

EDWARD I

Born 1239, Died 1307
King of England 1272-1307

Before he was king: crushing rebels

Edward was the eldest son and heir of Henry III, who was king of England from 1216 to 1272. His first major involvement in politics was during the period between 1258 and 1265 when a large number of English barons, led by Simon de Montfort, rebelled against Henry III for what they saw as his misgovernment. Because royal government in England was so centralised, its officials were powerful and could become very unpopular by making excessive demands for money. These officials were under pressure from Henry III, who needed money to defend his lands in France and to support his plan for his younger son, Edmund, to become king of Sicily. Simon de Montfort and the barons defeated and captured Henry III and Edward, his heir, at the Battle of Lewes (Sussex) on 14 April 1264. Edward, however, escaped a year later. He raised a large army and met Simon de Montfort's smaller force at the Battle of Evesham (Worcestershire) on 4 August 1265. Edward showed that he was prepared to be utterly ruthless, and gave the order that no prisoners were to be taken. Simon de Montfort was killed and his army slaughtered.

Before 1290: the most successful king of England

When Henry III died on 16 November 1272 Edward was on crusade to Syria. Royal government was by then so secure that he was able to delay his return for two years. In the period between 1275 and 1290 Edward I was a highly successful and popular monarch. He developed parliament as a way of dealing with people's complaints, meeting twice every year between 1275 and 1286. In return, parliament was prepared to approve general taxation on a regular basis as well as a custom tax on wool exports. This made Edward's government immensely wealthy. Edward was the most powerful king of England there had ever been. He was also an experienced and effective military leader. He also looked the part: at 6 foot 2 inches, he was unusually tall for the Middle Ages, and must have towered above everyone else.

Overlord of Britain: the conquest of Wales

Edward was aware that kings of England claimed to be overlords of all of Britain. To begin with he did not press the issue. When the opportunity arose to extend his power, however, he grabbed it. The leading Welsh prince, Llywelyn, was weakened by conflict with his brother, Dafydd. This gave Edward the chance to put pressure on Llywelyn, leading to the conquest of Wales in 1282. Dafydd himself tried to resist, but he was condemned both as a traitor and for committing sacrilege, and suffered the same terrible death as William Wallace would over twenty years later – another sign of Edward's ruthlessness. Conquering Wales was one thing; controlling it permanently was another. To achieve this, Edward began a campaign of building massive castles, such as Harlech, Caernarvon and Conway. He built Conway on the site of a monastery favoured by Llywelyn.

Becoming overlord of Scotland

The death of Alexander III on 19 March 1286 gave Edward an opportunity to bring Scotland closer under his control without losing its independence. To do this he pinned his hopes on a marriage between Alexander III's granddaughter, Margaret of Norway, and his eldest son, Edward. If this had happened, there would have been a

union of the crowns of Scotland and England four centuries earlier than when it eventually happened in 1603. However, Margaret died in September 1290. There was a crisis in Scotland about who would be the next king. Because of the threat of civil war breaking out, the Scottish Guardians asked Edward to intervene because of his position as a powerful neighbour. In May 1291, however, Edward changed the situation utterly by claiming to be the overlord of Scotland. This meant that he would judge who the next king would be. The Scottish leaders tried to resist, but could not hope to succeed without a king, especially when those who claimed the throne recognised Edward as overlord on 5 June 1291. On 13 June Edward was given control of Scotland. When John Balliol was inaugurated as king on 30 November 1292, Edward made it clear that Balliol was answerable to him as overlord.

Conquering Scotland: Edward I stretched to breaking point

This moment at the end of 1292 was the high point of Edward's career. In 1294, however, he faced war in France, Flanders and Wales, where a rebellion had broken out. The Scots refused to fight in his army. In March 1296 Edward turned his attention north and invaded Scotland. Although Edward succeeded in conquering Scotland, his huge financial resources were stretched to breaking point. He tried to force as much money from his lands as possible. In 1297 this led to widespread revolt in Scotland and a political crisis in England. For the last ten years of his reign Edward I kept his government and military efforts going by sheer determination, running deeper and deeper into debt. In 1304 he succeeded in conquering Scotland again, but it was not to last. In 1306 Robert the Bruce seized the Scottish throne. Edward's reaction was ruthless, showing no mercy to anyone who fought for Bruce. Although Bruce was defeated after three months, he avoided capture and renewed his campaign in 1307. Edward I, even though he was ill, brought an army together at Carlisle and made ready to march north to confront Bruce. After only a few miles he died at Burgh on Sands on the Solway Firth, within sight of Scotland, on 7 July 1307.

