

# KING MALCOLM III

## BURIED IN

# DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



MALCOLM III (1058-1093)



Malcolm Canmore's Tower on Tower Hill, supported by a lion-rampant on each side.  
S[igilli] commvne civitas de dunfermling.  
The Common Seal of the City of Dunfermline.

The following has been Extracted from -  
THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND  
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&  
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MALCOLM  
III



surnamed Canmore (Cean-mohr), or Great-head, all opposition to his claims being thus completely crushed, Malcolm ascended the throne in 1057, and was crowned at Scone on the 20th April, the Festival of St Mark.<sup>1</sup> The powerful chief of whom he was mainly indebted for his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, was rewarded with the important privileges, - that he and his successors, Lords of Fife, should have the right of placing the kings of Scotland on the throne at their coronation, - that they should lead the van of the Scottish armies whenever the royal banner was displayed, - and that if he, or any of his kindred, "committed slaughter of suddenly," they should have a peculiar sanctuary, and obtain remission on payment of an atonement in money.<sup>2</sup> He was a prince of great energy and valour, and his reign forms an important era in the early history of Scotland. His dominions included not only the ancient possessions of the Scots and Picts, but the kingdom of Strathclyd, the province of Cumbria, consisting of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the district of Lothian, forming the south-eastern portion of modern Scotland. The Cumbrians and the people of Strathclyd were of British race, while the inhabitants of Lothian appear to have been chiefly of Saxon and Danish extraction. The south-western angle of Scotland, on the other hand, known by the name of Galloway, was inhabited by a mixed race, partly of Scottish and partly of Pictish descent, and their numbers had been infested in the course of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, by various bodies of colonists from Ireland. "They appear," says Mr Allen, "at all times to have owed subjection to the Scottish kings, but they long retained the barbarous habits and the ferocious manners, which the ravages of the Northmen had impressed on the country they had quitted. In the twelfth century they are called Picts or Galwegians, and as late as the fourteenth century they are distinguished by the appellation of the Wild Scots of Galloway."

The accession of Malcolm Canmore was followed by events which ultimately led to most important changes in the manners and customs of his subjects. He had passed about fifteen years at the court of Edward the Confessor before he became king, and the habits and connexions which he had formed there induced him to maintain a more friendly intercourse with England than had been customary with his predecessors; so that, with the exception of the short and hasty incursion which he made into Northumberland in 1061,<sup>3</sup> nothing occurred during the reign of the Confessor, to interrupt the harmony to each other that they were popularly termed "the sworn brothers." On the accession of Harold to the English throne, Tostig took up arms against him; but having been repulsed, he took refuge with Malcolm between the sister kingdoms. He had contracted a most intimate friendship with Tostig, brother of Harold, and earl or governor of

<sup>1</sup> Pinkerton strenuously maintains that Malcolm must have been not the son, but the grandson of Duncan, and the great length of the interval - fifty-four years - between the dates assigned to the death of Duncan and that of Malcolm, is adduced by him in support of this conjecture. Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun, lib v. chap. ix; Buchanan, lib. ii. p. 115; Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Simeon of Durham, p. 190.

Northumberland. Simeon of Durham says they were so much attached and remained in Scotland during the whole summer.<sup>1</sup> But the Scottish king took no part in the invasion of England made by Tostig and his ally, Hardrada, King of Norway, in the close of the same year and in which they both lost their lives at the battle of Stamford Bridge, near York, 25th September 1066.

The death of Harold, at Hastings, a few weeks later, and the conquest of England by the Normans, caused a considerable number of the friends of the Saxon dynasty to seek refuge in Scotland from the oppressions of the victorious Normans. The most distinguished of these was the unfortunate Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, who along with his mother, Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christian, fled to Scotland in the beginning of 1068, accompanied by Maerleswegen and Gospatric, two powerful Northumbrian chiefs, who were disgusted at the Norman tyranny.

Soon after the arrival of these illustrious fugitives in Scotland - probably about 1070 - Malcolm espoused Margaret, the elder of the two princesses, at Dunfermline. She was beautiful, accomplished, and pious; and as Edgar was weak, almost to imbecility, she might be looked upon as inheriting the claims of the Saxon royal line. The marriage of the Scottish monarch was soon followed by his invasion of England, in conjunction with the Danes and the Northumbrian barons, who were hostile to William the Conqueror. The Danes, however, after storming York, and putting the Norman garrison to the sword, were repulsed, and returned to their ships; and the discontented Northumbrians were gained over by William before Malcolm took the field. Entering England with a numerous army, the Scottish king routed the English, who opposed him at Hunderskelde, and mercilessly ravaged Durham, and the northern and western parts of Yorkshire. Gospatric, who had made his peace with William, in the meantime laid waste the district of Cumberland, and Malcolm exasperated by this retaliation on his own frontiers, continued his ravages with increased severity. Even the churches were destroyed and burnt, while the miserable inhabitants, who had fled to them for refuge, were consumed in the flames. Malcolm returned home, leading captive, says an English historian, such a multitude of young men and maidens, "that for many years they were to be found in every Scottish village, nay, even in every Scottish hovel."<sup>2</sup>

William was incensed to the highest degree by the repeated insurrections of the Northumbrians, and both to punish their recent revolt, and to oppose an obstacle, in the desolation of the country, to the future invasions of the Danes, he laid utterly waste the fertile district between the Humber and the Tees.<sup>3</sup> "At this time," says William of Malmesbury, "there was destroyed such splendid towns, such lofty castles, such beautiful pastures, that, had a stranger viewed the scene, he might have been moved to compassion, and had one inhabitant been left alive, he would not have recollected the country."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 193.    <sup>2</sup> Simeon of Durham. p. 201.    <sup>3</sup> Ingulphus p.79

<sup>4</sup> William of Malmesbury, p. 103.

The inhabitants of this once populous and fertile district seem to have been almost wholly exterminated. Many who escaped the sword, died of famine; many sold themselves into slavery, to escape starvation; and many thousands of the lower order, together with a considerable number both of Anglo-Saxons and Normans of condition, who had incurred the displeasure of the Conqueror, fled for refuge into Scotland, and found a cordial reception at the court of Malcolm, who, sensible of the value of such auxiliaries, conferred honours and estates upon them with no sparing hand.

