument delicately tuned, yet of vast compass, ready to “discourse” notes either of liveliest delight or darkest woe.

The following stanzas are among my earliest attempts in writing verse. They were submitted to the eye of Mr. Ellis, and obtained his approval. I still retain the MS., with some slight corrections in his handwriting.

ADDRESS TO OTTERBURNE.

Hail to thy pleasant banks, fair Otterburne!
The sweetest rill that feeds the winding Rede;
Thy limpid waters o’er the pebbles mourn,
Meand’ring gently through the verdant mead.

The modest daisy, wet with morning dew,
Wild, scatter'd on thy brink, neglected grows ;
The early primrose, deck'd in richest hue,
Upon thy verdant banks serenely blows.

The herald lark with pleasure hails each morn,
And carols loudly, free of toil or care,
While numerous songsters, warbling in the thorn,
With rapture and with music fill the air.

How sweet at evening mild, alone to stray,
And list amid thy glades the blackbird sing ;
Or the loved mavis boldly tune its lay,
Making each shady nook with gladness ring !

In days of old, high o'er thy dimpling tide,
Arose in stateliness thy massive tower,
Whose banner o'er the turrets waving wide,
Proclaim'd defiance to the Scottish power.

Lo ! yonder Douglas led his gallant band,
Against brave Hotspur of illustrious fame,
And tamed the valour of Northumberland ;
But fell as victory enshrined his name.

North from the Stone occurred the bloody fight :
Ah ! many a dauntless warrior there was slain !
Helmets and shields gleam'd in the clear moonlight,
While Death stalk'd ghastly o'er the crimson'd plain !

Hence was the subject sounded by the lyre ;
And such the strains our early minstrels sung,
That Sydney's bosom kindled at their fire—
Yea, o'er the world their echoes since have rung !

Thus unto me thou art for ever dear,
Renown'd by arms and poet's thrilling lay ;
Even bards in future times shall thee revere ;
Thy fame and glory cannot pass away.

Thy people now no voice of war alarms ;
The sounding martial horn is heard no more :
Thy uplands glisten not with shining arms ;
For Peace hath hush'd to rest thy smiling shore.

Instead of threat'ning towers or bulwarks strong,
 The hall or lowly cottage charms the eye;
 No dreaded ruffian lurks thy wilds among,
 Nor ruthless foe with murd'ring steel is nigh.

Yet soon the time may come when from thy bowers,
 A sad and lonely wanderer I shall be;
 Ah then, through life will I the happy hours
 With joy remember I have spent in thee!

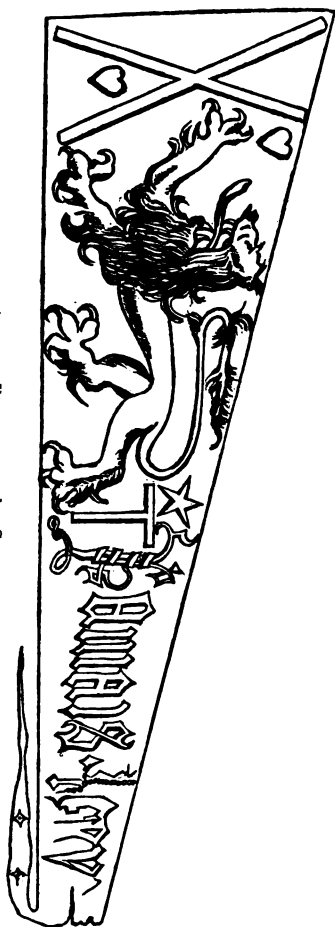
1821.

NOTE H.

Elsden—p. 34.

It would be interesting to the lovers of antiquity, could we trace the causes why many of our churches were at first built upon the spots they still occupy. That of *Elsden*, as we learn from "Saint Cuthbert," pp. 40-45, by the Rev. James Raine, M.A., owes its origin to the circumstance, that in 875, when Bishop Eardulph, the Abbot Eadred, and seven monks of Lindisfarne, by reason of the ravages of the Danes, were forced to fly with the remains of Saint Cuthbert from that island to the wilds of Northumberland, they visited *Elsden*. The coffin containing the bones of the saint and several other relics, was placed upon a car with wheels, and drawn by a few laymen of Lindisfarne who accompanied the fugitives. "Wherever they went," says the historian, quoting from Reginald, "they were received with veneration, and their wants were readily supplied. Of those among whom they sojourned, some gave money, others vestments of silk, linen, or woollen, wool or fleeces, and others of less ability, loaded them with bread and cheese." The party afterwards journeyed to the south-west by Haydon Bridge into Cumberland, wandering from place to place till 882, when they took up their residence at the monastery of Craike, in the neighbourhood of York.

Lifting the veil, therefore, from nearly a thousand years, we perceive the company advancing over Billsmoor, crossing the small burn at *Elsden* near the Mote Hills, and placing the vehicle with the saint's coffin upon it near the centre of the village on which the venerable fabric subsequently arose. Thus *Elsden Church*, dedicated as it is to Saint Cuthbert, resembles a solitary peak in the sea, which has as



ANCIENT FLAG, preserved at Cavers.

it were calmly stood for centuries above the commotion and wreck of time, and must have attracted the eyes of both Douglas and Hotspur, with nearly all their respective followers. The same may be said of the church of Ponteland. Jedburgh Abbey comes in likewise at this juncture, for its interesting associations, rising beautifully above the forest, after that crystal stream has collected its strength from the many fountains of the forest.

NOTE I.

The House of Douglas—p. 59.

Much has been said, read, and written about the ancient banner, emblem, &c. of this powerful at Clavers in Roxburghshire, of which a representation is annexed from the *Border Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 268.* A degree of mystery appears to hang over this thing which is not diminished by the care with which the family of that house preserve it from public view.

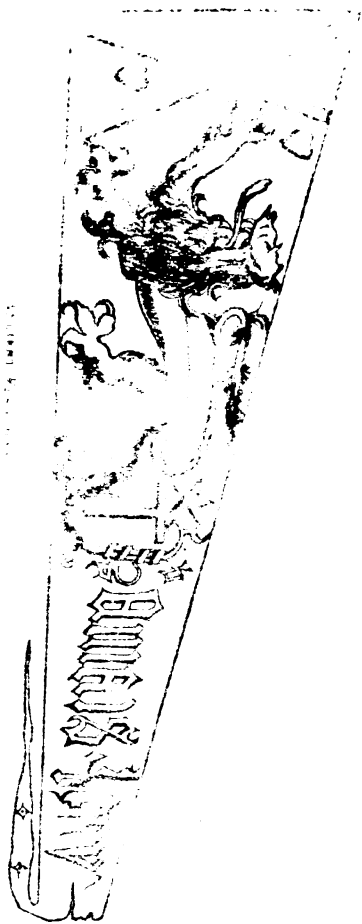
Bishop Percy, whose labours in gathering together our old native ballad-poetry ought to be held in grateful remembrance, supplied a vast amount of information respecting the Percy family to Collins, when the latter was preparing the *History of the House of Percy, England*; and for the following extract from his *History of the House of Percy*, we are doubtless indebted to the same source.

"It may be proper here to mention that the noble family of Douglas (at the present day Teriotdale) have in their possession a banner which they believe to have been the banner of the Percys, which has been informed by a person to whom we are indebted for this information, a hospitable and worthy person, to whom it is thought to be no other than an ancient servant of the Percys themselves; for it is inscribed with their own name, *arraygru*†, which is only obsolete spelling of *TAMAT* ARRY.

* In that work a figure of it is said to be Hengist's, and a representation is supplied, which, though it is not the same as the original, is nevertheless a very good one, and is the only one of the kind that has been observed.

† In company with George, Duke of Argyll, of the House of Douglas, visited all the ancient places of the Percys, and the Duke of Argyll himself was the person who pointed out the banner to the Duke of Douglas.

‡ The three last letters are all called by the same name.



it were calmly stood for centuries above the commotion and wreck of time, and must have attracted the eyes of both Douglas and Hotspur, with nearly all their respective followers. The same may be said of the church of Ponteland. Jedburgh Abbey comes in likewise at that early date for its interesting associations, rising beautifully above the Jed after that crystal stream has collected its strength from the dales and fountains of the forest.

NOTE I.

The banner of Douglas—p. 59.

Much has been conjectured, said, and written about the ancient banner, or pennon, which is preserved at Cavers, in Roxburghshire, of which a representation is annexed from the *Border Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 208.* A degree of mystery appears to hang over this flag, which is not diminished by the care with which the family of that house preserve it from public view.

Bishop Percy, whose labours in gathering together our old national ballad-poetry ought to be held in grateful remembrance, supplied a vast amount of information respecting the Percy family to Collins, when the latter was preparing the fifth edition of the *Peerage of England*; and for the following extract, taken from the said work, we are doubtless indebted to the worthy editor of *The Reliques*:—

"It may be proper here to add, that the very ancient and respectable family of Douglas of Cavers (heretofore hereditary sheriffs of Teviotdale) have in their possession an old silken flag or banner, which they believe to have been Hotspur's pennon; but we have been informed by a person,† who was admitted by the present most hospitable and worthy proprietor to inspect it, that it appeared to him to be no other than an ancient standard of the Earls of Douglas themselves: for it is inscribed with their own motto, Jamais array[ere],‡ which is only obsolete spelling for JAMAIS ARRIERE; and

* In that work is a figure of what is said to be Hotspur's pennon; but as no account is supplied either of the ornament or where it is preserved, and as no writer that I am aware of has alluded to it, the observations contained in this note apply only to the ancient flag.

† In company with George Ridpath, author of the *Border History*, Bishop Percy visited all the battle-fields on both sides of the Border. Could it be that the worthy prelate himself was the "person admitted to inspect" that venerable relic of the House of Douglas?

‡ The three last letters are effaced by time and wear.

it is adorned with their own insignia, viz., the Bloody Heart, &c. It is true there is also a White Lion introduced, which, if it has relation to any badge of the Percys, may have been inserted in defiance of that family, as if this trophy was wrested from them, according to the fantastic laws of chivalry."

Scott, adopting, probably, the above authority, in a note to the introductory remarks on the ballad of the "Battle of Otterbourne," says, "The banner of Douglas upon this memorable occasion was borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the family of Cavers, hereditary sheriffs of Teviotdale, amongst whose archives this glorious relique is still preserved."

Referring to the extract from Collins, a valued correspondent writes thus:—"Is it not quite likely that the Lion of the Percys was the original adornment, and that the captors of the pennon or banner added the insignia of Douglas as a means of setting their own mark upon a trophy of which they had so much reason to be proud?" This question opens up another view of the subject, and one that probably bears upon the truth, for the Lion would seem to have been the original figure upon the flag, and the motto, &c., of the Earls of Douglas may have been affixed to it subsequently.

The testimony of the celebrated Dr. John Leyden is too valuable to be overlooked. From being born and brought up on the barony; from his ready admission to the mansion-house and library of the ancient family of Douglas of Cavers, and from the ardour of his own inquiring mind, especially with regard to everything pertaining to Border antiquities, Dr. Leyden was the man of all others the most likely to be well informed on the subject in question; and in a note to his "Scenes of Infancy," he expressly says:—"The pennon of Percy gained in single combat at Newcastle by Douglas, before the battle of Otterburn, is still preserved by Douglas of Cavers, the lineal descendant of the chieftain by whom the battle was won." Family tradition has likewise pronounced the relic in question to be the identical pennon captured by Douglas from Hotspur in the chivalrous encounter before the walls of Newcastle.