Cubberley (Gloucestershire): 17 October 1278

Alexander III, king of Scotland, has offered to become a loyal man to Edward I, but the event has been postponed.

Edward, king of England, announces that King Alexander came before me at Tewkesbury [Gloucestershire] last Sunday [16 October] and offered to be my loyal man. But since I did not have my council with me, I postponed the day for promising this until I am at London.

Westminster, 30 May 1285

Edward I writes to Alexander III, asking him to make one of his knights give back land to Kirkham Priory which have been wrongly taken from them by one of his knights (probably on Alexander III's instruction). If Alexander does not respond, Edward will take matters into his own hands.

Edward, king of England, to Alexander, king of Scots: greeting.

The prior and monks of Kirkham Priory claim certain lands and pastures within their ancient manor of Carham [Northumberland], which have been recently seized by Ralph of Howden, a knight of Scotland. Ralph wickedly suggests that the lands

and pastures are within Scotland, and has been harassing the monks of Kirkham Priory by capturing their cattle and men.

I therefore request that you put a stop to this and give the monks possession of the lands and pastures. If you think this is wrong, please send messengers to me. If you do not fix this situation, I will apply a remedy by the advice of my own council.

Leuchars (Fife): 7 October 1290

William Fraser, bishop of St Andrews, writes to King Edward to tell him that a rumour was spread at an assembly of Scots in Perth that Margaret the Maid had died on her way to Orkney. On hearing this news, Robert Bruce came to the assembly with his following and the earls of Mar and Atholl gathered their armies. William waits to hear the news from knights who have been sent to Orkney to find out if the rumour is true. William advises Edward to be careful if John Balliol comes to talk to him so that Edward can keep his upper-hand. If Margaret has died, he asks that Edward comes to the border of Scotland to prevent fighting between the Scots.

To the lord Edward, king of England, lord of Ireland and duke of Aquitaine, your devoted chaplain, William, the bishop of St Andrews in Scotland.

I note that, after the assembly of the Scots at Perth on 1 October your messengers prepared to travel to Orkney to meet Norwegian messengers and to receive their lady, the queen. But a rumour resounded through the people of the assembly that their lady was dead, on account of which the kingdom of Scotland is in turmoil and the community in despair.

When this rumour was heard and spread, Sir Robert Bruce [grandfather of Robert the Bruce], who earlier had not intended to come to the assembly, came there with a great following in order to hinder certain persons.

The earls of Mar and Atholl have gathered their armies already and there is fear of civil war unless God provides a swift remedy through your industry and service. The bishop of Durham, the earl of Warenne and I have heard that our lady Margaret [the Maid of Norway] has recovered from her illness but is still weak, and so we have agreed to remain near Perth until we hear definite news from knights who have been sent to Orkney. And, as soon as we have good news, which is expected daily, we will set out for those parts for the business committed to us.

If Sir John Balliol shall come to your presence, I advise that in every outcome you take care in dealing with him so that your honour and advantage are preserved.

If it happens that their lady has indeed died, we ask you to please approach the border to the consolation of the Scottish people and to prevent the spilling of blood so that the true men of the kingdom can maintain their oath unbroken and set up him who by law should inherit the throne. If it be so, he is willing to abide by Edward's advice.

Norham: Tuesday 5 June 1291

Many potential claimants to the crown of Scotland recognise the right of Edward I to judge who is the lawful heir to the crown.

Florence count of Holland, Robert Bruce lord of Annandale, John Balliol lord of Galloway, John Hastings lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn lord of Badenoch, Patrick of Dunbar earl of March, John de Vescy (on behalf of his father), Nicholas de Soules and William de Ros:

Each of us considers that we possess a right in the realm of Scotland and are entitled to demonstrate, claim and urge this right before the person who has the most power and reason to try their case. Lord Edward, king of England, has shown us that the overlordship of the realm along with the right to hear, try and determine our right belongs to him. Therefore, by our own free will, we do desire and allow that we should receive justice before him as overlord of the kingdom. We are willing to uphold and maintain his decision without dispute.

