

**EXTRACTED  
THE HISTORY OF LIVES OF**

**KING MALCOLM III    SAINT MARGARET  
KING DUNCAN II     PRINCE EDWARD  
KING EDGAR          PRINCE EDMUND  
KING ALEXANDER I   PRINCE ETHELREDE  
KING DAVID I        QUEEN SIBILLA  
KING MALCOLM IV**

**THOSE BURIED WITHIN  
THE  
ABBEY CHURCH NAVE  
OF THE  
ROYAL SEPULTURE FOR  
SCOTLAND**

Compiled by Sheila Pitcairn F.S.Scot L.H.G.

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# 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

By James Taylor D.D. London 1859 Vol.1. p. 38.  
&

JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLE

OF

THE SCOTTISH NATION VOLUME. 1. p. 184

EDITED BY

W. F. SKENE

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 "Abernithiei" 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>

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, or was 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 to 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 guest 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 is live, 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 by 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*.

CHAPTER XIX p. 206

*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

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

(Chalmers p. 24.)

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**THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND  
FROM AGRICOLA'S INVASION TO THE  
EXTINCTION OF THE LAST  
JACOBITE INSURRECTION**

BY

JOHN HILL BURTON  
HISTORICOGRAPHER-ROYAL FOR SCOTLAND

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.  
VOL. I P. 350.

CHAPTER XI.

NARRATIVE TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF  
ALEXANDER I

KING MALCOLM CANMORE - HIS INVESTITURE - EFFECT OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST ON SCOTLAND - SPECIAL CAUSES OF THE CONDITION AND INFLUENCE OF THE NORMANS - THEIR ORGANISING CAPACITY - KING WILLIAM'S ATTACK ON SCOTLAND - THE FEUDAL SYSTEM - ITS INFLUENCE IN AGGREGATING AND BREAKING UP KINGDOMS - THE SYSTEM OF RECORDS - VALUE OF TO HISTORY - INFLUENCE ON POWER AND PROPERTY - HOW ABUSED - MALCOLM'S CONNECTION WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SAXON LINE - POLITICAL EFFECT OF THE CONNECTIONS - WAS WITH ENGLAND - DEATH OF MALCOLM AND HIS SON - HIS WIFE, ST MARGARET - HER INAUGURATION IN THE CALANDER - HER INFLUENCE ON SCOTLAND - KING ALEXANDER - ALLIANCE WITH THE ENGLISH ROYAL FAMILY - THE TROUBLES IN THE HIGHLANDS - DEATH OF KING ALEXANDER.

MALCOLM the son of Duncan is known as Malcolm III, but still better perhaps by his characteristic name of Canmore, said to come from the Celtic, Caenmohr, meaning "great head." If we are to admit the testimony of Wyntoun, this great king was illegitimate - the child of a miller's daughter. He tells, circumstantially, how the gracious Duncan frequented the house of the miller making love to his daughter, and renders his narrative emphatic by noting that the Empress Matilda was thus a descendant of that same miller.<sup>1</sup> He is the first monarch of whose "coronation" we hear. The ceremony was at Scone, near Perth - a place which had become the centre of royalty, though it hardly had the features which make us call a town a capital.

<sup>1</sup> VL. 16

History now becomes precise enough to fix the day of his event as the 25th of April 1057. There is little worth noticing in the early part of his reign, except that he kept up what seems to have been the fixed policy of the kings of Scotland, to press southwards, and made an incursion into Northumberland, which came to nothing. It is a question whether he took for his first wife the widow of Torfin, one of the independent rulers of the north, called Jarl of Caithness, and whether she or some one else was the mother of the Duncan who afterwards succeeded him.<sup>1</sup>

We must now look to alien cases for the influences that henceforth affected the destinies of the country. A power mightier than any internal power in Scotland - mightier than any in England - comes upon the scene. Just nine years after the accession of Malcolm came the Norman conquest of England. Nothing could seem less to concern the present or the future of Scotland than this decision about the succession to the crown of Edward the Confessor. But it was destined to stamp even stronger historic traces on Scotland than on England. There the crisis came at once, and was at once concluded, leaving nothing to look for but the natural results. On Scotland the new influence worked gradually and slowly; it was two hundred years ere the country felt fully the grip of the new force, and then even came but the beginning of the great contest. It is perhaps from the subtle and gradual nature of its working, that on the side of Scotland we have a better opportunity of studying the true influence and character of Norman aggression than in that country, the face of which became so suddenly changed by one event.

It was no conquest in the sense in which one nation subjects another after the resources of both have been subjects another after the resources of both have been fairly tried in every form of attack and defence, and the one has sunk before the more enduring resources of both have been fairly tried in every of attack and defence, and the one had sunk before the more enduring resources of the other. To the country at large the political results were a surprise. A battle had been fought, but like many other battles, it seemed to concern only those who were near the centre of affairs, by deciding the succession to the crown.

But it was not that the Saxon people had merely got a vigorous, active, rigid king, who to-morrow might be changed or a good, quiet, easy-going successor. The Conquest brought in a matured system of organisation, strong enough to bind the most powerful Saxon earls, and subtle enough to find its way to the poorest homestead. The scattering of garrisons through a conquered country - the promulgation of tyrannical laws - neer perhaps spread so instantaneous and so complete a conviction tht the people had found a master, as those minute practical inquiries which enabled the Norman government to make an

<sup>1</sup> Compare Chalmers, i. 422, and Robertson's Early Kings, i. 128.

inventory of the material elements of their acquisition in the wonderful record of Doomsday.<sup>1</sup>

In aid of whatever qualities he held in common with the Saxon, the Norman brought the spirit and practice of organisation. He had learned this in a great school. He came last from the country which was the representative of Latin civilisation, and of the imperial organisation. No one now believes the story of the Roman laws having been lost until a copy of the Pandects was discovered at the siege of Amalfi. The system lived on through the overthrow of the Empire, as it lives still. There were few perhaps who could put even into the Latin of Justinian's day the subtle doctrines gathered from the disputes and maxims of the Prudentes. But as a powerful instrument of government the system was practised and respected even by those who were the worst enemies of the Empire. It suited the hardy ambitious Normans admirably. They became, in fact, the people on whom the mantle of the old Empire descended. As they naturally fell into its powerful organisation for ruling men, they inherited the spirit of insatiable aggrandisement which the Romans kept to the last. Like them, they comported themselves as the governing race whom all others were to obey, so that their national morality made aggression a virtue in themselves, and resistance a vice in others.

Such neighbours as these opened a new and serious future to Scotland. To the Lowland Scot as well as to the Saxon, indeed, the Norman was what a clever man, highly educated and trained in the great world of politics, is to a man of the same parts who has spent his days in a village. It was no longer that a formidable enemy might arise from time to time, but there was a great system pressed on the Scots by men well capable of giving it all its force - a system which almost required the absorption of their country within the dominions of the Norman. It was not that there was any threat of invasion or immediate pressure of any kind. The Cumbrian and Northumbrian districts lay between Scotland and the domain which the Conqueror had organised and settled, and his Doomsday Book does not extend to the present counties of Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. The influence of the Conquest was, however, as we shall

<sup>1</sup> "Doomsday is a register of land, of its holders, its extent, its transfer, its resources, its produce, its deprived and present possessors; the stock of tenants, cotters, slaves, and cattle employed upon it. It is at the same time a military register, showing the national capabilities of defence, the position of the defenders, and their relation to the crown; a census of the population; a survey of their means of subsistence, their emoluments, their condition; a topographical and genealogical dictionary of all the great families in England; and a faultless record of real property, its incidences and distribution. From its pages the Conqueror could discover at a glance the state of his revenues - the wealth, the consequence, the natural connection of every personage in his kingdom; As it was the first so it is the greatest and most perfect experiment, which has ever been made by our own or any other people in economic legislation; and history since then, notwithstanding all the appliances, improvements, sciences, and enlightenment of modern times, can point to no achievement like it." - Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, in Preface to Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain, &c. ii. 22.

see, immediate in various shapes. For one of these the historical investigator should be thankful, as it makes his work more easy, and its results more complete. To understand the structure and working of isolated institutions, even when there are ample materials to work on, is often a difficult business. With the scanty and confused memorials left of them, it is impossible to get at the real practical influence of the offices and powers which appear to have existed here and there in the confused group of tribes inhabiting Scotland; and the philosophical method of adjusting these things from what is deemed an innate knowledge of human nature, and the habits of barbarous and primitive communities, is not so satisfactory as it used to be. The influence of the Normans infused through the country by degrees the great feudal usage of the Continent, in the structure of which they had taken an eminent part. The working of these in any one country could not only be in a great measure comprehended by a knowledge of their leading characteristics as practised throughout Europe; but it was their specialty that, down to the minutest transaction, their operation should be articulated, and that articulation should be recorded for future use.

It will serve for our better understanding of these institutions, as they come up practically from time to time, to cast a brief glance at their origin and its causes. When Rome went on in the conquering career which was only to stop when the whole world was under imperial government, all the acquisitions were made, not for the conquerors individually, but for a great corporation. First, it was the Republic that acquired them; but when the Empire grew up, this made no alteration on the external policy - the newly-conquered territory belonged to the Imperial city. We see in Roman history, and in all the regulations for the government of Roman provinces, a wakeful jealousy lest private interests should establish a power among them. So nervous was the Republic on this point, that the regulated period for which a proconsul, prætor, or other governor of a province, could hold office, was but one year. Although, under the empire, the imperial government modified the restriction, the policy was to make frequent changes. The only way in which the victorious generals of the later Empire could attempt to establish a territorial power for themselves, was by competing for the Cæsarship itself.<sup>1</sup>

Note - NORMAN INFLUENCES 1000-1100

From page 354 to 372

<sup>1</sup> Looking at modern instances gives clearness to our notions of an ancient policy. The British, in fact, is the same as the Roman was on this point, and it will be the better understood from the difficulties there have sometimes been in giving effect to it. Our connection with Hindostan began so modestly in the adventures of a few traders, that we cannot wonder at the prospect of its becoming a mighty empire having escaped the calculations of statesmen. It was but the other day that, after great efforts, I was made part of the Imperial Government. In New Zealand a body of gentlemen sought to establish a state or themselves, buying land from the native chiefs, which they proposed to occupy and rule under some plan of their own devising, but the central government stepped in and superseded them.

The form in which the influence of the Conquest was first felt in Scotland, was by a steady migration of the Saxon people northward. They found in Scotland people of their own race, and made a marked addition to the predominance of the Saxon or Teutonic element. About the year 1068 there came among these emigrants a group whose flight from England, and reception in the court of Malcolm, make a turning point in history. Edgar the Aetheling, the heir of the Saxon line of kings, came over, bringing with him his two sisters, and such a body of retainers as an exiled court might command. One of the sisters, Margaret, was afterwards married to Malcolm; and thus it behove the King of Scotland, whether from chivalrous sympathy or from self-interest, to be the champion of the Saxon claims, and the Conqueror's enemy.

Just before the Conquest, that territory north of the Humber, which was neither Scotland nor England, had been again the scene of wars which it is difficult to disentangle, and the desperate efforts made by the Conqueror to master it bring a new element into the confusion. Whenever he felt himself strong enough, he left the Norman mark behind him in the building of a castle; not a turf fort with wooden houses, such as the older fortresses, but great strong stone towers, which even after the damage of a siege could be repaired, and if taken by the enemy could be recovered and used.

Among the most celebrated of these, he built two castles at York; he raised another on the east side of the country, which gave the name of Newcastle to a town which rose up round it, with divers others. A great castle to guard the west was afterwards built at Carlisle.<sup>1</sup> The Conqueror seems to have tried the policy of presenting part of the debated district to one of his fighting Norman followers.

The one selected was Robert de Comines, or Cumin, or Comyn, the founder of a family afterwards renowned in our history. He was made Earl of Northumberland; but, as the Saxon Chronicle says, his new subjects attacked him in his garrison at Durham and killed him, along with 900 of his followers. At the same juncture the Conqueror, by marching with a great army, was just in time to save his new fortress at York. Edgar the Aetheling had crept out of Scotland as far as York, and was surrounded by the people, delighted to show him honour when the Conqueror came down on the scene like a thunderbolt, and the Aetheling was glad to flee back to the protection of his brother-in-law. The attempt on York, however was presently repeated, and that in a more emphatic shape. Three sons of Sweyn, King of Denmark, brought up the Humber a fleet of 240 ships. They were joined by the Aetheling and by other leaders, conspicuous among whom was Gospatrick of Northumbria. Thus came on "the Northumbrians and all the country people riding and walking, with a countless army, greatly

<sup>1</sup> "He then went to Nottingham, and there wrought a castle; and so went to York, and there wrought two castles, and in Lincoln, and everywhere in that part." - Saxon Chronicle.

rejoicing; and so all unanimously went to York, and stormed and demolished the castle, and gained innumerable treasures therein, and slew there many hundred Frenchmen (or Normans), and led many with them to the ships; but before the shipmen came thither the Frenchmen had burnt the town, and also plundered and burnt the holy monastery of St Peter. When the king (William) learned this, he went northward with all his force that he could gather, and completely burnt and laid waste the shire."<sup>1</sup> We are told that William was wrathful, because he could not get at the Danish fleet anchored in the Humber; but the Danes seemed content to keep out of his reach. Creeping round the coast, this fleet, which in the old days might have done terrible things, entered the Thames but wisely attempted nothing there, and returned, leaving the debated provinces to be fought for between England and Scotland. Eight years afterwards, the Danes unwilling, as it would seem, that the terror of their name should be thus blotted out, showed themselves again: "There came 200 ships from Denmark, wherein the chiefs were Knut, son of King Swein, and Hakon Jarl; but they durst not maintain a battle with King William."<sup>2</sup> As a last memorial of their old ways, they took the opportunity of plundering St Peter's Monastery at York, and then departed leaving England henceforth free from their harassing inroads.

In the interval between the two Danish descents, the King of Scots tried his fortune in this sadly-tortured district. He poured a host into Cumberland, plundering and occupying the country. Gospatrick of Northumberland had been his close ally. Whether Malcolm would have kept faith and respected his territory after subduing Cumberland, is a question which Gospatrick decided by taking the initiative and falling unexpectedly on the Scots army in Cumberland. Gospatrick had, in fact, come under allegiance to King William. Having apparently a great force at his command, and relieved of all scruples, the Scots king swept Northumberland with a ferocity and cruelty which, beyond all the other bloody raids of the period, have left this one as a memorable story of calamity in the English chronicles. As many of these were written at the time when efforts were made to nourish hostile feelings against Scotland, it may be hoped that the picture of cruelty is over-coloured. A troop of thralls or slaves was driven northward, and one of the chroniclers says that these might be afterwards found in every village, and even every hut, north of the Border.<sup>3</sup> After this the wretched country might be deemed not worth plundering; but the Conqueror in his turn swept and wasted it. His policy seems to have been, that since he could not make the district a valuable acquisition, he should render it an unoccupied desert, stretching between him and his dangerous neighbour the King of Scots. The Norman pushed on to the Scottish Border if not some little way beyond it. According to the Saxon Chronicle - "In this year (1073) King William led a naval force and a land force to Scotland, and lay about that land with ships on the sea-side; and himself with his land

<sup>1</sup> Saxon Chronicle

<sup>2</sup> Saxon Chronicle.

<sup>3</sup> Simeon of Durham

force went in over the ford; and they there found naught for which they were the better. And King Malcolm came and made peace with King William, and gave hostages, and was his man; and the king went home with all his force." A passage like this would of course be seized on as an acknowledgment of feudal superiority; and in the later English chronicles it was described in the proper feudal technicalities.<sup>1</sup> Some patriotic Scotsman have inferred from this that Malcolm, like several of his successors, did homage for lands south of the Border. I cannot concur in this, not believing that the grades and ceremonies of homage were then so far advanced as to admit of one of these complicate transactions. The general historical conditions seem more important, and they give us a transaction between two powerful monarchs - the once, it is true, with by far the greater and richer dominion, and greater power of aggression, but the other with great resources of defence. If William could have achieved the actual subjugation of his neighbour's kingdom as a fief, we may depend on it that he would have carried out his authority so practically and fully that history never could have been in doubt of its existence: if he had achieved his, it could not have been said that in his march to Scotland his force "found naught for which they were the better."

For a few years we have still to wade through the same confused succession of wars, of which we cannot see the exact object or results. In one tendency only are they consistent throughout - in letting us see that, instead of a vassal, the Conqueror had a restless and troublesome enemy beyond his northern frontier. In the years 1079 and 1080 we have the briefest note in the chronicles, that Malcolm made a raid as

<sup>1</sup> "Et homo suus devenit facto homagio et datis obsedibus multis." - Walter of Hemingford. In the original Saxon it is -  
 "He thaer nach ne funde thoes the heom the betere wære. Malcolm cynge côm grythod with Wyllelm cynge, was his man him gyslas salde."  
 Florence of Worcester says that the Conqueror of England penetrated as far into Scotland as Abernathi, and there meeting his vassal King Malcolm, made arrangements for the proper solemnities by which a king of Scots should acknowledge his fealty to a king of England. If the Conqueror reached in Scotland a place called Abernathi, topography must admit that he got as far as the Tay - had reached, in fact, the place where there is an Irish round tower, and where the Picts were, under the old chronicles, reported to have their capital. The question remains, Did William the Conqueror, at the head of an army, march so far northward as to Abernathy on the Tay? If we ask whence Florence got his information, we shall find that it was from the speech of Walter L'Espece at the Battle of the Standard, as it is given by Aelred. There, boasting of what his Norman brethren had done in feats of arms, he tells how their great hero, Norman William, had fought his way through Malcolm's dominions as far as Abernathi. We may suppose it more likely that the speech is slightly misreported, than that it should state a great fact omitted by all authorities contemporary with it. A high authority goes much further, saying Aelred's book that "the greater portion of this piece is occupied with declamatory speeches professing to have been made at the Battle of the Standard, and which from the writer's Preface, may be justly suspected to have been composed by himself."  
 - Duffus Hardy, Descriptive Catalogue, ii. 205.

far as the Tyne, and that it was followed by an English invasion of Scotland under Prince Robert; but how far this penetrated, or what it effected, we know not. After this we have ten years of cessation from such inflictions. In the mean time the great Conqueror had departed, and Malcolm had to deal with his son Rufus. They first measured swords in 1091, and for this contest we have something like a reason. Malcolm appears to have found the cause of the Saxon line a hopeless game with such a card as Edgar the Aetheling. Six years earlier he had advised him to make his peace with the Conqueror. He did so. It was a solemn affair. As he went furth of Scotland, he was received wit all ceremony at Durham by the Shire-Reeve of York, who "went all the way with him, and enabled him to find food and fodder at every castle which they came to, until they came over sea to the king; and King William then received him with great worship, and he was there in his court, and took such rights as he allowed him."<sup>1</sup>

The Aetheling was afterwards invested with some lordships in Normandy. In the discussions between William Rufus and his brother Duke Robert these were sacrificed. It appears tht Duke Robert, having to make sacrifices for peace, found it convenient to make over to his brother the holding of the poor Aetheling, who immediately went back to Scotland, and sought the protection of his sister's husband. So rapidly following on the completion of this transaction that William Rufus was still in Normandy winding up the negotiation, King Malcolm made the most formidable of all his invasions southward, and penetrated, as it would seem, far into the territory over which the English crown had been consolidating its power during the cessation from such attacks. The affair cannot be so well told as in the words of the Saxon Chronicle, which in such matters is the foundation of all others: "King Malcolm of Scotland came hither into England, and harried a great deal of it, until the good men who had charge of this land sent a fore against him, and turned him back. When King William in Normandy heard of this, he made ready for his departure and came to England, and his brother and Count Robert with him, and forthwith ordered a force to be called out." It was both a sea and a land force, but the ships were lost. "When King Malcolm heard that they would seek him with a force, he went with his force out, of Scotland into the district of Leeds, in England, and there awaited. When King William with his force approached, there intervned Count Robert and Edgar Aetheling, and so made a reconciliation between the kings, so that King Malcolm came to our king, and became his man, with all such obedience as he had before paid to his father, and with oath confirmed."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Saxon Chronicle, 1084.

<sup>2</sup> The point to which Malcolm penetrated in England was long a question of difficulty. In Lord Hailes's time it was taken for Lothian; but then how account for the distinct statement not only that he had gone out of Scotland - which was then it is true, properly the name only of the country north of the Forth - but into England. Lord Hailes says, the words of the Chronicle "Have been and probably will ever be, the subject of fruitless controversy" (I 21). The word in the Chronicle is "Lothene;" but the editor of the Rolls edition, about

Simon of Durham, the oldest of the subsequent annalists, adds some particulars which are supposed to clear up this transaction. The English King secured to the King of Scots certain territories which he claimed beyond the Border, along with an annual payment of twelve marks of gold. Whether or not, as Lord Hailes suggests, the money consideration "might be in lieu of some other lands which the Scottish King claimed and the English were unwilling to surrender," the best we can make of the affair is, that it was a step in those arrangements by which the King of Scotland found it expedient to hold any lands he claimed south of the Border through and understanding with the King of England.