Still, amid all this conflicting testimony, it may not be difficult to approach near the truth. The flag may be termed a pennon, if, with such an appendage near the head of his lance, Hotspur would be disposed to encounter his adversary, and if it be of such moderate size and weight that it would not impede in any way the dexterous use of that weapon. Again, if too large and weighty for such a

purpose, it may be designated a banner, though flags of that kind at the time were usually square. Moreover, the White Lion upon it would indicate that it once belonged to the Percys.

James Earl of Douglas, the "dead man who won the field" of Otterburn, was, with exception, perhaps, of the "Good Lord James," the most heroic of his heroic family; and, as he has for centuries been ranked amongst the most eminent of his country's defenders, one or two traditionary scraps or memorials connected with such a man may not be unacceptable to the reader.

It is understood that the Earl's armour is carefully preserved at Cavers,* along with other relics; and the writer has been credibly informed that, some fifty or sixty years since, a gentleman, rather below than above the middle size, was curious enough to embrace an opportunity of trying how the said suit of armour fitted him; but scarcely had he got all its clasps and rivets secured, when he found himself more tightly encased than was at all agreeable, and was never so glad in his life as when he got himself unshelled again. Another anecdote of a more remote date is told of a domestic who donned the earl's armour for the purpose of riding in a procession either to or in Edinburgh, and, owing to the tightness of its fit and the heat of the weather, he got what he never overput, or, according to the vernacular phrase, "he never did mair gude." If dependence could be placed on these anecdotes, they completely disprove what some chroniclers have written about the gigantic stature of the victor of Otterburn.

The pennon of Archibald Douglas, the young laird of Cavers, was borne in the field by a retainer of his own, a stout, trusty yeoman of the name of Staward. It is still a family tradition that this same Staward got his steel cap so damaged in the battle, that, when on his way into Scotland, he had to call at a blacksmith's shop for the purpose of getting a rivet or two put into it, to make it hang on his head till he got home. The descendants of this yeoman, whose name got modernised to Stavert, were retainers of the House of Cavers for many generations; and in the present day there may be reckoned of the

* Scott, with poetical license, in *Marmion*, makes the Earl of Angus, in Tantallon Hold, supply the suit to De Wilton, before the battle of Flodden, who exclaims to Clare:—

" These were the arms that once did turn
The tide of fight on Otterburne;
And Harry Hotspur forced to yield,
When the dead Douglas won the field."

same family some of the most respectable gentlemen-farmers on the Scottish Border.

Toward the close of the text it is stated how widely the fame of the heroes of Otterburn had circulated, and how the bravery of such champions awakened emotion in the bosoms of the great and good down to our own times. An old friend, now deceased, once told me that in the last century, at the firesides of Northumberland during the winter evenings, the feats and prowess of the Percy and the Douglas formed a never-ending theme. Have we not here a faint trace of that "hero-worship" by which, under a brighter sky, a people endowed with more lively imagination exalted their warriors into gods, and established that mythology, which—like the orders of architecture perfected in the same region—arrests the attention of all ages by its grandeur and beauty?

NOTE J.

Date of Battle—p. 59.

Dates assigned to the Battle of Otterburn by the most important of our historians and annotators :—

Froissart: early translation	August 15
„ later do.	„ 19
Hardyng	„ 5
Knyghton	„ 5
Fordun: continuation by Bower	„ 5
„ Latin Poem in—do.	„ 5
Boece, by Bellenden	„ 5
Buchanan	July 21
Hollinshead	August 5
Stowe. A Summarie of our Englysh Chronicles, 1566	„ 19
Collins' Peerage	„ 9
Carte	„ 9
Hume	„ 15
Henry	„ 10
Pinkerton	„ 19
Percy. Note to Old Ballad	„ 9
Ritson. Do. do.	„ 9
Douglas' Peerage	„ 19
Macpherson, David. Notes to Wyntown	„ 5

Scott. Minstrelsy	August 15
„ Tales of a Grandfather	Night of „ 19
Hodgson: from Froissart	Evening of „ 19
Tytler: from Macpherson's Notes to Wyntown's Cronykil.	„ 5

If reliance could be placed upon our early authorities, we might at once have concluded the battle was fought, on the morning or night of Saint Oswald's day, August 5th. But on searching for the moon's age, we learn from an excellent volume, *The Chronology of History*, by the late Sir H. Nicolas, that in 1388 it was full moon on March 26th, consequently Easter-day fell on the 29th. Again, in that year it was new moon on August 6th, and full moon on the 20th of that month, which was Saint Oswin's day. Now, it was unlikely the Scottish leaders would make an inroad upon England when they were to have little or no moon, and highly improbable that the battle could have been fought through a whole night in August, in the absence of moonlight. It is thereby assumed, that the evening of Wednesday and morning of Thursday, the 19th and 20th August, immediately before full moon, was the time when the battle of Otterburn was fought, and Saint Oswald's day might be first written by mistake for that of Saint Oswin, and followed by succeeding chroniclers. If those who incline to investigate the matter minutely, arrive at the same conclusion, some honour is due to our own Stowe, who, in his *Summarie* already mentioned under 1388, fol. 140, graphically says:—

“This yere on the XIX day of August was the battayle of Ottyr-born betweene Sir Henry Percy and the Erle Douglas, where the Erle Douglas of Scotlande through his great hardines was slayne, & after y^t. in the same battail Sir Henry and Sir Rafe Percy was taken prisoners, this bataille of Ottyrborne, was the sorest foughten battail that ever was foughten betwene the Englyshemen and the Scottes, as is by Frosard and other reported.”

NOTE K.

Ballad of “Chevy Chase”—p. 61.

As this ballad, in many of its details, is intimately connected with the history of the battle of Otterburn, two or three pages may be devoted to an account of its origin, and some particulars of its author, especially as it is not intended to include that piece among those which appear under the succeeding note.

Public attention was first drawn to the merits of the modern ballad of "Chevy Chase" by Addison, who published his observations upon it in Nos. 70 and 74 of the *Spectator*. That eminent writer was, however, mistaken, in supposing the copy he used to be the same which elicited the praise of Ben Jonson, and the high eulogium of Sir Philip Sidney in his "Defence of Poesie."* Hearne, an eminent antiquary, first rectified that error, by printing from an old manuscript, in long lines, and without division of stanzas, the ancient ballad of "Chevy Chase," under the title of "The Battle of Otterburn, commonly called Chevy Chace, written by R. Sheale, and is different from the common one," at the end of his preface to *Gulielmi Neubrigiensis Hist.* 1719. This copy, properly edited, was made known to the general reader by Bishop Percy, who gave it the first place in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1765. Since then the ballad has deservedly maintained its leading position in every new edition of that popular work.

Down to a recent period, some diversity of opinion prevailed among literary men as to the time when this ballad was composed. To the MS. copy, entitled the *Hunting a' the Cheviat*, which is still preserved in the Ashmolean collection at Oxford, and whence Hearne obtained his transcript, is subjoined the words,—*explicitly quoth Rychard Sheale*. On one of the leaves is the date 1588; and Hearne thereby remarked that the above author was living in that year. Percy and Ritson, though differing in many things, agreed in this, that Rychard Sheale was not the name of the author, but that of the transcriber; and the ballad was, therefore, the work of a much earlier writer. But, in 1814, a contributor to the *British Bibliographer*, one of Sir Egerton Brydges' valuable publications on our early literature, supplied in the fourth volume of that work, pp. 97—105, sufficient information to confirm Hearne's statement respecting the author, Rychard Sheale, to be correct. In the old volume containing the ballad there are several pieces of poetry on different subjects, written in the same hand, with the names of the authors annexed; and some of these compositions are also by the writer of "Chevy Chase." One is an *Epilogue* on the death of the Countess of Derby, which occurred in 1558, from which some extracts are

* It is possible, but not probable, that "the old song of Percy and Douglas," to which Sir Philip Sidney alluded, may have been that of "The Battle of Otterbourne." Our ancestors loved hunting; and the old bard, by making the conflict arise from a matter of dispute on this point, threw the charm of romance into "Chevy Chase," which accounts for the extensive popularity of that ballad.

given in Sir Egerton Brydges' work; and his correspondent observes, that Rychard Sheale, author of the said poem, may have written his "Chevy Chase" upwards of twenty years before that period—an antiquity somewhat greater than that attributed to it by Hearne—the date 1588 indicating the time when the poems were transcribed, and not the date at which they were first produced.

The attention of this contributor was directed to another poem in the MS. volume already mentioned, entitled *The Chaunt of Rychard Sheale*, in which many circumstances of his personal history are brought to light, and which is printed at length in the *British Bibliographer*, together with *The Farewell*,* by the same writer. It is admitted that some earlier ballad on the subject may have existed, whence Sheale borrowed his story, and even some passages of his poem; but, in the contributor's opinion, the greater portion of "Chevy Chase" is that author's own production.

Another ballad, somewhat similar, would appear to have been popular in the North before 1548, by the quotation in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, said to have been written in that year—

"The perssee & the Mongumrye met,
that day, that day, that gentil day."

Still, as Sir Philip Sidney, who was born in 1554, had listened to some poor "blinde crowder" singing "the old song of Percie and Douglas," it very probably was Sheale's version that moved the heart of that gallant and accomplished nobleman.

On reading Sir Philip's passing remark, we obtain a glimpse of the low state of minstrelsy during his time; and this is fully borne out by what Rychard Sheale himself has told us. He followed the profession of a minstrel, living at Tamworth, on the borders of Staffordshire and Warwickshire; and, being married, his wife was a "sylke woman," who sold shirts, head clothes, and laces, &c., at the fairs of Lichfield and other neighbouring towns. Being once in possession of above threescore pounds—a large amount in these days—and intending, probably, to settle various accounts contracted by his wife in her business, he left Tamworth on horseback, having his harp with him, and had the misfortune to be robbed by four villains who had lain in wait for him near Dunsmore Heath. The grief of his wife and himself at his loss—the coldness of worldly friends—the kindness of

* This is a short poem of twenty-four lines, of which eighteen are appended as a note to Scott's "Remarks on Popular Poetry." See his *Poetical Works*, vol. i. p. 62.

his patrons—the exertions of his loving neighbours at Tamworth, who induced him to brew a bushel of malt and sell the ale for his benefit, and his appeal to the public for assistance that he might clear off encumbrances, are all related in his “Chaunt,” and show him to have been a simple, harmless man. But both this poem and the “Farewell” afford humiliating evidence of the sorry life to which the poor minstrels were subjected in the early part of Queen Elizabeth’s reign.

It is likely that Rychard Sheale visited Northumberland in his wanderings, where his strains would be highly prized, and that he learned much from the common people residing there, of the descendants of the eminent warriors who were engaged in the battle of Otterburn. Of course his aim in writing the ballad was not to adhere to authentic history, but after taking up his subject, to clothe it with all the attraction he could command, and render it interesting to every listener, for therein lay the measure of his success.

That the ancient ballad of “Chevy Chase” was founded upon the battle of Otterburn, there can be no doubt whatever. We read toward the close:—

“This was the hontynge off the Cheviat;
 That tear begane this spurn:
 Old men that knowen the grownde well yenoughe,
 Call it the Battell of Otterburn.
 At Otterburn began this spurne
 Uppon a monnyn day:
 Ther was the dougghté Doglas slean,
 The Perse never went away.”