Norham (Northumberland): 17 June 1291

Edward I commands that Scottish sheriffs should keep working the same way, and men who hold land in the kingdom should swear loyalty to him.

Edward, king of England, to Alan, chancellor of Scotland: greeting.

I command that the sheriffs of Scotland shall retain their duties in the kingdom, and that all who hold land as free men shall bind themselves to me by an oath of loyalty.

Berwick: 28 June 1291

Edward I commands the chancellor of Scotland to make William Douglas hand over a prisoner who he is holding in his own private prison, to be held in the king's prison. (Edward is the 'overlord of Scotland' at this time which has given him authority to deal with Scotland's affairs.)

Edward, king of England and overlord of Scotland, to Alan, chancellor of Scotland: greeting.

According to the law and custom of the kingdom of Scotland, no baron or other person of that kingdom may have a prison where they may jail someone who has been accused of a crime committed outside of his own lands.

William Douglas has jailed Hugh of Abernethy in his own prison. Hugh has been accused of the death of Duncan, late earl of Fife, who was slain outside of William Douglas's lands.

I command that you write a letter to William Douglas, forcing him to hand Hugh over to my loyal man, William Sinclair, so that Hugh can be held in my own prison. And you should also make William Sinclair go in person to William Douglas, and warn him on my behalf to give up Hugh to be confined in our prison.

Berwick: 3 July 1291

Edward I commands the chancellor of Scotland to tell the sheriff of Lanark to summon Sir William Douglas to the king's court at Berwick. (Edward is the 'overlord of Scotland' at this time which has given him authority to deal with Scotland's affairs.)

Edward, king of England and overlord of Scotland, to Alan, chancellor of Scotland: greeting.

I command you to make the sheriff of Lanark and his bailies summon William Douglas, knight, to appear before me at Berwick (according to the law and custom of the kingdom of Scotland) on the day following of the feast of St Peter's Chains [2 August]. William Douglas must answer why he ignored my recent order addressed to him regarding the injuries and damage he was causing the abbot and monks of Melrose Abbey. The same sheriff and bailies should also, on my behalf, forbid William from injuring the abbot and monks of Melrose Abbey in the meantime.

Edinburgh: 23 August 1291

A number of documents which were important for governing Scotland have been taken by Edward I from Edinburgh where they were kept and moved to Berwick.

Inventory of important documents taken from within the Treasury of Edinburgh to be kept instead at Berwick, by the King of England's command. This was done in the presence of the abbots of Dunfermline and Holyrood, John de Lythgreynes, William of Lincoln, Thomas of Fishburn, and William of Dumfries, keeper of the Rolls of Scotland. The abbots and others attach their seals to this inventory.

Berwick: 30 August 1291

As an act of favour, Edward I commands the sheriff of Fife to give William Douglas back the lands which the king had confiscated from him.

Edward, king of England, to the sheriff of Fife: greeting.

I commanded that the lands, goods and possessions within the kingdom of Scotland of William Douglas, knight, should be taken into my own hands and kept until I ordered otherwise.

I now desire to do him a special favour, and so I order you to restore the lands, goods and possessions to William, keeping only the payments which he owes me for them.

Berwick: Monday 17 November 1292

Edward I's decision about who should be king of Scotland was made in the hall of Berwick castle, in front of Edward, bishops, earls and 80 people who had been elected to hear the claims to the throne. Some of the claimants ('competitors') have withdrawn or not pushed their claims. Robert Bruce and John Balliol both claimed they were the closest relation to the royal line. Edward decided that John Balliol was the closer relation. He makes John the king of Scotland with all the rights that go with it. Edward states the dates when John is to swear his loyalty to him.

On 17 November 1292, at Berwick, in the hall of the castle before the king of England, overlord of Scotland, and in the presence of John, archbishop of Dublin, John, bishop of Winchester, Anthony, bishop of Durham, William, bishop of Ely, John, bishop of Carlisle, William, bishop of St Andrews, Robert, bishop of Glasgow, Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld, Robert, bishop of Ross, and Mark, bishop of Man and the Isles, and of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, Humphrey, earl of Hereford, John, earl of Buchan, Gilbert, earl of Angus, Malise, earl of Strathearn, and in the presence of eighty elected persons of Scotland, all the claimants to the throne were called and publicly summoned.