William, having secured peace at home, prepared to chastise Malcolm for his inroads into England and, in 1072, he invaded the Scottish territories both by sea and land. He overran and wasted the country as far as the Tay; but as the inhabitants according to the policy which they seem to have followed from the earliest times, destroyed or removed everything of value as the enemy advanced, William, as the Saxon Chronicle expresses it, "nothing found of that which to him the better was." In the end, Malcolm met him at Abernethy,<sup>1</sup> when a peace was concluded between the two kings on the conditions that Malcolm should give hostages and pay homage to William.<sup>2</sup> The question has been raised, and keenly disputed, - For what was this homage performed? The advocates of the English supremacy content that it was for the Scottish crown. No satisfactory evidence, however, can be produced in support of this assertion. It is true that certain of Anglo-Saxon kings assumed the title of Monarch, or Emperor, of all Britain.

But this vain-glorious assumption of a vaunting title proves nothing; and it would be easy to produce a parallel case of similar pretensions having been put forth without any foundation. The notion that the Scottish kings were the acknowledged vassals of the Anglo-Saxon princes of England, is directly opposed to the whole course of the history of the two countries. Scotland was never conquered by any of these monarchs; nor is there any evidence that they ever made an attempt to wrest it from its ancient possessors. There is as little trustworthy evidence that any acknowledgement of the dependence of the kingdom of Scotland, but for the territories which they held in England, such as Cumbria and Lothian, and which were ceded to them by the English kings on this express condition. For these possessions they of course did homage to the English crown, exactly in the same manner as the Norman kings of England did homage to the French crown, for the possessions which they held in France.

When Malcolm exposed the cause of Edgar Atheling, he necessarily at the same time denied the right of William to the English throne,

<sup>1</sup> The place where Malcolm met the Conqueror is called "Abernith" by Ingulphus, and "Abernithie" by Florence of Worcester. Lord Hailes Pinkerton, and other writers, have contended that it was probably some place on the river Nith. But in speech ascribed by Ealred, Abbot of Rievale, a contemporary of David, Malcolm's son, to Walter Espec, before the battle of the Standard, it is said that William penetrated through Lodonia, Calatria, and Scotia, as far as Abernith, (evidently Abernethy,) where the warlike Malcolm surrendered himself to William as his vassal. Ridpath's Border History, p. 63, and note.

<sup>2</sup> Sax. Chron., Goodall, Introd. to Fordun, p. 46.

and refused to acknowledge him as his liege lord. But when William took measures to assert his authority, and invade Scotland, Malcolm submitted to his claims, and acknowledged his title to the same homage as had been paid to his Saxon predecessors. To employ the words of Lord Hailes, one of the ablest inquirers into this subject, "According to the general and most probable opinion, this homage was done by Malcolm for the lands which he held in England."<sup>1</sup>

William on his return from this expedition, deprived Gospatric of his earldom of Northumberland, under the pretext that he had secretly instigated the murder of Comyn, the former governor. Gospatric a second time took refuge in Scotland, where notwithstanding of his former defection, he was again cordially welcome by Malcolm, who bestowed upon him extensive estates on the eastern marches, together with the castles of Dunbar and Cockburnspath.<sup>2</sup> The possessor of these strong fortresses was popularly said to have the keys of Scotland at his girdle. "And the circumstance is worthy of remembrance," says Mr Tyler, "not only as marking the origin of a potent family destined to act a leading part in the future history of the country, but as indicating the policy of Malcolm, who, conscious of the inferiority of his own Celtic race, manifested a wise anxiety to prevail on strangers, whether Norman, Danes, or Saxons, to settle in his dominions."

After this agreement with William Malcolm seems to have remained quiet for some years; but, in 1079, hostilities were renewed with England, on what grounds historians have omitted to state. Availing himself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the absence of the English king, who was on the continent carrying on a war with his son Robert, Malcolm again invaded Northumberland, and wasted the country as far as the river Tyne, returning home laden with plunder<sup>3</sup> The following year, as Robert was now reconciled to his father, he was intrusted with the command of an army against Scotland. But the expedition proved unsuccessful, and Robert soon returned without effecting anything worthy of notice. It was at this period that the fortress of Newcastle, on the Tyne was erected as protection against the inroads of the Scots. It necessarily and professedly tended to render insecure the authority for the Scottish king over the district of Northumbria.

After the death of William the Conqueror (A.D.) 1087) and the accession of his son, William Rufus, various causes of dispute took place betwixt England and Scotland. The prince appears to have withheld from Malcolm part of the English possessions to which he claimed a right; and, probably with the view of vindicating his claim, the Scottish king invaded England in May 1091, and penetrated as far as Chester-le-Street, between Newcastle and Durham, where receiving intelligence that Rufus was advancing to meet him with a superior force, he prudently retreated without risking a battle. In the autumn of

<sup>1</sup> Annals, vol. i. p. 316; Allen's Vindication; Pict. His. of England, vol. i. pp. 534-536.

<sup>2</sup> Simeon of Durham, p. 205; Gospatric is a corruption of Comes Patricius, the name and title of the powerful baron, who was the ancestor of the Earls of March.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 210.

the same year, William made preparations to invade Scotland, both by sea and land. His fleet was destroyed by a tempest and many of his cavalry perished by want and cold; but in spite of these disasters he advanced with his army to the shores of the Forth. Meantime the Scots in accordance with their usual policy, had driven away their cattle and laid waste the country; so that the enemies were reduced to great extremities by the want of provisions. Malcolm crossed the Forth with his forces, and advanced into Lothian to meet the invaders. The hostile armies met, and were ready to engage; but through the mediation of Robert, the brother of Rufus, and Edgar Atheling, who was at that time with Malcolm, a peace was concluded between the two monarchs. "King Malcolm," says the Saxon chronicler, "came to our king, and became his man, promising all such obedience as he formerly rendered to his father, and that he confirmed with an oath. And the king William promised him in land and in all things whatever he formerly had under his father." Malcolm consented to do homage to William, and to hold his land under the same tenure of feudal service as he had formerly paid to his father. William on his part agreed to restore twelve manors which Malcolm had held under the Conqueror, and to make an annual payment to him of twelve marks of gold.<sup>1</sup> At the same time Edgar Atheling was reconciled to William, and permitted to return to England.

The peace thus made was not of long continuance. In the following year (1092) William erected a castle at Carlisle, a step which Malcolm appears to have resented, as an encroachment on the freedom of the territories which he held in Cumberland. A personal interview between the kings was proposed as the best mode of settling their differences. Malcolm accordingly repaired to Gloucester (24th August 1093); but on his arrival, William demanded that he should do homage there, in the presence of the English barons. With this demand the Scottish monarch refused to comply, but offered to perform his homage according to the ancient usage, on the frontiers and in the presence of the chief men of both kingdoms.<sup>2</sup>

This proposal was contumeliously rejected by William, and Malcolm returning home in great displeasure, assembled an army, and burst into Northumberland, which he wasted with fire and sword. But while he was besieging Alnwick Castle, he was suddenly attacked and slain by Robert de Mowbray, a Northumbrian earl. His eldest son, Edward, shared his fate. The manner of Malcolm's death has been variously related.

