



University
of Glasgow

Daniels, Peter William (2013) The second Scottish War of Independence, 1332-41: a national war? MPhil(R) thesis, University of Glasgow.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/4640>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

**THE SECOND SCOTTISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1332-41: A NATIONAL
WAR?**

by

Peter William Daniels, OBE, MA

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy
School of Humanities
University of Glasgow**

March 2013

Abstract

The purpose of the thesis is to examine whether the second war of independence from 1332-41 was a 'national' war or simply a series of regional conflicts. Three separate but overlapping influences are examined: national identity, the extent to which the different regions of Scotland were drawn in, and the landed interests involved in each region. These three issues are considered for the first time using a prosopographical approach, examining the background and actions of the key players in the conflict, the higher nobility of Scotland.

The thesis examines, first of all, the role of the higher nobility of Scotland in the 1330s. It then looks at each of the recognisable regions of the country in turn, considering who the key members of the higher nobility were in each region, what their interests were and to what extent they were involved in the region. Finally it looks at the motivations of these individuals, primarily from the perspective of national identity, or perhaps more accurately, regnal solidarity. Its conclusion is that the second war of independence was indeed a national war, centred as it was on the interests of the kingdom as a national entity but that other factors – the legitimacy of the Bruce and Balliol claims, the influence of family allegiances through marriage, the personal safety of the members of the higher nobility, the threat of forfeiture and their personal ambitions - were also at work.

Table of Contents

Title page	1
Abstract	2
Table of Contents	3
Acknowledgements	4
Author's Declaration	4
Abbreviations	5
Part 1: A National War?	
Chapter 1: Introduction	7
Chapter 2: The Political Establishment of Scotland in the 1330s	10
Chapter 3: War and Landed Interests in the Regions	23
Chapter 4: National Identity and Other Factors	41
Chapter 5: Conclusions	56
Part 2: The Prosopography	64
Bibliography	130

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Dauvit Broun, for his indispensable support and guidance in the production of this thesis. His constant encouragement and tolerance ensured that it saw the light of day. I also wish to thank my wife, Anne, for her support and patience over the years and who still cannot quite believe that the work has been completed.

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis, including any final revisions as accepted by my examiners. I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>APS</i>	<i>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , 11 vols, eds. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
<i>CCR</i>	Calendar of Close Rolls
<i>CDS</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland in the Public Record Office</i> , ed. J. Bain and others (Edinburgh, 1881-1986).
<i>Chron. Avesbury</i>	Robert of Avesbury, <i>Adae Murimuth Continuatio chronicarum Robertus de Avesbury De Gestis mirabilibus regis Edwardi Tertii</i> , ed. E.M. Thompson (London, 1889)
<i>Chron. Bower</i>	<i>Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English</i> , 9 vols, general ed. D.E.R. Watt (Aberdeen/Edinburgh, 1987-98).
<i>Chron. Fordun</i>	<i>Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scottorum</i> , ed. W.F. Skene, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1871-72).
<i>Chron. Lanercost</i>	<i>The Chronicle of Lanercost: 1272-1346</i> , translated with notes by Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913).
<i>Chron. Wyntoun</i>	<i>The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun</i> , edited with introduction, notes and glossary by F.J. Amours (Edinburgh, 1903-14).
<i>ER, i</i>	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland: Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum</i> , vol. 1, 1264-1359, ed. J. Stuart and G. Burnett (Edinburgh, 1878)
<i>HBC</i>	<i>Handbook of British Chronology</i> .
<i>IR</i>	<i>The Innes Review</i>
<i>Reg. Moray</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensisc: e pluribus codicibus consarcinatum circa A.D. MCCCC., cum continuatione diplomatum recentiorum usque ad A.D. MDCXXIII - Register of the Bishopric of Moray : assembled circa A.D.1400 from many manuscript documents, with a continuation of more recent charters to A.D.1623</i> , ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1837).
<i>Reg. Morton, ii</i>	<i>Registrum Honoris de Morton: A Series of Ancient Charters of the Earldom of Morton with other Original Papers in Two Volumes</i> , vol. 2 (1141-1580) (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1853).
<i>RMS</i>	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regnum Scottorum</i> , ed. J.M. Thomson and others (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).

- Rot.Scot.* *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri londinensi et in domo Capitulari westmonasteriensi asservati : printed by command of His Majesty King George III. in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain* (London, 1814-19).
- RPS* *Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707*, (St Andrews, c.2007-08) [<http://www.rps.ac.uk>].
- Scalacronica* *Scalacronica 1272-1363 / Sir Thomas Gray*; edited and translated and with an introduction by Andy King (Woodbridge, 2005).
- SHR* *Scottish Historical Review*
- TDGNHAS* *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*
- TRHS* *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

PART 1

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

The 1330s was a turbulent time for Scotland. A prolonged period of both civil war and war with England from 1296 to 1327 had ended with the apparent defeat of the enemies of Robert I and the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton of 1328, under which the two realms ostensibly made peace. A year later Robert I had died and by 1332 Scotland was once more at war. This renewed conflict has been generally labelled the ‘Second Scottish War of Independence’.

While there is no doubt that the second war began in 1332 there is more uncertainty as to when it ended. Unlike the first war, there was no peace treaty between Scotland and England bringing the armed conflict to an end. Scotland’s higher nobility and military leaders largely succeeded in ridding the country of both the supporters of Edward Balliol and English administration by the time David II returned from exile to Scotland in 1341. However, warfare continued in the form of minor skirmishes throughout the 1340s, culminating in the major Scottish reverse at Neville’s Cross in 1346. Neville’s Cross was followed by a small-scale invasion of Scotland by Balliol but by 1354, if not before, the country, with the exceptions of Roxburgh and Berwick, had once again been cleared of Balliol forces and English control. With the surrender by Balliol of his claim to the kingdom in 1356 and the ransom of David II the following year after eleven years in English custody, the independence of Scotland was finally assured.

It can be argued therefore that there was no definitive end date for the second war of independence; that it simply petered out. The 25 years from 1332 to 1357, however, can be divided into distinct phases according to the degree to which armed warfare predominated. Between 1332 and 1341 the intensity of the conflict was far greater than during any other phase. During this period, there were three major battles;¹ there were two major and other smaller invasions by Balliol/Plantagenet armies; the conflict between the Bruce and Balliol parties and between the Bruce Scots and the English king Edward III was at its height; David II returned to Scotland after seven years of exile in France, symbolically marking a

¹ Dupplin Moor in 1332; Halidon Hill in 1333; and Culblean in 1335.

turning, if not an end point; and the English presence in Scotland was virtually ended, with only Roxburgh and Berwick remaining in Edward III's hands.

This thesis examines the second war of independence from 1332 to 1341. It does so for the first time from the perspective of the major participants. The supporters of the Bruce and Balliol parties and of Edward III were pivotal to the successes and failures of their respective causes. Given the alleged frequent shifting of alliance that went on during this period, it seems important to consider whether the participants acted purely out of self interest or whether there were deeper loyalties to 'the cause' or to the concept of national identity as it was then understood. The difficulty is that, because of the scarcity of primary sources from 1329 to 1341 little is known in detail about these participants compared with the depth of knowledge we have of the major, heroic figures of the first war of independence. This study brings together for the first time what is known about all the major participants in the second war. For the most part they are the higher nobility of Scotland – earls, provincial lords and major barons – but the prosopography also includes 'Scoti Anglicati', those Scots owing allegiance to Edward III, and those major English barons who owned land and property in Scotland or who laid claims to such possessions. By examining the background and actions of these individuals as far as they can be ascertained and by considering their motivations, the study examines whether the second war was a national war or simply a series of regional conflicts. 'National' in this context suggests a coming together of three separate but overlapping influences – national identity/regal solidarity, the extent to which the different regions of Scotland were drawn in, and the landed interests of the principal participants.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part 1, containing Chapters 2 to 5, examines the structure of the political establishment in Scotland on the death of Robert I in 1329 – earls, provincial lords, senior nobles, senior clergy and those officials making up what can be termed 'royal government', with attention centred very much on the first three. None of the primary sources seem to attach particular significance to the last two in any leadership role. This is in contrast to the key role played by Scotland's higher clergy in the first war of independence. The focus of this study, therefore, will be on the 51 members of the senior nobility who were prominent in the events of the 1330s. Part 1 examines how the war physically affected each region of Scotland, defining the regions and considering how much 'action' took place in each and whether that action was bound up with the interests of the leading players (Scottish nobles and English magnates, if any) in each region. It

considers the motives of each of the key players in the conflict and also looks at what form national identity was likely to have taken in the 1330s. It considers how far national identity had developed by then and the extent to which it influenced the positioning of the leading nobility on the Balliol or Bruce side. Finally it draws these issues together and offers conclusions on the extent to which the second war of independence was national in character.

Part 2 is the prosopography, a collection of biographical sketches of 68 key participants in the war, brought together here in a single place for the first time. These are the people who are mentioned in the primary sources as playing a leading role, whether as Bruce or Balliol supporters or as Englishmen (and one 'native' Scotsman) who owed their loyalty primarily to Edward III. Fifty-two of the names listed are Scotsmen or women,² 15 are Englishmen and one is a Frenchman. It has been felt necessary to examine the detailed role played by these individuals in a separate Part to avoid the distraction from the main arguments in the thesis that would result from interjecting such details into the main narrative.

² Including Gilbert, earl of Umfraville, although he might equally well be listed as English.

CHAPTER 2 – THE POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF SCOTLAND IN 1332

The political establishment in medieval Scotland normally would have consisted of the king, the higher nobility and the senior clergy. In 1332 the king, David II, was eight years old. Both he and the country were under the protection of the Guardian, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and power was exercised in the king's name by members of the higher nobility and the senior clergy.

Higher Nobility

The 'higher nobility' in Scotland was a small but privileged and powerful class of magnates, probably around 50 in number, ranked according to their wealth and power, measured normally by the size of the estates they owned or the territories they ruled over. Although, unlike their counterparts in England, their collective identity or sense of social supremacy was not particularly marked,³ there was certainly recognition in Scottish society of an order of rank. The earls were at the top, with their authority, dignity and status derived from their historical position as successors to the ancient mormaers or rulers of the Celtic provinces of Scotland.⁴ Like those mormaers, they exercised considerable political and military authority within their earldoms, including, at least in the period with which this study is concerned, the power to raise a local army and to exercise judicial authority.⁵ An earl's support for a particular cause in the 1330s, therefore, was a matter of great importance as he would ensure backing for that cause from amongst his own tenants. If an earl changed sides, as some of them did during this period, his tenants would also be likely to change sides. Loyalty to an earl, therefore, might well be stronger than allegiance to the king, whether Bruce or Balliol.

³ A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1984), 121-2; M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), 100; J. Goodare, 'Estates in the Scottish Parliament', in C. Jones (ed.), *The Scots and Parliament* (Edinburgh, 1996), 12.

⁴ Dauvit Broun, 'Mormaers', in John Cannon (ed.), *Oxford Companion to British History*, (Oxford, 1997), 656; G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), 3.

⁵ Barrow, *Bruce*, 3; idem, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 159, 161. Alexander Grant has demonstrated that by the end of the fourteenth century this power was obsolete. A. Grant, 'The development of the Scottish peerage', *SHR*, 57 (1978), 5.

Earldoms were large areas of Scotland stretching for hundreds of square miles.⁶ However there were also lords whose estates were often so large that they were regarded in practice as holding power and authority equal to the earls.⁷ The holders of these ‘provincial lordships’ often held more than one lordship and, in the single case in the 1330s of the Randolphs, an earldom as well.⁸ When this is considered alongside turnover of personnel through death, failure to produce a male heir, and occasionally forfeiture to the crown, it is not surprising that the number of earldoms and provincial lordships never equated with the actual number of persons holding them.⁹ In 1332, at the start of the period covered by this study, the estimated 29 earldoms and provincial lordships in Scotland in the 1330s were held by 18 individuals, with one provincial lordship (Galloway) vacant and possession of one (Strathnaver) unclear. When David II returned to Scotland on 3 June 1341, the number of title holders was 17, with one earldom extinct (Atholl), one vacant (Carrick), one provincial lordship vacant (Galloway) and another unclear (Strathnaver). In geographical size the earldoms and provincial lordships covered two-thirds of the country.

Earls and provincial lords differed from the barons and ‘freeholders’ who constituted the other two categories traditionally recognised as the ‘nobility’. The estates of Scotland’s 400 or so barons were much smaller in size than those of earls or provincial lords, ‘much more like a parish than a province.’¹⁰ Grant has estimated that within the baronies a distinction could be made between a few barons whose estates were larger than a parish, sometimes even larger than some provinces and the vast majority of others, whose estates were the size of a parish at most and frequently much smaller.¹¹ The former tended to receive individual summonses to parliament, whereas the others did not.¹² Grant’s classification of the Scottish nobility into five categories – earls, provincial lords, greater

⁶ The earldom of Douglas, created by David II in 1358, was the first in Scotland where the lands were scattered and were not based on a single land mass. A. Grant, ‘The Higher Nobility in Scotland and their Estates, c.1371-1424’ (unpublished D. Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1975), 44.

⁷ G.W.S. Barrow, *Feudal Britain* (London, 1956), 232-3.

⁸ For a thorough discussion of the development of provinces and lordships see S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (Oxford, 1984), 217-49.

⁹ A. Grant, ‘Earls and Earldoms in Late Medieval Scotland (c.1310-1360)’, in J. Bossey and P. Jupp (eds.), *Essays Presented to Michael Roberts* (Belfast, 1976), 25.

¹⁰ A. Grant, ‘Higher Nobility and their Estates’, 28. Elsewhere Grant has estimated that there were over 900 parishes in Scotland between the later twelfth century and the Reformation and he specifically identified 925 by 1400. Because of the paucity of records for the 1330s it is impossible to know precisely the number of parishes in Scotland at that time but it must have approximated to 900. A. Grant, ‘Franchises North of the Border: Baronies and Regalities in Medieval Scotland’, in M. Prestwich (ed.) *Liberties and Identities in Medieval Britain and Ireland*, (Woodbridge, 2008), 160.

¹¹ Lauderdale, for example, was probably comparable in size to the Douglas estates in Bothwell, Carnwath and Douglasdale. P.B. McNeill and H.L. MacQueen (eds.) *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), 183.

¹² Although the practice of summoning freeholders to Parliament was a relatively recent one, begun only after 1318 because of Robert I’s need for general support. See A.A.M. Duncan, ‘The Early Parliaments of Scotland’, *SHR*, 45 (1966), 54.

barons, barons and freeholders (“other nobles”) is therefore more useful.¹³ Given their hold on political power in Scotland, it is with the first three of these categories that this study is concerned.

Hereditary in title, both the earldoms and the provincial lordships were the focus of community life, custom and loyalty to their ruling families. The earls and provincial lords were concerned with the advancement of their families’ interests and they exercised a real dominance over their territories, frequently limiting the ability of the crown to interfere.¹⁴ For the most part, though, their dominant role was performed in cooperation rather than in conflict with the king.¹⁵ The earls and provincial lords were representatives of central government, frequently acting as justiciars or sheriffs on behalf of the crown. For many these offices, indeed, were hereditary to the regional or local family. They were expected to attend parliaments and councils and they were frequent witnesses to royal charters. Because of their role in governance these great nobles required to have a national, if not international outlook. Holmes, writing in relation to England, refers to the fate of an earl’s inheritance or the direction of his allegiance as being ‘... matters of national concern and national politics.’¹⁶ The same held true in Scotland.

However, while the earls may have been recognised as foremost in the ranking order - and certainly an earldom, with the dignity and status associated with it, was something that an ambitious noble, even a provincial lord, might aspire to – for some nobles possession of an earldom was not as important as recognition of leadership within the elite. In matters of governance or military leadership earls were not always pre-eminent. The senior branch of the Comyn family, for example, was headed by John Comyn, a provincial lord, and not by the earl of Buchan, who headed the second branch. Earls, provincial lords and nobles all sat together in parliaments and councils. The guardianship appointed in 1286 on the death of Alexander III consisted of equal numbers - two each - of earls, barons (only one of whom was a ‘provincial lord’) and senior clergy.¹⁷ Similarly the council of twelve, who

¹³ A. Grant, ‘The Development of the Scottish Peerage’, *SHR*, 57 (1978), 2.

¹⁴ For full accounts of the role of the Scottish earls see M. Brown, *The Wars of Scotland, 1214-1371* (Edinburgh, 2004), 304-5; R. Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100-1400* (Oxford, 1995), 309; D. Ditchburn and A.J. Macdonald, ‘Medieval Scotland, 1100-1560’, in R. Houston and W.W.J. Knox (eds.) *The New Penguin History of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 2001), 141; M.H. Brown, ‘Scotland Tamed? Kings and Magnates in Late Medieval Scotland: a Review of Recent Work’, *IR*, 45 (1994), 124. For a comparison with the peerage in England see C. Given Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987).

¹⁵ M.H. Brown, ‘Scotland Tamed?’, 123-4.

¹⁶ G. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957) 5.

¹⁷ The recently discovered ‘Schoyen Chronicle’, however, intriguingly refers to seven Guardians, the seventh being the Bishop of Dunkeld, which would suggest that the Guardians were chosen, not to achieve parity of

took control of government away from King John Balliol in 1295, comprised four earls, four barons and four clergy. William Wallace, who assumed sole guardianship in 1298, was not even a minor baron, his family's estates being held by his brother. And while Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick and John Comyn, lord of Badenoch were joint guardians after Wallace resigned, by the beginning of 1301 John de Soules was appointed sole guardian. Although Soules' family held the lordship of Liddesdale, he himself was not a provincial lord, 'having only the upland barony of Westerkirk in Eskdale (held of Enguerand de Guines) and, in right of his wife, the old barony of Ardrross on the Fife coast'.¹⁸ These relationships continued in a similar way into the 1330s. Following the capture of the Guardian, Sir Andrew Murray at Roxburgh in October 1332 the new Guardian was Sir Alexander Douglas, not John Randolph, earl of Moray described by Lanercost '... as being of nobler rank and more powerful'.¹⁹ And when the nation then came under the control of two Guardians, Robert Stewart and John Randolph, it was scarcely important that the Steward, heir presumptive, was not an earl, whereas Randolph was earl of Moray. Similarly, one of the most powerful lords in Scotland in the 1330s was John, lord of the Isles, not an earl but a provincial lord, who may even have regarded himself as of equal status to Edward Balliol within his own lordship.

Although this study does not examine the period after David II's return from France it is worth emphasising the continuation of this trend towards an even more equal standing of earls, provincial lords and greater barons. In 1342 William Douglas surrendered his recently bestowed title of earl of Atholl to Robert Stewart in return for the much smaller lordship of Liddesdale. For Douglas the opportunity of consolidating his power base in southern Scotland was far more important than securing an earldom in a region where he had no other territorial interests. Additionally, in the trial of Malise earl of Strathearn on 7 June 1344 by Parliament, there were 19 judges but only three of them were earls - Duncan earl of Fife, Malcolm, earl of Wigtown and John Graham, earl of Menteith.²⁰

The existence of three separate groups throughout this period was perhaps more a need to ensure that there was a broad based representation of the 'community' than a specific recognition that there were three different 'classes' of nobility who should be accorded, if

status but because an odd number was needed in order to achieve a majority. [[http:// www. breakingofbritain. ac. uk/ blogs/ feature-of-the-month/september-2011-the-guardians-in-1286-and-wallaces-uprising-in-1297/](http://www.breakingofbritain.ac.uk/blogs/feature-of-the-month/september-2011-the-guardians-in-1286-and-wallaces-uprising-in-1297/), accessed 3 December 2011].

¹⁸ Barrow, *Bruce*, 115; See also N. Reid, 'The Kingless Kingdom: the Scottish guardianships of 1286-1306', *SHR*, 61 (1982), 105-29.

¹⁹ *Chron. Lanercost*, 276.

²⁰ J. Maitland Thomson, 'A Roll Call of the Scottish Parliament, 1344', *SHR*, 35 (1912), 239-40.

not equal status, then equal weight. This study therefore has gone beyond the holders of the earldoms and provincial lordships and considers the importance of the ‘greater barons’ in the events of the 1330s.

In 1329, on the death of King Robert I, there were 13 earldoms in Scotland.²¹ From north to south, they were those of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, Mar, Atholl, Angus, Fife, Strathearn, Menteith, Lennox, Carrick, and March (or Dunbar). Another former earldom, Buchan, had been broken up by Robert over a period of some 20 years, beginning in 1308. The number of provincial lordships in Scotland, however, cannot be determined so accurately. The *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* estimated that there were 25 in 1286 but readily admitted that a fair number were ‘highly conjectural due to lack of full or easily accessible evidence’.²² Indeed the authors of the *Atlas* have been criticised for not including at least one large estate, Glencarnie in central Strathspey, in their list.²³ Alexander Grant estimates that there were 29 earldoms and provincial lordships in Robert I’s reign, which would imply 16 provincial lordships. However, his map of earldoms and provincial lordships in “late-medieval Scotland” lists 14 - Strathbogie, Garioch, Badenoch, Argyll, Renfrew, Cunningham, Kyle, Galloway, Selkirk, Jedworth, Liddesdale, Annandale, Nithsdale and The Isles.²⁴ This implies that some disappeared, were broken up or were absorbed into other provincial lordships or earldoms. The uncertainty stems from the inability to determine exactly when the provincial lordships were recognised as such. This is particularly acute in Ayrshire, the Borders and off the western seaboard.

The holders of these 29 or so positions derived their status directly from the territories covered by each. However, in some parts of Scotland, for example Clydesdale and Lothian, there was no great magnate who could claim the loyalties of the population and local considerations were likely to be of a higher priority.²⁵ Of the other magnates who could claim to be part of the ‘higher nobility’ of Scotland, there were about 20 or 30 whose territories may not have been as extensive as the earls or provincial lords, but who were nevertheless prominent in national affairs, attending parliaments and councils and witnessing royal charters.²⁶

²¹ Grant, ‘Earls and Earldoms’, 24.

²² *Atlas of Scottish History*, 185. The *Atlas*, however, shows Sutherland as both an earldom, which it was by 1286, and a provincial lordship.

²³ A. Ross, ‘The Lords and Lordships of Glencarnie’ in S. Boardman and A. Ross (eds.), *The Exercise of Medieval Power in Scotland* (Dublin, 2003), 159.

²⁴ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 122.

²⁵ C. Brown, *The Knights of the Scottish Wars of Independence* (Stroud, 2008), 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

There were also the holders of the offices of state – chancellor, chamberlain, constable and marischal – and the 27 or so sheriffs, who together represented royal government in Scotland. Before the 1330s many of these individuals may also have been earls, provincial lords or greater barons but after the death of Robert I in 1329, very few came into that category. Taken together there were probably about 50 persons who, at any one time, could be counted as members of the higher nobility in Scotland in the 1330s.

In contrast with earlier periods of Scottish history, the higher nobility seem to have co-operated with the crown to promote good governance. Despite the troubles of the period, both wars of independence stemmed from the conflicting claims of the Bruce and Balliol dynasties and the ambitions of successive English monarchs. They were not the result of difficulties in the power relationships between crown and higher nobility. As Michael Brown states: ‘Far from a disruptive and divisive force, the power of the magnates in the areas of their influence is represented as the basis of stability. The regionalist nature of Scottish politics and the limited ability of the crown to interfere in these regions largely insulated, it is claimed, the power of local magnates from external threats.’²⁷

Senior Clergy

The senior clergy of Scotland operated at the same level as the higher nobility. Many of Scotland’s higher clergy, or prelates, played a significant role in national affairs during the first war of independence, possessing as they did recognition of their standing in the realm’s affairs. Of the six Guardians of 1286, two were from the senior clergy and in 1295 they made up four out of twelve. If the ‘Schoyen Chronicle’ is to be believed, they comprised three of seven Guardians in 1286.

When the second war of independence began in 1332 there were twelve bishops in Scotland – St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, The Isles, Glasgow, Galloway (or Candida Casa), and Argyll.²⁸ However, with few exceptions, none were prominent in the affairs of the realm in the 1330s. James Ben was bishop of *St Andrews*, having been elected on the death of William Lamberton the previous

²⁷ M.H. Brown, ‘Scotland Tamed?’, 124.

²⁸ The list excludes Orkney, which came under the control of Norway rather than Scotland. The information in this section is obtained from J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland, Being Notes on the Lives of all the Bishops, under each of the Sees, Prior to the Reformation* (Glasgow, 1912) and D.E.R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638* (St Andrews, 1969).

year. Ben was a Bruce supporter and fled to Bruges after Dupplin Moor. The bishopric then lay vacant for over nine years until William Landallis, rector of Kinkell in the diocese of Aberdeen, was appointed by Pope Benedict XII. William Sinclair had been elected bishop of *Dunkeld* in 1312, a solid supporter of Robert I. After Dupplin Moor, Sinclair possibly went over to the Balliol cause and officiated at the coronation of Edward Balliol in 1332. He died in 1337 and, as a result of a disputed election to succeed him, the see remained vacant for seven or eight years. Alexander Kinninmonth was appointed bishop of *Aberdeen* by Pope John XXIII without an election, following his failure to secure, on the death of Lamberton, the bishopric of St Andrews after his election by the canons there was not confirmed. Alexander had taken part in the visit to the papal curia in 1320 to present the Declaration of Arbroath and he attended the coronations of both David II and Edward Balliol. He remained bishop of Aberdeen until his death in 1344. John Pilmuir, canon of Ross, was appointed bishop of *Moray* in 1326 and held the position until his death in 1362, apparently playing little or no part in national politics. The bishop of *Brechin*, Adam Murray, who was appointed in 1328, was one of the exceptions, playing an important part as David II's chancellor in 1331-32.²⁹ Although he attended Balliol's parliaments of October 1333 and February 1334, he was prominent on the Bruce side as an ambassador to England in 1335-36 and several times after 1346 when he was a member of the team negotiating for the release of David II. The bishop of *Dunblane* was Maurice, who, as abbot of Inchaffray, famously had given encouragement to the Scottish forces before the battle of Bannockburn. Maurice does not appear in records in the 1330s and he probably died shortly after 1347. Very little is known of Roger Ballinbreth, bishop of *Ross* in 1329, other than that he witnessed royal charters in 1328-9 and 1341-2. These dates suggest that he might have adhered to the Bruce side even though he attended Balliol's parliament in 1334.³⁰ Similarly little is known of David, bishop of *Caithness* other than he was appointed in 1328 and held his bishopric for twelve years. The bishop of *the Isles* in 1329 was the renowned Bruce supporter, Bernard Linton, chancellor of Scotland between 1307 and 1328, abbot of Arbroath for seventeen years and probable author of the Declaration of Arbroath. Bernard died in 1331 and was succeeded by Thomas, canon of Dunkeld, who held the post for eighteen years. The bishop of *Glasgow* in 1329 was John Lindsay. Elected to the position in 1317, a year after the death of his illustrious predecessor, Robert Wishart, he witnessed a grant of Edward Balliol to Edward III of 12 February 1334 and attended Balliol's parliament that year. It is unlikely, however, that he did so as a supporter of Balliol as he was killed at sea the following year while acting as an

²⁹ *Handbook of British Chronology*, 174.

³⁰ *APS*, i, 542.

envoy between the Bruce party in Scotland and David II's court in France. The see was then vacant until 1337, when John Wishart succeeded briefly. John died in 1338 and was succeeded in turn by William Rae, who held the post until 1367. The bishop of *Galloway* or *Candida Casa* in 1329 was Simon Wedale, who perhaps, although it is not certain, followed the Balliol cause. His election as bishop in 1327, while Robert I was still on the throne, was confirmed not by the pope but by the Archbishop of York and he was consecrated in Westminster Abbey. He was present at Balliol's parliament in 1334. Simon's tenure was long, holding the post until his death in 1354, suggesting, if indeed he was a Balliol sympathiser, either that he subsequently found favour with David II and even the various guardians of Scotland during David's prolonged absence or that the Bruce cause failed to consolidate itself within Galloway during this period. The longest tenure of any bishopric at this time was that of Andrew, bishop of *Argyll*. Appointed around 1299 he was still bishop at his death in 1341. There is no record of his involvement in national politics.

If the senior clergy as a group played little part in the events of the 1330s they were still regarded as important enough for Edward III to recommend two of his own men to the vacant see of St Andrews – Robert Ayleston of Berkshire and Robert Tanton, both of whom were rejected by the pope. They may also have promoted one faction or the other even if actual support was scarcely tangible. Barrow makes the point, in relation to the first war of independence, that if the senior clergy used their influence it was because they had been 'captured by the national party' and that their political views would not have been especially different from the lords or lesser barons, from which most of them came.³¹ This can be applied equally to the second war. Thus, of the twelve Scottish bishops, two can be held to be supporters of the Bruce dynasty – the bishops of Brechin and Glasgow. A third, James Ben of St Andrews cannot be counted as he fled abroad after the first Bruce reverse in 1332. None can be described definitively as a Balliol supporter, although the bishop of Galloway may have been in this category. There is no evidence to support the claim that a number of important churchmen, in the belief that the verdict of Dupplin Moor was divine judgement, adhered to Balliol's cause.³² Most seem to have avoided becoming involved in national politics at all. Only three – the bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen and Glasgow – definitely attended Balliol's coronation in 1332. Admittedly, given the haste at which this was arranged following his victory at Dupplin Moor, it would have been difficult for those

³¹ G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century*, 2nd ed., (Edinburgh, 2003), 220.

³² Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 90.

bishops travelling from further afield to be present. Those clergymen of lesser rank who attended were from the neighbouring areas of Fife, Forthrif, Strathearn and Gowrie.³³ And although seven bishops attended his parliament in Edinburgh on 12 February 1334 – the above three and the bishops of Brechin, Ross, Dunblane and Galloway - of those, Lindsay, Murray, possibly Ballinbreth and probably Kinninmonth were more likely to have been sympathetic to the Bruce cause, even if not outright supporters, while the loyalty of William Sinclair is uncertain. This would imply that, given that there was no specific business recorded at that parliament which required the attendance of the bishops³⁴ Scotland's higher clergy were either attending under duress or they simply deemed it prudent to be present as the Balliol side was winning the war. Self preservation, as will be discussed later, was certainly a motivating factor.