And the king, by the mouth of his judge Roger Brabazon, had his judgment pronounced in this manner:

"You all know that King Eric of Norway, Florence, count of Holland, John Balliol, Robert Bruce, John Hastings, Patrick, earl of March, William de Ros, William de Vesci, John Comyn, Robert de Pinkeny, Nicholas de Soules, Patrick Golightly and Roger de Mandeville, have placed before the eighty persons chosen from Scotland

and the twenty-four nominated by the king of England, overlord of the kingdom of Scotland, their claims for the realm of Scotland, and the arguments on which they based their claim. Of these claimants, Robert de Pinkeny, Patrick, earl of March, Nicholas de Soules, Patrick Golightly, William de Ros, William de Vesci and Florence, count of Holland, have withdrawn their petitions.

Since King Eric of Norway, John Comyn and Roger de Mandeville have not pursued their petitions, the king says that they shall gain nothing of what they ask.

You all also know that Robert Bruce [grandfather of Robert the Bruce] claimed the whole realm by reason of his closeness in relationship [to the previous king, Alexander III], and John Balliol likewise claimed the whole kingdom because he was descended from Margaret, the eldest daughter of Earl David [d. 1219, grandson of David I]. It was declared to Robert Bruce that there was no justification for his petition.

You all also know that John Hastings claimed, as a descendant of the third daughter, Ada, of Earl David, a third of the whole inheritance which descended to Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway, by the death of Alexander, last king of Scotland. Likewise Robert Bruce, as a descendant of the second daughter of Earl David, claimed his third of the realm of Scotland.

The king, as overlord of the kingdom of Scotland, after hearing and noting the demands and arguments of John Hastings and Robert Bruce, who were asking for their shares [one third of the kingdom], and examining them carefully, declares as a matter of law and by way of judgment that the realm of Scotland cannot be split, and that the acquisitions of the kings of Scotland cannot be split either. But the lands outside the realm of Scotland should be dealt with according to the laws and customs of the realms of where they are. Therefore the king declares by way of judgement that you, John Hastings and Robert Bruce, shall receive nothing of the shares which you demand.

But to you, John Balliol, as nearest heir of Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway, lady of Scotland, and grand-daughter of the late Alexander, king of Scotland, by right of succession to the realm of Scotland as determined before the king, the king hands over the realm and possession of it, with all the privileges of the kingdom and those things which have come into the hands of the king as overlord since the death of Margaret, except the right in Scotland of the king and his heirs when they wish to raise the point.

The king appoints the date of 20 November for swearing loyalty to him, and Christmas day for doing homage to him for the realm of Scotland."

Berwick: 18 November 1292

Edward I writes to the keeper of Aberdeen Castle, telling him to hand over the castle to the new king of Scots, John Balliol.

King Edward, overlord of the kingdom of Scotland, to John of Guildford, keeper of the castles of Aberdeen and Kincardine: greeting.

John Balliol recently appeared before me in my Parliament at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and argued in court that the kingdom of Scotland should be awarded to him, and that possession of it should be given, by right of succession, to him as next heir of Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway, queen of Scotland, and granddaughter of the late Alexander III, the last king of Scotland.

I have heard and understood the petitions and pleas both of John Balliol and of other claimants to the kingdom, and have carefully examined those petitions and

arguments, and I have found John Balliol to be the next heir of Margaret with regard to the succession of the kingdom of Scotland.

For this reason, I have handed over the kingdom of Scotland and possession of it to John Balliol, while retaining my own rights and the rights of my heirs.

I therefore command you to give to John Balliol, without delay, possession of the castles of Aberdeen and Kincardine, with all that goes with them, together with all other things entrusted to you by my signature.

Newcastle: 5 January 1293

Edward I commands John Balliol to cancel his agreement with Isabella that allowed John to decide who Isabella married.

King Edward of England to John, king of Scotland: greeting.

I have approved the marriage of Isabella Comyn, widow of William Comyn, to my faithful subject Edmund of Hastings. The marriage happened while I held the kingdom of Scotland as overlord. I command you to absolve Isabella from an oath you took from her not to marry without your permission.

Berwick: 27 April 1296

Having already seized the lands in England of Balliol and other Scots, Edward I commands two English sheriffs to remove any Scots from England who live on their lands.

