

CHAP. II.

JOHN BALIOL.

 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

King of England.
Edward I.

| *King of France.*
Phillip IV.

| *Popes.*
Celestinus V.
Boniface VIII.

EDWARD'S scheme for the subjugation of Scotland was not yet completed, but all had hitherto succeeded to his wishes. He had contrived to fabricate a claim of superiority over that kingdom, which, if Baliol should refuse to become the willing creature of his ambition, gave him a specious title to compel obedience as Lord Paramount. By holding out the prospect of a crown to the various competitors, and by many rich grants of estates and of salaries to the prelates and the nobility, he had succeeded in securing them to his interest ;¹ and if any feelings of indigna-

¹ This appears from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 19 Edw. I. and *passim*, 24. He gave the Bishop of Glasgow an obligation to bestow on him lands to the annual value of L.100. To James, the steward, lands of the same annual value.

tion, any spirit of ancient freedom and resistance, remained, the apparent hopelessness of fighting for a country which seemed to have deserted itself, and against a prince of so great a military genius as Edward, effectually stifled it for the present.

Baliol had scarce taken possession of his kingdom, when an event occurred which recalled him to a sense of his miserable subjection, and brought out the character of Edward in all its severity. It had been a special provision of the treaty of Brigham, that no Scottish subject was to be compelled to answer in any criminal or civil suit, out of the bounds of the kingdom of Scotland; but, in the face of this provision, Roger Bartholomew, a citizen of Berwick, entered an appeal to the court of the King of England, from a judgment of those regents whom he had appointed in Scotland during the interregnum. Ba-

Annual value.

To Patrick, Earl of Dunbar,	Lands of L.100.
To John de Soulis,	Lands of 100 marks.
To William Sinclair,	Lands of 100 marks.
To Patrick de Graham,	Lands of 100 marks.
To William de Soulis,	Lands of L.100, annual value.

All these persons were to have lands of the subjoined value, "Si contingat Regnum Regi et heredibus suis remanere." Edward afterwards changed his plan, and gave these barons and prelates gratifications in money, or other value. But to John Comyn, the King of England gave the enormous sum of L.1563, 14s. 6½d.—Rotul. Scotiæ, 24 Edw. I. m. 4. 6th January, 1292. He took care, however, to reimburse himself by keeping the wards, marriages, and other items of the revenue, which had fallen to the Scottish crown during the interregnum, as may be seen from many places in the Rotuli Scotiæ.

liol was not slow to remind Edward of his solemn promise, to observe the laws and usages of Scotland, and he earnestly protested against withdrawing any pleas from that kingdom to the courts of England.¹ To this Edward replied, that he had in every article religiously observed his promise, but that when complaints were brought against his own ministers, who held their commissions from him as Sovereign Lord of Scotland, it was he alone who could have cognizance of them, nor had his subjects therein any right to interpose. He then, with that air of apparent justice and impartiality which he often threw over his worst aggressions, required the opinion of some of the ablest Scottish prelates and judges, with regard to the law and custom of their kingdom in one of the cases brought before him, and commanded his council to decide according to the judgment which they delivered.² Irritated, however, by his being reminded of the treaty of Brigham, he openly declared, by his justiciary Brabason, that although during the vacancy of the kingdom of Scotland, he had been induced to make promises which suited the time, now when the nation was ruled by a king, he did not intend to be bound by them, to the effect of excluding complaints brought before him from that kingdom, or of preventing him from dispensing justice, and exercising the rights of his sovereign dominion, according to his power and pleasure. To give the greater

¹ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 596.