We come now towards the last, for a time, of these sad raids, with their unsatisfactory compromises. Malcolm complained loudly that King Rufus had broken faith with him; and perhaps a movement that he must have observed, the strengthening and garrisoning of the Castle of Carlisle, helped him to this conclusion. This was at the juncture when Rufus had performed the part of the sick devil turning monk and relapsing. Stricken with deadly illness, he had promised to restore the property seized from the Church, and the old rights of the Saxon people, "but which he afterwards withdrew when he became well, and abandoned all the good laws that he had before promised us."

The Saxon Chronicle, after this very distinct and brief announcement, goes on to give the last affair with the troublesome Malcolm thus: -

"Then after this the King of Scotland sent and demanded the fulfilment of the treaty that he been promised him. And King William summoned him to Gloucester, and sent him hostages to Scotland, and Edgar Aetheling afterwards, and the men back again who brought him with great worship to the king. But when he came to the king he could not be held worthy either the speech or the conditions that had previously been promised him; and therefore in great hostility they parted, and King Malcolm returned home to Scotland. But as soon as he came he gathered his army and marched into England, harrying with more animosity than ever behoved him. And then Robert the Earl of Northumberland ensnared him with his men unawares, and slew him. Morel of Bamburgh slew him, who was the earl's steward and King Malcolm's gossip. With him was also slain his son Edward, who should, if he had lived, have been king after him."<sup>1</sup> So ended a reign of forty-six years - unusually long in such times, even when calling to a less restless and turbulent monarch.

The Chronicle continues to say, that when the good Queen Margaret heard of her bereavment, "she was in mind afflicted to death, and with her priests went to church, and received her rites, and obtained by prayer to God that she might give up her spirit."

the most eminent living Anglo-Saxon scholar, his had his reasons for rendering it into modern nomenclature, as it is here quoted.

The question what meaning we are to give to a local name in old spelling resembling Lothian in sound, is important, and will have to be considered further on.

<sup>1</sup> Saxon Chronicle, 1093.

This good Queen Margaret had an influence on the destinies of Scotland much greater than her husband, who, indeed obtained on her account the defence that made him powerful. She held rank in the Romish Church as a canonised saint, and even the opponents of the old Church have had a good word to say for her from time to time. There had been a great scarcity of distinguished religious persons in Scotland for centuries before her day. The country does not seem to have been blessed with one saint since the time of Adamnan, who was, like Margaret, not a native of Scotland. She holds a more legitimate rank than those old missionaries whose sanctity was established by a sort of popular vote, since her canonisation was formerly completed, and the adjustment of the day appropriate to her in the calendar received the special attention of the holy college.<sup>1</sup> In recent collections of the lives of the Saints there is a life of St Margaret, attributed to Turgot, a monk

<sup>1</sup> It was altered for the second time so lately as the Revolution of 1688, when it was solemnly adjudged to the 10th of June, the day when the poor child, then called the Pretender, was born. The object, of course, was political - to impress that day with the high favour of the Church.

According to the Chronicles, her husband was buried at Tynemouth, but his skeleton was afterwards taken to Dunfermline, where she also was buried. In the year 1250 her remains were removed or translated from their grave to a shrine richly decorated with gold and jewels. The ceremony was attended by King Alexander III, and a brilliant concourse. The Breviary of Aberdeen tells us that as they were conveying the shrine with its holy contents to the tomb in which they were to be enclosed at a certain point they had to stop, for they could convey their burden no farther. Much confused, they took to prayer for a solution of the mystery, when a voice as if from heaven told them that they were passing the spot where the bones of King Malcolm lay; that as the sainted queen and her husband had been on in life, so should they be in death; and no man power could convey her dust beyond her husband's resting-place. The alternative was obvious. Malcolm's bones were laid beside his wife's and both rested in the new tomb. There is a touch of domestic affection about this anecdote as little akin to the tone of the lives of saints, as another domesticity attributed to Margaret - a profuse application of the text against sparing the rod, whence it is said her sons were so distinguished as monarchs. A portion of the saint's remains, however, were still to have a curious history.

"According to Papebroch's Appendix to the Life of the Saint and Queen her head was brought to the Castle of Edinburgh at the desire of Queen Mary, who was in it at the time, she on her flight into England in 1567 it was removed to the house of the Laird of Dury, where it was preserved for many years by a Benedictine monk, but in the year 1597 was by him given up to the missionary Jesuits. One of these John Robie, conveyed it to Antwerp. There John Malder, Bishop of Antwerp, after proper examination, issued his letters, on 15th September 1620, authenticating the head as that of Margaret, and granting leave for its being exposed to public veneration. After seven years the relic was translated to the Scots College at Douay, where permission of Herman, Bishop of Arras, and his successor Paul Boudot, it was again exposed as a genuine relic, to public veneration. Pope Innocent X, by a brief date 4th March 1645, granted a plenary indulgence to those who should visit the church of the college on the festival of St Margaret; and this grant was confirmed by his successors at various times afterwards. It is believed that this relic disappeared amid the tempest of the French Revolution.

of Durham, who was her confessor.<sup>1</sup> This is a production of a very different charter from the grotesque hagiologies of the Columba period. It wants their glimpses into the heathen world, and the simplicity that lets out the passionate nature and worldly ambition of the powerful priests who uses his sanctity to achieve his projects and, when that fails, seeks the arm of the flesh. We have not the supernaturalities and flagrant falsehoods of all kinds, but there is less truth to be picked out of the whole. The Life of St Margaret is a type of a shape which hagiological literature had taken for the purposes of the Church. It is a rhapsody rather than a biography, written to help an objet which was accomplished - that of getting her a place in the calendar of saints.

Though professing all along to be the account of a companion and friend, the Life gives us scarcely anything to bring before us St Margaret in her fashion as she lived.<sup>2</sup> One cannot help still more regretting that there is so little to be found realising the nature of her husband. That she softened the barbarous ferocity of his nature, is but repeating in general terms what every female, saint does to somebody. It is likely enough that the old effeminate polish of the Irish Dalriadic rulers had passed away, that a rougher race had succeeded, and that in such an establishment as the King of Scots kept, the presence of a good woman, trained in the higher civilisation of the Anglo-Saxon court, would create so beneficent a contract with all the surroundings that she might well be revered as a saint. That he followed her wise counsel in the internal administration of his kingdom as one of the vague panegyrics of which one can make nothing; but when we are told that she was very learned, and that her husband could not read, the, broad and conclusive statement effecting him is at once believed. It is not perhaps worth while to doubt the assertion that he was fond of handling her books though he could not read them, and that he sometimes affectionately kissed those she most esteemed. When we are told that, being well acquainted with the Saxon language as well as his own, he became the expounder of her wisdom and piety to his subjects, it is provoking that we are not also told what language he

"With regard to the other remains fo Queen Margaret and her husband, if we may believe the accounts given by Papebroch, which he seems to have partly, if not wholly, derived from statement by George Con in his treatise `De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos,' they were after much labour acquired by Philip II, King of Spain, and by him placed in the Church of St Lawrence at the Escorial, with the inscription, `St Malcolm, King; St Margaret, Queen,' on the urns containing them. Bishop Gillies recently informed me that, in a Scottish shrine he had invoked the aid, of the present Pope in an application to the Spanish Government for their restoration, but, as I understand, they could not be found, or at all events identified." - Transactions of Antiquarian Society of Scotland ii. 89.

1 Reasons for attributing it to another hand are given by Papebroch, the editor of the Bollandist version.

<sup>2</sup> Where the hagiologist admires the piety and beauty of her discourse, we may suppose him to record the precise impression made on him; but when he extends his admiration to the heavenly and devout thoughts that occupied her mind as she kept silence, it is not so easy to admit his testimony.

spoke - whether it was Gaelic or Teutonic. One reform which he is said to have conceded through her influence bears on matters much under discussion at the present day. She found that the people of Scotland did not respect the *Dies Dominicus* or Lord's Day, but followed their usual occupations upon it as on the ordinary week-days. On her remonstrance this was rectified, so that the first day of the week was sanctified from labour, whatever other uses it might be put to.<sup>1</sup> It was doubtless at her desire that a monastery was founded at Dunfermline, a favourite place of residence with both of them; and her biographer must needs speak to facts when he says that the splendid decoration of gold and silver with which she beautified the building may still be seen, especially the crucifix of these metals, with precious stones inlaid. From other authority we know that she rebuilt the church at Iona, which had been desolated by the Norsement.<sup>2</sup>

Through means of the scanty and shadowy touches thus furnished with a few others Malcolm of the Great Head comes forth as the first king of the Scots who has something like an individuality about him - who is more than a name and a pair of dates with a list of battles between. He is not a model king according to modern notions. We find him a man of strife, who, in his quarrels and ambitious projects, doubtless wasted much blood and desolated many a hearth. But he was in this what his age made him; and as he meted to others, so he served himself. He cast his own life into the bloody lottery. The monarch who any day may be found dead in the field beside the child of his affection and the heir of his throne, may cry quits with the philanthropic philosopher. It was not yet the age of chivalry, but Malcolm seems to have had some of it in his nature. His kindness to the royal exiles of England was brave and generous, even if we suppose that it served a policy. He bore very tolerantly with the intolerable and impracticable Aetheling, and dearly loved his sister.

At one juncture there was a little brightening in the prospects of the unhappy Aetheling. He had come back from an ineffectual sojourn in Flanders, throwing himself and his sister on her husband as usual, when Philip of France offered to take him in hand, and endow him with the lordship and Castle of Montreuil. He got a princely outfit from Malcolm, the particulars of which, as given in the Saxon Chronicle, look as if Scotland had then made some progress in the wealth she acquired before the break-ing-out of the great war. "King Malcolm and his sister gave him and all his men great gifts and many treasures, in skins decked with purple, and in pelisses of marten-skin and weasel-skin, and in palls, and in golden and silver vessels, and led him and all his shipmen with great worship from his dominion." The unlucky Aetheling, however, benefited little by these gifts. A storm arose, which drove his vessel ashore, and scattered their contents.

<sup>1</sup> On this point her biographer makes her cite certain passage from the letters of St Gregory the Great, which Papebroch, the editor of the *Life in the Ballandist Collection*, declares he can find neither in Gregory's Letters nor his Dialogues.

<sup>2</sup> Ordericus Vitalis, book viii.

This must have been on the coast of England, for some of his people were seized by "the Frenchmen" or Normans; "but he and some of his best men went back again to Scotland, some ruefully going on foot and some miserably riding." It was then that Malcolm recommended him, as a last resource, to give up his claims and seek the favour of King William. When he thus went up to the English court, the same untiring friend took care that he should not be empty-handed; "as King Malcolm and his sister again gave him and all his men innumerable treasurers, and very worthily again sent him from their jurisdiction."<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Malcolm matters looked as if the hereditary line of succession were to be broken in upon as of old. We find Donald Bane, a brother of Malcolm, reigning for a few months; he is then followed by Duncan, called an illegitimate son of Malcolm, whose reign counts two years. Both are so indistinct and fugitive as to have given ground for an inimitable supposition that they merely acted as guardians of the young heir. One real impression, however, was left behind them - they began to drive forth the English strangers who had been sheltered under the reign of King Malcolm. In 1097, Edgar, son of Malcolm fought his way to his father's throne. By a transaction of which it is a pity that we have but the briefest statement, he was assisted by an English force under the command of his uncle the Aetheling, who is found acting the hero for once.<sup>2</sup>

Edgar reigned for eight years in a quietness unusual to a king of the Scots at that time. There did occur during his reign an event of great moment, but it was a domestic event solely and it pointed to pacific results. On the 15th of November, in the year 1100, his sister Matilda was married to Henry, King of England. It is rare for even a royal marriage to carry so much political importance as this. It was a union between the two families which were on the way towards dividing between them the rule over the island of Britain. But, still more momentous, it was the union of the heir to the Norman Conquest with a daughter of the old Saxon race of kings. Endowed as it thus was with the prospect of a great future, the marriage had its warm friends and equally warm enemies. The chronicles tell us that it gave infinite joy to the Saxon party, who had abandoned all prospect of restoring the old line or driving out the strangers. The Norman and the Saxon, though they spoke a different language, were now finding that they belonged to the same race, and had such common qualities as would prevent it from coming to pass that the one should remain the lord and the other be for ever the slave. Coupled as they were in a common fate, they began to have a surly respect for each other, and to act like those who find it wise to make the best of the conditions that have rendered them inseparable companions. One thing could not easily be got over - that high polish and command of accomplishment which made the Norman feel that the Saxon even of reddest blood was a boor beside him; and nothing could be a better precedent for a general exchange of courtesies, and an obliteration of social demarcations than this union

<sup>1</sup> Saxon Chronicle, 1075. Vol. 1

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 1097. 2 B

between the highest, on either side. For this reason the court of Norman adventurers dislike the match. They saw in it the probable loss of the vast influence they possessed, as a body without whose consent and co-operation the Norman king could not hold his throne. If he could make himself acceptable to the Saxon nobles and their people, here was a power other than theirs giving support to the king. Possibly they may by their own conduct have suggested that this would be a wise union. Several of them in succession had each pressed his own personal suit on the Scots Saxon princess. The difference in rank between them and their king was not so great, according to their estimation at least, as to make an exchange of rank utterly hopeless and preposterous; and there was no counting what amount of influence the fortunate lord whose offspring would represent the old Saxon line might exercise. Difficulties, however, ever fell in the way of these suitors; and none of these great vassals having yet carried off the prize, it may have been deemed prudent permanently to remove it out of their reach.

The Church had occasion to offer some curious impediments to the match. Matilda had been brought up by her aunt Clementina, sister of the Aetheling, who was abbess of a great religious house, seemingly that of Wilton. The princess lived here in seclusion, and was said to have taken her vows as a nun; nay, to have been seen veiled after the monastic fashion. At the instance of Archbishop Anselm, who had grave doubts whether he could lawfully solemnise the marriage, the young princess herself was questioned, and, according to the archbishop's biographer Eadmer, she made a revelation which has been often referred to as vivid testimony to the licentious insolence of the Norman nobles. She admitted that she had worn a veil, or the semblance of a veil, in public; and she said she had done so by her aunt's command, as a protection from the liberties which she must otherwise have to endure from the Norman followers of the court.

On Edgar's death in 1107, when he was succeeded by his brother Alexander, he left it as a bequest or injunction that Cumbria should be ruled by his younger brother David. It seems that Alexander, whether he would willingly have acceded to this or not, found it prudent to do so, as his brother had much influence with the Normans, who were now spreading northwards. The disjunction of this part of the dominion of the King of Scots, though it was but a brief arrangement, was still important in history. Both Scotland and England were then endeavouring to push a clearly-defined frontier as far as each could through the old field of contest that lay between them and the ruler of Cumbria, being a different person from the King of Scotland, put an impediment to the Scottish frontier forming itself on the southern border of that district.

From the other end of his dominion this king received a hint that Scotland was not yet under one rule to its northern extremity. We are told that he was enjoying himself in his royal residence at Invergowrie, on the north bank of the Firth of Tay, when he narrowly escaped an attack by a northern army led by the Maarmor of Ross, assisted by the Maamor of the Merne. The king gathered a force and drove them

northward beyond the Moray Firth, which he crossed, meeting his enemies in their stronghold. There is very little to be known of the affair; but it looks, on comparing the authorities, as if it had struck a decided blow at these northern independent powers, and was a distinct step in the progress towards the predominance of the King of Scots. It is briefly referred to in the usual histories as the vigorous "quelling of an insurrection;" and so far as the Maarmor of Merne was concerned, this term might perhaps be accurately applied.<sup>1</sup>

King Alexander died a natural death, on the 27th of April 1124.

1 The affair is distinctly and picturesquely told by Wyntoun, but one would prefer an earlier authority for the details.

# **DONALD III (BANE)**



**DONALD BANE (1093-1094-1097)**

&

# **PRINCE EDMUND**



Extracted from -

**THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND**

By James Taylor D.D. London 1859 Vol.1. p. 44.

Donald III  
Bane



[1093-1094-1097] brother of Malcolm III, who had fled to the Hebrides on the death of his father, Duncan I, and does not appear to have visited brother Malcolm at any period of his reign. As soon as he received intelligence of his brother's death, he hurried to Scotland with a powerful armament, collected in the western isles by the assistance of Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway,<sup>1</sup> and apparently with little opposition took possession of the throne. According to the Celtic law of succession, Donald as the eldest male of the royal family, was heir to the crown, and his pretensions were supported by a powerful party among the Scottish nobles, to whom the innovations of the last reign, and the preference shown to strangers, had been peculiarly obnoxious. The children of the late king were hastily conveyed to England, and placed in a state of security by their uncle Edgar Atheling.

The first edict of Donald Bane was a sentence of banishment against all the foreigners who had taken refuge at the Scottish court - an ignorant and foolish attempt to arrest the progress of civilisation, and to bring back the country to the savages state of the western isles, in which his own life had been spent.<sup>2</sup> His triumph, however, was short-lived.

Duncan an illegitimate son of the late king, (now known as the son of Malcolm's first queen Ingibiorg of Orkney), who had been sent as a hostage to England, with the permission of William Rufus, collected a numerous force of English and Normans, expelled Donald from the country and took possession of the throne (May 1094,) whether in his own right, or for the lawful family of Malcolm does not clearly appear.

After a reign of only a few months Duncan was assassinated by Malpedir, the Maormor, or Earl, of the Mearns, in November 1094, at the instigation, it is alleged of Edmund, the second of the legitimate children of Malcolm Canmore, who had entered into an agreement with his uncle, Donald Bane, to share the kingdom between them.<sup>3</sup> On the restoration of Donald to the throne, his inhospitable edict for the expulsion of foreigners was strictly enforced, and every effort was made to overthrow the measures which his brother had taken for the civilization of the country. Matters remained in this state for more than two years.

<sup>1</sup> Fordun, lib. v. chap. xxvi. <sup>2</sup> Hailes's Annals, vol. I p. 49; Sax. Chron. pp. 199, 200.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 423; Fordun, lib. v. chap. xxviii.

**PRINCE EDMUND**  
**BURIED IN**  
**DUNFERMLINE ABBEY**



**PRINCE EDMUND (1094-1097)**

Extracted from -

**THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND**

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&

**JOHN OF FORDUN'S**

**CHRONICLE**

OF

**THE SCOTTISH NATION**

**VOLUME 2. p. 213, 215**

**EDITED BY**

**W, F, SKENE**

Donald III  
Bane  
&  
Edmund



[1094-1097] On the restoration of Donald to the throne, his inhospitable edict for the expulsion of foreigners was strictly enforced, and every effort was made to overthrow the measures which his brother had taken for the Edmund civilization of the country. Matters remained in this state for more than two years till 1097. At length in 1097, Edgar Atheling, along with his nephew Edgar, raised a powerful army in England, and marching against Donald, overcame him in battle, and having obtained possession of his person, imprisoned him and put out his eyes. William of Malmesbury states, that Edmund, the unworthy son of the pious Margaret, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for his accession to the murder of Duncan; that, during his captivity, he was touched with remorse, and in token of penitence for his guilt, ordered the fetters he had worn in his dungeon to be buried with him in his coffin.<sup>1</sup> Donald Bane died at Roscobie, in Forfarshire, and with him terminated the line of the Scottish kings.<sup>2</sup>

We are informed by the learned Chalmers,<sup>3</sup> that throughout the Scottish period, Scotland proper was divided into ten districts, exclusive of Lothian, Galloway, and Strathclyd. 1. FIFE, comprehending the country between the Forth and the Tay, below the Ochil Hills. Of this extensive district the celebrated Macduff was the Maormor. II. STRATHERN, including the country between the Forth and the Ochil Hills on the south and the Tay on the north. III. ATHOL and Stormont, comprehending the central highlands, lay between the Tay and Badenoch. IV. ANGUS, comprehending the country from the Tay and the Ila on the south, to the northern Esk upon the north. V. Mearns comprehended the district which lay between the North Esk and the Dee. Fenella, the inhospitable murderess of Kenneth III, was the wife of the Maormor of this district the daughter of the Maormor of Angus. VI. ABERDEEN and BANFF comprehended the extensive country between the Dee and the Spey. Greg, the Maormor of this district, occupied the Scottish throne from A.D. 882 to 893. VII. The extensive district of MORAY comprehended the country from the Spey to the Farar or Beaully, and reached, westward, to the limits of northern Argyle. The Maormor of Moray were persons of great importance at that period, and the Moray men acted a conspicuous part in the bloody scenes of Scottish history. VIII. ARGYLE, which formed the ancient kingdom of the Scots, extended along the mainland of Scotland, from the Clyde to Ross, and comprehended the adjacent isles. IX. the great district of Ross was composed of the counties of Ross and Cromarty. The powerful chiefs of this province were often engaged in bloody conflicts with the rapacious Norsemen. Macbeth was Maormor of Ross-shire when he slew "gracious Duncan," and seized his sceptre. X. SUTHERLAND and CAITHNESS formed a district which, at the end of the tenth century was governed by Sigurd, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, and after him, by his son, Thornfinn,

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury, p. 158. <sup>2</sup> It is worthy of notice, that John Comyn, the lord of Badenoch, during the great competition for the crown, claimed the succession as heir of Donald Bane, through the female line.

the grandson of Malcolm II. These districts, during the Scottish period, were connected by very slight ties. The inhabitants of each province possessed peculiar rights, followed their own customs, and were governed by their own chiefs or Maormors, who could not be appointed or displaced by the king; and there was scarcely any recognition of a supreme legislative body or authority having the power to make laws for the whole community. The authority of the king, though it was acknowledged, was often resisted, because it could not easily enforced.