Edward, king of England, to the sheriffs of Bedford and Buckingham: greeting.

I have already commanded you to seize all the lands and goods of John Balliol, late king of Scotland, and others of the realm of Scotland who have lands in your jurisdictions, and who have remained in Scotland, and hand them over to the crown.

I now command that any Scotsman who is living on the lands of Scotsmen in England should be removed from there immediately.

Roxburgh: 14 May 1296

Edward I appoints his loyal man, Reginald of Crawford, as the new sheriff of the county of Ayr.

Edward, king of England, to all who will see or hear this letter: greeting.

I appoint Reginald of Crawford as sheriff of the county of Ayr for as long as it pleases me. And I command everyone living in the county to be attentive and answerable to him, on pain of forfeiting their property.

Kincardine: 2 July 1296

Resignation by King John Balliol of the realm of Scotland, with all its people and their homage.

John, king of Scotland: I see that by evil and false advice, and my own folly, I have grievously offended and angered my lord Edward, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, in many ways.

While I still owed him loyalty and homage, I made an alliance against him with the king of France (who then was, and still is, his enemy) by agreeing to arrange a

marriage with the daughter of Charles, the French king's brother, and to harass King Edward, and help the king of France, with all my power in war and by other means.

And by the same evil advice I have defied King Edward, and have withdrawn myself from his homage and loyalty by renouncing his homage.

And also I have sent my men into England to burn, plunder, murder, and do many other wrongs, and have fortified the land of Scotland against him, which is his fief, by putting and maintaining armed men in the towns, castles, and elsewhere, to defend the lands against him, and deprive him of his rights.

For all these reasons and these many wrongs, my lord, the king of England, has entered the realm of Scotland and taken and conquered it by force, defeating the army that I had sent against him, a thing which he was rightly able to do as lord since I had renounced my homage to him and done the things already described.

Therefore, acting under no constraint and of my own free will, I have surrendered to him the lands of Scotland and all its people, with the homage of all of them.

In 1296 or 1297

King Edward makes a rule that nothing can enter or leave Scotland without a stamp which shows that customs have been paid on the goods. In particular, no one is allowed to bring letters from elsewhere which may harm the king or his kingdom.

I, King Edward, along with my council, announce that no wool, hides, messengers or merchants are allowed to enter the realm of Scotland except in places where there are cocket-seals [a stamp to show that customs have been paid on imports and exports] or at Kirkcudbright. Before they leave Kirkcudbright, a cocket-seal must be sent there by the earl of Warenne and by my council in Scotland.

In each place, two of my most honest and loyal men must be appointed to keep the port so closely that no messenger carrying letters from abroad can pass through without a special warrant from me myself. Any person carrying closed letters or other suspicious things may be taken and kept in prison.

All the sailors who shall pass though must be examined. Merchants shall be free from examination because of their oath that they will carry no letters which might bring mischief to me or to my realm and that they will bring nothing from abroad by deed or word which may be hurtful to me.

Furthermore no merchant of Lombardy [northern Italy] shall pass anywhere in the realm.

This order is to be announced and published throughout the kingdom in the chief places and towns so that no man may excuse himself by ignorance. In the same manner John, earl of Warenne, guardian of the realm and land of Scotland, must make sure this order is kept and firmly observed.

23 October 1297

King Edward orders one of his men to assemble an army.

King Edward to William of Ormsby: greeting.

I command you to raise an army of foot-soldiers to suppress the uprising in Scotland.

Carlisle: 25 September 1298

Edward I gives lands and castles to a loyal earl as a reward for his service to Edward. The lands are those forfeited by Scottish rebels after the Battle of Falkirk [22 July 1298].

Edward, king of England, to all his bailies and loyal men: greeting.

I announce that I have given to Guy Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, all of the castles and lands in Scotland which belonged to Geoffrey Moubray, my enemy and rebel, as a reward for the good service Guy has done for me.

I also give to Guy all of the lands belonging to John of Stirling, and the castle and land which belonged to Andrew Chartres, also my enemies and rebels in Scotland and which they held on 22 July 1298 [on the day of the Battle of Falkirk].

1298

King Edward assigns more soldiers to Berwick Castle.