The modern ballad of the same name has been cited by Scott, as an example of the changes that take place in recited composition when it is not committed to writing. “The current version,” he observes, “is now universally allowed to have been produced by the gradual alterations of numerous reciters, during two centuries, in the course of which the ballad has been gradually moulded into a composition bearing only a general resemblance to the original—expressing the same events and sentiments in much smoother language, and more flowing and easy versification; but losing in poetical fire and energy, and in the vigour and pithiness of the expression, a great deal more than it has gained in suavity of diction.”—*Poetical Works*, i. 23, 24.

NOTE L.

*Metrical Accounts, and Ballads illustrative of the Battle of
Otterburn—p. 62.*

No. 1.

From "THE CHRONICLE OF IOHN HARDYNG." London, 1812.

THE BATAYL OF OTTURBORNE.

The earle Douglas & the earle of March also,
Northumberlande, by West the Newe Castell,
Vnto Morpath norwarde dyd mikyll wo
At Otturborne, as chronycles dyd* tell,
Henry Percy with small hoste on hym† fell,
And slewe Douglas, & many put to [the] flyght,
And gate the felde vpon his enemyes ryght.

He sent the lorde syr Thomas Vmfreuyle,
His brother Robert, & also‡ sir Thomas Grey,
And sir Mawe§ Redmayn beyond y^e Scottes that whyle,
To holde them in y^t they fled not awaye;
Wherfore the Scottes releued agayne alway,
Throuh which Henry was takē there anone,
To Dūbar led, for whom was made great mone.

The felde was his all yf y^t he were take,
The Vmfreuyle, Grey, Ogle, and Redmayne
Helde the felde hole, y^t myght so for his sake,
And knewe nothyng whetherwarde he was gayn.
The earle of Marche with preuy men alane,
Full priuely to Dunbarre with hym rode,
And kepte hym there, for he was greatly ferde. ||

The Douglas all y^t many were that daye,
Laboured full sore with wyles and great wyt
Hym to haue slayne for euer and ay,
For Douglas death, so sore they rewed it.
This batail was on saynt Oswoldes daye cōmyt,
The .xii. yere of the kyng, and of Christes date
Thirtene .C. foure score and eyght socyate.

* cronyclers doo. † theym. ‡ also. § May. || foodc.

No. 2.

From "JOANNIS DE FORDUN SCOTICHRONICON, cum Supplementis
ac Continuatione WALTERI BOWERI."—Edinburgi, 1759.

Sed quia venerabilis vir, magister Thomas de Barry Scotus, canonicus Glasguensis, primus præpositus de Bothwile, de hoc bello, satis disertè et metricè, carmina compegit, ne tam excellens opus evanescat, dignum duxit ipsum præsentibus scriptis commendare; cujus prologus sequitur:

MUSA refer fatum præscriptum carmine vatam,
Principians gratum frangere sorte statum.
Temporibus primis, probiorum corpora limis
Condebant imis prælia dura nimis.
Sed lacrymor ludens, nova bellica carmina eudens,
Mixtim concludens, metrificare studens.
Schismata regnorum lacrimalia belligerorum
Deflens binorum, cano carmina mixta dolorum.

INSULA jam Britonum duo continet optima regna,
Pacis quodque bonum quibus exulat arte malignâ.
Ex omni parte sunt corpora diruta Marte.
Hic pax vi cartæ non fit, nec qualibet arte.
Hic pereunt gentes: hic succubere potentes:
Hic cives flentes plangunt et rure manentes.
Hic sunt argentes brumali tempore dentes.
Concutiunt mentes, trepidant sine fine dolentes.
Hic pater et natus simul occidit ense necatus.
Iste cruentatus ruit, hic perit incineratus:
Isteque prædatus, hic exulat, hic spoliatus:
Alter ditatus; luget alter pulvere stratus.
Anglos Scotigenæ gladiatorum cuspide frangunt.
Scotos Angligenæ flammaram caumate tangunt.
Quid facio? taceo: mala tot per regna diescunt.
Me quatio; ratio perit. Heu! guerræ juvenescunt.
Gentes gaudentes victrices glorificantur,
Flentes, plangentes, devicti subpeditantur.
Quos angit, frangit illos nova guerra patenter:
Hos tangit, plangit bellum campestre recenter.

Ottirburnense bellum novitate recense :
 Augusti mense gens plurima corrui ense.
 Vates linguosi, trutinantes carmine fata,
 Quæ cano bella data, darent esse fabulosa.
 Quinta dies mensis, fuerat quæ Mercurialis,*
 Agminibus densis mors imperat exitialis.
 Annis millenis, centum quater, hinc duodenis
 Exceptis, plenis miscentur gaudia threnis.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS, INCIPIT BELLUM.

CUM sol retrogradus, radiante calore, Leonem
 Induit, hincque gradus sub Virgine dans stationem,
 Atque Gigas, lux quæ fuerat, Cancro dominante,
 Diminuens Pigmæus adest; hoc tempore stante,
 Magno † proborum tunc damno belligerorum
 Per patrias horum superant nocumenta priorum.
 Integer exercitus Scotorum, heu! separatur,
 Deum sunt dispersi, sua virtus debilitatur.
 Maxima pars occidentem vastando peragrat :
 Sed minor intrat orientem, sic undique flagrat.
 Unanimus ferit hic cuneus quos lædere temptat.
 Caumate quos vastat hic facit exiguos.
 Hic Jacobus fuit, ac Georgius, inde Johannes,
 De Douglas, Dunbar comites, et Moraviensis.
 Hunc cor exhilarat, et fulgida stella decorat;
 Hunc Leo fortificat rosa circumstans et honorat:
 Lilia translata, tria pulvinaria lata,
 Primitus arma data stant ‡ Moraviensia grata.
 Scotica turba recedit, consona semper obedit
 His tribus; haud ibi redit, quin multos malè lædit.
 Usque Novum macerant castrum, patrias peragrando.
 Tecta, domos lacerant, patriotas damnificando.
 Hic patet in portis, geminando pericula mortis,
 In fortem fortis feriens utriusque cohortis.

* En certiorum temporis notam, quæ convenit dici v. Augusti A.D. MCCCLXXXVIII. unde magis mirandum est Buchananum, aliosque qui hunc auctorem præ manibus habebant, adeo in die et mense errasse.

† *Magna proborum tunc dominorum belligerorum*, MSS. Col. Ed. Cupr. Perth. et Harl.

‡ *Sunt pro stant*, ibid.

DE INSULTU NOVI-CASTRI PER SCOTOS.

JAM fragor armorum Scotorum moenia sternit,
 Cernit et hic pugiles agiles, dum buccina clangit,
 Frangit turma fores, modò res arctissima crescit.
 Fervescit parvis armis gens improba Scota.
 Mota, sed Anglorum lorum plebs laxat abundè.
 Unde fit insultus stultus, probitate rependens,
 Defendens muros duros gladius ferit ictus.
 Conflictus fortis portis fit, et hi jaculantur,
 Rixantur, feriunt, pereunt hastilia stracta,
 Nacta per armatos elatos. Undique turbæ
 Urbe petras jaciunt: faciunt quod machina tensa
 Intensata tenet, donec cum murmure mortem
 Fortem prosternat, cernat quæcunque loquatur.
 Grassatur rixa, confixa sagitta recedit,
 Cædit, pugnantes lassantes intùs et extrà.
 Dextra tædet Martis partis cujusque, sed illa
 De villa revocat, vocat, et Scoti retrocedunt,
 Cædunt, decedunt, lædunt, et ab urbe recedunt.

QUOMODO REDIERUNT SCOTI AD PROPRIA.

VILLAM linquentes, vexilla per arva ferentes,
 Splendida pandentes redeunt patriam repetentes.
 Ad fluvium Rede redeunt hi requiescunt:
 Prorsus ab hac cæde velle non posse pavescunt.
 Hinc figunt varia tentoria, per campoa,
 Sed multifaria sunt per campos Pharisea.
 Hi coenam præparant, hi papilione quiescunt;
 Hi spoliare parant, hi dormire calescunt.
 Exploratores majores sive minores,
 Nullos ante fores mittunt, sunt deteriores.
 His gestis, pestis nova fulminat ecce proborum
 Conveniunt, veniunt gens bellica Saxoniorum.
 Duxit et instruxit Percy multos probitate
 Notos, ignotos, præclaros nobilitate.
 Dixit et indixit cordatis prælia dura:
 Scivit et ascivit Scotorum bella futura.

Armetis, detis pugnam Scotis; fugitivi
 Sunt, timidi, pavidī; capientur carcere vivi,
 Et tuti scuti sub tegmine sunt spatiando,
 Cedunt, decedunt, propriam patriam peragrandō;
 Lassati, strati, sub papillione quiescunt;
 Vitant, dormitant, nihil sub nube timescunt.
 Invigilet, strigilet mannos quilibet sine lora;
 Imponat, ponat, sua quilibet arma decora,
 Et leviter, breviter prædones corde sequamur;
 Per dictos victos fugientes nos animamur.
 Ridens, deridens Scotos, si corda suorum
 Flammat et inflammat convivas belligerorum,
 Dicens, incidens, Nunc ni sitis animosi,
 Scoti commoti stabunt sine fine jocosī;
 Flebit, languebit succumbens Anglia tristis.
 Fatur et hortatur Anglos sermonibus istis.

QUOMODO ANGLICI PROCEDUNT AD CAMPUM.

ARMA petunt acies, disponunt, bella minantur,
 Ad Scotos facies vertentes confœderantur.
 Terror non modicus fuit, abfuit omnis amicus;
 Presbyter et laicus fit Scotigenis inimicus.
 Arcitenens arcus tendens, nonvult fore parvus,
 Tela sagittarum limans ad vulnus amarum.
 Jam reputant Scotos, ab eis non longè remotos,
 Victos, captivos, redimendos, carcere vivos.
 Hic armatorum glomeratur turba virorum,
 Illic conventum disponunt arcitenentū.
 Sunt pugnaturi cultris, gladiisque, securi;
 Hastas protelant, vexillaque plura revelant.
 Et clamant mille, Percyque, et Georgius ille,
 Anglia sic pangit, quam magna superbia tangit.
 Sed fallit fatum qui te putat esse probatum,
 Quòd fortuna levis sic docet hora brevis.

QUOMODO SCOTI DISPONUNT SE AD CAMPUM.

SIC venientibus, atque scientibus, agmine Scotis
 Sunt vehementer corda paventia, cognita notis;

Nullaque pausa, nec sine causa, clamor abundat.
 Buccina plangit, quos timor angit virtus inundat.
 Arma petentes, cor retinentes, hiccine clangor.
 Tunc subitus fuit hic aditus, pluit undique languor.
 Angor adest, quia tempus erat breve quel quasi nullum :
 Nec fatur socio quis, nec dux instruit ullum.
 Spiritibus tamen inde suis cum corde refertis
 Ensibus instant, hostibus obstant rure repertis.

COMES DE DOUGLAS ALLOQUITUR SUOS.

ALLOQUITUR Douglas lætus in armis
 Suscitāt in brevibus voce gigantis,
 Consolidans animos commilitonum,
 Ut dux intrepidus intulit ista :
 Hostes confluere non evidetis ?
 Præcípites veniunt ordine nullo.
 Quamvis sint multi, nil timeatis ;
 Non tenet in multis gloria belli.
 Fortiter obstetis hostibus istis,
 Et sitis memores jam prohibetis.
 Fronte prioristas sternite, namque
 Si primo titubent, non relevabunt.
 Hi veteres vestri sunt inimici,
 Tollere qui vestra fraude conantur.
 Et cupiunt servos vos juga ferre,
 Et vos cum vestris adnihilare.
 Insuper ecclesiæ injuriantur.
 Schismatizant, Papam cognoscere verum
 Nolunt, errorem paturientes ;
 Justitiæque Deo fraudibus obstant.
 His causis igitur consideratis,
 Belletis acriter pro patriotis.
 Victores eritis, non dubitetis,
 Et vobis eveniet vespera felix,
 Vosque coronabit gloria belli,
 Laus sine fine manens, fama perennis.
 Scribentur chronicis nomina vestra
 Dulci victorum stemmate compta.

