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BORDERLORDS: THE IMPACT OF ANGLO-SCOTTISH BORDER
MAGNATES ON GOVERNMENT, 1341 - 1424

A Thesis

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The Faculty of Graduate Studies

of

The University of Guelph

by

ASHLEIGH DEBORAH MCLEAN

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ABSTRACT

BORDERLORDS: THE IMPACT OF ANGLO-SCOTTISH BORDER MAGNATES ON GOVERNMENT, 1341 - 1424

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This thesis is an investigation of the impact of the Anglo-Scottish Borderlords on their governments. An assessment of the English families of Percy and Neville illustrate that these Borderlords had a definite impact on their government. As the guardians of the frontier with Scotland, the English Borderlords had a standing army at the government's expense due to their appointments as Wardens of the March. The wardenship and the accompanying military power made the Houses of Percy and Neville forces to be reckoned with in English government. An investigation of the Scottish families of Douglas and Dunbar shows their evident influence on the Scottish government. It does not appear, however, that these Borderlords had a greater impact than other Scottish magnates. This is due to the different administrative policies of the Scottish government, coupled with the two countries' different views of kingship.

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Abbreviations

<u>APS</u>	<u>Acts of the Parliament of Scotland</u> (using the RED page numbers, center, top)
<u>CDS</u>	<u>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>ERS</u>	<u>Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</u>
<u>Foedera</u>	<u>Foedera of Thomas Rymer</u>
Froissart	<u>Chronicles of Jean Froissart</u>
Godscroft	<u>David Hume of Godscroft's History of the House of Douglas</u>
<u>JGR</u>	<u>John of Gaunt's Register</u>
Knighton	<u>Chronicle of Henry Knighton</u>
<u>Lanercost</u>	<u>The Chronicle of Lanercost</u>
<u>Leges Marchiarum</u>	<u>Leges Marchiarum or Border Laws</u>
<u>North Hist</u>	<u>Northern History</u>
<u>Pluscarden</u>	<u>Liber Pluscardensis</u>
<u>RMS</u>	<u>Register of the Great Seal of Scotland</u>
<u>Scalacronica</u>	<u>The Scalacronica of Sir Thomas Gray</u>
<u>Scotichronicon</u>	<u>Walter Bower's Scotichronicon</u>
<u>SHR</u>	<u>Scottish Historical Review</u>
<u>TDB</u>	<u>The Douglas Book of Sir William Fraser</u>
<u>Westminster</u>	<u>The Westminster Chronicle</u>
Wyntoun	<u>The Orygynale Cronykill of Scotland by Andrew of Wyntoun</u>

Scotland and the Borders in the Fourteenth Century¹



¹ This map is an adaption from Alexander Grant's *Independence and Nationhood* and Knighton, New York, 1995.

Introduction

And so, having reformed the army quite in the manner of a monarch, he set out for Britain, and there he corrected many abuses and was the first to construct a wall, eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae, vol. 1

Border regions or frontier regions provide numerous facets for historical study. The study of frontiers was begun by Frederick Jackson Turner in his 1893 essay on the American frontier and the frontier in general has been a fruitful topic for historians ever since. Medieval historians have seized on Turner's thesis and applied it to the edges of the expanding medieval state. These frontiers have been defined as 'region[s] of unremitting action between two cultures[,] at many levels from religion to domestic service, to medicine, to war, to reactive revulsion by both peoples'.¹ The medieval border is a region where peoples of different ethnicity or customs, language and law live side-by-side,² or places where 'people of different cultures struggle with each other for control of resources and political power'.³ Medieval borders are regions where government administration forces peoples of widely divergent cultures into close proximity, and one result is only to be expected. Frontiers are areas noted for not only juxtaposing differing peoples, but the struggle for power which delineates them as 'societies organized for war'.⁴

Yet, while these claims are asserted, a call is made for individual case studies.⁵ For one of the medieval borders, namely the Anglo-Scottish border, the

¹ Robert I. Burns "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages" from Medieval Frontier Societies, Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, ed. 1989, pp. 307-30. p. 323.

² Robert Bartlett, The Making of Europe, 1993. p. 197-8. Bartlett defines customs as referring to dress, domestic rituals, dietary habits, hairstyles and habitual practices that distinguish different populations.

³ William Cronon as quoted by Burns, p. 310.

⁴ Elena Lourie as quoted by Anthony Goodman in "The Anglo-Scottish Marches in the Fifteenth Century: A Frontier Society?" in Scotland and England 1286-1815. Roger Mason, ed. 1987, p. 18.

⁵ Burns, p. 317.

above definition of frontier does not appear to apply. J.A. Tuck and Geoffrey Barrow define the Border as a political and administrative frontier, nothing more.⁶ Both describe the Border region as traditionally one region, ethnically and culturally, comprising the area of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria.⁷ The administrative line had been defined in 1157, along what remains the division between the two countries today,⁸ and while the two countries remained at peace, the region remained culturally united. In fact, the only characteristic of a frontier that applies to the border between England and Scotland is that of militarization, a state of affairs that was the direct result of the Wars of Independence.⁹ Unlike most other medieval borders, the Anglo-Scottish border region, after 1296, was a single cultural unit that was being wrenched apart by the government administrations of each country. In this view, the most prominent question is; since the central administration of each country had a very definite impact on the Border, what impact did the Border have on the central administration?

This query is the exact opposite of the question normally asked of border studies. But the special situation of the Anglo-Scottish Border, as a unified region divided by an arbitrary administrative line, makes it possible to reverse the usual question. Once a paradigm has been established – as the medieval frontier as the

⁶ Geoffrey Barrow "Frontier and Settlement: Which Influenced Which? England and Scotland, 1100-1300" from Medieval Frontier Societies, Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, ed. 1989, pp. 3-21. pp. 3-5. J. A. Tuck, "Northumbrian Society in the Fourteenth Century" North Hist vol 6 1971, p. 22.

⁷ In addition to the two essays above, Barrow also has "Northern English Society in the 12th and 13th Centuries" a chapter in Scotland and Its Neighbors in the Middle Ages, pp. 127-54. For information on the kingdom of Northumbria see N.J. Higham The Kingdom of Northumbria, AD 350-1100. Gloucestershire, England: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1993.

⁸ Barrow, "Settlement on the Anglo-Scottish Border" pp. 3-4.

⁹ For information on the Wars of Independence please see appendix a pp. 131-3.

meeting place of two widely divergent peoples has been – it is always beneficial to examine exceptions. The examination of areas of anomaly can be used to either strengthen the existing paradigm, by proving themselves true exceptions, or to cause a reassessment of the paradigm to a more flexible model.

The best way to reassess a model of this type is by more isolated studies. By looking at one border in great detail new facets of the medieval borders may be discovered. These discoveries may shed light on aspects of other borders that are hidden by the current paradigm.

Studies of the Border between England and Scotland are numerous, but most deal with either the Wars of Independence or the Tudor/Stewart period. After the Wars of Independence, the relationship between England and Scotland has taken a back seat to the relationship between England and France in the Hundred Years War. Yet, the conflict between England and France cannot be assessed without keeping in mind the relations that each had with Scotland. Although each country pursued its own interests, the triangular relationship must always be kept in mind.¹⁰

Recent studies have begun to shed light on Anglo-Scottish relations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Historians such as Tuck, Barrow and Anthony Goodman have begun to look at not only the relations of England and Scotland, but specifically at the Border region. As they assess the framework of the society in the Anglo-Scottish Borders, they create a need for more narrowly focused

¹⁰ Bruce Webster, "Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1296-1389: Some Recent Essays" *SHR* vol 74 no 197, April 1995. p. 100.

studies. The simplest way to limit the study is to focus on one sector of Border society. With the goal of discovering the impact of the Border region on central administration, it is best to focus on the aristocratic class that made the administration function. And since the 'history of the medieval aristocracy is a history of families,'¹¹ the focus can be narrowed down to noble Border families from England and Scotland – the Borderlords.

To determine the impact of the Borderlords on government it is best to utilize dates important to the government. If the period after the Wars of Independence, and during the Hundred Years War, is to be assessed, the period from 1341 to 1424 appears most appropriate. In 1341 King David, son of Robert I of Scotland, returned to his country from France where he had been sent for safety during the second phase of the Wars of Independence. The year 1424 is the year that King James returned to Scotland to take personal control of the government after having been an English prisoner for eighteen years. In England, Edward III attained the first land victory over the French in 1346, and Henry V died in 1422, leaving an infant heir and a regency government. So these dates would appear to represent a period worthy of study.

In the years 1341 to 1424 four families controlled the Anglo-Scottish Borders, or Marches, two English, and two Scottish. In England the Borderlords came from the families of Neville and Percy, while in Scotland the Douglas and

¹¹ Robert Bartlett, "Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages" in Medieval Frontier Societies, p. 25.

Dunbar families controlled the Border region. What did they control? And how did they control it? It is perhaps best to begin with these questions.

The history of the Border region, to an overwhelming extent, has been determined by its geography. George Trevelyan makes the observation: "[t]he ungarnished moorland tells no flattering tale. For on it we see written the everlasting alternation of life and death".¹² The English March consists of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, while the Scottish March is comprised of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Dumfriesshire and Galloway.¹³ The major castles, beginning at Berwick, are Cocklaw, Fast Castle and Castle Dunbar running to the north, with Bamburgh, Alnwick, Warkworth, Newcastle and Durham to the south. From Berwick to the west lie Norham, Wark, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Carlisle, Hermitage, Lochmaben and Cockermouth.¹⁴ Most of the castles are situated in the east, as the fertile plain of Northumbria extends into the March, or Merse, of Berwickshire and runs to the Lammermuir Hills in the north. This rolling plain was the usual route of invading armies, providing an area for the movement of troops and the foraging involved in the movement of medieval armies. The Tweed River is not a barrier; it is easily fordable at several points. Further west the line of the Cheviot Hills, with the river dales, created some of the best raiding country available, but the hills were all but impassable to the

¹² George Macaulay Trevelyan. *The Middle Marches*. Newcastle, England, 1934. p. 7

¹³ In the following discussion of the region, the descriptions are given in an east to west direction. I have relied extensively on the maps in George MacDonald Fraser, *Steel Bonnets*. London, 1971 and Thomas Rae, *Administration of the Scottish Frontier*, Edinburgh, 1966, for the topography of the area.

¹⁴ For the map of castles see page 20, below.

medieval army on the march. The passes are few and narrow in this region, perfect for the small raiding party to strike from quickly, and retire unseen.¹⁵ The western edge of the Cheviots curves north to the Lowther Hills. These hills are extended in the west by the Cairnsmore Hills, and to the east they are bordered by the Moorfoot Hills which join the western end of the Lammermuirs. In the extreme west of the marches the narrow route from Carlisle north across the Solway Moss provides a better route than the stark forbidding passes of the Cheviots, but the area is marshy. Galloway, south of the Cairnsmore Hills, forms a broad coastal plain along the Solway Firth crossed by the rivers Annan, Nith, and Cree.

Aeneas Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, gave an account of the Borders in 1435.

It is a cold country where few things will grow and for the most part has no trees. Below ground is found a sulfurous rock, which they dig for fuel... A river [the Tweed] which rises in a high mountain, separates the two countries... Scotland and the part of England nearest it are utterly unlike the country we inhabit, being rude, uncultivated and unvisited by the winter sun.¹⁶

While it is obvious that he missed Ettrick and the Jedburgh Forests, his assessment of the inhospitable nature of the region, even though it comes from an

¹⁵ It is from this region, Redesdale, Tynedale, Liddesdale and Teviotdale that the great raiding surnames will come from in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For more on the raider of this later period see: Fraser as cited above, Rev. R. Borland, Border Raids and Reivers, Glasgow, 1910. and Godfrey Watson, The Border Reivers. London, 1974. Also of interest, while more literary than historical, are works on the Border Ballads of which Sir Walter Scott, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border: Consisting of Historic and Romantic Ballads Collected in the Southern Counties of Scotland, with a few of Modern Date, Founded upon Local Tradition. 5th ed. Edinburgh, 1812. is perhaps the longtime favorite.

¹⁶ Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: the Commentaries of Pius II. Florence A. Gragg, trans. Leona C. Gabel, ed. London, 1960. pp. 33-36.

Italian used to more gentle climates, epitomizes the geographical impression of many visitors to the Anglo-Scottish border.

Recognition of the area as a “March” had existed since at least 1249 in a treaty between Henry III of England and Alexander III of Scotland setting up a form of rough and ready justice based on the customs of the kingdom of Northumbria in the ninth century.¹⁷ This agreement is the first known written evidence of any type of separate law in the frontier zone. It is the first entry in the Bishop of Carlisle’s Leges Marchiarum, or collection of March Laws. There has been some debate on the validity of the laws of 1249,¹⁸ based on the name of one of the witnesses. The name Robert Clifford appears as a knight of England in the list of witnesses, and apparently the Robert Clifford most commonly associated with the north was believed to have been born in 1273. Reid, however, mentions the existence of an inquest c. 1249 where one Robert Clifford holds Hetton in Northumberland,¹⁹ so it seems that the Leges Marchiarum and its Marcher Meeting of 1249 are correct.²⁰ So the area was recognized as a frontier, or march, as early as 1249. At this time, however, the relations between the two kingdoms were more often of a friendly, if not peaceful nature.²¹ It was not to become a

¹⁷ R.R. Reid. “The Office of the Marches: its Origin and Early History”, EHR Vol 32 no 128, Oct. 1917. p. 479.

¹⁸ Howard Pease. The Lord Wardens of the Marches of England toward Scotland. London, 1913. p. 67-8. Pease mentions the dispute citing a Burn, Nicholson (not the Bishop of Carlisle whose family name is Nicholson, but apparently someone else) and a Dr. Neilson as well as an editor’s note in the APS and the “Berne MS” (see APS i, 177-8) but ultimately accepts the 1249 document in the Leges Marchiarum.

¹⁹ Reid, p. 479 note 2.

²⁰ For the March Laws see appendix b pp. 134-7.

²¹ According to Leges Marchiarum there were no changes made in these laws until 1449 under Henry VI and James II. Pease has a footnote on p. 142 stating that “ In 1468 ‘the statute, ordinances and uses of marche’ were put in order and writing, and sworn to by the Earl William

specifically militarized zone until 1296-7, and therefore the office of warden of the march did not exist until about the same time.

During the attempted conquest of Scotland by Edward I,²² a warden was appointed on the English side in 1297. The wardens were originally appointed as military leaders, the sheriffs having the right to keep the law, but the war required an officer with no other duties but that of guarding the march. The new wardens had the ability to call out the shire levies to guard the marches on short notice should the Scots invade England.²³ What started out as a temporary measure in time of war, was to become a permanent position. By 1317 the appointment of a warden had been renewed numerous times and the first long truce between the two countries required someone with the authority to keep it. The most obvious choice for this task was the warden, one in the east and one in the west, and the office of warden of the march developed a function in time of truce as well as one in time of war. During the reigns of Edward III and his grandson, Richard II, the wardenship was to attain very nearly its final form.²⁴ In fact, in an attempt to limit the power of the northern lords, Richard gave the wardenship to men of

Douglas and 'eldest borderers at Lincluden'." The Earl and his elders claimed these laws were from the time of "Black" Archibald the Grim (d. 1400) and his son, Archibald the Tyneman (d. 1424). The Black Douglas and the Tyneman will be discussed in Chapter 3.

²² For information on Edward I see: Joseph Bain, The Edwards in England 1296-1377, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1901., Thomas Costain, The Three Edwards, Doubleday & Co, Ltd. 1958., Michael Prestwich, Edward I, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988., L. F. Salzman, Edward I, London: Constable & Co, 1968 (reprint)., and T. F. Tout, Edward I, London: Macmillan, 1901.

²³ Reid, p. 482. Parts of the following description of the wardenship comes from this page.

²⁴ James Campbell, "England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century", Europe in the Late Middle Ages, London, 1965. p. 214.

minor land-holding status,²⁵ but they had little luck. The local inhabitants would not accept their authority, for “they knew no prince but a Percy, a Neville or a Dacre”.²⁶

The new position of lieutenant of the march, who had jurisdiction over even the wardens, was held by Richard’s uncle, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, from 1380²⁷ till his death in 1399. The lieutenancy was likely created to negotiate truces, as the wardens had a vested interest in war, since their fee could be doubled or even quintupled in time of war.²⁸ Gaunt was the only one to ever hold this position; after his son Henry acceded to the throne in 1399, the wardens once again held complete royal authority.

The warden of the Scottish march seems to have come into existence in the reign of Robert I;²⁹ but as with most judicial functions in Scotland, the wardenship was the responsibility of the tenant-in-chief of the region. The title was granted to Scots magnates so that they could meet with the English warden in order to address infringements of the truce and determine compensation for victims on what were to become formal, regular meetings called Marcher Meetings. When John of Gaunt was appointed lieutenant as the English king’s representative, the king of Scotland, Robert II, sent his sons, John, Earl of

²⁵ R.L. Storey, “The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489” *EHR*, vol. 72, no. 285, October, 1957. p. 594.

²⁶ Reid, p. 488, and note. The Dacre family, while locally important, do not come to prominence in the period under examination.

²⁷ For his preparations on Marcher Meetings see *JGR* 1379-1383, nos. 366, 430, 744, 896, 905, 915, 1080, & 1175. For his appointment see *CDS* iv; 297 & *Foedera* III vii 269-70.

²⁸ For examples see *CDS* iv; 296 & 377.

²⁹ Pease, 195. For a list of Wardens on both sides of the March, see appendix c & d pp. 138-42.

Carrick, and Robert, Earl of Fife, to accompany the marcher magnates. It appears that this was done because Carrick and Fife, as royal representatives, were of equal status to Gaunt.

If the job of the wardens was to maintain the truce and to guard the marches, how did they acquire and maintain the troops required for these measures? The approach was radically different in each country. To a certain extent, however, they affected one another in their structure and form. In the conflicts of the Wars of Independence the Scottish leaders, first Wallace, and then Bruce, made use of the most readily available source of manpower, infantry. Scotland did not have the resources to put as many armored knights into the field as its southern neighbor; in an effort to counterbalance the discrepancy, bodies of spearmen were formed into defensive units called schiltrons. The schiltron was able to not only stop the advance of mounted knights, but also to break it from a strategically strong position. The English, therefore, had to find a way to oust the schiltron in order to gain the upper hand.

After the Scots' victory against the English at Bannockburn in 1314, Robert Bruce developed a different strategy to offset the greater manpower of the much more populous England.

On fut suld be all Scottis weire,
By hyll and mosse themselff to reare.
Lat woods for wallis be bow and speire,
That innymes do them na deire.
In strait placis gar keip all store,
And byrnen ye planeland thaim before.
Than sall thai pass away in haist
When that thai find na thing but waist.
With wyles and waykings of the nyght

And mekill noyis maid on hytht,
thaim sall ye turnen with gret affrai,
As thai war chassit with swerd away.
This is the consall and intent
Of gud King Robert's Testament³⁰

As the larger armies of England were forced to enter Scotland through the eastern plains, the Scots practiced planned withdrawal followed by a scorched-earth policy. They burned their crops, drove their herds into the hills and knocked down their houses. As the English army advanced, they found little or no plunder and no forage. This tactic worked to perfection, when it was adhered to, especially after 1347, after which no English army spent more than three weeks in Scottish territory.³¹ Once the English began to withdraw, they were harried by the hidden Scottish levies.³² And levies they were. By avoiding battles and utilizing scorched-earth tactics, the Scots did not need the large paid armies that England (and France through its wars with England) needed to place in the field.³³ The old feudal levy of the service of every able-bodied male for 40 days was sufficient to harass the retreating English army. The Scots levies indulged in pitched battles only from strong positions on hills or in the mosses, and they engaged on foot with bow and spear.

The feudal levy was also the perfect way for the Scots Borderlords to raise a raiding group. A force raised in this manner could gather quickly, utilize the

³⁰ Unidentified primary source as cited in Sir Charles Oman, A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages. New York, 1924. p. 99.

³¹ Alexander Grant, Independence and Nationhood. London: E. Arnold, 1984. p. 34.

³² For an interesting example of these tactics explained, see Chapter 3 pp. 83-4.

³³ Grant, Independence and Nationhood. p. 34.

mountain passes for cover and devastate large areas of enemy territory with maximum efficiency. The payment of these troops came exclusively from whatever booty they were able to collect at the enemies' expense. This form of systematic ravaging was a prominent feature of campaigning activity throughout medieval Europe,³⁴ and the English learned the finer points from thirty years of war with the Scots. The levy worked well in Scotland; calls for services were rarely if ever denied. Defense of the realm had evolved into nearly a sacred duty in the Wars of Independence, and the chance to enrich oneself from raid booty was too great to be ignored. The old system of the feudal levy, however, had been out of fashion in England for centuries.³⁵

The levy had lasted longer in the north of England than elsewhere. Certainly the levy was called out in 1327; the failure of this expedition was to bring the fifteen-year-old Edward III to tears.³⁶ Nor was this the last to be called; Richard II summoned the levy for his 1385 invasion. It was to prove the last of its kind in England.³⁷ Rather than rely on the limited number of men that could be called up by the levy, the English would come to rely on the indentured retinue,³⁸ or more specifically on a contract army. The contract army offered flexibility, numbers as great as the captain's circumstances would allow and the advantage

³⁴ Andrew Ayton & J.L. Price, "Introduction", Medieval Military Revolution. London, 1995. p. 7.

³⁵ The paying of scutage instead of providing men had become a fixture under Henry II (1154-1189) and Ayton and Price assert that mercenaries had been used by England since the eleventh and twelfth centuries, p. 12.

³⁶ Scalacronica, p. 155.

³⁷ Frank Musgrove, The North of England. Oxford, 1990. p. 71 & Foedera III vii 473-475.

³⁸ For information on the workings of an indentured retinue see: J.M.W. Bean, From Lord to Patron, Lordship in Late Medieval England. Manchester, 1989., and Simon Walker, The Lancastrian Affinity: 1361-1399. Oxford, 1990.

that the contract troops would remain, not for forty days, but for the length of time agreed upon in the contract.³⁹ The constant need for cash to pay the king's armies strengthened parliament, the Crown's financial needs assuring the Commons an active voice in the political sphere.⁴⁰ So, while the administration of England grew in proportion to the war needs of its kings, the feudal levies of Scotland continued to enhance the power of individual magnates in the localities. No Scottish Borderlord, however, could bring more than the number of his tenantry and allies to the battlefield. The indenture, whether of retinue or of contract service for a particular campaign, gave the English monarch even greater superiority of numbers than before, yet this was not the whole answer to his problems. If the Scots schiltrons could defeat the mounted knight, what sort of troops did the king want to hire?

In the early fourteenth century, the defense of the north of England depended on mobility. This was acquired by two innovations. The first innovation was the simple expedient of mounting archers, and the other was the use of a lightly armed, mounted spearman called a hobelar.⁴¹ Both of these corps usually rode to the field, dismounted to fight, and remounted to either pursue or flee, depending on their degree of success. It was this mounted defense system that fought on foot as infantry, coupled with the experience of the Englishman Henry Beaumont that was to lead to the answer the kings of England needed.

³⁹ Musgrove, p. 74.

⁴⁰ Ayton & Price, p. 14.

⁴¹ Musgrove, p. 70. Fraser, in Steel Bonnets, refers to the small powerful horses of the Borderers as "hobby horses", I believe that the hobelar of the fourteenth century is the likely origin of the name.

Beaumont, who had been involved in Scottish campaigns since 1297, has been credited with the strategy that won at Dupplin Moor (1332) and again at Halidon Hill (1333).⁴² By utilizing a combination of men-at-arms used as infantry, flanked by archers, the English had at last discovered how to beat the schiltrons. The infantry tactics and systematic ravaging of the countryside that the English developed in their wars with the Scots were to lead to victory over the French at both Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356). Military development, however, is rarely a one way exchange, as was to prove true in this case.

Artillery was just beginning to make an appearance in western Europe in the early fourteenth century. The first drawing of a gun in the west was found in a book given as a gift to Edward III at his accession in 1327.⁴³ Oman argues that there is no reason to doubt that the idea originated in 1313 in Germany, or that Edward III had an early prototype of the cannon during the Scottish campaign of 1327.⁴⁴ Oman uses Barbour as the source of his contention that Edward had artillery in late 1327, and points out that this is the best explanation for the Scots acquiring cannons for their siege of Stirling Castle in 1339.⁴⁵ While artillery might have made the medieval siege marginally easier, it was still a long and expensive undertaking.

The expense of the siege itself was paltry compared to the amount needed to maintain castle defenses, once they were repaired, and to keep the fortress

⁴² Ranald Nicholson, Edward III and the Scots. London, 1965. p. 133. Both Nicholson and Oman, p. 106, give Beaumont credit for the change in English tactics.

⁴³ Oman, p. 212.

⁴⁴ Oman, p. 213.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Barbour wrote The Bruce, the earliest known biography of Robert I.

garrisoned. The re-fortifying and garrisoning of the castles of Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling and Roxburgh alone, cost the English Crown £30,000 from the beginning of the Hundred Years War until their loss to the Scots.⁴⁶ The Scots, of course, could never hope to produce that amount of money, and in the honored way of Robert I, they usually chose to dismantle the castles rather than attempt to hold them.⁴⁷ The English, on the other hand, kept repairing and garrisoning them in a vain attempt to hold Scotland south of the Forth.⁴⁸ Castle garrisons, raiding or battles made little difference over the period; the English would gain an overwhelming victory and the Scots would slowly eat away at the English holdings until they were all once again in Scottish hands.

After thirty years of the Wars of Independence and the raiding associated with times of truce the inhabitants of the Border region were prepared for armed conflict. Any time of day or night, whether tenant, small holder, or a member of the wardens' defense garrisons, the people on both sides of the Border lived in a state of watchful waiting. They watched for the raids from across the invisible line drawn by government, and a very distant government on the part of the English. And leading these battle-ready Borderers were the Borderlords.

This was the situation on the Anglo-Scottish Borders in 1341. The Percies and the Nevilles controlled the Border as March Wardens with indentured

⁴⁶ Campbell, p. 195, and note which explains his assessment of primary sources.

⁴⁷ The Scots dismantled Lochmaben in 1384, see Scotichronicon XIV; 44, Wark, Ford and Cornhill in 1385, Pluscarden X;7 & Scotichronicon XIV; 46, and Jedburgh in 1409, Scotichronicon XV; 21.

⁴⁸ In the 1330s, see above, there is a reference to Edinburgh, see Scalacronica, p. 166; also in 1334, Dunbar Castle, see Scalacronica, p. 163, Roxburgh Castle, Scalacronica, appendix p. 295 & Berwick CDS III 1434 & 1468.

retinues as their castle garrisons, while the Douglasses and the Dunbars, also as March Wardens, relied on the feudal levy and the strategy of Robert I. This rugged country was the home of the Borderlords, and perfect for raiding, now a national boundary that royal administration wanted policed. The result was not only the wardenship, but a highly militaristic society. What impact did the rugged, militaristic generals of the Marches have on the royal administration?