According to Fordun the castle of Alnwick was sore pressed, and the garrison despaired of relief, when one of the besieged undertook either to deliver them or to perish in the attempt. Issuing, therefore, from the castle and carrying the keys of it on the point of his spear, he advanced to the Scottish camp, where he inquired for the king, in order that he might deliver the keys into his hand. Malcolm informed of his

<sup>1</sup> Simeon of Durham, p. 216; Sax. Chron. pp. 147 -198; Hailes Annals, vol. i. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Simeon of Durham, p. 218; William of Malmesbury, p. 122; Annals, vol. i. p. 24. Vol. I.

approach, came hastily out of his tent, without his armour, when the traitor pierced him with his spear, and in the confusion succeeded in making his escape. In the old chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, the soldier who slew King Malcolm is called Hammond, and it is stated that he escaped through the river Aln, at a place which was long after called Hammond's Ford. Fordun relates that the English, availing themselves of the confusion caused by the death of the king, made a fierce attack upon the Scots, and put them to the rout, and that Prince Edward was severely wounded in the encounter, and died three days after.<sup>1</sup>

The death of Malcolm was followed, in a few days, by that of his excellent queen, who had exercised a great and most beneficial influence over the fierce and impetuous character of her husband.

When the king set out on his fatal expedition to England Margaret, worn out it is said by her vigils and fastings was suffering from a fatal and lingering complaint. Her biographer, Turgot, acknowledges that abstinence ruined her constitution, and brought on excruciating pains in her stomach, which death alone removed. Her last moments are described by that faithful minister, who related what he saw. Her thoughts were much occupied with the welfare of her children.

"Farewell," said she to Turgot, "my life draws to a close, but you may survive me long. To you I commit the charge of my children; teach them above all things, to love and fear God, and whenever you see any of them attain to the height of earthly grandeur, O, then, in an especial manner, be to them as a father and a guide! Admonish, and if need be, reprove them lest they be swelled with the pride of momentary glory, though avarice offend God, or, by reason of the prosperity of this world, become careless of eternal life. This, in the presence of Him who is now our only witness, I beseech you to promise and to perform."

During a short interval of ease she devoutly received the communion. Soon after, her anguish of body returned with redoubled violence. She stretched herself upon her couch and calmly waited for the moment of her dissolution. Cold, and in the agonies of death, she ceased not to put up her supplications to Heaven. These were some of her words: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to the multitude of thy tender mercies; blot out my iniquities; make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou has broken may rejoice; cost me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me; restore unto me thee joy of thy salvation!" "At that moment," continues Turgot, "her son Edgar, returning from the army, approached her couch 'How fares it,' said she, 'with the king and my Edward?' The youth stood silent. 'I know all,' cried she, 'I know all. By this holy cross, by your filial affection, I adjure you to tell me truth.' He answered:

'Your husband and our son are both slain.' Lifting up her eyes and her hands to heaven, she said: 'Praise and blessing be to thee, Almighty God, that thou hast been pleased to make me endure so bitter anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby, as I trust to purify me from the corruption of my sins; and thou Lord Jesus Christ, who, through the

<sup>1</sup> Chr. Sax. p. 199. Fordun, lib. v. c. 25; Border Hist. p. 69.

will of the Father, hast enlivened the world by thy death, oh deliver me!' While pronouncing the words, `deliver me,` she expired."

The character of this excellent princess is worthy to be "held in everlasting remembrance." Her piety was sincere and deep, though somewhat tinged with asceticism; and her biographer expressly admits that her health was injured by her long vigils, fasts, and mortifications.

Her beneficence was exhibited, not merely in public and somewhat ostentatious alms-giving, in feeding indigent orphans with her own hands, ministering at table to crowds of poor persons, and washing their feet; but in secret acts of charity, and in her unwearied efforts to relieve the necessities and assuage the afflictions of her Saxon countrymen, of high or low degree, who had been expelled from their homes by the oppressions of the Norman invaders. Many of these unhappy exiles had been compelled by the want of the common necessaries of life, to sell themselves into slavery, and were dispersed over the country. She employed her agents to seek out such persons, and to inquire into their condition, and whenever their bondage appeared oppressive, she secretly paid their ransom and restored them to liberty.

Margaret appears to have laboured to elevate the condition of the people as well as to improve their manners and morals. We are told by her biographer, that she encouraged merchants to come from various parts of the world with many precious commodities, which had never before been seen in that country. Among the articles thus imported, special mention is made of highly ornamented vestments of various colours, which, when the people bought, adds the chronicler, and were induced by the persuasions of the king to put on, they seemed to become new beings, so fine did they appear in their new-fashioned clothes. She was also magnificent in her own attire. She increased the number of attendants on the person of the king, augmented the parade of his public appearances, and caused him to be served at table in gold and silver plate. "At least," says the honest historian, "the dishes and vessels were gilt or silvered over." In the management of her own household, she displayed such a mixture of strictness and kindness, that she was equally revered and loved by all who approached her. She entertained many ladies, employed their leisure hours in the amusement of the needle, and paid strict attention to the decorum of their conduct. "In her presence," says Turgot, "nothing unseemly was ever done or uttered."

The gentleness and amiability of this excellent woman, together with her prudence and good sense, enabled her to acquire complete control over the fiery temper of her husband; and her influence over him appears to have been exerted with the most beneficial effect. To her he seems to have committed the management of the religious affairs and the internal polity of his kingdom. "Malcolm," says Turgot, "respected the religion of his spouse, was fearful of offending her, and listened to her admonitions. Whatever she loved or disliked so did he. Although he could not read, he frequently turned over her prayer-books, and kissed her favourite volumes. He had them adorned with gold and precious stones and presented them to her in token of his

devotion. She instructed him to pass the night in fervent prayer with groans and tears. I must acknowledge," he adds, "that I often admired the works of the Divine mercy, when I saw a king so religious, and such signs of deep compunction in a layman."