King Edward and his council announce that Berwick should have 60 men-at-arms and 1000 foot-soldiers, of which 100 should be crossbowmen. These soldiers should receive the king's wages in the same way in which the sheriff of Roxburgh, the sheriff of Jedburgh and Sir Simon Fraser receive theirs.

20 November 1298

Record of the 76 men sent to Dumfries Castle.

Let it be recorded that King Edward has commanded 12 men with armoured horses to stay at Dumfries Castle, and that they shall have among them all 24 of the foot-soldiers at Sir Robert de Clifford's disposal.

Also the 20 crossbowmen that were at Berwick, who were assigned to the said Sir Robert at Durham, and the 6 crossbowmen that the said Sir Robert de Clifford shall place there, whom he took from Lochmaben Castle, and 4 foot soldiers of his own.

Also a master engineer and 4 carpenters. Also a smith and his lad, an engineer and 2 masons.

The total amount shall be 76 persons. Specific provisions are provided to last from now until 30 June next year.

Newcastle: 24 November 1298

Edward I makes arrangements to receive the men of Midlothian into his peace.

King Edward to those to who will see or hear this letter: greeting.

I order my loyal man, John of Kingston, sheriff and keeper of my castle of Edinburgh, to receive the peace of the men of the county of Edinburgh.

25 November 1298

Edward I writes to one of his officials telling him that he has ordered the keeper of Edinburgh Castle to attack the Scots. Edward orders Simon to help the keeper in his attack by going to him with 20 soldiers on horses and obeying his orders.

King Edward to his loyal man, Simon Fraser: greeting.

I write to inform you that I have entrusted my loyal man, John of Kingston,

constable of Edinburgh Castle and sheriff of Edinburgh, to make a raid in the county of Edinburgh upon the Scots, which he cannot do simply with his own company of men without more help.

I therefore command that when the constable sends word to you, you should go to him with 20 armed horses, and do whatever he tells you, for my own sake.

London: 7 August 1299

Edward I grants permission for the monks of Kelso to elect a new abbot, since their former abbot has become a rebel and the king's enemy.

Edward, king of England, to the guardian of the monastery of Kelso and its monks: greeting.

Brother Thomas of Durham, your fellow monk, has come to me with a letter asking that I grant you permission to elect a new abbot, as your church is deprived by the continued and voluntary absence of your abbot, Brother Richard, a rebel and enemy. I grant that you may elect a devout abbot from among my loyal men.

Anagni (Italy): 27 June 1299

This document is often called 'Scimus fili' ('We know, my son').

It was given to Edward I in August 1300, more than a year after it was written. Two replies were sent to the Pope: one by the barons of England (12 Feb. 1301) and the other by Edward himself (17 May 1301).

The Pope (Boniface VIII) writes to Edward I telling him that he has no right over Scotland, for these reasons:

- 1. Scotland has always belonged to the Catholic Church, and not to kings of England.**
- 2. In the 1260s, Henry III (king of England) had received help from Alexander III (king of Scots) but only as a favour, not because Henry was able to command Alexander as his overlord.**
- 3. Alexander III came to Edward I's coronation only because he was Edward's brother-in-law.**
- 4. Alexander III only promised to give Edward I service (homage) for the lands that he held in England, not for Scotland.**
- 5. After Alexander III's death, Edward I did not take control of the country as overlord, but instead nobles of Scotland were elected as Guardians of the kingdom.**
- 6. When making arrangements for the marriage of Margaret and Edward, Edward I wrote to the nobles of Scotland to promise that Scotland would always be free.**
- 7. When Margaret died and Scotland had no king, the nobles were worried about the safety of their kingdom, and so they only came to talk to Edward I after he recognised that they were only coming to him for help and advice, not because he was their overlord.**

The Pope then commands Edward to release the bishops of Glasgow and the Western Isles who he has imprisoned. He also commands Edward to report any claim he has over Scotland to the Pope within 6 months.

Pope Boniface to Edward, king of England: greeting.

We note that from ancient times the realm of Scotland has belonged rightfully, and

is still known to belong, to the Roman church. It was not, and is not, feudally subject to your predecessors, the kings of England, or to you yourself.

Likewise, Henry, king of England, your father, in the time of the conflict between himself and Simon de Montfort and his accomplices [in the 1260s], sought help from Alexander III, king of Scotland and Henry's son-in-law. But in Henry's letter to the king of Scotland, he distinctly admitted that he had received this help only as an act of special grace.

