ever, it was ſoon perceived, that the claims of all of them might be cut off excepting two, viz. Baliol and Bruce, of whom the former had the preference with reſpect to hereditary right, and the latter as to popu­larity. Baliol had ſtrongly attached himſelf to Ed­ward’s party; which being by far the moſt powerful in Scotland, gave him a decided ſuperiority over Bruce. The event was, that Edward, by his own party moſt probably, though, ſome ſay, by the unanimous voice of the Scot’s parliament, was appointed to decide be­tween the two competitors. It ſoon appeared, how­ever, that Edward had no mind to adjudge the crown to any perſon but himſelf; for, in an aſſembly held at Norham on the 10th of May 1291, Brabanzon the chief juſtice of England informed the members, “That his maſter was come thither in conſideration of the ſtate of the realm of Scotland, which was then with­out a king, to meet them, as *direct ſovereign* of that kingdom, to do juſtice to the claimants of his crown, and to eſtabliſh a ſolid tranquillity among his people; that it was not his intention to retard juſtice, nor to uſurp the right of any body, or to infringe the liberties of the kingdom of Scotland, but to render to every one his due. And to the end this might be done with the more eaſe, he required the affent of the ſtates *ex abundante,* and that they ſhould own him as direct sovereign of the kingdom; offering, upon that condition, to make uſe of their counſels to do what juſtice de­manded. ” The deputies were aſtoniſhed at this decla­ration, and replied, that they were by no means prepa­red to decide on Edward’s claim of ſuperiority; but that Edward ought previouſly to judge the cauſe be­tween the two competitors, and require homage from him whom he ſhould chooſe to be king. Edward treated this excuſe as trifling, and gave them till next day to conſider of his demand. Accordingly, on that day, the aſſembly was held in Norham church, where the deputies from Scotland inſiſted upon giving no anſwer to Edward’s demands, which could be decided only by the whole community; repreſenting, at the same time, that numbers of the noblemen and prelates were abſent, and that they muſt have time to know their ſenſe of the affair. In conſequence of this, Ed­ward gave them a delay of three weeks; which interval he employed in multiplying claimants to the drown of Scotland, and in flattering each with hopes, if he would acknowledge his ſuperiority. But when the aſ­ſembly met, according to appointment, on the 2d of June following, they found the place of meeting ſurrounded by a numerous army **of** Engliſh. Edward had employed the biſhop of Durham to draw up the hiſtorical evidence of his right to the crown oſ Scot­land; which has ſince been publiſhed. In this paper mention is made of the fealty and homage performed by the kings of Scotland to the Anglo-Saxon kings of England; but no ſuſſicient evidence is brought of any ſuch homage being actually performed. As to the homage performed by the kings of Scotland from the time of William the Conqueror to that of the diſpute between Bruce and Baliol, the Scots never denied it; but they contended, and indeed with juſtice, that it was performed for the lands which they held from the crown of England; and they alleged, that it was as far removed from any relation to a fealty or homage performed for the crown of Scotland, as the homage

paid by the Engliſh **monarchs to the crown of France** was removed from all relation to the crown of Eng­land. With regard to the homage paid by William king of Scotland to Henry II. of England, it was not denied that he performed it for the whole kingdom of Scotland: but they pleaded, that it was void of itſelf, becauſe it was extorted when William was a priſoner to Henry; and they produced Richard I.’s charters, which pronounced it to have been compulſive and ini­quitous.

But, however urgent theſe reaſons of the Scots might be, Edward was by no means diſpoſed to examine into their merits. Inſtead of this, he cloſeted the ſeveral pretenders to the crown; and having found them all ready to comply with his meaſures, he drew up the following charter of recognition to be ſigned by them all.

To all who ſhall hear this preſent letter.

“We Florence earl of Holland, Robert de Bruce lord of Annandale, John Baliol lord of Galloway, John Haſtings lord of Abergavenny, John Cummin lord of Badenoch, Patrick de Dunbar earl of March, John Veſci for his father Nicholas Soulis and William de Roſs, greeting in the Lord:

“Whereas we intend to purſue our right to the kingdom of Scotland; and to declare, challenge, and aver the ſame before him that hath moſt power, juriſdiction, and reaſon to try it; and the noble prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England, &c. having informed us, by good and ſufficient reaſons, that to him belongs the ſovereign ſeigniory of the ſame; We therefore promiſe, that we will hold firm and ſtable his act; and that he ſhall enjoy the realm to whom it ſhall be adjudged before him. In witneſs whereof, we have ſet our ſeals to this writing, made and granted at Norham, the Tueſday after the Aſcenſion, in the yeat of Grace 1291.”

Edward then declared, by the mouth of his chan­cellor, that although, in the diſpute which was ariſen between the ſeveral claimants, touching the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Scotland, he acted in quality of ſovereign, in order to render juſtice to whomſoever it was due; yet he did not thereby mean to exclude himſelf from the hereditary right which in his own perſon he might have to that crown, and which right he intended to aſſert and improve when he ſhould think fit: and the king himſelf repeated this proteſtation with his own mouth in French. The candidates were then ſeverally called upon by the Engliſh chancellor, to know whether they were willing to acknowledge Edward’s claim of ſuperiority over the crown of Scot­land, and to ſubmit to his award in diſpoſing of the ſame; which being anſwered in the affirmative, they were then admitted to prove their rights. But this was mere matter of form; for all the force of England was then aſſembled on the borders in order to ſupport the claims of Edward, and nothing now remained but to furniſh him with a ſuſſicient pretence for making uſe **of** it. He obſerved, that the Scots were not ſo una­nimous as they ought to be in recogniſing his ſuperiority, and that the ſubmiſſion, which had been ſign­ed by the candidates, was not ſuſſicient to carry it into execution; for which reaſon he demanded that all the forts in Scotland ſhould be put into his poſſeſſion, that he might reſign them to the ſucceſsful candidate.

Though nothing could be more ſhameful than a tame