Various abuses appear at this time to have crept into the church as well as among the people, and Margaret employed her learning and eloquence, not only in the instruction of her husband, but in controversy with the clergy, and in urging them to reform their various errors of doctrine and discipline. At this period the Scottish clergy had ceased to celebrate the communion of the Lord's Supper, on the plea that they were sinners and dreaded to communicate unworthily. They made no distinction between Sabbath and week days; and they permitted the marriage of a man with his step-mother, or the widow of his brother - a practice originating probably in avarice, as it relieved the heir of a jointure. All these abuses the queen corrected, in a firm yet temperate manner. "She displayed to the clergy," says Lord Hailes, "the vanity of their superstitions or indolent excuse for their neglect to celebrate the communion and she restored the religious observance of Sunday an institution no less admirable in a political than in a religious light." She held a solemn conference with the clergy regarding the proper season for celebrating Lent; and "three days," says Turgot, "did she employ the Sword of the Spirit in combating their errors. She seemed another St Helena, out of the Scriptures convincing the Jews;"

After her death, Margaret was received into the Romish calendar. "Others," says her candid biographer, "may admire the indications of sanctity which miracles afford; I much more admire in Margaret the works of mercy. Such signs are common to the good and the evil, but the works of two piety and charity are peculiar to the good. With better reason, therefore ought we to admire the deeds of Margaret, which made her a saint, than her miracles - *had she performed any* - which could only have pointed her out to mankind as a saint." Nearly two hundred years after her death, her body was removed to a tomb of more distinction, in the church of Dunfermline. A legend of "a well imagined miracle" narrates, that it was found impossible to lift the body of the now saint, until that of her husband had received the same honour; as if, in her beatitude, Margaret had been guided by the same feelings of conjugal deference and affection which had regulated this excellent woman's conduct while on earth.<sup>1</sup>

The character of Malcolm Canmore himself, it has been justly said, stands high if his situation and opportunities be considered. Though he was not altogether free from the fierceness and barbarity of his age, he was a man of undaunted courage and of a noble and generous disposition. "From his early youth," says Lord Hailes, "to his last invasion of England, his conduct was uniform. He maintained his throne with the same spirit by which he won it. Though he as the ruler of a nation uncivilized and destitute of foreign resources, and had such antagonists as the Conqueror and William Rufus to encounter, yet for

<sup>1</sup> Turgot, Acta Sanctorum, 10 June 328, quoted by Lord Hailes, Annals vol. i. pp. 36-45.

twenty-seven years he supported this unequal contest; sometimes with success, never without honour. That he should have so well asserted the independency of Scotland is astonishing, when the weakness of his own kingdom, and the strength and abilities of his enemies, are fairly estimated."<sup>1</sup>

An incident is related concerning Malcolm by Aldred, the authority of David I, Malcolm's son, which is strongly illustrative of his courage and generosity. A nobleman of his court, had formed a design against his life. His traitorous intentions became known to the king, who during the amusement of a hunting-match, drew the conspirator into a solitary glade of the forest, upbraided him with his treachery, and defiled him to mortal and equal combat. "Now," said the gallant monarch, unsheathing his sword, "we are alone, and armed alike. You seek my life; take it." The traitor, surprised at the set of generosity, threw himself at the king's feet, confessed his crime, and intreated forgiveness. The king pardoned and restored him to his confidence, and never had any reason to repent of his manly and generous conduct.<sup>2</sup>

An attempt has been made to claim for Malcolm the character of a great legislator. It is asserted by Boece, that immediately after his accession, he held a parliament at Forfar, and restored to their estates, dignities, and jurisdictions, all the nobles whose fathers had been murdered by Macbeth - that he introduced among his nobles the custom of taking surnames from the lands which they passed - that he invented new titles of honour, each as those of Earls and Barons;<sup>3</sup> and it has even been alleged by later and able writers, tht Malcolm introduced feudal system into Scotland.<sup>4</sup> The story is circumstantially told, how he summoned all is nobles to meet him at Scone, and how each, bringing with him, as directed, a handful of earth from his lands, surrendered them by that symbol to the king, who granted charters of them anew to each proprietor, under the form of feudal investiture. The Moathill at Scone is said to be compose of earth brought together for this purpose and thence called *omnis terra*. But this legend is not supported by any trustworthy authority, and is totally incredible. It is very probable, as Lord Hailes remarks that Malcolm assembled the chief men of his kingdom immediately after his accession, and that he restored the estates forfeited in the reign of his predecessor; but the other political acts ascribed to him are merely conjectural. The modern title of Earl may be traced nearly to his time, and it is probable that it was now assumed by some of those who had previously borne the designation of Maormor, or Thane. Surnames also began to be employed about this period, though they wee not in general use till long after the days of Malcolm. The collection of laws ascribed to this monarch has been proved to be a forgery of the fourteenth century; and the assertion, that the systematic introduction of the feudal system into Scotland is to be ascribed to his policy, is destitute both of proof and of probability. That system was not introduced by any one monarch, or in

<sup>1</sup> Annals, vol. i. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 26, and note.

<sup>3</sup> Boece xii. 256.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Kaimes's Essay concerning British Antiquities, Essay i.

the course of a single reign, but appears to have grown up gradually under the fostering influence of various natural causes assisted from time to time by a train of favourable circumstances. Lord Hailes is of opinion that this important change was accomplished so slowly in some parts of Scotland the custom of feudal investitures did not begin to prevail, till its rigour began to be mitigated in others. Great changes, doubtless, took place in the manners and customs of the Scottish people during the reign of Malcolm Canmore; but these changes were brought about not by any new institutions which he established, but by the example of his queen, and of the Saxon nobles and their followers, whom the oppressions of the Normans forced to take refuge in his kingdom. The revolution which the introduction of English manners at the court of Malcolm produced in the frugal and abstemious habits of the Scotch, is thus piteously bewailed by an old chronicler: - "It is said that such outrageous riot ensued at this time and began to grow in use among the Scottish men, together with the language and manners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, flying out of their country were daily received into Scotland to inhabit there), that divers of the nobles perceiving what discommodity and decay to the whole realm would ensue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that is venomous infection spread so fast over the whole realm, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobriety of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedy in time, before hope of redress were past, that the people might be again reduced into their former frugality, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day and then desiring no superfluous meats and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiously dressed or served forth with sauces, but only feeding to satisfy nature and not their greedy appetites. Hereupon King Malcolm took great pains to have redressed this infectious poison, and utterly to have expelled it forth of his realm. Howbeit, the nature of man is so prone and ready to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit, yet, after they had once tasted the sweet-poisoned bait thereof, there was no means to be found to restrain their liquorish desires. But to bewail that in words," he sagely adds, "which can not be amended in deeds, is but a folly."<sup>1</sup>

Malcolm had a family of six sons and two daughters: Edward, who died of his wounds at Alnwick a few days after his father; Etheldred, who entered the church; Edmund; Edgar; Alexander; David; Maud, the wife of Henry I, king of England; and Mary wife of Eustace, count of Boulogne. They all, as it has been remarked, received English names, apparently after their mother's relations. All the children of Malcolm were under age at the time of their father's death. He was succeeded by his brother, Donald Bane.