Further, because you wanted to have the king of Scotland, your brother-in-law [Alexander III], at your coronation, you were careful to protect his interests by declaring in your letters that Alexander's presence at the ceremony was not of right, but only by grace.

When Alexander appeared in person to offer you the oath of loyalty which was usual for the lands of Tynedale and Penrith, he publicly declared that he offered that fealty only for those lands in England and not as king of Scotland.

Also, when the same king of Scotland had died, the late Margaret was left as his heir, a girl who was your niece and a minor. And the Guardianship of the kingdom did not fall upon you as lord, but to certain leading nobles who were elected to maintain the kingdom.

After a dispensation was granted by the previous Pope for the marriage between Edward, your son, and Margaret, you are known to have safeguarded the interests of the Scottish nobles by writing that the realm should remain forever free and subject to nobody.

Further, when Margaret died, the nobles of the realm feared that they would compromise their status and so they would not come to your presence outside of Scotland unless you gave them letters saying that they did this only as a special favour, and not because they had to.

We also note how you have seized and committed into prison Robert, bishop of Glasgow, and Mark, bishop of the Western Isles, and we request that these bishops be restored to their liberty and that you recall all of your officials from Scotland.

You should send to us any claim of rights you have over the realm of Scotland within six months of this letter.

27 June 1300

King Edward writes to his officials telling them to raise more men to be soldiers in his army.

King Edward to his treasurer and chancellor: greeting.

My affairs in Scotland are much held back by lack of good foot-soldiers. You should choose from the counties nearest the border of Scotland 10,000 foot-soldiers, in addition to the number already serving with me, and have them brought to Carlisle.

Dumfries: 15 July 1300

King Edward tells his official that certain foot-soldiers should be imprisoned for leaving his army without permission. He is frustrated by the poor performance of his sheriffs and by the foot-soldiers leaving.

King Edward to the keeper of my personal spending accounts: greeting.

I send you, under my seal, the names of foot-soldiers of Yorkshire who have departed from my service without leave, wickedly and treacherously deceiving me. I order that you and my treasurer announce that these men, whatever their status,

should be taken and safely held in prison and their lands confiscated without delay. And they should not be released without my special command.

Because I have heard that my sheriffs and their officials do not always carry out my tasks very well, I order you to assign this task not to them but to trusty men who will give it all of their attention, so that the men remaining in my army may take example from the punishment of these men who served me so ill.

Dunfermline: 2 March 1304

Edward I commands the earl of Dunbar to watch the enemy closely and thoroughly. (The enemy is William Wallace and others who did not take part in the general surrender to Edward I on 9 February 1304.)

King Edward to the earl of March [the earl of Dunbar], greeting:

I understand that you are delaying dealing with my enemies until they leave the area, and I am astonished that you proceed so slackly.

But I now require you to move to the area around Dunipace, the Torres [Torwood] and the Polles [Carse of Stirling]. From there you should watch the enemy as best as you can, using your own troops and those of the district, so that the enemy should not by any means be able to reach Stirling Castle, nor come near you without their great loss.

I wish that you would do this task with all diligence until about this next Mid-Lent Sunday. If you are with me at St Andrews on the Monday following at my Mass, this will be in very good time.

And direct the people of the counties of Stirling and all those districts. Buy all that they can spare us, so that they will raise the cry against my enemies as loudly as possible if they find them, both by horns and voice, and they will pursue the enemy so vigorously that they shall not be found to be lazy.

I am about to leave Dunfermline, on my way towards St Andrews. The country around that place is now so empty of inhabitants and forces that those of the castle of Stirling may attempt to cross the River Forth to do some damage on this side. I therefore wish that you make sure the enemy is carefully watched, for if they make such an expedition across the Forth, I think that they would surely lose some of their men on their return, either through you who could come in their rear, or by your other people who guard the country there in front of the fords of the river.

Kinghorn (Fife): 3 March 1304

Edward I tells Sir Alexander Abernethy that he should not offer any words of peace to William Wallace or any of his men.

King Edward to Sir Alexander of Abernethy: greeting.