Royal Government

Turning now to those involved in the administration of royal government, there were four great offices of state and about 27 sheriffs in 1329. The chancellor presided over parliaments and councils and headed the royal chancery.³⁵ The role of the office, in effect 'head of the civil service' in modern parlance, hardly required it to be held by one of the great magnates and indeed, possibly with one brief exception, it had been held by a cleric until April 1340, when, under David II, Sir Thomas Charteris became the first lay chancellor.³⁶ The exception may have been William Brisbane, who is named as chancellor at Balliol's Parliament of 1332. However, after Balliol's flight from Annan in December 1332, it is most improbable that Brisbane, an otherwise unknown figure, survived as chancellor.³⁷

By contrast, the chamberlain, who was responsible for collecting and disbursing the royal revenues and overseeing the administration of the royal burghs, was a layman. Sir Robert Peebles, chamberlain in the last year of Robert I's reign continued in post until November 1329 and was succeeded in turn by Reginald More (December 1329 to March 1333), Robert Lauder (September to November 1333), Reginald More again (November 1334 to

³³ *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 347.

³⁴ *Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707*, Edinburgh, 9 February 1334 [<http://www.rps.ac.uk>, accessed 29 July 2009].

³⁵ R. Nicholson, *Scotland: the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 22.

³⁶ *HBC*, 174.

³⁷ Balliol's only other chancellor was William Bullock. R.C. Reid, 'Edward de Balliol', *TDGNHAS*, 35 (1956-57), 49.

April 1340) and William Bullock (May 1341 to June 1342).³⁸ Sometime in 1334 Sir Alan Lisle was made Balliol's 'Great Chamberlain'³⁹ but he could not have held this post for long as he was executed by supporters of Robert the Steward in the summer of that year. More and Lauder were supporters of the Bruce regime after 1329, while Bullock was at first a Balliol supporter and changed sides when the Balliol cause became hopeless. One other figure cited as chamberlain was Thomas de Burgh, mentioned as Balliol's chancellor in October 1335 and also referred to as chamberlain for Berwick-on-Tweed, held by Edward III. De Burgh is also cited as chamberlain and chancellor for both Balliol and Edward III.⁴⁰

The constable was the leading officer in the king's army. The office dated back to David I. In 1309 it was given to one of Robert I's most steadfast supporters, Sir Gilbert Hay, and was made hereditary. Gilbert still held the title on Robert's death but on the death of his own son, Gilbert, at Dupplin Moor, it passed to his grandson, David, who in turn was killed at Neville's Cross in 1346.

The marischal's role was to protect the king's person and this, too, was a hereditary office, in the hands of the Keith family. Sir Robert Keith held the post under Robert I and continued in post until his death at Dupplin Moor. He was succeeded by his son, Robert, who was killed at Neville's Cross.

Royal government was most effectively exercised, however, through the sheriffs. In 1306 there were known to be at least 26 sheriffdoms in Scotland – Cromarty, Inverness, Nairn, Forres, Elgin, Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine (or Mearns), Forfar, Perth, Auchterarder, Kinross, Fife, Stirling, Clackmannan, Dumbarton, Ayr, Lanark (or Clydesdale), Wigtown, Dumfries, Edinburgh, Peebles (or Traquair), Jedburgh, Selkirk, Roxburgh and Berwick-upon-Tweed.⁴¹ Four other sheriffdoms have been identified by the end of King John Balliol's reign - Dingwall, Skye, Lorn and Kintyre. However, these may not have survived, at any rate in the form in which they were established, into Robert I's reign. The last identified sheriff of Dingwall, Alexander Comyn, held his position in 1291 and, while John had established the other three in 1293, no sheriffs have been identified for them after that date. Robert I appears not to have disrupted the pattern or structure of sheriffdoms, except

³⁸ *HBC*, 178.

³⁹ A. Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty, 1210-1364* (Edinburgh, 2008), 232.

⁴⁰ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 231-2.

⁴¹ N.H. Reid and G.W.S. Barrow, *The Sheriffs of Scotland: an Interim List to c.1306* (St Andrews, 2002).

in Argyll where he created a new sheriffdom ‘... carved out of the sheriffdom of Perth, and possibly representing a part implementation of the scheme laid down by John Balliol in 1293.’⁴² There may have been, therefore, 27 sheriffdoms by the 1330s rather than 26.

Sheriffs were responsible for collecting and distributing royal revenues, presiding over sheriff courts and frequently acting as custodians of the royal castle(s) in their sheriffdoms. Of these functions the first was most important if royal government was to be effective. Some sheriffdoms were hereditary, with the sheriff in the past often being the earl or provincial lord exercising regional authority in the area, although by the end of Robert I’s reign none of the known sheriffs was either earl or provincial lord. Identification of the sheriffs in the 1330s is particularly difficult because of the absence of returns between 1333 and 1337. Furthermore some of the known sheriffs appear as witnesses to charters during this period without being identified specifically as sheriffs.

From both Exchequer Rolls and charters it is possible to identify 14 sheriffs in place in June 1328, when the accounts of the contributions for peace with England agreed under the Treaty of Edinburgh were rendered.⁴³ Only one was an earl or provincial lord and some may not even have been of baronial rank. None seem to have occupied his post for any length of time as Balliol’s victories in 1332 and 1333 resulted in the replacement of those men in the areas he was able to control. Similarly Edward III was able to place his own men as sheriffs when he gained control of the administration of the southern counties. Again, however, none of these sheriffs was an earl or provincial lord.

In *Inverness*, the sheriff in 1328, Alexander Pylche, was a burgher.⁴⁴ He and the burghers of Inverness had certainly been active against Edward I’s occupation. By 1340 Maurice Grant, a Randolph man, was sheriff. Before that Maurice had been named as rendering the accounts of Inverness to the Exchequer at Berwick on 16 March 1331 and at Perth on 8 March 1333. On 30 December 1337 he rendered the account for the regality of the earl of Moray within the sheriffdom.⁴⁵ Sir John Broun was sheriff of *Aberdeen* at the end of Robert I’s reign. Between 1337 and 1341 Alexander Cragbarry and Sir Robert Keith the

⁴² R.A. McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland’s Western Seaboard c.1100-c.1336* (East Linton, 1997), 186; See also Barrow, *Bruce*, 295.

⁴³ *ER*, i, 102-7.

⁴⁴ A. Mackenzie, *History of the Chisholms: with genealogies of the Principal Families of the Name*, (Inverness, 1891), 34.

⁴⁵ *ER*, i, 465; Earl of Cassilis, *The Rulers of Strathspey: a History of the Lairds of Grant and Earls of Seafield* (Inverness, 1911), 9.

Marischal, both loyal to Bruce, served as successive sheriffs there.⁴⁶ Sir John Inchmartin was sheriff of *Perth*. His father was David of Inchmartin, who had attended Robert I's coronation and had been hanged without trial after the battle of Methven. When the earl of Fife joined Balliol after Dupplin, he brought thirteen knights with him, including Sir John, sheriff of Fife, who was still associated with Balliol by May 1334.⁴⁷ This did not prevent Balliol from replacing him, however. On 3 July 1333 John Cameron, an obscure Balliol supporter, witnessed a grant as sheriff of Perth to the Blackfriars of Perth.⁴⁸ By 1334 the sheriff was John Stirling (not the John Stirling who was Edward III's 'Scottish captain'). At some time, John of Inchmartin returned to the Bruce cause and he died at Neville's Cross in 1346. Sir David Barclay, sheriff of *Fife*, was more a prominent baron than the others. An important officer at Robert I's court he oversaw the king's burial at Dunfermline but spent most of the 1330s in France as Steward of the young David II's household. He probably acted as a link between the court and the Bruce party in Scotland. Not much is known about Sir Henry Annan, sheriff of *Clackmannan* in 1328, other than he had received grants of Sauchie and Balquharne in Stirlingshire four years previously.⁴⁹ The other known sheriffs at the end of Robert I's reign were John Traquair (*Forfar*); Alexander Stratoun (*Kincardine*); Edward Keith (*Selkirk*); Sir Henry Balliol, a local landowner and late convert to the Bruce cause (*Roxburgh*); Sir Robert Lauder (*Berwick*); Hamelin de Troup (*Banff*); Robert Meyners (*Edinburgh*); Richard Lachlan (*Stirling*); and Alan Vipont (*Kinross*), later renowned for holding out in Loch Leven castle in early 1334. Of these men, only Troup had been an avowed Balliol supporter. He had been acquitted of playing a part in the Soulis conspiracy but was nonetheless dispossessed by Robert I of the barony of Troup, which was granted out to Andrew Buttergask, later deputy chamberlain under David II.⁵⁰ Troup must have returned to Robert I's favour sometime in the 1320s. The only earl identified as sheriff at this time was Hugh, earl of Ross, who was sheriff of *Cromarty*.

Balliol's known sheriffs were John Cameron and John Stirling (both *Perth*), David Wemyss (*Fife*), Alan Lisle (*Bute and Cowal*), Godfrey Ros (*Ayr and Lanark*), Robert Tughale (*Berwick*), Gilbert Burden (*Peebles*), John Kingston (*Edinburgh*), Geoffrey Mowbray (*Roxburgh*) and William Wessington (*Dumfries*).⁵¹ However, when Edward III took control of the southern sheriffdoms he appointed his own men - some replacing

⁴⁶ M. Penman, *David II* (East Linton, 2004), 59.

⁴⁷ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 93n.

⁴⁸ Cited in J.P. Lawson, *The Book of Perth: an Illustration of the Moral and Ecclesiastical State of Scotland before and after the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1847), 9.

⁴⁹ *RMS*, 17; Robertson, *Index*, 8.

⁵⁰ M. Penman, *David II*, 96 n.67.

⁵¹ Nicholson, *Edward III*, 164; Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 232.

Balliol's sheriffs - such as Eustace Maxwell (*Dumfries*), Thomas Roscelyn then John Stirling (*Edinburgh*) and William Felton (*Roxburgh*).⁵² In Berwick Robert Tughale continued as sheriff under Edward III's administration. The English king's appointment of Scots as well as Englishmen to these posts may have reflected his desire to show good governance in the areas over which he had control as well as comply with the terms of the pacification with the Steward and David Strathbogie in 1335, under which '... the offices of Scotland should be administered by men of the same nation.'⁵³

The second war of independence disrupted royal government in local areas and unfortunately the lack of records of accounts rendered by sheriffs between June 1328 and Martinmas 1336, when William of Strathbrock, sheriff of *Elgin*, was able to make a return, makes it difficult to identify the sheriffs after Balliol's decline. The Guardian Murray appointed Laurence Preston 'sheriff of Lothian'.⁵⁴ Preston was killed at the siege of Stirling castle in 1338.⁵⁵ Finally Maurice Murray was sheriff of *Lanark* by October 1334 before his elevation to earl of Strathearn.⁵⁶ Otherwise the absence of primary sources makes it very difficult to say with certainty what happened to the sheriffdoms in the 1330s.

⁵² *CDS*, iii, pp.317-29. Webster in states that only one 'English' sheriffdom, Dumfries, was held by a native Scot (Maxwell) but John Stirling was certainly a Scotsman. Webster, 'Scotland without a King', in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds.), *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community: Essays Presented to G.W.S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993), 230.

⁵³ *Chron. Avesbury*, 301.

⁵⁴ *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 354.

⁵⁵ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 127.

⁵⁶ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 237, n.3.

CHAPTER 3 – WAR AND LANDED INTERESTS IN THE REGIONS

This study is a different way of looking at the events of the second war of independence. It uses a prosopographical approach, examining those 51 members of the higher nobility in Scotland to discover what motivated them to support one side or the other. A prosopography, of course, is about people but it is necessary to set it in the context of the political geography of the time in order to obtain a full understanding of the events of the 1330s. The second war was a national war but it touched different regions of Scotland in different ways. There was intense warfare in the south, which lessened somewhat going northwards until in the very north of Scotland the war had no discernible impact at all.

For ease of considering the role played by the key individuals in the events of the 1330s it is useful to divide Scotland into ‘regions’. This term was certainly not used in the fourteenth century and the higher nobility of Scotland were unlikely to have identified the areas grouped in each as forming any sort of cohesive political unity. Nevertheless, taking into account geographical features such as mountain ranges and major rivers and by examining patterns of land ownership and landed interests in the areas bounded by these features, it is possible to examine how the second war of independence impacted on different parts of the country. Six distinct regions, each with their own individual identity, can be discerned in the 1330s. The extent to which the war touched each of these regions varied considerably from the north, which remained relatively untouched, to Lothian and the borders, where warfare was reasonably constant throughout the period. As Chris Brown states:

Distance from major concentration of Plantagenet, Balliol or Bruce sympathy, the influence of local magnates, the ease or otherwise with which the differing factions could exert military or political pressure in a given area and, naturally, the course of the war as a whole at a particular juncture, would all affect the political complexion of each area in different ways.⁵⁷

Bower reports that because of sustained warfare, by about 1337 ‘... there was great scarcity of food nearly everywhere in the kingdom’,⁵⁸ implying that where war was conducted, it was severe. Scorched earth tactics employed by both sides would be the cause of such devastation. However, it is clear that Bower had a narrow perspective of what constituted

⁵⁷ C. Brown, *Knights*, 14.

⁵⁸ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 127.

‘the kingdom’ and that large parts of Scotland were not touched by either war or political events.

The regions considered here are the north, outer isles, west Highlands and Moray; the north-east; central Scotland; the Firth of Clyde, Argyll and the inner isles; the south-west; and Lothian and the South-East.

The North, Outer Isles, West Highlands and Moray

This vast area in northern Scotland corresponds to the sheriffdoms of Cromarty, Inverness, Nairn, Forres and Elgin. It contained four earldoms, six provincial lordships and 16 baronies.⁵⁹ In the far north, the earl of *Caithness* was Malise, who was also earl of Strathearn. The earls of Caithness remained earls of Orkney until about 1350, which, as Orkney was still a Norwegian earldom, gave Malise a power base outside Scotland. Malise lost his earldom of Strathearn through forfeiture in 1344 but retained Caithness and Orkney.

The lordship of *Strathnaver* encompassed a large area in the very north of Scotland, adjoining the earldoms of Caithness to the east and Sutherland to the south. Documentary evidence concerning the development of the lordship is scarce but it seems that it had never been part of the earldom or original province of Caithness. Following Alexander II’s reorganisation of the far north in the 1230s, the lordship was controlled by the Moray, then the Cheyne, families. Throughout the fourteenth century it steadily came under the control of the Mackay clan but the extent of the respective influence of the Mackays and the Cheynes by the 1330s is unclear.⁶⁰

In *Sutherland*, two successive earls remained loyal to the Bruce cause in the 1330s. In 1332 Kenneth was fourth earl of Sutherland. Little is known about his political aims and activities but he opposed both Balliol and the invasion of Edward III and was killed at Halidon Hill in 1333. His son William, fifth earl (*d.*1370/1) supported the Bruce cause.

⁵⁹ 14 in the sheriffdom of Inverness and 2 in Elgin. In this chapter the number of baronies in each region is calculated from the information presented in Grant, ‘Higher Nobility’, Appendix II, 346-97.

⁶⁰ B.E. Crawford, ‘Medieval Strathnaver’, in J. Baldwin (ed.), *The Province of Strathnaver* (Edinburgh, 2000), 1-12.

Further south in the earldom of *Ross*, a similar pattern is found. Two successive earls, father and son, supported the Bruce cause after 1332. Hugh, fourth earl, was related to the king through his marriage to Maud, sister of Robert I. The marriage brought him substantial wealth, mainly in Ross-shire but also elsewhere in Scotland, which was inherited by his son William, fifth earl. William's sisters cemented the family's loyalty to the Bruce side through marriage to key Bruce supporters – Marjorie to Malise, earl of Strathearn, and Euphemia to, first, John Randolph, earl of Moray and, secondly, Robert the Steward, with Euphemia herself becoming queen on Robert's accession to the throne.

On both the western seaboard and off the coast itself were a group of provincial lordships. In 1293 King John Balliol had attempted to establish a large province of Argyll comprising the sheriffdoms of Skye, Argyll and Kintyre, with, respectively, the earl of Ross, Alexander of Lorn and James Stewart, the Steward of Scotland as the senior representative of the king in each area. However, these plans were thwarted from the outset by enmity between Alexander and Colin Campbell and when John lost his kingship in 1296 they had not come to fruition.⁶¹ By 1332 there were two recognised lordships, each covering a separate group of islands and associated mainland, Garmoran and Islay. A third, Argyll and Lorn, seems to have been broken up by 1332.

Garmoran, which encompassed the southern part of the Outer Hebrides⁶² and, on the mainland, Knoydart, Morar and Ardnamurchan, was under the control of the Macruairi family, supporters of Bruce in the first war of independence but most probably neutral in the second.

The lordship of *Islay*, which included Jura, Islay, Gigha, Colonsay and Kintyre, had long been exercised by the Macdonalds and they were confirmed by Robert I in their possession of the lordship, although some parts of Kintyre were given to the young Robert Stewart and to Sir John Menteith, Dugald Macfarlane and Gilchrist Mackay. On the mainland, Lochaber, Ardnamurchan, Morvern, Duror and Glencoe had been granted to Angus Og Macdonald. On Bruce's death Angus was still the provincial lord and on the latter's death in 1330 the lordship was inherited by his son, John, who in 1336 assumed for himself the title, *Lord of the Isles*. John further increased his territories in 1346 with the acquisition, through marriage, of the lordship of Garmoran. Despite his indenture of September 1336

⁶¹ C.M. Macdonald, *The History of Argyll* (Glasgow, 1951), 118-20; S. Boardman, *The Campbells 1250-1513* (Edinburgh, 2006), 18-19.

⁶² The isles of North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist and Barra, together with adjacent, smaller islands.

with Edward Balliol, John remained neutral during the second war of independence, his main concern being to keep himself free to rule over his lordship without outside interference from either side. The constitutional status of all the western islands within the Scottish kingdom at this time was a matter of debate, even to those outside the country. Edward III often refers in letters patent to ‘Scotland and the Isles’ as if the islands were somehow set apart from the rest of the kingdom, even when the subject matter of these documents had nothing to do with the islands themselves.⁶³

Lying between Garmoran and Islay had been Argyll and Lorn, where lordship had been exercised by the Macdougall family. However, in the first war the Macdougalls had opposed the Bruce cause and subsequently they were expelled from the lordship. Their territories were then dismembered as part of Bruce’s resettlement in the west, the last lord, John of Lorn, dying in 1316. As Boardman recognises, the actual dispersal is difficult to trace, ‘... although various branches of Clan Campbell, the Clan Donald and the Macleans of Mull would seem to have been the main beneficiaries.’⁶⁴ Other beneficiaries were Walter Stewart⁶⁵ and Sir John Menteith of Arran and Knapdale.⁶⁶

The original earldom of *Moray* had been abolished by David I in 1130. In 1312 it was reconstituted by Robert I and given to Thomas Randolph, his nephew. Moray was a vast area stretching across the central Highlands from the Spey to the western seaboard, north through Locharkaig, Glengarry and Glenelg and then east to the Beaully Firth.⁶⁷ Randolph was already the provincial lord of Nithsdale and on obtaining the earldom, became known as ‘earl of Moray and lord of Annandale’, then in 1313, ‘earl of Moray, lord of Man and Annandale’.⁶⁸ He died, Guardian of Scotland, on 20 July 1332 and his two sons, Thomas and John, succeeded respectively to the earldom, both dying in the service of David II.

Before 1312 the two provinces of Badenoch and Lochaber lay in the central Highlands. In *Badenoch* was to be found the important castle of Lochindorb.⁶⁹ The lordship had been in the hands of the Comyn family until Bruce took it into crown possession after his killing of John Comyn in 1306. It was then incorporated into the earldom of Moray, which the king

⁶³ See for example, *CDS*, iii, no.1116.

⁶⁴ Boardman, *The Campbells*, 39.

⁶⁵ Penman, *David II*, 22.

⁶⁶ Penman, *David II*, 28.

⁶⁷ Grant, ‘Franchises’, 193.

⁶⁸ Barrow, *Bruce*, 277.

⁶⁹ For a good description and history of Lochindorb castle see A.D. Cumming, ‘Loch-in-Dorb, an ancient royal fortress’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 46 (1912), 357-64.

resurrected for Thomas Randolph in 1312.⁷⁰ The lordship continued to be claimed by the Comyn family, however, first by John's son, John (IV), who was killed at Bannockburn, then in the 1330s by David Strathbogie and Richard Talbot. *Lochaber* lay to the west of Badenoch, stretching to the western seaboard. From at least the 1230s, it had been held by the Comyns until their defeat by Robert I in 1308. It seems that the lordship was broken up with areas in the north-west going to Angus Og Macdonald - inherited by his son, John following Angus' death in 1330 - and the remainder incorporated into Randolph's earldom of Moray.⁷¹ It also seems that by 1335 the two provinces were detached from the Randolph earldom and given to David Strathbogie, along with the earldom of Atholl, as his price for defecting from the Balliol side. After Strathbogie's death that year the Randolph family do not appear to have regained the provinces.⁷²

How then did the second war of independence impact on this vast northern region? In fact there are only three recorded actions: the pursuit of Strathbogie by the earl of Moray into Badenoch in September 1334; the siege of Lochindorb castle in July 1336, where the participants were not local lords but, on the one side, the Guardian of Scotland, Andrew Murray - whose interests lay in the north-east - and, on the other, the king of England; and the destruction of Elgin by Edward III after his relief of Lochindorb. All other parts of this enormous area, especially the western isles and the western seaboard, seemed to have been immune to the conflict between Bruce and Balliol forces. In Crawford's detailed study of the earls of Caithness and Orkney there is no mention of any of the great political and military events of the 1330s as having any relevance in Caithness.⁷³ Whilst Malise was an important figure in the politics of the time, this was by virtue of his position as earl of Strathearn rather than because of any significant developments in his northern earldom. It is possible that Caithness men may have been part of Strathearn's force at Halidon Hill but after 1333 any further involvement would have been unlikely as Malise was one of those earls who remained absent from any further involvement in the conflict of the 1330s. In the case of Strathnaver there is scarcely a mention of the lordship in any records.

In sharp contrast to Malise stands William, earl of Sutherland. Along with the earls of Fife and Dunbar he besieged Cupar castle in 1336, held at that time by William Bullock for

⁷⁰ A. Grant, 'Scotland's 'Celtic Fringe' in the Late Middle Ages: The Macdonald Lords of the Isles and the Kingdom of Scotland', *The British Isles 1100-1500*, ed. R.R. Davies (Edinburgh, 1988), 123.

⁷¹ Penman, *David II*, 22, 28.

⁷² A. Ross, 'The Lords and Lordship of Glencarnie', 172.

⁷³ B. Crawford, 'The Earls of Orkney-Caithness and their Relations with Norway and Scotland: 1158-1470' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1971).

Balliol and Edward III jointly,⁷⁴ and in 1340 he raided into England with Patrick, earl of March. These activities, however, took place outside his earldom. It would be reasonable to suppose, though, that William's father, Kenneth, brought Sutherland men to Halidon Hill, while William may have brought Sutherland contingents to Cupar castle and his other limited ventures. But if there were no landed interests in Sutherland to protect from Balliol or Plantagenet forces, William's support for the Bruce cause must have been grounded in other reasons. The family's involvement in the political events of the time would suggest that friendship with the Bruce family was a major factor. William, third earl, had been constant since 1306, while William, fifth earl, was to marry King David's sister, Margaret either in 1343 or between December 1342 and September 1345.⁷⁵ William also joined his brother-in-law's invasion of England in 1346 and shared his captivity in England for ten years after Neville's Cross. His royal marriage brought William substantial grants of land but they all came in the wake of the expulsion from Scotland of Balliol and the English. In the 1330s the position of the Bruce party was precarious but, as he had nothing to fear for the security of his earldom from either enemy, William's motives at that time may have been a mixture of continuing the unquestionable support of his father and uncle for the Bruce cause and pursuit of the king's sister.

In contrast to the first war of independence, there appears to have been no warfare in the earldom of Ross during the 1330s. The comparatively limited involvement of Earl William in national affairs suggests that local issues were his primary concern. It is William's absence from Scotland for much of the 1330s that casts some doubt on the strength of his support for the Bruce party. When Halidon Hill was fought, he was in Norway and he did not take possession of the earldom until 1336.⁷⁶ He thus avoided participation in the events of the first half of the decade that were so disastrous to the Bruce side. Indeed little is known about his activities before 1339, although in that year he certainly played a role in the capture of Perth from the English garrison holding it, probably bringing troops from Ross-shire into action there. His actions after 1341, however, particularly his murder of Ranald Macruairi at Perth in 1346, reinforce the view that his main concerns lay within his earldom in the north and his determination to protect it against encroachment by neighbouring lords such as Macruairi.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Chron. Lanercost*, 297.

⁷⁵ Cited in *SP*. viii, 326 but without a primary source.

⁷⁶ *SP*. vii, 235-8.

⁷⁷ For references for Ross see pp.112-3

In Badenoch, following his dispute with Edward Balliol, Strathbogie took possession of the former Comyn lands, claiming the lordship in the process. He was pursued by the earl of Moray into the heart of the province, and was compelled to come over to the Bruce side. His reward was substantial, at least nominally, as Randolph appointed him the ‘King’s (David II’s) lieutenant in the north’, a position he held for only eleven months before returning to Balliol’s cause.

The north east

The north-east of Scotland, the area enclosed by the Spey and the Mounth, comprised the sheriffdoms of Banff, Aberdeen and Kincardine. In this region lay the earldom of Mar, the provincial lordships of Strathbogie and the Garioch and 60 baronies⁷⁸. *Mar* was one of the ancient mormaerdoms of Scotland, with its principal seat long established at Kildrummy castle. The earls of Mar may have been connected by a double marriage with the Bruce family. Robert I’s first wife was Isabel of Mar, daughter of Donald, sixth earl of Mar, while Gartnait, seventh earl, possibly married Christian, the King’s sister, although doubt has been cast on this by Fiona Watson.⁷⁹ In 1329 the eighth earl of Mar was Donald, son of Gartnait and possibly Christian Bruce. Donald succeeded as Guardian after Thomas Randolph’s death but was killed at Dupplin Moor and was succeeded in turn by his infant son, Thomas. Thomas was removed by Edward III to the English court in 1334 and did not return to Scotland until 1349.⁸⁰ He held the earldom until his own death in 1373 or 1374.⁸¹

The provinces of Strathbogie and the Garioch nestled between the former earldom of Buchan and the earldom of Mar. After Bannockburn, Robert I granted *Strathbogie*, a vast area, to Sir Adam Gordon of Huntly in Berwickshire.⁸² Sir Adam was succeeded by his son, also Sir Adam towards the end of Robert’s reign and he held the lordship until his death, probably in 1351. *The Garioch*, centred on Inverurie, was about 200 square miles in size and had belonged to the crown. In 1315 Robert I granted the lordship to his sister Christian and her third husband Andrew Murray and it was still in their hands in 1329, passing to Christian’s grandson Thomas, earl of Mar on her death in 1357.⁸³

⁷⁸ 13 in Banff, 32 in Aberdeen and 15 in Kincardine.

⁷⁹ See p.70.

⁸⁰ Penman, *David II*, 159-60.

⁸¹ *SP*. v, 582-4.

⁸² The name ‘Strathbogie’ was changed to ‘Huntly’ around 1445 on the elevation of Alexander, 2nd Lord Gordon to the new earldom of Huntly. *SP*. iv, 520.

⁸³ J. Davidson, *Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch* (Edinburgh and Aberdeen, 1878), 24.

The north-east saw considerable action in the 1330s. War arrived in the autumn of 1334 and concerned Henry Beaumont, the leader of Balliol's expeditionary force of 1332. Beaumont had joined the ranks of the disinherited with his claim as earl of Buchan and after Halidon Hill moved to take possession of the earldom. He was besieged in Dundarg castle by Murray, now Guardian, and Alexander Mowbray and surrendered in September. On 30 November 1335 the battle of Culblean was fought between Strathbogie, titular earl of Atholl and the Guardian Murray, supported by William Douglas. Culblean, and especially the death of Strathbogie, was a decisive defeat for the Balliol faction. On 22 and 23 July 1336 Edward III, after his raising of the siege of Lochindorb in Moray and his destruction of Elgin, burnt Aberdeen and '...reduced with fire and sword everything beyond the mountains that was against him.'⁸⁴ The English king followed this up by strengthening the three castles of Dunnottar, Kinneff and Lauriston, south of Aberdeen. These works were of little avail, however, as all three were destroyed by Murray only three months later.

The north-east, then, remained under the control of the Bruce family throughout most of the 1330s. Of the provincial lord, Sir Adam Gordon, there is scarcely a mention in the primary sources after his participation in Halidon Hill, although it seems he survived that battle. Even if he played no particular part in the events of the 1330s, however, Balliol/English influence in the region, because of the success of Murray, must have been limited. Beaumont was able to take temporary possession only of the property he had gone to immense and expensive lengths to obtain; Strathbogie failed in his siege of Kildrummy castle and was defeated and killed at Culblean; and Edward III could not have been able to maintain much of a presence in Aberdeen after his destruction of the town.⁸⁵ There certainly appears to have been English garrisons in the three Aberdeenshire castles but it is unclear when they were established, whether in the aftermath of Halidon Hill or the destruction of Aberdeen. In any event Beaumont, further north, was gone by December 1334, Strathbogie dead by November 1335 and the three English garrison forces killed or driven out by October 1336. Furthermore, when some semblance of a Scottish administration in the name of David II began to appear it did so in the north-east. An

⁸⁴ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 123.