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, vol. v. p. 281.

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**JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLES - VOLUME I. P.184.**

Book V. Chapter I. p.184

*Macduff urges Malcolm Canmore to return to the Kingdom - The latter, to try whether he was in good faith, o ws deceiving him, falsely asserts that he is Sensual.*

Chapter II.

*Malcolm adduces various instances of Kings having lost their Kingdoms through Sensuality.*

Chapter III.

*Macduff, in answer, adduces the instance of Emperor Octavian, who was sensual, yet most happy.*

Chapter IV.

*Malcolm tries him a second time, by asserting himself to be a Thief - Macduff answers by laying down the Remedy for this Vice.*

Chapter V.

*Malcolm tries him a third time, by confessing that he is most false and cunning - Macduff can find no remedy for this fault, and retries in sorrow.*

Chapter VI.

*Malcolm now assure of his good faith, promises o return to the Kingdom with him.*

Chapter VII.

*Malcolm's return to Scotland - Machabeus falls in battle.*

Chapter VIII.

*The author makes allowance for the people of any kingdom deserting an unlawful King in battle - Lulath is raised to the throne - His death.*

Chapter IX.

*Accession of King Malcolm to the kingdom - He fights with a Traitor.*

WHEN all his enemies had been everywhere laid low, or were made to submit to him, his aforesaid Malcolm was set on the king's throne, at Scone, in the presence of the chiefs of the kingdom, and crowned, to the honour and glory of all the Scots, in that same month of April, on Saint Mark's day, in that same year - 1057, or wit, the first year of the Emperor Henry IV, who reigned fifty years. The king reigned thirty-six years and six months. He was a king very humble in heart, bold in spirit, exceeding strong in bodily strength, daring, though not rash, and endowed with many other good qualities, as will appear in the sequel. During the first nine years of his reign, until the arrival of William the Bastard, he maintained security of peace and fellowship with the English. In the thirteenth year of the said King Edward, his brother the late King Edmund Ironside's son, whose name was Edward, came to England from Hungary, bringing with him his wife Agatha, his son Edgar, and two daughters - Margaret, afterwards queen of the Scots, and Christina, a holy nun; and he was receive with great rejoicings by his uncle the king, and the whole English people. We shall speak of these at great length later, in their proper place. Of Malcolm, the high-souled king of the Scots, says *Turgot*, we instanced this as worthy of mention, to the end that this one of his doings, here set down, may show forth to those who read of it how kind was his heart, and how great his soul. Once upon a time it was reported to him that one of his greatest nobles had agreed with his enemies to slay him.

The king commanded the man who had brought him this news to hold his peace; and himself awaited in silence the arrival of the traitor who happened then to be away. So when the traitor came to court with a great train to set a trap for the king, the latter, putting on as pleasant a countenance as usual towards him and his followers, pretended that he had heard nothing, and knew nothing, of what he was brooding over in his mind and deep down in his heart. To make a long story short, the king bade all his huntsmen meet at daybreak, with their dogs. Dawn, then, had just chased away the night, when the king, having called unto him all the nobles and knights, hastened to go out hunting, for an airing. After a time, he came to a certain broad plain, begirt by a very thick wood, in the manner of a crown; in the midst whereof a hillock seemed to swell out as it were, enamelled with the motley beauty of flowers of divers hues, and afforded a welcome lounge to the knights whenever they were tired out with hunting. The king then halted upon this hillock, above the others, and, according to a law of hunting, which the people call *tristra*, told them all off, severally, with their dogs and mates, to their several places; so that the quarry, hemmed in on every side, should find death and destruction awaiting it at whatever outlet it might choose. But the king himself went off apart from the others, along with one other retaining his betrayer with him; and they were side by side.

Chapter X. p. 195

*The fight - The Traitor is worsted.*

Now, when they were out of sight and hearing of all, the king stopped, and with a stern look that meant strife, broke out into these words: "Here we are," said he, "thou and I, man to man, with the like weapons to protect us. There is none to stand by me - king though I be - and none to help thee; nor can any see or hear. So now, if thou can, if thou dare, if thy heart fail thee not, fulfil by the deed what thou hast conceived in thy heart, and redeem thy promise to my foes. If thou think to slay me, when better, when more safely, when more freely, when in short, couldst thou do so in a more manly way? Hast thou poison ready for me? Who knows not that is only what a girl would do? Wouldst thou entrap me in my bed? An adulteress could do so too. Hast thou a dagger concealed to strike me unawares? None but would say that is a murderer's not a knight's part. Act rather like a knight, not like a traitor. Act like a man, not like a woman. Meet me as man to man, that thy treachery may seem to be free to least from meanness; for disloyalty it can never be free from!" All this time, the wretched man could hardly bear up under this; but soon, struck by his words as by the weight of a thunderbolt, with all speed he alighted from the horse he was riding, and throwing away his weapons fell, in tears, at the king's feet; and with a trembling heart, thus spake - "My lord the king, let thy kingly might overlook this unrighteous purpose of mine for this once; and whatever my evil heart may have lately plotted, touching such a betrayal of thy body shall henceforth be blotted out. For I promise before God and his mother that, for the future, I shall be most faithful to thee against all men." "Fear not, my friend," rejoined the king, "fear not. Thou shalt suffer no evil through me or from me,

on account of this. I bid thee, however, name me hostages in pledge, and bring them to me." The hostages were named, and soon after brought to the king; who thereupon said, - "I say unto thee, on the word of a king, that the matter shall stand as I promised thee before." When, therefore, that traitor had in due time, satisfied the king's wishes in the above particulars, they returned to their companions and spoke to no man of what they had done, or said.

Chapter XI.

*Death of Edward, King of the English - The nobles would have made the blessed Margaret's brother, Edward, King, had the Clergy consented - Vision of Saint Edward.*

Chapter XII.

*How William the Bastard's coming to England was brought about - Saint Paternus, the Scot.*

Chapter XIII.