Hæc ait, et mandat arma parare,
 Pandere vexillum corde choruscum.
 Ad campum properat, quo videt hostes,
 Gaudia prætendens vultibus altis :
 Qui, nisi sic lætus hos animâsset,
 Plures retrogradi fortè fuissent :
 Idcirco studuit bella movere,
 Et properat citiùs, ne respiscant.
 Hortatur, propii quisquis honoris
 Si memor ; et pugnet cum pede fixo.
 Jam peditant proceres, sed primus ipse,
 Ad loca conflictûs progrediuntur.

QUOMODO ANGLI PROPERANT AD BELLUM.

Nec tamen aggreditur, nisi quos audacia tangit,
 Aut honor armorum ; vel quos verecundia frangit :
 Maxima disparitas fuit hîc per prælia facta.
 Nulla fuit paritas, nec concordantia pacta.
 Angli millenis armatis congregiuntur.
 Scoti centenis et inermibus inficiuntur.
 Angli concordēs capiunt proposita fixa ;
 Scoti discordes variant, sed non sine rixa.
 Componunt ludos Scoti varios spatiantes ;
 Ut perimant nudos, Angli sunt insidiantes.
 Angli descensum montis consultè lucrantur :
 Dum petit ascensum gens Scotica, debilitantur.
 Hic pede firmato pedetentim progrediuntur :
 Gurgite lutato per aquosa sed hi gradiuntur.
 Anglicus iste capit spatium socios animandi :
 Parum in arte sapit Scotus pugiles recreandi.
 In propriis fuit Anglica gens sic corde levata,
 Magnanimes reputant minimos per tecta locata.
 Jam propè tendunt, aëra findunt, prælia prægnant :
 Hi gladiantes, hi jugulantes undique regnant.

IPSUM BELLUM.

SOL, radiorum lumina condens, Antipodes petit, Hesperus instat.
 Et moritur, pereunte die, lux ; tunc acies hæ congregiuntur.

Jam furit ensis, lancea rumpitur, et cadit aggere fracta securis.
 Miles et armiger hic cadit, hæccine turma moritur multa proborum.
 Moraviensis miles in armis fronte præambulâ hostibus obstat,
 Poplite fixo, vertice nudo certat Achilli vincere campum.
 Armipotentes, arcitenentes, morte ruentes hic perierunt;
 Hic meliores, et probiores, arte priores succubuerunt.
 Vulnere grandia sunt data; saucia corpora florida contenebrantur.
 Interimit, jacet, et ferit, hic rapit occiput, artus, brachia, crura:
 Colla timentia, corda valentia, sic patientia conquatuntur.
 Miles honorum sic memor horum, quos solet omnis victor, habetur.
 Pellitur illac, sternitur istac quisquis retrogradus, ordine verso.
 Hic feritur, feriens ferit et perit; iste moritur sanguine fuso.
 Hic rapitur, rapiens rapit; hic capitur capiens: sic sors variatur.
 Hic capit armiger, ense retruditur miles, et omnis surgit utroque;
 Surgit et occidit: est variabilis ars tenebrescens sorte sororum:
 Nam levat istum, sternit et illum; ridet et angit, pungit et ungit.
 Presbyteri cum cordigeris veniunt patuli licet, ordine spreto,
 Ut fatui fatuando ruunt, similes laicis miseri perimuntur.
 Fortuitò, sed agente Deo, cessit subitò victoria Scotis:
 Anglicolarum, cor fit amarum, terga dederunt et retrocedunt.

DE FUGA ANGLORUM.

JAM furor ignescit; gladiis feriunt ferientem:
 Et fuga fervescit, vinclis capiunt capientem.
 Lumina nox nescit, per quam rapiunt rapientem:
 Maxima nam crescit strages, perimit perimentem.
 Gloria splendet Scotis, reprimunt reprimentem.
 Clamor inardescit docti, sapiens sapientem
 Lanceâ mordescit, jaculis jaciunt jacentem;
 Plagaque turgescit, hastis quatunt quatientem.
 Scotia ditiescit, captum redimunt, redimentem
 Vulnere compescit, dum sic fugiunt fugientem.

SCOTI REDEUNT AD TENTORIA.

HOSTIBUS afflictis, victis, peditando fugatis,
 Unanimes redeunt, repetunt sua, vi prohibitatis,
 Vexillis densis, extensis, tecta petendo.
 Anglos discernunt,* cernunt suos perimendo.

* Anglos distribuunt, tribuunt suos, &c. *edit. H.*

Jam nova guerra movet, foveat hos, redeunt trucidando :
 Tectaque per lustra, lustra quos inde vagando
 Comperit, interimit, reprimat multos fugientes :
 Quosque captivos vivos tenet usque dolentes,
 Vincere se credens, lædens quos lædere possit,
 Nec Anglos victos strictos succumbere noscit.
 His tamen auditis, *Scitis quòd improba Scota*
Gens fuerat victrix, dictrix sic concio tota
 Aufugit, et Scoti moti gladiando sequuntur,
 Per noctis tenebras latebras simul ingrediuntur :
 Quærunt obscuris ruris per stricta latere
 Anglos in clivis, declivis nocte jacere.
 Anglicus et fatus notus cadit ex propriorum
 Ictibus, et frutices latice petat omnis ; et horum
 Quidam sternuntur, salvantur, et hi capiuntur ;
 Quidam prædantur, spoliuntur, et hi perimuntur.
 Nocte carent claritatis radiisque, quilibet
 Ferit ense paritatis socium ; sed aniliter
 Fuerant caritatis pugiles, juveniliter
 Sunt austeritatis, sed stemmate vili
 Quisque se lætum simulans putat affore letum.
 Sed moriens fretum solvit discrimine fretum.
 Anglica gens demens ruit hîc, verum quia demens ;
 Papa cui Clemens non curavit fore clemens.
 Completur fatum per maxima tempora, fatum
 Quamvis sit latum tempus tamen est modò latum.
 Anglicus se victum scit, quærens carcere victum,
 Ac videt ut Pictum Scotum fore corpore pictum.

SCOTI DE MANE SCRUTANTUR CAMPUM.

SOLE sequestrante noctem, tenebrasque fugante,
 Et radios dante lucis, clarescit ut antè,
 Campum scrutantur, defuncti connumerantur,
 Noti rimantur, quos, quisque suos, lacrimantur.
 Inveniunt stratos multos et subpeditatos,
 Multos mactatos, omnes ut oves spoliatos.
 Nobilis ille comes de Douglas ecce moritur,
 Stirps generosa, fomes clarissimus, heu ! reperitur
 Mortuus. Ille fuit Scotorum vera lucerna,

Hic superando ruit probus, ex probitate paternâ
 Miles magnanimus } Patriæ pugil hic pretiosus :
 Omnibus unanimus }

Hic victor moritur : Res ardua resque stupenda,
 Martyrium patitur pro libertate tuenda.

Strenuus atque pius Hert miles in arte Robertus,
 Fortis et egregius, est mortuus inde repertuus.

Ecce ! Johannes hîc de Turribus est jaculatus
 Miles, et est illic de vulnere mortificatus.

Willelmus gratus de Fixo-monte per arva
 Hîc moritur stratus ; vis non fuerat sua parva.

Simon et occubuit de Glendonwin, vir honestus,
 Armiger erubuit, fuerat recedere mœstus.

Ut mater natum, sic Gledstan ploro pusillum,
 Heu ! juvenem gratum mors aspera destruit illum.

Wedderburnensis mortem fleo, nam velut ensis
 Asper erat ; densis ruit ictibus undique tensis.

Vexillum comitis Balram relevare conatur,
 Post finem litis mortem sibi plaga minatur.

Multi sunt cæsi, multi sunt carcere capti,
 Multi sunt læsi, de perstando minus apti.

Prenduntur Percy cum fratre suo juniore,
 Primævo flore bellant, sed carcere versi.
 Belligeri multi, probitatis stemmate culti,
 Stragibus indulti moriuntur, et inde sepulti.
 Scribere nescivi quot morte cadunt, sive vivi
 Quot sunt captivi, bellantes gurgite rivi,
 Præcones referunt pauci quod agone steterunt,
 Miraque fecerunt, tam pauci prævaluerunt.
 In veterum gestis nunquam reperitur honestis,
 Quodd transit pestis, contingere forte potest his
 Qui permanserunt : fortes, stabiles in agone,
 Pignus honoris erunt retinentes hac ratione.
 Gloria solennis sit eis, nam fama perennis
 Hic volitat pennis, sua lux, sua laus ciliennis
 Nunquam nigretur ; chronicis victoria detur,
 Publica scribetur, quia scribi digna meretur.
 Hic honor accrescit, armis, laus digna diescit,
 Finem laus nescit, victoria tanta patescit.
 Qui campo cessit, vel qui fugiendo recessit,

Laus huic surdescit, titubans et honore vilescit.
 Certat legitimè nisi quis pugnans in agone,
 Indignus propriæ reputabitur esse coronæ.
 Indecoresque fugâ pudeat caput ultra levare ;
 Maxima namque ruga sine principe sit patriare.
 Maximus esse solet pudor intactis fugiendi,
 Nobile cor redolet, licet occidit, hîc remanendi.

DE RECESSU SCOTORUM AD PROPRIAS PARTES.

INDE Jovis veniente die, pars magna cohortis
 Læsa dolet, jam tecta levat, per prata retortis
 Chordis cum palis, tuba personat, inde recedunt
 Combustis balis se victores simul edunt.
 Signifer expandit vexillula splendida ventis,
 Passibus et pandit lætum cor nobile lentis.
 Ducunt captivos plures victoribus arotè,
 Per vada, per clivos, hîc dantes vincula parcè
 De paucis faciunt aciem, sic progrediuntur,
 Nec læsos quatiunt, dum partes ingrediuntur :
 Ad proprias partes redeunt per gaudia flentes,
 Et comitis recolendo ruinam, tristè gementes.

Hæc ideo metra mixta fleo, victoria gaudet,
 Mors comitis flentum dare tristia cordibus audet.

CONCLUSIO.

O DEUS! istarum miserere potens animarum,
 Hîc defunctarum recolens certamen amarum.
 Passio mortalis pro libertate realis,
 Sempiternalis sit plena remissio talis.
 O rex! cunctorum qui præmia das meritorum,
 Prælia regnorum fac pacificare duorum,
 Et mala comprime, bellaque destrue, jurgia dirime, pax dominetur :
 Divina potentia regna per omnia, tempora singula, sanctificetur.
 Climatis ast actor sit pacis climatis auctor :
 Nam pacis factor colitur, pacis quoque fautor.
 Rex æternorum, bellum pessundato sævum :
 Gloria victorum nullum moritura per ævum. AMEN.

No. 3.

From "DE OBYGYNALE CRONYKIL of SCOTLAND, be ANDREW of
WYNTOWN, Priowr of Sanct Serfis Ynche in Loch Levyn."

London, 1795.