To every careful student of the events and institutions of this period, it must be evident that the predominant people were the Celtic race. The laws were Celtic, the government Celtic, the titles of honour Celtic, the usage of manners Celtic, the church Celtic, the language Celtic. "If," says Chalmers,<sup>1</sup> "Malcolm Canmore, a Celtic prince who did not arrogate the character of a lawgiver, had been disposed to effect a considerable change in this Celtic system, he would have found his inclination limited by his impotence. The Scottish kings, during those times, seem not to have possessed legislative power. Whenever they acted as legislators, they appear to have had some coadjutors, either some Maormors, a term by which we are to understand the civil ruler of a district, or some bishop."<sup>2</sup> At a later period, when the children and grandchildren of Malcolm attempt to introduce new institutions and maxims of government in the provinces of Galloway and Moray so firmly attached were the people to their ancient customs and habits that the innovations gave rise to frequent insurrections.<sup>3</sup>

Mention had already been made of the residence of Donald Bane, in the Hebrides, and the powerful support which the inhabitants of these remote islands gave to him in his attempts upon the Scottish crown. It is evident that they had at this period little or no political connexion with the mainland of Scotland, but were under the domination of petty chiefs, where sometimes independent, and at other periods under the superiority of the kings of Norway.

During the early portion of the ninth century they suffered much from the depredations of the Norwegian pirates, whose incessant ravages were severely felt by the various religious communities scattered over the Western Islands. It appears from the Irish annals, that these fierce marauders not only laid waste the country, and plundered the monasteries of their treasures, but also carried off great numbers of captives both male and female, and sold them for slaves in the markets of Norway and Sweden. They had not as yet however effected any permanent settlement either in the isles or on the mainland of Scotland. But toward the latter end of the ninth century the number of these pirates was greatly increased by a revolution which had taken place in Norway. Harold Harfager, or the light-haired, after a protracted struggle obtained possession of the Norwegian throne,<sup>4</sup> and united the provinces of the Scandinavian peninsula into one monarchy.

<sup>1</sup> Caledonia, vol. i. p. 455

<sup>2</sup> Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Torfæus, Hist. Norw. vol. ii. b. ii. chap. xii.; Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 91.

## JOHN OF FORDUN'S CRONICLE - VOL. 2.

### CHAPTER XXI. P. 209.

*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 besiege the aforesaid castle, where he knew the king's rightful and lawful heirs were. But, forasmuch as tht 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 tht 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.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Duncan, Malcolm's illegitimate son\*, wrest the kingdom from his uncle Donald - His death - Donald recovers the kingdom at this time the King of Norway takes possession of our Isles.*

NOW when the throne of Scotland had been usurped by Donald, King Malcolm's lawful heirs - that is to say, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who, though the least in years, was nevertheless endowed with the greatest virtue - tarried in England through fear of him. For, as stated below, the king's three other older sons were not then living. Edward, as was said, was slain with his father. About Ethelred I find nothing certain, in any writings, as to where he died or was buried; except that, as some asserts he lies buried in Saint Andrew's Church in Kilremont. Edmund, a vigorous man, and devout in God's service, after his death was buried at Montacute, in England. *William*, however, has written that Edmund's death happened otherwise as will be seen afterwards in the sequel. Meanwhile Duncan, King Malcolm's illegitimate son, when he was with King William Rufus. in England, as a hostage, was by him dubbed knight; and backed up by his help he arrived in Scotland, put his uncle Donald to flight, and was set up as king. But when he had reigned a year and six months, he fell slain at Monthechin by the Earl of Mernys, by name Malpetri, in Scottish Malpedir, through the wiles of his uncle Donald, whom he had often vanquished in battle; and he was buried in the island of Iona. After his death, Donald, again usurped the kingship, and held it for three years; while he had reined for six months before Duncan. And thus after King Malcolm's death, so sad for the Scots, these two - Donald and Duncan, to wit - reigned five years between them. Now *William*, writing about the aforesaid Edmunds says: - Of the sons of the king and Margaret, Edmund was the only one who fell away from goodness. Partaking of his uncle Donald's wickedness, he was privy to his brother Duncan's death, having, forsooth, bargained with his uncle for half the kingdom. But being taken, and kept in fetters forever, he sincerely repented; and, when at death's door, he bade them bury him in his chains, confessing that he was worthily punished for the crime of fratricide. While these, then - namely, Donald, Duncan, and Edgar, too - were struggling for the kingdom in this wise, the king of the Noricans (Northmen) Magnus, the son of King Olave, son of King Harold surnamed Harfager, sweeping the gulfs of the sea with a host of seamen, subdued the Orkneys to his dominion, and the Mevanian islands, both of Scotland and England (Man and the Western Isles), which, indeed, for the most part, used to belong to Scotland by ancient right. For the Scots continued, without any break to hold these same islands from the time of Ethdacus Rothay, Simon Brek's great-grandson, who was the first of all the Scots to dwell in the islands - about five hundred years before the Scottish king Fergus, son of Feradach, entered the soil of Albion - even until now, for a space of nearly two thousand years.

\* Duncan, was the son of King Malcolm's first marriage with Queen Ingibiorg

# KING DUNCAN II

BURIED IN

## DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



DUNCAN II (1094 - 1094)



Seal of Duncan II.

Walter de Gray Birch (1842-1924). *History of Scottish seals*. 2 volumes. Stirling, 1905-07.

Extracted from -

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JOHN OF FORDUN'S  
CHRONICLE  
OF  
THE SCOTTISH NATION

VOLUME 2. p. 221

EDITED BY W, F, SKENE

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ANNALS OF DUNFERMLINE

By E. Henderson p. 25/26

## Duncan II



[1094- 1094] Duncan an illegitimate son of the late king<sup>1</sup> \*who had been sent as a hostage to England, with the permission of William Rufus, collected a numerous force of English and Normans, expelled Donald\* from the country and took possession of the throne (May1094,) whether in his own right or for the lawful family of Malcolm, does not clearly appear. After a reign of only a few months, Duncan was assassinated by Malpedir, the Maormor, or earl of the Mearns, in November 1094, at the instigation, it is alleged of Edmund, the second of the legitimate children of Malcolm Canmore who had entered into an agreement with his uncle, Donald Bane, to share the kingdom between them.<sup>2</sup> On the restoration of Donald to the throne, his inhospitable edict for the expulsion of foreigners was strictly enforced, and every effort was made to overthrow the measures which his brother had taken for the civilization of the country. Matters remained in this state for more than two years.

At length in 1097, Edgar Atheling, along with his nephew Edgar raised a powerful army in England, and marching against Donald overcame him in battle, and having obtained possession of his person, imprisoned him and put out his eyes. William of Malmesbury states, that Edmund, the unworthy son of the pious Margaret, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for his accession to the murder of Duncan; that, during his captivity, he was touched with remorse and in token of penitence for his guilt, ordered the fetters he had worn in his dungeon to be buried with him in his coffin.<sup>3</sup> Donald Bane died at Roscobie in Forfarshire, and with him terminated the line of the Scottish kings.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 423; Fordun, lib. v. chap. xxviii.

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<sup>4</sup> It is worthy of notice, that John Comyn, the lord of Badenoch, during the great competition for the crown, claimed the succession as heir of Donald Bane, through the female line.

\*(Duncan, now known to be the son of Malcolm's and his first queen Ingibiorg of Orkney),

\* Donald (Bane), brother of Malcolm III.

## JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLE

### CHAPTER XXIV. p. 213

*Duncan, Malcolm's illegitimate\* son, wrests the kingdom from his uncle Donald - His death - Donald recovers the kingdom - At this time the King of Norway takes possession of our Isles.*

NOW when the throne of Scotland had been usurped by Donald, King Malcolm's lawful heirs - that is to say, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who, though the least in years, was nevertheless endowed with the greatest virtue - tarried in England through fear of him. For, as stated below, the king's three other older sons were not then living. Edward, as was said, was slain with his father. About Ethelred I find nothing certain, in any writings, as to where he died or was buried; except that, as some asserts he lies buried in Said Andrew's Church in Kilremont.\*\* Edmund, a vigorous man, and devout in God's service, after his death was buried at Montacute, in England.\* *William*, however, has written tht Edmund's death happened otherwise as will be seen afterwards in the sequel. Meanwhile Duncan, King Malcolm's illegitimate son, when he was with King William Rufus. in England, as a hostage, was by him dubbed knight; and backed up by his help he arrived in Scotland, put his uncle Donald to flight, and was set up as king. But when he had reigned a year and six months, he fell slain at Monthechin by the Earl of Mernys, by name Malpetri, in Scottish Malpedir, through the wiles of his uncle Donald, whom he had often vanquished in battle; and he was buried in the island of Iona. After his death, Donald, again usurped the kingship, and held it for three years; while he had reined for six months before Duncan. And thus after King Malcolm's death, so sad for the Scots, these two - Donald and Duncan, to wit - reigned five years between them. Now *William*, writing about the aforesaid Edmunds says: - Of the sons of the king and Margaret, Edmund was the only one who fell away from goodness. Partaking of his uncle Donald's wickedness, he was privy to his brother Duncan's death, having, forsooth, bargained with his uncle for half the kingdom. But being taken, and kept in fetters forever, he sincerely repented; and, when at death's door, he bade them bury him in his chains, confessing that he was worthily punished for the crime of fratricide. While these, then - namely, Donald, Duncan, and Edgar, too - were struggling for the kingdom in this wise, the king of the Noricans (Northmen) Magnus, the son of King Olave, son of King Harold surnamed Harfager, sweeping the gulfs of the sea with a host of seamen,

\* Duncan, son of King Malcolm's first wife In Ingibiorg. \*\*

CHAPTER XXV. P. 214

*Return of Malcolm's sons from England - Flight of Donald from battle.*

MEANWILE, when Edgar Clito saw that Donald had wickedly usurped the throne of Scotland, which, by right, belonged to his nephews, and that he would not restore it, through more than once besought thereto by ambassadors, by a friendly intervention, he was stirred to wrath. So he gathered together from all sides a vast number of his friends, and being strengthened by the aforesaid King William's help, set out against Donald in order to drive him out and appoint, as king of Scotland his nephew, Edgar, a younger son of King Malcolm and his consort Margaret. While, therefore, young Edgar was hastening towards his native soil, and was in fear of the turbulence of his foes, Saint Cuthbert stood before him in the stillness of night, and said: - "Fear not my son; for God has been pleased to give thee the kingdom. And this shall be a token unto thee;. When thou shalt have taken my standard with thee from the monastery of Durham, and set it up against thine adversaries, I shall up and help thee; and thy foes shall be scattered, and those that hate thee shall flee before thy face!"

When the young man awoke, he reported he matter to his uncle Edgar; and committing himself and all his friends to God and to the patronage of Saint Cuthbert, he carried out, with a stout heart, what the saint had encouragingly bidden him do. When afterwards, the armies met, and Saint Cuthbert's standard was raised aloft, a certain knight of English birth, named Robert, the son of the aforesaid Godwin, and the heir and rival of his father's prowess, being accompanied by only two knights, charged the enemy, and slew their mightiest, who stood out like champions, in front of the line of battle. So before the armies had neared, one another, Donald and his men were put to flight; and thus, by the favour of God and the merits of Saint Cuthbert, Edgar happily achieved a bloodless victory. See how a faithful home-born people is afraid to withstand its true and liege lord - and so forth, as already shown in Chapter VIII. Let, therefore, the lawless usurpers of kingdoms beware, and shrink from leading a faithful people to war against their lawful and liege lord or his heir any more than a good son against his father. But Edgar, being now in better heart, revived the many courage of his men - through, indeed, that was not needed - and marched into the kingdom of his father, which rightfully belonged to him; and as he marched in the kingdom was joyfully offered him by the inhabitants with none to hinder or gainsay; and he accepted it, and governed it gloriously ever after.

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ANNALS OF DUNFERMLINE

by E Henderson p. 25/26

1094. - Duncan II, bequeathed, as a free gift to the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, "TWO VILLAS" called "LUSCAR." (*See Confirmation Charters of David I and his successors.*)

Duncan II, who was assassinated this year, is said by some old writers to have been buried at Dunfermline. (*Abridged Chron. Scot. p. 59 &*)

This is not absolutely certain, but extremely likely. He knew that his father, Malcolm III, had ordained the Church of Dunfermline to the place of future sepulture of the Royal Family of Scotland; besides this, by the previous entry, it is seen that by his munificent gift of the *two villas of Luscar* to the Church he had become one of its benefactors. It may be noted here, that there existed much difference of opinion among authors regarding legitimacy of Duncan II. David I, and his brothers, in their charters, call him "*Duncan frater meus*" - i.e.

"Duncan, my brother," Probably Duncan was the son of Malcolm's first wife, Ingibiorg, and therefore a half-brother of Malcolm and Margaret's children; and hence his supposed right to the throne. It would appear that, at the time of Malcolm and Margaret's death, in November, 1093, their children, at least there *sons*, were all under age, and hence the assumption of power, legal or otherwise, by this Duncan. It would further appear, as he is styled "*Duncan frater meus*" in those charters of Malcolm's sons who had ascended the throne, that they held his memory in affectionate respect; besides, King James II, in his *Confirmation Charter* to the Abbey in 1450, designates Duncan as King Duncan, which this James would scarcely have done had it not been so. Was Ingibiorg, the first wife of Malcolm III, ever recognised as Queen of Scotland?

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# KING EDGAR

BURIED IN

## DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



EDGAR (1097 - 1107)



Seal of Edgar.

Walter de Gray Birch (1842-1924). *History of Scottish seals*. 2 volumes. Stirling, 1905-07.

Extracted from -

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

By James Taylor D.D. London 1859 Vol.1. p. 44.  
&

JOHN OF FORDUN'S  
CHRONICLE  
OF  
THE SCOTTISH NATION

VOLUME 2. p. 215

EDITED BY  
W, F, SKENE

## SCOTO-SAXON PERIOD. A.D. 1097-1306.

Edgar



[1097-1107] the son of Malcolm Canmore, ascended the Scottish throne in 1097, while still a youth, and retained it till his death, on the 8th of January 1107. During his reign the country appears to have enjoyed tranquility both at home and abroad. The marriage of his sister Matildia, or Maud, to Henry Beauclerk, King of England, doubtless contributed to the maintenance of peace between the two countries, and the disposition of Edgar was little likely to provoke hostilities. "He was a sweet-tempered, amicable man," says Aldred, a contemporary chronicler, "in all things resembling Edward the Confessor, mild in his administration, equitable and beneficent."<sup>1</sup> Edgar, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother, Alexander I. (Pictorial History of Scotland Vol. 1 p. 59.)

### JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLE -CHAPTER XXV. P. 214

#### *Return of Malcolm's sons from England - Flight of Donald from Battle.*

MEANWHILE, when Edgar Clito saw that Donald had wickedly usurped the throne of Scotland, which by right, belonged to his nephews, and that he would not restore it, though more than once besought thereto by ambassadors, by a friendly intervention, he was stirred to wrath. So he gathered together from all sides a vast number of his friends, and being strengthened by the aforesaid King William's help, set out against Donald in order to drive him out, and appoint as king of Scotland, his nephew Edgar, a younger son of King Malcolm and his sister Margaret. While, therefore, young Edgar was hastening towards his native soil, and was in fear of the turbulence of his foes, Saint Cuthbert stood before him, in the stillness of night, and said: - "Fear not, my son; for God has been pleased to give thee the kingdom. And this shall be a token unto thee: When thou shalt have taken my standard with thee from the monastery of Durham, and set it up against thine scattered, and those that hate thee shall flee before thy face!" When the young man awoke, he reported the matter to his uncle Edgar; and, committing himself and all his friends to God and to the patronage of Saint Cuthbert, he carried out, with a stout heart, what the saint had encouragingly bidden him do. When, afterwards, the armies met, and Saint Cuthbert's standard was raised aloft, a certain knight of English birth, named Robert, the son of the aforesaid Godwin, and the heir and rival of his father's prowess, being accompanied by only two knights, charged the enemy, and slew their mightiest, who stood out, like champions, in front of the line of battle. So, before the armies had neared one another, Donald and his men were put to flight; and thus, by the favour of God and the merits of Saint Cuthbert, Edgar happily achieved a bloodless victory. See how a faithful home-born people is afraid to withstand its true and liege lord - and so forth, as already shown in Chapter VIII. Let, therefore, the lawless usurpers of kingdoms beware, and shrink from leading a faithful people to war

against their lawful and liege lord, or his heir, any more than a good son against his father. But Edgar, being now in better heart, revived the manly courage of his men - though, indeed, that was not needed - and marched into the kingdom of his fathers, which rightfully belonged to him; and, as he marched in, the kingdom was joyfully offered him by the inhabitants, with none to hinder or gainsay; and he accepted it, and governed it gloriously ever after.

#### CHAPTER XXVI. P. 215

##### *Accession of King Edgar, Malcolm's son, to the Throne - Donations made to Saint Cuthbert.*

IN the year 1098, therefore - the forty-second of the Emperor Henry, Edgar, son of King Malcolm and Margaret, succeeded his uncle Donald, and reigned nine years and some months. Donald himself, indeed, was by him taken prisoner, blinded, and doomed to perpetual imprisonment. Now, when Edgar had been peacefully raised to the throne, and had undertaken to order all things according to his will, he remembered that saying of Solomon's "In the days of prosperity be not unmindful of adversity." So he was not unmindful of his leader, Saint Cuthbert; and gave, granted, and confirmed to the monks of Durham, in perpetuity, his estates of Coldingham, with all the pertinents thereof. This princely man and bountiful king likewise heaped gift on gift; for he gave and confirmed in possession to the bishop of Durham and his successors, the noble village of Berwick, with its appurtenance. This great gift of the king's the whole bishopric thankfully received, and held it in happy peace; until Ranulf the bishop, proved himself unworthy of it - and justly so - on this wise. While King Edgar was on his way to William II, king of England, that Robert, son of Godwin, of whom mention was made above, tarried. with the king's leave, on an estate the king had given him, in Landonia (Lothian); and while he was seeking to build a castle there, he as at last, all of a sudden, beset and taken by the countrymen and barons of Durham - and that same Bishop Ranulf was at the bottom of it. In being thus taken, however, he left a signal remembrance of his bravery among the dwellers in the whole country. Now when Edgar on his return, hears of this, he brought Robert, who had been set free by order of the King of England, back with him to Scotland, in great honour; and whatever he had previously given the bishop he took back to himself - being thoroughly well advised therein.

In the eleventh year of King William II, says William Magnus king of the Noricans (Norwegians), who has been spoken vanian, and whatever other islands lie in the sea; and while he was steadily making his way to England, by Anglesea, he was met by Hugh Earl of Chester, and Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury and driven out by their arms. Hugh of Shrewsbury fell there.