*Wretched and treacherous lives led by the English before William's arrival.*

Chapter XIV. p. 200

*Happily for the Scots, Edgar Atheling and his sister Margaret, afterwards Queen of the Scots, land in Scotland.*

So Edgar Atheling, says Turgot, seeing that everywhere matters went not smoothly with the English, went on board ship, with his mother and sisters, and tried to get back to the country where he was born. But the Sovereign Ruler, who rules the winds and waves, troubled the sea, and the billows thereof were upheaved by the breath of the gale; so, while the storm was raging, they all, losing all hope of life, commended themselves to God, and left the vessel to the guidance of the waves. Accordingly, after many dangers the huge toils, God took pity on His forlorn children, for when no help from an seems to be forthcoming, we must needs have recourse to God's help - and at length, tossed in the countless dangers of the deep, they were forced to bring up in Scotland. So that the holy family brought up in a certain spot which was thenceforth called Saint Margaret's Bay by the inhabitants. We believe that this did not come about by chance, but that they arrived there through the providence of God Most High. While, then, the aforesaid family tarried in that bay and were all awaiting in fear the upshot of the matter, news of their arrival was brought to King Malcolm, who at that time was with his men, staying not far from that spot; so he sent off messengers to the ship, to inquire into the truth of the matter. When the messengers came there, they were astonished at the unusual size of the ship, and hurried back to the king as fast as they could, to state what they had seen. On hearing these things the king sent of thither, from among his highest lords, a larger embassy of men more experienced than the former. So these, being welcomed as ambassadors from the king's majesty, carefully noted, not without admiration the lordliness of the men, the beauty of the women, and the good-breeding of the whole family; and they had pleasant talk thereon among themselves. To be brief - the ambassadors chosen for this duty plied them with questions, in sweet words and dulcet eloquence, as to how the thing began, went on and ended; while they on the other hand as guests newly come, humbly and eloquently unfolded to them, in

simple words the cause and manner of their arrival. So the ambassadors returned; and when they had informed their king of the stateliness of the older men, and the good sense of the younger, the ripe womanhood of the matrons, and the loveliness of the young girls, one of them went on to say: - "We saw a lady there - whom, by and bye from the matchless beauty of her person, and the ready flow of her pleasant eloquence, teeming, moreover, as she did, with other qualities, I declare to thee, O king that I suspect in my opinion, to be the mistress of tht family - whose admirable loveliness and gentleness one must admire, as I deem, rather than describe." And no wonder they believed her to be the mistress; for she was not only the mistress of that family, but also the heiress of the whole of England, after her brother; and God's providence had predestined her to be Malcolm's future queen, and the sharer of his throne. But the king, hearing that they were English, and were there present, went in person to see them and talk with them; and made fuller inquiries whence they had come, and wither they were going. For he had learnt the English and Roman tongues fully as well as his own, when, after his father's death, he had remained fifteen years in England; where, from his knowledge of this holy family, he may happen to have heard somewhat to make him deal more gently, and behave more kindly, towards them.

#### CHAPTER XV P. 202

*King Malcolm weds Saint Margaret - He gladly welcomes all English fugitives.*

THE king, therefore, says *Turgot* again, when he had seen Margaret, and learnt that she was begotten of royal, and even imperial seed, sought to have her to wife, and got her: for Edgar Atheling, her brother, gave her away to him, rather through the wish of his friends than his own - nay, by God's behest. For as Hester of old was, through God's providence, for the salvation of her fellow-countrymen, joined in wedlock to King Ahasnerus, even so was this princess joined to the most illustrious King Malcolm. Nor was she, however, in bondage; but she had abundant riches, which her uncle, the king of England, had formerly given to her father, Edward, as being his heir (whom also the Roman emperor, Henry, himself had sent to England, as we stated a little ago, graced, with no small gifts), and a very large share thereof the holy queen brought over with her to Scotland. She brought, besides, many relics of saints, more precious than any stone or gold. Among these was that holy Cross, which they call *the black*, no less feared than loved by all Scottish men, through veneration for its holiness. The wedding took place in the year 1070, and was held, with great magnificence, not far from the bay where she brought up, at a place called Dunfermline, which was then the king's town. For that place was of itself most strongly fortified by nature, being begirt by very thick woods, and protected by steep crags. In the midst thereof was a fair plain, likewise protected by crags and streams; so that one might think that was the spot whereof it was said: - "Scare man or beast may tread its pathless wilds." Malcolm, says *William*, gladly

welcomed all the English fugitives, affording to each such protection as was in his power - to Edgar, to Stigand, Archibald of Canterbury, and to Aldred of York - but especially to Edgar, whose sister he made his consort, out of regard for her old and noble descent. On his behalf, Malcolm harried the border provinces of England with fire and rapine. This king Malcolm, with his men, and Edgar, Marcher and Waldeof, with the English and Danes, often brooded over that nest of oppression, York, the only stronghold of rebellion; and there they often killed William's leaders, whose deaths I should, perhaps not be doing too much were I to recount one by one. These two, Stigand and Aldred, the chiefs of the clergy, had been in London when this Edgar, the son of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, would, after King Edward's death, and likewise after William's victory, have been raised to the throne by all the others, had they themselves not wickedly withstood them. Of them - and of all the rest, I think - was it said by the prophet - "Judge ye justly, O children of men!" And seeing they judged unjustly, God justly brought again the same judgement upon their heads; so that, being straightway ousted from all their property, they sought a place of refuge under the wings of him they had unjustly spurned from them; and they secretly arrived in Scotland.

CHAPTER XVI. p. 203

*The Sons and Daughters he begat of Margaret - Ravages he commits in England.*

MARGARET, says Turgot, was, as already stated, joined in wedlock to this most illustrious man, Malcolm, king of the Scots, in the year 1070, the fourteenth year of his reign. Some, however, have written that it was in the year 1067. Her sister Christina, for her part, is blessed as the bride of Christ. Malcolm begat of Margaret, six sons; namely, Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Alexander, and that most vigorous and courteous of kings, David; and two daughters, Matilda, afterwards queen of England, and surnamed the good, and Mary, countess of Boulogne - of each of whom we shall speak presently, in the proper place. Of how great worthiness was this blessed Queen Margaret in the eyes of God and man, her blessed Queen Margaret in the eyes of God and man, her praiseworthy life, death, and miracles, a book written thereon will show forth to those who read it. So writes *Turgot*. Many a time, however, did the king, from the earliest days of William the Bastard's reign even until after his death, march into the northern provinces of England, with a strong hand, wasting and destroying all things round about; taking away, in a hostile manner, by spoiling and plunder, all that had breath; and consuming with fire and sword, from off the face of the earth, all he did not take away for the use of man. He likewise carried off countless crowds of people; so that there was hardly a house or cottage in his kingdom that did not shelter some prisoner of the male or female sex. But who can unfold and tell how many of these the blessed queen, the king's consort, ransomed, and restored to freedom - these whom the violence of their foes had carried off from among the English folk, and reduced to slavery? But the king kept continually coming into England, destroying and

spoiling; and laid Northumbria waste beyond the river Tees. At length he came to an understanding with the nobles of the whole of Northumbria, after having slain Walcherius, bishop of Durham, and many others, at Gateshead. The whole country, except some castles, surrendered to him, and all the inhabitants submitted and swore fealty to him. Now, though Malcolm was bound to do homage to William the Bastard for twelve towns situated in England, he threw off his allegiance on some provocation from certain Normans, and, in his fearful raids, heaped upon them these unbearable disasters which they well deserved. About the twelfth year of Henry IV, says *Vincentius*, the Scots, kept making inroads upon England on one side, and the French on the other; and the English were wasted by famine to such a degree, that some fed on human flesh, and many on horse-flesh.