A.D. De Erle Jámys, we spak of ere,
1388. Had gaddryd worthy men of Were,
 Qwhill he wes welle to sevyn thowsand,
 Ðan thought, þat he mycht tak on hand
 Wyth þat Menyhè, þat he had þare,
 In Ingland, but mare helpe, to fare.
 He held his way wyth his Menyhè,
 For of Corage gret wes he,
 And to þe New-castelle a-pon Tyne
 He ráde, or evyr he wald fyne.
 Hys Knychtis þare and his Sqwyeris
 Lychtyd, and faucht at þe Barreris,
 And he in Stále howyd all stil.
 Qwhen his Folk fouchtyn had þare fill,
 And he lang qwhile had hovyð þare,
 He tuk his way hámwart to fare.
 All þe Floure of Northwmbyrland
 Wes þat tyme in þe Towne lyand,
 And frá Yhork northwart hályly,
 Wyth yhoung Schyre Henry de Percy,
 Dat gert aspy þe Erlis Rowt
 Of Fyfe; bot, for it wes swá stowt,
 He durst noucht sete hym þare to fycht.
 Ðare-for frá þine he turnyd hym rycht
 Towart þe Erle þan of Dowglas,
 Schyre Jámys, þat in his Cuntré was;
 Dis Erle Jámys til his Cuntrè
 Passand wyth all his folk wes he.
 Ðan þis Schyr Henry de Percy
 Folowand on in welle gret hy,
 Ðat had in his Ost ten thowsand,
 As mony men þan bare on hand,
 He folowyd þis Erle Jámys Trás,
 And ráde, ay qwhill he cummyn was
 Til Ottyrburne in Ryddysdale.

A.D.
1388.

De Erle Jámys wyth his Rowte hále
 Dare gert stent þare Pavillownys,
 And for þe Hete tuk on syd Gwnys,
 And ordaynd þaim for til ete
 Swylk, as þat tyme þai mycht get.
 Bot rycht schort qwhil eftyr þat,
 As at þare Mete sum of þame sate,
 A yhowng man come rycht fast rydand,
 Ðat saw þare Fáys cum at þare hand;
 He cryid, 'Hawys Army's hastily.'
 And þai þame armyd spedly;
 Bot þat wes dwne wyth swá gret spede,
 Ðat mony fályhyd in þat nede
 Cusseis, or Greis, or Braseris,
 Or Armyng als on sere maneris.
 De Erle Jámys wes sá besy
 For til ordane his Cumpany,
 And on his Fáys for to pas,
 Ðat rekles he of his armyng was.
 De Erle of Murrawys Bassenet,
 Ðai sayd, at þat tyme wes foryhete.

Ðai saw þare Fáis nere cummand
 Owte-oure a Brá downe awaland,
 Ðat delt ware in Batallis twá:
 De Percy had þe mást of þá;
 De topir Rowte, þat by þame ráde,
 Schyr Mawe of þe Redmane and Ogil hade.
 Ðat had ordanyd þe Percy
 Wyth all þame of his Cumpany
 To mete þe Erle, gyve he wald fycht:
 De topir Rowt þan ryde suld rycht
 Til þe Pavillownys, and þare
 Qwhen þe gret Rowte fechtand ware,
 Destroy and ala all, þat þai fand.

Wyth þis þe Erle Jámys wes passand
 Towart his Fáys þe nerrast way,
 Qwhare Buskis ware, as I herd say,
 Qwhare Inglis men saw noucht his cummyng;
 For þai had welle mare behaldyng
 To Scottis Comownys, þat þai saw fley.

A.D.
1388.

And qwhen þai had a lytil wey
Behaldyn þe Folk, þat fleand was,
Schr Jámys þan of Dowglas
Wes passyd þe Buskis, and suddanly
He boltyd up welle nere-hand þame by
Wyth twelf displayid Baneris, or má.
And qwhen þe Inglis men saw þame swá
Cum on swá nere, and suddanly,
Ðai ware abaysyd rycht grettumly,
And lychtyd sum dele in affray.
Ðai kynt þaim noucht in swilk aray,
As þai befor áwysyd ware;
For þan þare Fáyis war sá nere,
Ðat þai mycht mak ná gret knyttyng,
Bot as it fell in-til hapnyng.
Wyth stout Affere noucht-for-þi
Ðai assemblyd full hardyly.
Ðe day wes at þare assemblyng
Rycht at þe Swynnys downe-gangyng;
Ðai faucht rycht stoutly al þe nycht.
Swá fell Ure, þat of þe Fycht
Ðe Vycory þe Scottis had.
Of men gret Martyry þai made:
Ðare Inglis men war wtrelly
Wencust; and táne wes þe Percy,
And his Brodyr alsuá wes táne.
Ðe Erle Jámys þare wes slane,
Ðat ná man wyst on qwhat manere.
 Ðis suld ken Cheftanyis in-to Were,
For til have gud men ay þaim by
In Fycht for to kepe þare body:
For alsvelle ellis may be slayne
A mychty Man, as may a Swayne:
Swá fell on hym in-to þat stede.
Perchawns he had noucht bene dede,
And he had sete on hym Yhemsele.
Bot worthyly he deyed and welle;
For throw his Corage, þat wes stowte,
Ðe Ovyr-hand his Folk had þare but dowte.

A.D.
1388.

Qwhen þir men vencust war, as I
 Have tald, þe Scottis men hydowsly
 Herd at Pawillownys cry and rare:
 Ðai wýst, þat nere þare Fáis ware,
 And sped þame þhiddywart in hy.
 Ðare fand þai Inglis men hámlý
 Duelland, as all þare awne ware.
 Ðan schot þai stoutly on þame þare,
 And slwe welle nere all þat þai fand:
 Ðai ware nere all þe nycht slayand.
 Sum sayis a thowsand deyd þare;
 Sum, fyftene hundyr; and sum, mare.
 Ðare deyd on þe Scottis Party
 Twa Knychtis, þat ware well hardy:
 Schyre Robert Hert men callyd þe táne,
 He rycht in-to þe Feld wes slayne;
 Schyr Jhone of þe Towris, þe toþir, syne
 Come wondyt háme, and þare made Fyne.
 And Schyr Thomas of Erskyne was
 Fellely wondyt in þe Face.
 Ðe Scottis men þat nycht þare lay.
 And on þe morn, qwhen it wes day,
 Ðe Erle Jámys þai nakyd fand
 Amang þe dede men þare lyand,
 Ðat had a grete wonde in þe Hals,
 Ane-opir in þe Vysage als.
 Ðai had hym til his Pawillowne;
 Syne háme til have hym þai made þaim bowne.
 Qwhill nerhand myd morn þai duelt þare,
 Syne tuk þare way hámwart to fare;
 Wyth þame þare wondyt men had þai.
 And Presoneris, as I herd say,
 Ware als feil as þe Ledaris nere.
 And rydand a-pon swilk manere
 Háme in þare Cuntrè syne come þai,
 And til þare Ressettis held þare way.

No. 4.

From "RELIQUES OF ANCIENT ENGLISH POETRY." Fourth Edition.
London, 1794.

THE BATTLE OF OTTERBOURNE.

Yt felle abowght the Lamasse tyde,
When husbonds wyynn ther haye,
The dowghtye Dowglasse bowynd hym to ryde,
In Ynglond to take a praye :

The yerlle of Fyffe, withowghten stryffe,
He bowynd hym over Sulway :
The grete wolde ever together ryde ;
That race they may rue for aye.

Over 'Ottercap' hyll they came in,
And so dowyn by Rodelyffe cragge,
Upon Grene 'Leyton' they lyghted dowyn,
Styrande many a stagge :

And boldely brente Northomberlonde,
And haryed many a towyn ;
They dyd owr Ynglyssh men grete wrange,
To battell that were not bowyn.

Than spake a berne upon the bent,
Of comforte that was not colde,
And sayd, "We have brent Northomberlond,
We have all welth in holde.

"Now we have haryed all Bamboroweshyre,
All the welth in the worlde have wee ;
I rede we ryde to Newe Castell,
So styll and stalwurthlye."

Uppon the morowe, when it was daye,
The standards schone fulle bryght ;
To the Newe Castelle the toke the waye,
And thether they cam fulle ryght.

Sir Henry Percy laye at the Newe Castelle,
I telle yow withowtten drede;
He had byn a march-man all hys dayes,
And kepte Barwyke upon Twede.

To the Newe Castell when they cam,
The Skottes they cryde on hyght,
"Syr Harye Percy, and thow byste within,
Com to the fylde, and fyght:

"For we have brente Northomberlonde,
Thy eritage good and ryght;
And syne my logeyng I have take,
With my brande dubbyd many a knyght."

Sir Harry Percy cam to the walles,
The Skottyssh oste for to se;
"And thow hast brente Northomberlond,
Full sore it rewyth me.

"Yf thou hast haryed all Bambarowe shyre,
Thow hast done me grete envye;
For the trespasse thow hast me done,
The tone of us schall dye."

"Where schall I byde the," sayd the Dowglas?
"Or where wylt thow come to me?"—
"At Otterborne in the hygh way,
Ther maist thow well logeed be.

"The roo full rekeles ther sche rinnes,
To make the game and glee:
The fawkon and the fesaunt both,
Amonge the holtes on 'hee.'

"Ther maist thow have thy welth at wyll,
Well looged ther maist be.
Yt schall not be long, or I com the tyll,"
Sayd Syr Harry Percy.

"Ther schall I hyde the," sayd the Dowglas,
"By the fayth of my bodye."—
"Thether schall I com," sayd Syr Harry Percy;
"My trowth I plyght to the."

A pype of wyne he gave them over the walles,
For soth, as I yow saye:
Ther he mayd the Douglas drynke,
And all hys oste that daye.

The Dowglas turnyd hym homewarde agayne,
For soth withowghten naye,
He tooke his logeyng at Oterborne
Uppon a Wedyns-day:

And ther he pyght hys stander dowyn,
Hys gettyng more and lesse,
And syne he warned his men to goo
To chose ther geldyngs gresse.

A Skottysshe knyght hoved upon the bent,
A wache I dare well saye:
So was he ware on the noble Percy
In the dawnyng of the daye.

He prycked to his pavyleon dore,
As faste as he myght ronne,
"Awaken, Dowglas," cryed the knyght,
"For hys love, that syttes yn trone.

"Awaken, Dowglas," cryed the knyght,
"For thow maiste waken wyth wyne:
Yender have I spyed the prowde Percy,
And seven standardes wyth hym."—

"Nay by my trowth," the Douglas sayed,
"It is but a fayned taylle:
He durste not loke on my bred banner,
For all Ynglonde so haylle.

"Was I not yesterdaye at the Newe Castell,
That stonds so fayre on Tyne?
For all the men the Percy hade,
He cowde not garre me ones to dyne."

He stepped owt at hys pavelyon dore,
To loke and it were lesse;
"Araze yow, lordyngs, one and all,
For here bygynnes no peysse.

"The yerle of Mentaye, thow arte my eme,
The forwarde I gyve to the:
The yerlle of Huntlay cawte and kene,
He schall wyth the be.

"The lorde of Bowghan in armure bryght
On the other hand he schall be:
Lorde Jhonstone, and lorde Maxwell,
They to schall be with me.

"Swynton fayre fylde upon your pryde
To batell make yow bowen:
Syr Davy Scotte, Syr Walter Stewarde,
Syr Jhon of Agurstone."

A FYTTE.

The Persay came byfore hys oste,
Wych was ever a gentyll knyght,
Upon the Dowglas lowde can he crye,
"I wyll holde that I have hyght:

"For thow haste brente Northumberlonde,
And done me grete envye;
For thys trespasse thou hast me done,
The tone of us schall dye."