⁸⁵ No rents were able to be collected in Aberdeen by any party – Bruce, Balliol or Plantagenet – in Martinmas (28 November) 1336. In the following year rents were certainly collected by Robert the Steward and John Randolph, earl of Moray, who apparently appropriated them for their own use. This led to an acrimonious exchange of correspondence between the Chamberlain, Sir Reginald More, then in France with David II, and his deputy in Scotland, Buthirgask, who sought to justify his failure to collect rents on behalf of the Crown. *ER*, i, 448-54.

exchequer audit was held in Aberdeen at the end of 1337⁸⁶ and another was held, also in Aberdeen, in April 1340.⁸⁷ It was at Inverbervie that David II himself returned to Scotland on 2 June 1341.

Central Scotland

The region defined here as ‘central Scotland’ stretched from the Mounth to the Forth. It covered the sheriffdoms of Forfar, Perth, Auchterarder, Kinross, Stirling and Clackmannan and contained the earldoms of Atholl, Strathearn, Menteith, Angus and Fife, no provincial lordships and 103 baronies.⁸⁸

By the middle of the thirteenth century the earldom of *Atholl*, with its seat at Moulin near Pitlochry,⁸⁹ located in northern Perthshire was in the hands of the Strathbogie family. In 1314 the tenth Strathbogie earl, David, who had sided with the English against Robert I, had his office, title, and lands forfeited but he continued to be recognised by Edward II.⁹⁰ The beneficiary of the disinherited earl was Sir Neil Campbell, one of Bruce’s key supporters. Neil died after 26 April 1315 and the lands passed to his infant son, John Campbell, who was made earl about 1320.⁹¹ It was John who was in possession of the earldom when Robert died in 1329. However, Robert’s death provided an opportunity for Strathbogie’s son, also David, to claim the title as one of the disinherited. John Campbell was married to Joan, former wife of Malise, earl of Strathearn and daughter of Sir John Menteith. They had no children, so when he was killed at Halidon Hill, either in his late teens or early twenties, the earldom became extinct, to be revived by David II on his return from exile in France in 1341.⁹² This did not prevent David Strathbogie from claiming and using the title or from taking possession of the earldom for three years before his death at Culblean in 1335. His own son, David, was not recognised by David II and died in 1369, the last of the Strathbogie line.

The earldom of *Strathearn*, another ancient mormaerdom, was based on Crieff.⁹³ In 1329 the earldom was held by Malise (V), eighth earl, who had succeeded his father, Malise

⁸⁶ *ER*, i, 440-54.

⁸⁷ *ER*, i, 455-68.

⁸⁸ 46 in Forfar, 39 in Perth, 1 in Kinross, 13 in Stirling and 4 in Clackmannan.

⁸⁹ Barrow, *Bruce*, 3.

⁹⁰ *SP*, i, 428.

⁹¹ Boardman, *Campbells*, 41.

⁹² *SP*, ii, 435-6.

⁹³ For a good description of the earldom see W.B. Macdougall, *Chronicles of Strathearn* (Crieff, 1896).

(IV).⁹⁴ As already indicated Malise was also earl of Caithness (and Orkney). In 1332, in the aftermath of Dupplin Moor, Edward Balliol conferred the earldom on the great English baron, John Warenne, earl of Surrey, who held it only for five months. Malise in turn resigned the earldom to Edward Balliol in 1334, for which he was tried for treason in the Scottish parliament ten years later. Although acquitted he did not regain the earldom, which David II conferred on Maurice Moray on 9 February 1344.⁹⁵

To the south of Strathearn lay the earldom of *Menteith*, partly in Perthshire, partly in Stirlingshire, and encompassing, among others, the parishes of Aberfoyle, Port of Menteith, Callendar and Dunblane. Menteith had been in the hands of the Stewart family since its creation as one of the ancient mormaerdoms but the family name was changed to Menteith sometime after 1286. The earl in 1329 was Murdoch but he died, childless, at Dupplin Moor and the title passed to his niece, Mary, countess of Menteith. Mary married Sir John Graham before 1334 and John assumed the title of earl of Menteith. John took part in David II's invasion of England in 1346 but was captured and executed in London as a traitor.⁹⁶

Angus was also one of the old mormaerdoms. In 1243, the earldom had passed, through marriage to Gilbert de Umfraville and the Umfraville family held the earldom for the next 86 years. Early in 1329 the title was held by Gilbert, 9th earl. However the Umfraville family were 'emphatically English'⁹⁷ and had been on the English side during the first war of independence, except from about 1314 to 1320. Although the fifteen-year-old Gilbert had succeeded to the title in 1325, it was only to the title itself without the lands to accompany it. Shortly before his death, King Robert disinherited Gilbert and bestowed the title on John Stewart of Bonkil in Berwickshire.⁹⁸ However, John died two years later, leaving an infant son, Thomas, to succeed. Although Thomas was to play an important role later in David II's reign he was too young to be involved in the wars or politics of the 1330s.

The mormaers of *Fife* had been the highest ranking of all Scottish nobles and their ancient right to inaugurate the kings of Scots was continued by the earls of Fife. In 1329 the title

⁹⁴ *SP.* viii, 252.

⁹⁵ *SP.* viii, 253-4.

⁹⁶ *SP.* vi, 135-8.

⁹⁷ Barrow, *Bruce*, 274.

⁹⁸ *SP.* i, 168-9. Barrow points out that although John Stewart is first recorded as earl in a charter of June 1329; Barbour, J., *The Bruce*, ed. A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), 359 and *Scalacronica*, 155, call him earl of Angus in their accounts of the Stanhope Park campaign in 1327. Barrow, *Bruce*, 274, n.36.

was held by Duncan, 10th earl, who had succeeded on the murder of his father, Duncan, 9th earl in 1288.⁹⁹ Duncan's tenure was a long one. He played an important role in the wars of the 1330s, changing sides frequently, and died in 1353.

There was considerable warfare in Central Scotland in the 1330s. The major events were the battle of Dupplin Moor on 11 August 1332 and the capture and recapture, twice, of Perth. Balliol and the disinherited entered Perth after Dupplin Moor but the town was captured by Bruce forces in September. Balliol retook it and held his parliament there in September 1333. The town then appears to have been in Balliol/English hands until its final capture by Robert the Steward, William Douglas and William, earl of Ross in August 1339. Other action in the region also centred on the key fortresses across central Scotland. Loch Leven was unsuccessfully besieged by Balliol forces under Sir John Stirling from March 1334. After Edward III's destruction of Aberdeen in July 1336 and his return to Perth the following month, he was pursued by Andrew Murray so that "...through the ceaseless marauding of both sides the whole land of Gowrie, Angus and Mearns was, for the most part, almost reduced to a hopeless wilderness, and to utter want".¹⁰⁰ In February 1337, Murray destroyed Kinclaven castle and Falkland tower and captured St Andrews castle. Stirling castle was also besieged in April and May that year but was not captured until 1342.

In all these actions there is little or no mention of the earls of Strathearn or Menteith. The leaders of the Bruce Scots in Central Scotland were not the local higher nobility, those who might be expected to have had a more direct interest in the outcome of the war in that part of Scotland. Although the war was severe in many parts of central Scotland, it scarcely touched the two earldoms.

Firth of Clyde, Argyll and the inner isles

To the south and west of Menteith stretched the area bordering both sides of the River Clyde and extending west to encompass Argyll and the inner islands. It took in the sheriffdoms of Dumbarton and Argyll, although it is not certain exactly what area the latter covered. North of the Clyde the region comprised one earldom, Lennox, and part of the

⁹⁹ *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 148 and *SP*, vi, 11 give 1288 as the year of his murder but he appears in a brieve of August 1289. (Stevenson, *Documents*, i, no.69, cited in Barrow, *Bruce*, 332, n.33).

¹⁰⁰ *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 353.

provincial lordship of 'The Isles', whilst to the south lay the provincial lordship of Renfrew. There were 12 baronies in Argyll and three in Dumbarton.

Lennox was a large area taking in Loch Lomond, Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven, Malcolm of Lennox had inherited the earldom from his father around 1303 and he was still earl when Robert I died in 1329. He was killed at Halidon Hill and was succeeded by his eldest son, Donald, of whom little is known except that he supported the Bruce cause throughout his lengthy tenure of the earldom, but from a distance. He was not active during the second war of independence and died between May 1361 and November 1364.¹⁰¹

The province of *Renfrew* consisted of both the shire and town of that name. Having been awarded to the Steward in the reign of David I both remained in the possession of the Stewart family for the next 200 years, the town itself having the status of a royal burgh. The Stewards also held lands on the islands of Bute and Arran, which, like Renfrew, were hereditary entitlements.

There are no records of warfare in the northerly part of this region or in the inner isles during the 1330s. Dumbarton castle was an important stronghold for the Bruce cause, sheltering as it did the young David II after Halidon Hill. However the second war may well have left Lennox relatively unscathed, which, on the one hand, would be surprising given the strategic importance of Dumbarton castle, but on the other not quite so unexpected as the main routes northwards for Balliol and Plantagenet armies would have by-passed the earldom. This may be the reason why Donald played little or no role in national politics beyond his earldom during the 1330s.¹⁰² As long as his lands were secure he may have felt that there was little reason for him to become involved. Some caution is required in drawing judgements about the effect of the war in Lennox. Fraser notes, but without quoting sources, that the rental of Dunbartonshire, '... according to the ancient valuation was £1442 9s. 6d whilst the valuation reported to Parliament in 1366 was only £96 9s 6d'. Fraser ascribes the fall in valuation to both a possible reduction in the size of the shire and '... a deterioration in the value of property caused by the ravages of war.'¹⁰³ If the latter had been a major reason for the reduced property values, however, it might be

¹⁰¹ *SP.* v, 335-7.

¹⁰² See M. Brown, 'Earldom and kindred: the Lennox and its earls, 1200-1458', in S. Boardman and A. Ross (eds) *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500*, (Dublin, 2003), 205-7.

¹⁰³ W. Fraser, *The Lennox* (Edinburgh, 1874), 240.

supposed that Donald would have played a more significant part in the main political events of the period.

In the inner isles, while there may have been no warfare, there was considerable diplomatic activity. Their importance to the Crown was underscored by the energetic attempts of both Bruce and Balliol camps to win over John of the Isles. Randolph's attempts sometime in the summer of 1335 to secure an alliance with him came to nothing and John allied himself instead with Balliol in September 1336 in return for promises of territorial expansion at the expense of the Macdougalls, Macruairis and Randolph himself. Most of his gains were confirmed by David II on his return from France.

South of the Clyde was a different story. After Halidon Hill, Balliol awarded Strathbogie not only the Steward's ancestral lands, including those in Argyll and Clyde but the title of Steward itself. Strathbogie moved quickly in 1334 to take possession of these lands but, almost equally quickly, Robert Stewart seized back some of them. Dunoon castle was captured by Sir Colin Campbell and the Steward's own vassals in Bute recovered Rothesay castle for him. At the same time, however, Strathbogie was receiving the fealty of the Steward's landholders in Renfrewshire, so his fightback was not entirely successful. Nevertheless, Edward III's expedition from Ireland in September 1335 against the Steward's lands in Argyll shows that he must have recovered much of his lands by that time.¹⁰⁴

The south west

The south west region comprised the sheriffdoms of Ayr, Lanark, Wigton and Dumfries and included one earldom, Carrick; the Ayrshire provinces of Cunningham and Kyle Stewart; and, on the English border, the large province of Galloway and the smaller provinces of Nithsdale, Annandale and Eskdale. There were 76 baronies in the south west.¹⁰⁵

The earldom of *Carrick* was a more recent creation than the old Celtic earldoms. It came into the hands of the Bruce family through the marriage of the future Robert I's father to the countess Marjorie, who held the title in her own right. Robert I became earl of Carrick in 1292 but gave the title to his brother Edward by 1313. On Edward's death in Ireland in

¹⁰⁴ For references for the Steward see p.115.

¹⁰⁵ 17 in Ayr, 31 in Lanark, 2 in Wigtown and 26 in Dumfries.

1318 the title reverted to the crown and was bestowed on Robert's son, David, in 1328. After June 1329, with David as infant king, the earldom was given to Alexander Bruce, illegitimate son of Edward Bruce and Isabel Strathbogie. Alexander was killed at Halidon Hill and the title once more reverted to the crown, where it remained until about 1362, when it was conferred on William Cunningham.

In Ayrshire a complex redistribution of lands forfeited by the former King John Balliol had taken place. Before 1306 *Cunningham* had been in Bruce's sheriffdom of Ayr but not in his earldom of Carrick.¹⁰⁶ Robert I had granted large parcels of John's lands in Cunningham to the infant Robert Stewart in 1318-20, 'i.e. whatever property in Cunningham was available through forfeiture after deducting estates already given to others, such as Kilmarnock, given to Robert Boyd.'¹⁰⁷ Some of these lands were claimed by Henry Ferrers, one of the disinherited English nobles. Kyle was also part of the sheriffdom, sandwiched between the province of Cunningham and the earldom of Carrick. The northern part, *Kyle Stewart*, was inherited by the Steward; the southern part was reserved to the crown. Taken with his lands in Renfrewshire and Argyll, this made the Steward one of the greatest magnates in Scotland, despite his young age¹⁰⁸.

In Clydesdale there was neither an earldom nor provincial lordship. Land ownership was in the hands of about 27 barons, not all of whom were members of the higher nobility¹⁰⁹. Prominent families in Clydesdale included the Douglasses, headed by the Guardian Sir Archibald; the Lindsays of Crawford headed by Sir David; the Flemings of Biggar with Sir Robert Fleming of Lenzie and his son, Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, both prominent in the area; and Maurice Murray, sheriff of Lanark by October 1334, whom Bower wrongly refers to as 'lord of Clydesdale'.¹¹⁰

The lordship of *Galloway*, which at one time had also encompassed Carrick before its creation as a separate earldom by Alexander II, was the heartland of Balliol power in Scotland, with King John himself holding the title of lord. As already noted, from the early twelfth century, Galloway's political establishment had enjoyed an unrivalled degree of

¹⁰⁶ Barrow, *Bruce*, 141.

¹⁰⁷ Barrow, *Bruce*, 280.

¹⁰⁸ He was sixteen in 1332.

¹⁰⁹ Grant lists 27 lay baronies and four ecclesiastical ones in pre-1300 Clydesdale. A. Grant, 'Lordship and Society in Twelfth Century Clydesdale' in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, H. Pryce and J. Watts (eds.), (Oxford, 2007), 100. In another work he shows that in the early fifteenth century there were 28 baronies. Grant, 'Franchises', 165.

¹¹⁰ *Chron. Bower*, 141.

‘independence’ from the Crown. Cultural differences and geographical remoteness had resulted in a ‘... deep sense of difference and detachment’ from the rest of Scotland.¹¹¹

During the first war of independence the lordship was given to Edward Bruce, earl of Carrick, but on his death in 1318 it was not given to his illegitimate son, Alexander. Instead Robert I, perhaps in an attempt to win over the many families in the province who had supported the Balliol cause in the first war, left the lordship vacant. His policy of rehabilitation did not work, however, with most of the lesser baronage, particularly Eustace Maxwell of Caerlaverock and Duncan McDowell in Wigtownshire, going over to Edward Balliol and exercising, at least temporarily, effective political control.¹¹² When Alexander was killed the title reverted to the crown, claimed as part of crown territory by both the Bruce and Balliol parties.¹¹³

On the border the lordship of *Nithsdale* had long been in the Randolph family’s possession. Thomas Randolph had used the title in 1309 and 1310 but it then disappeared,¹¹⁴ although the lands remained in Randolph’s hands. *Annandale* had been held by the Bruce family since at least 1124 but in 1312 it was granted by Robert I to Randolph and, on Randolph’s death, it then fell to his children, Thomas, John and Agnes in turn.¹¹⁵ The small province of *Eskdale* had been granted by King Robert I to his supporter James Douglas but for most of the fourteenth century it too seems to have disappeared as a provincial lordship.¹¹⁶

Both Ayrshire and Clydesdale, if not actually occupied by Balliol and/or Plantagenet forces, came under anti-Bruce control as it is known that the Steward not only recovered both Carrick and his own Ayrshire lands but that he and John Randolph, earl of Moray, recovered the lower part of Clydesdale around July 1334, forcing the sheriff of Lanark, Godfrey Ros into the Bruce camp.¹¹⁷ Maurice Murray also appears to have been one of the leaders of the Bruce resistance in Clydesdale. In August 1336, Edward III’s brother, John of Eltham, together with Sir Anthony Lucy, laid waste “...Carrick and the western parts of

¹¹¹ R.Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000), xxi-xxii.

¹¹² R. Oram, ‘Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway’, 42.

¹¹³ F.H. Groome (ed.), *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: a Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical and Historical* (Edinburgh, 1882-5).

¹¹⁴ Grant, ‘Higher Nobility’, 22.

¹¹⁵ A. A. M. Duncan, ‘Randolph, Thomas, first earl of Moray (d. 1332)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23121>, accessed 12 Jan 2013].

¹¹⁶ Grant, ‘Higher Nobility’, 22-23.

¹¹⁷ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 107.

Scotland which were not in the king's [Edward Balliol's] peace".¹¹⁸ Bothwell castle was captured and repaired by Edward III in October 1336 but was recaptured by the Bruce Scots the following year.¹¹⁹

Further south Galloway and the three small provinces saw considerable warfare in the 1330s and 40s. Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill left Balliol and his supporters secure in Galloway and, with the subsequent capture of John Randolph in 1335, removed Bruce provincial lordship from the three provinces. After he had restored many of the disinherited to their lands there¹²⁰ and repossessed his own lands, Balliol was chased from Annan in December 1332 by Andrew Murray and Archibald Douglas after Bruce forces had inflicted considerable damage on the province. In June 1334 Galloway was split, with the eastern part, along with all the southern counties, ceded to England and Balliol retaining his family's ancestral lands in the western part.¹²¹ The extent of English administration in the south varied from place to place. In the eastern part of Galloway it was only strong when supported by Duncan McDowell, who changed sides five times in the 1330s and 40s. Control of Dumfries and Nithsdale, on the other hand, was effectively delegated to Sir Eustace Maxwell of Caerlaverock, who held Caerlaverock castle and was appointed sheriff by Edward III to replace Peter Tilliol, a Cumberland landowner.¹²² Further east in Annandale, English administration seems to have extended over the whole province.¹²³ By late 1334, William Douglas, who had been released from English prison, was making intermittent attacks on Balliol's supporters in Galloway. The Bruce recovery under Murray, however, led to further devastation of the province in 1336 through warfare between former Balliol supporters and those who remained loyal to Balliol when Duncan McDowell switched his support to the Bruce camp. According to Lanercost, the men east of the Cree (Kirkcudbright) who remained loyal to Balliol, and those from the west (Wigtownshire) 'mutually destroyed each other'.¹²⁴

Meanwhile English troops themselves plundered the area, which may have been one of the reasons for Maxwell's defection to the Bruce side in May 1337. Thereafter English administration ceased to exist. Edward III had fortified all the castles handed over to him

¹¹⁸ *Chron. Lanercost*, 299.

¹¹⁹ *Chron. Lanercost*, 300-1.

¹²⁰ Including John St. John to Kenmure and Gilbert de Colvend to the barony of Colvend.

¹²¹ *Chron. Lanercost*, 286.

¹²² *Rot.Scot*, i, 271; *CDS*, iii, p.317.

¹²³ B. Webster, 'The English Occupation of Dumfriesshire in the Fourteenth Century', *TDGNHAS*, 35 (1956-7), 68.

¹²⁴ *Chron. Lanercost*, 287.

but by the end of 1337, with the exception of Lochmaben (which remained in English hands until 4 February 1384)¹²⁵ he had lost them all to the Guardian. Balliol staged a short-lived recovery after Murray's death but in June 1340 the province was devastated once more, this time by John Randolph. On his return from France in June 1341 David II moved quickly to install a new power in the province in the shape of Malcolm Fleming, appointed earl of Wigtown, and succeeded where his father had failed, in restoring royal authority to the area.¹²⁶

Lothian and the south east

The last regional area to be considered is Lothian and the south-east, the eastern half of the area stretching from the Forth south to the English border. It encompassed the sheriffdoms of Edinburgh (including the 'constabularies' of Haddington and Linlithgow), Peebles, Traquair, Selkirk, Roxburgh and Berwick upon Tweed. In the whole of this area there was only one earldom, March, and four small provincial lordships: Lauderdale, Selkirk, Jedworth and Liddesdale. However, there were as many as 87 baronies,¹²⁷ which effectively meant that political control in the region was exercised by men who, for the most part, were not in the ranks of the higher nobility.

The earldom of *March*, located in East Lothian and the east march was known interchangeably by the names Dunbar and March, the Dunbar family having descended from one branch of the ancient earls of Northumbria. In 1332, the earldom was held by Patrick, eighth earl, who had inherited the title on the death of his father, Patrick, seventh earl in 1308. Patrick married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Randolph, first earl of Moray and an important figure in the 1330s in her own right. Following his long tenure as earl, Patrick died before 25th July 1368, or at least resigned his earldom by that date and died not long after, aged about 86.

The lordships of *Lauderdale*, *Selkirk* and *Jedworth* had been created by Robert I and granted to Sir James Douglas.¹²⁸ On Douglas' death in 1330 they passed to his brother, Sir Archibald and then ultimately to the latter's six year old son, William, later first earl of Douglas. The lordship of *Liddesdale*, on the other hand, had been created in the twelfth

¹²⁵ Webster, 'English Occupation of Dumfriesshire', 68.

¹²⁶ Oram, 'Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway', 44.

¹²⁷ 46 in Edinburgh and the two constabularies, 9 in Peebles, 24 in Roxburgh and 8 in Berwick.

¹²⁸ Grant, 'Higher Nobility', 23.

century and granted to the Soules family. In 1320 William Soules had been involved in the plot against Robert I and his lordship was forfeited, to be granted out to the king's illegitimate son, Robert Bruce, who was in possession in 1329.¹²⁹ On the latter's death at Dupplin Moor the lordship passed to Sir Archibald Douglas, and, following his own death at Halidon Hill, in turn (possibly) to Robert Stewart¹³⁰ then the young William Douglas. At some point, however, during Balliol's second brief ascendancy and the occupation of the southern counties by Edward III, it would appear that half of the lands and tenements of Liddesdale were back in the hands of the Soules family in the person of Ermygarda, daughter of William Soules, then on her forfeiture, Warren, earl of Surrey.¹³¹ Although none of these four lordships were large in size, taken together, possession of them made the Douglas family a powerful force in the region. With the young William Douglas in France with David II, however, real political and military authority in the area was exercised by his godfather, Sir William Douglas, 'knight of Liddesdale.'

The second war of independence deeply affected Lothian and the south east. Great events such as the siege of Berwick; the battle of Halidon Hill; the 1334-35 winter invasion in the borders by Edward III; the 1335 joint invasion by Balliol and Edward III, which devastated large parts of the region; the battle on the Burgh Muir; and the capture of Richard Talbot all occurred between March 1333 and August 1335. The cession by Balliol of the southern counties in February 1334 to Edward III and their prompt occupation by the English king were followed by large-scale forfeitures of nobles and landholders loyal to the Bruce cause and the destruction of lands, crops and buildings on a similarly large-scale.¹³² It was the destruction of his lands that caused the earl of March to defect from Balliol to Bruce in February 1335, a particularly courageous act given the presence of English troops around his lands and in occupation of Berwick, Roxburgh and Edinburgh castles. However the defection was guaranteed to ensure conflict in the region for the next seven years, for the most part led by minor barons.

¹²⁹ Barrow, *Bruce*, 282-3; A. A. M. Duncan, 'Soulis, Sir John (*d.* before 1310)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26044>, accessed 12 Jan 2013]; T. McMichael, 'The Feudal Family of de Soules', *TGDNHAS*, 3rd series, 26 (1947-8), 190.

¹³⁰ Penman, *David II*, 55, 68.

¹³¹ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 730. Suggested in R.B. Armstrong, *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopdale and the Debatable Land* (Edinburgh, 1883), 129. McMichael suggests that Warenne held one half from Balliol in 1336, with the other half held by John Keith, who had married William Soules' sister. Keith had been driven out by William Douglas but on Douglas' imprisonment in England, the lands were restored to Warenne. T. McMichael, 'The Feudal Family of de Soules', *TGDNHAS*, 2nd series, 26 (1947-48), 190.

¹³² *CDS*, iii. 317-47; G.W.S. Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), 158, 197; M. Brown, *The Black Douglasses* (East Linton, 1998), 36; C. Brown, 'Knights', 43. C. Brown has calculated that over one hundred forfeitures were made in Lothian, *ibid.*, 43, 67.

CHAPTER 4 – NATIONAL IDENTITY AND OTHER FACTORS

Development of a National Identity

Received wisdom on the factors motivating the behaviour of Scotland's higher nobility in the 1330s is that they were driven by personal considerations: their actions were shaped by how they, their families and property were affected by events. That attachment to the Bruce or Balliol causes from a sense of 'patriotism', it is suggested, took second place to these considerations is evidenced not only by the sheer number of those members of the higher nobility who changed sides, often more than once, during the second war of independence, but also by the acceptance by Scotland's political community that such behaviour was perfectly acceptable by the standards of the time. In none of the primary sources such as *Fordun*, *Bower*, *Wyntoun* or *Scalacronica* is there even a hint of criticism at what today would be regarded as dishonourable conduct. References to changes of allegiance are made without comment by the chroniclers.¹³³ Perhaps one reason for this is, as will be seen, that the number of occasions on which members of the higher nobility changed sides during the 1330s, although significant, has been overplayed. Most earls, provincial lords and major barons active in this period remained consistently loyal to one side or the other and where changes of allegiance did occur it was largely because of duress and the 'offenders' tended to switch back to their first loyalty when no longer under pressure. No one, for example, would have expected the accommodation reached by the Steward with the Balliol/Plantagenet side in 1335 to have lasted and it can scarcely be described as a change of allegiance.

The development of a national consciousness, or a feeling of 'Scottishness' scarcely merits a mention as a factor influencing the behaviour of the higher nobility between 1332 and 1341. Yet there is evidence that by the 1330s some kind of sense of national identity in Scotland was a real determinant of conduct. That identity had been strengthened by thirty years of war with England, continuous between 1296 and 1314, intermittent from 1314-28,¹³⁴ but it had been forged many years before when Scotland and England had enjoyed peaceful relations.

¹³³ Cowan compares this continual and persistent changing of sides with a football transfer or the recruitment of a boardroom director by one company from another. E.J. Cowan, *'For Freedom Alone': the Declaration of Arbroath, 1320* (East Linton, 2003), 28.

¹³⁴ C. Neville, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: the Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox, c.1140-1365* (Dublin, 2005), 2.

The ideas of national consciousness and national identity have merged with debates about ‘freedom’ and ‘independence’ and medieval historians have tended to use these notions interchangeably. In its most limited sense, ‘freedom’ means liberty, autonomy, free will. At a personal level it implies the lack of restrictions placed on someone. At a political level it means all those things but also varying degrees of self-determination, independence and sovereignty. National consciousness or a national identity applies these notions to a community possessing common attributes. In medieval Scotland the community would be the kingdom itself and the attributes would include ‘... a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity.’¹³⁵ During the wars of independence the higher nobility of Scotland possessed these attributes.¹³⁶

There has been considerable debate about what form any national identity in Scotland took. Goldstein attaches primary importance to the second attribute, ethnicity. In his view, ‘... the emergence of national consciousness in Scotland is ultimately inseparable from the history of *racial* consciousness – the perception (real or imagined) of belonging to a common *gens* or blood group.’¹³⁷ For him the critical factors are family ties and kin-based communities. Dauvit Broun, on the other hand, has linked the notion of personal freedom with the independence of the nation by relating both concepts to that part of the Scottish political class where they were likely to have been most keenly expressed – men and women of property. Thus, a threat to the freedom of a property owner – whether earl, provincial lord, prelate or freeholder – would arise if the nation or kingdom itself was threatened. Conversely, property rights were guaranteed by virtue of the king’s authority. This would also imply, therefore, acceptance by the political class of that authority.¹³⁸ In an earlier work Broun goes further by stressing that what made the higher nobility ‘Scottish’ was their obedience to the king and that it had nothing to do with ethnicity.¹³⁹ Debate has also centred on whether the terms ‘national’ and ‘nationalism’ can be applied to Scotland in the fourteenth century at all. Archie Duncan has downplayed this view and has focused on the notion of personal freedom as the idea that men fought for in the wars of

¹³⁵ R. Mason, ‘Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland’, in R. Mason and N. Macdougall (eds.), *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1992), 51.

¹³⁶ M. Brown, *Wars of Scotland*, 293.

¹³⁷ R.J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland* (London, 1993), 24.

¹³⁸ D. Broun, ‘The Declaration of Arbroath and the birth of Scottish freedom’, *History Scotland*, vol.10, no.5 (Sep/Oct 2010), 23-5.

¹³⁹ D. Broun, ‘The Declaration of Arbroath: Pedigree of a Nation?’, in G.W.S. Barrow (ed.) *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting* (Edinburgh, 2003), 7-8.

independence.¹⁴⁰ Alexander Grant maintains that, at least in early fourteenth century, few Scots could be found steadily and consistently supporting the cause of independence.¹⁴¹ Geoffrey Barrow, however, unequivocally states that nationalism in the sense of a politically independent kingdom existed before the wars of independence and that the wars were fought to preserve that independence.¹⁴²

In analysing this debate Barrow's case is more convincing. As he points out, '... nationalism was already an irreversible tide in European history' with those monarchies who were more 'national' in outlook surviving longest.¹⁴³ In Scotland the idea of the 'nation' as a political entity had taken root long before the wars of independence. The terms 'kingdom of the Scots' and 'kingdom of Scotland' were used around 1161. Indeed, as Broun says, a Scottish identity may have emerged as early as 900, when Donald II on his death was described as *ri Alban*, 'king of Scotland'.¹⁴⁴ It is significant that at the outset any Scottish national consciousness found its expression in identification with the king and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the kingdom. Men and women in a geographical area, Scotland, acknowledged rule by a king and that area was the kingdom. However, the kingdom was not simply the territory ruled over by the king. 'It comprised and corresponded to a 'people'... which was assumed to be a natural, inherited community of tradition, custom, law and descent.'¹⁴⁵ It would probably be more accurate therefore to adopt Reynolds' usage of the term 'regnal', that is, to use 'regnal' or 'regnal/national' whenever describing anything pertaining to the kingdom. However, as the debate to date has been couched in terms of 'national' identity the use of the expression 'national' here can be understood to mean 'national/regnal', this last term itself being too clumsy to use repetitively. To demonstrate that national (in the sense of national/regnal) identity had existed in Scotland for some time, to show continuity with the past, at the coronation of a Scottish king the names of all his ancestors were read out. In fact, the list started with both the kings of Picts and those of Dalriada, who had 'reigned in parallel.'¹⁴⁶

Throughout the thirteenth century the notion of a Scottish identity continued to grow. It was most strongly expressed by the Church in Scotland, anxious to maintain its position

¹⁴⁰ Duncan, *Nation of Scots*, 32.