<sup>1</sup> Aldred, Gen. Reg. Angl. p. 367; Haile's Annals vol. i. p. 53.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Marriage of Edgar's sisters, Matilda to Henry King of England, and Mary to Eustace Count of Boulogne - Their sons and daughters - Edgar's death.*

NOW this King Edgar was a sweet and amiable man, like his kinsman, the holy King Edward, in every way; using no harshness, no tyrannical or bitter treatment towards his subjects; but ruling and correcting them with the greatest charity, goodness, and loving-kindness. In the fourth year of his reign on the 2nd of August, William Rufus, king of England, having gone out hunting in the New Forest, was unknowingly, and without malice aforethought, slain by Walter Tirel, a knight from over the sea, while the latter was letting fly a shaft at some wild beast. The king fell without uttering a word afterwards, thus in one short hour atoning for many misdeeds. He was at once deserted by all his train; and being carried away on a cart by some countrymen was buried under the tower at Winchester. He was succeeded in the kingship by his younger brother Henry, surnamed Beauclerk, to whom this King Edgar, the same year gave his sister Matilda to wife. She was anointed and consecrated queen the following Martinmas, by Archbishop Anselm. But Mary, his younger sister, Edgar gave in marriage to Eustace the younger, Count of Bouillon. The characters of these sisters, and their good deeds, will be afterwards, in this little book, in some wise shown forth to whoever would know somewhat thereof. But this same Henry, king of England, begat of queen Matilda, a son named William; who, when seventeen years of age, together with his illegitimate brother Richard, his sister and niece Richard Earl of Chester and many nobles both men and women, as well as 140 knights and 50 seamen, was drowned in the sea at Barbefloth, while coming back to England from Normandy with his father. The king barely escaped with a few followers. The king likewise begat, of Matilda, a daughter named Matilda; who, worthy of an empire by her wisdom, beauty, and wealth, wedded Henry, the Roman emperor. To this Matilda, Henry, king of England, her father, made all the English lords swear fealty, before he crossed the sea a second time; for he had no heir to the throne but her. Then the aforesaid Eustace, Count of Boulogne, begat of the aforesaid Mary, Queen Matilda's sister, a daughter, likewise named Matilda, who married a man of great vigour, begotten of a stock equally of kings and of consuls, Stephen, Count of Mauritania (Moriton), King Henry's nephew, and afterwards king of England. Though I pass over the daughters, I hold up the mothers as a pattern of all living. For while beset by the pomps of this world, they were rich in holy virtues - a thing rarely found; tended the poor of both sexes, of whatever condition they might be, as though they were Christ's members; and most tenderly cherished men of religious orders, clerics, priests, and monks, with singleness of love, and their patrons and men who with Christ were to be their judges. Both after Edgar had reigned nine years and three months in happy peace as was said above, he ended his life at Dundee on the 8th of January, and was entombed in the church of Dunfermline, before the great altar.

Winton in his quaintly odd orthography and rhyme, refers to Edgar's death and interment thus:-

Of Edgar our nobil Kyng,  
The days with honoure tuk endying,  
Be-north Tay in til Dundee  
Ty'l God the Spyrte than yald he  
And in the Kyrk of Dwnfermyne  
Solemply he wes enter'y'd syne."

(Wynton's "Orygynale Cronikil of Scot." V. ii. p. 282)

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# KING ALEXANDER I

BURIED IN

# DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



ALEXANDER I (1107 - 1124)



Alexander I.

Walter de Gray Birch (1842-1924). *History of Scottish seals*. 2 volumes. Stirling, 1905-07.

Extracted from -

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&

JOHN OF FORDUN'S

CHRONICLE

OF

THE SCOTTISH NATION

VOLUME 2. p. 217

EDITED BY

W, F, SKENE

Alexander I  
The Fierce



[1107-1124] son of Malcolm Canmore, who soon after his accession, the existing amity with England was strengthened by the marriage of Alexander with the Lady Sibilla, one of the numerous illegitimate daughters of Henry I. Such an alliance, Lord Haile remarks, was not held dishonourable in those days. The extent of Alexander's territorial dominions, however, was lessened by the separation of Cumberland, which Edgar, on his deathbed, had bequeathed to his youngest brother David. Alexander at first disputed the validity of the acquiesce; but, as David was supported both by the English barons and by Henry, he found himself obliged to acquiesce in the settlement.<sup>1</sup>

The leading event of Alexander's reign was the struggle which he maintained for the independence of the Scottish Church against the pretensions of the English archbishops. Turgot, a monk of Durham, and the confessor of the late Queen Margaret, had been appointed by Alexander to the bishopric of St Andrews, A.D. 1109, but his consecration was delayed for two years, in consequence of a dispute respecting the right of performing the ceremony. This privilege was claimed both by the Archbishop of Canterbury and of York, while the king and the Scottish clergy denied that it belonged to either. The dispute was on this occasion terminated by a compromise, which left the point unsettled.

On the death of Turgot, in 1115, the see remained vacant for five years. At length, in 1120, Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, was appointed to the bishopric. The dispute concerning the right of consecration was immediately renewed, and the English prelates used every effort to obtain the recognition of their assumed authority over the clergy of Scotland. But Alexander steadily resisted their pretensions, and vindicated, with complete success, the freedom and independence of the Scottish church.

This contest lasted for fourteen years, and Alexander did not long survive its termination. He died on the 27th of April 1124, about two years after the death of his queen, who had brought him no issue. He is traditionally remembered by the epithet of the "Fierce," according to Wyntown, on account of the vigour and promptitude with which he quelled an insurrection of the Moraymen, and punished them for their rapine;<sup>1</sup> or rather, perhaps, as Lord Hailes supposes, from his imperious and passionate disposition.

The resolute manner in which he maintained the rights and privileges of the Scottish church shows him to have been possessed of undaunted courage, and great firmness of character. "He was humble and courteous to the clergy," says a contemporary writer, "but to the rest of his subjects terrible beyond measure; high-spirited, always endeavouring to compass things beyond his power; (he does not appear, however, to have ever been foiled in any of his undertakings); not ignorant of letters, zealous in establishing churches, collecting relics,

<sup>1</sup> Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 54, and note.

and providing vestments and books for the clergy; liberal even to profusion, and taking delight in the offices of charity to the poor."<sup>1</sup> On the death of Alexander, David his brother, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, ascended the throne.

## **JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLE**

### **CHAPTER XXVIII. P.217.**

#### *Accession of Alexander, surnamed Fers - His character.*

HE (Edgar) was succeeded by his brother Alexander, surnamed Fers (fierce), in the year 1107 - the first of the emperor Henry V, who wedded Matilda, this Alexander's niece, and daughter of Henry, king of England, and the good Queen Matilda. Henry held the empire twenty years; and King Alexander reigned seventeen. Now the king was a lettered and godly man; very humble and amiable towards the clerics and regulars, but terrible beyond measure to the rest of his subjects; a man of large heart, exerting himself in all things beyond his strength. He was most zealous in building churches, in searching for relics of saints, in providing and arranging priestly vestments and sacred books; most open-handed, even beyond his means, to all new comers; and so devoted to the poor that he seemed to delight in nothing so much as in supporting them, washing, nourishing, and clothing them. For, following in his mother's footsteps, he vied with her in pious acts so much that, with regard to three churches - Saint Andrew's church at Kilremont, to wit, and the churches of Dunfermline and Scone, one of them founded by his father and mother, and the other founded and erected by himself at Scone, the chief seat of government, in honour of the Holy ~Trinity and the Archangel Saint Michael - he endowed them with offerings so many and so great, that his descendants rather impoverished them than added unto them; save that his illustrious successor and brother David kept them in good condition, and by his gifts raised Dunfermline especially - where he himself also rests - and enlarged it by fresh buildings. Alexander also founded the monastery of Canons of the island of Emonia (Inchcolm), by Inverkeithing). He it was who bestowed the Boar's Chase upon the blessed Andrew. He it was, likewise, who gave so many privileges to the aforesaid church of the Holy Trinity at Scone. He had founded and built it on the spot where both the Scottish and Pictish kings had whilom established the chief seat of government; and when constructed with a framework of stone, acceding to the custom of that time, he had had it dedicate - to which dedication by strict order of the king nearly the whole kingdom flocked. The church, indeed, with

<sup>1</sup> Wyntown's Chronicle vol. i. p. 283; "He was callit the Feirse or Strenthie, because he as ane gritt punisser of malefactouris and evil doaris. He dantonit Murray and Ross that had rebellit, and causit hang the Lord of Mernis, pur wyff." David Chalmers' Chronicle, p. 56.

all its pertinents, he freely made over, God so ordering it, to the governance of canons-regular called from the church of Saint Oswald at Nostle (Nastlay, near Pontefract), and of the others after them who should serve god, until the end of the world.

1115 Royal Gifts to Dunfermline Church, Sibilla, the Queen bequeathed Beeth, and also mortified to it her lands of Clunie. (Chalmers p. 36)

Below Docketoun on the north brink of Or, is Clunies, which has been a good house, and pleasantly situate, but now ruinous. These lands were mortified to the monastery of Dunfermling by Sibilla, Alexander I's queen; and the monks feued them to Duncan Earl of Fyfe in Alexander III's time. The Earls of Fyfe kept these lands till their forfeiture by king James I, by which they returned to the monastery of Dunfermling: and anno 1437, they feued them to Sir David Stuart of Rossyth; but in king James III's time, Stuart of Rossyth disposed them to David Crichton of Cranston-riddel, a cadet of the Lord Crichton; his posterity enjoyed this estate till Charles II's time, that the Duke of Rothes purchased them, and they are now a part of the earldom of Rothes. (History of Fife by R. Sibbald p. 377.)

“A thousand a hundyr twenty and foure,  
The yheris if Grace were past oure;  
The Kyng Alysawndyr in Strevylyng,  
Deyed, and wes browcht till Dwnfermlyn;  
Quhare he wes wyth gret honoure,  
Enteryed in halawyed Sepulture.” &c.

(Wynton's "Orygynale Cronikil of Scot." V. ii. p. 281)

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# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

by

R. L. MACKIE M.A. p. 70.

## ALEXANDER I

THE character of Alexander presents that curious mixture, which we also see in his greater brother David, of piety and a vigour that amounted almost to ferocity. "He was a lettered and godly man," says one of the old chroniclers, "very humble and amiable toward the clerics and regulars, but terrible beyond measure to the rest of his subjects." Early in his reign the people of the northern part of his kingdom rose against him and tried to surprise him in his palace at Invergowrie, but hearing that the King had been warned of their approach the rebels retired. Alexander's vengeance was swift and terrible. Without waiting to summon his vassals, he sallied out at the head of a small band of retainers and followed fiercely on his enemies. Over the bleak moorlands and the wild passes of the northern mountains rode the small body of Norman horsemen, till the King found himself on the southern border of the province of Ross. His foes seemed to have succeeded in evading him. They were still in sight, but between them and their pursuers stretched an arm of the sea. In this unknown country, where grim mountains rose behind an apparently impassable firth, where endless moorlands stretched between him and the nearest friendly stronghold, he might have been excused had he retreated. But he had no thought of retreat; he dashed into the water at the head of his knights, forded it in safety, and fell upon his astonished foes on the farther shore. Norman lance and chain-mail prevailed against Celtic sword and buckler; the insurgents were utterly routed, and Alexander returned in triumph to found a monastery at Scone as a memorial of his victory.

The building of this monastery was but one of many events that showed Alexander's interest in the religious life of the country. Early in his reign the ancient bishopric of Dunkeld was revived and a new diocese, Moray, established. Later in his life he signified his devotion to the Church in a curious way. Into the church of St Andrews, perhaps that chapel of St Regulus which has outlasted the great cathedral, he led his Arab charger, with its foot-cloth of velvet and rich trappings. It bore a costly suit of Turkish armour and the King's silver shield and spear. Horse and armour were brought to the altar and there offered to the Church, in presence of all the nobles of the realm. The silver spear was afterwards transformed by the canons into a crucifix.

But Alexander's activity in reforming the Church soon led him into difficulties. For all his English ways he had no intention of becoming subject to an alien lord, or of allowing Scottish bishops to become the suffragans of either York or Canterbury. On the other hand, the English clerics whom he promoted to high rank in the Scottish Church gave him either feeble support or no support at all against the

pretensions of the southern archbishops. Each archbishop again, claimed to be supreme over the Scottish Church, and Alexander seems to have made some attempt to play the one off against the other. The trouble showed itself in the time of Turgot, the biographer of Queen Margaret, whom Alexander on his accession had appointed Bishop of St Andrews. For two years the consecration of Turgot was delayed because of the dispute between York and Canterbury, and when at last the Archbishop of York did consecrate him no demand for subjection was made. Turgot's tenure of office was disturbed by frequent quarrels with the King which became bitter that he returned to England, where in 1115 he died. For five years no bishop was appointed; then in 1120 Alexander sent an embassy to the Archbishop of Canterbury to ask that one of his monks might take charge of the vacant bishopric. One Edmer, "fittingly adorned with holy customs, and altogether worthy of the episcopal offices," was accordingly sent north. Three days after his arrival he was elected Bishop of St Andrews. The very next day trouble began. Edmer demanded that he should be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but when he laid his request before Alexander the King turned on his heel and left him.

This was the beginning of a curious duel between the far-seeing King and the timid, ambitious monk, who was reluctant to lose the high honour that had fallen upon him. An interim bishop was intruded upon the diocese for a month, and succeeded in making off with the better part of the revenues whereupon Edmer repented of his obstinacy and agreed to take the pastoral staff, not from the hands of an archbishop, but from the altar. Meantime the Archbishop of York had become alarmed the prospect of a Scottish bishop not being consecrated at all, or, what was worse, being consecrated by his rival of Canterbury. He urged the English king to intervene; but advice from a foreign monarch simply aroused Alexander's resentment and made him treat Edmer with less consideration than before.

The unfortunate monk now asked leave to return to Canterbury and lay his case before the Archbishop. To this request Alexander replied that never in his life would he consent that a Scottish bishop should be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and when the distracted Edmer virtually charged Alexander with enticing him from Canterbury on false pretences, "the King," to quote Edmer's own words, "was very wroth and swore that he would not enter into new pleas every day in this matter." With his revenue dwindling and his authority spurned, Edmer was at his wits' end. He asked the bishop of the new see of Glasgow, a man of a more unbending temper, for advice, and got it in remarkable vigorous language: "If thou wishest, as a son of peace, to live in peace, seek it elsewhere; here, so long as this King reigns, there will be no communion between peace and thee. We know the man. He wishes in his kingdom to be all things alone, and will not endure that any authority have the least power in any matter, without his control." Following this advice, Edmer resigned the insignia of his office and fled to Canterbury.

New Pope Calixtus intervened and urged the bishops of Scotland, especially the steadfast John of Glasgow, and the King to recognize the

supremacy of the Archbishop of York. But Alexander would not surrender a fraction of his independence even for the Pope, and the Scottish bishops, even if they had been willing to own the supremacy of an alien cleric, had the example of Edmer before them. Even Edmer began to repent of the haste with which he had divested himself of his high office. He discovered that if one were once a bishop one must always be a bishop, and sent a letter to his Excellence, Beatitude, and Sanctity the illustrious King of Scotland denying all that he had hitherto affirmed and humbly begging to be taken back. He returned to Scotland, but his death in 1123 and the election of Robert, Prior of Scone, in his place reopened the question.

If one sympathizes with the timorous cleric whose loyalty to the mother Church of Canterbury and naïve eagerness for dignities and great revenues had to contend with his fear of the King, "who was inflamed against him and knew not why," one must also pay a tribute to the coolness, firmness, and foresight of Alexander. His squabble with Edmer may seem trivial and unworthy; in reality he was securing his own independence, and, in the long run, the independence of the Scottish nation.

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# KING DAVID I

BURIED IN

## DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



DAVID I (1124 - 1153)



Extracted from -

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

BY JAMES TAYLOR D.D.

LONDON 1859 VOLUME 1. p. 60.

&

JOHN OF FORDUN'S  
CHRONICLE  
OF  
THE SCOTTISH NATION

VOLUME 2. p. 221

EDITED BY

W, F, SKENE

## David I



[1124-1153] youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, he ascended the throne, having passed his youth at the court of his sister in England, "his manners," says Malmesbury, "were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity;" while his possession of Cumberland, bequeathed to him by his brother Edgar, had accustomed him to the cares and labours of administration, and had made him acquainted with the more advanced civilization and the better regulated government of the sister country. He had also, before his accession to the throne, married an English wife, Matilda, the daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and the widow of Simon de St Liz, Earl of Northampton. On the separation of Cumberland, from the Scottish kingdom, the king ceased to be an English baron; and accordingly it papers that Alexander never attended at the English court. But David, both by his tenure of the earldom of Cumberland, and of the earldom of Huntingdon in right of his wife, was bound to pay homage to the English king; and accordingly, when Henry I, in 1127, summoned the clergy and nobles of his realm to swear that they would maintain the rights of his daughter Matilda as heir to the throne, David was present at the assembly, and was the first who took the oath.

While David was residing at the court of Henry, Angus, Earl of Moray, rose in rebellion against him, and claimed the crown as the lineal descendant of Kenneth III, the son of Duff, the eldest son of Malcolm I, while David was descended from Kenneth II, the youngest Son of Malcolm I. David was zealously supported by the martial barons of Northumberland, and at the head of a numerous army he marched against the northern insurgents, and overthrew them at Stracathrow, in Forfarshire, A.D. 1130.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Henry, in 1135, his nephew Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, in spite of his oath to maintain the settlement of succession made by his uncle, deposed Matilda, and forcibly seized the English crown. David, however, was faithful to his engagements, and immediately led an army into England, and, taking possession of the whole country to the north of Durham, excepting the castle of Bamborough, compelled the northern barons to swear fealty to Matilda, his niece, and to give hostages for the performance of their oath.<sup>2</sup> When the news of this inroad was brought to Stephen, he said, "What the king of Scots has gained by stealth, I will manfully recover." He immediately collected a powerful army and marched to Durham. On the approach of Stephen, David finding himself deserted by the English barons, who had sworn to maintain the pretensions of Matilda, retreated to Newcastle. A compromise was ultimately effected, (Feb. 1136,) by which David consented to withdraw his troops, and to restore the country of which he had taken possession; while Stephen engaged to confer upon Henry, Prince of Scotland, David's eldest son the earldom of Huntingdon, with the towns of Carlisle and Doncaster, and promised not to make any grant of the earldom of Northumberland, until the claim of Prince Henry to that earldom, in right of his mother

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Melrose, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 77.

was heard and determined. For these possessions Prince Henry did homage to Stephen; but David himself refused to do so, although still retaining the earldom of Cumberland in his own hands.

The war was however renewed before the end of the same year, by David, on the ground that Stephen had refused or delayed to put Prince Henry in possession of Northumberland; but in reality, in consequence of a confederacy with the partisans of Matilda, to eject her rival from the throne. Stephen was at that time in Normandy; but though the efforts of Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, David consented to a cessation of hostilities till the English monarch should return to England. But Stephen, on his return, having rejected the demands of David, the truce was at once broken off, and the Scottish king again entered Northumberland (A.D.1137), and ravaged the country with merciless barbarity. The English historians impute these shocking excesses, not to the leaders of the Scots of those moderation they give some examples, but to the soldiers, who were composed, they tell us, of Normans, Germans, and Angles, of Northumbrians and Cumbrians, the men of Teviotdale and Lothian, the Picts, or Galwegians, and Scots.<sup>1</sup>

As for the king of Scots himself, says an old chronicler, "he as a prince of a mild and merciful disposition; but the Scots were a barbarous and impure nation; and their king, leading hordes of them from the remotest parts of that land, was unable to restrain their wickedness." "They exercised their barbarity in the manner of wild beasts," says another contemporary writer, "sparing neither sex nor age, nor so much as the child in the womb." On the approach of Stephen, in the beginning of the following year David deemed it advisable to fall back upon Roxburgh, where he took up a strong position and waited the approach of the English king. Stephen, however, having, it is said, discovered that some of the leaders of his army had a secret understanding with the enemy, avoided the snare laid for him, and, after laying waste the Scottish borders, hastily returned to the south.

David re-entered Northumberland in March 1138, with the main body of his army, sending at the same time his nephew William, at the head of a body of Galloway men. into the west of England, where he defeated a considerable body of English, near Clitherow (4th June), and carried off a great quantity of plunder. Meanwhile, David laid siege to the strong castle of Norham, which Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham, had erected in 1121, to repress the inroads of the Scottish borders. Norham surrendered, after a feeble resistance, and David, having dismantled the fortress, marched forward, through Northumberland and Durham, to Northallerton, in Yorkshire, without opposition. Stephen was so hard pressed by the partisans of Matilda in the south, that he could offer no effective opposition to the invaders,

<sup>1</sup> R. of Hexham, p. 216; I. of Hexham. p. 260. Gesta Stephen. It is worthy of notice, that this is the last time the Picts of Galloway are mentioned in history. It appears that a considerable body of the Pictish nation had remained in that district, and up to this date had preserved their national peculiarities.

whose numbers exceeded twenty-six thousand, and were composed of all the various races now united under the sway of the Scottish king. The inhabitants, of the northern counties were therefore left to their own resources, and they succeeded, chiefly by the efforts of the aged Archbishop of York, in collecting an army, though less numerous than that of the Scots. It consisted however, of all the nobility and gentry of the northern counties, and was under the command of William Peveril, Gilbert and Walter de Lacy, and especially of Walter l'Espee, an aged warrior of great experience and reputation. The venerable Thurstan bestowed his blessing upon the soldiers, and the remission of their sins; assured them of victory if they were penitent; and promised eternal happiness to all who should fall in battle "in defence of Christ's Church against the barbarians."