The Dowglas answerde hym agayne
With grete wurdz up on 'hee,'
And sayd, "I have twenty agaynst 'thy' one,
Byholde and thow maiste see."

• •

Wyth that the Percye was grevyd sore,
 For sothe as I yow saye :
 He lyghted downyn upon his fote,
 And schoote his horsse clene away.

Every man sawe that he dyd soo,
 That ryall was ever in rowght ;
 Every man schoote hys horsse him froo,
 And lyght hym rowynde abowght.

Thus Syr Hary Percye toke the fylde,
 For soth, as I yow saye :
 Jesu Cryste in hevyn on hyght
 Dyd helpe hym well that daye.

But nyne thowzand, ther was no moo ;
 The cronykle wyll not layne :
 Forty thowsande Skottes and fowre
 That day fowght them agayne.

But when the batell byganne to joyne,
 In haast ther came a knyght,
 'Then' letters fayre furth hath he tayne
 And thus he sayd full ryght :

" My lorde, your father he gretes yow well,
 Wyth many a noble knyght ;
 He desyres yow to byde
 That he may see thys fyght.

" The Baron of Grastoke ys com owt of the west,
 Wyth hym a noble companye ;
 All they loge at your fathers thys nyght,
 And the Battal fayne wold they see."—

" For Jesu's love," sayd Syr Harye Percy,
 " That dyed for yow and me,
 Wende to my lorde my Father agayne,
 And saye thow saw me not with yee :

"My trowth ys plyght to yonne Skottysch knyght,
It nedes me not to layne,
That I schulde byde hym upon thys bent,
And I have hys trowth agayne :

"And if that I wende off thys grownde
For soth unfoughten awaye,
He wolde me call but a kowarde knyght
In hys londe another daye.

"Yet had I lever to be rynde and rente,
By Mary that mykel maye ;
Then ever my manhod schulde be reprovyd
Wyth a Skotte another daye.

"Wherefore schote, archars, for my sake,
And let scharpe arowes flee :
Mynstrells, playe up for your waryson,
And well quyt it schall be.

"Every man thynke on hys trewe love,
And marke hym to the Trenite :
For to God I make myne avowe
This day wyll I not fle."

The blodye Harte in the Dowglas armes,
Hys standerde stode on hye ;
That every man myght full well knowe :
By syde stode Starres thre.

The whyte Lyon on the Ynglysh parte,
Forsoth as I yow sayne ;
The Lucetts and the Cressawnts both :
The Skotts faught them agayne.

Uppon sent Andrewe lowde cane they crye,
And thrysse they schowte on hyght,
And syne marked them one owr Ynglysshe men,
As I have tolde yow ryght.

Sent George the bryght owr ladyes knyght,
To name they were full fayne,
Owr Ynglysshe men they cryde on hyght
And thrysse the schowtte agayne.

Wyth that scharpe arowes began to flee,
I tell yow in sertayne;
Men of armes byganne to joyne;
Many a dowghty man was ther slayne.

The Percy and the Dowglas mette,
That ether of other was fayne;
They schapped together, whyll that the swette,
With swords of fyne Collayne;

Tyll the bloode from their bassonetts ranne,
As the roke doth in the rayne.
"Yelde the to me," sayd the Dowglas,
"Or ells thow schalt be slayne:

"For I see, by thy bryght bassonet,
Thow arte sum man of myght;
And so I do by thy burnysshed brande,
Thow art an yerle, or ells a knyght."—

"By my good faythe," sayd the noble Percy,
"Now haste thou rede full ryght,
Yet wyll I never yelde me to the,
Whyll I may stonde and fyght."

They swapped together, whyll that they swette,
Wyth swordes scharpe and long;
Ych on other so faste they beette,
Tyll ther helmes cam in peyses dowyn.

The Percy was a man of strenght,
I tell yow in thys stounde,
He smote the Dowglas at the swordes length,
That he felle to the growynde.

The sworde was scharpe and sore can byte,
I tell yow in sertayne;
To the harte, he cowde hym smyte,
Thus was the Douglas slayne.

The stonderds stode styll on elke syde;
With many a grevous grone,
Ther the fowght the day, and all the nyght,
And many a dowghty man was 'slone.'

Ther was no freke, that ther wolde flye,
But styffly in stowre can stond,
Ychone hewyng on other whyll they might drye,
Wyth many a bayllefull bronde.

Ther was slayne upon the Skottes syde,
For soth and sertenly,
Syr James a Dowglas ther was slayne,
That daye that he cowde dye.

The yerlle of Mentaye he was slayne,
Grysely groned uppon the growynd;
Syr Davy Scotte, Syr Walter Steward,
Syr 'John' of Agurstonne.

Syr Charles Morrey in that place
That never a fote wold flye;
Sir Hughe Maxwell, a lorde he was,
With the Dowglas dyd he dye.

Ther was slayne upon the Skottes syde,
For soth as I yow saye,
Of fowre and forty thowsande Scotts
Went but eyghtene awaye.

Ther was slayne upon the Ynglysshe syde,
For soth and sertenlye,
A gentell knyght, Sir John Fitz-hughe,
Yt was the more petye.

Syr James Harebotell ther was slayne,
For hym ther hartes were sore,
The gentyll 'Lovelle' ther was slayne,
That the Percys standerd bore.

Ther was slayne uppon the Ynglyssh perte,
For soth as I yow saye;
Of nyne thowsand Ynglyssh men
Fyve hondert cam awaye:

The other were slayne in the fylde,
Cryste kepe ther sowles from wo,
Seyng ther was so fewe fryndes
Agaynst so many a foo.

Then one the morne they mayd them beeres
Of byrch, and haysell graye;
Many a wydowe with wepyng teyres
Ther makes they fette awaye.

Thys fraye bygan at Otterborne
Bytwene the nyghte and the day:
Ther the Dowglas lost hys lyfe,
And the Percy was lede awaye.

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
Syr Hughe Montgomery was hys name,
For soth I yow saye
He borrowed the Percy home agayne.

Now let us all for the Percy praye
To Jesu most of myght,
To bryng hys sowle to the blysse of heven,
For he was a gentyll knyght.

No. 5.

From "MINSTRELSY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER." First Edition.
Kelso, 1802.

BATTLE OF OTTERBOURNE.

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.

He has chosen the Lindsays light,
With them the gallant Gordons gay;
The Earl of Fife, withouten strife,
And Sir Hugh the Montgomery, upon a gray.

They have harried Northumberland,
And sae have they Bambro'shire;
The Otterdale they have burned it haill,
And set it a' in a blaze o' fire.

Out then spoke a bonny boy,
That serv'd ane o' Earl Douglas' kin—
"Methinks I see an English host,
A coming branking us upon."—

"If this be true, thou little foot page,
If this be true thou tells to me,
The brawest bower in Otterbourne
Shall be thy morning's fee.

"But if it be false, thou little boy!
But and a lie thou tells to me,
On the highest tree in Otterbourne,
Wi' my ain hands, I'll hang thee hie!"

The boy has ta'en out his little penknife,
That hung right down by his gare,
And he gave Lord Douglas a deadly wound,
I wot a deep wound and a sare.

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 swapp'd swords, and they twa swat,
And aye the blude ran down between.

"Yield thee, O yield thee, Percy!" he said,
"Or else I vow I'll lay thee low!"—
"Whom to shall I yield," said Earl Percy,
"Now that I see it must be so?"—

"Thou shalt not yield to lord nor loun,
Nor yet shalt thou yield to me,
But yield thee to the braken bush,
That grows upon yon lilye lee!"—

"I will not yield to a braken bush,
Nor yet will I to a brier,
But I would yield to Earl Douglas,
Or Sir Hugh the Montgomery, if he were here."

As soon as he knew it was Montgomery,
He stuck his sword's point in the gronde;
And the Montgomery was a courteous knight,
And quickly took him by the honde.

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

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No. 6.

From "THE POETICAL WORKS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART."
Edinburgh, 1833.

THE BATTLE OF OTTERBOURNE.

It fell about the Lammas tide,
When the muir-men win their hay,
The doughty Douglas bound him to ride
Into England, to drive a prey.

He chose the Gordons and the Græmes,
With them the Lindsays, light and gay;
But the Jardines wald not with him ride,
And they rue it to this day.

And he has burn'd the dales of Tyne,
And part of Bambrough shire;
And three good towers on Reidswire fells,
He left them all on fire.

And he march'd up to Newcastle,
And rode it round about;
"O wha's the lord of this castle,
Or wha's the lady o't?"—

But up spake proud Lord Percy, then,
And O but he spake hie!
"I am the lord of this castle,
My wife's the lady gay."—

"If thou'rt the lord of this castle,
Sae weel it pleases me!
For, ere I cross the Border fells,
The tane of us shall die."

He took a long spear in his hand,
Shod with the metal free,
And for to meet the Douglas there,
He rode right furiously.

But O how pale his lady look'd,
Frae aff the castle wa',
When down before the Scottish spear
She saw proud Percy fa'.

"Had we twa been upon the green,
And never an eye to see,
I wad hae had you, flesh and fell;
But your sword sall gae wi' me."—

"But gae ye up to Otterbourne,
And wait there dayis three;
And, if I come not ere three dayis end,
A fause knight ca' ye me."—

"The Otterbourne's a bonnie burn;
'Tis pleasant there to be;
But there is nought at Otterbourne,
To feed my men and me.

"The deer rins wild on hill and dale,
The birds fly wild from tree to tree;
But there is neither bread nor kale,
To fend my men and me.

"Yet I will stay at Otterbourne,
Where you shall welcome be;
And, if ye come not at three dayis end,
A fause lord I'll ca' thee."—

"Thither will I come," proud Percy said,
"By the might of Our Ladye!"—
"There will I bide thee," said the Douglas,
"My troth I plight to thee."

They lighted high on Otterbourne,
Upon the bent sae brown;
They lighted high on Otterbourne,
And threw their pallions down.

And he that had a bonnie boy,
Sent out his horse to grass ;
And he that had not a bonnie boy,
His ain servant he was.

But up then spake a little page,
Before the peep of dawn—
“ O waken ye, waken ye, my good lord,
For Percy's hard at hand.”—

“ Ye lie, ye lie, ye liar loud !
Sae loud I hear ye lie :
For Percy had not men yestreen
To dight my men and me.

“ But I have dream'd a dreary dream,
Beyond the Isle of Sky ;
I saw a dead man win a fight,
And I think that man was I.”

He belted on his guid braid sword,
And to the field he ran ;
But he forgot the helmet good,
That should have kept his brain.

When Percy wi' the Douglas met,
I wat he was fu' fain !
They swakked their swords, till sair they swat,
And the blood ran down like rain.

But Percy with his good broad sword,
That could so sharply wound,
Has wounded Douglas on the brow,
Till he fell to the ground.

Then he call'd on his little foot-page,
And said—“ Run speedilie,
And fetch my ain dear sister's son,
Sir Hugh Montgomery.

"My nephew good," the Douglas said,
"What recks the death of ane!
Last night I dream'd a dreary dream,
And I ken the day's thy ain."

"My wound is deep; I fain would sleep;
Take thou the vanguard of the three,
And hide me by the braken bush,
That grows on yonder lilye lee."

"O bury me by the braken bush,
Beneath the blooming brier,
Let never living mortal ken,
That ere a kindly Scot lies here."

He lifted up that noble lord,
Wi' the saut tear in his ee;
He hid him in the braken bush,
That his merrie-men might not see.

The moon was clear, the day drew near,
The spears in flinders flew,
But mony a gallant Englishman
Ere day the Scotsmen slew.