¹⁴¹ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 24.

¹⁴² G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', *Innes Review*, 30 (1979), 16-34.

¹⁴³ G.W.S. Barrow, 'Wars of Independence', in G. Menzies (ed.) *The Scottish Nation* (London, 1972), 15.

¹⁴⁴ G.W.S. Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, 153; D. Broun, 'The Origins of Scottish Identity', in C. Bjorn, A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (eds.), *Nations and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen, 1994), 40.

¹⁴⁵ Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 250.

¹⁴⁶ D. Broun, 'The Birth of Scottish History', *SHR*, 86 (1997), 12.

independent of the English Church.¹⁴⁷ By the 1280s the constitutional theory ‘community of the realm’ began to be used to define the relationship between the king and the Scottish nation. ‘In the absence of a king it provided a focus for loyalty, which helped maintain Scotland’s separate (not necessarily independent) status, laws and customs.’¹⁴⁸ In 1286 the Guardians appointed on the death of Alexander III used the royal arms and St Andrew on their seal ‘... to symbolise the kingdom.’¹⁴⁹ In 1290 the Treaty of Birgham preserved intact Scottish ‘rights, laws, liberties and customs’ and provided that ‘... the realm of Scotland shall remain separate and divided and free in itself, without subjection to the realm of England.’¹⁵⁰

During the Great Cause, however, there was precious little regard shown to national/regnal consciousness by either the Bruce or Balliol camp. Between 1290 and 1292 both camps saw the interests of the kingdom as identical with their own interests and the primary concern of both was to secure a favourable outcome for their respective sides, which involved recognising the superiority of Edward I over the Scottish king. The only acknowledgement of any national consciousness in these two critical years was by Bishop Robert Wishart and, once again, the Church.¹⁵¹ However, with the outbreak of war in 1296 what now emerged was the importance of an independent kingdom as the embodiment of national identity. Allegiance to ‘the lion’, the symbol of the Scottish king, was declared by both Bruce and Balliol families and their respective supporters. In 1304 a Balliol partisan, Sir William Oliphant, claimed to be defending Stirling castle against the English on behalf of ‘the lion’. However after Robert I was crowned in 1306 it was the Bruce camp who took up the independence standard and successfully used national identity and (political) ‘freedom’ to promote their cause. In 1308 three important barons, Thomas Hay, Neil Campbell and Alexander Seton met together near Stirling and ‘... swore a solemn oath to defend the liberty of the Scottish kingdom, and of its recently crowned king, Robert I, against all mortal men, French, English or Scots, until the last moment of their lives.’¹⁵² In 1320 the Declaration of Arbroath, with its description of Scotland as an independent kingdom because it had *always* existed as an independent kingdom and its important clause threatening to drive out Robert if he ever threatened to submit himself and the kingdom to

¹⁴⁷ Barrow, ‘Wars of Independence’, 21; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 7.

¹⁴⁸ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 28.

¹⁴⁹ A Grant, ‘Scottish Foundations: Late Medieval Contributions’, in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom: the Making of British History* (London, 1995), 100.

¹⁵⁰ Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 167.

¹⁵¹ E.J. Cowan, *For Freedom Alone*, 17.

¹⁵² Barrow, ‘Wars of Independence’, 19.

English rule, became the ‘high water mark’ of a Scottish view of independence.¹⁵³ It cannot be dismissed as ‘... a short-lived rush of national emotion produced by specific historical circumstances.’¹⁵⁴

By 1329 therefore, when Robert I died, the notion of Scotland as an independent kingdom, free from claims of suzerainty by any other nation, was well and truly established. The concept was upheld, again by the Church, in October 1332 when Edward III failed in his attempt to persuade the Pope to hold open the vacant see of St Andrews in order that he could nominate his own men.¹⁵⁵ The question is how far national identity (or perhaps more accurately, regnal solidarity) was a motivating factor for the higher nobility of Scotland during the 1330s. The rest of this chapter examines the activities of the individuals listed in the prosopography. Taken with the account in Chapter 3 of the varying nature of the second war across the different regions of Scotland, it attempts to establish whether any pattern of behaviour can be discerned.

Motives of the Higher Nobility

The focus of this study is the higher nobility of Scotland – the earls, provincial lords and more important barons identified in the prosopography. It is not concerned with the role played by the magnates of England except where they impinge on the direct concerns of Scotland’s higher nobility, for example through receiving grants of land from Balliol or Edward III. Many high ranking English nobles had a large stake in the second war of independence. There were at least fifteen key stakeholders and they can be divided into two groups. Ten were commanders appointed by Edward III who received land or titles as a reward for military service and five were English nobles disinherited by Robert I and now reclaiming their possessions.

The military commanders were John Warenne, earl of Surrey and Sussex, who was granted the earldom of Strathearn; William Montagu, earl of Salisbury, granted Selkirk and Ettrick Forest and the town and county of Peebles; Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, awarded stewardship of Scotland before 1336 but who surrendered it in 1339 in return for a substantial monetary reward; Henry Grosmont, earl of Lancaster, named Edward III’s

¹⁵³ D. Broun, ‘Declaration of Arbroath: Pedigree’, 3.

¹⁵⁴ D. Daiches, *Scotland and the Union* (London, 1977), 10.

¹⁵⁵ First his treasurer, Robert Ayleston, archbishop of Berkshire, then Robert Tanton, secretary and treasurer of his wardrobe. *CDS*. iii, nos. 1061, 1064, 1080.

‘captain general’ in Scotland; Ranulph, Lord Dacre, granted lands in Annandale; Edward de Bohun, granted lands in Annandale, following a dispute with Henry Percy; William Felton, granted lands in Dunbar; Anthony Lucy, granted the barony of Earlston in Berwickshire and the baronies of Drumsargard and Carmunnock in Lanarkshire; Ralph Neville, granted the barony of Langton and other lands in Berwickshire; and Thomas Ughtred, granted the barony of Bonkil in Berwickshire.¹⁵⁶

The second group comprised one French baron and four English noblemen. They had a more direct concern with landed possessions in Scotland as they were the members of the disinherited, claiming land forfeited earlier by Robert I. Henry Beaumont claimed the former earldom of Buchan, the constablership of Scotland and possibly the sheriffdom of Dumfries and the barony of Cruggleton within it. He received from Balliol the first two. Henry Ferrers claimed lands in Galloway, the Lambroughton and Grugere estates in Cunningham and part of the burgh of Tranent in east Lothian. Henry Percy claimed the barony of Urr in Galloway and Red Castle in Angus but received much more than these from both Balliol and Edward III. His rewards included the peel of Lochmaben, the valleys of Annandale and Moffatdale, holdings in the Carse of Stirling, the castle, constabulary and forest of Jedburgh, the custody of Berwick castle, all the estates in Northumberland of Patrick Dunbar, earl of March and considerable monetary rewards. Richard Talbot claimed half the Comyn lands of Badenoch and received the title ‘lord of Mar’, custody of Kildrummy castle, lands in Keith and the position of keeper of Berwick. Finally Thomas Wake claimed the barony of Kirkandrews and Barlocco in Dumfriesshire, which we can infer he probably received because his lands were seized in February 1346 by William Douglas.

None of these 15 men was able to hold on to any of the lands or titles he received. With the success of the Bruce cause by 1341 they all lost their Scottish possessions. Their claims covered land right across the country and brought them into conflict with those Scottish higher nobles in possession of the territories. This stands in contrast with the English military commanders whose land grants were largely confined to the ceded counties.

For the purposes of examining national/regal identity the higher nobility of Scotland can be divided into four groups – those who consistently supported the Bruce cause from 1329 to 1341; those who consistently supported the Balliol cause, referred to as ‘Scoti

¹⁵⁶ References for those named in this and the next paragraph are contained in Part B under the individual entries in the prosopography.

Anglicati'¹⁵⁷ those who changed sides during the second war, often several times; and those who stayed neutral or remained inactive. Of the 52 members of Scotland's higher nobility who were active in the 1330s, 26 supported Robert I and David II consistently; four supported Edward Balliol or Edward III consistently; one changed his allegiance permanently from Bruce to Balliol and three switched permanently from Balliol to Bruce; three transferred from Bruce to Balliol and back to Bruce and five transferred the other way and back; a further five changed sides more than twice (in one case five times); and five others stayed neutral or remained inactive during the second war. Thus 16 out of 52 higher nobles changed sides at least once during the 1330s, perhaps fewer in number than might have been expected given the fluctuating fortunes of war in the 1330s.

The 26 members of the higher nobility consistently supporting both Robert I and David II comprised nine earls – Atholl (John Campbell), Lennox (Malcolm, 5th earl), Menteith (Murdoch, 8th earl), Strathearn (Maurice Murray), Moray (John Randolph), Ross (Hugh, 4th earl and William, 5th earl) and Sutherland (Kenneth, 4th earl and William, 5th earl); five provincial lords – Sir Robert Bruce (Liddesdale), Sir Archibald Douglas (Liddesdale), Sir Adam Gordon (Strathbogie), Sir Andrew Murray (the Garioch) and Robert the Steward (Renfrew, Cunningham and Kyle Stewart);¹⁵⁸ and twelve major barons – David Barclay, Robert Boyd, Christian Bruce, Gillespie Campbell, William Douglas, Agnes countess of Dunbar, Malcolm Fleming, Alexander Fraser, Gilbert Hay, Robert Keith, David Lindsay and Alexander Ramsay. As shown in the prosopography, for the most part these individuals had been direct recipients of Robert I's patronage. Otherwise they were the heirs of such recipients or had acquired their interests through marriage.

Of these 26, ten were dead by 1333 – the earls of Atholl, Lennox, Menteith, Ross (Hugh) and Sutherland (Kenneth), together with Sir Robert Bruce, Archibald Douglas, Boyd, Fraser and Hay. Three others - Barclay, Keith and (occasionally) Fleming - were based at David II's court in France, along with numerous senior clergymen helping to tutor the young king and promote his cause. The other 13 fought for David II throughout the 1330s and it is to them principally, as well as to those at Chateau Gaillard, that we must look for more evidence of national identity or regnal solidarity as a motivating factor.

¹⁵⁷*Chron. Bower*, vii, 117. See also M.H. Brown, 'Scoti Anglicati: Scots in Plantagenet Allegiance during the Fourteenth Century', in A. King and M. Penman (eds.), *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007), 94-115.

¹⁵⁸ The Steward is included in this group as his coming to peace with Balliol and Edward III in 1335 was clearly not a change of sides but an attempt to buy time.

The extent of recorded information about these Bruce loyalists varies considerably. Much is known about the great leaders – Murray, his wife Christian Bruce, Randolph, the Steward and William Douglas; rather less about others such as Maurice Murray, the earls of Ross and Sutherland and, despite his heroic role, Alexander Ramsay. In the cases of Gordon, Lindsay, Gillespie Campbell and Agnes Dunbar only very limited knowledge exists. Two factors have a bearing on their concern with national/regnal identity – the extent to which concern with what was happening in their own earldoms, lordships and baronies prevented them from pursuing a national leadership role; and the regions of Scotland in which they were active, it being argued here that participation in conflicts outside their own areas of interest demonstrates a concern with national/regnal issues.

For those barons of whom knowledge is limited, it is more difficult to ascribe motives. Sir Adam Gordon, lord of Strathbogie, for example fought at Halidon Hill, surviving the defeat. After that he all but disappears from the records. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he lost possession of the lordship before his death about 1351. Similarly, little is known of the activities of Sir David Lindsay of Crawford in the 1330s but he was related to the Steward and must have been consistently supporting the Bruce side throughout the 1330s as he was forfeited by Edward III of his Roxburgh lands in 1337 and received rewards from David II after 1341. As with all the Argyll and Islesmen who played a role in the second war Gillespie Campbell appears to have been motivated more by local considerations than national identity, receiving the lands of his brother Dugal on the latter's death. However he seems to have been attached to the Steward and, through him, therefore, to the Bruce cause. The only known involvement of Agnes, countess of Dunbar, in the second war is as the successful defender of Dunbar castle in 1338 against English forces. In this she was more constant to the Bruce cause than her husband, the earl of March. Given her own background, as daughter of Thomas Randolph and sister of John, this may not have been surprising. However, Patrick was firmly in the Bruce camp by 1335 and Agnes' own stance before the siege of Dunbar is not known as she does not appear in the records until then.

Of those Bruce loyalists whose involvement in the second war appears more limited than that of the great leaders, there is nevertheless evidence of activity beyond their own earldoms or baronies. Maurice Murray's landholdings most probably were in Perthshire

but he is only recorded as being active in Clydesdale.¹⁵⁹ He had not owed his wealth directly to Robert I, having instead both inherited it and married into it. He was sheriff of Lanark in October 1334 and it would have been from this position, as a royal official doubtless appointed by either the Steward or Randolph as guardians, that he led the Bruce recovery in Clydesdale. William, earl of Ross, was absent from Scotland for the first half of the 1330s and thus did not participate in the major military events of the decade. He inherited his lands from his father, who had been a major beneficiary of Robert I's largesse. He had much to gain from a Bruce success in the war and, with the exception of his participation in the siege of Perth in 1339, apparently did not need to do much to secure his gains. His commitment to any national/regnal cause would have come secondary to his own local concerns, shown vividly by his subsequent conduct at the Perth muster in 1346.¹⁶⁰ William, earl of Sutherland, on the other hand, was closely identified with the Bruce side, particularly after David II's return in 1341, when he married the King's sister. His own earldom was untouched by the war but he fought at the siege of Cupar castle in 1336 and in cross border raiding in 1340. It might be argued that, as one of the 'big winners' of the second war of independence for apparently little effort, his principal motive was personal gain. However these gains did not come until after 1341 and the evidence shows his attachment to the Bruce cause before then. He would therefore have become identified with the national cause as personified by the Bruce dynasty.¹⁶¹

The five great leaders of the Bruce resistance and recovery in the 1330s were certainly motivated by national considerations. This is not to say that local issues were far from their minds but their behaviours in the 1330s suggest a more dominant motivation. Sir Andrew Murray was closely linked with the Bruce family - as husband of Christian Bruce and twice Guardian of Scotland exercising authority in David II's name. Although a substantial landowner both before and after his marriage to Christian Bruce, he seems to have spent only a limited time in his own lordship of the Garioch. As the leader of the Bruce party until his death in 1338 he fought all over the country - in Dumfriesshire and Roxburgh in 1332, in the north at Dundarg castle in 1334, at Culblean in 1335, at Cupar castle and Lochindorb in 1336 and in Aberdeenshire, Lauriston, Perthshire and the north of England in 1337. His movements across the country suggest a real concern with national interests represented by the Bruce house and his ravaging of large parts of Scotland show his utter determination to bring all of the country under Bruce control irrespective of the cost. Local

¹⁵⁹ For references for Murray see p.105.

¹⁶⁰ For references for Ross see p. 112.

¹⁶¹ For references for Sutherland see p.122-3.

issues in his own lordship only seemed to concern him occasionally, such as when his wife was threatened by Strathbogie at Kildrummy castle. He never at any time submitted to Balliol or Edward III and he did not appear to benefit personally from the second war of independence.

John Randolph inherited his vast landholdings in both north and south Scotland from his father Thomas, who in turn had been granted them by Robert I. He fought in the major battle at Halidon and in many different parts of the country – Annan, Clydesdale, Lochaber, Badenoch and Edinburgh, not always therefore in his own territories. His commitment to the national cause represented by Bruce is underscored by his diplomatic efforts – successful in securing help from France by visiting Philip VI, unsuccessful in securing an alliance with the lord of the Isles.¹⁶²

Another member of the higher nobility with vast landholdings was the teenage Robert Stewart. As hereditary Steward of Scotland, he owed his wealth to that position by virtue of successive grants to the Stewart family since the reign of David I. Additionally the Steward personally received substantial lands from Robert I. He was also heir presumptive to the throne. For all these reasons, he was firmly attached to the Bruce cause, despite his troubled relationship with David II. A Balliol success would have resulted in the loss of all his wealth, titles and elevated position – as indeed happened when his Renfrewshire lands and titles were briefly bestowed on Strathbogie by Balliol. While David II escaped to France in 1334, the Steward remained in Scotland to lead the Bruce resistance and recover his own lands. As one of the joint guardians in 1334 and sole guardian after 1338, his own interests were bound up with the success of the ‘national’ cause, which he would have seen as identical with the Bruce, not to mention his own, cause. Additionally, the Steward did not confine his military activities to his own provinces. As well as recovering his lands in Renfrewshire, Bute and Cowal, he captured Perth castle in 1339, although his activities between his temporary coming to terms with Balliol and Edward III in 1335 and then are not recorded.¹⁶³

William Douglas was another of the great national (Bruce) leaders. He fought in many different regions of Scotland – the south west, Edinburgh and the Lothians, Fife, Perth and the north-east at Culblean and he visited David II in France to make preparations for the King’s return to Scotland. It has long been held that the dominant characteristic of his

¹⁶² For references for Randolph see p.110.

¹⁶³ For references for the Steward see p.115.

involvement in the 1330s was his vaulting ambition.¹⁶⁴ Having started as a small landholder in 1335 he was by 1341 earl of Atholl, the title and lands of which he then exchanged for provincial lord of Liddesdale. It can equally be argued, however, that his substantial gains from the second war were his deserved rewards for his military leadership of the Bruce cause, which he firmly believed in. Although he was to become 'Edward III's man' after his capture in 1346, during the 1330s there is ample evidence to demonstrate his identification with a national, anti-English/Balliol, cause.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, on the other hand, was a small landowner when he began his involvement in the second war in 1335 at Boroughmuir but, unlike William Douglas, does not appear to have extended his landholdings to any extent by the time of his murder by Douglas in 1342. His rewards for a successful military career came in the form of positions of authority - most notably warden of the east march and sheriff of Teviotdale. His military career was restricted to Lothian and the south east region, where he was extremely successful against English forces. His sense of national identity, perhaps more overtly than any of the other Bruce leaders seems to have stemmed from anti-English sentiments. His involvement took the form of guerilla campaigns against those forces.

These 13 members of Scotland's higher nobility, therefore, undoubtedly exhibited a strong sense of national identity, where they saw this as synonymous with the Bruce cause. To the extent that Robert I had successfully ensured that his cause became indistinguishable from 'patriotism' in the sense of independence from England, this group, unswervingly loyal to that cause can be seen as the strongest proponents of a Scottish national identity. Equally, as the beneficiaries of land grants from Robert I, all had vested interests in maintaining the Bruce dynasty and identified the national interest with the interest of that dynasty but this was a matter of degree and, for the leaders of the Bruce side, they were of secondary importance to national issues. Had personal concerns been the primary motivating factor an option would have been to abandon David II, still a boy in exile, throw in their lot with Balliol or Edward III and take their chances. This never happened.

The four senior nobles who remained constant to Edward Balliol were Gilbert Umfraville, earl of Angus, John Mowbray, Alan Lisle and John Stirling.¹⁶⁵ The first two were members

¹⁶⁴ See for example Nicholson, *Scotland: Later Middle Ages*, 144; M. Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 36-41.

¹⁶⁵ There were, of course, many Scottish nobles who sided with Balliol in the second war of independence. The most comprehensive list of such men appears in Webster, 'Scotland without a King', 237-8. Webster lists 54 persons. Eight are senior clergymen and 12 are studied here as members of the higher nobility but the remainder fall outside the scope of this study as they do not fall into this category.

of the disinherited and the other two were Balliol-appointed sheriffs. This small group would have acted without any regard to national/regnal identity. Gilbert Umfraville was a unique case among Scottish earls. As Amanda Beam has shown, ‘...the Umfraville earls of Angus had never been strongly patriotic towards Scotland... their political ambitions rested more firmly in England.’¹⁶⁶ He and Mowbray were clearly motivated solely by the recovery of their lands forfeited by Robert I – in Umfraville’s case the earldom itself and in John Mowbray’s most likely the barony of Kirkmichael. Lisle was sheriff of Bute and Cowal and Stirling was sheriff of Edinburgh.

The disinherited, both English and Scots, embarked on the expedition culminating at Dupplin Moor because they expected to find many supporters in Scotland, including Donald earl of Mar.¹⁶⁷ Stirling, on the other hand, is likely to have been motivated by the prospect of the rewards that would come by attaching himself to the side of Balliol and Edward III. He had no recorded landed interests at the start of the second war but ended the war as a substantial landowner in Northumbria. Mowbray and Lisle were early casualties of the second war, meeting their deaths in 1332 and 1334 respectively.

Only one member of Scotland’s higher nobility can be identified as probably having changed allegiance permanently from Bruce to Balliol. This was Dugald Campbell but lack of information on his activities from 1335-43 makes it difficult to be definitive. By identifying with Balliol in the end, Dugald is unlikely to have been overly concerned with questions of national identity. Three senior nobles changed allegiance permanently the other way – Donald earl of Mar, William Bullock and William Mowbray. Notwithstanding his pre-eminent position in the realm, Donald had spent most of his life in England and would not have been on familiar terms with other members of the higher nobility, which was probably the reason for his hotly disputed election as Guardian on the death of Thomas Randolph. It is not difficult, however, to understand why, despite his history, a majority of the higher nobility supported Donald as guardian in 1332 and why Donald accepted the appointment. Thomas Randolph was the last of the strong men that had surrounded Robert I. The others were dead by 1332 and the nearest legitimate blood relative to David II was Robert Stewart, who was only sixteen at the time. Donald was closest after that. It may be that Sir Robert Bruce of Liddesdale believed his own claim to the guardianship was stronger, despite his illegitimacy, and he probably regarded himself

¹⁶⁶ A. Beam, ‘The Umfravilles: War, Chivalry and Death: 1296-1437: Part 2’, *History Scotland*, vol. 9, no. 3 (May/June 2009), 14. See also Part 1, vol. 1, no. 2 (March/April 2009), 27-31.

¹⁶⁷ *Chron. Wyntoun*, ii, 391.

as a better military man than Mar, though Dupplin Moor soon disproved that. Furthermore Donald could have repudiated any agreement he had made in 1331 with the disinherited, asserting that their armed invasion had altered the situation. Moreover, he may have felt that his appointment, whatever his own views were on the respective merits of the Bruce and Balliol causes, produced an obligation to perform his duties as guardian to the best of his ability. In the end he was killed in the Bruce cause.

A fourth senior noble, John Graham, earl of Menteith, seems to have moved from probable neutrality to Balliol then to Bruce within a few short years. However it was more common for allegiances to shift for a short period only rather than permanently. From analysing the prosopography we can see that seven members of the higher nobility changed sides then reverted to their former allegiance. Alexander Bruce, earl of Carrick and Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass were Bruce supporters who swore loyalty to Balliol, most likely under duress, and switched back to Bruce when it was safe to do so. Lauder's case is interesting in that his landed interests were in Edinburgh and the Lothians but after Halidon Hill he escaped to the north and held Urquhart castle for David II, suffering forfeiture of his own lands. Although he attended Balliol's parliament his role is equivocal. Five senior nobles, also under duress, moved the other way, from Balliol to Bruce and back to Balliol. They were Strathbogie, Eustace Lorraine, Alexander Mowbray, Geoffrey Mowbray and Godfrey Ros. These men owed any advancement in their careers to Edward III rather than to Balliol, so would be unlikely to be influenced by issues of 'Scottishness'.

Another group of Scottish nobles changed sides more than twice. Patrick, earl of March, (three times), Alexander Seton (three times) and Duncan, earl of Fife (four times) ended in the Bruce camp, while Eustace Maxwell (three times) and Duncan McDowell (five times) finished on the Balliol side. It is more difficult to ascribe any motivation borne out of national/regnal identity to this group. Patrick, earl of March, for example eventually ended on the Bruce side because of devastation to his lands by English troops, who ignored as irrelevant his swearing loyalty to Balliol. Pragmatism would also have played its part. Patrick's final defection was to the Bruce side in February 1335. This was at a time when the English were in control of Lothian and the southern counties and before the great Balliol/English invasion of 1335. He must have been convinced therefore that the Bruce side would eventually win the war and that he would be better to back the winner. Seton, though having lost three sons in the Bruce cause, served Balliol for a short time, probably because his lands in Lothian were under English occupation. Duncan's motives, other than

personal safety, are even more difficult to discern. He performed the traditional role of the earls of Fife at Balliol's coronation but ended his career serving David II. His frequent changes of side make it difficult to attribute any considerations of a national/regnal cause to him.¹⁶⁸ Similarly Maxwell and Lorraine, at heart, were Balliol family supporters in Galloway and their frequent changes of side could not distract from that fact. As servants also of Edward III, they were never likely to have been swayed by any 'patriotic' views.

A final group belonging to the higher nobility of Scotland in the 1330s cannot be identified on one side or the other. Those remaining neutral, or at any rate inactive, were John Stewart earl of Angus, Malise earl of Strathearn, Donald 6th earl of Lennox, John Macdonald lord of the Isles and Ranald Macruairi, provincial lord of Garmoran.¹⁶⁹ These men were far more interested in events in their own localities than what was happening at a national level. This was particularly true of John of the Isles, who regarded himself as sufficiently independent to pursue his own interests, which might or might not challenge the national interest of the crown, and who was loyally supported by his own island communities with their own distinct cultural identity. Although he inherited his father's lands granted by Robert I it has been suggested that John may have regarded these as insufficient, making it easier to reach an accommodation with Edward Balliol in 1335.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore John presumably would have preferred co-existence with Balliol to a strong Bruce kingship more likely to interfere with the affairs of the isles.¹⁷¹

National identity therefore played a strong part in shaping the conduct of Bruce loyalists during the second war of independence as those nobles in this group identified the Bruce cause with the national one. For them there was no distinction between the two. But even among the staunchest members of this group there were other considerations. 1336 saw the culmination of the peace negotiations between representatives of the Bruce party and Balliol/Edward III, and these were foiled by Randolph, earl of Moray (from imprisonment in England) and William Douglas, who stood to lose most from the proposed settlement, in contrast with those earls and provincial lords who came to terms with Balliol and Edward

¹⁶⁸ For references for Fife, see pp.93-4.

¹⁶⁹ Stewart is included in this group for the sake of completeness but he had died by the end of 1332.

¹⁷⁰ Robert had granted the MacDonald lands of Kintyre and Knapdale to his grandson the Steward, among several others and much of the MacDougall lands in Argyll to Hugh earl of Ross. Even his father's lordship of Lochaber and his own territories of Morvern and Ardnamurchan, which had been forfeited by the MacDougalls, came to be held under the superiority of Thomas Randolph. See J.L. Roberts, *Lost Kingdoms: Celtic Scotland and the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1997), 182.

¹⁷¹ For references for John see pp.90-2.

III.¹⁷² It seems therefore that even the leaders of the Bruce resistance had personal as well as national interests in mind at this time.

In Balliol's case not only could there have been few patriotic sentiments among his supporters but their support of him only stayed firm when he was winning the war. His supporters were far less cohesive than the Bruce party. He had no solid base of support – the adherence of his Galloway band was insufficient in a national context - and this could only have made him appear as a usurper to the crown. It is likely that this was the view of Englishmen who fought for him as well as the patriotic Scots.¹⁷³ In 1336 officials of Edward III's court refer to Scotsmen fighting for the 'Leone' rather than for Bruce or Balliol.¹⁷⁴ And although men like Umfraville remained loyal to Balliol throughout, particularly when it was clear that there was no hope of recovering Angus, Umfraville's interests outside the earldom lay in the north of England. Similarly Alexander and Geoffrey Mowbray served the remainder of their careers in England following Balliol's failure.

¹⁷² The proposals were that Balliol would become king and David Bruce his successor, should Balliol fail to produce a male heir. David would succeed to the throne on Balliol's death but would hold the country from the king of England on the terms that Balliol had agreed. C.J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), 109-12.

¹⁷³ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 238.

¹⁷⁴ *Rot.Scot*, i, 401.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this study has been to consider whether the second war of independence, taken as the period 1332-41, was national in character; that is whether by examining the issues of national identity, the regions of Scotland in which the war was fought and the landed interests in these regions, it might be possible to determine whether the character of the second war was similar to the first war, whether it was in fact a national war.

The war did not touch every part of Scotland. In the far north the earldoms of Caithness, Sutherland and Ross, the provincial lordships of Strathnaver and the outer islands are scarcely mentioned in the primary sources and even then only in connection with local events – the granting of charters or marriages to neighbouring barons as local leaders sought to extend their control or influence. In Lennox and Menteith there is no record of any significant engagements, despite the strategic importance of Dumbarton castle. Further south, more regions were sucked in and the national leaders of both sides could more often be found in engagements outside their own territories. The two great battles of 1332 and 1333, where the kingdom itself was at stake were not local skirmishes but stages in a national conflict that was being played out. Virtually all the higher nobility of Scotland as well as almost all the leading Balliol supporters were present at one or other or both of these battles. But after these heavy Bruce defeats earls, provincial lords and major barons were still to be found fighting the war well outside their own local areas. On the Bruce side William Douglas fought at Culblean in 1335; he and Randolph were at Edinburgh the same year; the earl of Sutherland was at the siege of Cupar castle in 1336; the Steward besieged Perth castle in 1339; and Andrew Murray was to be found using scorched earth tactics over vast areas of central and southern Scotland. These and many other examples are not acts of local leaders concerned only with their own earldoms, provincial lordships or baronies.