The English army was drawn up on Cutton Moor, in the neighbourhood of Northallerton. Here they erected a remarkable standard consisting of the mast of a ship fastened in a four-wheeled cart. At the top of the mast a large crucifix was displayed, having in its centre a silver box containing a consecrated host, and lower down were suspended the banners of St Peter of York, St John of Beverley, and St Wilfred of Ripon. From this standard the engagement which ensued derived the name of "The Battle of the Standard." The Scots, whose ensign was a lance, with a sprig of heather wreathed around it, advanced toward the enemy in several divisions. The van guard, commanded by Prince Henry, consisted of the men of Lothian and Teviotdale, of border troopers from Liddesdale and Cumberland, and of the fierce and barbarous "Scots of Galloway," reinforced by a small body-guard of men-at-arms, under the command of Eustace Fitz-John, a Norman baron. Next came the Highlanders and the Islesman, armed only with their small round target and the claymore. After these marched the king, with a strong body of Saxon and Norman knights and men-at-arms, and the rear-guard consisted of a mixed body from Moray and other parts of the country. Many of the Scottish soldiers were very imperfectly armed and equipped, and were, therefore, unequally matched with the well-appointed men-at-arms who composed the great body of the English army.

David endeavoured to take the English by surprise, and, favoured by a dense fog, which concealed his advance, he succeeded in reaching the moor on which they were posted before they received the tidings of his approach. The alarm was suddenly given, and the English ran to arms in great disorder. To gain time at the critical conjuncture, and probably also actuated by a sincere desire to prevent farther hostilities, the English leaders sent to the Scottish army Robert de Bruce Earl of Annandale, and Bernard de Baliol, two barons of Norman descent, who held lands both in Scotland and England, to offer, as conditions of peace, to procure from Stephen a grant of the earldom of Northumberland in favour of Prince Henry. Bruce, who was far advanced in years had a high reputation for wisdom and eloquence, and during a long residence in Scotland, had lived on terms of the closest friendship with David. He represented to his old master, the impolicy of the war which he was carrying on against his former allies

and urged upon him the duty of putting a stop to the horrible outrages of the Scottish army, which were a violation of all the laws of humanity and religion. "I charge your conscience," said he, "with the innocent blood which cries aloud for vengeance. You have beheld the enormities of your army, you have mourned for them, you have openly disclaimed any approbation of them. Prove now the sincerity of your protestations and withdraw your people from a war disgraceful in all its operations, and dubious in the event. We are not mighty in numbers, but we are determined; urge not brave men to despair. To see my dearest master, my patron and my benefactor my friend and companion in arms, with whom I spent the season of youth and festivity, in whose service I am grown old, - to see him thus exposed to the dangers of battle, or to the dishonour of flight, it wrings my heart."<sup>1</sup> At these words he burst into tears. David was deeply moved by the tears and expostulations of his old friend and companion in arms, but he nevertheless rejected his proposals. Bruce, in receiving this answer, and hearing himself denounced as a traitor by William Mac Donochy, the king's nephew, renounced his allegiance to the Scottish crown; Baliol also gave up the fealty which he had once sworn to David, and returned with all haste to the English army, to warn them of the approach of the Scots. David had resolved to place the men-at-arms and the archers in the van, but that post of honour was claimed by the Galwegians who maintained that, by ancient custom, the privilege of commencing the conflict belonged to them. The men-at-arms were, for the most part, English and Normans, who had abandoned their native country, and taken refuge at the court of the Scottish king, and the disputes between them and the half-naked clans threatened the most disastrous consequences. "Whence come this mighty confidence in those Normans?" said Malise, Earl of Strathern, to the king; "I wear no armour, but there is not one among them that will advance beyond me this day." "Rude earl," said Allan de Percy, a Norman knight, "you boast of what you dare not do." The altercation was repressed by the interposition of the king, who unwillingly yielded to the demands of the Gallowaymen, and placed them in the van, under their chiefs, William Mac Donochy Ulrick, and Dovenald. The second division consisted of the men-at-arms, the archers, and the men of Cumberland and Teviotdale, under the command of Prince Henry, with whom was associated Eustace Fitz-John, a powerful and valiant Northumbrian baron, whom Stephen had offended by depriving him of the important fortress of Bamborough. The third body was composed of the men of Lothian, with the islanders and the Highland Caterans. The king himself commanded the reserve, consisting of the Scots properly so called, and the inhabitants of Moray. The English were drawn up in one compact body around the sacred standard. The men-at-arms dismounted and

<sup>1</sup> The speech of Bruce, which contains many curious facts, is reported at full length by Aldred; and, as he was not only a contemporary, but was honoured with the peculiar confidence of David, we may presume that it is substantially accurate. See Hailes's Annals vol. i. p. 87; Aldred, *De Bello Standardi*, pp. 337 - 345.

sent their horses to the rear; and, mingling with the archers, ranged themselves in the front of the battle.

The Bishop of Orkney as the representative of the aged Thurstan, delivered an energetic speech for the encouragement of the troops; and assured them that those who fell in this holy war should immediately pass into Paradise. The venerable Walter l'Espee also ascended the carriage in which the holy standard was fixed, and harangued the soldiers, reminding them of the glory of their ancestors and of the barbarities perpetrated by the Scottish invaders. "Your cause is just; it is for our all that you combat. I swear," said he, grasping the hand of the Earl of Albemarle, "I swear that on this day I will overcome the Scots, or perish!" "So swear we all!" exclaimed the barons assembled around him.<sup>1</sup>

The Scots advanced to the attack, shouting their war-cry, Albanich! Albanich!"<sup>2</sup> The Gallowaymen charged the English infantry so fiercely, that their front ranks were thrown into disorder; but the English archers came to the assistance of the spearmen, and overwhelmed the Scots with incessant and well-directed showers of arrows. Prince Henry advanced to their support, and, at the head of the cavalry, charged and broke through the English ranks, says Aldred, as if they had been cobwebs, and dispersed the troops which guarded the horses in the rear. The Gallowaymen, though they had lost their leaders, Ulrick and Dovenald, rallied and prepared to renew the combat, which had now continued for two hours with the greatest fury. at this critical moment, an English soldier, elevating on the point of his spear the head of one of the slain, proclaimed it the head of the King of Scots. A sudden panic seized the Scottish forces; the Gallowaymen threw away their arms, and the troops forming the third division of the army also fled without resistance. David promptly brought up the reserve, and strove to retrieve the fortune of the day, but without effect. The terror and confusion became general; and the knights and men-at-arms who attended on the king, seeing that the battle was irretrievably lost, constrained him to retire from the field. He succeeded, however, in rallying around the royal standard a strong body of troops, which covered the retreat, and checked the pursuit of the enemy. In this memorable battle, which was fought on the 22nd of August, 1138, the Scots are said to have lost 10,000 men.

Three days after the engagement, David reached Carlisle with the remains of his army, and employed himself in collecting and re-organizing his scattered troops, which had fallen into a state of confusion bordering on mutiny. For some days he was in a state of uncertainty respecting the fate of his gallant son, who carried away by his impetuosity, had pursued too far the troops whom he had routed. On his return from the chase of the fugitives, the Prince, finding the

<sup>1</sup> Hailes, vol. i. p.90.

<sup>2</sup> That is, "We are the men of Albyn!" - the most ancient name of Scotland. This war-cry, of course, asserted that the Galwegians were the most ancient inhabitants of Scotland; in other words, the descendants of the Picts or ancient Caledonians. When they were repulsed, the English shouted in derision, "Erygh! Erygh!" - Ye are but Irish! Ye are but Irish! - alluding to tht part of the Galwegians who, though ranked among the Picts, were yet wild Scots of Irish extraction.

battle lost, commanded his men to throw away their banners, and mingling with the pursuers, he passed through the horses ranks undiscovered, and after many hazards, succeeded in reaching Carlisle the third day after the king his father.

An assembly of the prelates and nobles was held at Carlisle, by Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, the papal legate, who earnestly entreated the Scottish king to listen to overtures of peace. He also persuaded the savage Galwegians to restore their female captives, and induced the whole Scottish army to enter into a solemn engagement that they would not in future violate churches, nor murder old men, women, and children<sup>1</sup> - a circumstance which affords conclusive proof of the ferocity of the troops, and of the barbarity with which the war had been carried on.

Meantime, the victors at Northallerton were not in a condition to follow up the advantage they had gained, and the Scottish army soon re-assumed the offensive by laying siege to the castle of Wark, which they reduced by famine; and David, having razed the fortress, "returned into Scotland," says Lord Hailes, "more like a conqueror than like one whose army had been routed." Peace was soon after concluded (9th April 1139) though the mediation of the legate and of Stephen's wife, Maud, who was David's niece. The terms granted by Stephen were highly favourable to the Scottish king, and showed that, though defeated, he was not humbled. The earldom of Northumberland with the exception of the two fortresses of Newcastle and Bamborough, was ceded to Prince Henry. As an equivalent for these castles, he obtained a grant of lands in the south of England. The Northumbrian barons were to hold their estates of the Prince of Scotland, reserving their fealty to Stephen; and in return, David and all his people became bound to maintain an inviolable peace with their performance of this part of the treaty.<sup>2</sup> These conditions of peace were arranged at Durham; and Prince Henry, proceeding southward England, and gave the sons of five earls as hostages to Stephen for with the English queen met Stephen at Nottingham, and there ratified the negotiation. The prince, who, "by his noble and generous carriage," says an English chronicler, "had so won the heart of Stephen, that he loved him no less than if he had been his own son," accompanied the English king to the siege of Ludlow Castle, which was held out against him by the adherents of Matilda, Prince Henry was unhorsed by the besieged, but was gallantly rescued by Stephen.

In 1114, the cause of Matilda was for a short time triumphant, and David repaired to the court of his niece, and vainly endeavoured to persuade her to follow his mild and wise counsels. Her haughty demeanour, and violent measures, speedily alienated from her the affections of the people. The Londoners rose up in arms against her. She fled precipitately from the capital and, accompanied by her uncle, took refuge in the royal castle of Winchester, where she was besieged by Stephen, and from which she with great difficulty effected her

<sup>1</sup> R. of Hexham. p. 326; I. of Hexham. p. 264. Annals, vol. i. p.93.

<sup>2</sup> Annals, vol. i. p. 95, and note.

escape. David accompanied her in her flight, and was indebted for his concealment, and his safe conveyance home to his own country, to the exertions to a young man, named David Oliphant, to whom he had been godfather, and who was at that time serving in the army of Stephen.

From this period David seems to have given his almost exclusive attention to the affairs of his own kingdom. The tranquility of the country was disturbed for a considerable time by the pretensions of an adventurer, named Wimund, who, it is alleged, had been a monk, first in the abbey of Furness, and afterwards in the Isle of Man, but claimed to be the son of Angus Earl of Moray, slain at Stracathow, in 1130. Having succeeded in collecting some vessels, he began to make piratical excursions among the western isles. Many persons of desperate fortunes espoused his cause, and he obtained in marriage the daughter of Somerled, Thane of Argyle, who either from policy, or from a belief in the justice of his claims favoured his enterprise. Wimund next invaded the mainland of Scotland, slew many of the inhabitants, and pillaged the country. For several years he carried on his depredations successfully, and constantly eluded the forces sent against him, either by concealing himself and his followers amid the dense forests which covered the country, or by retreating to his ships. Strange to say, the Scottish king was at length obliged, in order to put an end to the outrages of this daring and crafty adventurer, to enter into terms of accommodation with him, and to bestow on him a certain territory together with the government of the abbey of Furness, in which he had passed his earlier years. His insolent and arbitrary conduct however, excited an insurrection against his authority and he people took him prisoner, and put out his eyes. He passed the remainder of his strangely chequered life in the abbey of Biland, in Yorkshire. His audacious spirit, however, appears not to have been depressed, or even humbled, by his calamities. He took great delight in relating his adventures to the friars at Biland; and is reported to have said, "Had they but left me the smallest glimmering of light my enemies should have had no cause to boast of what they did."<sup>1</sup>

The remaining years of the reign of this wise and just monarch were peaceful and prosperous. Relieved, both from foreign wars and from internal disturbances, he applied himself assiduously to the improvement of the country, by the encouragement of agriculture and of manufactures, the establishment of towns, the erection of churches monasteries and other public buildings, and the enactment of judicious and equitable laws.

Aldred represents him as cultivating and encouraging every art that tended to soften and civilize his subjects. He speaks of his attention to his gardens, buildings, and orchards, that he might, by his example, induce his people to follow the like pursuits. He represents him as employing some art of his time, even in the last year of his life, either

<sup>1</sup> W. Newbr. vol. i. chap. xxiv.; Fordun, lib. viii. chap. ii; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 100. Fordun calls this adventurer Malcolm M'Heth. It is worthy of notice, however, that Mr Gregory, a high authority on questions of this kind, states that the claim of Wimund seems, on minute inquiry to have been well founded. See History of the Western Highlands and Isles, p. 15.

in planting herbs or grafting shoots and mentions the improvements made by him in agriculture, so that a country formerly indigent and barren, was now able, out of its abundance, to supply the necessities of its neighbours. He enumerates the towns and castles which David erected the foreign commodities he had introduced by commerce, and the improvements thence made on the dress of his subjects. Lastly, he celebrates the reformation made on the morals, both of the clergy and people, and the beneficial effects which the instructions and example of the king exercised upon all classes of the community.<sup>1</sup>

It is assumed by some writers, that the establishment of incorporated bodies in Scotland, for the promotion of trade and commerce, is to be ascribed to the wise and far-seeing policy of David. It was during his reign that Louis le Gros introduced these institutions into France, and in some of the ancient copies of the old Scottish laws, it is stated that David framed his burgh laws from the information furnished by certain learned men, whom he sent to other countries to observe the constitutions that had been there introduced.<sup>2</sup>

The death of the excellent monarch was probably hastened by that of his son Henry, which took place on the 12th of June, 1152, to the great grief of his countrymen, who had formed high anticipations of the benefits to be conferred by his accession to sovereign power. Aldred, who had lived with him from childhood, and knew him intimately, says that he resembled his father in all things, except that he had a somewhat greater suavity of manner, and that he was a son in all respects worthy of such a father. Prince Henry left by his wife Ada, a daughter of the Earl of Warenne and Surrey three sons; Malcolm who succeeded his grandfather; William surnamed the Lion; and David Earl of Huntingdon; and three daughters. The afflicted monarch roused himself from his grief to provide for the succession of his grandson, Malcolm, a child in his twelfth year. He ordered the youthful prince to be proclaimed heir to the crown, and sent him on a progress through his dominions, to receive the homage of the barons and the people. He also settled his Northumbrian territories on his grandson William, and presented the boy to the barons of that province as their future ruler, and required them to promise obedience to his authority. Having completed these prudent arrangements, the aged king, within a year followed his son to the grave. He died at Carlisle on the 24th of May 1153. In striking and beautiful consistency with his life, he was found dead in an attitude of devotion. "His death had been so tranquil," says Aldred, "that you would not have believed he was dead. He was found with his hands clasped devoutly upon his breast, in the very posture in which he seems to have been raising them to heaven."

The remarkable liberality of David to the church was highly extolled by the monkish historians his contemporaries, and has been as severely censured in later times. "Had David duly considered," says Major, "the number of religious houses founded by his predecessors the parsimony wherein churchmen, especially monks, ought to live, and the little allowance made by the Scots to their kings in those times, he

<sup>1</sup> Aldred ap. Fordun, lib. v. chap. xlix., lii, liii.

<sup>2</sup> Ridpath's Border History, p. 88.

would not lavishly have given the crown lands to nourish the sensuality of bishops and spoil the devotion of monks."<sup>1</sup> To which Buchanan adds, that, "as in bodies too corpulent, the use of the members in some measure ceases, so wit, oppressed by plenty began to languish, learning became nauseous, piety superstition, and vice was taught in the schools of virtue."<sup>2</sup> These complaints respecting the donations which David bestowed upon the clergy, were summed up in the pithy saying of James, the first of that name king of Scotland, that David "was ane soir sanct (sore saint) for the crown."<sup>3</sup> But it has been justly remarked by Lord Hailes, "that we ought to judge of the conduct of men according to the notions of their age, not of ours. To endow monasteries may now be considered as a prodigal superstition, but in the days of David I, it was esteemed an act of pious beneficence." Much may be urged, too, in justification of this beneficence; and it may fairly be questioned whether any course could have been followed, better fitted to promote the civilization of a people just emerging from barbarism, as the Scots were at this period, than the erection, in all part so the country, of these monastic establishments, which were, at the outset, not only seminaries of piety but of learning, for training men of business for the service of the state, as well as men of letters for the church; and which, moreover, served as a kind of general reservoirs for diffusing a knowledge of architecture, of agriculture, and gardening, and other useful arts. No doubt, in process of time, many monasteries became the sets of sloth, ignorance, and debauchery, but candour should forbid us to ascribe accidental and unforeseen evils to the virtuous founder.<sup>4</sup>

David, however, had many other estimable qualities, besides his liberality to the church. He was at all times accessible to all classes of his subjects; his apartments were always open to suitors, for he had nothing secret but his counsels, says Aldred. On certain days of the week he sat at the gate of his palace, for the purpose of hearing and deciding the causes brought before him by the poor. He took great pains also to make them understand the reasons, and to convince them of the justice of his decisions; for, says Aldred, "they often argued with him, and he with them, when he refused to accept the person of the poor in judgment, contrary to justice, and they were very reluctant to acknowledge the equity of his decision when adverse to their claims." His custom was to dismiss all his attendants at sunset, and to retire for solitary meditation. At daybreak he resumed his labours. He was fond of hunting, but he never permitted this amusement to interfere with the discharge of his duties. "I have seen him," says Aldred, "quit his horse, and dismiss his hunting equipage, when any even of the meanest of his subjects, implored an audience."<sup>5</sup> So estimable, in a word, was the character of this excellent monarch and so faithfully did he discharge the duties of his office, that Buchanan, who was no flatterer

<sup>1</sup> Major de Gestis, Scot. lib. iii. chap. xi. p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Rer. Scot. lib. vii. p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Bellenden, fol. 185. <sup>4</sup> Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Aldred apud Fordun, lib. v. c. xlix; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 10.

of princes, declares, that "he equalled all former kings in military science, and excelled them in the arts of peace; in so much, that if he best heads and greatest wits should set themselves to frame the character of an accomplished prince, they could never devise nor imagine such an one as he did express himself in the whole course of his life."<sup>1</sup>

The tide of Saxon colonization had, as we have seen, steadily set in during the three preceding reigns, but it flowed still more copiously after the accession of David to the Scottish throne. His education at the court of Henry I, his marriage to an English countess, and his long residence in England, had made him extremely partial to the institutions, manners, and customs of that country; and great numbers Saxon, Norman, and Flemish settlers were attracted to his court, where they received a cordial welcome and munificent grants of land. Among the Northumbrian nobles who sought an asylum in Scotland from the vengeance of William the Conqueror, were the powerful Earl Gospatric, the founder of the great family of the Earls of March; Arkel, the progenitor of the Earls of Lennox; and Siward, the founder of a distinguished family, which terminated in an heiress, who carried the estates to the Maxwells. Among the Anglo-Normans who settled in North Britain during the reign of David, the most eminent was Hugh de Moreville, the Constable of Scotland, who acquired vast possessions in Lauderdale, the Lothians, and Ayrshire, and was the original founder of Dryburgh Abbey. The ancestor of the Riddells came from Yorkshire before 1116, and settled in Roxburghshire, of which he was one of the earliest sheriffs. The Corbets, a Shropshire family acquired lands in Teviotdale about the same period. The Lindsays came from Essex, and obtained from David, a grant of estates in upper Clydesdale and in the Lothians. The ancestor of the Somervilles was the second son of a Norman baron, who came over with the Conqueror, and obtained from him lands in Staffordshire and Gloucestershire. The Umphravilles came from Redesdale in Northumberland. The Maxwells are descended from Maccus the son of Unwyn, who attached himself to David before his accession to the throne; as did the ancestor of the family of de Sules, or de Soulis who followed him from Northamptonshire into Scotland, and was rewarded by grant of Liddesdale and other lands, both in Teviotdale and in Lothian. His descendant, Nicolas de Soulis, was one of the competitors for the crown with Baliol and Bruce, in 1290, and the whole family seem to have been involved in the ruinous effects of that memorable contest. The ancestor of the Oliphants, as we have seen, accompanied David in his flight from Winchester, in 1142, and was rewarded by a grant of the manors of Smailholm and Crailing, in Roxburghshire. The ancestor of the noble family of Seton was a Norman, named de Say, who obtained from David lands in East Lothian designated from him Say-ton, which his descendants assumed as their surname. The Keiths,

<sup>3</sup> Rer. Scot. lib. vii. p. 122. Vol. i.