² Ryley's Placita, p. 145.

weight to this imperious announcement, the King of England summoned Baliol and his principal prelates and nobles into his privy chamber at Newcastle, and there made Brabason repeat his resolutions upon the matter in question ; after which, Edward himself rose up, and, in the French language, spoke to the same tenor. " These are my firm determinations," said he, " with regard to all complaints or appeals brought before me from Scotland ; nor will I be bound by any former promises or concessions made to the contrary. I am little careful by what deeds or instruments they may be ratified ; I shall exercise that superiority and direct dominion which I hold over the kingdom of Scotland, when and where I please ; nor will I hesitate, if necessary, to summon the King of Scotland himself into my presence within the kingdom of England." ¹

Baliol's spirit sunk under this declaration, and he and the Scottish nobility who were then in his train, pusillanimously consented to buy their peace with Edward, by a renunciation of all those stipulations and promises regarding the laws and liberties of Scotland, which had been made in the treaty of Brigham, and which, so long as they continued in force, convicted the King of England of a flagrant disregard of his oath solemnly pledged to Scotland. On this being agreed to, Edward ordered the public records and ancient historical muniments of the kingdom, which had formerly been transmitted from Edin-

¹ Rymer, Fœd. vol. ii. p. 597. Tyrrel's England, vol. iii. p. 74.

burgh to Roxburgh, to be delivered to the King of Scotland. He also, out of special favour, commanded seisin of the Isle of Man to be given to him;¹ and, softened by these concessions, Baliol returned to his kingdom. But it was only to experience fresh mortification, and to feel all the miseries of subjection and vassalage.

The policy of Edward towards Scotland and its new king, was at once artful and insulting. He treated every assumption of independent sovereignty with rigour and contempt, and lost no opportunity of summoning Baliol to answer before him to the complaints brought against his government; he encouraged his subjects to offer these complaints by scrupulously administering justice according to the laws and customs of Scotland; and he distributed lands, pensions, and presents, with well-judged munificence, amongst the prelates and the nobility. The King of Scotland possessed large estates both in England and Normandy, and in all the rights and privileges connected with them, he found Edward certainly not a severe, almost an indulgent superior. To Baliol the vassal, he was uniformly lenient and just.² To Baliol the king, he was proud and unbending to the last degree. An example of this occurred.

The Earl of Fife died, leaving his son Duncan a minor, and his earldom under the protection of the

¹ Edward, in 1290, when Margaret was alive, had taken under his protection her kingdom of Man, at the request of its inhabitants. Rymer, vol. ii. p. 492.

² Rymer, vol. ii. p. 635. Ridpath's Border History, p. 188.

Bishop of St Andrews. Macduff, the grand-uncle of Duncan, seized the earldom. He was dispossessed by the bishop, and, on complaining to Edward, was, at the king's command, restored to his estates by a sentence of the Scottish regents. When Baliol held his first parliament at Scone,¹ Macduff was summoned to answer for his having taken forcible possession of lands, which, since the death of the last Earl of Fife, were in the custody of the king. He attempted a defence, but was found guilty, and suffered a short imprisonment. On his release, he carried his appeal to the King of England, and Edward immediately summoned Baliol to answer in person before him, to the allegations of Macduff.² To this order Baliol paid no regard, and Edward again commanded him to appear. This was not all. He procured his parliament to pass some regulations regarding the attendance of the King of Scots, which, from their extreme severity, seem to have been expressly intended to exasperate this monarch, who found, that in every case of appeal he was not only to be dragged in as a party, but that his personal attendance was to be rigidly exacted. The first was a grievous, the last an intolerable burden, to which no one with even the name of a king could long submit.³

Meanwhile, dissembling his chagrin, he appeared in the parliament held after Michaelmas, where Mac-

¹ Winton, vol. ii. p. 73.

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 606. Fordun a Hearne, p. 968.