So far as regards the issue of national identity it has been shown that by 1332 the concept of ‘freedom’ in Scotland was well established. The twin ideas of Scottish identity and a kingdom of Scotland were not products of the wars of independence but had been around for many years – in the first case from perhaps 900 and in the second from about the 1190s.¹⁷⁵ This notion of the freedom or liberty of the kingdom of Scotland was embodied in the Treaty of Birgham in 1290, the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton of 1328 and the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320. There can be little doubt then that those Scots who joined

¹⁷⁵ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, 153-4; D. Broun, ‘Origin of Scottish Identity’, 40.

the Bruce side during the first war of independence saw themselves as fighting for a national/regnal cause, not necessarily for a 'nation' defined by ethnicity but for an entity the embodiment of which was a 'king of Scots.'¹⁷⁶ They had real concerns about the threat to their own lives and property and to the nation's laws and customs that would result from being swallowed up by a foreign political lordship and culture.¹⁷⁷

During the first war some of the higher nobility of Scotland, such as the earls of March and Angus, had come to terms with English domination. By 1329, however, Robert Bruce had been king for twenty-three years and Scotland had shown its military supremacy over England for at least fifteen of those years. The submissions to Edward I in 1291 and 1296 were long forgotten. Meek acceptance of English suzerainty was no longer an issue. Indeed many of the younger members of the Scottish nobility, including Robert Stewart and John Randolph, if not actually participating in the battles or sieges of the first war, had known nothing but Scottish success in the field up to the time of Robert I's death. All members of Scotland's higher nobility, except those whose lands had been forfeited and some powerful lords off the western seaboard, were united behind the Bruce regime, and when English armies came again in 1333 and 1335 they saw the fight as one for liberty or the independence of the kingdom as they had experienced it. This is testimony to the remarkable success of the Bruce party in having '... created the impression that allegiance to the Bruce dynasty was the only way to secure one's Scottish inheritance.'¹⁷⁸ Even the Highlanders and Islesmen did not adopt a stance particularly supportive of Edward III. Instead they deliberately opted for neutrality, having a natural predisposition against being ruled by anyone outside their own domain. On Balliol's side there was never any question of patriotism as defined by a Balliol kingship. As Beam points out '... his constant struggle after his successful invasion in 1332 was nothing more than his own personal fight for the throne; English adherents and the king himself were focused on the Scottish conquest and the question of overlordship, not the right for Balliol to be king.'¹⁷⁹ Thus the Balliol cause was doomed from the start. Without a foundation stronger than personal ambition, and over reliant on English support, Balliol was bound to lose heavily in any propaganda battle with the Bruce leaders.

¹⁷⁶ D. Broun, 'Declaration of Arbroath: Pedigree of a Nation?', 8.

¹⁷⁷ G.W.S. Barrow, 'Idea of Freedom', 15; Broun, 'Declaration of Arbroath and the birth of Scottish Freedom', 23-6; M. Brown and S. Boardman, 'Survival and Revival: Late Medieval Scotland', in J. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: a History*, (Oxford, 2005), 80.

¹⁷⁸ M.H. Brown, 'Scoti Anglicati', 112.

¹⁷⁹ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 265.

Against this background, to the modern historian the changes of allegiance that seemed to occur in the 1330s are regarded at best as fickleness and at worst treachery and can hardly support the idea of a strong national identity. Yet, as has been shown, the actual number of members of the higher nobility who changed allegiance was relatively small. It is not at all apparent that ‘... almost everyone of any importance submitted at least once and often several times, while many collaborated actively.’¹⁸⁰ A large majority did not. They remained loyal to one side or the other. When circumstances forced them to change sides, in most cases they quickly changed back again. That contemporary writers did not regard this behaviour as untoward is shown by the neutral way in which shifts in adherence are presented.

It would be foolish, however, to restrict any explanation of the motives of Scotland’s higher nobility in the 1330s to their identification with a national cause and this study certainly does not advance such a proposition. From the prosopography in Part 2 of this study other motivating factors can be discerned and in concluding it is important to examine these. The first was how the members of this class regarded the competing claims for *legitimacy* of the Bruce and Balliol factions. In 1320 many of Balliol’s Scottish supporters, fourteen years after Robert Bruce’s killing of John Comyn, still regarded the Bruce regime as unlawful. That view may still have been articulated in 1332 but it is hard to believe it was prevalent. As Brown puts it: ‘King Robert’s policy of bonding the great landholders to his lordship by the judicious use of land grants and the marriages of his female relations to leading nobles effectively embedded the Bruce cause into the fabric of Scottish society.’¹⁸¹ By the start of the second war the notion that Bruce was a usurper and his son an illegitimate king was restricted to the nobles of Galloway such as Lorraine, McDowell and Maxwell. What is remarkable, however, is that the Galloway lords rose up for the Balliol cause some forty years after John Balliol had been deposed. As the Bruce party had so successfully bound their cause with the issue of national identity, any sense of ‘Scottishness’ must have been regarded by the Galloway men as a lesser priority than what they saw as the dubious legitimacy of the Bruce regime.¹⁸² This prioritisation would have been reinforced if these men did not regard Galloway as firm a part of Scotland as has been supposed.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Grant, ‘Scottish Foundations’, 98.

¹⁸¹ C. Brown, *The Second Scottish War of Independence, 1332-1363* (Stroud, 2002), 46.

¹⁸² M.H. Brown, ‘Scoti Anglicati’, 107.

¹⁸³ The see of Galloway, for example, did not become part of the Scottish Church until about 1350.

Secondly, it is apparent from the prosopography that a feature common to many of Scotland's higher nobility, on both sides, was the *marriages* that tied them to supporting one side or the other. With the exceptions of the families of Barclay and Gillespie Campbell, the immediate and extended families of those nobles consistently faithful to the Bruce side also supported that side.¹⁸⁴ Key marriages linking at least two families were: Andrew Murray and Christian Bruce; John Campbell, earl of Atholl and Mary Bruce; Alexander Fraser and Mary Bruce; John Randolph, earl of Moray and Euphemia Ross; Hugh, earl of Ross and Maud Bruce; William, earl of Sutherland and Margaret Bruce. Even some nobles who changed sides from Balliol to Bruce were married into families loyal to the Bruce cause. Alexander Bruce married Eleanor, daughter of Archibald Douglas, whilst Patrick Dunbar was married to Agnes Randolph.

On the Balliol side, similar marriage alliances could be found. Strathbogie's mother was Joanna Comyn, the sister and co-heir of Elizabeth Comyn, who was married to Richard Talbot. Strathbogie's wife was Catherine, daughter of Henry Beaumont. This brought the Strathbogie, Talbot, Comyn and Beaumont families together in alliance with Balliol. A more uncertain case, however, was Geoffrey Mowbray, who married Isabel, widow of Donald, earl of Mar, against whom Geoffrey had fought at Dupplin Moor. This second marriage of Isabel is not perhaps as surprising as at first sight. Until his appointment as Guardian, Donald had always been sympathetic to the Plantagenets and his widow continued in that sympathy. On her divorce from Geoffrey Mowbray she married an Englishman, Sir William Carswell and was paid a retainer by Edward III in lieu of her position as hereditary sheriff of Roxburgh, becoming 'the King's liege woman'.¹⁸⁵

Too much should not be made, however, of the importance of marriages as an explanation for loyalties in the 1330s. While immediate family connections were undoubtedly important, not least because they were used as the basis of territorial claims, there is little evidence that relationships beyond the immediate family played any significant role in determining which position a member of the higher nobility should take. If even near kinship had been a significant factor there would not have been the rivalry that existed between the cousins David II and Robert Stewart, which continued up to David's death in 1371; nor might there have been the enmity after 1341 between the young William

¹⁸⁴ Barclay's father-in-law was David Brechin, who was executed by Robert I in 1320 for failing to disclose details of the Soules conspiracy. Gillespie Campbell's brother, Dugald appears to have remained loyal to Balliol after he changed sides.

¹⁸⁵ *CDS*, iii, nos.1138, 1140, 1169.

Douglas and his godfather and namesake, the ‘knight of Liddesdale.’ Grant states that ‘... the ties of family and kinship were probably no more important in Scotland at that time than in most other Western European societies.’¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless marriage alliances seem to have been factors influencing behaviour. They were, for the most part, not the outcome of love matches but of major strategic decisions. It was regnal identity that provided the cohesion necessary to bring them together into an effective, unifying force.

Thirdly, many members of the higher nobility will have acted out of reasons of *personal safety*. Eight of Scotland’s earls and most of the other leading nobles were killed at Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill. Those who survived, such as Duncan, earl of Fife and Malise, earl of Strathearn, had to act quickly for the preservation of their own lives and their property. Duncan immediately switched to Balliol after Dupplin Moor and Malise forfeited his earldom and removed himself from the scene of military action until his death. The Steward himself submitted very briefly after his lordship was attacked by an Irish fleet in 1335. On the other side Strathbogie, having been pursued by Randolph, was forced to change to the Bruce side in 1334, only to switch back to Balliol and Edward III when it was safe to do so the following year. Andrew Murray’s campaigns from 1336-8 in Angus, Perthshire, Fife, Clydesdale and Lothian demonstrated that ‘...adherence to the Bruce cause was won not only by appeals to legitimacy and liberty alone but by demonstrations of military primacy, the ability to punish and protect.’¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, personal safety may be combined with a willingness to be seen on the winning side. As Barrell puts it:

the outwardly impressive list of those present at Balliol’s parliament at Holyrood in February 1334 is no more conclusive as an indication of political allegiances than is the list of magnates named in the Declaration of Arbroath.¹⁸⁸

Fourthly, the *threat of forfeiture* was clearly a powerful factor in shaping decisions. Practically all the nobles studied who changed sides stood to lose all their land and possessions if they remained true to their original loyalties. This is most marked in the cases of the earl of March, over whose territory much warfare was conducted and, again, Duncan earl of Fife. Those who remained true to one side or the other did suffer forfeiture. The Steward, for example, lost his provincial lordships to Strathbogie for a short time, the

¹⁸⁶ Grant, ‘Higher Nobility’, 315.

¹⁸⁷ M.H. Brown, *Wars of Scotland*, 300.

¹⁸⁸ A D M Barrell, *Medieval Scotland*, (Cambridge, 2000), 127.

latter being quite unable to secure the loyalties of the Steward's tenants in Renfrewshire, while the disinherited who had recovered their lands were disinherited for a second, and permanent, time when the Bruce side eventually won through.

Fifthly, in some cases *ambitions and rivalries* played a significant role in determining positions.¹⁸⁹ The *raison d'être* of the disinherited was the recovery of lost possessions, coupled with the status resulting from recovery. Beaumont, for example, was sufficiently motivated by the prospect of the 'earldom' of Buchan and the status brought by it that he sold and leased much of his land and property in England to finance the expedition of 1332. William Douglas began the second war with only small landed possessions and, through exploiting the vacuum caused by the absence of provincial lordship, ended as a substantial landowner. Alexander Ramsay, who also began with small landholdings, was appointed warden of the east March and sheriff of Teviotdale, unfortunately enjoying those rewards for a very short time only.

Personal ambitions were the cause of disputes within both the Bruce and Balliol parties during the second war. On the Bruce side, besides the Douglas-Ramsay dispute, which was based on territorial possessions, there were disagreements in 1332 between Sir Robert Bruce and Donald earl of Mar; and between the Steward and Randolph earl of Moray based on position, status and control over what revenue could be collected with David II still in exile. The Steward-Randolph rivalry is significant in considering the question of a national war. It had nothing to do with landholdings. The interests of both guardians lay in different regions of the country and neither made claims on the other. It was concerned rather with the respective influence that each could exercise on national affairs. Robert, who was still heir presumptive, would have resented Randolph's influence with David II's court in France, his appointment as joint guardian and his relative success in the opposition to Balliol and Edward III after Halidon Hill.

Similarly on the Balliol sides there were major disagreements over landed possessions between the Mowbray brothers and most of the other disinherited over the deceased John Mowbray's land; and between the two Englishmen Henry Percy and Edward Bohun over land in Annandale. Those who remained neutral also had their own ambitions. The rivalry between William earl of Ross and Ranald Macruari culminated in the latter's assassination in 1346, although this never played out as a conflict between Bruce and Balliol.

¹⁸⁹ In this section the references can be found in Part B under the individual entries in the prosopography.

Clearly then there were many factors that explained the motives of Scotland's higher nobility in the 1330s. However, the dominance of self-interest over national issues of national/regnal identity has tended to predominate in the thinking of historians of this period. The second war of independence was fought over large parts of the country as far north as Lochindorb and Kildrummy. It was not confined to the borders or Galloway. Webster believes that there was never a coordinated uprising across Scotland against Balliol or English forces and that where there was substantial resistance it tended to consist of '...isolated and often uncoordinated guerilla groups, joining together for occasional dramatic efforts, like [Culblean]... Neither the chroniclers nor what we can piece together of events suggests any national movement.'¹⁹⁰ However even if this accurately describes the nature of the second war of independence, it does not make the war less national in character for that reason. For the Bruce party it was the great skill of Robert I who used the issue of national identity to promote his own cause that led its becoming associated with that party during the 1330s. Balliol spectacularly failed to learn from Robert I or to grasp the importance of national/regnal identity as a means of promoting his own cause. Despite '... the many Scots who sided with Edward Balliol'¹⁹¹ in 1333, he was reliant extensively on English help. His charters were invariably witnessed by a mix of high ranking Scots' and English nobles, indistinguishable in terms of the order in which they were listed.¹⁹² The grants to English military commanders, particularly, were almost all in the counties ceded to Edward III¹⁹³ and although the five English disinherited lords received from Balliol and Edward III not only lands in the ceded counties but territory in other parts of Scotland, unlike the position with the Scottish disinherited nobles, it is difficult to find any support for these five among native Scotsmen. With a Scottish national identity, or at least consciousness, already established by the mid 1330s and nurtured by almost forty years of conflict with England, the granting of Scottish territory to high ranking Englishmen could only have reinforced that identity. Although this study has only touched briefly on the senior clergy, the expulsion of Scottish friars from Berwick and their replacement with English clerics after Halidon Hill in 1333 would also have served to

¹⁹⁰ B. Webster, 'Scotland without a King', 228-9.

¹⁹¹ *Chron. Fordun*, 348.

¹⁹² See for example *CDS*, iii, no.1129, which stipulated that if Sir John Stewart ever recovered the lands forfeited by Balliol and awarded to Thomas Ughtred, Balliol would be bound to provide Ughtred with compensating lands elsewhere. The charter was witnessed, in the following order, by Beaumont, Strathbogie, Duncan earl of Fife, Umfraville, Talbot, Ferrers, Alexander Mowbray, Eustace Maxwell 'and others.'

¹⁹³ In the two cases where the grants were outside the ceded counties, Warenne was unable to take possession of the earldom of Strathearn and Lucy could not have held on to the Lanarkshire baronies for long, if indeed he was able to possess them at all.

alienate Scotland's clergy even further from Balliol and Edward III.¹⁹⁴ Finally, whatever else he might have done in the second war, the two acts by Balliol of yielding such a substantial part of the country to the English king, then performing homage to Edward III at Newcastle for the rest of the kingdom, must have destroyed any support he may have had from Scotsmen who identified themselves with 'the lion' and boosted the cause of national identity. Balliol lost what small credibility he might have had to his claim to be regarded as 'king of Scots.' That credibility was undermined even further by the actions of his first group of supporters, the Disinherited, who appeared to lose interest in him after they initially recovered their possessions.

Michael Brown has argued that there are no clear guidelines for shaping the behaviour of the Scottish higher nobility in the 1330s, that in times of crisis sympathy for independence was overridden by individual considerations. Unfortunately the tendency to emphasise self-interest has created the impression that the Bruce and Balliol parties were indistinguishable in their motives. Yet, as has been shown, in the 1330s it was the Bruce side that was identified with the cause of Scottish freedom. If there is a tension between the two it might come down to a simple explanation that the Bruce side was less self-interested than the Balliol. But this would be too simplistic. As stated earlier, questions of national identity have been downplayed. A solid core of Scotland's higher nobility remained firmly attached to David II in the 1330s, not least those who fled to France with him, established his court there and returned with him to Scotland in 1341. Men such as Robert Keith, Reginald More and, for part of the time, Alexander Seton cannot have acted out of primary concern with their landed interests, otherwise like the Steward, they would have remained in Scotland to defend those interests.

¹⁹⁴ *Chron. Lanercost*, 282.

PART 2

THE PROSOPOGRAPHY

Part 2 of this thesis examines those individuals who played a prominent part in the war of independence in the 1330s. The individuals selected for study are included because the references to them in the principal primary sources covering the period denote that they played a significant role in the second war of independence – either as soldiers, diplomats, administrators, major landholders, members of the higher nobility, or more commonly, a mixture of these. Where the primary sources indicate other individuals whose role in the troubles of the 1330s was fairly minor, or where there are scant references to them, these persons have been excluded from the study.

The list comprises both Scots and Englishmen, although these terms can be confusing in the context of the 1330s and they are not used here in the modern sense of nationality. Thus, as well as ‘native’ Scots, the list also includes the *Scoti Anglicati* defined earlier, men such as David Strathbogie, born in Newcastle. Included are the nation’s earls and provincial lords, the major barons who would have been regarded as members of the higher nobility because of the extent of their landholdings and the role they played in the second war. The English include those English nobles, who, like many Scotsmen, also regarded themselves as ‘disinherited’ and those magnates who participated as army commanders of Edward III, some of whom were granted lands in return for service. In effect there are only a small number of this last category. Beaumont is included as the leader of the disinherited, although he was a French nobleman. For him the distinction between Scots and English would have been meaningless.

The entries are listed in alphabetical order of family name and for each person the information is provided under the following categories –

- Dates of birth and death
- Parents, wives and children
- Landholdings and claims to land
- History of family's support for Bruce or Balliol before 1329.
- History of local/regional rivalries.
- Activities between 1329 and 1341.

For the sake of not reinventing the wheel, use has been made primarily of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*; Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*; and the *Scottish Peerage (SP)*. But this only gets us so far. For many of the persons studied there are no entries in any of these works. Furthermore, some of the information contained in *Scottish Peerage* is inaccurate in places and occasionally contains no references to primary sources. Where there is no evidence for some of the information referred to this has been shown in the relevant footnote. It is also the case that, for many entries, not all categories of information can be provided.

Balliol, Edward (*b.c.*1281-1364),¹⁹⁵ king of Scots, was central to the events that took place in Scotland in the 1330s. The son of former king John Balliol and Isabel, daughter of John de Warenne, sixth earl of Surrey, he may have had a younger brother, Henry Balliol, although this is disputed by recent historians.¹⁹⁶ He was unmarried and had no children. Apart from his interest in regaining his family's ancestral lands in Galloway, his principal concern lay in the restoration of the Balliol dynasty with himself as king of Scots. The invasion of the 'disinherited' on 20 July 1332 was intended to achieve this and to regain the lands lost by the disinherited nobles from Robert I's forfeitures. Following their success at Dupplin Moor on 20 July 1332 Balliol was crowned 'king of Scots' at Perth two months later.

In November 1332 he proposed to Edward III that he should cede a large area of southern Scotland to the English king and perform homage for the remainder of the country but the following month at Annan he was chased out of Scotland by the guardian, Sir Archibald Douglas and John Randolph, earl of Moray and he fled to England. His brother Henry, if he did in fact exist, was reportedly killed in this action.¹⁹⁷

Following the defeat of the guardian and the deaths of a very substantial number of the Scottish higher nobility at Halidon Hill on 19 July 1333, Balliol was restored to the throne and set about rewarding his supporters, both disinherited Scots and English. However he had difficulty in forming an effective administration. Completely reliant on English

¹⁹⁵ See B. Webster, 'Balliol, Edward (*b.* in or after 1281, *d.* 1364)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1206>, accessed 19 Jan 2011]; Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*; GEC *Peerage*, i, 385-6.

¹⁹⁶ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 168, 188. For a discussion on the existence or otherwise of Henry Balliol see A. Grant, 'The Death of John Comyn: What was Going on?' in *SHR*, 86 (2007), 213, n.7. Grant suggests that the person killed at Annan was probably the Sir Henry Balliol '... who was sheriff of Roxburgh late in Robert I's reign.'

¹⁹⁷ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 83.

support to sustain him, he held a Parliament at Holyrood in February 1334, which ratified his promises to Edward. These were made good in June 1334 when he ceded the sheriffdoms/counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Dumfries and much of Lothian to Edward and performed homage to the English king at Newcastle. He did, however, have his own lands restored to him by the English king in a personal capacity.

When Scottish (Bruce) resistance revived he fled to England in August 1334. However, with the help of Edward III he campaigned in the winter of 1334-5 in the borders and led a joint invasion with the English king in June 1335, Balliol taking the eastern route and Edward the western through Scotland in a pincer movement that converged at Glasgow. From there Balliol and Edward proceeded to Perth, where many of those who had deserted him as soon as the resistance began, adhered to him once more.

Balliol spent the winter of 1335 on Holy Isle, Northumberland but then his detailed movements for the next three years are uncertain. As the resistance to both the Balliol and Edwardian regimes in Scotland gathered momentum and the Bruce party recovered most of the country, Balliol was at Perth in August 1338 but thereafter he retired to the north of England, leading an English army in 1339 against a Scottish force that had crossed the border. By the late 1330s he was able to establish a presence in Hestan Island in the Solway Firth and he did manage to retain the support of many Gallovidians. However, when David II returned from France in June 1341, Balliol was formally finished as an influential presence in Scotland. Effectively he had lost all authority long before then. Although marginally successful as a soldier in the 1330s, in the end, because of his lack of landed resources, wealth or influence in either Scotland or England,¹⁹⁸ he failed to achieve his objectives and the second war of independence ended with the success of the Bruce party.

Barclay, Sir David (1298-1350)¹⁹⁹ was one of the officers at Robert I's court. His own family is unknown but he married Margaret, daughter of Sir David Brechin, who had been executed for failing to inform the king about the Soulis conspiracy. They had a son, David, and a daughter, Jean. Barclay owned Cairney, Murdochcairny, Auchtermoonzie, Torr & Kinsleaths in Fife, Eddleston in Peeblesshire and Hyndford in Lanarkshire. To these were added the forfeited lands of his father-in-law, including Rothiemay, Brechin and Kinloch.

¹⁹⁸ A. Beam, 'The Early Career of Edward Balliol' in A. King and M. Penman (eds.), *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007), 91.

¹⁹⁹ *SP*. ii, 222-3.

In the first war of independence Barclay, after having been granted Avoch by Edward I, changed sides and fought with Bruce at Methven, where he was captured. He was one of the Auditors of Exchequer in 1327 and 1329 and was sheriff of Fife in 1328. He was Steward of the Household of the young David Bruce and he was in charge of arrangements for the funeral of Robert I. He then disappears from view until 1342 suggesting that he probably travelled to France with David as, after David's return to Scotland in 1341,²⁰⁰ immediately he was more prominent. On the king's orders he arrested William Bullock in 1342. Some years later he caused the death of John Douglas, brother of the 'knight of Liddesdale', and was himself assassinated in 1350.

Beaumont, Sir Henry (c.1280-1340)²⁰¹ was a French adventurer who fought prominently on the Balliol side during the 1330s. He was the younger son of Louis de Brienne and Agnès, daughter of Raoul, vicomte de Beaumont. He married Alice Comyn, niece of John Comyn, seventh earl of Buchan, after 1310 and they had two children – a son and heir, John, and a daughter Katherine, who married David Strathbogie.

Beaumont had extensive landholdings in England, particularly in Lincolnshire, which were augmented on the death in 1334 of his sister Isabel, who had married John de Vescy, a prominent supporter of Edward I. His interests in Scotland were in the north-east, where, through his wife, he had a claim to the earldom of Buchan (which possibly also included the sheriffdom of Dumfriesshire and the barony of Cruggleton within it, as well as the constablership of Scotland). He had been granted the Isle of Man by Edward II in 1310 but, under Bruce control, the Isle was granted by Robert I to Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray on 20 December 1313.²⁰²

A military adventurer, Beaumont had served regularly in various English armies during the first Scottish war of independence, at one point becoming joint warden (south of the Forth) of Scotland in 1308. He fought on the losing side at Bannockburn, from which he escaped with Edward II to Dunbar. He opposed both the Anglo-Scottish truce of 1323 and the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton in 1328, which had ignored the claims of the disinherited lords. His claims were supported by Edward III and in a letter of 30 December

²⁰⁰ A David Barclay is named among those supporting Balliol or the English occupation after Culblean in November 1335 but it is difficult to believe he is the same person. Webster, 'Scotland without a King', 238.

²⁰¹ J. R. Maddicott, 'Beaumont, Sir Henry de (c.1280–1340)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37619>, accessed 24 April 2011]; *GEC Peerage*, ii, 59-60.

²⁰² *GEC Peerage*, i, 81; Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 329, no.266; S. Cameron and A. Ross, 'The Treaty of Edinburgh and the Disinherited (1328-1332)', *History*, 84 (1999), 252.

1330 sent to David II, reinforced on 24 February 1331, requesting the return of his Scottish lands and those of Thomas Wake, Edward referred to Beaumont as ‘earl of Buchan’.²⁰³

Beaumont was the leader of Balliol’s invasion force of 1332 but, to afford any involvement in the campaign, he had to raise considerable sums of money, which he did partly by way of a grant from Edward III. However, the extent of his commitment to recovering what he saw as ‘his’ earldom can be gauged by the leasing of much of his property in Leicestershire and Lincoln for twelve years.²⁰⁴ Beaumont fought at both Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill. It is unclear whether his reward was earl of a restored Buchan earldom, or as earl of Moray and constable of Scotland, as Maddicott suggests, or something different. By June 1334 Beaumont was styling himself ‘earl of Buchan and Moray.’²⁰⁵ After Dupplin Moor Beaumont, with David Strathbogie, attended the English parliament at York in December 1332 and conveyed to the English king Balliol’s offer to cede lands in southern Scotland worth £2,000, including Berwick castle, town and county. Beaumont was thus attending as both Balliol’s agent and as English nobleman in his own right. He was given 500 marks for participating in Edward’s 1333 campaign and attended Balliol’s parliaments of October 1333 and February 1334 as well as Edward III’s own parliament the same month (February 1334), where he was referred to as ‘earl of Buchan.’²⁰⁶

In September 1334 Beaumont was besieged in Dundarg castle by the guardian, Sir Andrew Murray and by Alexander Mowbray, who had defected from Balliol by this time, and on 23 December 1334 he was forced to surrender. He was imprisoned at first but released a few months later on payment of a ransom and on the condition that he left Scotland forever. Despite this ‘promise’, leaving for Newcastle from Dundee, he arrived just in time to join Edward III’s large invading army preparing to launch the summer campaign of 1335. Following the death of his son-in-law Strathbogie at Culblean, he pursued vigorously those he held responsible. In 1338 Beaumont was appointed Justiciar of Scotland but that same year he left Scotland to join the English king on the continent where he died on 10 March 1340.

²⁰³ *CDS*, iii, nos.1013 and 1029.

²⁰⁴ *CDS*, iii, nos. 1052, 1053.

²⁰⁵ At Newcastle-on-Tyne on 16 June 1334, using this title, he granted a confirmation of a charter to Bridlington Priory. *Chartulary of Bridlington Priory*, ed. W.T. Lancaster (Leeds, 1912), 422.

²⁰⁶ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 108, 160.

Boyd, Sir Robert (*d.*1333)²⁰⁷ was a prominent supporter of Robert I after 1306 and was with Bruce or his brother Edward Bruce in all the major campaigns before 1314. His mother, father and wife are all unknown but he had three sons.

For his support of Robert I Boyd received the barony of Kilmarnock, forfeited by John Balliol and other lands in Ayrshire, including Noddsdale, near Largs, Dalry, and Kilbride and Portencross, forfeited by Godfrey de Ros. After Robert I's death he fought for David II at Halidon Hill, where he was captured and died in captivity. His second son, Alan played a prominent role in the siege of Perth in 1339, where he too was killed but nothing is known of Alan's activities before then.

Bruce, Alexander, earl of Carrick (*d.*1333)²⁰⁸ was the illegitimate son of Edward Bruce, earl of Carrick, and Isabel, daughter of William, earl of Ross. His wife was Eleanor, daughter of Sir Archibald Douglas, guardian of Scotland from 1332-3, but they had no surviving children.

Alexander's interests were in the earldom of Carrick, which comprised modern day south Ayrshire, and lands in Angus, Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbright granted to him by Robert I in 1326 or 1327. His role, if any, at the end of Robert I's reign is unclear. After Robert's death, he is not recorded as having participated at Dupplin Moor but when Edward Balliol travelled to Annan in December 1332, Alexander was with him, having joined Balliol at Irvine in early October. Whether this was a genuine submission or part of a ruse designed to lull Edward Balliol into a false sense of security is uncertain. Certainly Balliol had agreed to a truce after an approach by the earl of March and Sir Archibald Douglas, now guardian, and had sent his English supporters home. The traditional interpretation is that following the attack by Douglas and the young earl of Moray he escaped only because he was recognised by Moray.²⁰⁹ It may be, however, that Alexander was part of a deception by the Bruce party, as Moray was quick to protect him rather than seek to punish him. By the time of Halidon Hill he had received, either as a bribe to return to the Bruce side, or a reward, the earldom of Carrick. However, he held this for only a short time, being one of

²⁰⁷ R.J. Tanner, 'Boyd family (*per.* c.1300–c.1480)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *SP.* v, 138-9.

²⁰⁸ A. A. M. Duncan, 'Bruce, Edward, earl of Carrick (c.1280–1318)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3728>, accessed 20 Feb 2011].