Earls Marischal, are descended from Hervei, the son of Warin, who received from David, a grant of the manor of Keith in East Lothian. The progenitors of the Maules and Melvilles, the de Quincies, Berkeleys, Herrieses, Cunninghams, Lockharts, Ramsays Falconers, Rollos, Colvilles, Gordons, Grahams, Rosses, Sinclairs, Frasers, and many other families celebrated in Scottish history, sprung from Anglo-Norman lineage, and settled in Scotland during the twelfth century. The ancestor of the Hays was an Anglo-Norman, who acted as Pincerua to Malcolm IV, and to William the Lion, in the early art of his reign. The progenitor of the Ruthvens was Thor, a Danish chief, who came from the north of England, and settled in Scotland under David I. Radulph the founder of the Kinnaird family, obtained from William the Lion, before the year 1184, the lands of Kinnaird in the Carse of Gowrie. The Kers are a branch of an Anglo-Norman family, which settled in Roxburghshire during the thirteenth century. The powerful family of the Cumyns, which acted so conspicuous a part in the wars of Bruce and Baliol, came from Northumberland during the reign of David I. A younger son of the is family held the office of chancellor from 1133 to 1142. Bernard de Baliol, the founder of the Baliol family, came from Barnard Castle in Durham, and was a courtier of David I. Robert de Bruis or Bruce, the founder of the illustrious family of Bruce, was an opulent Yorkshire baron, who received from King David his friend and companion in arms, a grant of Annandale. The royal family of the Stuarts are descended from Walter the son of Alan, a Shropshire baron who obtained from David I, and his successor Malcolm IV, extensive possessions and a high offices. The progenitors of the immortal patriot Wallace settled under the Stuarts in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. The Hamiltons derived their descent from the two younger son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, the grandson of one of the barons who came over with the Conqueror. Their settlement in Scotland took place during the reign of William the Lion. During the same reign, the Dundasses, Grays Mortimers, Mowbrays, Gourlays, Anstruthers, Montfichets or Muschets, Bissets, Cheynes, and Grants, all of Anglo-Norman lineage, settled in Scotland. The ancestors of the great family of the Campbells obtained a settlement in Argyle, as early as the twelfth century by marrying the heiress of O'Dubhin, a Gaelic chief, with whom he obtained Lochow. His descendants Sir Nigel Campbell, who married Mary, the sister of Robert Bruce, joined that hero at the outset of his enterprise, and adhered to him in prosperity and in adversity, till his final triumph at Bannockburn. Not a few of the most eminent families in Scotland are of Flemish origin. The Sutherlands, Morays, Douglasses Leslies, Flemings, Inneses, and many other all owe their descent to Flemish ancestors, the Flemings, indeed, were the most enterprising race of the twelfth century, and all classes of them settled in every district of North Britain, especially in the towns and hamlets. So great was the number of Flemings who settled in Scotland at this period, that they obtained the right to be governed by their own laws. The illustrious family of the Douglasses are derived from "Theobald, the Fleming," who, between 1147 and 1160, obtained from Arnold the Abbot of Kelso, the grant of some

lands on the Douglas Water in Lanarkshire. Bartholomew, a Flemish chief who settled in the district of Gairloch, Aberdeenshire, was the ancestor of the Leslies. Another Flemish chief, named Freskin, obtained from David the lands of Strathbrock in West Lothian and at a later date, after the suppression of an insurrection among the turbulent inhabitants of Morayshire, was progenitor both of the Earls of Sutherland, and of the celebrated family of Moray one of whom, the gallant Sir Andrew, was the associate of Wallace and of Bruce, whose sister, Christian, he married, "Such," says Chalmers, "were the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic families, who were the principal settlers among the Gaelic people of Scotland, during this period of her annals; such were the men who governed Scotland throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, who formed her constitution and administered her laws, who established her church transmitted her authorities, who vindicated her rights and restored her independence."<sup>1</sup> David was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm IV.

## JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLE

### CHAPTER XXXI. P. 221

*Accession of the blessed King David - Praise of him and his brothers - He weds Matilda, daughter and heiress of Waldeof, Earl of Huntingdon.*

DAVID, the youngest of the sons of Malcolm and Margaret, and the pride of his race, succeed his brother Alexander in the year above mentioned - the eighteenth of the emperor Henry V, - and reigned twenty-nine years, to months, and three days. He was pious and God-fearing; bountiful in almsgiving; vigorous towards his people; sagacious in the task he was intent upon, of enlarging the kingdom by fair means; and, in short, he shone forth in the beauty of every virtue - whence he always abounded in the ripe fruit of good works. How very powerful this king was, how many on quests he made, above all other kings, by fair means, and how many abbeys and houses of he founded, *Baldred*, in bewailing his death, will show forth truly to the reader, as will be seen below. He, indeed, betrayed no pride in his manners, no cruelty in his words, nothing unseemly in what he said or did. There was no king like him among the kings of the earth in his day; for he was godly wise, lowly, modest, sober and chaste, etc. Never, says *William*, have we been told among the events of history, of three kings, - and at the same time brothers, - who were of holiness so great, and savoured so much of the nectar of their mother's godliness. For, besides their feeding sparingly, their plentiful almsgiving, their zeal in prayer, they so thoroughly subdued the vice that haunts king's houses, that never was it said that any but their lawful wives came to their bed, or that any one of them had shocked modesty by wenching. Before this King David was raised to the throne, the king of the English, his sister the good Queen Matilda's gave him a wife Matilda, the daughter and heiress of Waldeof, Earl of Huntingdon, and Judith, who was the niece of the first King William; and of this Matilda, David had a son named Henry, a meek and godly man, and of a gracious spirit, in all

things worthy to have been born of such a father. Meanwhile the empress Matilda, on her husband the emperor's death without children, came back to her father Henry king of England; and the later afterwards gave her to wife to Geoffroy, Count of Anjou, who begat of her a son, Henry the future king of England. On the death of the aforesaid Henry, king of England, Stephen, Count of Boulogne, and his nephew, through his sister, seized the throne, in violation of his oath - for he had, during the said king's lifetime, consented by oath that the kingdom should go to the king's daughter, the empress Matilda. Count Geoffroy was indignant at this, but did him little, if any hurt.

Chapter XXXII p. 222

*War waged by King David against Stephen, King of England - Conquest of Northumbria and Cumbria by a Battle fought at Allerton.*

Chapter XXXIII

*David's son Henry weds Ada, daughter of William Earl of Warenne - Their Sons and Daughters, and to whom the latter were wedded - Henry's death.*

Chapter XXXIV

*King David bids his grandson Malcolm, Henry's son, be taken about through the kingdom, and proclaimed as the future King - David's death to be bewailed, not on his own account, but for the Scots.*

KING DAVID, disguising his sorrow at the death of his only son, straightway took Malcolm, his aforesaid son's firstborn, and giving him Duncan, Earl of Fife, as governor, bade him be taken about with a large army, through the country, in Scotland, and proclaimed heir to the throne. Taking likewise the younger brother William, the king came to Newcastle; and having there taken hostages from the Northumbrian chiefs, he made them all subject to the dominion of that boy. What was done then with the third grandson David, or where he was, I have not found in any writings. But the king came back and left nothing in disorder, nothing unsettled, in all the ends of the kingdom. Then, the following year after Easter, he went to Carlisle, that he might settle the affairs of the west of the kingdom also, and of the east; when, all of a sudden, that godly and religious king was smitten with a grievous sickness, and, on the 22d of May, the Sunday before Ascension-day, in the year 1153, after he had ruled the kingdom gloriously for twenty-nine years and one month, he died happily, putting off his manhood, and surrendering his body to the earth, and his soul to the fellowship of angels in heaven. He was buried in state in the pavement before the high altar of the church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, which, first founded by his father and mother, had been added to in property and buildings by his brother Alexander while he himself also had loaded and endowed it with more ample gifts and honours; and he was laid there, at a good old age, beside his parents and brothers.

His memory is blessed through all generations; for there never, from time immemorial, arose a prince like him. He was so devout in divine service, that he never missed saying and hearing day by day, all the

canonical hours, and even the vigils for the dead. And this also was praiseworthy in him - that in a spirit of prudence and firmness, he wisely toned down the fierceness of his nation; and that he was most constant in washing the feet of the poor, and merciful in feeding and clothing them. He, moreover, behaved with lowliness and homeliness towards strangers, pilgrims, and regular and secular clergy; and most lavishly gave them gifts of his bounty. For he was a glorious king, fed and clad with everyday thrift; and, in holiness and integrity of life and in disciplined behaviour, he showed himself on a level even with votaries of religion. And, in sooth, his life worthy to be praised - nay, to be wondered at - by all, was followed by a precious death. Therefore, whosoever aims at dying a happy death, let him read the life of this king so dear to God, and the following lament on his death; and, by the example of his most happy death, let him learn how to die.

Chapter XXXV

*Preface to the Abbot Baldred's Lament on King David's death - Praise of Henry, king of England forasmuch as King David sprang from his family and was knighted by him.*

Chapter XXXVI

*Beginning of the Lament, for al his people had reason to bewail him.*

Chapter XXXVII

*Lament continued - He was beloved by God and man, and undertook the Sovereignty rather because of others' need than through lust of power.*

Chapter XXXVIII

*Lament continued - Bishoprics and Monasteries founded and endowed by him.*

Chapter XXXIX

*Lament continued - He was the comforter of the sorrowing and the father of the fatherless.*

Chapter XI

*Lament continued - He was always anxious to bring back to peace and concord those at variance, especially wrangling Clergy.*

Chapter XLI

*Lament continued - He would have resigned the Throne, and betaken himself to the spot where Our Lord suffered, had he not been turned back by the advice of Churchmen, the tears of the Poor, the groans of the Widow, the desolation of the People, and the crying and wailing of the whole Country.*

Chapter XLII

*Lament continued - God scourged him in his Son's death - His God and Lord found him watching.*

Chapter XLIII

*Lament continued - His Time was all taken up with Prayer, Alms, or some seemly task.*

Chapter XLIV

*Lament continued - The trials of the English taught the Scots to be faithful to their kings and preserve mutual harmony among themselves.*

Chapter XLV

*Lament continued - On Wednesday, the 20th of May, he perceived that his dissolution was at hand; and having taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Body he bade them ring forward the Lord's Cross.*

Chapter XLVI

*Lament continued - His Extreme Unction - He threw himself off the bed upon the ground, and took that Sacrament with great devoutness.*

Chapter XLVII

*Lament continued - In his very sickness, when his life was at stake, he remembered the poor, and asked the Cleric, his secretary, whether he had dispensed the usual Alms that day.*

Chapter XLVIII

*Lament continued - He went on praying wile singing Psalms.*

Chapter XLIX

*Lament continued - On Sunday the 24th of May, when the sun had dispelled the darkness, the King taking leave of the darkness of the body passed into the joys of the true light.*

Book 2. Chapter L P. 244

*His Pedigree traced on the Father's side up to Japhet son of Noah.*

I THINK it meet in these wrings to bring in this glorious King David's pedigree on the father's side, which I got long ago from the Lord Cardinal of Scotland, the noble Doctor Walter of Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow; that it may be known unto you, kings of these days, and to all readers of how old, how noble, how strong and invincible a stock of kings he came (whereof ye also are come) - kings who have, until now thought he blessed King Most High, been keeping the kingly dignity unspotted for a longer time, with freer service, and, what is more glorious with a stronger hold of the Catholic faith than all other kings, save only a few, if any. For that blessed King David was the son of the most noble Malcolm king of Scots, the husband of the blessed Queen Margaret, and

Son of Duncan,  
Son of Beatrice,  
Daughter of Malcolm the Most Victorious,  
Son of Kenneth,  
Son of Malcolm,  
Son of Dovenald,  
Son of Constantine,

Son of Kenneth, the first sole sovereign; from whom, as was seen in Book IV, Chapter VIII, the royal line is traced to that most vigorous king, Fergus son of Erth, who nobly wrested the kingdom from the Romans and Picts, after these had usurped it, and held it three-and-forty years.

And that Erth was the son of Euchadius, brother to King Eugenius, who was slain by the Romans and Picts.

Eugenius, was the son of Angusafith,  
Son of Fechelmech,  
Son of Angusa,  
Son of Fechelmech Romach,  
Son of Sencormach,  
Son of Crucluith,  
Son of Findach,  
Son of Akirkirre,

Son of Echadius,  
Son of Fechrach,  
Son of Euchodius Reid,  
Son of Conere,  
Son of Mogal,  
Son of Lugtach,  
Son of Corbre,  
Son of Dordremore,  
Son of Corbrefynmore,  
Son of Coreremore,  
Son of Etherskeol,  
Son of Ewin,  
Son of Ellela,  
Son of Iaire,  
Son of Detach,  
Son of Syn,  
Son of Rosyn,  
Son of Ther,  
Son of Rether,  
Son of Rwen,  
Son of Arindil,  
Son of Manre,

Son of Fergus, who brought the Scots out of Ireland, and first reigned over them in British Scotia; and the chain of whose royal lineage stretches up, as was seen above in Book I, Chapter XXVI, as far as Simon Brek, who brought over with him to Ireland from Spain, the Coronation stone of the kings.

This Simon Brek was the son of Fonduf,  
Son of Etheon,  
Son of Glathus,  
Son of Nothachus,  
Son of Elchatha,  
Son of Syrne,  
Son of Deyne,  
Son of Demal,

Son of Rothach, the first who dwelt in the Scottish islands.  
He was the son of Ogmayn,

Son of Anegus,  
Son of Fiathath,  
Son of Smyrnay,  
Son of Synretha,  
Son of Embatha,  
Son of Thyerna,  
Son of Faleng,  
Son of Etheor,  
Son of Jair,  
Son of Ermon.  
Son of Michael Espayn,  
Son of Bile,  
Son of Neande,

Son of Bregayn,  
Son o Bratha,  
Son of Deatha,  
Son of Erchatha,  
Son of Aldocho,  
Son of Node,  
Son of Nonael,  
Son of Iber Scot,  
Son of King Gaythelos and Scota, first king and queen of the  
Scottish nation. Whence this line: -

"Iber, their son, first bore the name of Scot."

This Gaythelos was the son of Neolos, king of Athens,

Son of Fenyas,  
Son of Ewan  
Son of Glonyn,  
Son of Lamy,  
Son of Etheor,  
Son of Achnemanne,  
Son of Choe,  
Son of Boib,  
Son of Jeyn,  
Son of Hethech,  
Son of Abyur,  
Son of Arthech,  
Son of Aroth,  
Son of Jara,  
Son of Esralb,  
Son of Richaith,  
Son of Scot,  
Son of Gomer,  
Son of Japhet,  
Son of Noah.

#### Chapter LI

*Prologue to his Pedigree on his Mother's side.*

#### Chapter LII

*His Pedigree on the Mother's side trace, according to Baldred, as far as Shem, son of Noah; and from him to Seth, the son of Adam, who is the father of all.*

This most excellent King David, therefore, was the son of Margaret, the glorious queen of Scots, who enhanced the splendour of her name by the holiness of her character.

Her father was Edward,

Who was the son of the invincible King Edmund Ironside,

Whose father was Edgar the Peaceful,

Whose father was Edmund,

Whose father was Edward the Elder,

Whose father was the noble Alfred,

Who was the son of King Ethelwlf,

Who was the son of King Egbert,

Whose father was Alchmund,  
Whose father was Eaffa,  
Whose father was Aeppa,  
Whose father was Ingels,  
Whose brother was a most famous king, named Ine,  
Whose father was Ceonred,  
Who was the son of Ceowald,  
Son of Cutha,  
Son of Cuthwine,  
Son of Ceaulin,  
Son of Chinrik,  
Son of Creodda,  
Son of Ceodrik. This king after the lapse of forty-six years  
from the first coming of the Saxons into Britain, won the kingdom in  
Wessex; and, in course of time, his successors conquered the other  
kingdoms of the English.

Ceordik was the son of Elesa,

Son of Eda,  
Son of Gewise,  
Whose father was Wige,  
Whose father was Freawine,  
Whose father was Freodegare,  
Whose father was Brand,  
Whose father was Baldege,

Whose Father was Woden, among some called Mercury. He  
had so much weight among his people that they dedicated to his name  
the fourth day of the week, and called it Woden's day. This custom is,  
to this day, still kept up among the English; for they call that day  
Wednesday. The Roman heathens, indeed, used to call it Mercury's  
day.

This Pedigree of Baldred's differs in some wise, though little from  
that which William has given in his Chronicle. Now, as the above  
passage will do for my purpose, I forbear to follow up the matter any  
further; for I have read none but the books of these writers upon this  
genealogy. If, indeed, I had seen a third, I should have wished to leave  
out the odd one, and, in the end, follow that which agreed.

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# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

by

R. L. MACKIE M.A. p. 70.

## DAVID I

In 1124 Alexander died. He was succeeded by his brother David, the youngest of the sons of Malcolm III and Margaret and by far the greatest of the early Scottish kings. Ambition and piety, gentleness and determination, sagacity which at times amounted to cunning, helped to form a charter of singular complexity. "A king and knight by day, a monk by night," is the description of him given by an old historian. His youth had been spent in England; after the marriage of his sister he became one of the retinue of King Henry. While he entered a strange sight met his eyes. The room was crowded with leper, and in the midst of them knelt the Queen, clad in a coarse linen garment, washing the feet of the hideous crew. For a time astonishment kept him silent, but when the Queen began to kiss the feet which she had cleansed he cried: "What dost thou, O my lady? Truly if the King knew this he would never deign to kiss with his lips thy mouth, polluted with the corruption of lepers' feet." At this the Queen smiled and said; "who knows not that the feet of the eternal King are to be preferred to a mortal king's lips?" Then she urged him to help her in her loathsome task, but the young prince grew cold with horror and fled back to his gay companions.; David's stay at the English Court influenced him in other ways. Of the three sons of Margaret who sat upon the Scottish throne he was least Scots and the most Norman. His friends were naturally not the Gaelic-speaking mormaers of the north or west, but the French-speaking Norman knights whom he had met at Henry's Court, and when he married his wife was an English heiress, the widow, of a Norman baron. As a result of this marriage he gained the earldom of Northampton and the Honour of Huntingdon and became one of the most powerful vassals of the English King.

When he ascended the throne he as a man in the prime of life, with no mean experience of king-craft, for during previous seventeen years he had governed southern Scotland with success. He had already shown his devotion to the Church by re-establishing the diocese of Glasgow, over which he placed the contumacious Bishop John, and by denouncing the two Border monasteries of Selkirk and Jedburgh. In his reign the process of transformation which had begun with the arrival of Queen Margaret in Scotland was carried on to something like completion. One is apt, of course, to attribute to the influence of a great monarch social change which were due to a multitude of causes. One tends, besides, to conclude that because a monarch had remoulded the social structure of his country he was necessarily a philosopher-king, putting his theories of statecraft into practice, when in reality he may simply have been imitating a neighbouring prince. This must be kept in mind when one is estimating the character and achievement of

David. He did not intent feudalism, and Scotland would have been feudalized even if he had never reigned; but under his rule change were wrought within a few years which without him might have needed generations for their accomplishment.

In spite of his hostility to Celtic institutions, he was trouble little by insurrections in the semi-barbaric north and west. It is true that he had to fight two battles with Malcolm, a natural son of Alexander, before he was firmly settled on the throne; that in 1130 Angus, the Mormaer of Moray, a grandson of King Lulach, penetrated as far as the Sidlaws with four thousand Highlanders; and that a few years later his realm was disturbed by the antics of a certain Bishop of Man, who claimed to be a son of the fallen Angus. On the other hand, the Galwegians and northern Scots formed part of his army when he invaded England in 1138.

### GROWTH OF NORMAN INFLUENCE

What, then, were the changes which David introduced? The wording of his charters shows one of them. While Edgar and Alexander added their charters "to all our subjects, Scots and English," In other words, the Norman subjects of the King were growing rapidly in numbers and influence. Vast tracts of country, especially in the south, were granted to them, and their strongholds, great mounds of earth crowned with wooden towers and surrounded by a palisade and ditches, rose above many a forest and many a fertile valley. Robert de Brus, the ancestor of the great Scottish king, was a typical example of the new Norman nobility. He already possessed estates in England, but early in the reign of David he was granted the valley of the Annan, and later he gained the sole right of hunting in the country there. Any one who wandered from the path that led through de Brus's was to be heavily fined. Such nobles were Scotsmen only in the sense that they held property in Scotland and had done homage to the Scottish king. When war broke out between the two countries neither side could rely on them; de Brus, for example, renounced his allegiance to King David before the Battle of the Standard.

The great northern provinces, however, Moray , Angus, and the rest, were still in the hands of Celtic nobles. They were not regarded as the owners of their provinces, but as judges and leaders of their people; they did not succeed according to the rule of primogeniture, but by the law of tranistry; they held the land, not on the strength of a charter given by the king, but by immemorial custom. David did not displace the great Celtic nobles, but he regarded them as feudal vassals, who had to render the ordinary feudal services. It is significant that the title of count or earl should have begun to displace the ancient Celtic style of mormaer, and tht the Celtic earls of Fife, and Angus should have been granted charters for land which they already possessed.