In order to determine their impact, three things must be assessed. The first is of course their role as military leaders. In this era magnates could make their mark on the administration by military exploits, and therefore, this is a major factor in determining the impact of the Borderlords on government. The second factor that needs to be examined is the office of Warden. How much influence is in the hands of the holders of the wardenships? The third and final point of assessment must be that of their role as supporters or non-supporters of the current administration. Can the Borderlords force a change in administration or even in the monarchy itself? With these factors as a basis for analysis, the impact of the Borderlords will be examined.

The best way to begin an investigation into the impact of the Borderlords is to start with government documents. Therefore, documents for this period such as the Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, and the Foedera⁴⁹ have been a valuable source of information. The chronicles from both countries, for instance Walter Bower's Scotichronicon and

⁴⁹ The Foedera is a Calendar of Events including negotiations, treaties, royal grants and announcements, royal marriage arrangements and military alliance agreements.

Knighton's Chronicle, also shed light on the roles of the Borderlords in this period. Because of the role of France in Anglo-Scottish relations, the Chronicle of Jean Froissart is also highly useful. The Houses of Percy and Douglas have family histories, and Dunbar and Neville are represented in local histories. Letters of the English kings, biographies of the kings of both countries and of John of Gaunt along with Gaunt's household registers are utilized in the effort to discover the impact of the Borderlords.

As the historiography of the Anglo-Scottish Borders in this period is in its infancy, reliance must be placed on peripheral studies. These begin with the Border studies of Barrow from the Wars of Independence and studies of the Border from the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ The analysis of the nobles controlling the Borders makes the work on Crown/noble relations undertaken by Anthony Tuck for England and Alexander Grant for Scotland an important source of information. A great deal of reliance must be placed on shorter studies, and articles on the events and magnates of the fourteenth century are valuable for specific information.⁵¹

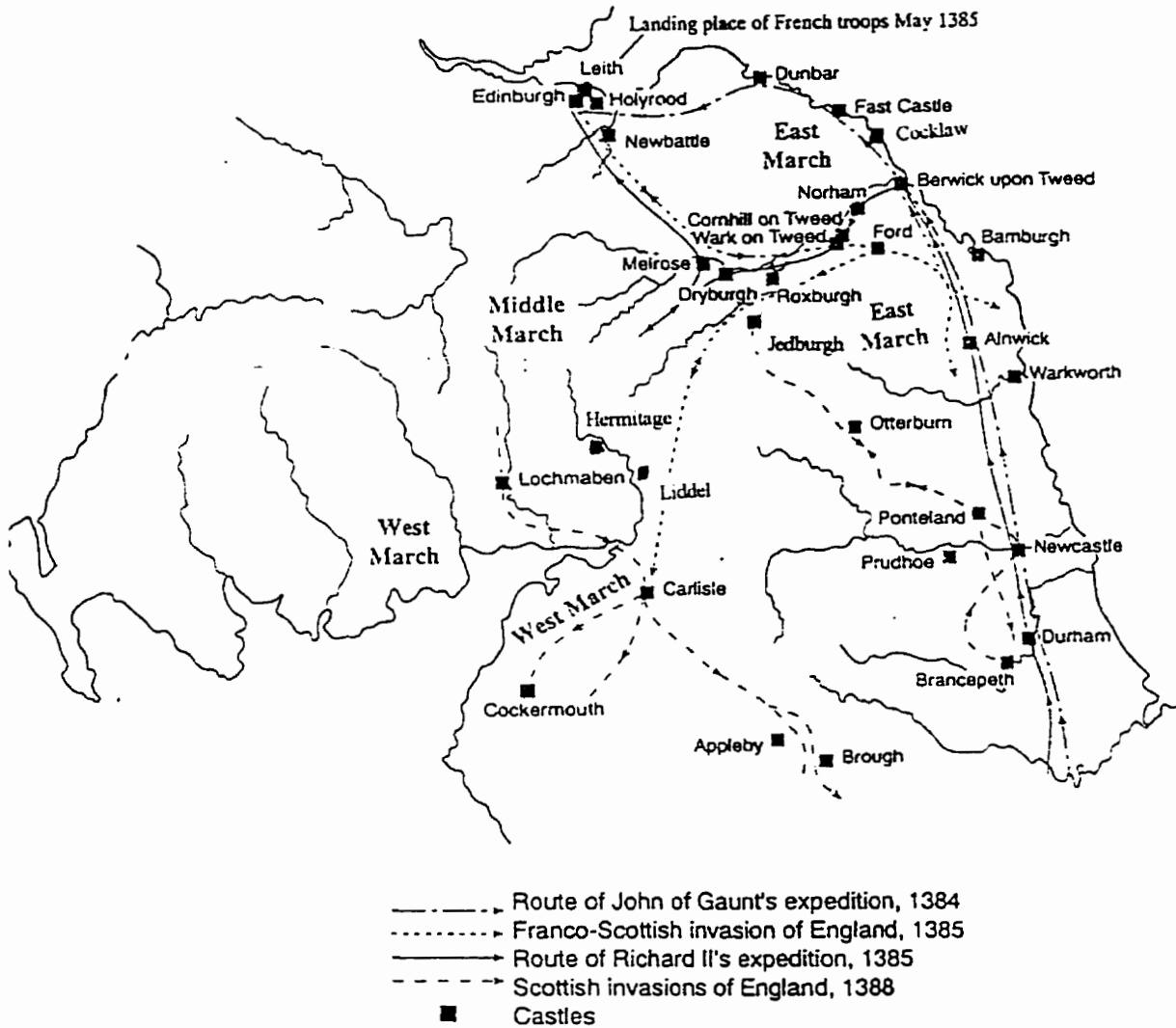
In order to assess the role of Percy, Neville, Douglas and Dunbar, an outline of the overall situation must be provided. The first chapter, therefore, consists of an overview of the relations between England and Scotland, with

⁵⁰ These are the studies by R. Borland, George MacDonald Fraser, Thomas I. Rae and Godfrey Watson

⁵¹ Two examples of this are J.M.W. Bean's article on "Henry IV and the Percies" and C.L. Kingsford's "The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle."

France playing a role as well. The second and third chapters assess the four families in the framework presented in chapter one, the English in chapter two and the Scots in chapter three. Finally, conclusions are drawn in chapter four to begin to determine the exact impact of the Borderlords on their respective governments between 1341 and 1424.

Castles of the Anglo-Scottish Border⁵²



⁵² This map is from *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*. Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen, editors. Edinburgh, 1996, p. 108.

Chapter 1

Anglo-Scottish Relations

1341-1424

In behint yon auld fail dyke,
I wot ther lies a new-slain knight;
And naebody kens that he lies there
But his hawk, his hound, and his lady fair.

Mony a one for him makes mane,
But nane shall ken whae he is gane;
O'er his white banes, when they are bare
The wind shall blaw for evermair¹

¹ Trevelyan, p. 6. Trevelyan refers to this as the work of a Border Poet that he does not identify.

It is on the geographical terrain described in the previous chapter, with its great plain, riverdales and series of hills that the Borderlords came to power. The castles such as Berwick, Lochmaben, Roxburgh and Wark provided the bases from which they launched attacks and besieged one another. Their different military strategies had evolved through more than thirty years of incessant warfare. Innovations were echoed by changing tactics that were practiced on one another over time, and reflected the general trends of the later medieval period. In order to determine the impact of the Borderlords on their governments, however, the relationships between the English and Scottish governments need to be outlined briefly.

In 1341, when David II returned to Scotland, the only land the English retained from the victories of the 1330s were Lochmaben and Berwick with small areas of the surrounding countryside. David, however, not only authorized raids on England, but indulged in them himself. He had received proper training in the arts of war and chivalry while in France. David even fought at Tournai (1339) under the French king.² In response to letters of appeal from Philip VI of France.³ David drew together an army from all over Scotland by inviting the magnates and their levies to accompany him and invaded England in 1346.⁴ The first order of business on the raid was the siege of Castle Liddel for William Douglas, the flower of chivalry and Knight of Liddesdale, not to mention loyal favorite of the

² E. W. Balfour-Melville, Edward III & David II. London: G. Philip & Son, Ltd, 1954. pp. 12-14.

³ Campbell, p. 195. See especially note where he discusses the validity of the letters.

⁴ Campbell, pp. 191-2.

newly returned king. Castle Liddel had no real military significance, and was taken exclusively because of the Knight of Liddesdale's friendship with King David. While it was a brilliant reward for loyal service, it was not the best way to mount a campaign, but the worst was to come.⁵ The Scots were caught just outside the city of Durham, near a place known as Neville's Cross, and not expecting much resistance, they were defeated.⁶ Numerous Scottish noblemen were taken hostage, but the greatest prize by far was the capture of David himself by a knight named John Coupland. The capture was not without cost; although David was injured by arrows (one lodged in his head) he was still able to knock out two of Coupland's teeth in a desperate attempt to make an escape. While the English wanted to ransom the Scots king, they were still not willing to admit to his sovereignty;⁷ nor did the Scots seem anxious to have him back.

David's heir presumptive, his nephew Robert Stewart, who became guardian in his absence, is often held to blame for the length of David's imprisonment. Aside from the fact that it would appear only human to want to continue to hold the power that had belonged to Robert Stewart as guardian before David's return from France in 1341, there are two other factors to consider. Robert knew that David was badly injured; he had been present at the Battle of Durham, and had retreated with the Earl of Dunbar as defeat seemed

⁵ Lanercost, pp. 330-342, Scalacronica, appendix p. 301, Pluscarden IX:40, Scotichronicon XIV; 1-3, Wyntoun VIII; 40 and Knighton pp. 68-75.

⁶ Edward and the bulk of his army were in France for the Crécy campaign, Froissart, pp. 68-96, and Knighton, pp. 60-5.

⁷ For an in-depth look at David's captivity in England, see A. A. M. Duncan, "David II & Edward III, 1346-52", SHR, vol 67, 1988. pp. 113-14, and Balfour-Melville as cited above.

immanent.⁸ The two are often accused of cowardice and worse for leaving the field, but they were in command of the third column, and it is likely that the battle was decided before they came to the field, and leaving could equally be judged as a prudent move. What reason would the council and the guardian have for ransoming their king for an exorbitant amount of money only to have him die of his wounds?⁹ That the wound to David's head was serious can be surmised by the fact that the arrowhead could not be removed until he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Monan in 1351.¹⁰ The other reason that the Scots were not anxious to ransom their king was the nature of the English demands. The first offers of the English included the submission of David and his kingdom to the English king, a situation that Robert certainly would not want, and one that the rest of the council apparently found easy to reject as well.

David's kingship was only admitted by the English in 1351, when the ransom offered included a clause about the throne coming to Edward or one of his sons if David should die childless. This perhaps could mark the end, at last, of the Wars of Independence. Circumstances had finally forced the English to concede that David was the monarch of an independent kingdom in order to gain the right of inheriting the throne of this independent nation. Historians of the

⁸ The official title of the Dunbars is "Earl of Dunbar and March." They are often referred to as the Earls of March. As there is an English Earl of March, (the Welsh March) the Dunbar Earl will be referred to either by Christian name or as the Earl of Dunbar to avoid confusion.

⁹ Campbell, p. 196 mentions the seriousness of the king's wound and mentions this as one reason why the Scots might have hesitated to ransom him. Duncan, p. 115, concedes that though there is no safe conduct, the first person to join the king in captivity was his physician Hector MacBeth aka. Leech.

¹⁰ Scotichronicon xiv; 3 lines 35-42. Duncan, p. 115 and note.

nineteenth century have accused David of being willing to give up all that his father had won, but this is not the case.¹¹ By the 1350s, the gamble of David dying childless seemed a good one; while he was kept apart from his Queen, Joan, for most of his captivity, he kept a mistress, who also bore him no children. No matter what Edward III and Robert Stewart thought, however, the evidence seems perfectly clear that David never lost faith in his ability to father children.

Immediately on the death of Queen Joan in 1363, he married Margaret Logie and when she failed to give him an heir by 1369, he divorced her and planned on taking Agnes Dunbar as his wife.¹² This points to a man who may have become desperate in his quest to father an heir, but was certainly not without hope.

A ransom treaty was negotiated in 1354, likely due to the English Crown's need to finance its continued war in France. This treaty seemed to be acceptable to the Scots, but the truce provided for until the ransom was paid, caused alarm to the Scottish ally, France. The French king, fearing the neutralization of his ally on England's northern doorstep, sent men and money to entice the Scots away from the English offer. It worked well and in 1355 a Scottish and French force led by Earl of Dunbar recaptured Berwick. Ultimately, the effort was to bring Edward III to Scotland in January of 1356 to recapture Berwick, and in February Edward ravaged the area of Berwickshire and Lothian in a rampage that was to be remembered as the Burnt Candlemas.

¹¹ Duncan, p. 113. He cites no one specifically.

¹² ERS III pp. 328, 345, 357 & 364 for a payment from King Robert II when she married James Douglas of Dalkeith in late 1371 after David II's death.

This devastation, coupled with the capture of the French king at Poitiers in September of 1356¹³, led to a ransom treaty, the Treaty of Berwick, in 1357.¹⁴ The truce remained a part of the treaty, and was more or less observed by both sides.¹⁵ The French were neutralized by the English in the Treaty of Brétigny of 1360,¹⁶ ransoming their king John II and providing for a shaky peace.

David's return to Scotland was not an unqualified success, although the taxes required to amass the ransom forced him to summon the burgesses to Parliament as the need for money had forced his father, Robert I, to summon them. It seems to be from the time of David's reign that the "three estates" gained permanent membership in Parliament.¹⁷ Not that the large number of events associated with the payment of the ransom were all good. It was not long before the payments fell into arrears, and this led not only to further negotiations with the English, but to the revolt of three of the King's most powerful subjects. Robert Stewart, the Earl of Douglas and the Earl of Dunbar rebelled in 1363, and one of their complaints, the misgovernance of the realm, included the non-payment of the ransom.¹⁸ With the Borderlords and the heir to the throne in

¹³ Pluscarden IX; 43, Scotochronicon XIV; 16&17, and Knighton pp. 142-149.

¹⁴ For the text of the Treaty of Berwick see; APS I; 518-20, or Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents. New York, 1970. pp. 63-4, or English Historical Documents, vol 4 pp. 101-3. The treaty provided for a 10 year truce until the ransom was paid.

¹⁵ For an example of the way a truce is often kept see Northern Petitions. C.M. Fraser, ed. Gateshead, England, 1981. This example is, of course, only the English version.

¹⁶ Foedera III vi 238-63. English Historical Documents, vol 4 pp. 103-8.

¹⁷ J.D. Mackie, A History of Scotland. New York, 1979. p. 82-3.

¹⁸ Their exclusion from the king's council also was a primary factor. For a detailed discussion on the ransom payments see; Ranald Nicholson, "David II, the historians and the chroniclers", SHR vol 45, 1966. pp. 72-4.

revolt, David's position could have been desperate. Immediate action, however, and a policy of not allowing them to move against him in concert minimized the impact of the revolt. But it did lead to a renegotiation of the ransom in 1364-5, for a higher sum and smaller installments.¹⁹ It became necessary to negotiate the ransom again in 1369 for the original sum at the lower pay scale²⁰. This last negotiation was instigated not by the Scots' inability to pay, but by the English need for money as the war in France was escalating.

David II died unexpectedly in 1371, and Robert Stewart became Robert II. The historiography of the period has disparaged the reigns of both Robert II and his son, Robert III, accusing the Stewart dynasty of getting off to an old and infirm start.²¹ But a recent biography of the two early Stewart kings goes a long way toward challenging the charges of incompetence leveled at the two Roberts.²² On his accession, Robert II not only maintained the French alliance,²³ but the truce with England as well as was possible. The payments of David's ransom were continued until Edward III's death in 1377, when his grandson, Richard became King of England.

In 1380, both England and Scotland were in favor of extending the truce due to end in 1384. But incursions on both sides created issues that needed to be

¹⁹ CDS IV 108 & *Foedera* III vi 465 also provide for truce.

²⁰ CDS IV 154 and provides for truce until 1384.

²¹ Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Kings*. New York, 1992. p. 36.

²² Steven Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II & III, 1371-1406*. East Lothian, Scotland, 1996. For a review of this book see; A.D. McLean's review in *Scottish Tradition* vol 22, 1997.

²³ *Pluscarden* X; 4 & 5.

addressed. This was to be done at a Marcher Meeting²⁴ with the Duke of Lancaster and the Earls of Carrick and Fife as mentioned above. The meetings were apparently held at approximately one year intervals, so that John of Gaunt was returning from Scotland when word of the Peasants' Revolt reached him in 1381.²⁵ The Earl of Northumberland denied Gaunt access to Bamburgh Castle, forcing him to seek asylum in Scotland.²⁶ This was to work in the Scots' favor. When Richard ordered John of Gaunt to invade Scotland in 1384, he did as little damage as possible, even to the extent of ransoming Edinburgh and protecting it from his troops for the refuge granted him by Holyrood. Unfortunately for the citizens Gaunt was unable to save the city the following year when Richard himself led an invasion. A truce was negotiated and then renewed one year later.²⁷

The year 1384 saw internal troubles in Scotland, as Robert II was taken to task for lawlessness in the realm, and his son, John of Carrick, was made governor of the realm to see justice done.²⁸ Carrick, however, was kicked by a horse and badly injured, if not permanently lamed in early 1388. It is not known how serious the injury was, but it is certain that it was not Carrick, but his brother, Robert, the Earl of Fife, who led the Scottish host into England at the end of the

²⁴ The location of the meetings was the cause of much debate, Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II. Edouard Perroy, ed. London: Camden Historical Society, 1933, nos 112, 117, 125, 167 & 179.

²⁵ H.F. Hutchison, Chapter 3 of The Hollow Crown. London, 1961, Westminster pp. 2-21 & Knighton, pp. 208-31.

²⁶ The Earl of Carrick, later Robert III, granted Gaunt refuge, for which Gaunt sent him a gift of wine, see JGR 1379-1383 no 643.

²⁷ Foedera III vii 469 & Foedera III vii 526-7.

²⁸ APS I, 550-1

truce in 1388. The government of England was in the hands of the Lords Appellant,²⁹ and the Scots saw their chance. A council of war was held in Edinburgh, and despite what past historians have asserted, the man presiding over this gathering was Robert II.³⁰

By August of 1388, two Scottish armies had entered England, the one that entered the West March was led by the Earl of Fife, while the one in the East March was led by James, second Earl of Douglas.³¹ One of the most thorough accounts of the battle is that of the French chronicler, Froissart,³² who claims to have interviewed men who had been there from both sides. His account is comparable with the later *Ballad of Otterburn*,³³ and it is plain that the version that lived on in Border fame was more the common soldier's view of what the fight was about and its outcome. Froissart's account, which later evidence does not discount completely, does not present the entire picture of Otterburn. He does not, for instance, mention the one fact that is mentioned in both the Scottish chronicles. Henry Percy, known as Hotspur, reconnoitered the force under Fife

²⁹ The Lords Appellant are a coalition of nobles opposed to Richard's spending habits and peace policy. They are led by Richard's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester and include Mowbray of Nottingham, later Duke of Norfolk, Fitzalan of Arundel, Beauchamp of Warwick and Henry of Bolingbrook.

³⁰ Froissart, p. 335, seems to be the source of the long lasting belief that the meeting was kept secret from Robert II, but Boardman, p. 142 & note, insists that he was present.

³¹ *Pluscarden* x; 9, *Scotichronicon* xiv; 51 & 52, *Westminster* pp. 346-51, Wyntoun IX; 8 and Knighton pp. 504 - 507.

³² Froissart, pp. 335-48.

³³ There are numerous versions of this ballad, for Sir Walter Scott's version see appendix e pp 143-6. For the version known as *Child 161a* as well as a discussion on it see James Reed, "The Ballad and the Source: Some literary reflections on *the Battle of Otterburn*", *War & Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, Anthony Goodman & Anthony Tuck, ed. London, 1992. pp.94-123. The book, despite its title, is a collection of essays on Otterburn from several viewpoints, and is reviewed by Goodman in "Border Ways and Border Warfare", *History Today*, vol. 38, 1988, pp. 6-9.

before deciding to attack the force of Douglas at Otterburn.³⁴ Chivalric romanticism aside, the outcome was great slaughter. The Earl of Douglas, Carrick's staunch Border ally was among the dead, and numerous English knights were captured, Ralph Neville and Henry Hotspur among them. While the Battle of Otterburn raged in the east, the Earl of Fife ravaged in the west. The devastation of the invasion of 1388, and domestic troubles in both countries, led to a truce in December of 1388.³⁵

Upon his return, Fife supplanted the heir, Carrick, as governor.³⁶ The official reason was that Carrick was incapable of governing due to his injuries, but there is another side. The death of Douglas at Otterburn, without an heir, was to lead to numerous disputes about the fate of the earldom.³⁷ The truce of 1388 was renegotiated and a new truce was signed in early 1390 before the death of Robert II.³⁸ After Robert II died, Carrick was crowned as Robert III to eliminate the awkward question of John Balliol's place in the Scottish regnal line. This was ironic as his brother, Robert of Fife, was still ruling as governor due to the new king's infirmity. But Robert III had two sons, and began working behind the scenes to gain support for them.³⁹

Meanwhile, the ineffectual defense of the English Borderlords had caused the government of the Lords Appellant to collapse, and Richard II was once more

³⁴ See the Scotichronicon & Pluscarden as listed above.

³⁵ CDS IV 387.

³⁶ APS I, 556.

³⁷ Boardman, pp. 149-53 a discussion of the succession debate on the Earldom of Douglas will be found in Chapter 3.

³⁸ CDS IV 416 & Foedera III vii 683.

³⁹ Boardman, p. 194ff.

in control. As the 1390s progressed, those in favor of peace were in power, not only in England, but in Scotland and France as well.⁴⁰ The remainder of the 1390s saw a series of Marcher Meetings with Scotland and peace summits with the French. Most of the English diplomacy in both counties was performed by the elder statesman, John of Gaunt. The entire situation changed in 1399; in England with the death of Gaunt and the disinheriting of his banished son, and in Scotland with the ascendancy of the heir to the throne, David, Duke of Rothesay.

Henry of Bolingbrook, heir to John of Gaunt, had been exiled in 1396 for six years. This was the result of his accusation of treason against Mowbray, the Duke of Norfolk. Rather than allow the decision to be decided by trial-by-combat in a Court of Chivalry, King Richard had banished both, Norfolk for life. Richard promised to hold the vast Lancastrian estates in trust for Henry if his father did not live to see his return. When Gaunt died in 1399, however, Richard's greed got in the way of his promise, and he confiscated the Lancastrian inheritance. Henry decided to invade England. He was to land at Ravenspur; the Duchy of Lancaster was in the north and he could raise an army there. It was also a calculated risk. Henry knew that the Borderlords, especially the Percies and the Nevilles, were dissatisfied with Richard's appointment of his favorites to the Wardenship, and regarded these as moves against the Borderlords' supremacy in the region. Whatever his intentions were when he landed, with the support of the

⁴⁰ The Scots and English signed truces in 1397, Foedera III viii 35-6 and again in 1398, CDS IV 508 & Foedera III viii 54-8.

north, it did not take him long to force Richard's abdication and have himself recognized as Henry IV.⁴¹

In the meantime, Scotland was also in the midst of a political crisis. The governorship of Robert of Fife, who was now the Duke of Albany, was called into question in late 1398 by his failure to oust a militant cleric who had taken over a castle in defiance of royal order to vacate. Albany was supplanted by his young nephew, Rothesay, who was made lieutenant in January 1399.⁴² The lieutenancy had specific limitations, and was to last for only three years. Rothesay was allowed to rule as the king's lieutenant, but only with the counsel and consent of a group of nobles headed by his uncle, Albany. In 1400, Rothesay repudiated his wife, Elizabeth Dunbar, and married instead Mary Douglas. This affront drove the Earl of Dunbar into the allegiance of Henry IV of England.

Rothesay's lieutenancy began to crumble in 1401. After the death of his mother, Queen Annabella, he began superseding his authority and the council set up to regulate his behavior did not meet any longer. By 1402, the behavior of Rothesay was causing so much strife that Robert III issued an order for Albany to arrest Rothesay and imprison him until he learned the error of his ways.⁴³ Albany, with the Earl of Douglas, was to do more than imprison him, for Rothesay died in his uncle's castle at Falkland in April of 1402.⁴⁴

⁴¹ The Scots and English had signed a truce before Richard's abdication. CDS IV 520.

⁴² APS I, 572-4.

⁴³ Scotichronicon xv;12, lines 26-32 & Pluscarden x;17, p. 258.

⁴⁴ Albany and Douglas, Rothesay's brother-in-law were acquitted by Parliament, APS I, 582-3. The act determined the death 'by Divine Providence, and not otherwise'. For the life of Rothesay see Boardman, pp. 223-54., also Boardman, "The Man who would be King" in People & Power in

The defection of the Earl of Dunbar to the English in 1400 was to prove the most damaging legacy of Rothesay. In that year Henry IV led a march into Scotland as far as Edinburgh demanding the subjugation of the Scottish king.⁴⁵ This was probably no more than a diversionary tactic to re-enforce his right to the throne he had usurped. With Edinburgh Castle garrisoned against him and the Scots raiding parties threatening his communications, Henry was forced to withdraw.⁴⁶ A truce was signed between England and Scotland before the end of 1400.⁴⁷

In the year 1402, after the failure of truce negotiations,⁴⁸ the exiled Earl of Dunbar led a raid into Scotland and defeated a coalition of local lairds at Nesbit Moor.⁴⁹ In retaliation for the humiliation of the loss at Nesbit, Archibald Douglas, called the Tyneman, Earl of Douglas, led an expedition into England. He was met at Homildon Hill by an English force led by Henry Hotspur and the Earl of Dunbar.⁵⁰ On the advice of Dunbar, Hotspur allowed his archers free reign against the advancing Scots. They did not advance very long, and Homildon Hill was almost a complete rout. The English had won overwhelmingly, and Douglas had been captured with many others including

Scotland, Edinburgh, 1992, pp. 1-27, and Linda Day, "The Life and Political Career of David Stewart, Duke of Rothesay", University of Guelph, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1988.

⁴⁵ King's Letters: from the days of Alfred to the Accession of the Tudors newly edited by Robert Steele London, 1903. pp. 117-9, this letter is an arrangement for supplies to be prepared at prearranged locations on his march north.

⁴⁶ Grant, Independence and Nationhood, p. 43.

⁴⁷ Foedera III viii 166.

⁴⁸ Foedera IV viii 251-2.

⁴⁹ Pluscarden x; 18 & Scotichronicon xv; 13.

⁵⁰ Pluscarden x; 18 & Scotichronicon xv; 14.

Murdoch Stewart, Albany's son and heir. Henry forbade the ransom of these prisoners, to the fury of Hotspur.