²⁰⁹ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 104.

the five earls killed at Halidon. He had no children but his wife, Eleanor, married several times thereafter.

Bruce, Christian (*d.*1356)²¹⁰ was one of the two women who played leading roles in the wars of the 1330s (the other being Agnes, countess of Dunbar). The daughter of Robert de Brus, earl of Carrick (1243-1304) and his wife Marjory and a sister of King Robert I, she is generally supposed to have married Gartnait, earl of Mar in the 1290s but some doubt has been cast on this by Fiona Watson, who states that she is never described as countess of Mar, nor even just ‘of Mar’; nor is there evidence of any communication between her and Donald earl of Mar, who should have been her son, when both were imprisoned in England after 1306. There is no doubt, however, that she married Sir Christopher Seton, who was captured and executed by Edward I in 1306. She herself was captured in 1306 and confined in a Lincolnshire nunnery until her return to Scotland in 1314 as part of an exchange of prisoners after Bannockburn.

Christian was granted the Bruce lands in the Garioch by her brother and she married Sir Andrew Murray in 1326, who thus became the provincial lord for the area. In 1331 she took part in the coronation of David II and defended Kildrummy castle against attack by David Strathbogie in 1335, which led to the action at Culblean won by her husband and Sir William Douglas.

Bruce, Sir Robert, lord of Liddesdale (*b.c.*1293-1332)²¹¹ was the eldest, but illegitimate son of Robert I. His mother is unknown and practically nothing is known of Robert’s activities during his father’s reign, other than in 1321 he was granted Sprouston near Kelso, which had been forfeited by the Vescy family, quickly followed by lands in Angus and especially the lordship of Liddesdale, recently forfeited by William Soulis for his part in the conspiracy of 1320. He played a small part in royal government, witnessing eight of Robert I’s charters. On the death of Thomas Randolph in August 1332, he may have been considered as an alternative Guardian to the man chosen, Donald earl of Mar as the Parliament held at Perth saw great “dissension”,²¹² presumably on account of Donald’s previous association with the English. It is likely that Parliament was reluctant to appoint

²¹⁰ F. Watson, ‘Bruce, Christian (*d.* 1356)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60019>, accessed 20 Feb 2011].

²¹¹ F. Watson, ‘Bruce, Sir Robert, lord of Liddesdale (*c.*1293–1332)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54143>, accessed 27 Feb 2011].

²¹² *Chron. Wyntoun*, ii, 384.

an illegitimate and ambitious noble as guardian for his younger legitimate brother.²¹³ His quarrel with Donald earl of Mar at the start of the battle of Dupplin Moor led to the Scottish defeat and the death of both men. Robert left no heirs and the provincial lordship of Liddesdale was taken over by Sir Archibald Douglas.

Bullock, William (*d.c.*1342)²¹⁴ was one of Edward Balliol's most capable administrators, who also served David II, for a brief time, in the same capacity. In late 1333 he was appointed by Balliol as chamberlain and he may also have been acting in a similar capacity for Edward III in Scotland at the same time. He was also custodian of both Cupar and St Andrews castles, the latter in lieu of the bishop of St Andrews, James Ben, who had fled the country after Dupplin Moor. In 1337 he successfully defended Cupar Castle against Sir Andrew Murray but lost St Andrews to the guardian.

In the summer of 1339, as Balliol influence had all but evaporated, Bullock was persuaded by William Douglas to come over to the Bruce side. This brought Cupar castle into David II's control as well, although he was still being paid by the English as constable of that castle in December 1339.²¹⁵ His reward was apparently substantial grants of land but it is not known what or where these were. He assisted at the sieges of both Perth castle in July/August 1339 and Edinburgh castle in 1341. On David II's return from exile in France in 1341 Bullock was once more appointed chamberlain and he held this position until his death about a year later. No explanation is given in the records for Bullock's change of allegiance but it could well have been on account of his apparent closeness to William Douglas and the king's recognition that the royal finances were in such a sorry state that a person of outstanding abilities, such as Bullock, was required to put them in order.

In the end his change of allegiance failed to save him. He was accused by unknown persons at David's court of treason and was imprisoned, probably in Lochaber, where he died 'of hunger [and cold]'.²¹⁶

Campbell, Dugald (*d.c.*1343)²¹⁷ was the elder son of Sir Colin Campbell and grandson of Sir Neil Campbell, a key, long standing supporter of Robert I in the western highlands and

²¹³ Rogers, *War, Cruel and Sharp*, 36.

²¹⁴ *Chron. Fordun*, 355-6; B. Webster, 'Bullock, William (*d.* 1342/3)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54145>, accessed 21 Jan 2011].

²¹⁵ *CDS*, iii, no.1321.

²¹⁶ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 147.

Argyll. His mother is unknown but his grandfather, Neil, married the king's sister, Mary Bruce as his second wife.

As a result of their support for the Bruce cause after 1306, the Campbells had come to replace the Macdougalls as the most prominent family in Argyll. While Neil and his son John by Mary Bruce had been granted the earldom of Atholl, forfeited from David Strathbogie, Colin had inherited Neil's lands of Lochawe and Ardskeodnish and effectively had become chief of the Campbell clan. Colin died about 1323 and the lands should have passed to Dugald. However, it appears that another Dugald, probably his uncle, another illegitimate son of Neil, had control of Ardskeodnish by the 1320s. This other Dugald played an important role in Robert I's governance of the western seaboard, becoming sheriff of a newly created sheriffdom of Argyll by 1326 and 'bailie' of Atholl for the king.

On the outbreak of the second war of independence, Dugald initially supported the Bruce cause and, with his friend and ally, Robert the Steward, led the successful attack on Dunoon castle in April or May 1334. However, with the capitulation of the Steward to Edward III and Balliol in September 1335, Dugald, along with many other Argyll men, likewise reached an accommodation with the English king. Nothing else is known about Dugald before his death by 1342 but he must have remained faithful to Balliol and Edward III, notwithstanding that the Steward had turned away from those two shortly after his own accommodation with them, as his lands were granted by David II in that year to his brother Gillespic. Dugald was described as having died 'as a rebel.'²¹⁸

Campbell, Gillespic (*d.*1385x7)²¹⁹ was the younger brother of Dugald Campbell. About 1342 he married Isabella Lamont. Gillespic was the person responsible, thanks largely to the patronage of Robert the Steward as both guardian and king, for the great expansion of Campbell territory and influence that occurred in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Gillespic's activities in the second war of independence are not known with certainty. In particular it is not clear whether he was involved in the attack by his brother and the Steward on Dunoon castle in April or May 1334.²²⁰ It seems clear that he was, like his

²¹⁷ S. I. Boardman, 'Campbell family (*per. c.*1300–1453)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54147>, accessed 25 July 2011]; S.I. Boardman, *Campbells*, 42-44, 58, 60-61, 67.

²¹⁸ *RRS*, vi, no. 54.

²¹⁹ S. I. Boardman, 'Campbell family', *ODNB*, [accessed 25 July 2011]; Boardman, *Campbells*, 56-93.

²²⁰ Boardman, *Campbells*, 85-6, n.15.

brother during this period, a supporter of the Steward, but there is no record of his capitulating to Balliol and Edward III in 1334-5. Indeed records of him are non-existent until 1342 when Gillespic inherited Dugald's lands. Whatever Dugald may have done to have forfeited posthumously his lands and lordship, Gillespic did not suffer similar consequences.

Campbell, John, earl of Atholl (*d.* 1333)²²¹ was the second son of Sir Neil Campbell, a key supporter of Robert I in the first war and Mary Bruce, the king's sister. His wife was Joanna Menteith, daughter of Sir John Menteith of Rursky and widow of Malise, seventh earl of Strathearn. They had no children.

Before 1323 the family's principal landholdings lay in the west Highlands, mainly around Lochawe, following substantial grants to Sir Neil of land formerly held by the McDougall lords of Lorne. In 1314 Robert I forfeited David Strathbogie of his earldom of Atholl and in or before 1323 conferred it on John, the son of his most loyal supporter. Besides the earldom, John had a grant of the customs of Dundee and a third part of 'Pettaroche', apparently in Forfarshire.²²²

John's career was short-lived as he was one of the five Scottish earls killed at Halidon Hill in July 1333. On his death the earldom was restored by Balliol to the Strathbogie family and the lands in Argyll were inherited by his nephews, Dugald and Gillespic Campbell and by his illegitimate brother, Dugald.

Dacre, Ranulph, first Lord Dacre (*b.c.*1290-1339)²²³ was the son of Sir William Dacre of Cumberland and Joan Gernet. He married Margaret Multon of Gilsland and they had three known sons – William, Ranulph and Hugh – each of whom succeeded to the title.

From 1330 to 1335 Dacre was sheriff of Cumberland and from 1334-6 warden of the Cumberland and Westmorland marches. He was also appointed constable of Carlisle castle on 10 December 1330. Dacre was therefore in a position to participate if required in military ventures in Scotland and, having already served Edward II on the Scottish marches in 1322, he warmly received Edward Balliol on the latter's escape from Annan in December 1332. For this he received grants of land in Annandale from Balliol. He attended

²²¹ Boardman, 'Campbell family', *ODNB*, [accessed 13 Jan 2011].

²²² *SP*, i, 435.

²²³ *GEC Peerage*, iv, 1-3.

Balliol's parliament at Edinburgh in February 1334 and was instructed by Edward III to take custody of the lands and possessions of Alexander Mowbray following the latter's defection from Balliol.²²⁴ He took part in both Edward's short-lived winter campaign of 1334-35 and the summer campaign of 1335.

Like other English magnates awarded lands in Scotland, Dacre was unable to hold on to his possessions for long. Even as early as 8 November 1334 he had been ousted from them by the Bruce party²²⁵ and if he had been able to recover them by virtue of the 1335 invasion he would have lost them again by the early 1340s, if not before.

Douglas, Sir Archibald, lord of Liddesdale (*b.c.* 1294-1333)²²⁶ was the youngest son of Sir William Douglas and Eleanor Ferrers, widow of William Ferrers, lord of Groby. Eleanor was William's second wife, his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander the Steward, having died about 1289. He was thus the half brother of the Good Sir James, William's eldest son by Elizabeth. His other, elder brother by Eleanor was Hugh Douglas. Archibald married Beatrice, daughter of Alexander Lindsay of Crawford, and they had three children – John, who accompanied David II to France and was part of his court there; William who succeeded to the Douglas estates and became the first earl of Douglas; and Eleanor, who when still an infant, married, or was betrothed to, Alexander Bruce, earl of Carrick, thus strengthening the link between the Bruce and Douglas families.²²⁷

The Douglasses took their name from the lands of Douglas in Lanarkshire, which they owned. However they were also major landowners in Fife, Dumfries, Wigtown, Berwick, Ayr, Edinburgh and Lanark. During the 1320s Archibald received from Robert I estates at Morebattle in Roxburghshire and Kirkandrews in Dumfriesshire, and was granted Crimond and Rattray in Aberdeenshire, to which he added Cavers, Drumlanrig, Terregles and West Calder and part of Conveth in medieval Kincardineshire.

The Douglasses were major supporters of the Bruce cause, the Good Sir James having been Robert I's long time companion during the first war of independence. After Dupplin Moor Archibald, with the Guardian Andrew Murray, led the raid on Balliol's supporters in

²²⁴ *CCR*, 1333-7, 269.

²²⁵ *CDS*, iii, no. 1139.

²²⁶ M.H. Brown, 'Douglas, Sir Archibald, lord of Liddesdale (1294?-1333)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7860>, accessed 4 March 2011]; *SP*, iii, 140.

²²⁷ After Alexander's death at Halidon Hill, Eleanor went on to marry a further four times.

Galloway, helping to drive Balliol out of Scotland at Annan. He was then appointed guardian, probably by those men in the south of Scotland at the time,²²⁸ in place of Sir Andrew Murray who had been captured at Roxburgh in April 1333 but three months later he led the Scots' army to defeat at Halidon Hill, where he was killed.

Douglas, Sir William, lord of Liddesdale (c.1310-53)²²⁹ was the eldest of at least four sons of Sir James Douglas of Lothian, distant relations of the Douglas family of Douglas. His mother was named Joan but virtually nothing is known of her. Neither is much known of his wife, Elizabeth. William and Elizabeth had one daughter, Mary.

Douglas had great ambitions as a landowner. On his father's death in 1323 he inherited Kincavil and East Calder in Linlithgowshire and then Blackness from his mother. But his ambitions went much further than these small areas. Sir Archibald Douglas' elder brother Hugh made several grants to him, including half of the barony of Westerkirk, the barony of Staplegorton, and the whole land of Polbothy (Polmoodie, near Moffat).²³⁰ William may also have been given lands, including Bonnington and Barns in West Lothian by Robert the Steward following his success in the capture of Perth in 1339 and he was certainly in receipt of Logyarchy (possibly Logie), Perthshire in the same year from Duncan, earl of Fife and lands in Annandale from Patrick, earl of March. On 26 May 1342 Hugh Douglas formally resigned the lands of Douglasdale, Carmichael, Forest of Selkirk, Lauderdale, Bethocrule, Eskdale, Stablegorton, Buittle in Galloway, Romanno, and the farm of Rutherglen into the hands of the Crown for the purpose of entailing them to the next heirs, the first of whom was William Douglas. On David II's return from France in 1341 the king rewarded Douglas substantially for his efforts in the 1330s, granting him the earldom of Atholl, lands in Peeblesshire, Eskdale and Ewesdale and a charter of the barony of Dalkeith. However, William's interests lay in the south and when the Steward claimed Liddesdale in February 1342, which Douglas had seized during his actions against the English and was holding as guardian of the young William Douglas, and in respect of which he was supported by the council, Douglas surrendered the earldom of Atholl and received Liddesdale in return.

²²⁸ Suggested by M. Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 34.

²²⁹ A.A.M. Duncan, 'Douglas, Sir William, lord of Liddesdale (c.1310–1353)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com / view/article/7923, accessed 5 March 2011]; *SP*, iii, 339-42.

²³⁰ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, ii, 89-92.

Douglas was one of the outstanding war leaders on the Bruce side during the second war of independence. Known as the ‘knight of Liddesdale’, he was a warden of the marches in 1330 but was not present at either Dupplin Moor or Halidon Hill as he had been taken prisoner by Sir Anthony Lucy in a small engagement at Dornock, Dumfriesshire in March 1333 and spent two years as a prisoner in Carlisle castle. On his release he went into action immediately. In 1335 alone he campaigned in Galloway against Balliol’s supporters, in Edinburgh against the count of Namur and at Culblean against David Strathbogie. In 1336 he was in the south-west against Edward III’s brother John; in 1337 in Fife with Sir Andrew Murray and at Edinburgh castle, where he captured the garrison commander John Stirling; and in 1338 during a truce he visited David II in France and came back with French ships to blockade Perth the following year. In 1339 he bribed William Bullock to surrender Cupar castle and he joined in the assault on Perth castle. He also took part in the capture of Edinburgh castle in 1341.

To advance his personal interests he visited the royal court at Chateau Gaillard in 1339, securing the promise of rewards from David II in return for making preparations for the king’s return. ‘Douglas now had a formal commission to exercise the leadership in border war and politics which he had assumed in previous years.’²³¹

After 1342 William’s career was more chequered and by the time of his death in 1353 at the hands of his godson, also William Douglas, the future first earl of Douglas, his reputation had been severely tarnished through his murder of Alexander Ramsay in 1342 and his swearing allegiance to Edward III in 1352 after six years imprisonment following Neville’s Cross. However, during the intense fighting of the 1330s and after a faltering start, it was highly successful. By the 1340s he had extended vastly his landholdings and had earned for himself a reputation as the ‘flower of chivalry.’

Dunbar, Agnes, countess of Dunbar (*d.*1369),²³² was the daughter of Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray and Isabella Stewart, a daughter of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill. Agnes married her cousin, Patrick, earl of March, after papal dispensation had been received. Referred to as ‘Black Agnes’ because of her dark, weather-beaten complexion,²³³ little is known about her life except that she played an important role in 1338, successfully

²³¹ M. Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 39.

²³² *SP*. vi, 294; F. Watson, ‘Dunbar, Patrick, eighth earl of Dunbar or of March, and earl of Moray (1285–1369)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8206>, accessed 1 Nov 2010].

²³³ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 127.

defending Dunbar castle against a six month siege by English forces under the joint command of the earls of Arundel and Salisbury.

Dunbar, Patrick, eighth earl of Dunbar or March (1285-1369),²³⁴ was one of the more ambiguous figures of the wars of independence. His father, Earl Patrick, seventh earl, died in 1308 and Patrick succeeded at once to the earldom, which he then held for sixty years until his death in 1369. His mother was Marjory Comyn, daughter of Alexander, earl of Buchan (*d.*1289). He married, first, a Lady Ermigarda, about whom nothing is known; and secondly, about 1320 and following papal dispensation as she was his cousin, Agnes Randolph, daughter of the former guardian and sister of John, earl of Moray. Little is known about Patrick's children and only one son has been identified by name: John, probably by his first wife. It is likely that John predeceased his father.²³⁵

The earldom of March comprised land in Lothian and Berwickshire and, like the rest of border country was the scene of considerable warfare during the 1330s. March's father had joined the English side at the start of the war in 1296, and had been appointed by Edward I as captain of the Berwick garrison and commander of the English forces in southern Scotland. He was still in English allegiance when he died in 1308 and Patrick succeeded to the title. At first Patrick followed his father's policy and supported Edward II, to the extent of allowing that king to escape from the port of Dunbar after Bannockburn. He immediately came over to the Bruce cause and remained loyal to Robert I, participating, as sheriff of Lothian, in the siege of Berwick in 1318. In 1320, as part of the embassy charged with delivering the Declaration of Arbroath to the Pope he turned back on hearing news of the Soulis conspiracy in order to inform the king.

On Robert's death he remained loyal to David II, leading one of the two large Scottish armies against Balliol's invasion. Following the defeat of the other army under the earl of Mar, Patrick unsuccessfully besieged Edward Balliol in Perth. Watson suggests that a lack of supplies caused his withdrawal but at this time a rising in Galloway in support of Balliol was probably what diverted the attention of the besiegers away from Perth. In 1333 Patrick was in command of Berwick castle resisting Edward III's invasion but after Halidon Hill he surrendered it to the English king. He then immediately came over to the Balliol side and received in compensation grants from Edward III to help him restore his own Dunbar

²³⁴ *SP.* iii, 264-9; Watson, 'Dunbar, Patrick', *ODNB*; *GEC Peerage*, iv, 507-8.

²³⁵ *SP.* iii, 269.

castle; possession of the lands of those of his own tenants who refused to come over; and lands in England worth £100 a year.²³⁶

Patrick attended Balliol's parliament of 1334, which formally approved the annexation of southern Scotland to England and he witnessed the letters patent of 12 June 1334 transferring the eight southern counties to Edward III, performing homage to Edward Balliol at the same time. However, he did not remain in the English camp for long because of the devastation caused to his lands by Edward III's army in 1334. He rejoined the Bruce side about February 1335, a courageous decision given the control of Lothian and the south east by English forces. He also took part that year in the actions at Burgh Muir against the count of Namur and Culblean against Strathbogie and played a part in siege of Perth in 1339. He also commanded part of the Scottish army at Neville's Cross in 1346.

Felton, Sir William of Northumberland (*d.*1358)²³⁷ was one of the English knights who took part in Edward III's Scottish campaigns. In the late 1330s or early 1340s he married 'for love' Isabella, who was probably the daughter of Duncan, earl of Fife.²³⁸

He is not recorded as having been at Halidon Hill but he took part in the winter campaign of 1334-5 and in February 1335 was appointed constable of Roxburgh castle by Edward III. From 1335-6 he was also sheriff of Roxburgh and from 1341-5 sheriff of Northumberland. He returned to Scotland for a brief time in the aftermath of Neville's Cross as 'justiciar' of occupied Scotland. About 1340 he was granted lands in Dunbar by Edward III but, if he took possession of them, he could not have held on to them for long.

Ferrers, Henry, second Lord Ferrers (*c.*1303-43)²³⁹ was the son of William Ferrers, first Lord Ferrers, and his wife Ellen. The Ferrers were lords of Groby in Leicestershire and through both his own family's lands and through marriage to Isabel, daughter of Theobald de Verdon, Henry was a major landowner in the Midlands and in Ireland. He also regarded himself as one of the 'disinherited' with claims to lands in Galloway, Cunningham and east Lothian.

²³⁶ CDS, iii, no.1081.

²³⁷ R. Barber, 'Felton, Sir William, the younger (*d.* 1367)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9277>, accessed 27 July 2011]; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 189, 226.

²³⁸ *Scalacronica*, 126.

²³⁹ E. Acheson, 'Ferrers family (*per. c.*1240-1445)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54521>, accessed 25 Jan 2011]; GEC *Peerage*, v, 344-7.

The Galloway claims stemmed from lands previously held by Alan, lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland (1200-34). On his death, Alan's estate had been divided among his three daughters, all of whom were married to important Anglo-Scottish noblemen. The daughter by his first wife was Helen, who had married Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester (c.1195-1264). This marriage in turn had produced three daughters and thus a further division of the Galloway lands when Roger died (in addition to a division of de Quincy's vast landholdings elsewhere in Scotland and in England.) The eldest daughter of the marriage of Helen and Roger was Margaret, who had married William Ferrers, sixth earl of Derby. Henry Ferrers was the great grandson of this marriage. The lands in Cunningham consisted of the Lambroughton and Grugere estates, which Robert I had forfeited from both Henry's father and Alan de la Zouche and granted out to Robert Cunningham in 1321. In East Lothian Henry's claim was to part of the burgh of Tranent, which had also belonged to Henry's father but which Robert I had granted to John Montfod.²⁴⁰ The other part of the burgh had been forfeited from Alan de la Zouche and awarded to Sir Alexander Seton.

Before 1329 the Ferrers family had supported the Balliol faction. As an Englishman with Scottish possessions, Henry's father, William, had seen action in Scotland, having served in the armies of both Edward I and Edward II. Henry himself served with Edward III in France in the entourage of Henry Beaumont and he probably felt that the Beaumont connection was the best means of achieving restoration of his Scottish lands. He therefore willingly took part, with his two brothers, in the Beaumont-led Balliol invasion of 1332. After Dupplin Moor, however, he could not have stayed long in Scotland as he was appointed keeper of the Channel Islands on 3 February 1333. The appointment was renewed, this time jointly with William Montagu on 3 March 1334. In between times, however, he participated in the 1333 campaign that culminated at Halidon Hill, receiving 200 marks from Edward III.²⁴¹ He was again active in Edward's short-lived winter campaign of 1334-5 and in August 1335 he took control of Cupar castle after its surrender by the earl of Fife during the joint invasion by Edward III and Balliol. He was again in Edward III's service in Scotland in June 1336 but there is no record of any further involvement after that.

²⁴⁰ Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*, 144; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 66n., 80, 108, 189.

²⁴¹ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 108.

Ferrers gained little or nothing in Scotland from his involvement north of the border. While there are records of lands granted by Balliol to other disinherited lords, there are no such records relating to Henry Ferrers. Moreover, even if his lands in Galloway, Cunningham and Tranent were restored, he could not have held on to them for any length of time. Resistance by Bruce partisans began in the firth of Clyde, spread to Galloway and by the late 1330s had been successful in Plantagenet-controlled East Lothian. On the other hand, Henry's standing at the English court rose and he was appointed chamberlain to Edward III from March 1337 to November 1340. His involvement in the Scottish war could only have benefited him with his rewards coming in England.

Fitzalan, Richard, third earl of Arundel and eighth earl of Surrey (c.1313-76)²⁴² was one of the great magnates of England. He was the son of Edmund, second earl of Arundel, who had sided with Edward II against Isabel and Mortimer and consequently had been beheaded in 1326. His mother was Alice Warenne, sister of John, seventh earl of Surrey, and he himself succeeded to the Surrey earldom in 1361. At the age of eight, he was married to Isabella Despenser, then aged seven. The marriage produced a son, Edmund, and two daughters but was annulled by the pope in 1344, leaving Fitzalan free to remarry.

Arundel was a loyal and trusted supporter of Edward III. Having been disinherited in 1326 he fled abroad but was restored to his lands and titles on the fall of Mortimer and Isabella. He participated in Edward's Scottish campaigns throughout the 1330s. He accompanied Edward Balliol in his invasions of 1333 and 1335, entering Scotland both times through Berwick, and he took part in Edward III's winter campaign of 1334-5. Before 1336, Balliol granted him the stewardship of Scotland, 'belonging to him by descent.'²⁴³ Although Robert Stewart actually held this position by hereditary right, from Balliol's viewpoint, the position was vacant as David Strathbogie, who had been given the stewardship by Balliol, had been killed at Culblean. In 1337-8 Arundel, together with the earl of Salisbury, laid siege to Dunbar castle but failed to take the castle after strong resistance by the countess of Dunbar.²⁴⁴ In 1339 Arundel gave up his 'hereditary' stewardship in return for a substantial payment. Indeed he received many such payments from Edward III for his activities in Scotland during the 1330s. His last involvement in Scotland came with his appointment in

²⁴² C. Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Richard (II), third earl of Arundel and eighth earl of Surrey (c.1313–1376)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9534, accessed 31 July 2011]; GEC *Peerage*. i, 242-4.

²⁴³ *CDS*, iii, no.1218. The 'descent' was from Alan Fitzlaald (1085-1114), former steward of Scotland.

²⁴⁴ *Scalacronica*, 119.

1342 as joint warden with the earl of Huntingdon of the Scottish marches. Thereafter he served Edward III in France.

Fleming, Sir Malcolm (*d.c.*1363)²⁴⁵ was the elder son of Robert Fleming of Cumbernauld, whose principal claim to fame was as Robert Bruce's companion involved in the killing of John Comyn at Dumfries on 10 February 1306. His mother is unknown. He married Marjorie (surname unknown) and they had four children – an unknown son, unknown daughter and daughters Marjorie and Evota. In 1324 Marjorie became nurse to the baby David II.

Malcolm was a wealthy landholder. From his father, who had died in 1314, he received the lands of Lenzie and Cumbernauld and from Robert I he received Kirkintilloch, Achyndonan in Lennox and Poulton in Wigtownshire.

Like his father Malcolm was deeply committed to the Bruce cause. Before February 1327 he was appointed by Robert I as sheriff of Dumbarton and keeper of Dumbarton castle and he held the post of steward of the king's household from August 1328 until June 1329. The importance of Dumbarton castle to the Bruce party became very clear after Halidon Hill in July 1333 when Malcolm escaped and fled to the castle, holding it for the infant David II and affording the king and queen protection there. In June 1334 he arranged for the escape of the royal couple to France. Malcolm's activities in the 1330s are unknown but when David II returned to Scotland in 1341 Malcolm was amply rewarded with his appointment to the newly created earldom of Wigtown containing the lands of Farines and Rhinns, the burgh itself and all the royal lands of the sheriffdom. He was also awarded 100 marks in 1342 as a salary for the post of governor of Dumbarton castle.²⁴⁶ He was thus a major beneficiary of the second war of independence.

Fraser, Sir Alexander (*d.*1332)²⁴⁷ was the son of Andrew Fraser. His mother is unknown but he married, as her second husband, Mary Bruce, sister of King Robert in 1316 and had two sons, John and William. Alexander was a member of the Touch-Fraser branch of the family based in Stirling and he had a long period in the service of the Bruce family. He had

²⁴⁵ R.D. Oram, 'Fleming, Malcolm, first earl of Wigtown (*d.* in or before 1363)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9706>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *SP*, viii, 520-3.

²⁴⁶ *ER*, i, 508.

²⁴⁷ C. A. McGladdery, 'Fraser family (*per. c.*1300–*c.*1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54206>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *SP*, v, 518.

been sheriff of Stirling, a hereditary office, when he was captured and imprisoned by the English in 1296 and had his lands forfeited. He fought for Bruce at Loch Awe in 1308 and at Bannockburn in 1314 and was appointed both chamberlain of Scotland, which office he held until at least 5 March 1327, and sheriff of Kincardine. His family's landholdings were around Stirling but Robert granted him further lands in Forfar, Kincardine, and Aboyne, Aberdeenshire. His loyalty to the Bruces continued after the death of Robert I and he was killed at Dupplin Moor in 1332.

Gordon, Sir Adam, lord of Strathbogie, (*d.c.*1351)²⁴⁸ was the son of Sir Adam Gordon (*d.*1328) and Amabilia, whose family is unknown. It is not known whether he was married or had children.

Adam's father had been a leading supporter of both Edward I and Edward II²⁴⁹ but had joined the Bruce cause after Bannockburn and had quickly gained the trust of Robert I, being one of the bearers of the Declaration of Arbroath to the pope. After 1315 he had been granted the provincial lordship of Strathbogie in Aberdeenshire²⁵⁰ by the king. He was thus amply rewarded for what seems, at least from recorded information, fairly mediocre service. He received the lordship of Strathbogie and also the lands of Stichill in Roxburghshire from Thomas Randolph, possibly as a payment for security of the new earldom of Moray, which bordered Strathbogie.

Little is known of Sir Adam, the son, other than that he inherited the lordship and fought for David II at Halidon Hill.

Graham, Sir John, 9th earl of Menteith (*d.*1347)²⁵¹ became earl of Menteith through his marriage, before May 1334, to Mary, countess of Menteith. Mary had inherited the earldom from her uncle, Murdoch Stewart, who had been killed at Dupplin Moor. John's father may have been Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, killed at Dunbar in 1296. His mother is unknown. John and Countess Mary had one child, Margaret, who succeeded as Countess of Menteith in 1347.

²⁴⁸ S.C. Appleyard, 'Gordon family (*per. c.*1300–*c.*1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54209>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

²⁴⁹ He had fought against Bruce at Methven in 1306 and had been appointed warden of the east march and justiciar of Lothian for the English.