Such changes probably affected the mass of the people but little. The Norman baron may have treated trespassers after game with undue strictness, there may have been conflicts between his foreign retainers and the people of the neighbouring village, the system of trial by battle

may have proved unpopular; but the Celtic peasant had been forced to pay cain and conveth to his former lord, and under another name he paid them still; he had been expected to go to battle at his lord's bidding, though it had not been so nominated in any charter, and to battle he continued to go; if he had been a slave he remained a slave, for even the good King David, following the example of his mother, gave slaves to the Church of Dunfermline. Sometimes the peasant would adopt a Norman name, although probably at this time Norman-French was the language only of the Court, and Gaelic was still spoken over the whole of Scotland, except in Lothian.

## DAVID AND THE CHURCH

Another sign of the changes that were taking place was the appearance of the Norman church, with its apse, arcaded walls, and round-headed windows, such as one sees to-day at Leuchars and Dalmeny. And though Queen Margaret had reformed the ceremonies of the Church, it was David who perfected its organization. Between 1124 and 1150 he founded five bishoprics - Ross, Caithness, Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Brechin; so that, excluding Galloway, the bishop of which was a suffragan of York, and Orkney which at this time belonged to Norway, Scotland was divided into nine dioceses. Nor was that all; he founded eight abbeys, including such famous houses as Holyrood, Melrose, Cambuskenneth, and Dryburgh. The clergy of these foundations were in most cases English or Norman; in the services of the Church they used Latin, the language also of the books which they read and the meagre chronicles which they composed. The fantastic Celtic ornament was no longer seen on illuminated missal and memorial stone, on the bishop's crosier or the vessels of the altar; every cathedral, every monastery, had become the home of an alien culture. The Culdees, the degenerate representatives of the old Celtic clergy, were forced to conform to the new conditions, and for the most part became canons regular.

But David was not content with reorganizing the Church; he endowed it with immense revenues. Charter after charter remains to bear witness to his munificence. He grants a rood of land in one town, the tolls from ships in another, the skins of animals slaughtered by the king's officials in a certain district, and exemption from tolls and taxes everywhere. Thus David I is mainly responsible for the vast wealth and power of the mediaeval Scottish Church. Those who think only of the corruption of the Church on the eve of the Reformation may doubt the wisdom of his policy; it must not be forgotten, however, that the Scottish clerics consistently used their power to support the sovereign in his dealings with a turbulent nobility and to guard the nation against foreign aggression. John of Glasgow was but the first of a long line of ecclesiastics who went their own way in spite of outside interference, even when the interference came from the Pope.

## RISE OF THE BURGHS

It is in the reign of David I that we first hear of the Scottish burghs. Undoubtedly towns, with some sort of government and a traditional body of laws, had existed long before his time. Centuries before groups of wooden huts must have clustered about the monastery or the king's palace, or about some harbour on the eastern coast. But David was the first Scottish monarch who expressly recognized the existence of these communal centres. In his grants to the Church he mentions his burghs of Haddington, Perth, Dunfermline, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Elgin. He extended his protection to a Hanse or confederation of the northern burghs, which probably included the towns of Aberdeen, Inverness, and Elgin, and in his reign the burgh of St Andrews was established. Further, the laws of the `Four Burghs,` Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, and Berwick, were codified at this time.

Foreign affairs, like home affairs, David managed with success - success that was due more to his skill as a diplomat than to his military capacity, for he suffered one disastrous defeat and one he almost fell into the hands of the enemy. His policy was governed by the principle that the southern border of Scotland should be, not the Tweed, but the Humber. It is true that he interfered to support the cause of the Empress Matilda and her son Henry against Stephen, but Northumbria was always the price of his support.

## DAVID INVADES ENGLAND

In 1135 Henry I of England died, leaving a daughter to succeed him. Her claim was disputed by Count Stephen who seized the crown. But eight years before King David, along with the clergy and nobles of England, had vowed that they would be faithful to Henry's daughter, the Empress Matilda. David made haste to fulfil his vow. In midwinter he burst into northern England, pillaged the countryside, and captured the great border fortresses, including Carlisle and Newcastle. At this distance of time it is difficult to realize the terror caused by this invasion and by the raids and forays which followed in the next three years. David was no doubt a chivalrous gentleman, courteous to the lowliest of his subjects, but it was beyond his power, or the power of any other general, to keep strict discipline in the heterogeneous armies which he commanded. The Norman knights and their retainers, the English-speaking yeomen of Lothian and the Borders, must have found it hard to keep the peace with the Scots from beyond the Forth, jealous of any invasion of their prerogative, the half-Norse warriors from Lorn and the Isles, and especially with the wild Galwegians. More than once the King, fearful lest their followers might desert, had to give way to the wishes of the Celtic chieftains. But of all his warriors the Galwegians were dreaded most. Lightly clad, armed only with a leathern buckler and a javelin, they did not hesitate to fling themselves upon the lances of the mail-clad Norman knights. It was their boast that they had sides of iron, breasts of bronze, and minds empty of fear. And as they were heedless of pain and death for themselves so they did

not care how they inflicted them on others. "They spared no rank, no age, neither sex, no condition," says a monk who witnessed their ravages. Children were brained or spitted upon spears, old men butchered, priests slain upon the altar and women driven off like cattle to a life worse than death.

Meantime news of the invasion had reached Stephen. He hastened northward with a great army, and early in February 1136 occupied Durham. There King David came to meet him, and eventually it was arranged that all the fortresses except Carlisle should be given back to Stephen, and that Prince Henry, David's son, should do homage to the King of England. For almost two years there was peace between the two kings. Then at the end of 1137 ambassadors arrived from Scotland asking for the surrender of Northumbria to Prince Henry. The demand was, of course, refused, and David invaded England and besieged the Border castles. As before, the ravages of the Galwegians caused widespread terror. But help was at hand. News came to the Scots that Stephen was marching to meet them, and they retired over the Border. Stephen followed them, but they had vanished among the border hills, and he was forced to return without doing anything. His departure was the signal for a fresh invasion by a great host gathered from all parts of Scotland, commanded by the King himself, his nephew, William Fitz-Duncan, and Prince Henry. For almost five months northern England lay helpless before the invaders. Language seems to fail the monkish chroniclers as they attempt to describe the terrors of this awful time. It was an "indescribable invasion" by an "execrable army, more savage than any race of heathen." "Wherever the Scots arrived," says one, "all was full of horror and full of savagery. There was a screaming of women, the wailing of old men; groans of the dying, despair of the living." After an obstinate defence Norham was captured; in June, William Fitz-Duncan routed a body of English horsemen at Clitheroe, and at the end of July the main body of the Scots had crossed the Tees.

Meanwhile Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, had summoned the northern barons to the city. A lofty spirit animated the decrepit old man, so frail that he had to be borne about in a litter. The barons agreed to support him, and, after a short interval spent in gathering their vassals together, returned to York with their forces. The English army advanced northward to Thirsk, where it halted while Robert de Brus and Bernard de Balliol were sent forward to treat with the King of Scots. Neither de Brus's appeal to the King not to side with the alien Scots against his own friends and kin, the English and Normans, nor his promise of Northumbria for Prince Henry could turn David from his purpose. Then seeing that he had spoken in vain, de Brus, with de Balliol, renounced his allegiance and rode back to the English host.

## BATTLE OF THE STANDARD

On the 21st of August the English scouts galloped into Thirsk with the news that the Scots had crossed the Tees and were harrying the country. The English army at once got ready; marching rapidly, it passed Northallerton, and early on the morning of the 22nd drew up on

a plain about two miles north of the town. The Scots were in sight; but dissensions had arisen in their ranks. The King and his Norman nobles, knowing that they would be opposed by cavalry and archers, wished the van of the army to be composed of mail-clad horsemen and the spearmen and archers of the Lothians. The Galwegians insisted that they should begin the attack, and they were supported by Malise of Strathearn, one of the Celtic earls. Afraid of what might happen if he ruffled the supersensitive Celtic temperament, David allowed the Galwegians to have their way. This decision proved his undoing. The very size of the Scottish army, the diverse races of which it was composed, and their mutual jealousies diminished its efficiency as a fighting machine. In marked contrast to the disorderly masses of the Scots stood the firm battle-array of the English army, with a line of dismounted knights strengthened by spearmen and archers in front, and the main body grouped in a dense mass round their `standard,` which consisted of the mast of a ship, from which hung a silver pyx and the sacred banners of the northern saints.

With a yell the wild Galwegians rushed forward and, disdainful of the terrible rain of arrows, flung themselves on the English. For a time the spearmen gave way; but the leathern bucklers of the Galwegians were a scant defence against the unending volleys of arrows, and their light spears broke like reeds against the chain-mail and massive iron helmets of the English knights. The first line was re-formed; in the same reckless manner, with a valour that amounted almost to insanity, the Highlanders and Isle men flung themselves on the wall of shields; but the defenders of the Standard stood firm, and time and again the Scots were beaten back, leaving the English front strewn with dead and dying men. And now the dramatic courage of the Scots began to die away, and when the cry arose that one of their chieftains was killed the whole mass reeled backward in confusion. It seemed as if the day was lost; but Prince Henry, shouting to his knights, to follow him, dashed against the opposite wing and scattered it, as the old chronicler says, "like a spider's web." Far beyond the Standard he clove a path, and, falling upon the guards of the horses, in the extreme rear of the enemy's army, put them to flight. But the success was only temporary. An Englishman raised aloft the head of one of the killed and shouted that the King of Scots was slain. Instantly the cry was taken up; a panic spread through the undisciplined host of Highlanders and Galwegians, and they rushed wildly from the field. The King leaped from his horse and called to his nobles to follow him into the fight, but nothing could stay the flight of the Celtic hordes; the battle was lost. Overruled by his knights, the King mounted his horse once more, and at the head of a dense column of steel-clad horsemen rode slowly back over the moors to Carlisle. Time and again the pursuers dashed themselves upon the Scottish chivalry; time and again the warriors who fought under the golden dragon drove them back. At length Carlisle was reached, and there the King was joined a few days later by Prince Henry and a remnant of his band. The rest of the host fared worse; of those who escaped from the battle many were drowned in the Tees, many stragglers were cut to pieces by the infuriated inhabitants, who

had a long score to pay off, many fell by the hand of their own countrymen, for bitter quarrels broke out among the sullen, starving fugitives.

But, strangely enough, this disastrous defeat did not hinder the ultimate success of David's policy. Later in the year the castle of Carham was captured; it was plain that the Scots had only been repulsed, not destroyed. In the autumn Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, a legate from Pope Innocent II, strove to make peace between the two kings. Though he fell on his face before David, his prayers failed to move the ambitious ruler, and Stephen was equally obdurate. But he had gained the ear of the English Queen, who was a niece of the King of Scots, and she so wrought upon her husband that in the following year Stephen granted all Northumbria, with the excepting of Bamorough and Newcastle, to Prince Henry.

Although the peace between the two Kings did not endure for long, although two years later David, after joining forces with Matilda, was almost captured at Winchester, Northumbria remained in the possession of the King of Scots for the remainder of his life. At Carlisle in 1149 he knighted the young Henry of Anjou, afterwards Henry II, who promised that if he became King of England he would confirm David in the possession of Northumbria. David had played a difficult game with no little ingenuity and skill. He had gained as much from defeat as other men gain from victory; whether Henry or Stephen prevailed he was sure of Northumbria. So far as human foresight could tell, Scotland was to be a great kingdom, stretching to the Humber, and when David died he would be succeeded by a monarch as able as himself, the handsome, gallant Prince Henry. But all the subtlety of the aged King went for nothing; in 1152 Prince Henry died, leaving a delicate boy of ten as heir to the Scottish throne. The King was fully aware of the danger in which the country stood, for he knew that his own end was approaching, so he ordered one of the northern earls to conduct his grandson Malcolm round Scotland and proclaim him heir to the crown, while he himself persuaded the men of Northumbria to swear allegiance to Malcolm's younger brother. But as he lay on his death bed at Carlisle, gazing upon the golden crucifix and listening to the chant of the priests, he must have known that his precautions were in vain. On the 24th of May 1153, he died. His body was carried to Dunfermline, and laid in the abbey church there, beside the tomb of his mother and of his brothers.

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# KING MALCOLM IV

BURIED IN

## DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



**KING MALCOLM IV (1153 - 1165)**



A decorated initial from a charter of 1159 granted to Kelso Abbey.  
Showing David I and Malcolm IV

Extracted from -

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

By James Taylor D.D. London 1859 Vol.1. p. 66.

&

JOHN OF FORDUN'S

CHRONICLE

OF

THE SCOTTISH NATION

VOLUME 2. p. 225 & 249

EDITED BY

W, F, SKENE

Malcolm IV  
The Maiden



[1153-1165] grandson of David, a youth only in his twelfth year. This was the first of the minorities which were of such frequent occurrence in the government of Scotland, and was attended with not a few of the calamities which usually fall upon the nation "whose king is a child." The old Celtic law of succession was now again in opposition to the Saxon rule. According to the former, the true heir of the throne was William, termed the Boy of Egremont, the son of William Fitz-Duncan, and grandson of Duncan, who was Malcolm Canmore's eldest son.<sup>1</sup> His claims were supported by no less than seven earls - of whom the principal were the earls of Strathern, Ross and Orkney - and by the great body of the Celtic inhabitants of the country. But notwithstanding the powerful support given to the Boy of Egremont, this attempt; like every other, to re-establish the old law of succession, failed of success, and the Celtic race were obliged to submit to the sway of the Saxon kings of the family of Malcolm Canmore, and to the prowess of the Saxon and Norman barons whom their prudent policy attracted to the Scottish court.

A few months after Malcolm's accession, the tranquility of the country was disturbed by the invasion of Somerled, the powerful chief of the Isles, whose daughter or sister, as we have seen, had married the adventurer Wimund, or Malcolm Mac Heth, the alleged son of Angus, Earl of Moray.<sup>2</sup> The events of this war, which lasted for several years are unknown; but in 1157, the contest was brought to a close by treaty, which was considered, so important, as to form an epoch, from which royal charters were dated.<sup>3</sup> About this time, also, occurred Malcolm's first transaction with the English king. Eight years before this, Henry had an interview with David, at Carlisle, and received from him the honour of knighthood. On that occasion he made oath, that if ever he attained the English crown, he would restore Newcastle to the Scottish king, and cede to him and his heirs for ever the whole territory between Tyne and Tweed. Instead of performing this solemn engagement, however, Henry now demanded the restitution of those territories which Malcolm already held in England. An interview between the monarchs took place at Chester, and Malcolm young and inexperienced either overreached by the superior cunning of the English king, or betrayed by the treachery of his counsellors, whom Henry had corrupted,<sup>4</sup> not only relinquished his claim to the territory to the north of the Tyne, but also abandoned to England his whole possessions in the northern counties and received in return the earldom of Huntingdon, which Henry appears to have taken from Malcolm's younger brother, David, to whom it had been bequeathed by the late king.<sup>5</sup> Malcolm is stated, at this same time, to have performed homage to Henry in the same manner as his grandfather had done to Henry I, "reserving all his dignities."

<sup>1</sup> The Boy of Egremont died in his nonage; his connexion with this insurrection has not been very clearly established.

<sup>2</sup> Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> Fordun, lib. viii. c. iii.

<sup>5</sup> R Hovenden, p. 491; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 120.

This stop produced deep and universal discontent among Malcolm's subjects. The following year (1158), he repaired to the English court at Carlisle, with the view of receiving the honour of knighthood from Henry. But this interview ended in a quarrel, and Malcolm returned home in disgust, without having obtained the coveted distinction. He seems, however, to have been bent on procuring the object of his ambition, at whatever cost; and when Henry set out on his expedition for the recovery of Toulouse, in 1159, Malcolm went with him to France, and was knighted by him there.

The Scottish nobles and people, however, were indignant at the conduct of their king, in forgetting his station as an independent prince, and fighting under the banner of the English monarch; and they sent a deputation into France to remonstrate against this desertion of his duty on the part of their sovereign. "We will not," said the deputies, "have Henry to rule over us." Malcolm was constrained to comply with their wishes and to return with all haste to his own dominions. The supporters of the Boy of Egremont seem to have regarded this as a favourable opportunity for urging his claims; and while Malcolm was holding a great council at Perth,<sup>1</sup> Ferquhard, or Feretach, Earl of Strathern, and five other earls conspired to seize the person of their sovereign and assaulted the tower in which he had taken refuge; but a reconciliation was effected by the intervention of the clergy.

"The intentions of these noblemen," says the continuator of Fordun, "were not traitorous or selfish, but singly directed to the welfare of the state."<sup>2</sup> At this critical period, also a formidable insurrection broke out in Galloway; partly, it would appear, from the jealousy with which the Celtic inhabitants of the district viewed the introduction of Saxon settlers, and Saxon laws and customs. Malcolm promptly led an army against the insurgents, but was twice repulsed by them. With characteristic intrepidity he attacked them a third time, and obtained a complete victory. Fergus, the Lord of Galloway submitted to the authority of Malcolm, gave his son, Uchtred, as a hostage, and assumed the habit of a canon-regular in the Abbey of Holyrood, where he died in 1161.<sup>3</sup>

The turbulent inhabitants of the province of Moray "whom says Fordun, "no solicitations or largesses could allure, no treaties or oaths could bind to their duty," like the men of Galloway were indignant at the intrusion of foreign settlers and the introduction of foreign manners. They had often rebelled against the Scottish government, and at this juncture they once more raised the standard of revolt, "in support of their native principles, and in defence of their ancient laws." After a violent struggle, Malcolm finally succeeded in suppressing the rebellion, and completely crushed the powerful family which had hitherto possessed the title of Earl of Moray, and bestowed that dignity

<sup>1</sup> Chron Mel. 1160

<sup>2</sup> Fordun, lib. viii. c. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.; Chron. 8. S. Crucis; Hailes, vol. i. p. 124.

upon the earls of Mar. It is asserted by some historians, that he had recourse to the strong measure of dispossessing the ancient inhabitants of the province, removing them to other parts of the country and planting new colonies in their room. But such a step, if adopted at all, could have been only very partially carried into effect. There can be no doubt, however, that Malcolm availed himself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the suppression of this revolt, to abrogate many of the ancient customs of the province, and to introduce Saxon laws in their room, and to subject the district completely to his authority.

For some unexplained cause, the ambitious Somerland a second time declared war against Malcolm, and assembling a numerous army from Argyle, Ireland, and the Isles, he sailed up the Clyde (1164) with one hundred and sixty galleys, and landed his forces near Renfrew, threatening, as some of the chroniclers inform us, to make a conquest of the whole of Scotland. Here, according to the Chronicle of Melrose;<sup>1</sup> Somerled was slain, with his son, Gilliecolane, and his great armament dispersed by a very inferior force of the Scots. According to tradition, however, this celebrated chief was assassinated in his tent, by a person in whom he placed confidence; and his troops, thus deprived of their leader, returned in haste to the Isles, suffering severely in their retreat from the attacks of their enemies.<sup>2</sup>

This was Malcolm's last exploit, for he died soon after at Jedburgh, on the 9th of December, 1165, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

Some historians affirm, that Malcolm was deprived of the government shortly before his death. Bower relates that Malcolm, having made a vow of perpetual chastity, and being intent on divine things, neglected the administration of his kingdom; that from these causes he became odious to the people, who constrained his brother William to accept the office of Regent.<sup>3</sup> The story of Malcolm's vow of chastity appears to have been a fable, in all probability founded upon his surname of Maiden, which is supposed to have been given to him on account of his youthful and effeminate countenance; for it is known from one of his own charters, that he had a natural son.<sup>4</sup> If such a revolution as has been mentioned did actually take place, it may have been caused by Malcolm's surrender of the northern counties to England, and his impolitic attachment to the English monarch. Malcolm was succeeded by his brother William.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Mel. p. 169

<sup>2</sup> Gregory's History of the Western Highlands, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Fordun, lib. viii. c. vi. <sup>4</sup> Chart. Kelso, fol. 16; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 129.

## JOHN OF FORDUN'S CRONICLE

### CHAPTER XXXIV. P. 225 & 249

*King David bids is grandson Malcolm, Henry's son, be taken about through the kingdom, and proclaimed as the future King - David's death to be bewailed not on his own account, but for the Scots.*

KING DAVID, disguising his sorrow at the death of his only son, straightway took Malcolm, his aforesaid son's firstborn, and giving him Duncan Earl of Fife, as governor, bade him be taken about with a large army, through the country, in Scotland, and proclaimed heir to the throne. Taking likewise the younger brother William, the king came to Newcastle; and having there taken hostages from the Northumbrian chiefs, he made them all subjects to the dominion of that boy. What was done then with the third grandson David, or where he was, I have not found in any writings. But the king came back and left nothing in disorder, nothing unsettled, in all the ends of the kingdom....