Immediately after Homildon, Hotspur began a siege of Cocklaws Castle. Albany marched out to relieve the castle, only to receive the news on his arrival that the whole enterprise was unnecessary. In 1403, having quarreled with Henry IV, the Percy family joined forces with the Welsh, who had been in revolt under Owain Glyndwr since 1400. Somewhere on the march south, Dunbar had parted company with Hotspur and joined Henry. Hoping to catch Hotspur on his march south before he could unite with the Welsh, Henry marched on Shrewsbury.⁵¹ Henry and Dunbar with the English host were able to catch Hotspur before either the Welsh or his father, the Earl of Northumberland, could join him, and defeated him at Shrewsbury.

During all these trials for the English king, the Scots royal house was having troubles of its own. After the death of Rothesay, Robert III had only one son remaining, James, born in 1394. He set about gathering support for the young boy. This was difficult for the old king; his brother Albany had been once again made governor in 1402. By 1406 King Robert was concerned about the safety of his only surviving boy, and became determined to send him to France. Something in the king's plans went sadly wrong, and James and his tutor were kept waiting

⁵¹ The Earl of Northumberland was on his way south from the Percy holdings in the northeast, the Welsh were moving east to meet the pair. For information on the Welsh revolt see; Ian Skidmore, *Owain Glyndwr*. Swansea, Wales, 1980, and R.R. Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyndwr*. Oxford, 1995. For more on the Battle of Shrewsbury see *Scotichronicon* xv; 17.

on Bass Rock, in the Firth of Forth, for over a month before finally boarding a ship for France. Unfortunately, the ship was run aground by the English off Flamburgh Head and the young prince James was in the hands of the English. The taking hostage of the young prince was an extreme affront, not only to Robert personally, but to the Scottish throne, as a truce had been in effect since 1404.⁵² This was the final blow in a long list of set-backs to Robert III, and the king died within weeks of receiving the news of his son's capture.

With the king dead and the heir to the throne in England, Albany was simply confirmed as royal governor and ruled with his council. He has been accused of assuming royal airs by historians,⁵³ but Albany had an uncanny knack of walking the thin line of running Scotland without exceeding his authority. He referred to the Scots as his subjects and dated the acts decided by his council by the year of his governorship.⁵⁴ This was perfectly correct usage; as James had never been crowned, the use of Albany's gubernatorial year defined the date.⁵⁵ It should also be admitted that in lieu of a crowned and reigning monarch, the Scots were Albany's subjects as much as anyone else's. No Parliaments were summoned, but they could not be as only the king had the right to do so, and during his governorship Albany did keep up with the yearly audits of the exchequer until his death in 1420.⁵⁶

⁵² CDS IV 660 & Foedera IV viii 363-364. In fact, Albany would extend the truce in 1408, Foedera IV viii 515.

⁵³ Grant, Independence and Nationhood, p. 185

⁵⁴ RMS I 874-950.

⁵⁵ Grant, Independence and Nationhood, pp. 184-5.

⁵⁶ APS I, 587-90 & ERS III, pp. 1, 35, 40, 64, 72, 104, 127, 134, 159, 166, 185, 191, 208, 214, 234, 240, 261, 267, 284, 290, 306, 310, 332 & 337.

It is doubtful that Henry would have released James right away, but negotiations for his release were in progress when the English king died in 1413.⁵⁷ Henry V had other plans for James, however and negotiations were broken off. Henry V planned to renew the war in France, as domestic troubles had kept his father from doing in his lifetime.

The Earl of Dunbar returned to Scotland in 1408/9 and made his peace with the Albany government.⁵⁸ The French were anticipating the renewal of war with England and several Scots magnates set out to find military glory against the English despite the Anglo-Scottish truce of 1414.⁵⁹ Before any help was sent to France, however, Albany had one piece of diplomacy to bring to a successful conclusion. In 1416, Albany exchanged his son, Murdoch, for the son of Hotspur, also Henry Percy, who had been in Scotland since 1405.⁶⁰ After the exchange, Scots help for the French was given free reign. James found himself in the awkward position where the English king had greater use for him than his own kingdom did.

Henry V took the young Scots king to France with him, where he used James as an excuse to execute Scottish prisoners for being in arms against their king. The young king was also in France for the royal wedding between Henry and the French princess Katherine.

⁵⁷ Henry declared a truce before his death, CDS IV 823.

⁵⁸ He granted Annandale to the Earl of Douglas in return for his forfeited estates see RMS I; 920.

⁵⁹ CDS IV 848 & Foedera IV ix 79.

⁶⁰ The Earl of Westmoreland made the exchange of prisoners in 1416, CDS iv; 895. This was a good year for Henry V, he also declared a truce between himself and France, Scotland, Man, the Lord of the Isles and the Earl of March (Dunbar), CDS IV 876 & Foedera IV ix 401.

In 1419 a group of Scottish adventurers, some of them under the leadership of Archibald Douglas, son and heir of Archibald the Tyneman, arrived in France. They were not originally popular, being called mutton-eaters and wine-bibbers by the horrified French. They were soon to prove their worth. Years of warfare and raiding on the Borders gave the Scots an advantage against the English. The English forces in France were without the generalship of Henry V, who was in England. They were, instead, under the command of his brother, Thomas, the Duke of Clarence. The Franco-Scottish forces defeated the English at the battle at Baugé in 1421.⁶¹ Henry returned to France because of this defeat, and contracted dysentery in the ensuing campaign, dying in 1422.

In 1423 the Scots finally ransomed their long absent king, James, from the regency government of the infant Henry VI. The heir to the Earl of Dunbar was prominent in these negotiations. Before his return to Scotland in 1424, the young James married Joan Beaufort, the granddaughter of John of Gaunt.⁶² Just before the return of James the Scots were again involved in France. In 1423, Archibald the Tyneman had replaced his son in France. The Tyneman brought reinforcements and the English were eventually brought to battle at Verneuil in 1424.⁶³ It was a crushing defeat for the Franco-Scottish allies, Archibald the Tyneman being one of the slain. So, in 1424, the government of England was under a regency for the infant Henry VI; Scotland's king was about to set up

⁶¹ Pluscarden x; 25 -6 & Scotichronicon xv; 34.

⁶² For the life and reign of James see; Michael Brown, James I, East Lothian, Scotland, 1994 & E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, James I in 2 vol, London, 1936.

⁶³ Pluscarden x; 28-31 & Scotichronicon xv; 35.

personal government for the first time in a reign already 18 years old; most of France north of the Loire was in English hands and the Dauphin, uncrowned, was about to be joined by a young peasant girl named Joan.

These then were the relations between England and Scotland, with France often creating a third party not to be ignored, from 1341 to 1424. The events of these eighty-three years created a framework within which the Borderlords must be assessed. This cursory look at the relations between England and Scotland only hints at the impact that the Borderlords could have on their respective governments. How they amassed their power and what their role was in this tripartite drama will be the focus of the next chapters.

Chapter 2

The English Borderlords

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise;
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war;
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,

England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds:
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.

William Shakespeare; Richard II II;1

England's borderers knew no peace in the fourteenth century,¹ nor were they alone. England itself knew little peace in this period; most of the fourteenth century, as well as the fifteenth, was comprised of intermittent war with France and Scotland, a war in Spain and internal struggles. After the upheaval of the reign of Edward II (1307-1327) the reign of his son, Edward, got off to a rather rocky start. By the late 1330s and certainly in the 1340s and 50s the country seemed to be stable, and largely victorious. However, the entire fabric of stability was very thin; in the late 1360s and through the 1370s as the warrior king declined into senility, and his son and heir declined into his last illness, it was obvious that Edward III had cloaked most of England's troubles with military victory and political manipulation through personal charisma.² When Edward III died in 1377, he left his throne to his ten year old grandson, Richard. Edward III in his declining years and Richard II were loyally served by Edward's son, John of Gaunt. Gaunt, unfortunately, was not the charismatic man his father was, nor could he control his nephew or fellow magnates. Gaunt's diplomatic missions seemed to be the place where he served his country best.³

When John of Gaunt's son, Henry, took over the throne, as Henry IV, he would have had plans against both France and Scotland. What they might have been is not certain, for England fell into internal strife for most of his reign. The Welsh under Owain Glyndwr were in revolt from 1400 until 1409⁴ and the north

¹ J.A. Tuck, "Richard II and the Border Magnates" North Hist vol. 3 1968. p. 27

² Anthony Tuck, Crown and Nobility 1272-1461. Oxford, 1985. pp. 156-7.

³ See Anthony Goodman, John of Gaunt. Harlow, Essex, England, 1992. Chapters 7, 8 & 9.

⁴ Although not officially over until the surrender of Owain's son in 1421, R.R. Davies, The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr. Oxford, 1995. p. 293.

was to attempt to join them in 1403 and 1405. Upon the death of Henry IV, his son Henry V involved England in war in France. Through this war, Henry V died relatively young of dysentery and left an infant son as his only heir; a regency government was not the best way to create peace and stability.

In all of this conflict, the Borderlords played a leading role. “The power of the north of England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is closely connected with the rise of two northern families: the Percies and the Nevilles.”⁵ The Nevilles and the Percies dominated this era, not only in the north, but throughout England. They were to eclipse the other magnate families of the country, especially in the reign of Henry IV.

The income attached to the Wardenship, along with political influence through royal appointments gave the Borderlords inroads to the administration that other English magnates could not equal. But the money and influence that came to the Percies and the Nevilles came in different circumstances and were utilized differently by each family. Therefore, it is useful to look at them separately.

The Nevilles

The Nevilles had holdings in the county of Durham, called the lordship of Raby with their castle at Brancepeth. They were not tenants-in-chief of the king;

⁵ Musgrove, p. 120.

Durham was a regality where the king's writ did not run.⁶ This did not stop them from becoming royal retainers; John Neville served not only Edward III, but his son John of Gaunt as well.⁷ Gaunt was likely to want the services of John Neville; the Nevilles were a northern family whose role in his father's Scottish campaigns of the 1330s was second only to that of the Percies.⁸ The military skills honed in Border warfare were in demand for the support of the royal campaigns in France.

John was the nephew of Robert Neville, the 'peacock of the North' and the son of Robert's brother, Ralph, fourth Lord Neville of Raby. The fourth Lord of Raby rose in royal favor through his aid to both Edward III in Scotland, and to the English King's ally in Scotland, Edward Balliol.⁹

The sources for the extent of John of Raby's service to Edward III are scanty, but he was certainly King's Admiral in 1371¹⁰ and one of the aging king's inner circle as his Steward of the Household.¹¹ John of Raby was also appointed to lead the forces in Brittany in 1372 because of his experience campaigning there.¹² In the Good Parliament of 1376, John Neville was one of the group of Edward's household who were accused of corruption and extortion. He was also

⁶ Musgrove, p. 78. Durham is known as the Patrimony of Saint Cuthbert and was not a regality granted by the king. The independence of the Bishop of Durham had been acknowledged by William the Conqueror and his successors.

⁷ For the indenture of John Neville see Bean, p. 75-6. Neville had been Gaunt's retainer since Gaunt was the Earl of Richmond, see Walker, p. 27, note.

⁸ Bean, p. 76.

⁹ CDS III 1479 & Foedera III v 546. Sir Henry Percy, 2nd Baron Alnwick, is included in this indenture.

¹⁰ CDS IV 184

¹¹ Tuck, p. 164. Tuck also comments that Neville's influence with the king may have been greater than Gaunt's.

¹² Tuck, p. 167.

on the list of people that the Commons wanted removed from court.¹³ Ultimately, John of Raby was not imprisoned, but dismissed from the king's council. This was the first instance of impeachment of members of the royal council,¹⁴ and this new right was to have dramatic consequences for Edward's successor.

Sources for John Neville's service to John of Gaunt are much more prevalent due to the usurpation of Gaunt's son; once Henry was crowned, the Duchy of Lancaster papers became part of the royal archives.¹⁵ John Neville of Raby was given an indenture of retinue before 1362 when Gaunt was created Duke of Lancaster.¹⁶ Their relationship must have been close; when the financial embarrassment of 1370¹⁷ led to a full scale crisis for Gaunt in 1372, John Neville was one of the people from whom Gaunt received a loan.¹⁸ John of Raby also received twenty-four deer from Gaunt's forest of Pickering in January of 1372.¹⁹ As a further show of his favor, Gaunt granted 200 marks to "la dame de Neville la meer a le sire de Neville" in March of 1373.²⁰ John Neville remained a staunch supporter of Gaunt throughout his life.

In the north, John Neville was made warden of the East March, apparently for the first time, in 1368.²¹ After the political crisis of 1376, he was made a

¹³ Ibid, p. 170-1.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 171.

¹⁵ Bean, pp. 11-2.

¹⁶ Walker, p. 27 states that Neville had been a retainer since Gaunt was the Earl of Richmond.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 63.

¹⁸ JGR 1372-76 162 & 163.

¹⁹ JGR 1372-76 891.

²⁰ JGR 1372-76 1182.

²¹ Pease, p. 195. He has "Ralph 5th Lord Neville", but the 5th lord Neville is John, his father Ralph was the 4th and his son Ralph was the 6th. As the 4th Lord Neville died in 1367, Ralph as the 5th lord must be incorrect and Pease means John.

warden of the East March once again in 1377.²² Edward III appointed John of Raby to the wardenship likely due to loyal service in the marches, and the appointment of 1377 would have its roots in his expulsion by the Good Parliament of 1376. It is also at this time that the king was to grant the barony of Bywell, originally held by the Balliols, to John Neville.²³ In the early reign of Richard II, men outside the region were appointed to the wardenship. By 1381, however, John Neville was once more among the wardens appointed.²⁴ This seems to be because of the difficulty in governing the local people,²⁵ but it is equally plausible that this state of affairs was due to the lieutenancy of Gaunt.²⁶ Gaunt was meticulous in rewarding loyal service, and this move would be in keeping with Gaunt's behavior to John Neville in the 1370s.

John of Raby was also involved in Richard's march through Scotland in 1385, as replacements are named to keep Carlisle.²⁷ As his first known border battle was at Neville's Cross with his father (1346), he enjoyed a long career on the Border. John Neville of Raby died in 1388, and was succeeded by his son, Ralph, who had been associated with him in the marches since 1385. John Neville's first wife, the mother of his heir, Ralph, was Maud Percy. Maud was the sister of Henry Percy who became the first Earl of Northumberland.²⁸

²² Storey, p. 609 appendix of wardens.

²³ J.A. Tuck, "Northumbrian Society in the Fourteenth Century" *North Hist.* Vol. 6, 1971. p. 28.

²⁴ For a complete list of wardens see appendix d pp. 139-42.

²⁵ see above, chapter one note 17.

²⁶ As mentioned, John Neville was one of Gaunt's retinue, for Gaunt's relations with Percy see below.

²⁷ *CDS* IV 339. It is believed that the appointees were his son Ralph, and the son of Lord Clifford.

²⁸ For more on Northumberland see below.

The first mention of Ralph Neville is in 1380; he was a member of the French expedition under Thomas of Woodstock, the king's uncle and later Duke of Gloucester. Ralph was on the Borders again in 1381, presiding with his cousin at a duel²⁹ between a Scotsman and an Englishman.³⁰ Like his father before him, Ralph was also a member of Gaunt's affinity.³¹ Being a member of Gaunt's retinue, he was involved in the negotiations for peace with the Scots in 1390.³² In 1391, Ralph was still on the Borders as a license to hold feats of arms with any Scotsman who challenged him was granted.³³ Not all of the Borderlords' military experience came from hostility with the Scots.

By the mid-1390s, Neville was a person whom Richard II found worth bringing into the royal sphere. Ralph had the Baronies of Raby, Brancepeth, Bywell, Middleham and Sheriff-Hutton; he had also acquired Wark-on-Tweed in an exchange with John de Montacute with Richard's permission. Richard went even farther; he granted Neville permission for the marriage of the heir of Raby to the daughter of his step-brother, Thomas Holland. Nor was this the only marriage of royal blood to be offered to Ralph Neville; he himself was to marry, as his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, recently legitimated by Gaunt's marriage to her mother.³⁴ With the marriages secure, Neville presided over Richard's revenge against the Earl of Arundel, one of the Lords Appellant, as

²⁹ Henry Percy fils, known as Hotspur. see Percy below.

³⁰ *Foedera* III vii 334-5.

³¹ Walker, p. 36 & note.

³² *Foedera* III vii 679.

³³ *CDS* IV 425 & *Foedera* III vii 703.

³⁴ Froissart, pp. 418-20.

Constable of England. For this assistance, Ralph Neville of Raby was made Earl of Westmorland. As he had no land in that county, Richard granted him the royal honor of Penrith on the border of the county.

By the late 1390s, Westmorland found himself high in royal favor, as his father, John, had been. But there were problems. Richard continued to appoint outsiders, by this time usually his favorites, to the wardenship of the marches. These appointments antagonized the Earl of Northumberland. Because Westmorland was his only rival in the north, Northumberland knew that it was best to seek Westmorland's aid in defeating Richard's usurpation of the rights of the Borderlords on their home territory.³⁵

Rivalry between the Borderlords was the usual state of affairs, but once they found a common grievance, whether against the Scots or the king of England, they closed ranks. The worst mistake that an English monarch could make was to alienate both of the families controlling his northern frontier. Richard II made this mistake and the price of his error in judgment was his throne.

The affairs on the borders coupled with the treatment of Henry of Bolingbrook, who was Westmorland's half-brother-in-law, were enough to drive Westmorland into Henry's camp at Doncaster. Not only did the House of Neville use its Border retainers to support Henry's bid for the throne, Westmorland

³⁵ Tuck, p. 214.

played a significant role. He presided over the abdication Parliament that named Henry King. For his services in this he was named Marshal of England.³⁶

It was not long before the northern rivalry reared its head once more. In 1402 Henry 'Hotspur' Percy was forced to resign Roxburgh Castle; it was then given to Westmorland.³⁷ The Percies revolted against Henry IV in 1403³⁸ in league with the Welsh. Westmorland was not at the battle of Shrewsbury; he had been dispatched north to intercept the Earl of Northumberland before he could join his son.³⁹ Having halted Northumberland on his march south, Westmorland sent an urgent message to Henry, who moved north to Pontefract. It was to be in the Lancastrian stronghold at Pontefract that Northumberland submitted to Henry IV. Westmorland was given the wardenship of the West March, replacing Northumberland, and the wardenship of the East March was given to the King's fourteen year old son, John, later Duke of Bedford. In 1404, Henry IV pardoned Northumberland and he was publicly reconciled to Westmorland.

The reconciliation was short lived; Northumberland tried to capture Westmorland in May of 1405, but he escaped.⁴⁰ Later that same month, Northumberland was the master-mind of what was to become known as Scrope's Rebellion. The leaders of the rebellion, Archbishop Scrope and the Earl Marshal,

³⁶ Foedera III viii 89. This made the title Earl Marshal a hollow one, which probably contributed to that earl's participation in the Scrope rebellion discussed below. Westmorland eventually married his daughter, Catherine, to the Earl's heir and resigned the post of Marshal to him in 1413. See genealogies pp. 64-5.

³⁷ Foedera IV viii 251-2. The reasons for the Percy resignation are unclear. Also in 1403, Westmorland or his lieutenant were granted the right to issue safe conducts, CDS IV 631.

³⁸ For the reasons that the Percies were to revolt, see below.

³⁹ George Breen, History of the House of Percy. London, 1902. p. 83. The Earl was delayed in marching by illness. This source, however, will be discussed below.

⁴⁰ Tuck, p. 230.

were caught by Westmorland at Shipton Moor. He was able to persuade the Earl and the Archbishop to negotiate with him. Westmorland promised that King Henry would redress their grievances such as the burden of taxation and inadequate defense of the realm.⁴¹ Westmorland, who had acquired his skills as a negotiator as an English Warden at Marcher Meetings with the Scots, had no trouble with these rebels. After a brief parley, he gained the confidence of the Earl and the Archbishop and convinced them to dismiss their troops.⁴² Once the rebel army was gone, Westmorland arrested them and took them to the King at Pontefract.⁴³ While it was by all accounts an extremely underhanded trick, Westmorland can not be associated with their execution as he was dispatched from Pontefract to the Marches.

Ralph was joined on the Marches by his son and heir, John Neville, in 1408.⁴⁴ The Nevilles never demanded the pay for the wardenship that was demanded by the Percies.⁴⁵ Ralph's eldest son of his marriage to Joan Beaufort, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, was made Warden of the West March in 1420. Around this time Westmorland was more interested in protecting the inheritance of his numerous offspring.⁴⁶ Westmorland had nine children by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Stafford, and fourteen by his second wife, Joan

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 231.

⁴² Ibid, p. 231.

⁴³ For more on the Scrope Rebellion see Skidmore, pp. 147-52.

⁴⁴ CDS IV 750, Ralph and son John are to meet with the Scots to discuss truce.

⁴⁵ CDS IV 661 & 796, also see indenture to serve 799 from 1410, the Nevilles are to receive half the sum Percy received in time of peace (£5000) in time of war (£2500).

⁴⁶ His last major public act is to be named executor of Henry V's will in 1415 on the eve of his departure for France, see Foedera IV ix 289-93.

Beaufort.⁴⁷ The Neville/Beaufort children were to exceed their half siblings in later years; Salisbury's son was known as Warwick the King Maker, and Cicely Neville married the Duke of York, becoming the mother of Edward IV and Richard III.

The House of Neville was notable for not only their military skills, but in the case of Westmorland, for wily negotiating skills. They supported Edward III and John of Gaunt in his role as regent for Richard II. Westmorland supported Richard, but only until the king infringed on what he saw as his Border rights. After this Westmorland threw all of his support behind Bolingbrook. With the Percies also backing Henry of Bolingbrook, Richard lost his throne. This was a direct result of Richard's failure to win the support of the Borderlords.

The Percies

The Percies came to prominence in the early fourteenth century; they had held land in Yorkshire since the days of the Conqueror, but had none in Northumberland until Sir Henry Percy acquired Alnwick from Edward I in 1309.⁴⁸ In the fourteenth century the old land-owning families in Northumberland lost influence and power to the families who held the Crown offices on the Border.⁴⁹ The Percies secured Warkworth before 1335.⁵⁰ Also in

⁴⁷ See genealogies pp. 65 & 69.

⁴⁸ J. A. Tuck, "War and Society in the Medieval North" *North Hist.* Vol. 21, 1985. p. 49.

⁴⁹ J. A. Tuck, "Northumbrian Society", p. 33.

⁵⁰ J.M.W. Bean, "Henry IV and the Percies", *History.* Vol. 44, 1959. p. 213.

1335 the House of Percy received the lands forfeited by the Earl of Dunbar in Northumberland.⁵¹ In 1342, the hereditary stewardship of Berwick, with an income from the town customs, plus a part of Jedburgh Forest was granted to the Percy family.⁵² They obtained the Lucy estates in 1368 giving them land in Cumberland.⁵³ This amalgamation of holdings in the Border counties was a bold move away from traditional English land-holding policies.

Since the time of William the Conqueror the English monarch consistently kept magnate holdings widely dispersed. The crown's policy was not to allow any magnate to amass control of one region. But, in this instance, the crown may have allowed the Percies to gain a number of holdings in the Borders for two reasons. The first reason was simply as rewards for service on the Borders. The second, and most important, was that these rewards gave the Percy family a vested interest in continued faithful service in defense of the frontier. This deviation from usual practice, mostly under the auspices of Edward III, worked in the beginning. The Percies of Northumberland became determined to dominate the Border; and this determination was to shape their fortunes.

The Percies used royal service to gain the money necessary to maintain their supremacy in the north. In 1346 while the second Percy Baron of Alnwick⁵⁴ was fighting at Durham against David II of Scotland, his son, who was to become the third Baron, was earning distinction at Crécy.⁵⁵ The third Lord Percy was a

⁵¹ CDS III 1142, 1145 & 1146.

⁵² CDS III 1377.

⁵³ Bean, "Henry IV" p. 213.

⁵⁴ This Henry Percy also served Edward Balliol, see note 9 above.

⁵⁵ Musgrove, p. 118.

signatory of the Treaty of Brétigny⁵⁶ The fourth Baron of Alnwick became the Earl of Northumberland in 1377.

Henry Percy, fourth Baron Alnwick, first became Warden of the March in 1368.⁵⁷ By 1370, however, he had accepted an indenture to serve in France.⁵⁸ Henry had returned to England by 1373 to continue his feud with the Scottish Earl of Douglas over the Jedburgh Forest. The feud was over the jurisdiction of Jedburgh Forest, between not only Percy and Douglas, but between the kings. The area was a disputed territory, having changed hands a number of times. The Scots king had granted it to the House of Douglas while the English king had granted it to the House of Percy. A jury from both countries was appointed to arbitrate a settlement,⁵⁹ but none was reached.

In 1377, Percy, now Earl of Northumberland⁶⁰ appeared in the trial of Wycliffe alongside John of Gaunt in his temporary position as Marshal of England.⁶¹ It was Northumberland who roughly cleared a path for the prisoner, and Northumberland who began the argument with Bishop Courtenay of London. In the uproar at the end of the trial, Gaunt and Northumberland sought asylum upriver in Kennington Palace with Richard II and his mother Joan of Kent.⁶² In

⁵⁶ Foedera III vi 238-63 for treaty.

⁵⁷ See appendix d pp. 139-42.

⁵⁸ CDS IV 165.

⁵⁹ Foedera III vii 3-4 & CDS IV 203.

⁶⁰ Foedera III vii 158-60, see especially 160.

⁶¹ Northumberland held the position as Marshal only for a short time before he resigned it in favor of its rightful owner.

⁶² For details of the Trail of Wycliffe, see Sydney Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt . London, 1964. pp. 148-57.

1381, however, upon hearing of the Peasant Revolt in the South, Northumberland denied Gaunt access to the royal castle at Bamburgh, forcing him to seek asylum in Scotland. What had happened in their relationship to cause Northumberland to take such a drastic step? Gaunt had been appointed Lieutenant of the March in 1380, and had replaced Northumberland as supreme in the Borders.⁶³ He had not been replaced as warden,⁶⁴ but his authority was superseded by Gaunt.

Northumberland participated in Richard's invasion of Scotland, and also in 1385 Richard granted him pardon for letting Berwick fall into Scottish hands twice since his accession.⁶⁵ He retained his wardenship throughout most of the 1380s and 90s, but only in conjunction with other appointees, and in the 1390s those appointees were usually Richard's court favorites. This policy caused Richard to lose Northumberland's support. He took his revenge against Richard in 1399.

With his first wife, Margaret Neville, sister of John Neville of Raby, Northumberland had a son, Henry 'Hotspur' Percy.⁶⁶ Hotspur made his first appearance on the Border in 1381 when he presided over a duel with Ralph Neville. In 1384 Hotspur was first named as one of the Wardens of the March.