²⁵⁰ Robertson lists the 'barony' of Strathbogie as having been granted to Adam. Robertson, *Index*, no.40. Strathoune in Strathbogie, however, was granted to Malcolm, earl of Lennox. Robertson, *Index*, no.41.

²⁵¹ SP. vi, 137-8; GEC *Peerage*, viii, 666; W. Fraser, *The Red Book of Menteith* (Edinburgh, 1880) vol.1, 102-9.

There is no record of John's activities in the 1330s, other than his doing homage to Edward Balliol in June 1334. Thereafter he must have adhered to the Bruce party as Edward III's pacification of 18 August 1335 specifically included him.²⁵² He is known principally for his participation in two events – as a juror in the trial of Malise, earl of Strathearn in June 1344; and David II's invasion of England in 1346, when John was captured at Neville's Cross and executed in London as a traitor. He was presumably singled out for allegedly having sworn fealty to Edward III in the mid 1330s.

The earldom of Menteith remained intact throughout the second war of independence, although passing through several hands. However, John lost the barony of Barnbogle near Edinburgh, which had been granted by Robert I to Murdoch, 8th earl. David II subsequently took the barony into his own hands and granted it out to Sir Bartholomew of Loen and his wife, Philippa Mowbray.

Grosmont, Henry, earl of Lancaster (c.1310-61)²⁵³ was a powerful English noble, who played a major role in English foreign policy throughout the whole of his career, particularly towards France. He was the son of Henry, third earl of Lancaster and his wife, Maud Chaworth. In 1330 he married Isabella Beaumont, daughter of Henry Beaumont, with whom he had two daughters. When his father became blind about 1330 Grosmont effectively took over the affairs of the earldom, becoming earl himself when his father died in 1345 and six years later first Duke of Lancaster.

Although not listed as having taken part in Balliol's expedition of 1332, which effectively was led by his father-in-law, Lancaster served in several of Edward III's Scottish campaigns. He was present when Berwick surrendered after Halidon Hill, took part in the winter campaign of 1334-5 and the summer campaign of 1335 in which he accompanied Edward III's force from Carlisle. In April 1336, he was appointed Edward's 'captain general' in Scotland. In practice this meant not just control of the ceded counties but also those other parts of Scotland where there was an English presence. Thus he took command at Perth in early summer and was joined there by Edward III and his army on 1 July. In November 1336 Lancaster was sent back to England to organise the defence of the south of

²⁵² *Rot.Scot.* i, 381; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 216.

²⁵³ W. M. Ormrod, 'Henry of Lancaster, first duke of Lancaster (c.1310–1361)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12960>, accessed 2 Aug 2011]; K. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, first Duke of Lancaster, 1310-1366* (London, 1969).

England against possible French invasion. After a protracted spell in France, on 7 October 1341 he was appointed as ‘the king’s lieutenant in the north of England and Scotland.’²⁵⁴ This last involvement in Scottish affairs was not a success. He remained on the border and failing to recover any territory from the Bruce party, who were now well in the ascendancy, made two truces with that side in December 1341 and May 1342. His final involvement in the second war of independence was in 1343 when he led an expedition to raise the siege of Lochmaben castle but by that time the Bruce party had recovered the country.

Hay, Sir Gilbert, of Erroll (*d.* 1333)²⁵⁵ was the son of Nicholas Hay of Erroll and Joanna (surname unknown). His wife is unknown but he had a son, Nicholas, who predeceased him.

The Hay family had held the barony of Erroll in Perthshire since at least 1182,²⁵⁶ to which the lands of Inchesyreth (Inchture), Perthshire, were added about 1290.²⁵⁷ Gilbert was a leading supporter of Robert I and was granted the lands of Slains in Aberdeenshire for his steadfast loyalty from 1306 until the king’s death. Of considerable importance, however, was the conferment on him and his heirs of the post of Constable of Scotland. He died in April 1333, after Dupplin Moor but before the battle of Halidon Hill. His son, Nicholas, may have been killed at Dupplin Moor.

Keith, Sir Robert, earl Marischal of Scotland (*d.* 1343/4)²⁵⁸ occupied one of Scotland’s great hereditary offices. He was the eldest son of Sir William Keith and Barbara Seton. His wife was Barbara Douglas and they had two sons, John and William. John predeceased him in 1324 but John’s sons, Robert, Sir Edward and Edmund, all fought for the Bruce side in the wars of independence, as did Sir Robert himself.

The Keith family originally came from East Lothian but in 1309 Robert received from King Robert I a grant of the forest of Kintore in the Garioch and Auchtidonald in Buchan. This was followed in 1320 by grants of much of the Comyn lands in Buchan, consequent

²⁵⁴ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 617-8.

²⁵⁵ C. A. McGladdery, ‘Hay family (*per. c.*1295–*c.*1460)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54228>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

²⁵⁶ *Reg. de Coupar*, cited in *SP*. iii, 556.

²⁵⁷ *SP*. iii, 558.

²⁵⁸ C. A. McGladdery, ‘Keith family (*per. c.*1300–*c.*1530)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54235>, accessed 24 April 2011]; *SP*. vi, 30-33.

upon which the territorial interests of the earls Marischal moved from south-east to north-east Scotland.

During the first war of independence Sir Robert fought for the guardians of Scotland against the English but following his capture in 1300 he submitted to Edward I and was appointed sheriff of Aberdeen in 1304 and one of four deputy wardens of Scotland, with the office of justiciar north of Forth. By Christmas 1308, however, he took up Bruce's cause and remained faithful to that cause until his death. Sir Robert played a major role at Bannockburn, successfully commanding the Scottish cavalry, and it was for this that he was rewarded with substantial lands in the north-east. In 1320 he witnessed the Declaration of Arbroath and in 1323 he was appointed as one of the commissioners to seek peace with England. In 1326 he helped to secure the long standing alliance with France.

In the second war Robert survived the battle of Dupplin Moor and helped prepare the defences of Berwick against Edward III's invasion of 1333. In May 1334 he assisted with David II's escape to France, where at Chateau Gaillard he was part of David's court, teaching the young king the art of soldiery. He came back to Scotland with David in June 1341 but he must have returned periodically before then, probably as an envoy from Chateau Gaillard as, in December 1335 he was one of forty Scots who were to meet French and Papal envoys at Berwick and between 1337 and 1341 he and Alexander Cragbarry served as sheriffs of Aberdeen, where he appears to have been competing with the Steward's representatives for control of the customs duties.²⁵⁹

Sir Robert Keith does not appear to have benefited territorially from the second war of independence. His loyalty to David II as a member of the king's court in exile kept him from much of the fighting of the period after Halidon Hill but by then he would have been into old age. He remained as earl Marischal until his death in 1343/4. He was succeeded in that post by his brother, Sir Edward Keith.

Lauder, Sir Robert, of the Bass (*d.* 1337)²⁶⁰ was a staunch supporter of the Bruce cause. His father, also Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass,²⁶¹ had been a companion of William Wallace, justiciar of Lothian for Robert I, and an ambassador to England in the 1320s. Sir

²⁵⁹ Penman, *David II*, 59, 73.

²⁶⁰ J. Young (ed.), *Notes on the Historical References to the Scottish Family of Lauder*, (Glasgow, 1884), 33-8.

²⁶¹ Because he owned the greater part of the Bass Rock.

Robert, the son, married Elizabeth (surname unknown) and they had at least one son, also named Robert.

Sir Robert benefited greatly from grants by Robert I and it is assumed that Lauder inherited these. They included Cowden, forfeited by Pierre Lubaud, commander of Edinburgh castle for Edward II; Pencaitland and Nisbet, forfeited by Sir Thomas Pencaitland; and Aldcathy near Linlithgow. Lauder's father also had a charter of lands granted by John Graham of Abercorn of lands in Dalkeith and much property around Berwick.

Lauder fought at Halidon Hill but escaped from the battle and rushed to occupy Urquhart castle on Loch Ness, one of only four strongholds left for the Bruce cause. In September 1333 he was appointed Chamberlain of Scotland for David II but held this post only for a very short time.²⁶²

From this point Lauder's role appears equivocal. He attended Balliol's parliaments of October 1333 at Perth and February 1334 at Edinburgh.²⁶³ He and Patrick Dunbar, earl of March were the only native Scots to witness the letters patent of 12 June 1334 ceding the southern counties of Scotland to Edward III. The other witnesses were members of the disinherited and senior English clergy. Lauder was rewarded by Edward III with the post of justiciar of Lothian,²⁶⁴ which post his father had held under Robert I. On 6 December 1334 he was granted Abriachan in the neighbourhood of Urquhart, Loch Ness by the bishop of Moray.²⁶⁵ In October 1335 he was involved in truce negotiations with the English council on behalf of the Bruce Scots. He appeared to have 'dotted back and forth between camps c.1334-5.'²⁶⁶ Additionally it is clear that about 1335 the lands given to him and his son by Robert I around Berwick were forfeited by Edward III to Adam of Corbridge.²⁶⁷

Lauder died in 1337 and it is not certain what became of the forfeited lands. Certainly his son Robert rose to favour in David II's regime, becoming deputy justiciar, if not justiciar

²⁶² *HBC* gives the dates as 11 September to 17 November 1333.

²⁶³ Penman, *David II*, 51.

²⁶⁴ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 162.

²⁶⁵ *Reg. Moray*, 155.

²⁶⁶ Penman, *David II*, 61; *CDS*, iii, no.1185; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 228-9.

²⁶⁷ *CDS*, iii, no.1193.

of Lothian. His widow, however, received a pension from Edward III almost until her death in 1360.²⁶⁸

Lennox Malcolm, fifth earl of Lennox (*d.*1333),²⁶⁹ was the son of Malcolm, fourth earl, succeeding his father before 1305. His mother is unknown, although her first name may have been Margaret.²⁷⁰ His wife may have been Margaret, a sister or daughter of Donald, earl of Mar²⁷¹, and he had three sons, the eldest of whom, Donald, succeeded to the title.

The family's landholdings were the earldom itself, located on the northern side of the firth of Clyde. But Malcolm had also been granted by Robert I the sheriffdom and royal castle of Dumbarton in the heart of the earldom, as well as the hereditary sheriffdom of Clackmannan.

Malcolm, fourth earl, had been a committed Bruce supporter in the first war, attending Bruce's coronation in 1306 and sharing in the king's misfortunes immediately thereafter. Edward I bestowed his earldom on Sir John Menteith but Malcolm recovered it following the rise in Bruce fortunes. However, despite his steadfast support during Bruce's difficult times, Malcolm was never part of the king's closest group of advisers and he seems to have received little for his troubles. Indeed in 1321 Robert I deprived Malcolm of both offices and bestowed them on Malcolm Fleming of Biggar. Lennox did not play a major role in the governance of the country and focused his efforts on his own earldom.²⁷² Nevertheless he did remain loyal to David II after Robert's death. He was not present at Dupplin Moor but he fought and was killed at Halidon Hill.

Lennox, Donald, sixth earl of Lennox (*d.*1361x4) inherited his father's lands and title. Like his mother, Donald's wife is unknown. He had no surviving sons and he was succeeded by his daughter Margaret as countess of Lennox. Donald does not appear to have been particularly active in national affairs during the 1330s, notwithstanding the strategically important position of his earldom and the location of Dumbarton castle. He is not recorded as having played any part in the resistance to Balliol and Edward III or, after the return of David II, as having taken part in the Neville's Cross campaign. Instead he

²⁶⁸ *CDS*, iii, nos.1242 and 1471.

²⁶⁹ See S. I. Boardman, 'Lennox family (*per. c.*1300–1425)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54249>, accessed 9 Nov 2010].

²⁷⁰ *SP*, v, 334.

²⁷¹ W. Fraser, *The Lennox* (Edinburgh, 1874), 240; Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, 486.

²⁷² M. Brown, 'Earldom and Kindred', 201.

seems to have focused his efforts during the second war of independence on local matters within his earldom.

Lindsay, Sir David, of Crawford (*d.c.*1357)²⁷³ was the eldest son of Sir Alexander Lindsay of Barnweill and, most likely, a sister of James the Steward, an early Bruce supporter. About 1324 he married Mary Abernethy, daughter and coheir of Alexander Abernethy, and widow of Andrew Leslie. The marriage produced four sons, of whom David, the eldest, was killed at Neville's Cross.

The family's lands were scattered in south Lanarkshire (Crawford), south Ayrshire (Barnweill) and East Lothian (Luffness, Byres and Ballencrieff) but Lindsay had also received land in Annandale from Robert I and had tenements at Chamberlain-Newton in Roxburghshire. He was also keeper of Berwick in 1329. Both he and his father had supported Robert I in the first war, and although little is known about his involvement in the second, he must have been active in the Bruce cause as he was forfeited by Edward III in 1337 of his lands at Byres and his tenements in Roxburghshire. Lindsay most probably supported Bruce because of his kinship with Robert the Steward.

The Lindsays benefited from the second war of independence. Although his eldest son, David, was killed at Neville's Cross, Sir David was appointed constable of Edinburgh castle in 1346 and probably had all his forfeited lands restored to him as his successors became the Lords Lindsay of the Byres.

Lisle, Alan (*d.*1334) was Edward Balliol's sheriff of Bute and Cowal. Little is known about him, his parents, wife or children. He was appointed to his post after Halidon Hill, probably in September 1333, when Balliol was distributing lands and offices throughout the country. However he did not remain in post long. In the summer of 1334 he and his men attempted to surround a band of Robert Stewart's supporters who had successfully captured Dunoon castle and he was instead captured and beheaded.²⁷⁴

Lorraine, Eustace [dates unknown] was a baron who adhered to the Balliol cause. Nothing is known of his immediate family other than it had connections with the

²⁷³ *SP.* iii, 10-11; S. Cameron, 'Lindsay family of Barnweill, Crawford, and Glenesk (*per. c.*1250–*c.*1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [[http:// www. oxforddnb. com/view/article/54260](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54260), accessed 13 Jan 2011].

²⁷⁴ *Chron. Bower.* vii, 97, 105.

Strathbogie earls of Atholl, as a consequence of which Eustace supported David Strathbogie in the early 1330s.²⁷⁵ In 1334 he submitted to the Bruce side but the following year he was at the negotiations in Perth seeking to renew his allegiance to Edward III along with Strathbogie, the Mowbray brothers, Godfrey Ross and William Bullock. The agreement at Perth on 18 August 1335 pardoned all these persons. After Strathbogie's death in 1335 Lorraine remained in Edward III's allegiance and when David II returned to Scotland in 1341 he was forfeited of his Scottish lands.²⁷⁶ In 1343 he received 100 marks from Edward III in compensation for having lost all his lands in Scotland.²⁷⁷

By 1346 Lorraine was keeper of Roxburgh castle but after Neville's Cross, he surrendered the castle to Henry Percy to secure the release of his son, who had been captured with Sir William Douglas at Neville's Cross.²⁷⁸

Lucy, Anthony, first Lord Lucy (c.1283–1343)²⁷⁹ was the second son of the English baron, Sir Thomas de Lucy (d.1305) and Isabella. He was married to Elizabeth (surname unknown) and they had a son, Thomas, who inherited Lucy's lands and title.

Lucy was a soldier, baron and major landowner in Cumberland, Northumberland and Ireland, having inherited his father's estates when his older brother died in 1308. In Scotland he was rewarded with the barony of Earlston in Berwickshire and the baronies of Drumsargard and Carmunnock in Lanarkshire, forfeited from Maurice Murray and Patrick Dunbar for service to Balliol and Edward III in the 1330s.

Lucy had considerable experience of warfare in both Scotland and the north of England. During the first war he saw action on the English west march and was on the losing side at Bannockburn, having been taken prisoner by Sir Walter Fitzgilbert, warden of Bothwell castle, when he and his companions sought refuge there after the battle. He was ransomed in 1315 and, as sheriff of Cumberland, undertook further service on behalf of Edward II in the north of England. His actions there included the arrest and execution of his rival, Sir Andrew Harclay, on Edward's behalf. On 27 February 1331 Lucy was appointed justiciar

²⁷⁵ M. Brown, 'Scoti Anglicati', 106.

²⁷⁶ *CDS*, iii, no.832.

²⁷⁷ *CDS*, iii, no.1410.

²⁷⁸ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 269; M. Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 43.

²⁷⁹ H. Summerson, 'Lucy, Anthony, first Lord Lucy (c.1283–1343)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53091>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *GEC Peerage*, viii, 250-1.

in Ireland but on the outbreak of war again in Scotland in August 1332 he was sent there and was involved continuously throughout the 1330s.

In March 1333 he led 800 men into Dumfriesshire and defeated the garrison force under Sir William Douglas sent out from Lochmaben castle to intercept him. In June 1334 he was appointed keeper of Berwick town and castle and in November that year he organised a western command for Edward III's abortive winter campaign of 1334-35.²⁸⁰ The following year Lucy took part in the joint invasion of Scotland by Balliol and Edward III, following which, in October 1335, he was given the additional critical appointment of justiciar of the southern Scottish counties transferred to Edward III by Balliol. Although replaced by Richard Talbot at Berwick, he received by way of compensation lands in Lanarkshire.²⁸¹ The following year he raided into Galloway and defeated a Scottish force returning from an incursion into Cumbria. In November 1337 he helped raise the siege of Edinburgh by the earl of Moray and in May 1338 took part in the relief of Perth. He received a summons to the English parliament every year from 1321 to 1342 but on receipt of the summons issued on 13 October, the 'lieges of Cumberland' petitioned Edward III that he be excused from attending as there was no other magnate to whom the petitioners could look to for defence against Scots' incursions.²⁸² Lucy remained active on the border until his death in 1343.

There is no doubt that Lucy was a successful, professional soldier but with the defeat of the Balliol cause, his gains in Scotland, such as they were, were lost by the return of David II in 1341.

Macdonald, John, lord of the Isles (*d.* 1387)²⁸³ was the first of his family to describe himself (in 1336) as *dominus insularum*.²⁸⁴ His parents were Angus Og Macdonald and Aine Ni Cathan, daughter of an Irish princess. He married, first, Amie, sister of Ruairi of Garmoran, with whom he had three sons; and, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Robert Stewart, with whom he had six sons and three daughters. Donald, his eldest son by Margaret, was to inherit the lordship of the Isles.

²⁸⁰ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 179.

²⁸¹ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 248; R.C. Reid, 'Edward de Balliol', 62.

²⁸² *HBC*, 510.

²⁸³ R. W. Munro and J. Munro, 'MacDonald family (*per. c.* 1300–*c.* 1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54280>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

²⁸⁴ J. Munro and R.W. Munro, *Acts of Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493* (Edinburgh, 1986), no. 3.

John's lands came to him by inheritance and, later, marriage. His father, a strong Bruce supporter²⁸⁵ who had fought at Bannockburn, had exercised lordship in Mull, Kintyre and Islay, where the family was based, and had been rewarded by Robert I with lands in Lochaber, Ardnamurchan, Morvern, Duror, and Glencoe, formerly held by the Macdougalls. These had been granted to Angus in exchange for Kintyre, which Robert granted out to others, including his grandson, Robert Stewart and Sir John Stewart of Menteith. Angus was also confirmed in possession of the islands of Islay, Jura, Gigha, and Colonsay.²⁸⁶ John inherited all these lands. In 1346 his marriage with Amie brought him the lands of Garmoran, stretching from Moidart to the outer Hebrides, on the death of Ruairi that year so that John was soon a powerful magnate ruling over strategically important islands off the west coast of Scotland and parts of the western mainland.

Unlike his father, John kept aloof from events on the mainland outside his own lordship. An attempt by John Randolph to commit him to the cause of David II was unsuccessful and instead he came to an indenture with Edward Balliol on 12 September 1336, under which Balliol would grant to John 'for his good service' Islay, Kintyre and Knapdale (both to be forfeited by the Steward), Mull, Skye, Gigha, half the island of Jura, Kenalbadon, Ardnamurchan, Lewis and Skye (to be forfeited by the earl of Ross) and the wardship of the late David Strathbogie, earl of Atholl, to be held until Strathbogie's son, David came of age.²⁸⁷ John's description of himself as 'Lord of the Isles' was made independently of both David II and Edward Balliol, which suggests self-confidence in his own position.²⁸⁸ Certainly, Balliol appears to have attached great importance to John's adherence as he refers on several occasions to his (Balliol's) "kingdom of Scotland and the Isles".²⁸⁹ The arrangement was endorsed by Edward III more than a year later in October 1336.²⁹⁰ In December John journeyed to England²⁹¹ and for the next two years may have campaigned actively on Edward III's behalf, 'receiving praise from the English king for having 'repeatedly curbed our many wicked enemies'.²⁹² 24 May 1338, Edward referred to John's 'steady loyalty and exposure to perils in defence of his rights.'²⁹³ For John the agreement

²⁸⁵ Largely because his enemies, the Macdougalls, had supported the Balliol cause in the first war.

²⁸⁶ Stewart, *Lost Kingdoms*, 143.

²⁸⁷ *CDS*, iii, no.1182. The date of this indenture is given as 12 September 1335 but this cannot be correct as Strathbogie was killed on 30 November 1335.

²⁸⁸ R. Oram, 'The Lordship of the Isles: 1336-1545', in *The Argyll Book* (ed. D. Omand), (Edinburgh, 2004), 123.

²⁸⁹ *APS*, I, 539-40. C.M. Macdonald, *The History of Argyll up to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow, 1951), 156.

²⁹⁰ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 464.

²⁹¹ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 516.

²⁹² Cited in Brown, *Wars of Scotland*, 270.

²⁹³ *CDS*, iii, no. 1272.

meant that he was at liberty to govern his lordship free from interference from either side in the second war. In September 1338 he consolidated his power through an agreement with John (Macdougall) of Lorn in which Macdougall explicitly accepted John's right to Argyll insular territory which included Mull, Tiree and part of Jura. In return Macdougall received from John the island of Coll as well as certain lands in Tiree but he was not permitted to erect any buildings on these Tiree lands without John's consent. MacDonald was to have a copy of the agreement bearing the seal of Macdougall, who in his turn was to have a copy with Macdonald's seal attached.²⁹⁴

Indeed his neutrality brought him more benefits when David II confirmed the agreement in November 1341, excluding Skye, which remained with the earl of Ross, and the Stewart lands of Kintyre and Knapdale. For little or no effort, therefore, the lord of the Isles was one of the main beneficiaries of the second war of independence.

McDowell, Duncan (*d.* before 1357)²⁹⁵ was the head of the McDowells, often referred to as 'Clan McDowell', a powerful provincial family based in Galloway. He was the son of Sir Dougal McDowell and Margaret (surname unknown).

The precise location of the McDowell lands in Galloway is not certain but they are likely to have been in Wigtownshire as Lanercost refers to Duncan McDowell's raising forces in 1334 'beyond the Cree'.²⁹⁶

Dougal McDowell had been one of Robert I's most implacable opponents. In 1307 he had captured the king's two brothers, Thomas and Alexander Bruce on their descent into Galloway and caused them to be executed. When the tide turned for Robert I, he had fled first to the Isle of Man in 1313, then to Ireland. The McDowells lost all their lands in Galloway and Dougal remained in the service of the English crown until his death in 1327. Duncan, however, made his submission to Thomas Randolph, Guardian.

After the invasion of the disinherited in 1332 Duncan McDowell, based in the western part of Galloway and despite his submission, was foremost among Balliol's supporters in the province. When Balliol was besieged in Perth after Dupplin Moor, Duncan afforded him a

²⁹⁴ C.M. Macdonald, *History of Argyll*, 199.

²⁹⁵ See A. McCulloch, *Galloway: a Land Apart*, (Edinburgh, 2000), C.A. Raleigh Radford, 'Balliol's Manor House on Hestan Island', *TDGNHAS*, 35 (1956-57), 33-7; R. Oram, 'Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 67 (1992), 42; R.C. Reid, 'Edward de Balliol', *TGDNHAS*, 35 (1956-7), 52-7.

²⁹⁶ *Chron. Lanercost*, 286-7.

distraction by attacking the lands of the earl of March in the south, requiring the diversion of Bruce forces under Andrew Murray and Archibald Douglas away from Perth.

McDowell deserted Balliol in 1334 after an attack by Bruce forces on Sir Eustace Maxwell's lands. This brought Wigtownshire back into the Bruce camp but caused civil war to erupt in Galloway. McDowell returned to Balliol's allegiance in 1335; changed sides again in 1336 following attacks on Galloway by the Guardian Murray; and returned to the Balliol camp, submitting to Edward III on 20 August 1339.²⁹⁷ In 1340 he was put in charge of the defences of Balliol's redoubt on Hestan Island. By about 1345 he formally submitted to David II,²⁹⁸ having been offered in return, lands in eastern Galloway. For this he was attacked on Hestan by English forces under Sir Anthony Lucy, captured and imprisoned in the Tower.

Macduff, Duncan, 9th earl of Fife (c.1289/90-?1353)²⁹⁹ was the son of Duncan, 8th earl, and Joan, the daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester. He was born after the murder of his father and his minority was spent in England. He married the nine year old Mary de Monthermer, daughter of Ralph de Monthermer, earl of Gloucester in 1307 and they had one daughter, Isabella, countess of Fife and his sole heiress.

The earls of Fife were the highest ranking in importance of Scotland's earls. Their principal landed interest was the earldom itself but they also held lands in Stirling, Perth and Moray. Duncan's tenure as 9th earl was long, encompassing the entire reign of Robert I and twenty four years into that of David II. He played little part in the first war of independence, remaining in England until August 1315 when his lands were restored to him by Robert I, having first been given up to the king then granted back out to Duncan. Robert added to those lands the baronies of O'Neil in Aberdeenshire, Kinnoul in Perthshire and Calder in Midlothian.

Duncan remained loyal to Robert for the rest of the king's lifetime. As befitting his status as Scotland's premier earl, he was the first to witness the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 and was present in Edinburgh in 1328 for the peace treaty between Scotland and England.

²⁹⁷ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 571, 609.

²⁹⁸ Although a Dougal MacDowell was witnessing Balliol's charters from Buittle in November 1352. *CDS*, iii, no.1578.

²⁹⁹ A. McDonald, 'Macduff family, earls of Fife (*per. c.*1095–1371)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50328>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *SP*. iv, 11-13.

He fought for the Bruce side at Dupplin Moor in 1332 but he subsequently was captured and in return for his freedom joined the Balliol side, bringing thirteen knights with him,³⁰⁰ and performing the principal role, together with the bishop of Dunkeld, in the coronation of Edward Balliol.³⁰¹ When Balliol left for Galloway to relieve his supporters, then under attack from Bruce forces, Perth was recaptured by Sir Simon Fraser, Robert Keith and John Lindsay on 7 October 1332 and Duncan was imprisoned. He was soon released, however, and rejoined the Bruce side. After Halidon Hill, however, in June 1334 he did homage to Balliol, swearing to Edward III that he would maintain his ‘tenant’ as king of Scots. He must have quickly changed sides again as he surrendered himself and Cupar castle to the Balliol/English forces on 7 August 1335 and was named in the pacification drawn up at Perth eleven days later. However, from 1336 onwards he played an active part for the Bruce cause, taking part in attacks on Cupar castle in 1336, and on Falkland, St Andrews and Leuchars castles in 1337.

He was captured at Neville’s Cross, tried for treason by Edward III and sentenced to a traitor’s death, but he obtained mercy and was allowed to return to Scotland to raise money for his ransom, set at 1,000 marks in 1350. He died in 1353 and his daughter Isabella succeeded as countess of Fife.

Macruairi, Ranald, of Garmoran (*d.*1346)³⁰² was an illegitimate son of Ruairi Macruairi, who had been killed at Dundalk in 1318 fighting alongside Edward Bruce. His mother is unknown. During the second war of independence Ranald was chief of clan Ruairi, in effect ‘provincial lord’ of Garmoran.

Ranald’s territorial interests comprised the provincial lordship itself – the outer Hebrides, the islands of Rum and Eigg and, on the mainland, Moidart, Arisaig, Morar and Knoydart – title to which had passed to Ruairi’s half sister, Christine, on the death of their father. Christina in turn granted the lands of the lordship to Ranald before Robert I’s death.

It is unlikely that Ranald took part in the second war of independence, which confirms that the war did not reach this part of Scotland. He is not mentioned in connection with any of the events of the war but he is recorded as supporting, in 1337, the efforts of John

³⁰⁰ *Chron. Lanercost*, 269.

³⁰¹ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 81.

³⁰² S. I. Boardman, ‘MacRuairi, Ranald, of Garmoran (*d.* 1346)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54286>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

Macdonald, lord of the Isles to obtain a papal dispensation that would allow John to marry Ranald's sister, Amie and he may have backed John's indenture with Edward Balliol a year earlier as Balliol confirmed him in his possession of Garmoran. If so, it did him no harm in the long run as he was confirmed in his lordship by David II on 12 June 1343. His ambitions, however, led to territorial expansion at the expense of William, earl of Ross and he was murdered by agents of the earl at Perth on the eve of the Scottish army's invasion of England in 1346, when the provincial lordship passed to his brother-in-law, John.

Mar, Donald, eighth earl of Mar (1293-1332)³⁰³ was the son of Gartnait, seventh earl, who died about 1302 and, arguably, Christian Bruce, the sister of Robert I. He was therefore only nine years old when he succeeded to the earldom. As the nephew of Robert I he was therefore potentially in line of succession to the throne after Bruce became king. He married Isabel Stewart, perhaps the daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkil, and they had two children, Thomas, who succeeded to the earldom and Margaret, who succeeded her brother as countess of Mar.

Donald's landed interests were the earldom itself, the thanage of Clova in Angus and the lands of Salkyn (Saline) near Dunfermline in Fife, the last two of which had been given to him by Robert I just before his death.

Donald spent his youth in England, most likely having been captured at Kildrummy castle, the centre of the earldom, along with Robert I's immediate family in 1306. Whilst in England he was placed in Edward II's household becoming closely attached to the English king. He was freed after Bannockburn but, having reached Newcastle on his way north, changed his mind and decided to stay in England, where he fought for Edward on the winning side at Boroughbridge against the earl of Lancaster and on the losing side at Old Byland against a Scottish army led by King Robert himself.