³ Ryley's *Placita*, p. 151. Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 227.

duff was also present. When the cause of this Scottish noble came on, Baliol was asked what defence he had to offer. "I am," said he, "the King of Scotland. To the complaint of Macduff, or to aught else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make an answer without the advice of my people."—"What means this refusal?" cried Edward. "Are you not *my* liegeman,—have you not done homage to me,—is it not my summons that brings you here?" To this impetuous interrogation the Scottish monarch firmly answered, "Where the business respects my kingdom, I neither dare, nor can answer, in this place, without the advice of my people." An insidious proposal was then made by Edward, that in order to consult with his people, he should adjourn giving his final reply to a future day; but this he peremptorily declined, declaring that he would neither name a day, nor consent to an adjournment. Under these circumstances the English parliament proceeded to pronounce judgment. They declared that the King of Scotland, having offered no defence, and having made a reply which went to elude and weaken the jurisdiction of his liege lord, in whose court as a vassal he had claimed the crown of Scotland, was guilty of manifest and open contempt and disobedience; in consequence of which they advised the King of England, not only to do full justice to Macduff, and to award damages against Baliol, but, as a punishment for his feudal delinquency, to seize three of his principal castles in Scotland, to remain in the hands of the English monarch until he should make satisfaction for the injury

offered to his lord superior.¹ Before this judgment of the parliament was publicly made known, Baliol presented himself to Edward, and thus addressed him : “ My lord, I am your liegeman for the kingdom of Scotland, and I entreat you, that as the matters where-with you now are occupied concern the people of my kingdom no less than myself, you will delay their consideration until I have consulted with them, lest I be surprised from want of advice ; and this the more especially, as those now with me neither will, nor dare, give me their opinion, without consulting with the Estates of the kingdom. After having advised with them, I will, in your first parliament after Easter, report the result, and perform what is my duty.”

It was evident that the resolutions of the parliament were unnecessarily violent, and could not have been carried into effect without the presence of an army in Scotland. The King of England, aware of this, and dreading to excite a rebellion, for which he was not then prepared, listened to the demand of Baliol, and delayed all proceedings until the day after the Feast of the Trinity, in 1294.²

Not long after this, Edward, who was a vassal of the King of France for the duchy of Aquitaine, became involved with his lord superior, in a quarrel similar to that between himself and Baliol. A fleet of English vessels belonging to the Cinque Ports, had encountered and plundered some French merchant

¹ Prynne's Edward I., pp. 537, 554.

² Ryley's Placit. pp. 152, 160. Prynne's Edward I., p. 554.

ships, and Philip demanded immediate and ample satisfaction for the aggression. As he dreaded a war with France, Edward proposed to investigate, by commissioners, the causes of quarrel; but this seemed greatly too slow a process to the irritated feelings of the French king, and, exerting his rights as lord superior, he proudly summoned Edward to appear in his court at Paris, and there answer, as his vassal, for the injuries which he had committed. This order was, of course, little heeded; upon which Philip, sitting on his throne, gave sentence against the English king, pronounced him contumacious, and directed his territories in France to be seized, as forfeited to the crown.¹ Edward soon after renounced his allegiance as a vassal of Philip, and, with the advice of his parliament, declared war against France.

To assist him in this war, he summoned Baliol, and others of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, to attend him in person with their armed vassals; but his insolent and overbearing conduct had entirely disgusted the Scots. They treated his summons with scorn, and, instead of arming their vassals for his assistance, they assembled a parliament at Scone.² Its first step was, under the pretence of diminishing the public charges, to dismiss all Englishmen from Baliol's court; and having thus got rid of such troublesome spies upon their measures, they engaged in a treaty of alliance with France,³ and determined upon

¹ Tyrrel's England, vol. iii. p. 79. Prynne's Edward I., pp. 583, 584.

² Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 153.

³ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 695.

war with Edward. Many estates in Scotland were at this time held by English barons, and many also of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility possessed lands in England. Anxious for a general union against the common enemy, the Scottish estates in the hands of English barons were forfeited, and their proprietors banished, while those Scottish nobles who remained faithful to Edward had their lands seized and forfeited.¹ In this way Robert Bruce lost his rich lordship of Annandale. It was given to John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who instantly assumed the rights of a proprietor, and took possession of its castle of Lochmaben—an injury which in that fierce age could never be forgotten.