It is not from the border region that he earned his nickname, but from the Borderers in service in France. A contingent of around 900 Borderers led by

⁶³ After 1380, I can find no evidence of safe conducts issued by Northumberland, but Gaunt issued 9 in the summer of 1381 alone, see *JGR* 1379-83, 1189-1197. For this act, Northumberland was forced to publicly apologize to Gaunt in London, see *Westminster* pp. 20-23.

⁶⁴ Northumberland was indentured as warden for £2500 in peace and £5000 in war in 1380, see *CDS* IV 296.

⁶⁵ *CDS* IV 333 & *Foedera* III vii 463.

⁶⁶ After this, this Henry Percy will be referred to in the time honored way as Hotspur.

Hotspur were in Yarmouth in anticipation of a French invasion. Hotspur and his men grew tired of waiting and he commandeered every ship he could find, loaded up his men and sailed to France. The landing of the Borderers was unexpected and they devastated the land around Calles, and returned to England loaded down with booty. His impetuosity earned him the name Hotspur from the soldiers, but it was not long before it was his nickname throughout the populace.⁶⁷

Hotspur was to gain his most memorable fame in the ill-starred Battle of Otterburn in 1388.⁶⁸ After surveying the far superior numbers under the Earl of Fife in the west, he moved against James, Earl of Douglas and the Earl of Dunbar in the east. After an all day march, he attacked the Scots camp around sunset, certainly with the impetuosity that earned him his nickname – after an all day march and without dinner, he engaged his men in battle against an encamped enemy. It is hardly surprising that after the initial surprise, the English lost the battle and Hotspur was taken captive. The defeat of Hotspur at Otterburn was to lead to the collapse of the government of the Lords Appellant and put Richard II once more in control of the English government. Before the Lords Appellant lost power, Northumberland was forbidden to release any Scottish prisoners.⁶⁹ This edict effectively kept Northumberland from negotiating the ransom of his son.

Northumberland could only attempt to mediate the trouble between the king and the Lords Appellant; he was not a major figure in this struggle.⁷⁰ When

⁶⁷ Brennan, pp. 37-8.

⁶⁸ In anticipation of a Scottish invasion, Hotspur was made warden at a rate of £3000 in time of peace and £12,000 in time of war, see, CDS IV 377.

⁶⁹ CDS IV 384 & Foedera III vii 607.

⁷⁰ Bean, "Henry IV", p. 215 and note.

he was once again in power, however, Richard asked the Captain of Calais and the Bishop of Durham to seek the French ambassadors' aid in obtaining the release of Hotspur.⁷¹ Richard also paid £4500 to Hotspur toward his ransom.⁷² But this financial aid, and generous recompense for the wardenship were not enough to stop Hotspur from later welcoming Henry Bolingbrook with open arms.

Northumberland's younger brother, Thomas, also played a role in the family. Thomas was well known for his diplomatic efforts on Richard's behalf.⁷³ And he was often found in the Borders assisting his brother and nephew.⁷⁴ He was occasionally even named warden in the 1380s.⁷⁵ For his loyal service Thomas was created Earl of Worcester in 1396. But Thomas abandoned Richard in 1399, family loyalty was where his support would be placed.

When the Percies met Henry at Doncaster, they announced their dissatisfaction with Richard's March Policy of appointing outsiders to the Wardenship in the clearest terms. By bringing their Border retainers to the Lancastrian cause, they gave Henry an overwhelming superiority. As Henry and the Borderers swept south, any opposition was either induced to join them or was swept carelessly aside. When they reached Bristol at the end of July, Henry had three of Richard's most hated favorites executed. There could have been no doubts at that point about Henry's intentions; the executions were a usurpation of

⁷¹ CDS V 860.

⁷² CDS IV 395 & 420.

⁷³ With the French see Foedera III vii 412-4, 418-21, and with the Scots Foedera III viii 32-3

⁷⁴ see CDS IV 252 & Foedera III vii 425.

⁷⁵ See appendix d pp. 139-42.

royal authority.⁷⁶ It is equally obvious that when he was sent to Richard by Henry, Northumberland deceived Richard. It seems likely that he did take an oath that Henry only came to reclaim his inheritance, but he could not have believed that himself at that point.⁷⁷ Henry had granted him the wardenship of the march before he sent Northumberland to Richard.⁷⁸ No matter what he claimed later, Northumberland knew Richard's fall was assured. If Northumberland knew, it is impossible to believe that his son and brother were in ignorance. Even though the Percies were granted generous terms of wardenship, and Thomas was made Admiral of the Navy,⁷⁹ their honeymoon with the House of Lancaster was to be very brief.

In 1400, Northumberland and Hotspur were forbidden to ransom prisoners.⁸⁰ Henry refused an offer by the Percies to mediate in the revolt of Owain Glyndwr.⁸¹ Also, in 1400, the Earl of Dunbar defected to Henry and by 1401 the King requested the Percies to accept him on the Border.⁸² After the battle of Homildon Hill in 1402, Northumberland and Hotspur were once again forbidden to ransom their prisoners.⁸³ Hotspur was also asked to resign his life grant of Roxburgh Castle, and it was ultimately given to the Percy rival Westmorland. Henry attempted to compensate the House of Percy for the loss of

⁷⁶ Tuck, p. 217.

⁷⁷ Hutchison, chapter 9. He has a different view of Northumberland than is portrayed here or in Tuck, Bean, or Musgrove.

⁷⁸ Musgrove, p. 142. See especially Bean, "Henry IV" p. 219-20 and note 51.

⁷⁹ Bean, "Henry IV" p. 221.

⁸⁰ CDS IV 565 & Foedera III vii 162.

⁸¹ Tuck, p. 228.

⁸² CDS IV 581.

⁸³ CDS IV 621 & Foedera IIV viii 278-9. Foedera 278 is misnumbered as 238, but falls between 277 and 279. The Earl of Dunbar was also forbidden to ransom prisoners.

Roxburgh. The Earl of Northumberland was given the lands of the Earl of Douglas, who had been captured by Hotspur at Homildon, even though Henry had no right to grant Scottish lands.

This could have been an effort at conciliation on Henry's part.⁸⁴ It would have certainly given the Percy family supremacy in the north. Northumberland did attempt to take a couple of castles by siege, but was forced to abandon them. Hotspur besieged Cocklaws Castle, but he also abandoned the enterprise. In 1403, the family of Percy was in revolt.

In his History of the House of Percy, Brennan's version of the tale is that Henry had sworn at Doncaster that he only returned to take back his inheritance, and Northumberland was now turning his back on a lying usurper. Hotspur also claimed that Henry had sworn not to depose Richard at Doncaster, and Hotspur was attempting to place his nephew, the eight year old Mortimer Earl of March,⁸⁵ now a prisoner of Glyndwr, on the throne. The problem with this argument is not just the illogic of waiting three years to declare King Henry a liar. Brennan relies heavily on Hardyng's Chronicle for his information; and Hardyng not only wrote two quite different versions of his Chronicle, he has also been proven to be a forger.⁸⁶ Hardyng's first chronicle was written for Henry VI, and was favorable to the Lancastrian House; his second version was written for Edward IV, and told a different story.

⁸⁴ Tuck, p. 228.

⁸⁵ See genealogies pp. 66-7.

⁸⁶ For an in-depth look at the problems with Hardyng see C.L. Kingsford "The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle", EHR, vol. 27 no 105 July 1912. pp. 462-82. For the forgery see p. 466-8.

One of the main reasons given for the revolt of the Percies is financial. That Henry IV's payments to them were in arrears is certainly true, but the evidence shows that real efforts were made to meet their needs.⁸⁷ While Northumberland claimed that Henry owed him £20,000, the King's finances show that his debts were in fact well below that figure.⁸⁸ It is also true that regardless of the richness of the Lancastrian estates, the royal Exchequer was at a low ebb. Henry, like most medieval kings, was forced to pawn his jewels.⁸⁹ In 1386, Northumberland had made a deal with the Crown to discharge its debts to him for the sum of £700. Why wasn't he prepared to make a similar deal with the Exchequer of the King he had put on the throne? The question of why the Percies needed money so desperately is usually not asked. But the answer is very simple; in their efforts to reign supreme in the Borders, they had over-extended themselves.

The House of Percy's expenditure on fees to maintain their northern army and annuities of retinue was nearly equal to that of John of Gaunt at the end of his life.⁹⁰ The only thing that made these expenditures feasible was the amount of revenue generated by the Wardenship of the Marches.⁹¹ Because of the crown's

⁸⁷ Bean, "Henry IV" p. 223. The Percies had been paid fairly regularly, though not the entire sums owed, see *CDS* IV 602,633 & V 893,908, &922 for some of the payments made.

⁸⁸ Bean, "Henry IV" p. 223. Bean has a chart showing that the Percies had not been paid the £60,000 that rumor said they had. They had in fact received just over £38,591.

⁸⁹ *King's Letters*, pp. 122-3. This letter, dated 1401, states that all the jewels in the keeping of the Prince of Wales and others will be forwarded to his council in the city of London.

⁹⁰ Bean, pp. 170-1. No exact figures are available for the size of the Percy retinue as the amount of money for each retainer depended on the agreement in the indenture and the Percy family records from this period are incomplete.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 172.

financial embarrassment, these payments were in arrears, and with the Battle of Homildon Hill and the siege of castles belonging to the Earl of Douglas, the Percies were becoming increasingly financially insolvent. The inability to receive the full amount owed by the Royal Exchequer coupled with the order not to ransom the prisoners of Homildon would appear to have been the final straws for the Percy's financial camel.

The financial situation, while desperate enough to drive the Percies to revolt, had not collapsed completely. This meant that the Percies could bring an army to the field that was a serious threat to Henry IV.⁹² Henry had to prevent the forces of Hotspur, marching south from Chester, from meeting up with either the forces of Glyndwr coming from the west or those of his father, Northumberland, coming from the north-east. His uncle Worcester had already met up with him. Even without the strength of the northern forces under Northumberland, Hotspur and Worcester could field a formidable army. Henry had appointed Hotspur Warden of North Wales and Worcester Warden of South Wales when the revolt had begun. The two generals had borne the brunt of the fighting against the Welsh since 1400⁹³ and already had forces in Wales. Henry was determined to keep the three forces opposed to him from meeting up and Westmorland was sent to cut off Northumberland.⁹⁴ Henry marched for Shrewsbury with the Earl of Dunbar; there he found Hotspur and Worcester, who had been joined by their erstwhile prisoner, the Earl of Douglas. Henry attempted to negotiate with

⁹² Tuck, p. 229.

⁹³ Davies, p. 112.

⁹⁴ See note 39 above.

Worcester, but no agreement could be reached. Battle ensued until the news of Hotspur's death brought it to an end. Worcester was captured, arrested and executed two days later.

Westmorland, however, had managed to stop the tardy Northumberland and sent messages for Henry to hurry north. When the King arrived at his castle of Pontefract, Northumberland surrendered to him and offered two of his grandsons, one the son of Hotspur, as hostages. Henry turned down the offer of hostages, but ordered the confiscation of the Earl of Northumberland's castles. In the Parliament of January of 1404, the Commons asked if Northumberland could be pardoned. He was not only pardoned, but publicly reconciled to both Westmorland and Dunbar.⁹⁵ Northumberland's humility was not to last long.

In 1405 Northumberland instigated the Scrope Rebellion, which was easily put down by Westmorland. This time there was no forgiveness for the Earl of Northumberland; he was forced to flee north to Scotland taking his grandson with him.⁹⁶ His history as a Border raider made Scotland's reception of Northumberland rather tepid.⁹⁷ It was not long before he was plotting again in France and Wales. Northumberland's final revolt came in 1408 at Bramham Moor, where after his long career, he died in battle.

Henry Percy, son of Hotspur, had been left in Scotland and was not involved in his grandfather's rebellions. He was married to Eleanor, daughter of

⁹⁵ Tuck, p. 229.

⁹⁶ Scotichronicon XV; 18.

⁹⁷ Davies suggests that Northumberland left Scotland in 1406 for his own safety, p. 122.

Westmorland and Joan Beaufort, in Berwick in 1414.⁹⁸ Later that year, Henry V consented to receive Henry Percy's petition for the restoration of the Percy estates at the request of his aunt. Henry Percy was exchanged for the Governor of Scotland's son and heir in 1416.⁹⁹ Henry was reinstated as the second Earl of Northumberland upon his return to England and made Warden of the East March in 1417. In spite of this, he remembered his years in Scotland, and seemed to look favorably on the Scots.¹⁰⁰ A case in which he 'condemned immoderate and excessive damages against a man for spoiling a Scots prisoner' was heard by another commission in 1423.¹⁰¹ The second Earl of Northumberland was appointed as a member of the council of regency for the young Henry VI. His sons caused disturbances by fighting with the son of the Earl of Salisbury in 1454. The second Earl of Northumberland ended his life like so many members of his family, on the battlefield. He died fighting in the royal army against the Duke of York in 1455.

The military impact of the Percies was felt by the royal administration mostly through their control of the wardenship. The House of Percy consistently forced the English government to finance an army that could be used for as well as against its authority. The Percies, Northumberland especially, did not support any administration or monarch. Instead, they sought control of the administration for their own family aggrandizement. This policy collapsed when Henry IV was able to maintain the loyalty of the other powerful Border family, the Nevilles.

⁹⁸ See genealogy p. 66.

⁹⁹ The exchange was made by the Earl of Westmorland see, CDS IV 895.

¹⁰⁰ Scotichronicon XV p. 84-5

This was not the end of either the Percies or the Nevilles; there was a resurgence of the old rivalry in 1453-4.¹⁰² The houses of Percy and Neville had become crisis managers and kingmakers, and they remained such from 1399 to 1569.¹⁰³ Their hold on this rather remarkable power was to stem from this period; but why did it come about?

The Neville family attained their power through loyal service to the Crown; they were very good at knowing on whose head it would come to rest. They used their position as warden to finance more modest local power structures than their cousins, the Percies. With royal land grants and royal marriages the Nevilles created a power base, not only in the north, but in the central administration as well.

The Percy family, conversely, tried to manipulate the Crown.¹⁰⁴ The Percies, due to their raiding experience on the Border, were an asset to the warrior king, Edward III. They attained distinction and territory through military service. Yet it was not until 1376, when Edward was incapacitated by age, that the Percies developed an active role in the central administration. The first Earl of Northumberland came to the political fore only in Edward's advanced years and during his grandson's turbulent reign. There is no direct evidence that Richard feared the power of the Percies, but it is certainly arguable that Richard's March Policy was designed to strike at the heart of that power.

¹⁰¹ CDS IV 929.

¹⁰² Bean, p. 180.

¹⁰³ Musgrove, pp. 120-1.

¹⁰⁴ Bean, "Henry IV", p. 226.

The Percies' deteriorating relationship with Henry IV can be traced to their perception of declining influence. After being put on the throne by the Border armies of the Percy family,¹⁰⁵ Henry showed them high favor. Henry, however, also showed favor to those who had shared his exile,¹⁰⁶ and other supporters such as Westmorland. When the House of Percy decided that Henry was difficult to control and their financial troubles reached a crisis, they rebelled. The rebellion was meant to put the Earl of March, a child of eight, on the throne. The Percy family could certainly count on their control of royal policy if they had succeeded. The Percies, unlike the Nevilles, preferred to create their influence through their own efforts of control, rather than trusting royal whim.

A number of factors were to play a significant role in the rise of the Borderlords. One was the obvious factor of the income attached to the wardenship; the Borderlords were able to amass personal armies and force the government to pay for this threat to its authority. The relationship of the Borderlords to the royal family through marriage also played a very important role. The other factor is certainly the personalities and policies of some of the kings in this era. If Edward III had not begun to trust them to maintain the Borders with large indentured retinues, if Richard II had managed his affairs in a different manner, if Henry IV had not developed financial troubles or if Henry V had not left an infant heir, it is possible that the Borderlords would not have been

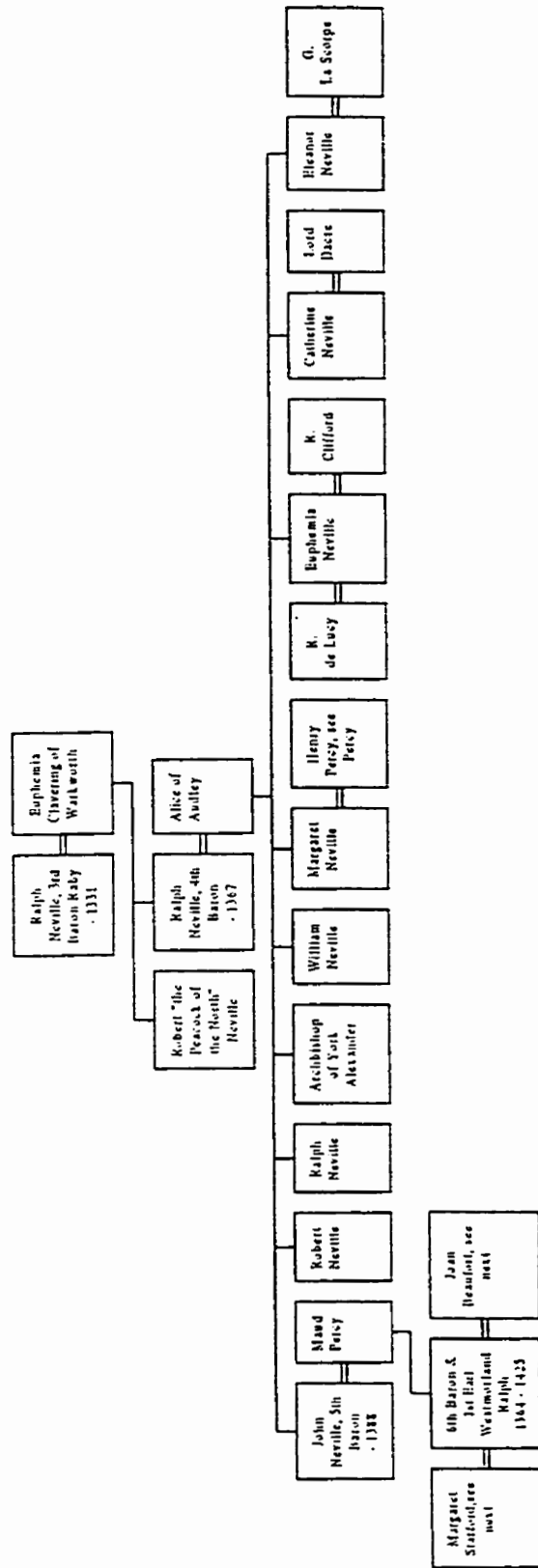
¹⁰⁵ Bean, "Henry IV", p. 216.

¹⁰⁶ Tuck, p. 224.

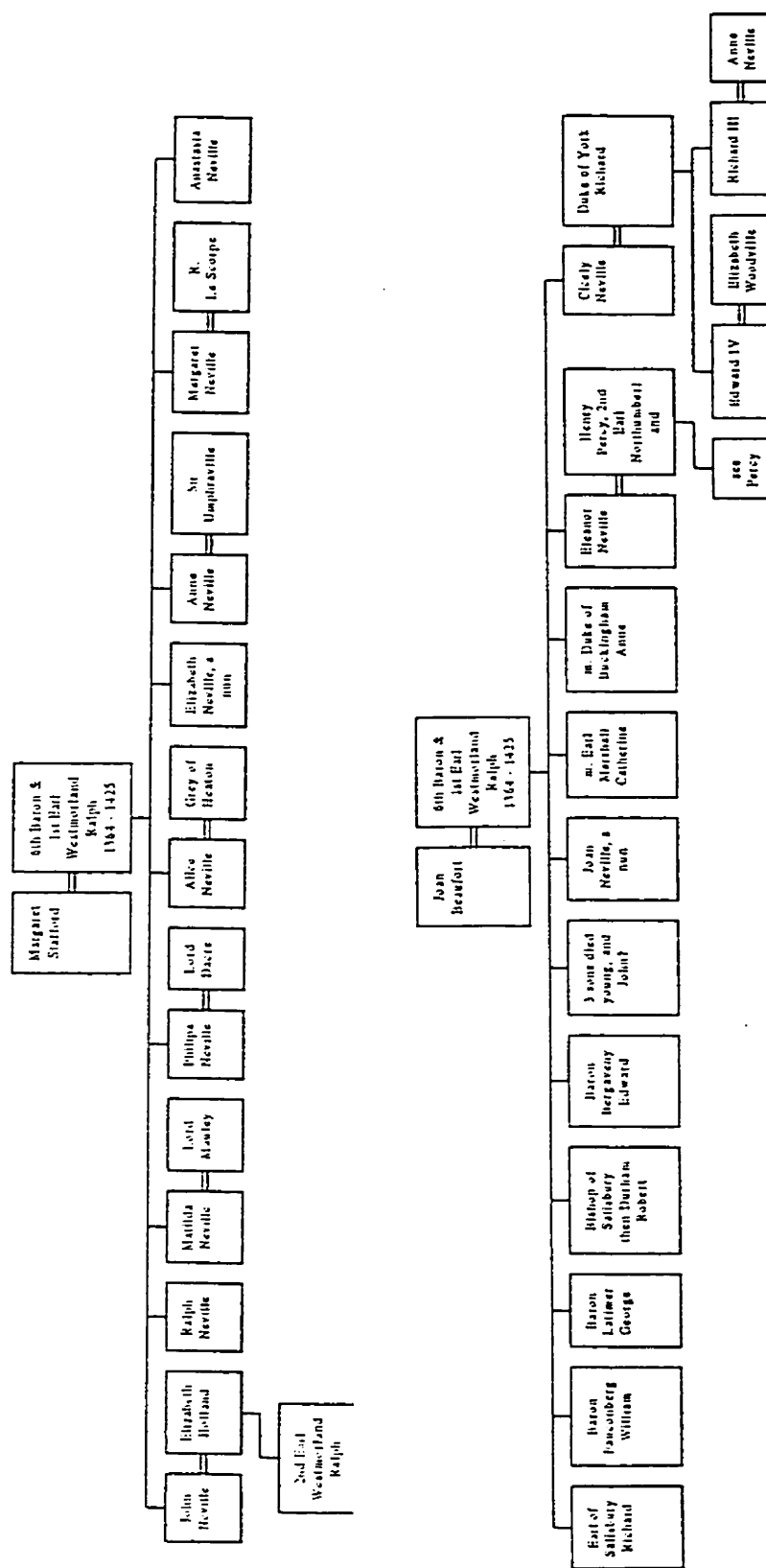
able to influence the kingship and royal administration the way that they did in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ For the history of the later fifteenth century see; The North of England in the Age of Richard III, A. J. Pollard, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

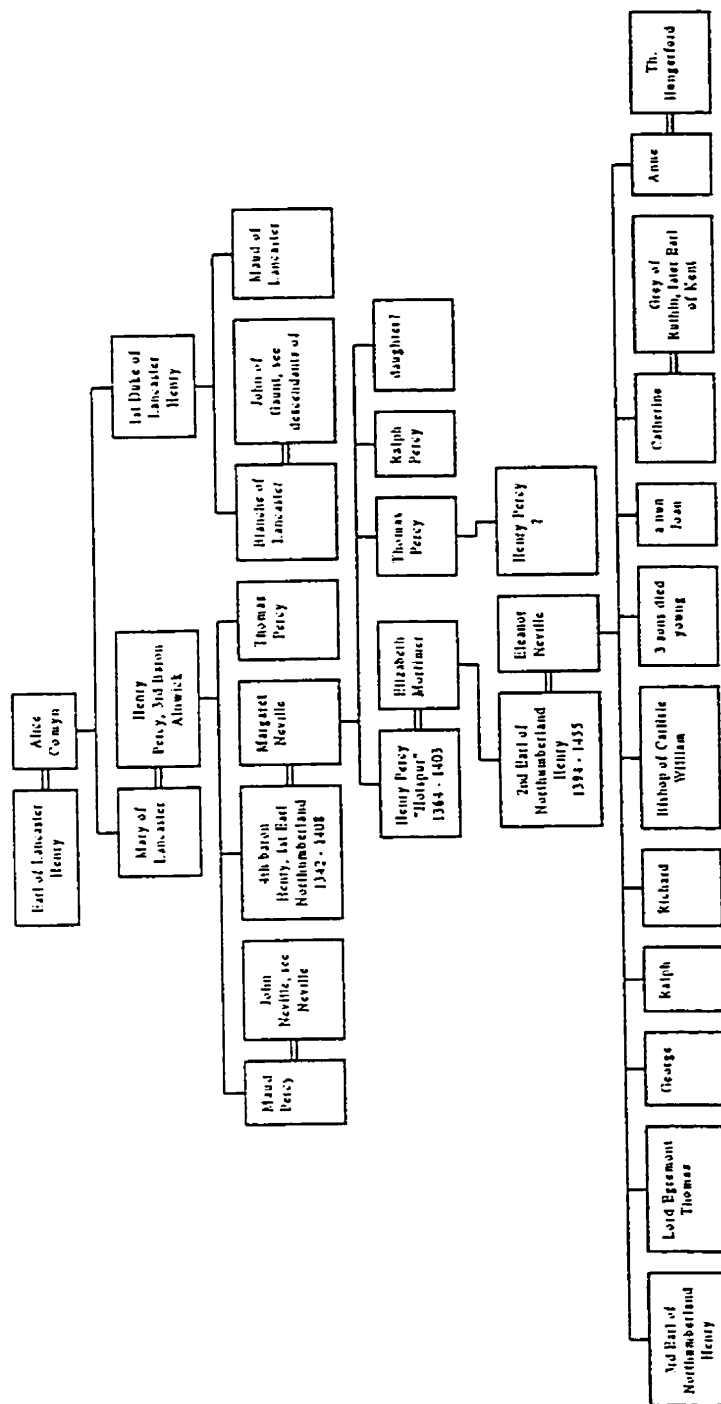
The House of Neville



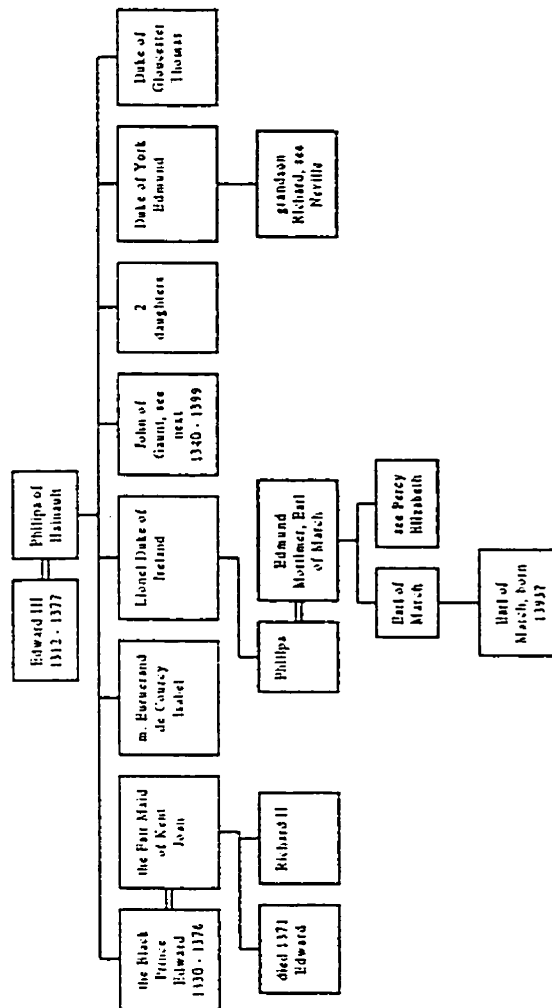
Descendants of Ralph, 1st Earl of Westmorland