#### CHAPTER XVII P. 204

*The Northumbrians give hostage to King Malcolm and cleave to him - He routs William's brother, Odo.*

AT that time King William, after he had got the kingdom, and arranged everything to his satisfaction, besieged the castle of Dol, in the parts beyond the sea, and was forced to raise the siege by the strong hand of the French king, Philip. Robert Curthose, also, his eldest son, made war upon his father in aid of King Philip; for William would not give him Normandy, as he had promised him in that king's presence. A few days afterwards, however, peace was established, and William and his son were reconciled. Now while William was still in Normandy, news reached him that some of the dwellers in his borders - the inhabitants of Northumbria, to wit - had gone over from him to King Malcolm. so, to get them back he sent Bayeux, whom he had made earl of Kent. The Northumbrians, however, having already given hostages to King Malcolm, held fast to the Scots; and, after wasting their country, Odo went back to the south. Malcolm pursued the retreating Odo, inflicting some loss on his troops; and, pouring his host about the banks of the river Humber, he destroyed the lands of the Normans and English round about, with incredible slaughter, and returned to his native land with boot and spoils without end. But King William, unable to brook the never-tiring inroads of this outbreak, sent his son Robert to Scotland, to make war upon King Malcolm. Robert, however, achieved nothing; and, on his return, built Newcastle-upon-Tyne. For long after William had invaded England, many Northumbrian and southern lords, being sported by the help of the Scots, for many years held the city of York and the whole country and made frequent inroads and most cruel outbreaks against the Normans across the river Humber. Now Earl Waldeof, Siward's son, whom King Malcolm always held his most faithful friend, and whom King William feared above all the English who had withstood him, was craftily entrapped by the latter, a marriage with his niece Judith, and taken; and after he had long kept him in chains, William bade him be beheaded. His dead body was brought down to Croyland, and buried there. And God there

showed that it is a true opinion which asserts that his death was wrongful; for, in His mercy, He works numberless miracles through him. Waldeof, singly, to use *William's* own words, had cut down many of the Normans, at the battle of York - cutting off their heads, as they marched in one by one through the gate. He had sinewy arms, a brawny chest, and was tall and sturdy in his whole body; and they surnamed him *Digera*, a Danish word which means *strong*. But King William, coming back from his expeditions across the sea, in the fifteenth year of his reign, laid the whole of Northumbria waste.

#### CHAPTER XVIII P. 205

##### *Virtuous and Charitable works of King Malcolm and the Queen.*

I WILL here shortly repeat somewhat of the virtuous works and almsgiving of that high-minded King Malcolm, as *Turgot* bears witness in his Legend of the Life of the blessed queen. For, as David the prophet sang in the Psalm, "with the holy shalt thou be holy," even so did the king himself learn, from the exhortations of the holy queen, to rejoice in holy works, and to keep his heart from iniquity. Doubtless he was afraid in any way to shock that queen, so estimable in her life, when he saw that Christ dwelt in her heart; and would rather hasten with all speed to obey her wishes and wise advice. Whatever, also, she eschewed he was wont to eschew; and in his life, to love what ever she loved; and he learnt, by her example, oftentimes to pass the watches of the night in prayer, and most devoutly to pray to God with groans and tears from the heart. I confess, says *Turgot*, I confess I wondered at that great miracle of God's mercy when I sometimes saw the king's great earnestness in prayer, and such great compunction in praying in the breast of a layman. In Lent, and the days of Advent, before Christmas, the king, unless prevented by great press of secular business, was wont, after he had gone through matins, and the celebration of the mass at daybreak, to come back into his chamber, where he and the queen would wash the feet of six beggars, and lay out something to comfort their poverty. Meanwhile, as the poor became more numerous, it became customary that they should be brought into the king's court; and while they sat round in a row, the king and queen would walk in, and the gates be shut by the servants. Thus, except the chaplains, some monks, and a few servants, no one was allowed to be present at their almsgiving. Then the king on the one side, and the queen on the other, served Christ in the poor, with great devoutness handing them meat and drink specially prepared for that purpose. Indeed the king and queen were both equal in works of charity - both remarkable for their godly behaviour. After this, the king was wont to be himself anxiously with things of this world, and affairs of state; while the queen would go to church, and there, with long-drawn prayers and tearful sobs, heartily offer herself a sacrifice unto God. So far *Turgot*.

*Death of William the Bastard - He could not go to his grave without challenge - Good understanding come to between William Rufus, son of William, and Malcolm - Virtues of Malcolm and his queen.*