Edward, although enraged at the conduct of the Scottish parliament, and meditating a deep revenge, was at this time harassed by a rebellion of the Welsh, and a war with France. Dissimulation and policy were the weapons to which he had recourse, whilst he employed the interval which he gained in sowing dissension among the Scottish nobles, and collecting an army for the punishment of their rebellion. To Bruce, the son of the competitor for the crown, whose mind was irritated by the recent forfeiture of his estates, he affected uncommon friendship, regretted his decision in favour of the now rebellious Baliol, declared his determination to make him king, and directed him to inform his numerous and powerful

¹ Hemingford, p. 83. vol. i. Ridpath, p. 193. Hailes, vol. i. p. 240.

friends in Scotland of this resolution.¹ Bruce either trusted to the promises, or was intimidated by the power, of Edward. Besides this, Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who now mainly directed the Scottish councils, was his enemy, and held violent possession of his lordship of Annandale. To join with him was impossible; and accordingly this powerful baron and his son, afterwards king, with Dunbar, Earl of March, and Umfraville, Earl of Angus, repaired to Edward, and solemnly renewed to him their oaths of homage.² The undecided character of Baliol was ill calculated to remove this disunion amongst the Scottish nobles; and the party who then ruled in the Scottish parliament, dreading a submission upon the part of their king, secluded him from all power, confined him in a strong mountain fortress, and placed the management of affairs in the hands of twelve of the leading nobles.³

The measures adopted by these guardians were decided and spirited. They, in the name of Baliol, drew up an instrument, renouncing all fealty and allegiance to Edward, on account of the manifold and grievous injuries committed upon his rights and property as King of Scotland.⁴ They dispatched ambassadors to France, who concluded a treaty of marriage and alliance, by which the niece of Philip, daughter of the Count of Anjou, was to be united to the eldest son of Baliol—the French king enga-

¹ Fordun a Hearne, p. 971.

² Hemingford, vol. i. p. 102.

³ Math. Westmins. p. 425. Annals of Ireland, ad ann. 1295.

⁴ Fordun a Hearne, p. 969.

ging to assist the Scots with troops kept at his own charges ; and they assembled an army under the command of Comyn, Earl of Buchan, which invaded Cumberland.¹ This expedition, however, returned without honour, having been repulsed in an attempt to storm Carlisle.

Nothing could be more favourable for Edward than the miserably disunited state of Scotland. He knew that three powerful factions divided the country, and hindered that firm political union, without which, against such an enemy, no successful opposition could be made. Bruce, and his numerous and powerful followers, adhered to England. The friends of Baliol, and that part of the nation which recognised him for their lawful sovereign, beheld him a captive in one of his own fortresses, and refused to join the rebels who had imprisoned him ; and the party of Comyn, which had invaded England, were either so destitute of military talent, or so divided amongst themselves, that a handful of the citizens of Carlisle compelled them to retreat with loss into their own country. These advantages, the result of his own able and insidious policy, were easily perceived by the King of England. It was now his time for action, and for inflicting that vengeance upon his enemies, which, with this monarch, the longer it was delayed, was generally the more sure and terrible. He assembled a numerous and well appointed army. It

¹ Hemingford, p. 87. Trivet, p. 288.

consisted of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand heavy-armed horse. He was joined by Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham, at the head of a thousand foot and five hundred horse; and with this combined force, and the two sacred banners of St John of Beverley and St Cuthbert of Durham carried before the army,¹ he marched towards Scotland. It appears, that some time before this, Edward had thought proper to grant a prolongation of the term agreed on for the decision of the question of Macduff, and had required Baliol to attend him as his vassal at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.² On arriving there, he summoned the King of Scotland; and after waiting a few days for his appearance, advanced to the eastern border, and crossed the Tweed with his main army below the Nunnery of Coldstream. On the same day the Bishop of Durham forded the river at Norham, and the whole army, marching along the Scottish side, came before the town of Berwick, then in the hands of the Scots.³

Edward was determined to make himself master of this devoted city. The riches and the power of its merchants were very great, and the extent of its foreign commerce, in the opinion of a contemporary English

¹ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 732. Prynne's Edward I., p. 667. Anthony Beck was a prelate, whose state and magnificence were exceeded only by his sovereign. His ordinary personal suite consisted of a hundred and forty knights.—Hutchinson's History of the County Palatine of Durham, p. 239.