I have carefully read your letter in which you told me that you are remaining in Scotland to watch over the fords of the River Forth. I order you to employ all of your efforts in the matter, and to find William Bisset, the sheriff of Clackmannan, to assist in the watch if necessary. I wish that you do not leave Scotland until you have sent further news to me.

Your letter also asked whether it is my wish that you should extend any words of peace to William Wallace. I tell you now that it is not by any means my pleasure that you should give any word of peace either to William or to any other men of his company, unless they place themselves absolutely and in all things at our will, without any exception whatsoever.

Wemyss (Fife): 5 March 1304

Edward I orders the sheriff of Lanark to make sure all the people in his lands obey the terms of the surrender by John the Red Comyn and other Scots that was agreed on 9 February.

Edward, king of England, to my sheriff of Lanark, greeting:

Among the conditions of the recent agreement between my envoys and Sir John Comyn of Badenoch [the Red Comyn], all prisoners were to be released (except Sir Herbert Morham and his father) and all ransoms already paid were to be kept and the debts cleared.

However, I have heard that Robert de Barde, who recently captured Brother William Cockburn, monk of Blantyre Priory, is seizing William's goods for ransom, in violation of the agreement. I command you to stop this from happening.

St Andrews: 21 March 1304

Edward I writes to his treasurer ordering money and supplies for his siege.

King Edward, writing from St Andrews, to my treasurer: greeting.

I announce to you my intention to besiege Stirling Castle. I therefore command you to bring in person to me all the money you can and to forward the stores along the sea coast to Stirling.

St Andrews: 30 March 1304

Edward I orders shields to be sent to Stirling in time for his siege.

King Edward, writing from St Andrews, to the keepers of Edinburgh and Berwick castles: greeting.

I order you to send all the great shields from your castles that you think are suitable for assaulting a castle, so that I have them upon my arrival at Stirling.

Inverkeithing (Fife): 16 April 1304

Edward I writes to Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick (later King Robert the Bruce), thanking him for sending his siege-engines to Stirling and asking him to send a vital part of the great engine.

King Edward, writing from Inverkeithing, to the earl of Carrick: greeting.

I thank you for sending your siege-engines to Stirling. I ask you now to forward the rod of the great engine if you possibly can, for which I will send you help.

Stirling: 4 May 1304

Edward I commands the sheriff of Perth to give Matthew the bishop of Dunkeld back the lands he held as bishop, since Matthew has sworn to be loyal to Edward having previously been disobedient.

Edward, king of England, to our sheriff of Perth:

Since Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld, has sworn loyalty and come into my peace, I command that his possessions, churches and other properties which were taken into my possession because of his disobedience, be restored to him.

10 April 1306

Charter of Edward I after Robert the Bruce crowned himself King of Scots. Edward I gives all of Bruce's lands to his (Edward's) daughter and her husband because Bruce is now a traitor.

I, King Edward, have given to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, in return for his good and praiseworthy service, and to Elizabeth his wife, my daughter, the castle of Lochmaben and all the lands in Annandale previously belonging to Robert Bruce, formerly earl of Carrick.

Bruce has forfeited these lands for his crime in rebelliously and treacherously slaying John Comyn of Badenoch in front of the high altar of the church of the Friars Minor at Dumfries, and so committing sacrilege.

The land is to be held by Earl Humphrey, his wife, and their heirs under all kings of England. Failing such offspring, the land should be given back to me and my successors.

Westminster: 22 May 1306

Edward I gives the earldom of Menteith to his loyal man which was forfeited by Alan, earl of Menteith, for rebelling with Bruce.

I, Edward, king of England, announce that I have given to John of Hastings and his heirs the earldom of Menteith in Scotland, with all the islands and other lands forfeited by Alan, formerly earl of Menteith, a rebel with Robert Bruce.

Before November 1306

Edward I commissions John of Argyll to command the navy in the Scottish war, and to receive certain men into the king's peace.

King Edward to Sir John of Argyll: greeting.

I wish that all of the seamen and navy of the west of England, the Irish and Welsh coasts, and all in the king's service in the Isles of Scotland and Argyll, should be under your command as their captain in the Scottish war.

I also wish that you would receive the king's peace from all those in the Isles of Scotland and Argyll who wish to come into it.

I also grant you permission to take into my peace on special conditions the following men: Donald of the Isles, Ruairidh his brother, John McNakyld, and Sir Patrick Graham.