### ANNALS. 1. P. 249.

*Coronation of King Malcolm the younger Prince Henry's son, called "the Maiden."*

NOW all the people took Malcolm a boy of thirteen - a son of Henry, earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, who was the son of King David himself - and made him king at Scone, in the room of his grandfather David; of whom it may truly be said: "Prosperity abideth with their seed; their grandchildren are an holy heritage." His brother William had the earldom of Northumberland in possession, while the earldom of Huntingdon was subject unto his youngest brother David as will be seen below. No unworthy successor of David, king of Scots, was Malcolm, the eldest of his grandsons. For treading in that king's steps in many good points, and even gloriously outdoing him in some, he shone like a heavenly star in the midst of his people. In the first year of his reign, Sumerled, knight of Argyll, and his nephews - the sons of Malcolm Macbeth to wit - being joined by a great many, rose against their king, Malcolm, and disturbed and troubled great part of Scotland. Now that Malcolm was the son of Macbeth; but he lied and said he was the son of Angus, earl of Moray, who, in the time of King David of happy memory was, with all his men slain by the Scots at Strucathroch (Strickathrow in Forfar), while he was plundering the country. Upon his death, this Malcolm Macbeth rose against King David as it were a son who would avenge his father's death; and while plundering and spoiling the surrounding districts of Scotland, he was at length taken, and thrust, by that same King David, into close confinement in the keep of Marchmont Castle. So Sumerled kept up the civil war; but his nephew, Donald, one of Malcolm Macbeth's sons, was taken prisoner, at Withterne (Whithorn), by some King Malcolm's friends and imprisoned in that same keep of Marchmont, with his father. The year after this Donald was taken, his father Malcolm made peace with the king, while Sumerled still wickedly wrought his wickedness among the people.

## II.

On the death of the English king, Stephen Henry, duke of Normandy, and son of the empress, was anointed king, in the second year of Malcolm, king of Scotland. As soon as he was raised to the throne, unmindful of his promise and oath, which he had formerly sealed with a vow to King David his mothers uncle, he laid claim to Northumberland and Cumberland, which had now many years yielded obedience to the king of Scots, and was making great ado about invading them; and he also declared that the earldom of Huntingdon was his own property. A peace, though a hollow one, was, however, made a time, between those kings; and, in the meantime, King Malcolm came to King Henry at Chester - at whose instigation I know not - and did homage to him, without prejudice, however, to all his dignities, in the same way as his grandfather, King David, had been the old King Henry's man; hoping some suppose, by so doing, to be left in peaceful possession of his property. At that place, however, accursed covetousness gained over some of his councillors, who were bribed, it is said, by English money; and the king was soon so far misled by their clever trickery as, in that same year, to surrender Northumberland and Cumberland to the king of England, after having consulted with only a few of his lords. The king of England, however restored to him the earldom of Huntingdon. Now, on account of this the estates (*communitas*) of all Scotland were, with one accord, roused to stifled murmuring, and hatred against their lord the king, and his councillors. Meanwhile, these same kings met together, the following year at Carlisle, on some business; but they took leave of each other without having come to a good understanding, as most men could see. Afterwards, however, when a few years had slipped by - that is, in the seventh year of the reign of the king of Scots - King Henry led a strong army against Toulouse; but as Louis, king of France, defended the town, Henry was baffled the chief aim he was striving after, and retraced his steps; and thus, out of the most profound peace sprang up the most deep rooted feud. King Malcolm, though against the will of many of his great men, was with Henry in this expedition; and, on their way back thence, was by him girded with the sword of knighthood, in the city of Tours.

## III.

At length the Scottish lords, seeing their king's too great intimacy and friendship with Henry , king of England, were sore troubled, and all Scotland with them. For they feared this intimacy had shame and disgrace in store for them; and they strove in all earnestness to guard against this. So they sent an embassy after him, saying (or, rather, they thought and said within themselves):-- "We will not have this man reign over us." Thereupon, he returned from the army at Toulouse, and came to Scotland, on account of divers pressing matters; and by his authority as king, he bade the prelates and nobles meet together at his borough of Perth. Meanwhile the chief men of the country were

roused. Six earls - Ferchard, earl of Stratherne, to wit, and five other earls - being stirred up against the king, not to compass any selfish end, or through treason, but rather to guard the common weal, sought to take him, and laid siege to the keep of the town. God so ordering it, however, their understanding was brought to naught for the nonce; and after not many days had rolled by, he was, by the advice of the clergy, brought back to a good understanding with his nobles. He then, thrice in the same year, mustered an army, and marched into Galloway against the rebels. At last, when he had vanquished these, made them his allies and subdued them, he hied him back in peace, without loss to his men; and afterwards, when he had thus subdued them he pressed them so sore, that their chieftain, who was called Fergus, gave up the calling of arms, and sending off his son and heir Vithred, to the king, as a hostage, donned the canonical garb at the monastery of Holyrood, in Edinburgh. Meanwhile the king, by the help and advice of his friends, gave his sister Margaret in marriage to Conan, duke of Brittany, and his sister Ada to Florence, count of Holland. Peace, also was restored between the kings of France and England; and the English king Henry's son Henry not yet six years old, took to wife the French king Louis's daughter not yet two.

#### IV.

At this time, the rebel nation of the Moravienses, whose former lord, namely, the Earl Angus, had been killed by the Scots would, for neither prayers nor bribes, either treaties nor oaths, leave off their disloyal ways, or their ravages among their fellow-countrymen. So having gathered together a large army, the king removed them all from the land of their birth, as of old Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had dealt with the Jews, and scattered them throughout the other districts of Scotland, both beyond the hills and this side thereof, so that not even one native of that land abode there; and he installed therein his own peaceful people. Sumerled, likewise, king of Argyll, of whom we have spoken above, impiously fought, for twelve years, against King Malcolm, his lord. At length, bent on plunder, he brought up at Renfrew with a strong army and very large fleet, which he had levied out of Ireland and sundry other places, but, through God's vengeance, he was, with his son Gellicolan, and a countless multitude of traitors, slain there by a few countrymen. Now, when this King Malcolm grew up, and reached the years of youth, he refused to marry, although besought to do so by the earls and all the people of his kingdom, with all manner of entreaties, and, as far as respect for the king's rank would allow, urged to do so; and, before God, he vowed chastity, abiding his whole time in the spotless purity of maidenhood. For though, on the strength of his kingly rank, he could often have transgressed, yet he never did transgress. He harmed none, but wished men well; was pleasant to all, and displeased none; and was very devout towards God: for with the whole straining of his mind, and all the longing of his inmost heart, did he yearn to reign with Christ for ever. Nevertheless, he had many trials and reproaches to bear at the hands of the dwellers

in his kingdom, according to that saying of Solomon's: "Son, when thou undertakest God's service, stand, in righteousness and fear, and make read thy soul to the trial." He, indeed, having conceived the warmth of the love of God, had set his heart upon heavenly things; so that, looking down upon all earthly things, he quite neglected the care, as well as governance, of his kingdom. Wherefore he was so hated by all the common, people that William, the elder of his brothers - who had always been on bad terms with the English, and their lasting foe, forasmuch as they had taken away his patrimony, the earldom of Northumberland, to wit - was by them appointed warden of the whole kingdom, against the king's will; while his younger brother, Earl David of Huntingdon, abode in England.

#### V.

In the year 1165, the thirteenth of King Malcolm's reign, at the end of the month of August, two comets appeared - one to the south, and the other to the north - which, according to some, foreboded the king's death. A comet is a star which appears, not at all times, but chiefly against a king's death, or a country's downfall. When it appears with a shining diadem of hair, it heralds a king's death; but if with scattered tresses glowing red, it forebodes a county's downfall. And sometimes it betokens storms or wars, as in these lines: -

"There is a star bodes storm or war.  
On high when it has crept;  
And if thou seek its name to speak,  
Boëtes 'tis yclept."

Now Malcolm, being guided by God in the blessings of sweetness, so that his heart was kindled with the love of the Most High, wherewith he was upheld, all his life excelled in brightness of chastity, in the glory of lowliness and innocence, in purity of conscience, and holiness, as well as staidness of character; so that, among laymen, with whom he had nothing in common but his dress, he was as a monk; and among men, whom he ruled, he seemed, indeed, an angel upon earth. He founded the monastery of Cupar, to the praise of God. But when he had completed twelve years, seven months, and three days on the throne Christ called him away on Thursday the 9th of December; so he put off manhood for the fellowship of angels, and lost not, but exchanged his kingdom. And thus this man of angelic holiness among men, and like some angel upon earth, of whom the world was not worthy, was snatched away from the world by the heavenly angels, in the bloom of his lily-youth, - the twenty-sixth year of his age.

## VI.

This most godly King Malcolm fell asleep in the Lord at Jedworth (Jedburgh); and his body was brought, by nearly all the prominent persons of the kingdom, in great state, to Dunfermline, a famous burial-place of the Scottish kings; - where are entombed Malcolm the Great and his consort the blessed Margaret (his great-grandfather and great-grandmother), and their holy offspring. It rests interred in the middle of the floor in front of the high altar, on the right of his grandfather David.

This is the vision of a certain cleric, devout towards God, and formerly a familiar friend of the king's about the glory of this same King Malcolm, of holy memory. While this cleric was devoutly watching at the king's grave, sleep stole upon him amid his psalm-singing; and the king seemed to him to be standing by, clad in snow-white robes, with a glad but speechless countenance, and not sorrowful; and ever as he asked him, in verse, with one half of each couplet, somewhat of his plight, the king would answer each question in verse, with the other half of every couplet, to the following effect: -

- Clerk. A king thou wast; what art thou now?  
King. A servant once, lo! now I reign.  
C. Why lingers still thy flesh below?  
K. My spirit seeks the heavenly plain.  
C. Art thou in torment, or content?  
K. Nay, not in pain. I rest in peace.  
C. Then what hath been thy punishment?  
K. A bitter lot ere my decease.  
C. Where are thou, friend? Where dwells thy spirit?  
K. In paradise that knows not woe.  
C. Why does thy raiment gleam so white?  
K. A maid I to my grave did go.  
C. Why answerest so shortly, friend?  
K. My life is eloquent for me.  
C. Thy days thou didst in sickness spend,  
K. But now from sickness am I free!  
C. Why lost we thee? Why did we part?  
K. That I might find the saints on high.  
C. What was it grieved thy gentle heart?  
K. This wicked world is all a lie.  
C. Tell me, when shalt thou come again?  
K. When the great Judge shall judge at last.  
C. Will Scotia for thy loss complain?  
K. Not now, but when this time is past.  
C. Wilt leave me now? What doest thou fear?  
K. The burden of the life I bore.  
C. Hast thou no word thy friends to cheer?  
K. Bid them farewell for evermore.

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**PRINCE EDMUND**  
**BURIED IN**  
**DUNFERMLINE ABBEY**



**PRINCE EDMUND (1094-1097)**

Extracted from -

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&

**JOHN OF FORDUN'S**

**CHRONICLE**

OF

**THE SCOTTISH NATION**

VOLUME 2. p. 213, 215

EDITED BY

W, F, SKENE

Donald III  
Bane  
&  
Edmund



[1094-1097] On the restoration of Donald to the throne, his inhospitable edict for the expulsion of foreigners was strictly enforced, and every effort was made to overthrow the measures which his brother had taken for the Edmund civilization of the country. Matters remained in this state for more than two years till 1097. At length in 1097, Edgar Atheling, along with his nephew Edgar, raised a powerful army in England, and marching against Donald, overcame him in battle, and having obtained possession of his person, imprisoned him and put out his eyes. William of Malmesbury states, that Edmund, the unworthy son of the pious Margaret, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for his accession to the murder of Duncan; that, during his captivity, he was touched with remorse, and in token of penitence for his guilt, ordered the fetters he had worn in his dungeon to be buried with him in his coffin.<sup>1</sup> Donald Bane died at Roscobie, in Forfarshire, and with him terminated the line of the Scottish kings.<sup>2</sup>

We are informed by the learned Chalmers,<sup>3</sup> that throughout the Scottish period, Scotland proper was divided into ten districts, exclusive of Lothian, Galloway, and Strathclyd. 1. FIFE, comprehending the country between the Forth and the Tay, below the Ochil Hills. Of this extensive district the celebrated Macduff was the Maormor. II. STRATHERN, including the country between the Forth and the Ochil Hills on the south and the Tay on the north. III. ATHOL and Stormont, comprehending the central highlands, lay between the Tay and Badenoch. IV. ANGUS, comprehending the country from the Tay and the Ila on the south, to the northern Esk upon the north. V. Mearns comprehended the district which lay between the North Esk and the Dee. Fenella, the inhospitable murderess of Kenneth III, was the wife of the Maormor of this district the daughter of the Maormor of Angus. VI. ABERDEEN and BANFF comprehended the extensive country between the Dee and the Spey. Greg, the Maormor of this district, occupied the Scottish throne from A.D. 882 to 893. VII. The extensive district of MORAY comprehended the country from the Spey to the Farar or Beaully, and reached, westward, to the limits of northern Argyle. The Maormor of Moray were persons of great importance at that period, and the Moray men acted a conspicuous part in the bloody scenes of Scottish history. VIII. ARGYLE, which formed the ancient kingdom of the Scots, extended along the mainland of Scotland, from the Clyde to Ross, and comprehended the adjacent isles. IX the great district of Ross was composed of the counties of Ross and Cromarty. The powerful chiefs of this province were often engaged in bloody conflicts with the rapacious Norsemen. Macbeth was Maormor of Ross-shire when he slew "gracious Duncan," and seized his sceptre. X. SUTHERLAND and CAITHNESS formed a district which, at the end of the tenth century was governed by Sigurd, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, and after him, by his son, Thornfinn,

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury, p. 158. <sup>2</sup> It is worthy of notice, that John Comyn, the lord of Badenoch, during the great competition for the crown, claimed the succession as heir of Donald Bane, through the female line.

the grandson of Malcolm II. These districts, during the Scottish period, were connected by very slight ties. The inhabitants of each province possessed peculiar rights, followed their own customs, and were governed by their own chiefs or Maormors, who could not be appointed or displaced by the king; and there was scarcely any recognition of a supreme legislative body or authority having the power to make laws for the whole community. The authority of the king, though it was acknowledged, was often resisted, because it could not easily enforced.

To every careful student of the events and institutions of this period, it must be evident that the predominant people were the Celtic race. The laws were Celtic, the government Celtic, the titles of honour Celtic, the usage of manners Celtic, the church Celtic, the language Celtic. "If," says Chalmers,<sup>1</sup> "Malcolm Canmore, a Celtic prince who did not arrogate the character of a lawgiver, had been disposed to effect a considerable change in this Celtic system, he would have found his inclination limited by his impotence. The Scottish kings, during those times, seem not to have possessed legislative power. Whenever they acted as legislators, they appear to have had some coadjutors, either some Maormors, a term by which we are to understand the civil ruler of a district, or some bishop."<sup>2</sup> At a later period, when the children and grandchildren of Malcolm attempt to introduce new institutions and maxims of government in the provinces of Galloway and Moray so firmly attached were the people to their ancient customs and habits that the innovations gave rise to frequent insurrections.<sup>3</sup>

Mention had already been made of the residence of Donald Bane, in the Hebrides, and the powerful support which the inhabitants of these remote islands gave to him in his attempts upon the Scottish crown. It is evident that they had at this period little or no political connexion with the mainland of Scotland, but were under the domination of petty chiefs, where sometimes independent, and at other periods under the superiority of the kings of Norway.

During the early portion of the ninth century they suffered much from the depredations of the Norwegian pirates, whose incessant ravages were severely felt by the various religious communities scattered over the Western Islands. It appears from the Irish annals, that these fierce marauders not only laid waste the country, and plundered the monasteries of their treasures, but also carried off great numbers of captives both male and female, and sold them for slaves in the markets of Norway and Sweden. They had not as yet however effected any permanent settlement either in the isles or on the mainland of Scotland. But toward the latter end of the ninth century the number of these pirates was greatly increased by a revolution which had taken place in Norway. Harold Harfager, or the light-haired, after a protracted struggle obtained possession of the Norwegian throne,<sup>4</sup> and united the provinces of the Scandinavian peninsula into one monarchy.

<sup>1</sup> Caledonia, vol. i. p. 455

<sup>2</sup> Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 182.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Torfæus, Hist. Norw. vol. ii. b. ii. chap. xii.; Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 91.

## JOHN OF FORDUN'S CRONICLE - VOL. 2.

### CHAPTER XXI. P. 209.

*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 besiege the aforesaid castle, where he knew the king's rightful and lawful heirs were. But, forasmuch as tht 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.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Duncan, Malcolm's illegitimate son\*, wrest the kingdom from his uncle Donald - His death - Donald recovers the kingdom at this time the King of Norway takes possession of our Isles.*

NOW when the throne of Scotland had been usurped by Donald, King Malcolm's lawful heirs - that is to say, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who, though the least in years, was nevertheless endowed with the greatest virtue - tarried in England through fear of him. For, as stated below, the king's three other older sons were not then living. Edward, as was said, was slain with his father. About Ethelred I find nothing certain, in any writings, as to where he died or was buried; except that, as some asserts he lies buried in Saint Andrew's Church in Kilremont. Edmund, a vigorous man, and devout in God's service, after his death was buried at Montacute, in England. *William*, however, has written that Edmund's death happened otherwise as will be seen afterwards in the sequel. Meanwhile Duncan, King Malcolm's illegitimate son, when he was with King William Rufus. in England, as a hostage, was by him dubbed knight; and backed up by his help he arrived in Scotland, put his uncle Donald to flight, and was set up as king. But when he had reigned a year and six months, he fell slain at Monthechin by the Earl of Mernys, by name Malpetri, in Scottish Malpedir, through the wiles of his uncle Donald, whom he had often vanquished in battle; and he was buried in the island of Iona. After his death, Donald, again usurped the kingship, and held it for three years; while he had reined for six months before Duncan. And thus after King Malcolm's death, so sad for the Scots, these two - Donald and Duncan, to wit - reigned five years between them. Now *William*, writing about the aforesaid Edmunds says: - Of the sons of the king and Margaret, Edmund was the only one who fell away from goodness. Partaking of his uncle Donald's wickedness, he was privy to his brother Duncan's death, having, forsooth, bargained with his uncle for half the kingdom. But being taken, and kept in fetters forever, he sincerely repented; and, when at death's door, he bade them bury him in his chains, confessing that he was worthily punished for the crime of fratricide. While these, then - namely, Donald, Duncan, and Edgar, too - were struggling for the kingdom in this wise, the king of the Noricans (Northmen) Magnus, the son of King Olave, son of King Harold surnamed Harfager, sweeping the gulfs of the sea with a host of seamen, subdued the Orkneys to his dominion, and the Mevanian islands, both of Scotland and England (Man and the Western Isles), which, indeed, for the most part, used to belong to Scotland by ancient right. For the Scots continued, without any break to hold these same islands from the time of Ethdacus Rothay, Simon Brek's great-grandson, who was the first of all the Scots to dwell in the islands - about five hundred years before the Scottish king Fergus, son of Feradach, entered the soil of Albion - even until now, for a space of nearly two thousand years.

\* Duncan, was the son of King Malcolm's first marriage with Queen Ingibiorg.

# PRINCE ETHELREDE

BURIED IN

DUNFERMLINE ABBEY



PRINCE ETHELREDE

Extracted from -

THE ANNALS OF DUNFERMLINE

By E. Henderson p. 37/38

ANNALS OF DUNFERMLINE

by E. Henderson.

Royal Burgh of Dunfermline, etc. p. 37

1117. - PRINCE ETHELREDE, son of Malcolm III and Margaret, appears to have died about this period in England, while on a visit to his sister, Matilda, Queen of England; and, no doubt, it would be at his own request that his remains were conveyed to such a distance as Dunfermline to be interred. He was buried before the Altar of the Holy Cross, near his mother Margaret, the Queen, and his brother Prince Edward, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline. (*Balfour's An. Scot. vol. i. p.2; Wynton's Orygynale Cronikil, vol. ii. pp. 271, 272 &c.*) According to several histories, it would appear that this Prince accompanied his father and elder brother to Alnwick. At all events it was he who conveyed to his dying mother, in Edinburgh Castle, the sad and disastrous account of that expedition. Ethelrede had his mother's remains removed to Dunfermline for interment. (*Wynton's Cronikil, &c*)

In the "Admore Charter" he is styled, "*Vir venerandæ memoriæ Abbas de Dunkelden et insuper comes de Fyfe.*" It is well known that he was Abbot of Dunkeld; but his being also Earl of Fife has been the occasion of much dispute among archaeologists; the dispute continues. Ethelrede was married; he had at least three sons named Edwy, Alfred, and Edward, and they are styled "*Clito,*" i.e. an imbecile. (*S. Dunelm, pp. 176-179; Hailes's An. Scot. vol. i. p. 7*)

Ethelrede was one of the benefactors of Dunfermline Church about the year 1104, having then donated to this church his property of Hailes. Wynton refers to his place of sepulture, and also his brothers' when noticing his mother's interment. (*See Wynton's Orygynale Cronikil, vol ii. pp. 271,172; and also An. of Dunf. in notice of Queen Margaret's decease and interment.*) (*Annals of Dunf. p.37*)

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