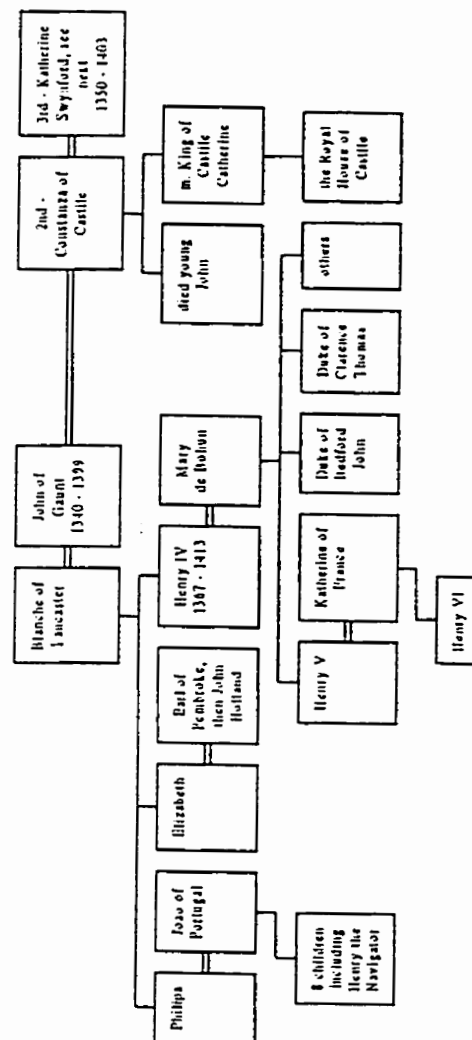
the House of Percy



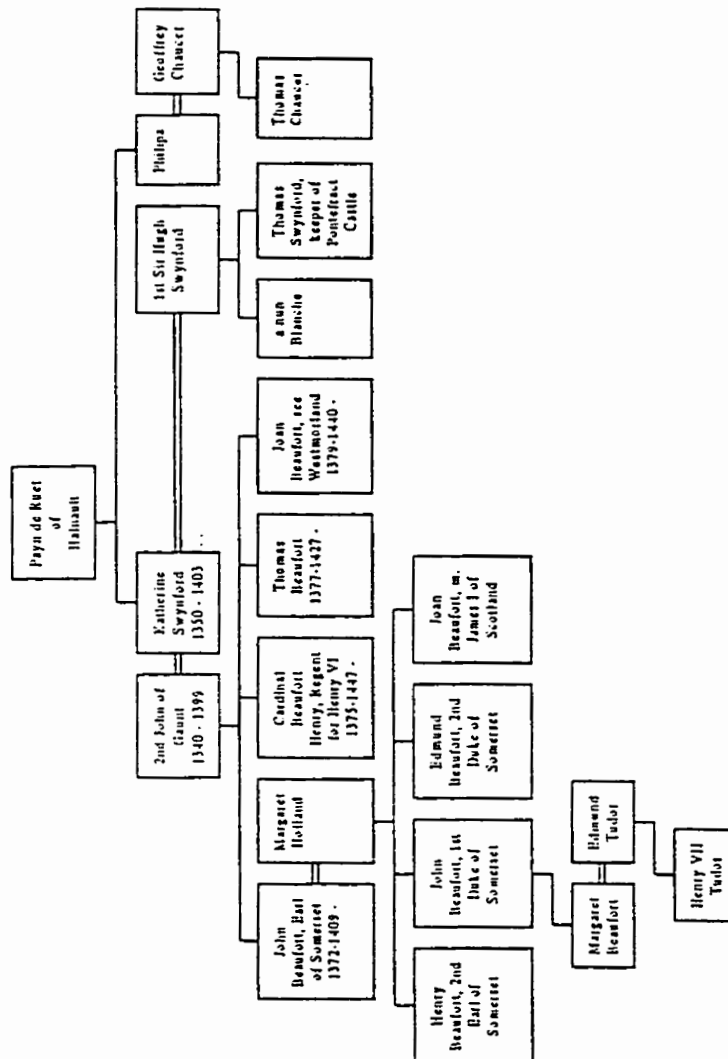
House of Plantagenet



Descendants of John of Gaunt



The Beauforts



Chapter 3

The Scottish Borderlords

Vails not to tell each hardy clan
From the fair Middle Marches came;
The Bloody Heart blazed in the van,
Announcing Douglas, dreaded name;
Vails not to tell what steeds did spurn,
Where the seven spears of Wedderburn
Their men in battle order set;...
Nor list I say what hundreds more,
From the rich Merse and Lammermore,
And Tweed's fair borders to the war,
Beneath the crest of old Dunbar...

Sir Walter Scott, The Lay of the Last Minstrel

If the English borderers knew no peace, their counterparts in Scotland were equally strangers to anything except war and raiding. The Scots borderers were either to be found raiding and burning the north of England, or burning their own country in anticipation of an English invasion. It was often difficult to tell where invasion left off and retaliation began. Unlike England, however, this form of raid and counter-raid was not confined to the Border region. Raiding was most certainly apparent throughout Scotland; the aristocracy north of the Forth indulged in not only raiding, but protection rackets as well, aided by their caterans.¹ Scotland, however, managed to avoid major dynastic conflicts.²

Recent historians of Scotland, led by A. Grant and J. Wormald, have argued that Scotland was much less violent in this period than England. While they are both willing to admit exceptions, they believe that these prove the rule. Closer scrutiny reveals that, while certainly no more violent than England, Scotland does not appear to be any less violent. Violence was a way of life in this period, and certainly not just on the Isle of Britain, but throughout Europe as well.³ They are correct in one assessment: violence in Scotland was of a highly local nature.⁴

¹ Cateran derives from the Gaelic for a lightly armed warrior used for plundering raids.

² The change of dynasty in this period, from Bruce to Stewart, was decreed by Parliament; APS I 465-6, and managed to take place with little dissension, see Douglas below.

³ The Hundred Years War involved not only England, France and Scotland; at one time or another throughout the period it also involved Castille & Leon, Navarre, Burgundy, Portugal, the Low Countries and the Holy Roman Empire. Their involvement usually was part of internal struggles or resulted in them.

⁴ For A. Grant's argument see "Crown & Nobility in Late Medieval Scotland" from Scotland & England 1286-1815, Edinburgh, 1987, pp.34-59. for J. Wormald see "Taming the Magnates?" in Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland, Edinburgh, 1985, pp. 270-80. For a brief overview of dissenting opinion see M. H. Brown, "Scotland Tamed?: Kings and Magnates in Late Medieval Scotland" Innes Review, vol 45 no 2, Autumn 1994, pp. 120-46.

Localism was the major factor due to the form of Scottish administration. The magnates enjoyed almost all the political power in their own territories by holding most of the local administrative offices.⁵ The system was based on sheriffdoms and baronies. The baron reigned supreme in his barony as the royal representative with the same duties as a sheriff. Most of the earls, lords and greater barons held the hereditary appointment of sheriff of their territorial region.⁶ The sheriffs and barons were responsible for the dispensing of the king's justice within their jurisdictions. This practice appears to have kept most armed conflict on a local level. This form of administration did not allow the office of Warden of the March to have the impact on government that the office did in England and was not a factor in Scotland.

This is not to say that magnates did not have an effect on central government. On the contrary, these circumstances could lead to the magnates having a drastic effect on the central administration, especially if they were incapable of governing their locality.⁷ Incompetence was not the only way to have an impact. As with the Nevilles in England, royal service was still a way to influence the administration.

The Borderlords had their fair share of influence on royalty and central administration. The impact that they had took on different forms with different circumstances and personalities. This depended on the monarch or his regent in

⁵ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 150 & Grant, "Crown & Nobility" p. 42.

⁶ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, pp. 150-152. Grant in "The development of the Scottish Peerage" *SHR*, vol 57 1978, pp. 1-27 defines a greater baron as one holding three or more baronies, p. 15.

⁷ This was the case with the Fleming Earldom of Wigtown, see Douglas below.

the case of the Douglas family; but Dunbar's influence often depended on current relations with England. These differences in approach mean that it is more effective to discuss the two families separately.

Douglas

The family of Douglas had a long association with the kings of Scotland. During the Wars of Independence, the closest and most loyal companion of Robert Bruce was the Good Sir James, Lord of Douglas. It was Sir James who took the heart of Robert I on Crusade and died fighting the Infidel in Spain in 1330.⁸ His brother, Archibald Douglas, became Regent for David II. Sir James had one legitimate son, William, who died fighting the English at Halidon Hill with his uncle, Archibald the Regent, in 1333.

The entire Douglas inheritance next passed to the third brother, Hugh, who was a Canon of Glasgow. He held them for nine years, after which they passed to Archibald's son, William.⁹ In 1342, Hugh resigned the estates to David II who granted them to William under entail. William, who was still a minor at this time, was in France, where the Douglas family was well known. During this regranteeing, the valley of Liddel was granted to Sir William Douglas, the "Flower of Chivalry", from which he drew his sobriquet, the Knight of Liddesdale. The Knight of Liddesdale's parentage is unknown, but it is known that he was the god-

⁸ Alan Macquarrie, Scotland and the Crusades. Edinburgh, 1997. For a discussion of the Chroniclers on the subject see pp. 74-80.

⁹ See genealogy p. 107.

father of William, Lord of Douglas.¹⁰ When the Lord of Douglas returned to Scotland in 1348, this alienation of his territory without his permission led to conflict.

The Knight of Liddesdale was captured at the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. He became the liegeman of Edward III of England upon his release in 1352.¹¹ Much confusion has resulted, as both the Knight of Liddesdale and the Lord of Douglas were named William, but it would appear that it was the Knight of Liddesdale who had treasonable relations with King Edward III in regards to the release of King David.¹² One year later, in 1353, while Liddesdale was hunting in the Ettrick Forest, the Lord of Douglas met up with him as he was returning from a raid on English-held Annandale. A quarrel resulted from this unexpected meeting, and the Lord of Douglas killed his god-father, the Knight of Liddesdale.¹³

In 1354,¹⁴ after the death of the Knight of Liddesdale, David II granted William, Lord of Douglas, in addition to the estates of his father, Archibald the Regent, those of his uncle, Sir James.¹⁵ These included Douglasdale, Lauderdale,

¹⁰ TDB I, p. 497, his great - grandfather was Andrew Douglas who had a son, William, Scots Peerage III p. 136. Lanercost states that the Knight of Liddesdale was the son of James Douglas of Lothian, p. 292, note 1.

¹¹ CDS III 1562, Foedera III v 739.

¹² CDS IV 45. Edward appoints two men to locate and arrest Maria Douglas, daughter and heir of William Douglas whose marriage belongs to him. For more on Maria see p. 85, note 51 below.

¹³ A number of romantic reasons are given for this duel, but TDB follows Fordun who attributes it to "enmities and diverse disputes and hatreds, which the desire of power raised up betwixt them" and believes that it was a dispute over territory, TDB I pp. 222-4.

¹⁴ TDB I 227-8, David was in England at this time, but TDB states that Douglas was in England specifically to see him.

¹⁵ See map p. 106.

the valley of Esk, the forests of Ettrick, Selkirk, Yarrow and Tweed, the town, castle and forest of Jedburgh, the barony of Buittle in Galloway and the lands of Polbuthy in Moffatdale, the valley of Liddle and the baronies of Kirkandrews, Cavers, Drumlanrig, Terregles and Westcalder with the sheriffdoms of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles and the Upper Ward of the Clyde.¹⁶ The grant of 1354 included the lands that were part of the entail to William, Lord of Douglas, and his heirs male, failing which it would go to Black Archibald Douglas, the natural son of the Good Sir James, and other lands to which William laid claim.¹⁷

This was one of the few great feudatories in fourteenth-century Scotland that was not a continuous territory.¹⁸ Traditionally the holdings of the great magnates were contiguous territories basically corresponding to the counties of Scotland. The move away from large territorial holdings to more honorific titles began in the fourteenth-century. Douglas was one of the first to receive a title of this type. His title derived from the small valley from which his family took its name rather than from a county.¹⁹

Douglas became a leader against the English, and was a leader of the Scottish forces with the Earl of Dunbar and the French against the English forces in 1355. Also attributed to the Lord of Douglas was a diplomatic maneuver in

¹⁶ RMS. I;123. TDB III, p. 360-1. The RMS notes that it gets this charter from TDB.

¹⁷ TDB III pp. 357-9 contains the entail of 1342.

¹⁸ Grant, "Scottish Peerage" p. 3. He is discussing it as an Earldom, which it became in 1358, without any additional grants of land. For a complete discussion on the territories of the Scots magnate of this period, see A. Grant, "Higher Nobility in Scotland and Their Estates, 1371-1424." Oxford University, unpublished PhD thesis, 1975.

¹⁹ For a complete discussion on the territories of the Scots magnate of this period, see A. Grant, "Higher Nobility in Scotland and Their Estates, 1371-1424." Oxford University, unpublished PhD thesis, 1975.

1356. He met Edward III and arranged for a ten day truce, and led the King of England to believe the Scots would consider his claims. It was a stall for time, as at the end of the truce Douglas and his army were gone. His ploy had given the Scots time to practice their scorched-earth tactics. In revenge, Edward burned towns, churches, abbeys and anything that the Scots had left standing in what became known as the Burnt Candlemas.²⁰

William had been raised in France and learned military tactics there, but his military skills were polished on the Borders. He had also learned the maxims of Robert I and the Border art of negotiation. His French training not only gave him an entrée into King David's inner council, but made him a popular general with the French. So in September of 1356, Douglas was in France and fought alongside King John II at Poitiers. It was only through the insistence of his men that he was convinced to leave the field before he was captured. Not even the assistance of the Borderers under William, Lord of Douglas saved the French from an English defeat.

One year later, in September of 1357, Douglas was one of the guarantors of the ransom of King David. In recognition of his services to the king William was created Earl of Douglas in January of 1358. This involved no additional land grants, and was the first honorary earldom granted in Scotland.²¹ Between 1358 and 1361, the new Earl of Douglas traveled frequently to England in the company of the Earl of Dunbar and Robert Stewart, probably in connection with the

²⁰ TDB I pp. 230-1.

²¹ See Grant as above, note 18.

ransom of David II.²² In 1359, Earl William was accused of raiding the customs of Peebles, but when the matter was brought before the king, he was satisfied with the Earl's reply.²³ This use of government revenue was not uncommon. Money collected by local agents was often spent on the spot as instructed.²⁴ In this instance, William did not have royal instructions, but his use of the funds was approved by the king.

Because of the French background that they shared, William was a supporter of David II. In 1363, however, the Earl was not on good terms with his king. In that year, Earl William, the Earl of Dunbar and the Steward sent the king a petition complaining that the money for his ransom, for which they were responsible, was being squandered by bad government and bad advisors.²⁵ Small battles ensued, including one at Inverkeithing involving Douglas, but in the end David was the winner. The Steward, as heir to the throne, had the most to lose and backed down first, followed very soon afterwards by the Earl of Dunbar and at last Douglas. All three were forced to renew their allegiance to the king with another oath of fealty.²⁶ Later that year Douglas accompanied David on his journey to London²⁷ to negotiate with the English in regards to the arrears in ransom payments.²⁸

²² TDB I p. 234.

²³ ERS I 567 & 569.

²⁴ Grant, Independence and Nationhood, p. 149.

²⁵ David had just married Margaret Logie and her Drummond kinsmen were filling up David's council, according to the petition, to the exclusion of the leading magnates.

²⁶ Scotichronicon XIV; 27 for Robert Stewart's oath of fealty. Those demanded of Douglas and Dunbar would be of similar form.

²⁷ There is some debate as to this sequence of events, but this seems to be the accepted order of events, marriage, revolt and then the English offer.

²⁸ CDS IV 93. Edward gives gifts to those who accompanied David, one of whom is the Earl

It would be logical for the Earl to accompany David; not only was he one of the guarantors of the ransom, the act would serve to reinstate him with the Scots king after his revolt. As the agreement provided for the English king or one of his sons to inherit the throne, it also served as his revenge against Robert Stewart for his abandonment of Douglas in the revolt. Until this time, Douglas had been an ally of the Steward who was rarely if ever favored by his uncle, King David. In the Parliament of March 1364 the Scots refused the treaty, and a new ransom treaty was drawn up 1364-5.²⁹

The Earl of Douglas was in attendance at the negotiations with the English in 1367. When this agreement was approved by Parliament, however, Douglas was one of three magnates listed as 'contumaciously absent'.³⁰ The Douglas Book attributes this to his continued hostility toward Queen Margaret and her faction. This would appear to be the best argument for his absence and the evidence supports this conclusion. The Earl of Douglas appears to have been in reasonably constant attendance on David II after the downfall and divorce of Margaret Logie.³¹

The unexpected death of David II on 22 February 1371 and the accession of Robert Stewart led to an event that has been the subject of much conjecture. It is believed that Douglas was involved in a gathering at Linlithgow in which Robert's right of succession was questioned. That the succession could be

of Douglas.

²⁹ See chapter one p. 27.

³⁰ APS I 501. The other two are the Earls of Ross and Dunbar.

³¹ TDB I p. 250-1.

questioned is difficult to credit; under the entail of Robert I, which had been upheld as recently as 1365, Robert Stewart was the heir of David II. The only other descendant of Robert I, John of Sutherland, the son of David's sister Margaret,³² had died in 1361. Some historians have followed Bower in believing that Douglas claimed the throne through his Comyn/Balliol descent,³³ but this is certainly false. Douglas would have known better than anyone that he had no real kinship to the Comyn lineage.³⁴ In fact, the heir male of the Comyn/Balliol line in 1371 would be the son of John of Gaunt, Henry of Bolingbrook.³⁵

The gathering at Linlithgow stems from Wyntoun,³⁶ but unlike the Scotichronicon, he merely states that the Earl of Dunbar and his brother went to Linlithgow.

Than com he wyth a gret menyé
Tyl Linlythqw, quhere than was
The Erle Wyllliame off Douglas,
That schupe hym for to mak hym bare
Bot George the Erle off March thare,
Ande Johne his brothir, wyth thare men,
Com agane the Douglas then,
Through thare strenght [astonyit] was.³⁷

Wyntoun's chronicle was written c. 1420, and while he might have been alive in 1371, he would certainly have been young. A close reading does not allow the interpretation that the meeting at Linlithgow was to debate the

³² See genealogy p. 111.

³³ Pluscarden also follows this line, but it was written, like Bower's Scotichronicon, in the mid-fifteenth century.

³⁴ TDB I p. 256-9.

³⁵ Boardman, p. 42-3.

³⁶ Wyntoun IX, 1.

³⁷ Wyntoun IX 1, lines 12-20.

succession, merely that Douglas was there and Dunbar met him with a show of force. The near contemporary, Fordun, who was writing c. 1385, mentions nothing of dissent or Linlithgow. Bower, writing c. 1445, gives Linlithgow a far more sinister meaning; he claims the three estates of the realm met to negotiate the choice of king.³⁸ This would be patently ridiculous because of the entail of Robert I. The only thing unexpected about the succession was that it went to Robert Stewart and not his first-born, John of Carrick.

Robert had never been favored by his uncle, King David, and the two were quite often at odds. The situation is understandable; Robert had been Guardian while David had been in England as a prisoner for eleven years. This state of affairs was not likely to make them allies. Robert's inheritance of the throne from David was extremely unlikely; the Steward was more than eight years older than his uncle, the king. The most obvious successor to King David was Robert's son, John. John of Carrick was, therefore, if not favored, at least acknowledged by David. David II had married John to Annabella Drummond, niece of Margaret Logie in 1367. In the following year he was created Earl of Carrick, the title that David himself had held as heir to the throne.³⁹ But, David had died at forty-seven and his fifty-five year old nephew was still very much alive. That this unexpected circumstance produced a meeting of powerful magnates who had been high in the favor of David should not be surprising.

³⁸ *Scotichronicon* XIV; 36, opening lines.

³⁹ Boardman, p. 22.

The relations of Douglas and Robert Stewart had more than likely been strained since 1363.⁴⁰ That he would feel the need to communicate with the other powerful Borderlord, Dunbar, regarding this unexpected occurrence, was to be expected. When Dunbar arrived, he came prepared to support the Stewart succession. Since it is not unreasonable to believe that a meeting of this sort took place at Linlithgow, Robert's response fits into the pattern.

The Steward had been a powerful magnate for forty years, and was adept at playing the Scots political game. If the Borderlords had hesitations about their position at his accession, they must be placated. As the protectors of Scotland against the English, Robert could not afford to ignore them. He made concessions and grants to both the Houses of Douglas and Dunbar.⁴¹

The Earl of Douglas was named Justiciary South of the Forth.⁴² His son and heir, James, was knighted at the coronation of Robert II at Scone. Robert II was willing to go even farther; he negotiated the marriage of his daughter, Isobel, to the heir of Douglas.⁴³ Robert, who had been involved in magnate politics since he was a teenager, knew the importance of the Borderlords and was willing to make settlements with them. These grants do not show that Douglas contested the Steward's inheritance, only that he wished to protect his own interests in the face of the elevation of someone with whom he might have had a quarrel. After

⁴⁰ TDB I p. 259, relates that the friendship between the two was always close, but TDB also states that there is no evidence that Douglas accompanied David to London in 1363, which is disproved, see note 25 above.

⁴¹ For a discussion of Dunbar's role in 1371 see Dunbar below.

⁴² ERS II pp. 394 & 462.

⁴³ ERS II p. 433.

Robert II made settlements that showed Douglas that his interests would in no way be injured, Douglas remained loyal to the new king.

In 1373, Douglas was involved in a dispute with Henry Percy, who became the first Earl of Northumberland, over Jedburgh Forest. The affair was put to arbitration by judges from both England and Scotland, but no satisfactory conclusion was reached.⁴⁴ In 1378, the Earl of Douglas raided into England in retaliation for alleged raids by the Earl of Northumberland. In 1384, at the expiration of the truce with England, Douglas made his mark yet again. The castle of Lochmaben, in the hands of the English since 1346, was besieged and surrendered to the Scottish wardens, one of whom was Douglas, two days after the truce expired.⁴⁵ After this triumph, Douglas descended on Teviotdale and brought them back into the allegiance of the Scottish king.⁴⁶ Shortly after this William the first Earl of Douglas, contracted a fever and died.

William's greatest impact on the Scottish government was as a general on the Border. While he was usually a supporter of David II, the revolt of 1363 did not have much of an impact of the administration. William's revolt was likely due to what he considered an insult. His loss of place in David's council and the non-payment of the ransom that he had guaranteed were enough to drive him to revolt. Yet, even though he was forced to submit, David took him back into the royal council and allowed William to attend the renegotiation of the ransom treaty.

⁴⁴ See Percy Chapter 2 p. 51

⁴⁵ For the Scottish Wardens see appendix c p. 138..

⁴⁶ Wyntoun IX 5.

William was succeeded by his son James, who became the second Earl of Douglas. Only three things, aside from his marriage, are remembered about the young Earl of Douglas. The first is that he was a staunch political ally of the heir to the throne, John of Carrick. The second was his illustration of the maxim of Robert I to the French in 1385.

The French commander, Jean de Vienne, brought over a force to help the Scots against the English in 1385. As Richard's forces advanced, the Scots withdrew, and the French grew impatient. So James, Earl of Douglas, took the French commander to a mountain top where he could see the extent of the advancing English army. Vienne admitted that he saw the risk in attacking a vastly superior force, but expressed a fear that the English would destroy the country. James Douglas was supposed to have replied;

Let them do their worst, they will find little to destroy. Our people have all retired into the mountains and forests, and have carried off their flocks and herds and household stuff along with them. We will surround them with a desert, and while they never see an enemy, they shall never stir a bow-shot from their standards without being overpowered with an ambush. Let them come on at their own pleasure, and when it comes to burning and spoiling you shall see who has the worst of it.

When Vienne asked how the people could endure this, Douglas told him that the people would endure pillage, famine and all the extremities of war, but would never endure the rule of the English.⁴⁷ It is the best explanation of the Scots tactics against the English that the French would ever receive. This

⁴⁷ Borland, Raiders & Reivers pp. 17-8.

example also exemplifies how deep a wedge the administrative line had driven between the Scots and the English Borderers. In less than a century, the inhabitants of the Scottish Border were prepared to go to these lengths to escape the government of England.

The third event that is remembered about the second Earl of Douglas is his death at the Battle of Otterburn. The victory did not have much of an impact on the administration; it was his death without a surviving heir that had the most impact. William the first Earl of Douglas had amassed a large territorial supremacy in the south-central region of the kingdom. It must be remembered, however, that some of these lands fell under the entail of 1342.

In 1384 Carrick, as heir to the throne, had been named governor for his aged father, Robert II.⁴⁸ At some date in 1388, before the two-pronged invasion of England in which he played no part, John of Carrick had been lamed by a kick from a horse.⁴⁹ It was not an issue while his powerful ally, James the Earl of Douglas was alive; his death altered the entire picture. Carrick's allies were the powerful Douglas family, but the disputes in the succession to the Douglas lands forced the various members of the Douglas family to look for other political allies to support their claims.⁵⁰

Carrick himself seemed to favor Sir Malcolm Drummond, his wife's brother, who received a grant of the Selkirk Forest. This land was, unfortunately,

⁴⁸ In 1384 Robert would have been 68 years of age.

⁴⁹ When this event took place is uncertain, the horse that caused the injury is supposed to have belonged to James Douglas of Dalkeith see *Scotichronicon* XIV 53, opening lines.

⁵⁰ Boardman, p. 152.

part of the entail of 1342, which named Black Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway as the heir, and was, therefore, declared void. The other heir was Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith who was the heir of the Knight of Liddesdale.⁵¹ Most of the lands of the Knight of Liddesdale were not part of the entail. Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith received the baronies of Westerkirk and Stable Gorton, which had been granted to the Knight of Liddesdale by Hugh Douglas before he resigned the lands in 1342.