The Gordons good, in English blood,
They steep'd their hose and shoon;
The Lindsays flew like fire about,
Till all the fray was done.

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

"Now yield thee, yield thee, Percy," he said,
"Or else I vow I'll lay thee low!"—
"To whom must I yield," puoth Earl Percy,
"Now that I see it must be so?"—

"Thou shalt not yield to lord nor loun,
Nor yet shalt thou yield to me;
But yield thee to the braken bush,
That grows upon yon lilye lee!"—

"I will not yield to a braken bush,
Nor yet will I yield to a brier;
But I would yield to Earl Douglas,
Or Sir Hugh the Montgomery, if he were here."

As soon as he knew it was Montgomery,
He struck his sword's point in the gronde;
The Montgomery was a courteous knight,
And quickly took him by the honde.

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

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SPEAR-HEADS from Otterburn.

BALLADS OF "CHEVY CHASE."

WHEN the foregoing sheets were printed off, a gentleman,* on whose judgment the Author places the utmost reliance, intimated to him, that as the ballads of CHEVY CHASE were founded upon the battle of Otterburn, they ought to be comprised in this volume. Hence, it is with great pleasure that the Author avails himself of this suggestion, especially as his work, though still of small size, will now contain every important particular connected with the subject he has endeavoured to illustrate, and also every ballad, both historical and romantic, which has been written upon that event.

If the reader will turn back to pp. 133-6, a note may be seen containing some account of the history of the following old ballad and its author; likewise a sentence from the pen of Sir Walter Scott, touching the modern version. Little more need be added, except that in the *Reliques*, fourth ed. 1794, i. 282, an extract is given from Collins' *Peerage*, relative to the battle of Pepperden, 1436, which it is said may be thought to have given rise to the ballad of CHEVY CHASE. To refute this supposition, it may be observed, that even the modern ballad alludes prospectively to the battle of Humble-downe (Homeldon); and, as this occurred in 1402, the proof holds good that both ballads may be traced to the conflict at Otterburn—that being the only one of importance on the Borders which preceded the battle of Homeldon. It is therefore pleasing to contemplate, that, in addition to its historical interest, the battle-field of Otterburn, in one respect, is unsurpassed by any classic land in the kingdom, constituting, as it does, the scenery of the earliest and best heroic ballads which for three centuries have adorned the literature of England.

* Hugh Taylor, Esq., Earsdon.

Hunting a the Cheviat,

OR

THE ANCIENT BALLAD OF CHEVY CHASE.

From "RELIQUES OF ANCIENT ENGLISH POETRY." Fourth
Edition." London, 1794.

THE FIRST FIT.

The Persé owt of Northombarlande,
And a vowe to God mayd he,
That he wolde hunte in the mountayns
Off Chyviat within dayes thre,
In the mauger of doughètè Dogles,
And all that ever with him be.

The fattiste hartes in all Cheviat
He sayd he wold kill, and cary them away :
" Be my feth," sayd the dougheti Doglas agayn,
" I wyll let that hontyng yf that I may."

Then the Persé owt of Banborowe cam,
With him a myghtye meany ;
With fifteen hondrith archares bold ;
The wear chosen out of shyars thre.

This begane on a monday at morn
In Cheviat the hillys so he ;
The chyld may rue that ys un-born,
It was the mor pitté.

The dryvars thorowe the woodes went
 For to reas the dear ;
 Bomen bickarte uppone the bent
 With ther browd aras cleare.

Then the wyld thorowe the woodes went
 On every syde shear ;
 Grea-hondes thorowe the greves glent
 For to kyll thear dear.

The begane in Chyviat the hyls above
 Yerly on a monnyn day ;
 Be that it drewe to the oware off none
 A hondrith fat hartes ded ther lay.

The blewe a mort uppone the bent,
 The semblyd on sydis shear ;
 To the quyrry then the Persè went
 To se the bryttlynge off the deare.

He sayd, " It was the Duglas promys
 This day to meet me hear ;
 But I wyste he wold faylle verament : "
 A gret oth the Persè swear.

At the laste a squyar of Northomberlonde
 Lokyde at his hand full ny,
 He was war ath the doughetie Doglas comynge :
 With him a myghtè meany.

Both with spear, ' byll, ' and brande :
 Yt was a myghti sight to se.
 Hardyar men both off hart nar hande
 Wear not in Christiantè.

The wear twenty hondrith spear-men good
 Withouten any fayle ;
 The wear borne a-long be the watter a Twyde,
 Yth bowndes of Tividale.

"Leave off the brytlyng of the dear," he sayde,
 "And to your bowys look ye tayk good heed;
 For never sithe ye wear on your mothars borne
 Had ye never so mickle need."

The dougheti Dogglas on a stede
 He rode att his men beforne;
 His armor glytteryde as dyd a glede;
 A bolder barne was never born.

"Tell me 'what' men ye ar," he says,
 "Or whos men that ye be:
 Who gave youe leave to hunte in this
 Chyviat chays in the spyt of me?"

The first mane that ever him an answeare mayd,
 Yt was the good lord Persè:
 "We wyll not tell the 'what' men we ar," he says,
 "Nor whos men that we be;
 But we wyll hount hear in this chays
 In the spyte of thyne, and of the.

"The fattiste hartes in all Chyviat
 We have kyld, and cast to carry them a-way."—
 "Be my troth," sayd the doughtè Dogglas agayn,
 "Ther-for the ton of us shall de this day."

Then sayd the doughtè Doglas
 Unto the lord Persè:
 "To kyll all thes giltles men,
 A-las! it wear great pittè.

"But, Persè, thowe art a lord of lande,
 I am a yerle callyd within my contre;
 Let all our men uppone a parti stande;
 And do the battell off the and of me."—

" Nowe Cristes cors on his crowne," sayd the lord Persè,

" Who-soever ther-to says nay.

Be my troth, doughtè Doglas," he says,

" Thow shalt never se that day ;

" Nethar in Ynglonde, Skottlonde, nar France,

Nor for no man of a woman born,

But and fortune be my chance,

I dar met him on man for on."

Then bespayke a squyar off Northombarlonde,

Ric. Wytharynton was his nam ;

" It shall never be told in Sothe-Ynglonde," he says,

" To kyng Herry the fourth for sham.

" I wat youe byn great lordes twaw,

I am a poor squyar of lande ;

I wyll never se my captayne fyght on a fylde,

And stand my-selffe, and looke on,

But whyll I may my weppone welde

I wyll not 'fayl' both harte and hande."

That day, that day, that dredfull day :

The first FIT here I fynde.

And you wyll here any mor athe hontyng athe Chyviat

Yet ys ther mor behynde.

THE SECOND FIT.

The Yngglishe men hade ther bowys yebent,

Ther hartes were good yenoughe ;

The first of arros that the shote off,

Seven skore spear-men the sloughe.

Yet bydys the yerle Doglas uppon the bent,
A captayne good yenoughe,
And that was sene verament,
For he wrought hom both woo and wouche.

The Dogglas pertyd his ost in thre,
Lyk a cheffe cheften off pryde,
With suar speares off myghtè tre
The cum in on every syde.

Thrughe our Yngglishe archery
Gave many a wounde full wyde;
Many a doughete the garde to dy,
Which ganyde them no pryde.

The Yngglyshe men let thear bowys be,
And pulde owt brandes that wer bright;
It was a hevy syght to se
Bryght swordes on basnites lyght.

Thorowe ryche male, and myne-ye-ple
Many sterne the stroke downe streght:
Many a freyke, that was full free,
Ther undar foot dyd lyght.

At last the Duglas and the Persè met,
Lyk to captayns of myght and mayne;
The swapte togethar tyll the both swat
With swordes, that wear of fyn myllàn.

Thes worthè freckys for to fyght
Ther-to the wear full fayne,
Tyll the bloode owte off thear basnetes sprete,
As ever dyd heal or rayne.

"Holde the, Persè," sayd the Doglas,
"And i' feth I shall the brynge
Wher thowe shalte have a yerls wagis
Of Jamy our Scottish kyng.

“Thou shalte have thy ransom fre,
I hight the hear this thinge,
For the manfullyste man yet art thoue,
That ever I conqueryd in filde fightyng.”—

“Nay ‘then,’” sayd the lord Persè,
“I tolde it the beforne,
That I wolde never yeldyde be
To no man of a woman born.”

With that ther cam an arrowe hastely
Forthe off a mightie wane,
Hit hathe strekene the yerle Duglas
In at the brest bane.

Thoroue lyvar and longs bathe
The sharp arrowe ys gane,
That never after in all his lyffe days,
He spayke mo wordes but ane,
That was, “Fyghte ye, my merry men, whylls ye may
For my lyff days ben gan.”

The Persè leanyde on his brande,
And sawe the Duglas de;
He tooke the dede man be the hande,
And sayd, “Wo ys me for the!

“To have savyde thy lyffe I wold have pertyd with
My landes for years thre,
For a better man of hart, nare of hande
Was not in all the north countrè.”

Off all that se a Skottishe knyght,
Was callyd Sir Hewe the Mongon-byrry,
He sawe the Duglas so the deth was dyght;
He spendyd a spear a trusti tre:

He rod uppon a corsiare
Throughe a hondrith archery ;
He never styntyde, nar never blane
Tyll he came to the good lord Persè.

He set uppone the lord Persè
A dynte, that was full soare ;
With a suar spear of a myghtè tre
Clean thorow the body he the Persè bore,

Athe tothar syde, that a man myght se,
A large cloth yard and mare :
Towe bettar captayns wear nat in Cristiantè,
Then that day slain wear ther.

An archar off Northomberlonde
Say slean was the lord Persè,
He bar a bende-bow in his hande,
Was made off trusti tre :

An arow, that a cloth yarde was lang,
To th' hard stele halyde he ;
A dynt, that was both sad and soar,
He sat on Sir Hewe the Mongon-byrry.

The dynt yt was both sad and sar,
That he of Mongon-byrry sete ;
The swane-fethars, that his arrowe bar,
With his hart blood the wear wete.

Ther was never a freake wone foot wolde fle,
But still in stour dyd stand,
Heawyng on yche othar, whyll the myght dre,
With many a bal-ful brande.

This battell begane in Chyviat
An owar befor the none,
An when even-song bell was rang
The battell was nat half done.

The tooke 'on' on ethar hand
Be the lyght of the mone;
Many hade no strenght for to stande,
In Chyviat the hyllys aboun.

Of fifteen hondrith archars of Ynglonde
Went away but fifti and thre;
Of twenty hondrith spear-men of Skotlonde,
But even five and fifti:

But all wear slayne Cheviat within:
The hade no strengthe to stand on hie:
The chylde may rue that ys un-borne,
It was the mor pittè.

Thear was slayne with the lord Persè
Sir John of Agerstone,
Sir Roger the hinde Hartly,
Sir Wyllyam the bolde Hearone.

Sir Jorg the worthè Lovele
A knyght of great renowen,
Sir Raff the ryche Rugbè
With dyntes wear beaten downe.

For Wetharryngton my harte was wo,
That ever he slayne shulde be;
For when both his leggis wear bewyne in to,
Yet he knyled and fought on hys kne.

Ther was slayne with the dougheti Douglas
Sir Hewe the Mongon-byrry,
Sir Davye Lwdale, that worthè was,
His sistars son was he:

Sir Charles a Murrè, in that place,
That never a foot wolde fle;
Sir Hewe Maxwell, a lorde he was,
With the Duglas dyd he dey.