² Prynne's Edward I. p. 537.

³ Hemingford, p. 89.

historian, entitled it to the name of another Alexandria.¹ It was protected only by a strong dike, but its adjacent castle was of great strength, and its garrison had made themselves especially obnoxious to the king, by plundering some English merchant ships which had unsuspectingly entered the port. The king summoned it to surrender, and offered it terms of accommodation, which, after two days' consideration, were refused. Edward, upon this, did not immediately proceed to storm, but drew back his army to a field near a nunnery, about a mile from the town, and where, from the lying of the ground, he could more easily conceal his dispositions for the attack. He then dispatched a large division, with orders to assault the town by a line of march which concealed them from the citizens; and he commanded his fleet to enter the river at the same moment that the great body of the army, led by himself, were ready to storm.² The Scottish garrison fiercely assaulted the ships, burnt three of them, and compelled the rest to retire;³ but they, in their turn, were driven back by the fury of the land attack. Edward himself, mounted on horseback,⁴ was the first who leaped the dike; and the soldiers, ani-

¹ Torfæus, b. i. c. 32. Chron. of Lanercost. MS. Cott. Claud. D. vii. f. 207. C.

² Goodal, vol. ii. p. 159. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 90.

³ Lord Hailes erroneously says, Edward's ships were all burnt or disabled. Hemingford, p. 98, expressly tells us, twenty-one ships made sail out of the harbour with the ebb tide.

⁴ Langtoft's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 272. His horse's name, we learn from this Chronicle, was Bayard.

mated by the example and presence of their king, carried every thing before them. All the horrors of a rich and populous city sacked by an inflamed soldiery, and a commander thirsting for vengeance, now succeeded. Seventeen thousand persons,¹ without distinction of age or sex, were put to the sword; for two days the city ran with blood like a river—none were spared. The churches, to which the miserable inhabitants had fled for sanctuary, were violated, and defiled with blood, spoiled of their sacred ornaments, and turned into stables for the English cavalry.²

In the midst of this massacre a fine trait of fidelity occurred. The Flemings at this period carried on a lucrative and extensive trade with Scotland, and their principal factory was established in Berwick. It was a strong building, called the Red-hall, and they were bound by their charter to defend it to the last extremity against the English. True to their engagements, thirty of these brave merchants held out the place against the whole English army. Night came, and still it was not taken. Irritated by this obstinate courage, the English set it on fire, and buried its faithful defenders in the burning ruins.³ The massacre of Berwick, which took place on Good Friday, was a terrible example of the vengeance which Edward was ready to inflict upon his enemies. Its plunder enriched his army, and it never recovered its commercial importance and prosperity. Sir William Douglas, who commanded the castle, after a short

¹ Knighton, p. 2480.

² Fordun, b. xi. c. 54, 55.

³ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 91. Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 236.

defence surrendered, and swore fealty to the King of England; and its garrison, after taking an oath not to bear arms against England, were allowed to march out with military honours.¹

Whilst Edward remained at Berwick, engaged in throwing up new fortifications against future attacks, Henry, Abbot of Aberbrothock, attended by three of his monks, appeared at his court, and delivered to him the instrument containing Baliol's renunciation of his homage. "You have," said the Scottish king, "wantonly summoned me to your courts; you have committed grievous outrages and robberies upon my subjects, both by sea and land; you have seized my castles and estates in England, killed and imprisoned my subjects, and the merchants of my realm; and when I demanded a redress of these injuries, you have invaded my dominions at the head of a vast army, with the purpose of depriving me of my crown; and have cruelly ravaged the land. Wherefore, I renounce that fealty and homage, which have been extorted from me, and do resolve openly to oppose myself, in defence of my kingdom, against Edward of England."²

Edward received this letter with angry contempt. "The senseless traitor!" said he; "of what folly is he guilty! But since he will not come to us, we will go to him!"³

¹ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 91.

² Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 707. Fordun a Hearne, p. 969.

³ Ha ce fol felon, tel folie fecit! sil ne voutt venir a nous, nous viendrons a lui.—Fordun a Hearne, p. 969.

Enraged at the dreadful vengeance inflicted on Berwick, the Scottish army, under the Earls of Ross, Menteith, and Athole, made a second inroad into England, and, imitating the example of Edward, with merciless severity ravaged Redesdale and Tindale, carrying away a great booty, and sparing neither sex nor age.¹ The flames of towns and villages, and the ashes of the ancient monasteries of Lanercost and Hexham, marked their destructive progress; but the vengeance of the Scots was shortlived, and their plans unconnected. That of their enemy was the very opposite; it was deep-laid in its plans, simultaneous in its movements, and remorseless in its contemplation of consequences.

The castle of Dunbar was at this time one of the strongest, and, by its situation, most important in Scotland. Its lord, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, served in the army of Edward; but his wife, the Countess, who held the castle, and hated the English, entered into a secret negotiation with the Scottish leaders, for its delivery into the hands of her countrymen. The Earls of Ross, Athole, and Menteith, the Barons John Comyn, William St Clair, Richard Seward, and John de Mowbray, with thirty-one knights, and a strong force, threw themselves into the place, and, assisted by the Countess, easily expelled the few soldiers who remained faithful to England.² On being informed of this loss, Edward determined upon recovering it

¹ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 887. Trivet, p. 291. Peter Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 273.

² Walsingham, p. 67. This happened on St Martin's day.

at all hazards, and for this purpose dispatched the Earl of Surrey with ten thousand foot, and a thousand heavy armed horse. When summoned by Warrene, the garrison agreed to surrender, unless relieved within three days; and the Scots, anxious to retain so important a place, led on the whole of their army, and possessed themselves of a strong and excellent position on the high ground above Dunbar. Forty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, encamped on the heights, near Spot; and, confident of rescue, the garrison of the castle insulted the English from the walls, as if already beaten.¹

Surrey, on the first appearance of the Scottish army, steadily advanced to attack it. On approaching the high ground, it was necessary to deploy through a valley; and in executing this movement, the Scots observed, or imagined they observed, some confusion in the English ranks. Mistaking this for flight, they precipitately abandoned their strong position on the hills, and rushed down with dreadful shouts upon the enemy. Meanwhile, before the lines could meet, the English earl had extricated himself from the valley, and formed into compact order. The Scots, ruined, as they had often been, by their temerity, perceived their fatal error when it was too late. Instead of an enemy in flight, they found an army under perfect discipline, advancing upon their broken and disordered columns; and having in vain endeavoured to regain their ranks, after a short resistance they were completely routed. Three hundred and

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 165. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 95.

fifty years after this, Cromwell, on the same ground, defeated the army of the Scottish Covenanters, which occupied exactly the same admirable position, and with equal folly and precipitancy deserted it. Surrey's victory was complete, and for the time decided the fate of Scotland. Ten thousand men fell on the field, or in the pursuit. Sir Patrick de Graham, a valiant knight, and "noble among the noblest," disdained to ask for quarter, and was slain in circumstances which extorted the praise of the enemy.¹ A great multitude, including the principal of the Scottish nobility, were taken prisoners; and, next day, the King of England coming in person with the rest of his army before Dunbar, the castle surrendered at discretion. The Earls of Athole, Ross, and Menteith, with four barons, seventy knights, and many brave esquires, submitted to the mercy of the conqueror.

All the prisoners of rank were immediately sent in chains to England, where they were for the present committed to close confinement in different Welsh and English castles.² After some time, the king compelled them to attend him in his wars in France; but even this partial liberty was not allowed them, till their sons were delivered into his hands as hostages.³

Edward was not slow to follow up the advantages which this important success had given him. Returning from Lothian, he sat down before the castle

¹ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 96. Fordun a Hearne, p. 974.