Sometime in 1374, on the death of Thomas, Earl of Mar, the first Earl of Douglas had received the earldom of Mar in the right of his wife.⁵² This earldom, of course, was not part of the Douglas entail, and there seems to have been no quarrel when it went to the second earl's sister, Isabella, wife of Sir Malcolm Drummond.⁵³ The other beneficiary of the Douglas estate was George Douglas, natural son of William, first Earl of Douglas and Margaret Stewart, his sister-in-law, Dowager Countess of Mar and Countess of Angus in her own right. She was able to retain Tantallon Castle in North Berwick for her son, as well as bestowing the Earldom of Angus on him.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Dalkeith was married to Agnes Dunbar, the sister of the Earl of Dunbar, who received the barony of Whittingham and the Isle of Man from Dunbar in 1372, see RMS I 522 & 553. The 1st Earl had, in 1370, resigned Dalkeith to the Knight's daughter Maria, who had died in 1367, and it had been granted to James Douglas, who was the Knight's nephew and heir by entail after her death, see RMS I 310.

⁵² See genealogy p. 107. Also see map p. 106. Mar is in the north-central region of Scotland.

⁵³ Drummond didn't live long enough to enjoy this victory, and Isabella Douglas, Countess of Mar in her own right, eventually married, how willingly is debatable, the natural son of the Wolf of Badenoch.

⁵⁴ It was determined that Robert, Earl of Fife was the overlord of this land, but Margaret sat determinedly in the castle of Tantallon, and would not be ousted.

The remaining territory of the Earldom of Douglas was entailed to Black Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway. Carrick does not appear to have known about the entail, or if he did know, the evidence seems to show he did not intend to honor it. In these circumstances, Archibald Douglas had to look elsewhere for support; he looked no farther than Carrick's younger brother, Robert, the Earl of Fife. By supporting the claims of Dalkeith, coming to terms with the Countess Margaret and by supporting Archibald Douglas and the entail of 1342, Robert was able to oust his brother, Carrick, from the governorship.⁵⁵ With the alliance of Archibald Douglas in 1388-9, and that of his son and heir after 1400, Robert, the second son of Robert II, maintained political supremacy, with only minor setbacks, until his death in 1420.

Black Archibald Douglas, known as 'Archibaldus dictus Grym sive terribilis',⁵⁶ was the natural son of the Good Sir James. Confusion has resulted from Hume of Godscroft's view that there were three Archibalds, when in fact there was only one.⁵⁷ Archibald must have been born in the late 1320s; his father certainly acknowledged him or he would not have been mentioned in the entail. But he must still have been a child when his father left on Crusade because he survived his father by seventy years.

The first mention of Archibald the Grim is at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. He was captured by the English, but fearing that he was far too good a

⁵⁵ Boardman, pp. 150-3.

⁵⁶ Sir Andrew Agnew, The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway: Their forebears and Friends Their Courts and Customs of their Times. Edinburgh, 1893. p. 228, note 1.

⁵⁷ TDB I p. 321. Godscroft pp. 238-9.

prize to be ransomed and would be imprisoned indefinitely, Sir William Ramsay resorted to a ruse to set him free. He accused him of being a scullion, and demanded that Archibald remove his boots, then Ramsay proceeded to beat him with one of the boots. He told the English that Archibald had stolen his master's armor, and because of this his master lay dead on the field. Ramsay ransomed the Grim Douglas immediately for forty shillings, and bade him go find his master's body and see that it got proper burial.⁵⁸ Since this is the first notice of the bastard son of Sir James, it seems remarkable that he could be considered too important for the English to discover his identity. One reason for this could have been that he was already known for his exploits in the Borders, or simply that as a bastard, Ramsay feared that no one would ransom him at all; there are no sources to determine the reason that Ramsay felt this ploy necessary.

By 1361 Archibald the Grim was the Constable of Edinburgh Castle.⁵⁹ In the revolt of 1363 he was not mentioned; either he sided with King David, or he remained neutral. He first appeared as Warden of the West March in 1364.⁶⁰ He was one of the envoys sent to the Papal court in 1369 by King David when Margaret Logie disputed the divorce.⁶¹ Whatever his role in 1363, William, his cousin and Earl of Douglas, joined him to subdue the English sympathizers in Galloway later in 1369. This is when Archibald became the Lord of Galloway, from the waters of the Cree to the waters of the Nith.⁶² It was also Archibald the

⁵⁸ Pluscarden IX; 43.

⁵⁹ ERS II pp. 92, 131, 166 & 176.

⁶⁰ TDB I p. 325.

⁶¹ ERS II p. 356. he is reimbursed for expenses.

⁶² RMS I 329 see map p. 65.

Grim that Robert II sent to negotiate an alliance with the French King in 1371.⁶³ The Fleming Earl of Wigtown, the territory that comprised the remainder of Galloway, could not control his lairds and resigned the Earldom to Archibald the Grim in 1372.⁶⁴ In 1384 as the Warden of the West March, he was once again with his cousin, the Earl of Douglas at the seizure of Lochmaben Castle. During the invasion of 1388, likely because of his association with the West March, Archibald was with the Earl of Fife, and not Douglas.

Archibald remained an adherent of Robert, Earl of Fife, later Duke of Albany, for the remainder of his life. After the settlement of the Earldom, Archibald ruled the Border, and was one of the Scots negotiating the truce of 1389.⁶⁵ He was once again involved in truce negotiations in 1397 where he set up his camp in Jedburgh Forest, to the disgust of Hotspur, who claimed the right to camp there as the Percies had always done. The young Duke of Rothesay was the recipient of Hotspur's outburst, and he promptly replied that not for a thousand pounds would he ask the Earl of Douglas to move. Jedburgh was the territory of the Earl of Douglas, granted to him by the Scottish King, whose land it was to grant as he saw fit.⁶⁶

The last public act of Archibald the Grim involved the young Duke of Rothesay. Rothesay had married Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter of the Earl of

⁶³ RMS I 401.

⁶⁴ RMS I; 507. The Lairds of Wigtown feuded and terrorized the inhabitants with lawlessness and tyranny. They challenged Fleming, and defied him repeatedly. Archibald the Grim re-instituted the rule of law, and the Lairds recognized his superior authority so Fleming resigned the Earldom to him.

⁶⁵ ERS III 690 & 239.

⁶⁶ Wyntoun IX; 18.

Dunbar, and Dunbar had paid a dowry to the king. Archibald the Grim, however, objected because the marriage of the heir had taken place without the consent of the Three Estates. He, therefore, offered a larger sum for Rothesay to marry his daughter, Mary Douglas. This offer was approved by the estates and Rothesay abandoned Elizabeth Dunbar. The Earl of Dunbar complained to the King and demanded his dowry money back. King Robert III's answer was unsatisfactory, and the Earl of Dunbar fled to the English and Henry IV.⁶⁷ After this, on Christmas Eve of 1400 Black Archibald Douglas, Grim and Terrible, died.

Archibald the Grim, unlike William, the first Earl, made his greatest impact on the Scottish government more through support than by military exploits. He supported David II, especially in the matter of the king's divorce. Archibald was rewarded for his support with the territory in Galloway that made him a true Border magnate. The change of dynasty was supported by Archibald the Grim. He went to France to negotiate a treaty between the French king and Robert II, continuing the closeness that the House of Douglas had with France. In the disputed Douglas succession, Archibald the supporter, sought support and found it in Albany. This was the final and probably strongest alliance of Archibald's career. His interference in the marriages of Rothesay could be interpreted as an attempt to undermine Rothesay who had superseded his ally, Albany.

Archibald the Grim was succeeded by his son, also Archibald, who was known as the Tyneman. "Tyne" means to lose, so Archibald Douglas was known

⁶⁷ Scotichronicon XV; 10 for Dunbar see below.

as the Lose Man or the Loser. The Douglas Book, like most historians, believes this was due to a rather unsuccessful military career, but Agnew believes that it was due to his physical losses in battle.⁶⁸

In the upheaval of his sister's marriage to Rothesay, after the Earl of Dunbar had fled to England, the Tyneman took possession of Dunbar Castle and the lands of Dunbar were attached to the other Douglas territories. His next act was aiding Albany in the arrest of Rothesay in 1402. Rothesay, the Tyneman's brother-in-law, died in Albany's castle at Falkland. Rumors of murder were officially put to rest by Parliament, who acquitted Albany and the Tyneman.⁶⁹ Later that year, in retaliation for an invasion of the Percies and the Earl of Dunbar, the Tyneman led a raid into England. The English moved to stop the Scots and the result was the Battle of Homildon Hill. The English archers carried the day; the Tyneman was captured, losing an eye to one arrow and being injured by several others.

Henry IV did not allow the Percies to ransom the Tyneman, and when they went into revolt against Henry IV, the Percies offered him his freedom if he would join them. The Tyneman agreed and fought at Shrewsbury. True to his name, the Tyneman was captured, this time by the forces of Henry,⁷⁰ and Bower states; 'In the end after capture and castration of one testicle (just as earlier at Homildon he lost one eye), he won a great name among his contemporaries

⁶⁸ Agnew, p 237. His physical losses are discussed below.

⁶⁹ APS I 582-3. While Parliament acquitted them, because the exact cause of Rothesay's death is unknown, rumors of their role in Rothesay's death persist to this day.

⁷⁰ CDS IV 468 is the payment to the soldier who captured him.

throughout the land.”⁷¹ The Earl of Douglas entered into the service of Henry IV and his son in 1406.⁷² Despite this the Tyneman was to remain Henry’s prisoner until 1408.⁷³ After this time, until his ransom was paid in 1413, hostages, including his son Archibald, remained prisoner for him.⁷⁴

In 1409, the Tyneman entered into an indenture of friendship with Albany; this is the first document of its kind in Scotland. It defines their relationship, binding them to help the other with all their ‘wit and might’.⁷⁵ This was the precursor of the bonds that were to define the relations of the Scots political community from the later fifteenth century until the Union of the Crowns.

Not long after this, the Tyneman was accused of raiding the customs of the royal burghs in Douglas territory. The situation was investigated, but as with the first earl, the Tyneman’s answers satisfied the royal representative.⁷⁶ In 1412 he was paid £500 for keeping the March and the Peace of the Kingdom.⁷⁷

His son and heir, Archibald, was released by the English when the ransom was finally paid in 1413. In 1419, Archibald, Master of Douglas, continuing the Douglas family tradition, was in France to assist against the English. The Scots did not make much of an impression on the French until 1421 in the Battle of Bauge, where they soundly defeated the English.

⁷¹ Scotichronicon XV, 17 lines 41-4.

⁷² TDB III p. 46-7.

⁷³ He made several trips to Scotland to tend his affairs for these 5 years, see CDS IV 705-6, 729, 735, 752 & 762 for the safe conducts.

⁷⁴ TDB I p. 372.

⁷⁵ J. Wormald, Lords and Men in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1985 p. 31. See this book for a discussion on bonds of manrent and friendship.

⁷⁶ ERS IV, p. 118.

⁷⁷ ERS IV, p. 253.

Archibald returned to Scotland to enlist more aid for France, and the Tyneman departed for France in 1423, leaving his heir behind. On taking an oath of fealty to the French King Charles VII, the Tyneman was created Duke of Touraine.⁷⁸ Over a year later in August of 1424, the Tyneman fought his final battle at Verneuil.

The impact of the House of Douglas on government was felt in the spheres of both the military and political support. Their most dramatic impact was in the circumstances of the disputed succession. The dispute divided the family and they no longer supported the governorship of John of Carrick. Because various members of the Douglas family sought the support of Albany, Carrick's governorship collapsed. Carrick was unable to recover his position and even on his accession had to play a minor role to the Douglas supported Albany.

Dunbar

The family of Dunbar traditionally held lands in both Berwickshire and Northumberland. They also held the baronies of Boon, Morton, Glenken, Tibbers, Blantyre, Mochrum and eventually Annandale and the Isle of Man.⁷⁹ Because it was easy country for the English to control, Dunbar was often found in the English alliance.⁸⁰ The traditional lands of the Dunbars, the Merse or March, were a wide level plain sweeping northward from Northumberland to the Lammermuir Hills. This region gave the English a broad avenue through which

⁷⁸ *TDB* I p. 389. The oath that he gave to Henry IV and his son, Henry V expired with the death of Henry V in 1422.

⁷⁹ Grant, "Thesis" appendix II pp. 346-397 for the baronies.

they could march an army into Scotland, and it was their most traveled route when the two countries were at war. Often the only way for the Earl to protect his land from devastation was to recognize the English king as his overlord.

When Patrick became the ninth Earl of Dunbar in 1308 he was certainly allied with England. After the English disaster at the Battle of Bannockburn, Patrick received King Edward II into Dunbar Castle. He seems to have made his peace with Robert I shortly after Bannockburn, and is found with the Scots at the siege of Berwick in 1318. Two years later, he affixed his seal to the Declaration of Arbroath.⁸¹

When Edward Balliol invaded in 1332, Patrick maintained his Scots alliance. He was the Constable of Berwick when it was besieged in 1333. After the English victory at Halidon Hill in that same year, it was Patrick who surrendered Berwick to Edward III. He would appear to have returned to the English alliance, as Edward III paid for repairs on Dunbar Castle.⁸² Late in 1334, however, Edward ravaged Berwickshire and Lothian, and does not appear to have spared Dunbar's lands. It would appear that sometime in 1334 Patrick returned to his allegiance to Scotland.⁸³ Edward was to regret his repairs to Dunbar Castle,⁸⁴ as in 1337 he ordered Dunbar castle besieged by the Earl of Salisbury. Patrick was not in Dunbar, but his second wife, Black Agnes Randolph, daughter

⁸⁰ J.A. Tuck, "Emergence of a Northern Nobility", North Hist., vol 22 1986, p. 9.

⁸¹ APS I 474-5. For a translation see Donaldson's Scottish Historical Docs. pp. 55-8.

⁸² Scalacronica, p. 163. Gray gives the date of repairs on Dunbar as early 1334.

⁸³ CDS III; 1142, 1145 & 1146, Feb. 1355, Earl Patrick forfeited his lands and they are given to Henry Percy.

⁸⁴ Scalacronica, p. 163. The close of the paragraph states exactly that.

of the Regent Moray, was able to hold the castle against the English for six months.⁸⁵ The Earl of Dunbar was active in the Scots campaigns for the next ten years. In 1346 he commanded the left wing at Neville's Cross and was captured.

His brother-in-law, the Earl of Moray, died at Neville's Cross and while the earldom was entailed and reverted to the Crown, some of the lands seem to have come into Patrick's hands as he appeared in the Parliament of 1358 as the Earl of March [Dunbar] and Moray.⁸⁶ In 1363 Patrick granted his grand-nephew, George Dunbar, one half of the baronies of Tibbers and Morton.⁸⁷ Also in that year Patrick revolted against David II with the Steward and the Earl of Douglas.⁸⁸ His revolt was due to his apparent alliance with Robert Stewart from King David's captivity in England and his fear of an English invasion for the arrears in the king's ransom. If the English ran out of patience for the ransom payments, their invasion route to Scotland would surely be directly through Dunbar territory.

In his capacity of Warden of the March, Patrick was part of the negotiations for truce in 1367, and he would appear to have attended the Parliament of 1368.⁸⁹ Sometime, possibly in this Parliament, Patrick appeared to resign the Earldom of Dunbar to George Dunbar; the wording of the grants to George from David II seem to suggest that Patrick resigned, not that he died.⁹⁰ Patrick probably did not live long after the resignation; he had been the Earl of

⁸⁵ Lanercost, p. 313. The Chronicle states the siege took place in 1338, the date in CDS III 1264, is old style.

⁸⁶ APS I 523.

⁸⁷ RMS I; 149.

⁸⁸ See under William Ist Earl of Douglas above.

⁸⁹ APS I 532.

⁹⁰ RMS I; 291 & 2.

Dunbar for nearly sixty years and would have been in his eighties in 1368. With the death of Earl Patrick, the direct line of Dunbars from Gospatrick in the eleventh century died out.⁹¹

Earl Patrick's impact on government was almost exclusively military. Even his political support was military in nature. The most surprising impact of Patrick was his ability to have an equal impact on the English government as well as on the Scottish government. This was due to the nature of his land-holdings which led him to change his support from one government to the other and the fact that he was the earl during the Wars of Independence.

George Dunbar was for many years believed to be the son of Patrick and Black Agnes, but Fordun stated clearly that George was the son of *Sir* Patrick Dunbar. Sir Patrick, who fought at Poitiers and died while on Crusade to the Holy Land, was the father of George Dunbar who became the Earl of Dunbar.⁹² It is known that Earl Patrick married Agnes Randolph and his brother John married Agnes' sister Gellis; it would appear that Sir Patrick was the son of John and Gellis. This relationship would explain both the grants of unentailed Moray lands in 1363 and why the Earldom of Dunbar was resigned and then granted to George Dunbar. If George had truly been the son of Earl Patrick and Black Agnes, the earldom would have come to him by right of inheritance. Since George lived until 1422, it is likely that he had just come of age in 1363, and it would be highly

⁹¹ A. Grant, "Extinctions of Direct Male Lines" Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland, p. 213. Grant claims that the male line of Gospatrick was unbroken until 1564, but this is not true for the reasons discussed in the next paragraph.

⁹² Macquarrie, p. 88, note 102.

unlikely that he was the son of Earl Patrick, who would have been in his late sixties when George was born.⁹³

George performed one of his first acts as the new Earl of Dunbar in 1369; he was named as one of the Scottish representatives for the truce negotiations with England.⁹⁴ After the divorce of David II and Margaret Logie, the object of the King's affections would appear to have been Agnes Dunbar, sister of George and his brother John, whom he intended to make his third wife.⁹⁵ This points to George and his brother being very high in the favor of David II at the end of his life.⁹⁶ When David died unexpectedly in 1371 the Dunbar brothers met with William, Earl of Douglas, at Linlithgow and announced their intentions of supporting the Steward's accession.⁹⁷

The meeting of the magnates who guarded his Border, forced the prudent Robert II to make concessions to them. Agnes Dunbar was married to Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, and Robert II not only allowed her brother George to settle the barony of Whittingham and the Isle of Man on the couple,⁹⁸ but he gave them a gift of cash.⁹⁹ While the Earldom of Moray had returned to the Crown on the death of John Randolph at Neville's Cross, Robert II granted it to John Dunbar

⁹³ Most of the discussion on the ancestry of George is drawn from CDS IV intro, pp. xx-xxiv. This explanation sounds more likely than the Scots Peerage which has no explanation for the relationship of Sir Patrick and Earl Patrick. See genealogy p. 110.

⁹⁴ CDS IV; 154.

⁹⁵ ERS II pp. 328, 345 & 357.

⁹⁶ Boardman, p. 24.

⁹⁷ For why this meeting was held see Douglas above.

⁹⁸ RMS I 522 & 553. These lands are part of the Moray inheritance, George is allowed to retain the Moray rights to Annandale.

⁹⁹ ERS II p. 364.

and appointed the new Earl of Moray one of his ambassadors to the French court with Archibald the Grim.¹⁰⁰

For the next ten years George, Earl of Dunbar, led the life of a Borderlord, remaining mostly on his estates, attending Marcher Meetings, raiding, or attending Parliament. There was one notable event that involved Dunbar in this period. In 1376 his chamberlain attended Roxburgh Fair, and while there he was killed by the English. After writing a number of letters to gain redress from the English for the murder of his chamberlain, Dunbar decided to take the law into his own hands. Since the English had, according to Bower, mocked his efforts at gaining redress, in the following year Dunbar descended on Roxburgh Fair. He surrounded the town and put all the English to the sword.¹⁰¹ The outraged English protested Dunbar's behavior to Robert II, but they got little or no response. George Dunbar was a law unto himself and because he had supported Robert at his accession, Robert prudently allowed him to be.

The next major move of George Dunbar, also involving Roxburgh, took place in 1382. In expectation of trouble when the truce expired in two years, the English appointed Baron Greystoke sheriff of Roxburgh and he set out for the March outpost with all of his belongings. Having advance warning of the Baron's arrival, the Earl of Dunbar ambushed him and after a lengthy battle at Horse Rigg, took him and all his belongings to Dunbar Castle. There Dunbar tastefully

¹⁰⁰ RMS I 401 & 405.

¹⁰¹ Scotichronicon XIV; 37 lines 6-29.

redecorated his castle with Graystoke's belongings and served his hostage/guest a sumptuous dinner from his own plate.¹⁰²

The Earl of Dunbar was with Douglas at Otterburn, and was unaware of the death of Douglas until after the battle. There is no evidence that Dunbar played any role in the disputed Douglas succession, but he would most likely been a supporter of his brother-in-law, Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith. His role reverted to maintaining the Border and truces until 1395-6.

In this year Rothesay, the heir to the Scottish throne married the Earl's daughter, Elizabeth.¹⁰³ There is evidence that the young couple did not wait for Papal dispensation; not only was a dispensation issued, but a special dispensation was later issued because the young couple had married before receiving the first.¹⁰⁴ When the marriage alliance came to light in 1400, Archibald the Grim protested that the wedding did not have the approval of the Three Estates. When Rothesay repudiated Elizabeth Dunbar, the Earl of Dunbar wrote to Henry IV.

In his letter to Henry, Dunbar diffidently reminded the English king of their relationship, as cousins in the third degree.¹⁰⁵ George was the great-grandson of Marjory Comyn, and Henry the great-grandson of Alice Comyn,

¹⁰² *Scotichronicon* XIV; 44. Bower puts this after the capture of Lochmaben in 1384, but in *CDS* IV 315 the Warden of Roxburgh complained to John of Gaunt that the Earl of Dunbar took him captive on the English side of the Border and put him to a ruinously heavy ransom. The English Warden is vehement about the fact that he was NOT breaking the truce at the time of his capture. This complaint definitely comes from 1382.

¹⁰³ As perhaps a foreshadowing of events to come, the young Rothesay had contracted a secret engagement to at least one other woman prior to his union with Elizabeth Dunbar.

¹⁰⁴ *Scots Peerage* III see note p. 279.

¹⁰⁵ Wormald, p. 77 and note. From the same letter we learn that Dunbar wrote in English because it was more clear to his understanding than Latin or French, Wormald, p. 72.

whom George thought were sisters; they were in fact aunt and niece.¹⁰⁶ This would make them a bit more distantly related than Dunbar claimed, but Henry was willing to recognize the relationship. Safe conducts for the Dunbar family were issued in 1400.¹⁰⁷ After Dunbar's departure, the Tyneman took custody of Dunbar Castle and was granted the Earl of Dunbar's lands. This began a feud between Dunbar and the Tyneman, and Dunbar was sent to the Wardens of the English March in 1401.¹⁰⁸

In 1402 Dunbar was granted £400 per year to make war on the Scots. He used this money wisely; years as a ruling presence on the Border made him a uniquely successful commander. He convinced the Percies to aid him on a raid to Nesbit Moor, where the English, with Dunbar's assistance won an overwhelming victory. If Dunbar had expected this raid to bring Douglas into his sphere, he would appear to have known his enemy very well. The Tyneman led a retaliatory raid into England and Dunbar and the Percies cornered him at Homildon Hill. Dunbar is credited as the commander who checked Hotspur's charge and told him to give his archers free reign, thereby winning the battle for the English.

It has been suggested that a contributing factor to the Percies' revolt was Dunbar's influence with Henry IV.¹⁰⁹ They feared Dunbar because traditional Dunbar territory in Northumberland, which had been forfeited in the Wars of Independence, was now in the hands of the Percies.¹¹⁰ This may be the reason

¹⁰⁶ CDS IV intro. xxiii-xxiv.

¹⁰⁷ CDS IV 538, 546, 550 & 551. Also Foedera III viii 132 & 149.

¹⁰⁸ CDS IV 581. Henry also grants Clippston to the Earl of Dunbar, CDS IV 579.

¹⁰⁹ Tuck, p. 228.

¹¹⁰ See above, note 83.

that Dunbar joined Henry and not the Percies in 1403. In light of the feud with the Tyneman, the Percies enlisting the aid of the hated Douglas may be all the reason that Dunbar needed to ally himself with Henry.

The Battle of Shrewsbury has been attributed to the experienced generalship of the Earl of Dunbar. Hume of Godscroft attributes the ruse of sending several retainers dressed in Henry's armor to the field while the King waited in the rear entirely to him.¹¹¹ Whoever masterminded the battle, and it has all of the signs of Dunbar's strategic genius, it was a victory for the forces of Henry IV.

Henry certainly valued Dunbar; he and his family were the recipients of properties and annuities. In fact, while the amounts were small compared to the money given to the English Wardens, the Dunbar family was paid remarkably regularly.¹¹² Dunbar's daughter Elizabeth was recognized as the Duchess of Rothesay in England, even after her father returned to Scotland in 1408-9.¹¹³

At this time, Dunbar made his peace with Albany and was granted back all of his lands. Dunbar's quarrel had been with Robert III, who was now dead; Dunbar had no quarrel with Albany. Since Robert III died in 1406, and Dunbar's usefulness to Henry IV was fading, it would appear that Dunbar wished to return home. In 1409, to end his feud with the Tyneman, Dunbar granted the lands of Annandale to him.¹¹⁴ It would appear at first glance that the Earl of Dunbar

¹¹¹ Godscroft pp. 267-8.

¹¹² CDS IV 623, 630, 639, 641, 642, 650, 666, 677, 685, 719, 727, 740, and in 628 Dunbar's son Columba is granted the deanery of St. Mary Magdalene of Bridgenorth.

¹¹³ CDS IV 807

¹¹⁴ RMS I, 920.

would have more of a right to compensation, but the Tyneman's physical losses in the battles against Dunbar entitled him to some compensation.¹¹⁵

Due to his unique relationship with Henry IV, Dunbar's son and heir, George, was commissioned by Albany to treat with the English King regarding the ransom of his son Murdoch.¹¹⁶ After his return to Scotland, George, Earl of Dunbar did not appear much, but by this time he was in his seventies and his sons began appearing in negotiations with the English, for truces as well as for the release of King James.¹¹⁷

There are only two more mentions of George, Earl of Dunbar. One was in 1416 when Henry V declared peace with the Kings of France and Scotland, the Lord of the Isles, the Lord of the Isle of Man and the Earl of [March] Dunbar.¹¹⁸ The second, was the receipt of an annuity from the customs of the town Dunbar in 1418 for the Earl of Dunbar and his sons George and Gavin.¹¹⁹ George Dunbar, tenth Earl of Dunbar seems to have died in 1422-3, likely more than eighty years old.¹²⁰

Like his great-uncle, Earl Patrick, George Dunbar's greatest impact on the Scottish administration was military. But where Earl Patrick had used his

¹¹⁵ The losses of the Tyneman are discussed above. For more on feuding see J. Wormald, "Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government in Early Modern Scotland" *Past and Present*, vol 87 May 1980 pp. 54-97. See also K.M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573-1625*. Edinburgh, 1986.

¹¹⁶ *CDS* IV 813.

¹¹⁷ *CDS* IV 872 & 894.

¹¹⁸ *CDS* IV 876 & *Foedera* IV ix 401.

¹¹⁹ *ERS* IV 293.