So on the morrowe the mayde them byears
 Off byrch, and hasell so 'gray';
 Many wedous with wepyng tears,
 Cam to fach ther makys a-way.

Tivydale may carpe off care,
 Northombarlond may mayk grat mone,
 For towe such captayns, as slayne wear thear,
 On the march perti shall never be none.

Word ys commen to Edden-burrowe
 To Jamy the Skottishe kyng,
 That dougheti Duglas, lyff-tenant of the Merches,
 He lay slean Chyviot with-in.

His handdes dyd he weal and wryng,
 He sayd, "Alas, and woe ys me!
 Such another captayn Skotland within,"
 He sayd, "y-feth shuld never be."

Worde ys commyn to lovly Londone
 Till the fourth Harry our kyng,
 That lord Persè, leyff-tenant of the Merches,
 He lay slayne Chyviat within.

"God have merci on his soll," sayd kyng Harry,
 "Good lord, yf thy will it be!
 I have a hondrith captayns in Ynglonde," he sayd,
 "As good as ever was hee:
 But Persè, and I brook my lyffe,
 Thy deth well quyte shall be."

As our noble kyng made his a-vowe,
 Lyke a noble prince of renowen,
 For the deth of the lord Persè,
 He dyd the battel of Hombyll-down:

Wher syx and thritte Skottish knyghtes
 On a day wear beaten down :
 Glendale glytteryde on ther armor bryght,
 Over castill, towar, and town.

This was the hontynge off the Cheviat ;
 That tear begane this spurne :
 Old men that knowen the grownde well yenoughe,
 Call it the Battell of Otterburn.

At Otterburn began this spurne
 Uppon a monnyn day :
 Ther was the dougghetè Douglas sleane,
 The Persè never went away.

Ther was never a tym on the march partes
 Sen the Douglas, and the Persè met,
 But yt was marvele, and the redde blude ronne not,
 As the reane doys in the stret.

Jhesue Crist our balys bete,
 And to the blys us brynge !
 Thus was the hountynge of the Chevyat :
 God send us all good ending !

THE MORE MODERN BALLAD OF CHEVY CHASE.

From "RELIQUES OF ANCIENT ENGLISH POETRY." Fourth
Edition. London, 1794.

God prosper long our noble king,
Our lives and safetyes all ;
A wofull hunting once there did
In Chevy-Chace befall ;

To drive the deere with hound and horne,
Erle Percy took his way ;
The child may rue that is unborne,
The hunting of that day.

The stout Erle of Northumberland
A vow to God did make,
His pleasure in the Scottish woods
Three summers days to take ;

The cheefest harts in Chevy-Chace
To kill and beare away.
These tydings to Erle Douglas came,
In Scotland where he lay :

Who sent Erle Percy present word,
He wold prevent his sport.
The English Erle, not fearing that,
Did to the woods resort

With fifteen hundred bow-men bold ;
All chosen men of might,
Who knew full well in time of neede
To ayme their shafts arright.

The gallant greyhounds swiftly ran,
To chase the fallow deere :
On Monday they began to hunt,
Ere day-light did appeare ;

And long before high noone they had
An hundred fat buckes slaine ;
Then having dined, the drovyers went
To rouze the deare againe.

The bow-men mustered on the hills,
Well able to endure ;
Theire backsides all, with speciall care,
That day were guarded sure.

The hounds ran swiftly through the woods,
The nimble deere to take,
That with their cryes the hills and dales
An echo shrill did make.

Lord Percy to the quarry went,
To view the slaughter'd deere ;
Quoth he, " Erle Douglas promised
This day to meete me heere :

" But if I thought he would not come,
Noe longer wold I stay."
With that, a brave younge gentleman
Thus to the Erle did say :

" Loe, yonder doth Erle Douglas come,
His men in armour bright ;
Full twenty hundred Scottish speres
All marching in our sight ;

" All men of pleasant Tivydale,
Fast by the river Tweede : " —
" O cease your sports," Erle Percy said,
" And take your bowes with speede :

“ And now with me, my countrymen,
Your courage forth advance;
For never was there champion yett,
In Scotland or in France,

“ That ever did on horsebacke come,
But if my hap it were,
I durst encounter man for man,
With him to break a spere.”

Erle Douglas on a milke-white steede,
Most like a baron bold,
Rode foremost of his company,
Whose armour shone like gold.

“ Show me,” said hee, “ whose men you bee,
That hunt soe boldly heere,
That, without my consent, doe chase
And kill my fallow-deere? ”

The first man that did answer make,
Was noble Percy hee;
Who sayd, “ Wee list not to declare,
Nor shew whose men wee bee :

“ Yet wee will spend our deerest blood,
Thy cheefest harts to slay.”
Then Douglas swore a solempne oathe,
And thus in rage did say,

“ Ere thus I will out-braved bee,
One of us two shall dye:
I know thee well, an Erle thou art;
Lord Percy, soe am I.

“ But trust me, Perse, pittye it were,
And great offence to kill
Any of these our guiltlesse men,
For they have done no ill.

"Let thou and I the battell trye,
 And set our men aside."—
 "Accurst bee hee," Erle Percy sayd,
 "By whome this is denyed."

Then stept a gallant squire forth,
 Witherington was his name,
 Who said, "I wold not have it told
 To Henry our king for shame,

"That ere my captaine fought on foote,
 And I stood looking on.
 You bee two Erles," sayd Witherington,
 "And I a squier alone:

"He doe the best that doe I may,
 While I have power to stand:
 While I have power to weeld my sword,
 He fight with heart and hand."

Our English archers bent their bowes,
 Their hearts were good and trew;
 Att the first flight of arrowes sent,
 Full four-score Scots they slew.

* [Yet bides Erle Douglas on the bent,
 As Chieftain stout and good.
 As valiant Captain, all unmov'd
 The shock he firmly stood.

His host he parted had in three,
 As Leader ware and try'd,
 And soon his spearmen on their foes
 Bare down on every side.

* Bishop Percy supplied these four stanzas in brackets, instead of the following unmeaning lines:—

To drive the deere with hound and horne,
 Douglas bade on the bent;
 Two captaines moved with mickle might,
 Their speres to shivers went.

Throughout the English archery
They dealt full many a wound :
But still our valiant Englishmen
All firmly kept their ground :

And throwing strait their bows away,
They grasp'd their swords so bright :
And now sharp blows, a heavy shower,
On shields and helmets light.]

They clos'd full fast on everye side,
Noe slacknes there was found ;
And many a gallant gentleman
Lay gasping on the ground.

O Christ ! it was a grieffe to see,
And likewise for to heare,
The cries of men lying in there gore,
And scattered here and there.

At last these two stout Erles did meet,
Like captaines of great might :
Like lyons wood, they layd on load,
And made a cruell fight :

They fought untill they both did sweat,
With swords of tempered steele ;
Until the blood, like drops of rain,
They trickling down did feele.

“ Yeeld thee, Lord Percy,” Douglas sayd ;
“ In faith I will thee bringe,
Where thou shalt high advanced bee
By James our Scottish king :

“ Thy ransome I will freely give,
And thus report of thee,
Thou art the most couragious knight,
That ever I did see.” —

"Noe, Douglas," quoth Erle Percy then,
"Thy proffer I doe scorne;
I will not yeele to any Scott,
That ever yett was borne."

With that, there came an arrow keene
Out of an English bow,
Which struck Erle Douglas to the heart,
A deepe and deadlie blow:

Who never spoke more words than these,
"Fight on, my merry men all;
For why, my life is at an end;
Lord Percy sees my fall."

Then leaving life, Erle Percy tooke
The dead man by the hand;
And said, "Erle Douglas, for thy life
Wold I had lost my land.

"O Christ! my verry hart doth bleed
With sorrow for thy sake;
For sure, a more redoubted knight
Mischance cold never take."

A knight amongst the Scotts there was,
Which saw Erle Douglas dye,
Who streight in wrath did vow revenge
Upon the Lord Percy:

Sir Hugh Mountgomery was he call'd,
Who, with a spere most bright,
Well-mounted on a gallant steed,
Ran fiercely through the fight;

And past the English archers all,
Without all dread or feare;
And through Erle Percyes body then
He thrust his hatefull spere;

With such a vehement force and might
He did his body gore,
The staff ran through the other side
A large cloth-yard, and more.

So thus did both these nobles dye,
Whose courage none could staine :
An English archer then perceiv'd
The noble Erle was slaine ;

He had a bow bent in his hand,
Made of a trusty tree ;
An arrow of a cloth-yard long
Up to the head drew hee :

Against Sir Hugh Mountgomerye,
So right the shaft he sett,
The grey goose-winge that was thereon,
In his harts bloode was wett.

This fight did last from breake of day,
Till setting of the sun ;
For when they rung the evening-bell,
The battel scarce was done.

With stout Erle Percy, there was slaine
Sir John of Egerton,
Sir Robert Ratcliff, and Sir John,
Sir James that bold barron :

And with Sir George and stout Sir James,
Both knights of good account,
Good Sir Ralph Raby there was slaine,
Whose prowess did surmount.

For Witherington needs must I wayle,
As one in doleful dumpes ;
For when his legges were smitten off,
He fought upon his stumpes.

And with Erle Douglas, there was slaine
Sir Hugh Mountgomerye;
Sir Charles Murray, that from the feeld
One foote wold never flee.

Sir Charles Murray, of Ratcliff, too,
His sisters sonne was hee;
Sir David Lamb, so well esteem'd,
Yet saved cold not be.

And the Lord Maxwell in like case
Did with Erle Douglas dye:
Of twenty hundred Scottish speres,
Scarce fifty-five did flye.

Of fifteen hundred Englishmen,
Went home but fifty-three;
The rest were slaine in Chevy-Chase,
Under the greene woode tree.

Next day did many widdowes come,
Their husbands to bewayle;
They washt their wounds in brinish teares,
But all wold not prevayle.

Theyr bodyes, bathed in purple gore,
They bare with them away:
They kist them dead a thousand times,
Ere they were cladd in clay.

The newes was brought to Eddenborrow,
Where Scotlands king did raigne,
That brave Erle Douglas suddenlye
Was with an arrow slaine:

"O heavy newes," King James did say,
"Scotland may witness bee,
I have not any captaine more
Of such account as hee."

Like tydings to King Henry came,
Within as short a space,
That Percy of Northumberland
Was slaine in Chevy-Chase :

“ Now God be with him,” said our king,
“ Sith it will noe better bee ;
I trust I have, within my realme,
Five hundred as good as hee :

“ Yett shall not Scotts nor Scotland say,
But I will vengeance take :
I’ll be revenged on them all,
For brave Erle Percyes sake.”

This vow full well the king perform’d
After, at Humbledowne ;
In one day, fifty knights were slayne,
With Lords of great renowne :

And of the rest, of small account,
Did many thousands dye :
Thus endeth the hunting of Chevy-Chase,
Made by the Erle Percy.

God save the king, and bless this land
With plentye, joy, and peace ;
And grant henceforth, that foule debate
’Twixt noblemen may cease.

Preparing for the Press,

A SELECTION OF

P O E M S;

WITH

SEVERAL LYRICAL PIECES.

Privately Printed.

THE TYNEMOUTH NUN: a Poem. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Printed by T. & J. Hodgson, for the Typographical Society of Newcastle. M.DCCC.XXIX.

THE WIND: a Poem. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Imprinted by G. Bouchier Richardson, for distribution among the author's select friends. M.DCCC.LIII.

ENGLAND: a Poem. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Printed by J. G. Forster & Co., for distribution among friends. M.DCCC.LVI.