² Peter Langtoft, Chron. p. 278.

³ Rotuli Scotiae, sub Ed. I. 25, p. 44—Where a great many of the names of the prisoners will be found.

of Roxburgh, which was surrendered to him by James, the Steward of Scotland, who not only swore fealty to Edward, and abjured the French alliance,¹ but prevailed upon many others of the Scottish nobility to forsake a struggle which was deemed desperate, and to submit to England. It was at his instigation that Ingeram de Umfraville surrendered the castle of Dumbarton,² and gave up his daughters, Eva and Isobel, as hostages. Soon after, the strong fortress of Jedburgh was yielded to his mercy,³ and his victorious army being reinforced by a body of fifteen thousand men from Wales, he was enabled to send home that part of his English force, which had suffered most from fatigue in this expedition.

With these fresh levies he advanced to Edinburgh, made himself master of the castle after a siege of eight days,⁴ passed rapidly to Stirling, which he found abandoned; and while there, the Earl of Ulster, with a new army of thirty thousand foot and four hundred horse, came to join the king, and complete the triumph of the English arms. Edward continued his progress without opposition to Perth, where he halted to keep the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist, with circumstances of high feudal pomp and solemnity, feasting his friends, creating new knights, and solacing himself and his barons. In the midst of these rejoicings, messengers arrived

¹ Pryne's Edward I. p. 649.

² Rotuli Scotiæ, 22 Ed. I. memb. 8 dorso.

³ Rymer, Fœd. vol. ii. pp. 714, 716.

⁴ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 98.

from the unhappy Baliol, announcing his submission, and imploring peace.¹ Edward disdained to treat with him in person, but he informed him, that he intended, within fifteen days, to advance to Brechin, and that on Baliol's repairing to the castle there, the Bishop of Durham would announce to him the determination of his lord superior. This determination was none other than that of an absolute resignation of himself and his kingdom to the mercy of his conqueror; to which Baliol, who was now the mere shadow of a king, without a crown, an army, or a nobility, dejectedly submitted. In presence of the Bishop of Durham, and the barons of England, he was first stript of his royal robes, after which they spoiled him of his crown and sceptre, and compelled him, standing as a criminal, with a white rod in his hand, to perform a humiliating feudal penance.² He confessed, that, misled by evil counsel and his own weakness, he had grievously offended his liege lord; he recapitulated his various transgressions, his league with France, and his hostilities against England; he acknowledged the justice of the invasion of his kingdom by Edward, in vindication of his violated rights; and three days after this, in the castle of Brechin, he resigned his kingdom of Scotland, its people and their homage, into the hands of his liege lord Edward, of his own free will and consent.³ After this humili-

¹ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 98.

² Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 167. Winton, vol. ii. p. 88.

³ Prynne's Edward I. pp. 650, 651. See Notes and Illustrations, letter F.

liating ceremony, Baliol delivered his eldest son, Edward, to the King of England, as a hostage for his future fidelity; and this youth, along with his dis-crowned father, were soon after sent by sea to London, where they remained for three years in confinement in the Tower.¹

Thus ended the miserable and inglorious reign of John Baliol, a prince whose good dispositions might have ensured him a happier fate, had he been opposed to a less terrible and ambitious enemy than Edward the First; or had the courage and spirit, in which he was not deficient, been seconded by the efforts of a brave and united nobility. But Edward, with a policy not dissimilar to that which we have adopted in our Eastern dominions, had succeeded in preventing all union amongst the most powerful Scottish barons, by arraying their private and selfish ambition against the love of their country; by sowing dissension in their councils, richly rewarding their treachery, and treating with unmitigated severity those who dared to love and defend the liberty of Scotland; and Baliol's character was not of that high stamp, which could unite such base and discordant materials, or baffle a policy so deep, and a power so overwhelming.

¹ Langtoft, Chron. vol. ii. p. 280. Speaking of Baliol, —

First he was king, now is he soudioure,
And is at other spendyng bonden in the Toure