¹²⁰ Grant, "Thesis", appendix I, p. 344. The Scots Peerage suggests that a charter signed in September of 1422 is that of the tenth earl, not his son, III, p. 273.

military expertise to support a government, whether English or Scottish, George supported himself and his family. Robert II allowed him to be a law unto himself and never offered him reason to feel insulted or slighted. Robert III, however, did not respect Dunbar's touchy nature. Oddly in this situation, the impact of George Dunbar's defection to the English was felt more by the Tyneman than by the Scottish government.

That the Scots Borderlords had an impact on royal policy and central administration can not be denied. Whether this impact was greater than that of other magnates at this time would depend on the circumstances and people involved. There is no definitive evidence that the Borderlords had a greater impact on the government than other Scots magnates. The other great territorial magnates supported or undermined the administration in this period depending on their own circumstances and political alliances. But, where the other Scots magnates could create problems for the administration, only the Borderlords, with one exception,¹²¹ could enlist English support against the government.

Uniquely, this allowed both the Douglasses and the Dunbars to have an impact on the English government. The Douglas family had a more indirect

¹²¹ The other magnate who resorted to using an English alliance against the Scots government is the Lord of the Isles.

impact than can be seen with the Dunbars. As the Douglasses changed their theatre of military endeavor to France, they made their presence felt in the English government. This was reasonable given the ties that the Douglasses had to that country and the English aspirations in France. Dunbar had a much more direct impact on the English government, whether it was Earl Patrick's support against the Scottish government or George's brilliant generalship in support of the English monarch's interests.

The House of Douglas made its mark in Scottish politics by loyal service to the Crown or its representative in this period. While it is true that Douglas was able to topple the administration of John of Carrick, this was the result of divided loyalties within the Douglas family. Albany certainly benefited from the support of Douglas, especially that of the Tyneman. This Douglas might have been a dangerous partner, with his highly persuasive nature he was certainly able to do well out of Henry IV and V, the Duke of Burgundy and Charles VII of France. But Albany understood him and therefore had little to fear from him.¹²²

While the Douglas family made its greatest mark in service to the current ruler, Dunbar was not always as loyal. This is to be expected; it was the lands of Dunbar that were the conduit of the invading English army. The rich plain of the Merse was the area most often devastated either by invasion, or in anticipation of invasion. With most of the power and wealth attached to territory, the Dunbars' attempt at riding the tide of fortune is understandable. The victorious king or the army currently occupying the Merse would win the loyalty of the family trying to

protect its territory from destruction. With a background of fluctuating loyalties like that of the Dunbars, Robert Stewart could afford to be very generous when they apparently favored his accession.

Scotland was not a quiet non-violent place in the years 1341-1424. Unlike England, however, no king was actually forcibly removed from power. Some of Scotland's kings were replaced in government and ignored, but none was ever removed from the throne. Those who, for reasons of believed incompetence or infirmity displaced a Scots monarch, ruled in his name. There was also no dynastic conflict in this period. The change of dynasty from Bruce to Stewart took place with some wheeling and dealing, but as an experienced magnate himself, Robert Stewart was willing to understand the minor demonstration at Linlithgow and placate those who participated. The support of the Borderlords could cause a political realignment in the Scottish administration, but they did not cause a change of dynasty and the English Borderlords did in this period.

The Houses of Douglas and Dunbar were already waning by the early fifteenth century. With the monarchy's assertion of its prerogative in this era, both houses were to be relegated to the status of minor landholders. In 1434, even though the eleventh Earl of Dunbar negotiated his release and condemned Duke Murdoch for James I, the earldom was forfeited to the Crown for the actions of his father.¹²² The Black Douglasses of Douglas were forfeited in 1455. The Red Douglas of Angus, descended from George Douglas natural son of

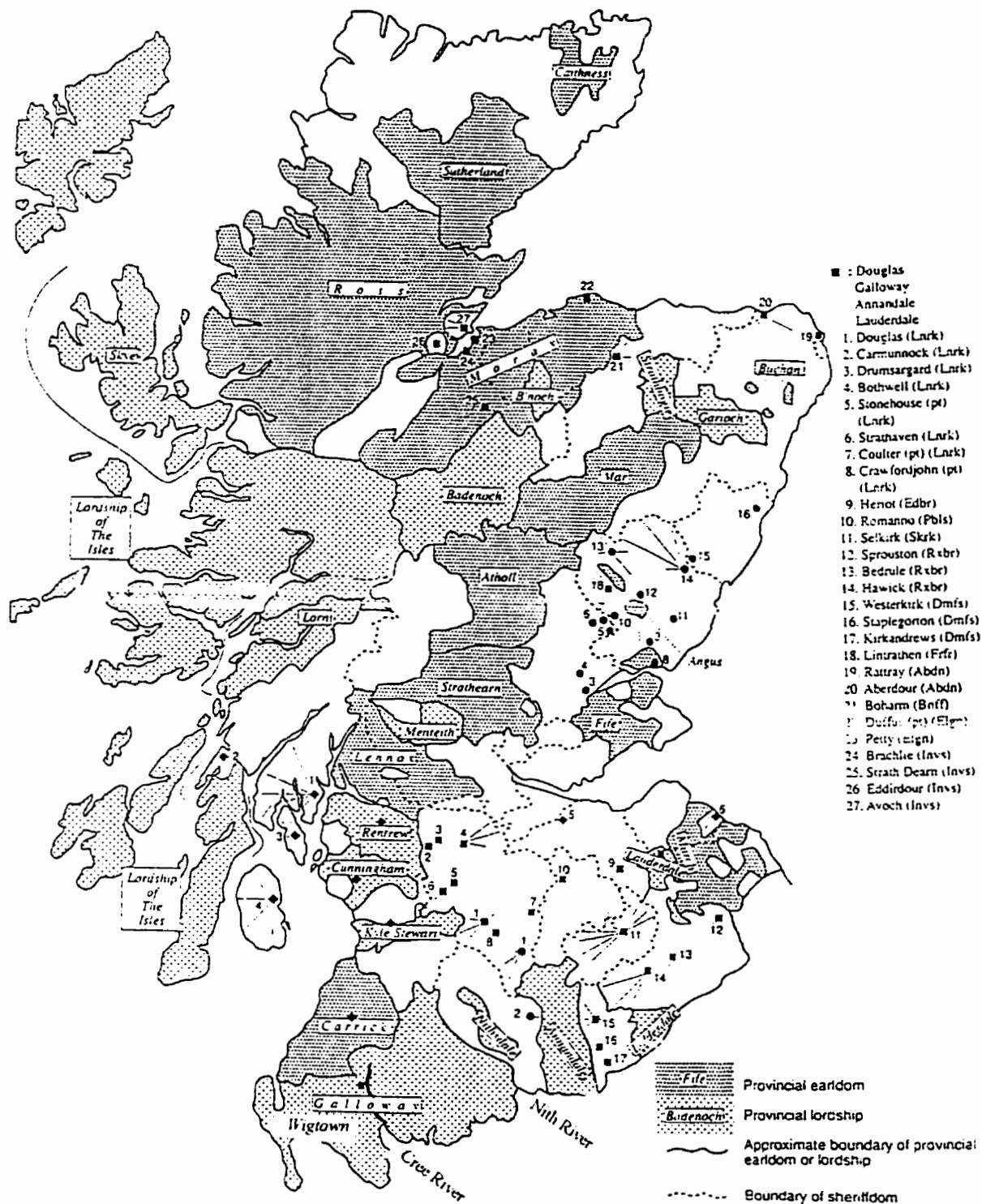
¹²² Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 186.

¹²³ *Scotichronicon* XVI; 24, lines 30-4.

William the first Earl of Douglas, lasted longer. But, from the late fourteenth century to the early fifteenth century, Albany, with the support of the Houses of Douglas and Dunbar, gave Scotland's political society a fairly well balanced appearance.¹²⁴

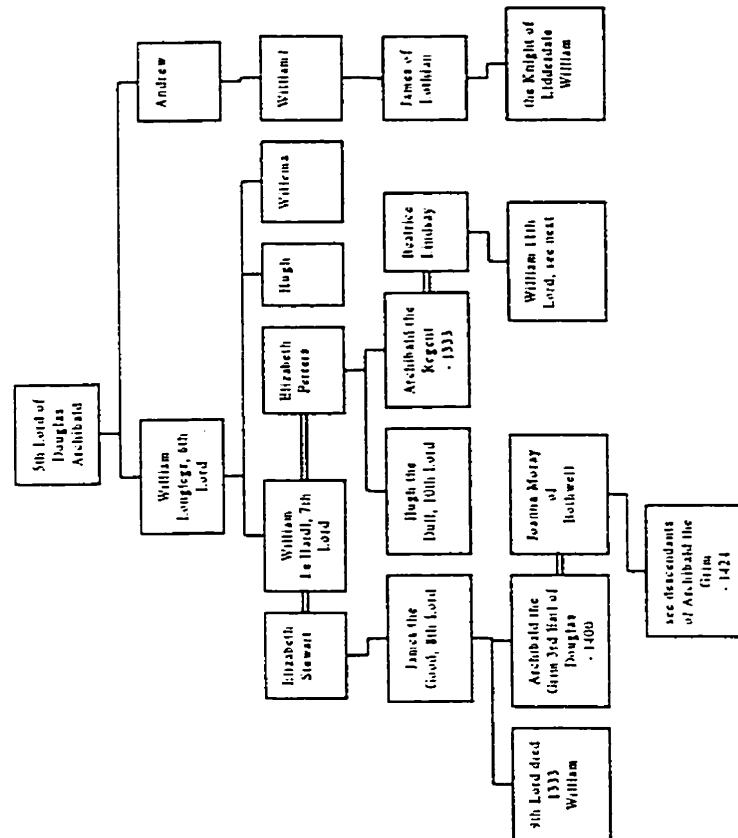
¹²⁴ Grant, Independence and Nationhood, p. 186.

Territorial Magnates of Fourteenth Century Scotland¹²⁵

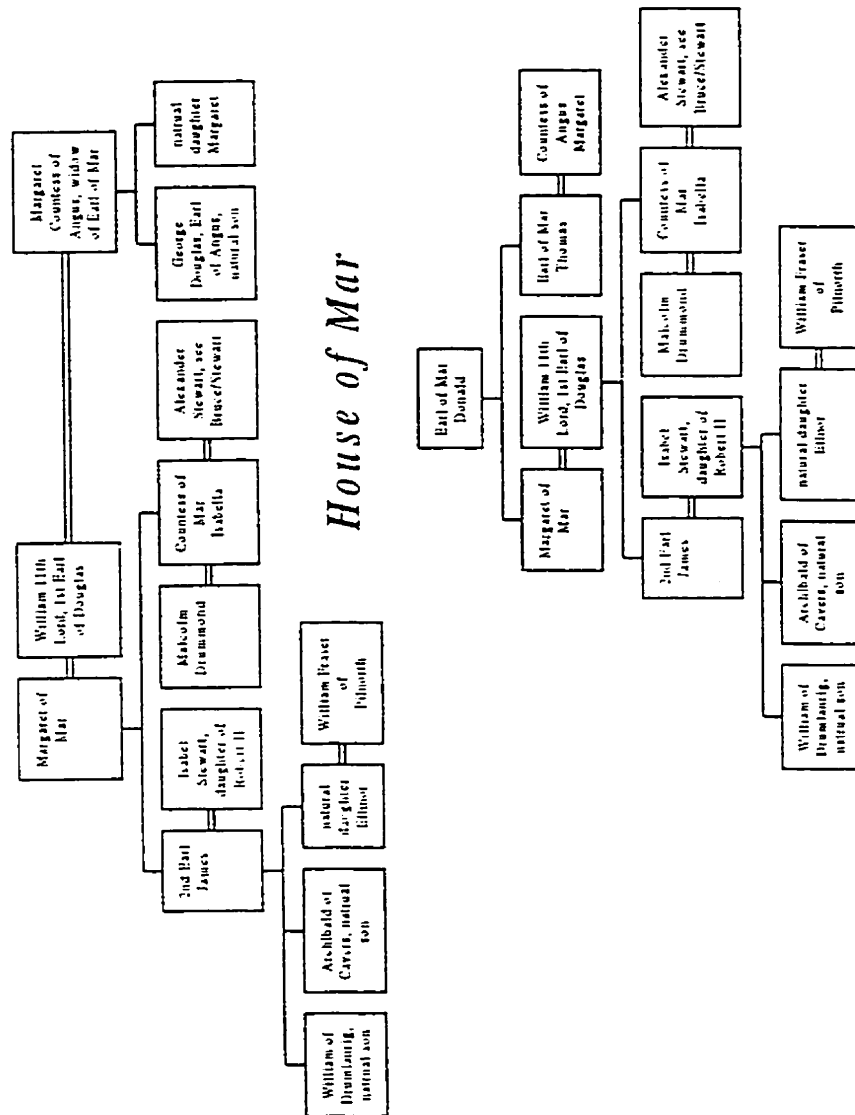


¹²⁵ Map from *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*. Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen, editors, p. 206.

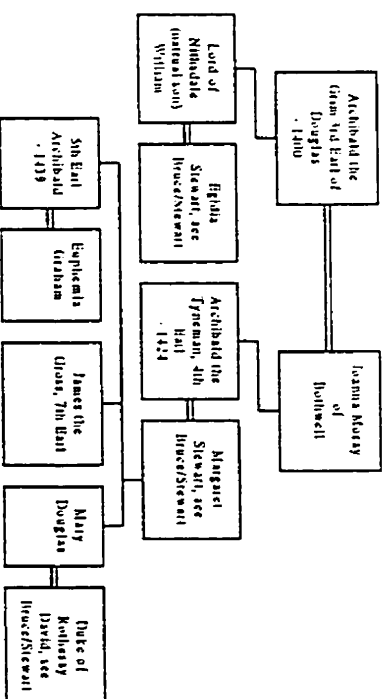
The House of Douglas



Descendants of William 11th Lord, 1st Earl of Douglas

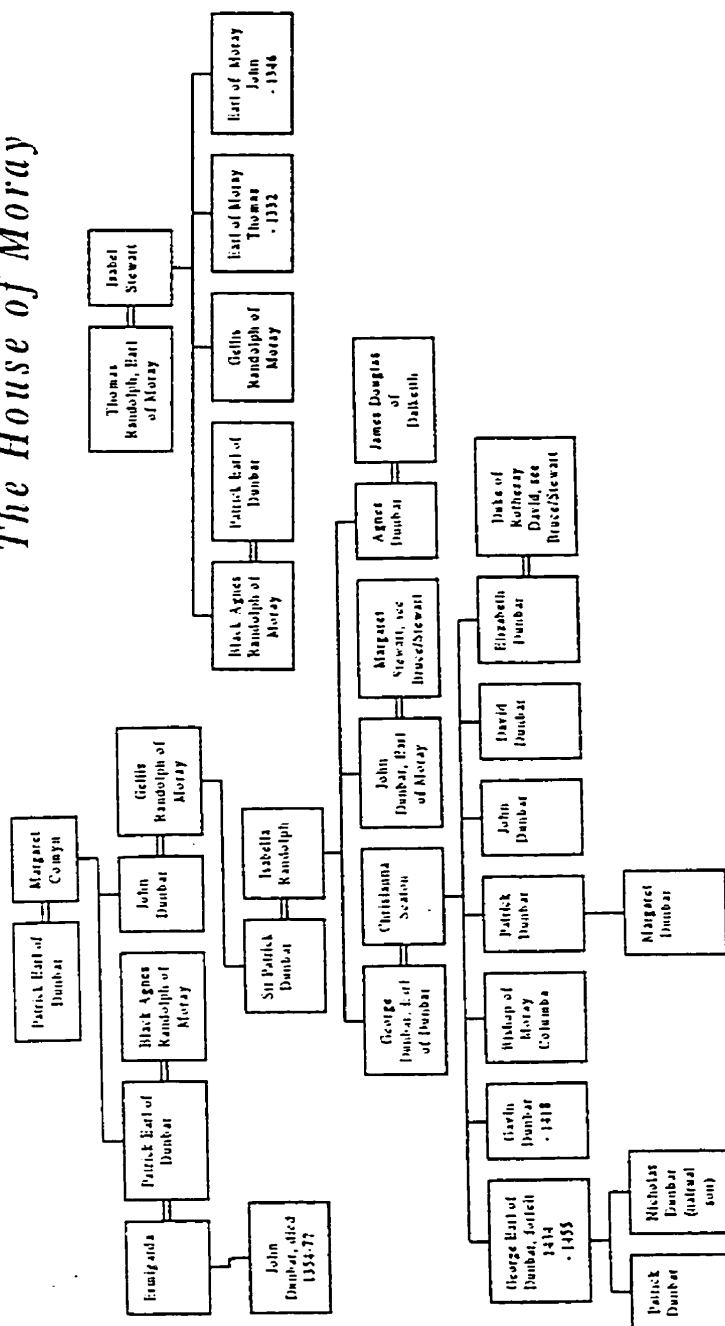


Descendants of Archibald the Grim 3rd Earl of Douglas

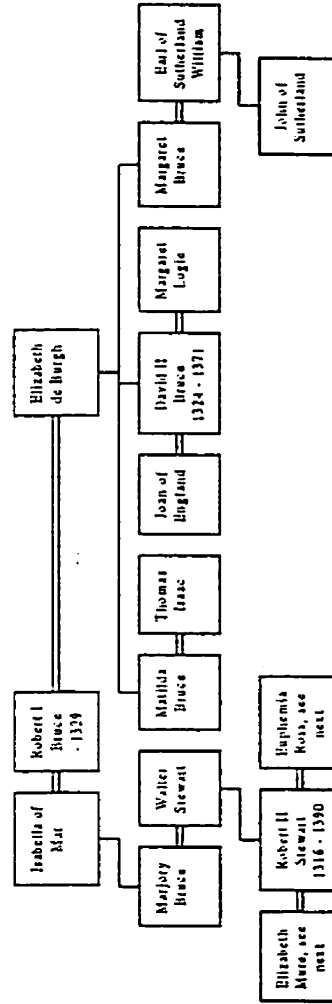


The House of Dunbar

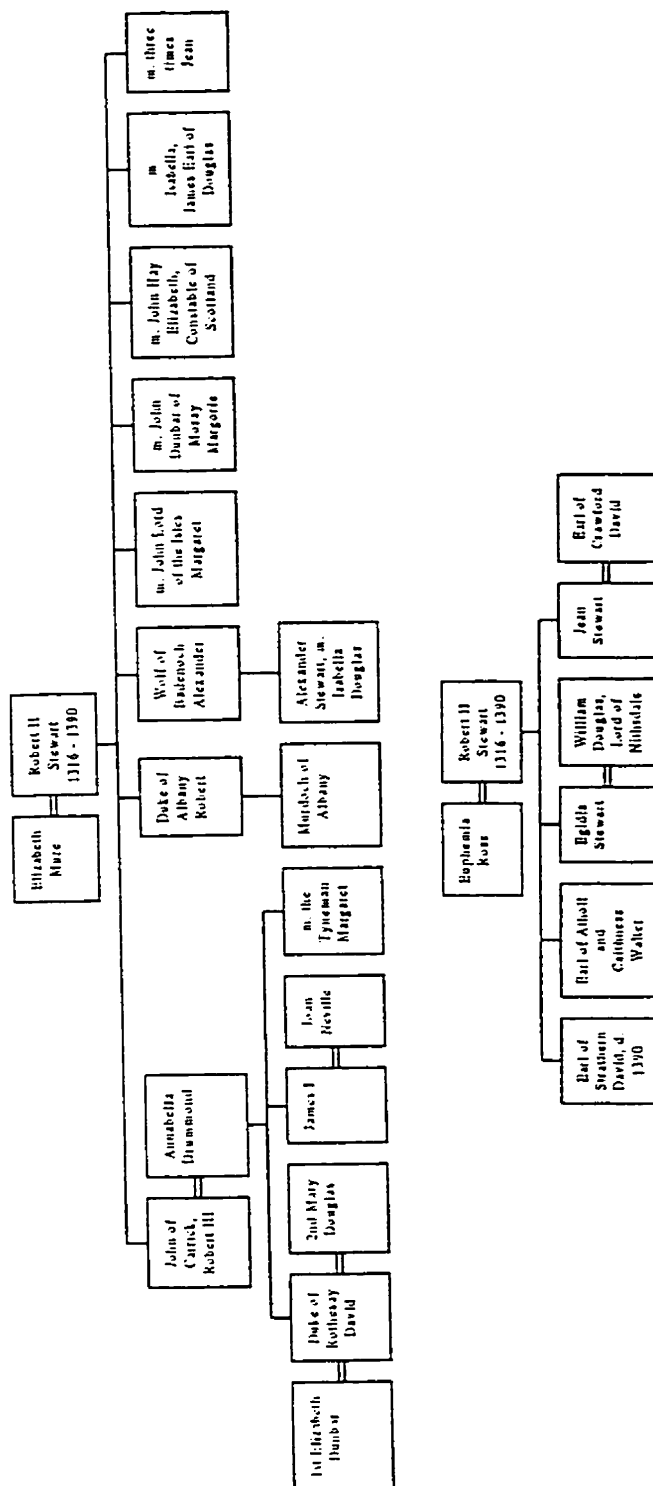
The House of Moray



Descendants of Bruce/Stewart



Descendants of Robert II



Some Conclusions

Government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil:
in its worst state, an intolerable one.

Thomas Paine, Common Sense

The medieval frontier, described as the juxtaposition of two divergent cultures, does not explain the situation on the Anglo-Scottish Border. The area is defined exclusively by an administrative line, not one reflecting either the customs of the inhabitants or the geography of the region. The Border between England and Scotland came into existence exclusively through the machinations of government. By forcing the inhabitants to declare for one side or the other during the Wars of Independence the governments drove a wedge into the society of the Border. In the years between 1341 and 1424 the results of this division were only beginning to be felt. The impact of the government on the Borders was unmistakable, but what was the impact of the Borders on the governments of England and Scotland through the influence of the Borderlords? In this eighty-three year period, the Borderlords had as great an impact on government as government had on their territory.

In England, the impact of the Borderlords can be traced to their role as powerful landed magnates on the edge of hostile territory. Neither the House of Percy, nor the House of Neville, would have developed inroads to royal service without their control of the Borders. It gave them the military experience and the money for larger indentured retinues than other English magnates which made their support necessary to the English monarchy. Yet, the two families approached their roles very differently. The Nevilles used their status as Borderlords to carve out positions in royal administrations of the period. While they amassed money from their role as Warden of the March, their demands were much less than those of the Percies. This appears to be because of not only their

royal appointments in the central administration, but their royal family connections.

These connections to the royal family were marginalized for the Percies when Henry IV came to the throne. The heir of Richard II was the young Mortimer Earl of March, and as his aunt's husband, Hotspur would have had much influence in royal administration. Yet, the entire Percy family supported Henry of Bolingbrook's bid for the throne. Royal family connections were not what the Percies aspired to have, they wanted power and control. Having helped put Henry IV on the throne, they hoped to have direct influence on his government. When the House of Percy discovered that their power over Henry was an illusion of their own making, they rose against him in revolt. The best argument for the Percies' belief that they could control Henry's administration is their proximity to the Scots. The Percies had a much different view on the power of a king than that of Henry IV, a view influenced by the situation in Scotland.

The idea of kingship had evolved differently in the two kingdoms. When William the Conqueror came to the throne he did not realize he was creating a form of kingship not before seen in Western Europe.¹ By the accession of Henry II, the English King was *dominus rex*.² The English King was the supreme ruler of England and Ireland.³ Conversely the Scottish monarch, while referring to himself as *dominus rex* since the reign of William the Lion,⁴ still maintained the

¹ G.W.S. Barrow, Scotland and its Neighbors in the Middle Ages, London, 1992. pp. 24-5.

² Barrow, Scotland & Neighbors, p. 28.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

more tribal oriented title King of the Scots.⁵ The King of England ruled a land, the King of Scotland ruled a people. This distinction was to gain strength in the thirteenth century.

During the thirteenth century the idea of the king as supreme ruler of England received confirmation by Edward I.⁶ The Scots refused to concede their king any less stature.⁷ This is confirmed by the Treaty of Birgham in 1290, protecting the sovereignty of Scotland pending a union of the Crowns by the marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales and Margaret the Maid of Norway. But the death of the Maid of Norway ended more than the hopes of a united kingdom of the British Isles.

When Robert Bruce was crowned as Robert I, he made himself first among equals. Because of the Wars of Independence Robert was forced to seek the aid of the magnates to maintain his kingship. After the defeat of the English in 1314, he began rewarding those aristocrats who had helped him attain an independent throne. Robert had become king by consensus as illustrated in the Declaration of Arbroath.

But at length it pleased God, who only can heal after wounds, to restore us to liberty, from these innumerable calamities, by our most serene prince, king and lord Robert, who, for the delivering of his people and his own rightful inheritance from the enemy's hand, did, like another Joshua or Maccabeus, most cheerfully undergo all manner of toil, fatigue hardship and hazard. The Divine Providence, the right of succession by the laws and customs of the kingdom (which we will defend till death) and the due and lawful consent and assent of all the people, made him our king and prince. To him we are obliged and resolved to adhere in all things,

⁵ Ibid, p. 28.

⁶ Ibid, p. 29-31.

⁷ Ibid, p. 33.

both upon account of his right and his own merit, as being the person who hath restored the people's safety in defense of their liberties. But after all, if this prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the king or people of England, we will immediately endeavor to expel him, as our enemy and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and we will make another king, who will defend our liberties.⁸

When Robert I died and his son David began ruling, twelve years after his father's death, David II acted like a supreme ruler. His actions did not always make him popular, although he managed to maintain the upper-hand. When his throne was inherited by Robert Stewart, the kingship once more fell into the hands of a man who had previously been just another powerful magnate. Robert II reigned as first among equals; his placation of the Douglas and Dunbar concerns as well as his practice of using the marriage alliances of his children to form political alliances bear this out.⁹ His successor, Robert III, was not in a position to re-assert the royal prerogative; his brother Albany was ruling in his name. As governor Albany ruled Scotland as first among equals for over thirty years.

After reaching its zenith under Edward I, kingship in England suffered set-backs to its supremacy. Edward II suffered revolts from his magnates, and the idea of the king as supreme was greatly undermined during his reign. The reign of Edward III made great strides in re-asserting the supremacy of the King of England over his nobles. This was done largely by military victory and force of personality. The idea of supremacy, however, lived beyond Edward III; John of

⁸ Donaldson, pp. 56-7.