IN the thirty-first year of King Malcolm, William the Bastard, king of England, died at Rouen; and his body was taken down the Seine to Caen. Thence, says William, might be seen the wretchedness of earthly vicissitude; - that man, formerly the glory of all Europe, and more powerful than any of his predecessors, could not, without challenges, find a place of everlasting rest. For a certain knight, to whose patrimony that place belonged, loudly protested against the robbery, and forbade the burial; saying that the ground was his own, by right of his forebears; and that the king ought not to rest in any place which he had seized by force. Whereupon, at the desire of Henry, the only one of his sons who was there, a hundred pounds of silver were paid to this brawler, and set his audacious challenge a rest. In the same year of our Lord - namely 1087 - his son William Rufus succeeded to the English throne, and reigned thirteen years. In the fifth year of the reign, he and his brother Robert combined against their younger brother Henry, and during the whole of Lent, laid siege to Mount St Michael across the sea; but without success. At length peace was made between them; and William, coming back with his two brothers, encountered King Malcolm who was laying Northumbria waste. Peace was then made between them, by Earl Robert, on these terms; that the king of Scotland should obey King William; that William should restore to Malcolm the twelve towns the later had held under William's father; and that Malcolm also should give twelve golden merks a year. This King William, when about to fight against his brother in Normandy, put an end to the war, says *William*, without achieving what he had aimed at; and as the turbulence of the Scots and Welsh called him away, he betook himself to his kingdom, with both his brothers. He then at once set on foot an expedition, first, against the Welsh, and then, against the Scots; but he did nothing striking or worthy of his greatness, and lost many of his knights, both killed and taken prisoners. At that time, however, through the efforts of Earl Robert, who had long since gained the good graces of the Scots, a good understanding was brought about between Malcolm and William. Nevertheless there were many disputes on both sides, and justice wavered by reason of the fierce enmity of the two nations. This same Malcolm fell, the second year after, rather through guile than force, by the hand of the men of the Northumbrian earl Robert Mowbray. Now when his wife, Margaret, a woman remarkable for her almsgiving and her modesty, got news of his death, she was sick of lingering in this life, and prayerfully besought God for death. They were both remarkable for their godly behaviour - but she especially. For during the whole of her lifetime, wherever she might be, she had twenty-four beggars whom she supplied with food and clothing. In Lent, forestalling the chanting of the priests, she used to watch all night in

church, herself assisting at triple matins - of the Trinity, of the Cross, and of St Mary; and afterwards repeating the Psalter, with tears bedewing her raiment and upheaving her breast. Then she would walk out of church, and feed the poor - first three, then nine, then twenty-four, at last three hundred - herself standing by with the king, and pouring water on their hands. So far *William*.

CHAPTER XX. p. 208

*Foundation of the Church of Durham by Malcolm - Siege of the Castle of Murealden by the same - He and his Son slain there.*

THIS King Malcolm practising these and the like works of piety, as we read in *Turgot*, began to found and to build the new church of Durham - this same King Malcolm, William, bishop of that church, and Turgot, the prior, laying the first stones in the foundation. He had likewise, long before, founded the church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, and endowed it with many offerings and revenues. But when he had, in his wonted manner, many a time carried off much plunder out of England, beyond the river Tees - from Cleveland, Richmond, and elsewhere - and besieged the Castle of Alnwick (or Murealden, which is the same thing), smiting sore those of the besieged who made head against him those who had been shut in, being shut out from all help of man, and acknowledging that they had not strength to cope with so mighty and impetuous an army, held a council, and brought to bear a novel device of treachery, on this wise; One, more experienced than the rest, mighty in strength, and bold in deed, offered to risk death, so as either to deliver himself unto death, or free his comrades from death. So he warily approached the king's army, and courteously asked whether the king was, and which was he. but when they questioned him as to the motive of his inquiries, he said that he would betray the castle to the king; and, as a proof of good faith, he carried on his lance, in the sight of all, the keys thereof, which he was going to hand over. On hearing this, the king, who knew no guile, incautiously sprang out of his tent unarmed, and came unawares upon the traitor. The later, who had looked for this opportunity, being armed himself, ran the unarmed king through, and hastily plunged into the cover of a neighbouring wood. And thus died that vigorous king, in the year 1093, on the 13th of November, to wit - Saint Brice's day. The army was thus thrown into confusion. and grief was heaped upon grief; for Edward, the king's firstborn, was mortally wounded and met his fate on the 15th of November, in the year above noted - the third day after his father - at Edwadisle, in the forest of Jedwart. He was buried beside his father, before the altar of the Holy Cross, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Dunfermline. King Malcolm, after he was killed, says *William*, for many years lay buried at Tynemouth; and he was afterwards conveyed to Scotland, to Dunfermline, by his son Alexander.

*Death of Saint Margaret - Siege of the Castle of Maidens by Donald, the King's brother, who invaded the Kingdom- Flight of the King's Sons out of the Kingdom.*

WHEN the queen, who had before been racked with many infirmities, almost unto death, heard this - or, rather, foreknew it through the Holy Ghost - she shrived, and devoutly took the Communion in church ; and, commending herself unto God in prayer, she gave back her saintly soul to heaven, in the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh), on the 16th of November, the fourth day after the king. Whereupon, while the holy queen's body was still in the castle where her happy soul had passed away to Christ, whom she had always loved, Donald the Red, or Donald Bane, the king's brother, having heard of her death, invaded the kingdom, at the head of a numerous band, and in hostilewise besieged the aforesaid castle, where he knew the king's rightful and lawful heirs were. But, forasmuch as that spot is in itself strongly fortified by nature, he thought that the gates only should be guarded, because it was not easy to see any other entrance or outlet. When those who were within understood this, being taught of God, through the merits, we believe, of the holy queen they brought down her holy body by a postern on the western side. Some, indeed, tell us that during the whole of that journey, a cloudy mist was round about all this family, and miraculously sheltered them from the gaze of any of their foes, so that nothing hindered them as they journeyed by land or by sea; but they brought her away, as she had herself before bidden them, and prosperously reached the place they wished - namely, the church of Dunfermline, where she now rests in Christ. And thus did Donald come by the kingdom, having ousted the true heirs. Meanwhile Edgar Atheling brother to the just mentioned queen, fearing that it might be with his nephews as the common saying is, "Trust not the sharer of thy throne," thought it, therefore, safer to take them away for a time than to intrust them to their uncle, that they might reign with him; - for every one seeks a partner in sin, but no one does so in the kingship. Wherefore he gathered together the sons and daughters of the king and of the queen, his sister, and, secretly bringing them over with him into England, sent them to be brought up by his kinsmen and acquaintances, not openly, but in hiding as it were. For he feared lest the Normans - who had, at that time, seized England - should try to bring evil upon him and his, seeing that the throne of England was their due by hereditary right; and though he had stayed there in secret, as it were, for a short time, yet it is told the king that he was mixed up in treason against him. And thus what he dreaded befell him on this wise.

Referring to the conveying of Margaret's remains from Edinburgh Castle to Dunfermline, Winton says, or rather sings -

“Hyr swne Ethelrede, quene thys felle  
That wes hys modyr nere than by  
Gert at the west yhet prewaly  
Have the cors furth in a myst  
Or mony of hyr ending wyst,  
And wyth that body thei past syne  
But ony lat til Dwnfermelyne.  
Before the Rwde Awtare wyth honoure  
She was laid in Haly Sepulture.”

(Wynton's "Orygynale Cronikil of Scot." V. ii. pp. 271, 272)

#### QUEEN MARGARET

"Of tener on her knees than on her feet,  
And died every day she lived."

(Chalmers p. 24.)

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