Gaunt's behavior toward his nephew, Richard II, speaks of the recognition of a supreme ruler. Richard's failure to grant the vast Lancastrian inheritance to Henry of Bolingbrook coupled with his attempts to curb the power of the Borderlords would have appeared to sound the death knell of royal supremacy. But unlike the Percies, Henry had the view of kingship inherited from his father and grandfather, and would not settle for being first among equals. This view of supremacy was still shared by the other magnates of England; no other nobles joined the Percies in their revolts against Henry.¹⁰

The English view of supreme monarchy is best exemplified in the behavior of the other Border family, Neville. John Neville was a loyal follower of Edward III, and was rewarded for this loyalty. John Neville was also loyal to the King's son, John of Gaunt. Because of his association with Edward and Gaunt, John Neville was able to give his son, Ralph, an assured position in the royal administration. Ralph Neville, through his association with Gaunt, maintained his loyalty to Richard II until Gaunt's death. His decision to side with Gaunt's son, Henry, does not impair his belief in royal supremacy, illustrated by his adherence to Henry for the remainder of his life. Ralph Neville's decision to abandon his partisanship toward Richard might be no more than personal bias; Ralph simply preferred his brother-in-law, Henry. It is also possible that Ralph Neville knew that the House of Percy was going to support Henry's bid for the

⁹ Boardman, pp. 45-9.

¹⁰ Tuck, p. 233. Tuck admits that the Earl Marshall's part in the Scrope Rebellion is the only exception.

throne, and no one would know the size of the Percy following better than Neville.

The loyalty of the Nevilles might be compared to that of the Douglasses. The House of Douglas remained loyal to the person in power, with only one exception,¹¹ throughout the period under examination. While it is true that the Douglas support for Albany might be viewed as disloyalty to the monarch, it was originally brought about by the unusual circumstances regarding the succession to the Earldom. The continued Douglas support for Albany merely reflects the reality of Scottish politics. The political opportunism of the Tyneman can not be viewed as disloyalty; all of his promises to foreign monarchs exempt him from service against Scotland. They are the manipulations of a man out for what he could get from people in power, and the Tyneman was able to honor them all without sacrificing his first loyalty to Albany's rule in Scotland.

All of the Tyneman's political maneuvering could not compare with the plotting of the first Earl of Northumberland. His first bid for power resulted in the deposition of Richard. Northumberland had a prominent role in the events of 1399. From his welcoming of Henry and promising to support him, to the taking custody of Richard, Northumberland was a prime mover of events. Henry was generous in his rewards to not only Northumberland, but his entire family. This did not satisfy the ambitions of the Percies. The loyalty most often displayed by the Percies was to their family.

¹¹ This exception is William's revolt against David II due to his political marginalization after David's marriage to Margaret Logie. The meeting at Linlithgow has been disregarded here for the reasons discussed under Douglas in the previous chapter.

Prior to the accession of Henry IV, the Percy family had only been hostile to royal threats to their territorial supremacy in the north. The appointment of John of Gaunt as lieutenant was the first slight to Percy pride and ambition, and Northumberland retaliated against Gaunt at the first opportunity. The original quarrel with Richard II was likely over the appointment of outsiders to the Wardenship, not land, but certainly Percy territory.

When it comes to the protection of territory, none of the families discussed could compete with that of Dunbar. For the House of Dunbar, their first loyalty was neither a country nor a monarch, but their land. The Wars of Independence put this loyalty to a severe test. Because of the geography of the region, the Dunbars could only change sides in what was often a vain effort to protect their territory, offering their loyalty to the monarch that appeared best able to protect it. Earl Patrick's abandonment of the family holdings in England must have been a bitter blow.

His heir, George Dunbar, was a man of not only pride in his family holdings but of excessive pride in his family. Nor was he afraid to take the law into his own hands, as he showed at the Roxburgh Fair. But being a law unto himself, it was not the traditional attempt to protect his territory that this Dunbar turned to an English alliance. He changed to the English alliance because of his pride in his family. After the insult done to his daughter, Elizabeth, he remained in the English alliance until those who had insulted him had died. It is to George Dunbar that numerous military victories are attributed; from Otterburn to Shrewsbury, years of conducting battles and raids in the Borders had honed him

into the most notable general of his time. George Dunbar's greatest impact was his military skill and experience. This ability allowed George Dunbar to have an impact on both the English and the Scottish administrations. His impact was fitting considering the impact both governments had on his territory of the Merse.

But the impact of the Scots Borderlords on Scottish administration was no greater than that of any other magnates in this period. This is largely due to two factors. The first, and most prominent, is that of the system itself, making each magnate supreme in his own territory. The second factor is the view of the king as first among equals. If the royal representative was in power only by the consent of his fellow magnates, their withdrawal of consent would have a pronounced impact. This is most apparent in the downfall of the Duke of Rothesay. He was allowed to supersede his uncle, Albany, by the consent of the territorial magnates. Yet, when he lost the backing of these same magnates, his father was forced to order his arrest. While Douglas certainly had a hand in this downfall, his partner was Albany, who was technically only another powerful magnate. That they were acquitted of the murder of Rothesay, though suspicion persists to this day, speaks for the number of magnates that influenced Robert III's decision to have his son removed from power and arrested.

For all the impact that the governments of England and Scotland had on the Border region, it is obvious that the Borderlords had at least an equal impact on the governments. Whether that impact came from loyalty or disloyalty, pride in family or territory, or simply the desire for self aggrandizement, it was definitely felt by royal administration. The impact in England was definitely

because the Percies and the Nevilles were Borderlords. In Scotland, the impact of the Borderlords was felt, but because they were great territorial magnates, not just because their territorial holdings were on the frontier.

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Appendix a

The Wars of Independence

Alexander III of Scotland died in 1286, leaving his grand daughter, Margaret, the Maid of Norway as his only heir. The 1290 Treaty of Birgham provided for the marriage of the Maid of Norway to the son and heir of Edward I of England, Edward the Prince of Wales. Unfortunately, the Maid of Norway died en route to Scotland in 1290.

Edward I offered to assist the Guardians of Scotland in deciding who was the next nearest heir of the Scots Royal House, only if each of the claimants would become his vassals. Edward then judged that John Balliol was heir to the throne of Scotland, and made him do homage for the kingdom of Scotland. This was the first in a long list of slights and embarrassments that Edward inflicted on John Balliol, and in 1295 Balliol sought an alliance with Edward's enemy, the King of France. Under pressures from all sides, Balliol abdicated the Crown and fled to France.

Edward then attempted to take over the kingdom of Scotland, and the Wars of Independence officially began in 1296. The Scots, under Wallace, fought against the English and won many stunning victories. Wallace, however, was captured and executed by Edward I in 1305 and the war appeared to be over.

But in 1306, Robert Bruce, grandson of one of the claimants of 1290-1, was crowned as King Robert I and a new phase of the Wars of Independence

began. After Robert defeated the English under Edward II¹ at Bannockburn in 1314 it looked as though the Scots would force the English to recognize their independence. Robert continued to raid the north of England, as well as planned an invasion of Ireland to expel the English. The Irish campaign was unsuccessful, and no final peace with England could be negotiated. In 1327, Edward II of England was deposed by his wife, Isabella, and her lover, Mortimer, in favor of his son Edward III.

In 1327 the English under Isabella and Mortimer, with the sixteen-year-old, newly crowned, Edward, invaded Scotland in retaliation for Robert's persistent raiding. They were defeated, and a treaty, known as the shameful peace was signed between Isabella, Mortimer and Robert I.

Robert I died in 1329, leaving only a five-year-old heir, David II. In 1330, Edward of England executed Mortimer and placed his mother, Isabella, under house arrest and began ruling in his own right. In 1332, Edward III turned his back on the shameful peace and lent assistance to Edward Balliol, son of John Balliol, and the Dispossessed² on their invasion of Scotland. This began yet another phase in the Wars of Independence.

The Scots received a crushing defeat at Dupplin Moor in 1332. The young King David was sent to France for his own safety. In 1333, Balliol, with the English under Edward himself, besieged Berwick. The Scots marched to

¹ Edward I died in 1307, and his son became Edward II.

² The Dispossessed are a group of nobles that remained in the English alliance after Robert I had offered them the chance to join him before 1318. In consequence, these nobles had their Scottish lands granted to nobles loyal to Robert, hence they were dispossessed.

relieve the town under Archibald Douglas, the Regent and were brought to battle by the English at Halidon Hill. The English won an overwhelming victory, but the Scots refused to give up completely. The continued harrassment of the English-backed Balliol and his supporters led Balliol to resign his claims to the kingdom of Scotland to Edward III of England in 1354.

For further information on the Wars of Independence please see:

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Appendix b

March Laws

in the year of grace 1249, on the feast-day of Saints Tiberius and Valerian, toward establishing and observing the law of the marches the Sheriff of Northumberland on the part of the King of England & the Sheriff of Berwick & Roxburgh on the part of the King of Scotland convened on the marches to recognize the laws and customs of the marches by twelve knights of England and twelve knights of Scotland firmly avowing [them]

all twenty-four knights have declared as one that any malefactor who lives in Scotland, either man or woman, whether feudal tenant or not, guilty of homicide, or other offense, which might be tried by single combat, this malefactor will not be answerable unless tried in the march of the realm. If the above defendant lives beyond the Rede he will be answerable at Ridgeburn. But from Redesdale & Cookdale he must be tried at Campaspeth¹ according to the laws and customs used between the two realms.

Item, they have declared that any man between Totness, which is in England and Caithness, which is in Scotland can therefore according to the laws and customs of the realms be called to the marches for combat, except the persons of the Kings of both realms and the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld.²

Item, they have declared as one, if any vassal or bondman in Scotland should, with or without his cattle, fly to England to evade his lord, and if he is pursued by his lord or his lord's bailiff in forty days after he has crossed the march, he should be returned unconditionally by the kingdom of England by means of his own oath, and conversely [the same is true] of England. If indeed, after forty days he has not been pursued, the man can not be recovered; unless the lord [recovers him] by means of a brieve from the ruler of the kingdom he inhabits. And if after forty days, he is found within the kingdom which he inhabits, unless he is a native, he may be captured by his lord by means of an oath of six men, his own the seventh.

¹ Rae, p. 2 discussed a place called "Gamelspath" near the old Roman Dere Street as a common meeting place in the 16th century for the march wardens. This is likely the place referred to here.

² These two Bishops are the most important Scottish ecclesiastics of the period. The fact that no English ecclesiastics are mentioned emphasises the unity of the North of England felt toward Lowland Scotland and its remoteness from not only the source of English power, but from English society in general.

Item, they have declared any native who has been named for debts owed in England (and conversely) in Scotland, by handing over sureties in fifteen days & by means of [same from both kingdoms] can release them if the debt is paid in fifteen days immediately following. But if the debt has not been paid the creditor may detain the pledge until he is satisfied of the debt. If he denies the debt he shall clear himself at the marches within fifteen days by the oath of seven men, his own included. The same holds good if the debtor makes default in regard to the pledge. If he acknowledges his debt and has no goods to pay with he must declare himself not possessing goods worth five shillings and fourpence and must further swear that the debt will be paid as soon as he has acquired the amount to pay it, his food only excepted.

Item, they have declared that all claimants on both sides must take oaths for themselves except only the two kings and their heirs and the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld. For the King of England, his standard bearer and his constable will swear. And the same for the King of Scotland and, for the Lord Bishop of St. Andrews the priest of Wedale will swear and for the Lord Bishop of Dunkeld the prior of the Isle.

Item, they have declared that no one can deputize another to take his oath for him in any quarrel where life and limb are involved save only with the consent of both parties. The two kings and bishops only excepted as said above. Default will invalidate the cause forever, accuser or defendant.

Item, they have declared that if a quarrel takes place on the marches of the two countries between an accuser and defendant on a matter of life and limb, if the defendant has died within fifteen days, the statutory time, his body will be brought to the marches at the appointed day and place since no man can be exempted by death.³ And if the accuser delays his appearance beyond the appointed day the defendant must make his way to the marches and take the pledge of trial-by-combat from three Barons to testify that he has appeared on the proper day. And this having been approved by them he is forever freed from that charge. And if by chance any or all of the three should refuse to testify he may insist they decide the truth of the charge by combat, the same holds good in regard to the accuser.

Item, they have declared that if a Scots thief has stolen a horse in England, or oxen or cows or anything, and leads it away to Scotland the owner in whatever place he finds his property, can recover it in the court of the feudal lordship where his property has been found. And these he will

³ This tradition remained part of March Law for centuries, the last reported instance of a body being brought to the March is in 1597. Pease, p. 72 note 2.

recover by the oaths of six men, his own being the seventh, unless the person holding the goods claims them as his own, in which case the issue may be decided by contest on the marches.

Item, they have declared that if anyone is indicted, whether Scots or English, for life and limb in the marches on a charge of robbery, theft or homicide, the pledges, if the defendant loses the contest, are not responsible for more than the claim set forth by the accuser.

Item, they have declared that any malefactor who has entered into any part of the other realm, and there should wish to have peace, he can have it from those who can give it, namely the sheriff of the county he has entered, and if he can not find the sheriff, he can receive peace at the first church by ringing the bells, and there he can have peace until he is to have peace from the sheriff of the county. And if before he has peace he is apprehended he will be led off without opposition.

Item, they have declared that if any inhabitant of either kingdom swears, in opposition to an accuser, that a mare, ox, cow, or pig is his own, he can have the usual respite of days established between the two realms before the matter is brought to trial. And that day if he should wish to avoid combat and has discovered the property is not his own, he is obliged to bring it to the marches and send word to the claimant that he is satisfied, on inquiry, that the horse was the property of the claimant, and after this declaration he is bound to drive it into the water of the Tweed or the Esk, and the defendant will be quit of that claim or charge. If the animal is drowned before it has reached mid-stream, he is responsible for it according to march custom, and the same holds good for an ox, cow, pig or anything else, save baggage of which nothing was established.

Item, they have declared that no Englishman can accuse a Scot by means of witnesses, and conversely [holds good for Scots accusing Englishmen] except by the body of a man, and so many contests⁴ can arise in the disputes that have occurred or will occur between the marches.

Item, they have declared that if anyone of the realm of England in Scotland, or conversely, according to the laws of the marches, who claims a debt in the other kingdom where he remains, he must find justice of clerics, if it is a cleric who is in his debt, of knights if a knight, of burgesses if a burgess and by them the case must be decided, not by others.

⁴ The Leges Marchiarum has 'nulla' or 'no' and the APS has 'multa' or 'many' which seems to be the acceptable translation, see footnote 5 below.

Finally, they have declared that magistrates both inside and outside the burghs will have the power to detain the inhabitants of either kingdom in order that the above mentioned customs will be observed inviolably between the two realms.⁵

⁵ Leges Marchiarum, London, 1705. pp. 1-9. I used Pease, pp. 68-77 and Ridpath, pp. 96-98 to check my translations and find meanings for words such as "wardsheill" which are not Latin, but apparently from the local dialect. The copy of the march laws from APS i, pp. 413-416 is marginally different than those in the Leges Marchiarum, it is, however unclear how much bearing this had on the relations between the two countries.

appendix c

Wardens of the Scottish March *

<u>Year</u>	<u>West March</u>	<u>East March</u>
1314	'the Good' Sir James Douglas	Patrick, Earl of Dunbar
1343	William Douglas Knight of Liddesdale	Earl Patrick
1356	William Douglas 1 st Earl of Douglas	Earl Patrick
1364	Archibald 'the Grim' Douglas (with William)	Earl Patrick (with William, Earl of Douglas)
1368	Archibald 'the Grim' Douglas (alone)	George, Earl of Dunbar and Earl William
1400	Archibald 'the Tyneman' Douglas	Archibald, 'the Tyneman'
1408	'the Tyneman'	George, Earl of Dunbar
1422	Archibald, Master of Douglas (the Tyneman in France)	George Dunbar <i>filis</i> Earl of Dunbar
1424	Archibald, 5 th Earl of Douglas	George <i>filis</i> , Earl of Dunbar

* Based on Pease, p. 194

appendix d

Wardens of the English March *

<u>Year</u>	<u>West March</u>	<u>East March</u>
1328	Henry Percy, 2 nd	as West
1334	Ralph Neville, 4 th	Henry Percy, 2 nd
1352	Northumberland	as West
1368	John Neville	as West
July 1377	Bishop of Carlisle Roger Clifford Ralph Greystoke William Staplton	Northumberland Bishop of Durham John Neville Thomas Percy John Waltham
Dec. 1377	as in the East	Northumberland John Neville Roger Clifford Ralph Greystoke
June 1379	Roger Clifford Ralph Greystoke Hugh Dacre	as above
Nov. 1379	Bishop of Carlisle Ralph Greystoke Hugh Dacre	as above
Dec. 1379	Gilbert Carwen Thomas Whitrigg Peter Tilliol William Staplton Armand Mounceaux John Denton	William Aton Thomas Ilderton John Heron Alan Heaton John Strother John Fenwick John Thirlwall

* based on
Pease, p. 195 &
Storey, pp. 609-
13.

<u>Year</u>	<u>West March</u>	<u>East March</u>
Mar. 1380	Roger Clifford Matthew Redman	Northumberland Ralph Greystoke
May 1380	as in East	as above with Peter Mauley
Dec. 1380	Roger Clifford Richard Scrope Hugh Dacre	as above
Feb. 1381	Richard Scrope	as above
Dec. 1381	as above	Northumberland John Neville
Mar. 1382	Northumberland John Neville Roger Clifford Hugh Dacre	as above with the Bishop of Durham
June 1382	Bishop of Durham John Neville Ralph Greystoke Northumberland	as in West
July 1382	as in East	John Neville Roger Clifford Hugh Dacre
Mar. 1383	John Neville Roger Clifford	John Neville Bishop of Durham

<u>Year</u>	<u>West March</u>	<u>East March</u>
May 1383	Bishop of Durham Northumberland John Neville Roger Clifford Richard Scrope John Sheppey John Waltham	as in West
Aug. 1383	as above	Northumberland John Neville Thomas Percy
Dec. 1383	Northumberland John Neville	as in West
Jan. 1384	as above	as in West with Thomas Percy
Feb. 1384	Roger Clifford Richard Scrope Walter FitzWalter	Northumberland John Neville Thomas Percy
July 1384	Bishop of Durham Northumberland John Neville Roger Clifford Hotspur	as in West
Aug. 1384	Northumberland	as in West
Feb. 1385	John Neville Roger Clifford	as in West
May 1385	as above	Hotspur
Mar. 1386	Roger Clifford Ralph Greystoke Westmorland	as above

<u>Year</u>	<u>West March</u>	<u>East March</u>
Apr. 1386	as above	John Neville
June 1388	as above	Hotspur
July 1388	John Beaumont	as above
Oct. 1388	as above	John Stanley
June 1389	as above	John Mowbray the Earl Marshall
June 1390	Hotspur	as above
June 1391	as above	Northumberland
June 1395	John Beaumont	as above
June 1396	as above	Hotspur
Sept. 1396	John Holland	as above
Feb. 1398	Albemarle	as above
Aug. 1399	Northumberland	as above
July 1403	Westmorland	as in West
Aug. 1403	as above	John Duke of Bedford
June 1414	John Neville	as above
Sept. 1414	as above	Edward Duke of York
May 1415	as above	Richard Grey
Apr. 1417	as above	Henry Percy 2 nd Northumberland
June 1420	Richard Neville Earl Salisbury	as above

Appendix e

"The Battle of Otterbourne"¹

It fell about the Lammas tide,
When the muir-men win their hay,
The doughty Douglas bound him to ride
Into England, to drive a prey.

He chose the Gordons and the Grahames,
With them the Lindsays, light and gay;
But the Jardines wald not with him ride,
And they rue it to this day.

And he has burn'd the dales of Tyne,
And part of Bambroughshire:
And three good towers on Roxburgh fells,
He left them all on fire.

And he march'd up to Newcastle,
And rode it round about;
"O wha's the lord of this castle,
Or wha's the lady o't?"

But up spake proud Lord Percy, then,
And O but he spake hie!
"I am the lord of this castle,
My wife's the lady gay."

"If thour't the lord of this castle,
Sae weel it pleases me!
For, ere I cross the border fells,
The tane of us shall die."

He took a lang spear in his hand,
Shod with the metal free,
And for to meet the Douglas there,
He rode right furiouslie.

¹ Sir Walter Scott, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. 5th ed. Edinburgh, 1812. p. 66-71.

But O how pale his lady look'd
Frae aff the castle walls wa'
When down, before the Scottish spear,
She saw proud Percy fa'.

"Had we twa been upon the green,
And never an eye to see,
I wad hae had you, flesh and fell;
But your sword sall gae wi' me."

"But gae ye up to Otterbourne,
And wait there dayis three;
And, if I come not ere three dayis end,
A fause knight ca' ye me."

"The Otterbourne's a bonnie burn;
'Tis pleasant there to be;
But there is nought at Otterbourne,
To feed my men and me."

"The deer rins wild on hill and dale,
The birds fly wild from tree to tree;
But there is neither bread nor kale,
To fend my men and me."

"Yet I will stay at Otterbourne,
Where you shall welcome be;
And, if ye come not at three dayis end,
I fause lord I'll ca' thee."

"Thither will I come," proud Percy said,
By the might of Our Ladye?" –
"There will I bide thee," said the Douglas,
"My trowth I plight to thee."

They lighted high on Otterbourne,
Upon the bent sae brown;
They lighted high on Otterbourne,
And threw their pallions down.

And he that had a bonnie boy,
Sent out his horse to grass;
And he that had not a bonnie boy,
His ain servant he was.

But up then spake a little page,
Before the peep of dawn –
“O waken ye, waken ye, my good lord,
For Percy’s hard at hand.”

“Ye lie, ye lie, ye liar loud!”
Sae loud I hear ye lie:
For Percy had not men yestreen,
To dight my men and me.”

“But I hae dream’d a dreary dream,
Beyond the Isle of Sky;
I saw a dead man win a fight,
And I think that man was I.”

He belted on his good braid sword,
And to the field he ran;
But he forgot the helmet good,
That should have kept his brain.

When Percy wi’ the Douglas met,
That could so sharply wound,
Has wounded Douglas on the brow,
Till he fell to the ground.

Then he call’d on his little foot-page,
And said – “Run speedilie,
And fetch my ain dear sister’s son,
Sir Hugh Montgomery.”

“My nephew good,” the Douglas said,
“What recks the death of ane!
Last night I dream’d a dreary dream,
And I ken the day’s thy ain.”

“My wound is deep; I fain would sleep;
Take thou the vanguard of the three,
And hide me by the braken bush,
That grows on yonder lilye lee.”

“O bury me by the braken bush,
Beneath the blooming brier;
Let never living mortal ken,
That ere a kindly Scot lies here.”

He lifted up that noble lord,
Wi' the saut tear in his e'e;
He hid him in the braken bush,
That his merrie men might not see.

The moon was clear, the day drew near,
The spears in flinders flew,
But mony a gallant Englishman,
Ere day the Scotsmen slew.

The Gordons good, in English blood,
They steep'd their hose and shoon;
The Lindsays flew like fire about,
Till all the fray was done.

The Percy and Montgomery met,
That either of other were fain;
They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
And aye the blude ran down between.

"Yield thee, O yield thee, Percy!" he said,
"Or else I vow I'll lay thee low!"
"To whom shall I yield," said Earl Percy,
"Now that I see it must be so?"

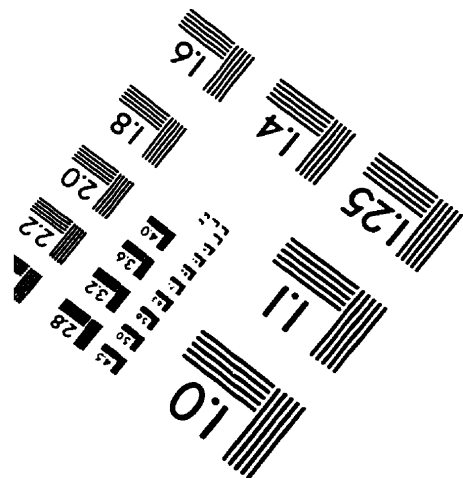
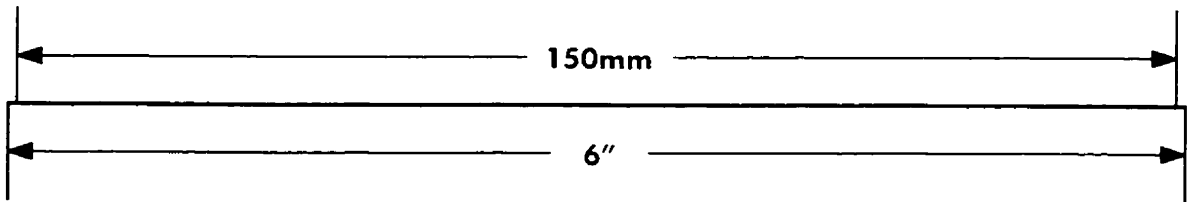
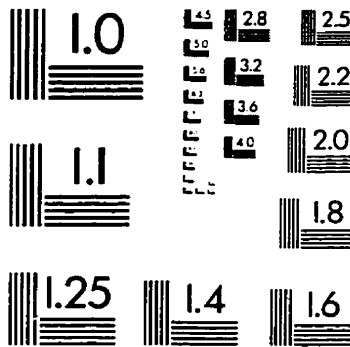
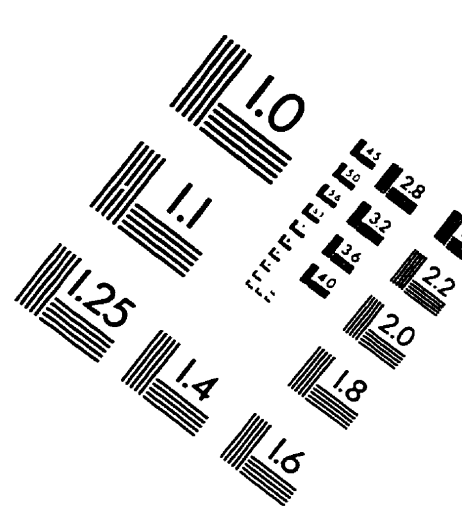
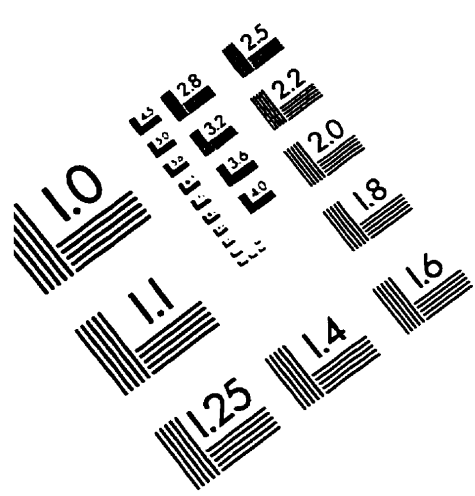
"Thou shall not yield to lord nor loun,
Nor yet shalt thou yield to me;
But yield thee to the braken bush,
That grows upon yon lilye lee!"

"I will not yield to a braken bush,
Nor yet will I yield to a brier,
But I would yield to Earl Douglas,
Or Sir Hugh Montgomery, if he were here."

As soon as he knew it was Montgomery,
He stuck his sword's point in the gronde;
And the Montgomery was a courteous knight,
And quickly took him by the honde.

This deed was done at Otterbourne,
About the breaking of the day;
Earl Douglas was buried at the braken bush,
And the Percy led captive away.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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