Donald's behaviour during the 1320s and early 1330s would have made other members of the Scottish higher nobility suspicious of him and his motives. Despite his demonstrably clear preference for England and his actions at Old Byland, he nevertheless returned to Scotland to seek help in getting Edward II restored to the throne after his deposition in 1326. There was never any prospect of success in this respect given the sustained hostility of Edward II to the Bruce regime. However, Robert did restore Donald's earldom and

³⁰³ F. Watson, 'Donald, eighth earl of Mar (1293–1332)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18021>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *SP*. v, 581-3.

lands to him³⁰⁴ and in the following year Donald took part in the invasion of England after the coronation of Edward III. Yet even here his participation has been attributed to his desire to ‘rescue’ Edward II.³⁰⁵ Given the whereabouts of Edward II at the time³⁰⁶ how this could have been accomplished by a Scottish army, even if they had had the motivation to do so, is quite unclear. At any rate Donald was still in Scotland when Robert died in 1329.

In 1331 Donald visited Edward Balliol in England, where he seems to have made some promises to the disinherited.³⁰⁷ Indeed it was claimed that he had encouraged Balliol ‘...to come to Scotland in order to gain the kingdom by his aid.’³⁰⁸ He may even have paid homage to Balliol as king of Scotland. Whether or not this was the case, it could only have entrenched suspicion and opposition to him among certain of the Scottish nobility and when he was chosen as guardian to replace Moray, almost certainly and perhaps solely because of his place in the line of succession, there was strong resistance to his appointment. This dissension was to spill over into open quarrel with Sir Robert Bruce at the start of the battle of Dupplin Moor, where both men were killed. Donald’s training and lack of political and military experience were no match for the seasoned veterans, such as Henry Beaumont, among the disinherited. Ironically, his widow, Isabel, married one of the disinherited, Geoffrey Mowbray, before 15 September 1334. They were divorced before Easter 1336.

Maxwell, Sir Eustace, of Caerlaverock (*d.*1342)³⁰⁹ was a key supporter of Edward Balliol in the south of Scotland. He was the son of Sir John Maxwell of Caerlaverock, who had fought with the Comyns during the first war of independence, having capitulated with Sir John Comyn at Strathord in 1304. He married Helen Maxwell of Pollok but they had no children. His landed interests were in the eastern part of Galloway.

Maxwell had supported the cause of Robert I and demolished his own Caerlaverock castle in 1312 to prevent it from falling into English hands.³¹⁰ He stayed loyal to Robert until the

³⁰⁴ M. Brown, *Wars of Scotland*, 228; Barrow, *Bruce*, 354.

³⁰⁵ Stevenson, *Documents*, 259.

³⁰⁶ Edward was at Kenilworth castle in Warwickshire when he was informed of his deposition, then at Berkeley castle in Gloucestershire, where he was imprisoned, both locations well beyond the reach of a Scottish army.

³⁰⁷ *CDS*, iii, no.1040; E.W.M. Balfour Melville, *Edward III and David II* (London, 1954), 6.

³⁰⁸ *Chron. Lanercost*, 268.

³⁰⁹ *SP*, vi, 472; W. Fraser, *The Book of Caerlaverock: Memoirs of the Maxwells, Earls of Nithsdale, Lords Maxwell and Herries*, (Edinburgh, 1873), vol. 1, 94-105; Webster, ‘English Occupation of Dumfriesshire’ 69-72.

³¹⁰ Robertson, *Index*, p.12, no.75, p.15, no.13.

latter's death and received from him grants of Westerraw, Pedyman and Park.³¹¹ As a prominent Galloway man, however, he owed his loyalty primarily to the Balliols. Like many other Balliol supporters he sealed the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320³¹² but he was suspected of participation in the Soules conspiracy of 1320 and was charged though acquitted for lack of evidence.³¹³

When Robert I, died Maxwell supported the Balliol invasion. In August 1332, he led a force into the lands of his neighbours, who were besieging Balliol in Perth castle.³¹⁴ The tactic succeeded in drawing off the besieging force but at the expense of Galloway, which now suffered counter attacks from the new guardian, Sir Andrew Murray and the earls of March and Moray. Following Murray's capture at Roxburgh, Maxwell was present with Balliol, witnessing his charters at Roxburgh, and generally attending on him. After Halidon Hill he was tasked by Balliol with ascertaining the value of the castle, town and county of Berwick on Tweed and was censured by Edward III for delaying this charge. In 1334 his lands were subject to attack from Bruce forces. Maxwell was one of the few Scotsmen who took part in, or at least provided men for, Edward III's winter campaign of 1334-5 and he received subsidies from the English king, who had 'retained [him] in his service for life.'³¹⁵ He also participated in the summer 1335 campaign on the side of Balliol/Edward III and acted for Edward III as a conservator of the truce arranged with the Bruce Scots. In 1335 he was appointed Edward III's sheriff of Dumfries and generally controlled the eastern part of Galloway and Nithsdale for the English king. He was also appointed conservator of the truce between the two countries. His lands were attacked again in 1336 and he was instructed by Edward to repair the defences of Caerlaverock castle. After he had received money and supplies from the English king to allow him to do so, he defected to the Bruce camp the following year and raised a rebellion against the English east of the Cree. His lands were then forfeited to the lord of Gilsland, who attacked Maxwell and his supporters. In 1339 he returned once more to the Balliol side and remained loyal to Balliol and Edward III until his death in 1342.

Menteith, Murdoch, 8th earl of Menteith (*d.*1332)³¹⁶ was the third son of Alexander, 6th earl and Matilda (surname unknown). His oldest brother, Alan, had succeeded as 7th earl

³¹¹ Robertson, *Index*, p.11, no. 49.

³¹² *Chron. Bower*, vii, 5.

³¹³ *Chron. Bower*, vii, 3.

³¹⁴ *Chron. Lanercost*, 272.

³¹⁵ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 178n, 247; *CDS*, iii, no.1143.

³¹⁶ *SP*, vi, 135-7; W. Fraser, *Red Book of Menteith*, 96-101; *GEC Peerage*, viii, 665-6.

from 1304-6 but had died in English captivity before 1309. Alan's daughter Mary became countess of Menteith but, as she was very young on her father's death, she was held by the English crown as a ward. Murdoch's other brother, Peter, had probably been killed in France around 1297 whilst accompanying Edward I on his Flanders campaign.³¹⁷ By a family arrangement, therefore, the earldom was transferred meantime to Murdoch, to revert again to Mary in the event of her marriage or of Murdoch's death without male heirs. Murdoch married Alice (surname unknown), who probably came to Edward III's allegiance after the death of her husband as she was in receipt of an annual pension from the English king until at least 1340.

The earldom of Menteith lay partly in Perthshire and partly in Stirlingshire and incorporated Aberfoyle, Port of Menteith, Callendar and Leny, Kincardine, Kilmadock, Lecropt, Dunblane and part of Kippen.³¹⁸ However, Murdoch had other interests as Robert I granted him lands in Barnbogle and Dalmeny, near Edinburgh, forfeited by Roger Mowbray; Gilmerton, also in Edinburgh, forfeited by William Soulis; Rothiemay in Banffshire; and the lands in Fife that had belonged to William Ferrar.

The Menteiths had supported Robert I during his early struggles. Alan, 7th earl was captured at Methven in June 1306 and was placed in the custody of Sir John Hastings in England. The earldom was forfeited and given to Hastings and his brother, Sir Edmund Hastings, husband of Lady Isabella Comyn. After Bannockburn the earldom came into the hands of Sir John Menteith, Murdoch's uncle, who held it as guardian for Countess Mary until Murdoch succeeded. Murdoch is given credit for revealing the Soulis conspiracy to Robert I and it was probably for his loyalty to the king that he was rewarded by the grants mentioned above.

On Robert's death Murdoch remained loyal to David II. He fought with some bravery at Dupplin Moor but was killed there on 12 April 1332. As he and his wife had no children the earldom thus reverted to Countess Mary. Mary married Sir John Graham, who thus was recognised as earl of Menteith.

³¹⁷ *SP*. vi, 134.

³¹⁸ *SP*. vi, 124.

Montagu, William, first earl of Salisbury (1301-44)³¹⁹ was probably the strongest supporter of Edward III among the nobility of England, a close personal friend of the king. The son of William Montagu, second Lord Montagu and Elizabeth Montfort, he married Katharine Montagu, countess of Salisbury, and they had six children, all of whom went on to make prestigious marriages themselves.

Montagu's first involvement in the wars with Scotland was in 1327 when he took part in Edward's abortive Weardale campaign. His friendship with Edward started at this time and was to deepen throughout his life. He played a leading part in the coup of 1330 against Mortimer and from 1333-8 participated in all of Edward's Scottish campaigns – Balliol's siege of Berwick in 1333 where he was commander, the battle of Halidon Hill, the winter campaign of 1334-5, the summer campaign of 1335, in which he provided the largest contingent of Edward's army and the campaign of 1337-8, in which, as joint commander, he failed to capture Dunbar castle.

In addition to his military roles, Montagu was also a diplomat for Edward III, notably in France but also in Scotland, where in February 1334, along with Henry Beaumont, he was sent to ensure the homage of Edward Balliol. In October 1335 he headed the peace negotiations with Sir Andrew Murray, permitting the guardian to depart to engage David Strathbogie's forces who were besieging Murray's wife, Christian Bruce, in Kildrummy castle.

Montagu's rewards for his service to the English king were grants of substantial sums of money, the Isle of Man, lands in England and his elevation in March 1337 to first earl of Salisbury. However, he also had landed interests in Scotland. Following Balliol's cession of the southern counties to Edward III in 1334, Montagu was granted Selkirk and Ettrick forest, with the town and county of Peebles.

With the recovery of the Bruce forces and his own participation from 1337-40 in the French wars, Salisbury lost all his Scottish possessions and although he never returned to Scotland his involvement in the Scottish conflict was not yet over. In April 1340 he was captured by the French, imprisoned in Paris and only released in exchange for two important prisoners of the English – John Randolph, earl of Moray and Herman, lord of Brittany.

³¹⁹ W. M. Ormrod, 'Montagu, William, first earl of Salisbury (1301–1344)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19001>, accessed 8 August 2011]; *GEC Peerage*. xi, 385-8.

Mowbray, Alexander (*d.c.*1359) was one of at least three sons of Roger Mowbray. Nothing is known of his mother or his wife. He may have had a son, Roger, who held, under Edward Balliol, some lands in Borgue and half the barony of Preston in Kirkbean.³²⁰

The Mowbray family contained several branches in both Scotland and England. The Scottish branch was founded by Philip Mowbray in the early thirteenth century.³²¹ By the fourteenth century, however, it is difficult to establish accurately the relationship among the various Mowbrays who were involved in the wars of independence. Roger de Mowbray, from one of the Scottish branches, had been a prominent supporter of the Comyns and of King John Balliol in the 1290s and had accompanied William Wallace to France after the battle of Falkirk. He had never been connected with the Bruces, and his connections with the Balliols must have been sufficiently strong for him to have been involved in the Soules conspiracy of 1320 against Robert I. After the collapse of the plot, Roger died before his trial could take place but his corpse was brought before parliament in August 1320 so that perpetual disinheritation could be pronounced on his body. His oldest son, John, appears to have been executed at this time as both Mowbrays were described as ‘slaine traitors.’³²² Alexander, who appears to have been Roger’s second son, was also implicated in the plot but escaped justice by fleeing to England with a sizeable following.³²³

The lands of the Scottish Mowbrays ‘were scattered across central and southern Scotland.’³²⁴ They were all confiscated by Robert I. Robert Stewart was given Cessford in Roxburghshire and the baronies of Methven in Perthshire and Kellie in Forfar; a Glasgow cleric, William Lindsay, was awarded the barony of Kirkmichael in Nithsdale; and Walter the Steward was given Eckford in Roxburgh, which presumably passed also to Robert Stewart his son on Walter’s death in 1327. Alexander was forfeited in Invercaboch and Lickein in the barony of Strathoune, Banffshire.³²⁵ Alexander and at least one of his brothers, Geoffrey, therefore saw themselves, some twelve years later, as disinherited lords and it must be assumed that it was these lands they were claiming. Alexander joined Edward Balliol’s invasion force, fought at Dupplin Moor and attended Balliol’s coronation

³²⁰ R.C. Reid, ‘Edward de Balliol’, 51.

³²¹ M. Roberts, *The Mowbray Legacy* (Scunthorpe, 2004), 37, 46.

³²² *RMS*. i, 568, no.839.

³²³ Barrow, *Bruce*, 430; M. Penman, ‘A fell coniuracioun agayne Robert the douchty king: the Soules conspiracy of 1318-20’, *IR*, 50 (1999), 45.

³²⁴ Barrow, *Bruce*, 281.

³²⁵ *RMS*. i, 543, no.502.

on 24 September 1332. His reward was lands in Roxburghshire, which Balliol forfeited from Sir Patrick and Thomas de Chartres, so they may not actually have been the lands he had set out to recover.³²⁶ He probably fought at Halidon Hill as he was ‘confirmed (by Edward III) in possession of the manor of Boulton in Allerdale’ on 3 August 1333.³²⁷ Thereafter, Alexander acted as Balliol’s emissary to Edward III in 1332-3 conveying details of the Roxburgh ‘accord’. He attended Balliol’s parliament in February 1334 and was a witness to the letters patent ceding the southern counties to Edward III on 12 June 1334.³²⁸ During the crisis at Balliol’s council in Stirling on 4 August 1334, at which Alexander claimed the estates of John Mowbray as his nearest male relative, Balliol, supported Alexander’s claims, notwithstanding that John had left three daughters (or perhaps sisters) closer in blood line. Despite Balliol’s support Alexander promptly changed sides and joined with Sir Andrew Murray, recently released from English captivity, in successfully besieging Henry Beaumont in Dundarg castle.³²⁹ On 27 October 1334 he was forfeited of his lands by Edward III for ‘having lately rebelled and joined the Scots.’³³⁰ In April 1335 he attended the Dairsie parliament in the company of Murray, William Douglas and Patrick, earl of March. However, five months later, following the joint invasion of Balliol and Edward III, he was negotiating terms to change his allegiance again. By the agreement at Perth on 18 August 1335, Alexander and all other Scots who came into Edward’s peace ‘would be pardoned all trespasses they had committed between the creation of the world and 18 August 1335.’ On 20 December 1335 Bolton in Allerdale was restored to him. *Lanercost* relates that during this period, Alexander travelled to England with his brother, Geoffrey, and another Mowbray kinsman, Roger (possibly his son), where all three were arrested and imprisoned for having tried to persuade Balliol to break his allegiance to Edward III.³³¹ Alexander is not thereafter mentioned in connection with Scotland. He continued to serve the English king after 1356³³² and was still alive in July

³²⁶ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 227.

³²⁷ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 139.

³²⁸ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 108-9, 153, 161.

³²⁹ No explanation has been put forward for Mowbray’s betrayal of Balliol. It may be that Balliol deserted Mowbray first, having been taken aback by the hostility shown by his more important supporters, Beaumont and Strathbogie, to Alexander’s claims.

³³⁰ *CDS*, iii, no. 1137.

³³¹ It is difficult to determine the order of events. *Lanercost*, 304, gives the date of their coming to England as 29 June 1337. By this time the Bruce party were well on their road to recovery, so either Alexander was seeking to change his position once more, hence the cause of his arrest, or the *Lanercost* date is wrong. The incident seems more likely to have happened in mid-1335, when Alexander was still on the Bruce side but was seeking to come to terms with Edward III. What confuses the matter is that Alexander and Geoffrey Mowbray were ‘bailed’ from prison on 21 July 1339, so they were imprisoned for either two or four years. *CDS*, iii, no.1315.

³³² Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 262.

1359 when Balliol, after his own resignation of claims to the Scottish throne, meaninglessly granted him lands in Roxburghshire.³³³

Mowbray, Geoffrey (*d.*1354?) was the brother of Alexander Mowbray. His wife was Isabel, dowager countess of Mar. Isabel's first husband, the guardian Donald earl of Mar, had been killed at Dupplin Moor on 11 August 1332 and she was married to Geoffrey Mowbray by 15 September 1333.³³⁴ They were divorced before Easter 1336 and three years later Isabel married William Carsewell.

Geoffrey accompanied his two brothers, Alexander and William, on Balliol's expeditionary force in August 1332, all three seeking to recover their father's forfeited lands and whatever gains they might obtain from a Balliol victory. On 15 September 1333 Balliol granted Geoffrey lands in Roxburgh, together with Selkirk forest in right of his wife, Isabel. Interestingly these lands do not appear to be part of those forfeited by his father, perhaps because the latter were claimed by Alexander Mowbray. Some time afterwards Balliol appointed him sheriff of Roxburgh. This did not prevent him from deserting Balliol in August 1334, however, when he sided with his brother Alexander over the disputed lands of John Mowbray. On 15 September 1334 Geoffrey petitioned Edward III for the earldom of Moray, which he claimed in right of his wife, Isabel.³³⁵ This claim went nowhere and on 28 February 1335 Edward III confiscated Geoffrey's lands in Northumbria.³³⁶ However, by the Perth agreement of 18 August 1335 Geoffrey was back in Edward's allegiance.

Little else is known of Geoffrey's life, other than he was released from English prison in July 1339. Like the other members of the disinherited and of Balliol's 1332 expedition, he ultimately failed to secure any of his gains in Scotland.

John Mowbray (*d.*1335) is normally assumed to have been the son of the Sir Roger Mowbray involved in the Soulis conspiracy and therefore brother of Alexander and Geoffrey (and William Mowbray, if he was another brother).³³⁷ However, the most detailed survey of the Scottish Mowbrays undertaken to date, describes him as the only son

³³³ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 838.

³³⁴ This date is given by Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 148. *SP* gives the date as 15 September 1334.

³³⁵ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 278.

³³⁶ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 325.

³³⁷ See for example, Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 243. This view is seemingly supported by *Chron. Fordun*, 349 and *Chron. Bower*, xiii, 211-12 n.

of Roger's brother, Sir Philip Mowbray and Eve, heiress of Reidcastle.³³⁸ If Cameron Smith's study is accurate he had one brother, Philip,³³⁹ and three sisters or daughters. Philip had fought against Robert I, pursuing the Scottish king after Methven and had held Stirling castle for Edward II before Bannockburn.³⁴⁰ Philip had then converted to the Bruce cause and had fallen with Edward Bruce at Dundalk in 1318. This John therefore would have been the cousin of Alexander and Geoffrey, the brother John having been executed in 1320. After the failure of the Soules conspiracy it would not have been safe for any Mowbray to have remained in Scotland and John must have fled to England as it was from there that he joined the disinherited, landing with Edward Balliol at Kinghorn in August 1332. His involvement in the second war of independence was short-lived as he was killed by Bruce loyalists at Annan on 16 December 1332. The barony of Kirkmichael, which had been held by Sir Philip Mowbray but may never actually have been possessed by John,³⁴¹ was the subject of dispute between Alexander Mowbray and John's three daughters (or sisters) in 1334. It was eventually granted by David II to Sir William Douglas in 1342.

Mowbray, William (*d.*1346?) may have been a brother of Alexander and Geoffrey Mowbray. Little is known about him, other than in 1335 he accompanied Sir Thomas Roslin in an English-supported landing at Aberdeen, at which Roslin was killed. He sided with Alexander and Geoffrey in the dispute over the deceased John Mowbray's lands but was one of those pardoned on 10 October 1335 '... for all offences since the beginning of the world to date'. Unlike Alexander and Geoffrey, however, he seems to have gone over to the Bruce side and participated in the siege of Dundarg castle against Henry Beaumont. He was forfeited by Balliol in Strathbroke (now Uphall) on 26 February 1336³⁴² and was either killed or was captured at Neville's Cross in 1346.³⁴³

Murray, Sir Andrew, lord of the Garioch (1298-1338)³⁴⁴ was the son of Sir Andrew Murray, joint leader, with William Wallace of the Scottish resistance to English rule after 1296, who had died of wounds received at Stirling Bridge. His mother is unknown. His

³³⁸ A. Cameron Smith, 'Wallace's Capture of Sanquhar and the Rising in the South-West, with Accounts of the Rosses of Wark and Sanquhar and of the Mowbrays of Kirkmichael', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, 11 (1925), 58-9. Cameron Smith's view is supported by B.A. McAndrew, *The Balliol Roll*, (Boston, 2002), 52.

³³⁹ R.C. Reid, 'Addenda Antiquaria: a Mowbray Service, c.1365', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, 33 (1956), 197-9.

³⁴⁰ Cameron Smith, 'Wallace's Capture', 58-9.

³⁴¹ Cameron Smith, 'Wallace's Capture' 62.

³⁴² *CDS*, iii, pp.390-1.

³⁴³ A William Mowbray is included in the list of Scots killed and a William Mowbray is listed among those taken prisoner. Hailes, *Annals*, 324, 328.

³⁴⁴ A. A. M. Duncan, 'Murray, Sir Andrew, of Bothwell (1298-1338)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19590>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

first wife is also unknown but he had two sons by her, John and Thomas. In 1326 he married, as her second (or possibly third) husband, Christian Bruce, sister of King Robert I. There do not appear to be any children of this, his second, marriage.

Murray was already a substantial landholder before his marriage to Christian Bruce. From his father he had inherited the lands of Petty in Morayshire and Bothwell in Lanarkshire. His marriage, however, brought him as Christian's dowry the lordship of the Garioch in north-east Scotland, elevating him to the first rank of Scottish nobility.

There is only limited evidence of any activity by him on behalf of Robert I but after the king's death Murray became one of the key leaders of the Bruce party. He was chosen as guardian of Scotland on the death of Donald of Mar but was captured at Roxburgh in 1332. Released from prison in 1334 he besieged Henry Beaumont in Dundarg castle and captured it on 23 December 1334. He attended the Dairsie parliament in April 1335 and was chosen again as guardian on 21 September 1335, probably as a result of disillusionment with the twenty-year old Robert Stewart's support of Strathbogie at the Dairsie parliament and after John Randolph had been imprisoned in England³⁴⁵. For the next two months he was involved in negotiations with Edward III in an attempt to bring about a peace settlement. These came to nothing when, from his court in France, David II rejected a proposal that Edward Balliol be recognised as king and David would succeed him if Balliol failed to produce heirs. In addition Murray would have felt emboldened to continue the Bruce resistance following his defeat of Strathbogie at Culblean on 30 November 1335.

Murray's victory at Culblean is traditionally held to mark the turning point of the second war of independence. However, immediately after Culblean he failed to capture Cupar castle and had to abandon his siege of Lochindorb, held by Strathbogie's widow when Edward III arrived with a relief force. He was also unable to prevent the subsequent ravaging of Morayshire by that same force or the taking of vengeance by Beaumont on Murray's followers in the Culblean campaign. Nonetheless from the end of 1336 and into 1337 Murray captured and destroyed a series of castles – Dunnottar, south of Stonehaven; Kinneff in Aberdeenshire; Lauriston, near Edinburgh; Kinclaven in Perthshire; St Andrews and finally his own Bothwell castle in March 1337. Sometime in 1337 he was appointed keeper of Berwick castle.³⁴⁶ In August and September Murray led raiding forces into Cumberland and Northumberland, although he failed to capture Edinburgh castle. In all

³⁴⁵ *Chron. Fordun*, 259.

³⁴⁶ *ER*, i, 240.

this activity Murray adopted scorched earth tactics, which devastated those areas where his forces were active, making it extremely difficult for the English, whose forces were by now depleted because of Edward III's focus on his war with France, to retain their presence in Scotland. In 1338 Murray must have become ill as he retired to the Black Isle and died there between 25 February and 12 April.

Andrew Murray was perhaps more responsible than any other single person for the success of the Bruce cause in the second war of independence. He had never even briefly submitted to Edward III or Edward Balliol.³⁴⁷ The records do not indicate that the war brought him any material benefits. If anything he lost personally through his destruction of his own castle of Bothwell. His sons John and Thomas, succeeded in turn to the family's estates.

Murray, Maurice, earl of Strathearn (*d.*1346)³⁴⁸ was the son and heir of Sir John Moray of Drumsargard (Cambuslang), one of Robert Bruce's earliest supporters. His mother is unknown but his stepmother was Mary, daughter of Malise, seventh earl of Strathearn. He came into the earldom of Menteith through his marriage, following papal dispensation, to Joanna, countess of Menteith, and widow of the same Malise. Joanna's first husband had been John Campbell, earl of Atholl. There are no recorded children from Maurice's marriage to Joanna.

His mother's dowry brought the estates of Abercairny, Ogilvie and Glenservy in Perthshire into the family's hands and Maurice may have inherited these. He is described, wrongly by Bower as 'lord of Clydesdale'³⁴⁹ and although he appears to have been one of the leaders of the Bruce resistance there he is not known to have held land or property in Clydesdale. He is not recorded as having been present at either Dupplin Moor or Halidon Hill and his first appearance is as sheriff of Lanark in October 1334. It would have been from this position that he emerged as one of the Bruce leaders. In 1336 he killed Godfrey Ros in revenge for the slaying by Ros of his brother and his other known involvement in the war was at the siege of Perth in 1339. When David II returned from France Maurice found favour with the king, who made him earl of Strathearn on 31 October 1343. He was killed at Neville's Cross in 1346.

³⁴⁷ J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, Vol.1: Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), 148.

³⁴⁸ M.A. Penman, 'Murray, Maurice, earl of Strathearn (*d.* 1346)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb/view/article/54300> accessed 11 September 2012].

³⁴⁹ *Chron. Bower*, 141.

Neville, Ralph, 4th Lord Neville (c.1291-1367)³⁵⁰ was the second son of Ranulph Neville and Euphemia fitz Roger. He married Alice, daughter of Hugh, Lord Audley, in January 1327, with whom he had five sons and four daughters.

Neville's involvement in Scottish affairs was as a soldier and administrator. He took part in Edward II's abortive invasion of 1319 and was captured near Berwick, probably in a skirmish in which his elder brother was killed. Ralph, now heir to the Neville title and lands, was ransomed by 1321 and he saw service on the border. In 1325 he was appointed as one of the commissioners to maintain the truce with Scotland. However, he supported, first, the rebellion of Isabella and Mortimer against Edward II, then Edward III's coup against Isabella and Mortimer. Appointed steward of Edward III's household, he was in the service of Henry Percy at the same time.

In March 1333 he was one of several English magnates who were part of Edward Balliol's force that laid siege to Berwick. After Halidon Hill he received the Berwickshire barony of Langton³⁵¹ and was appointed one of the English ambassadors to Balliol's parliaments of September 1333³⁵² at Scone and February 1334 in Edinburgh to ensure that Balliol carried out his promise to cede the southern counties to England. In August 1334 he and Percy were appointed Edward III's wardens of the marches and of the southern counties. He served in the English campaigns of the winter of 1334-5 and June 1335 and took part in the siege of Dunbar in 1338 and the raising of the siege of Perth in 1339. He was rewarded with some lands in Berwickshire and Roxburghshire in the late 1330s but this could only have been for a short time as the Bruce party was by then beginning to recover the country.

Percy, Henry, 2nd Lord Percy (1301-52)³⁵³ was the son of Henry Percy, first Lord Percy, and Eleanor Arundel. His wife was Idonea de Clifford and they had six sons and two daughters together. The eldest, Henry Percy was his heir as 3rd Lord Percy.

The Percies were a powerful northern English family. Percy's father had played a prominent role in the first war of independence as one of Edward I's leading commanders,

³⁵⁰ A. Tuck, 'Neville, Ralph, fourth Lord Neville (c.1291-1367)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19950>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; GEC *Peerage*, ix, 499-500.

³⁵¹ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 145n.

³⁵² *Chron. Lanercost*, 283.

³⁵³ J. M. W. Bean, 'Percy, Henry, second Lord Percy (1301-1352)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21929, accessed 2 Nov 2010]; GEC *Peerage*, x, 459-62.

for which he was well rewarded by the English king with lands and titles in Scotland. The titles – earl of Buchan and earl of Carrick – he held for only a short time³⁵⁴ but the lands and estates were to result in his son's involvement in Scottish affairs. The second lord had been active participant himself in the first war and he now regarded himself as one of the disinherited.

On 28 July 1328 Robert had confirmed to Percy the Scottish lands that had belonged to his father 'by hereditary right or in any just and legitimate manner whatsoever'.³⁵⁵ These lands were the barony of Urr in Galloway and Red Castle in Angus, which had been held by a deceased relative, Ingelram de Balliol and conferred on Percy's father by Edward I. Robert I had already conferred half the barony of Urr on Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray,³⁵⁶ so it is surprising that Percy's claims were satisfied at Moray's expense. It may be that Moray's giving up these lands was no great issue for him, given the extent of his earldom and the lordships he had also received in Dumfriesshire. Indeed Moray may have felt that Percy might not be able to realise the benefits of his barony, surrounded as he was by Moray's own territory.

Percy adopted a cautious approach at first, choosing not to become involved with Balliol's invasion force of 1332. Rather, as warden of the English March he was instructed by Edward III to keep the peace there because of the threat of a Scottish invasion consequent upon the activities of the disinherited. However, as soon as Edward III abandoned his policy of non-intervention, he became very active in Balliol's cause. In May 1333 he undertook to serve Balliol within Scotland for life, saving his allegiance to the king of England,³⁵⁷ with a contingent of either 100 men-at-arms or 30 knights. In return Balliol promised him lands in Scotland worth 2000 marks a year.³⁵⁸ Thus, in '...less than three months Percy had partly gained his promised reward.'³⁵⁹ The first instalment on 29 July 1333 occurred shortly after the surrender of Berwick – the peel of Lochmaben and the valleys of Annandale and Moffatdale. Another grant of 5 September 1333 gave him a collection of forfeited holdings in the Carse of Stirling to the value of £629 16s.8d. On 20 September 1334 the Vale of Lochmaben grant was increased to 1000 marks a year,

³⁵⁴ John Comyn, earl of Buchan, returned to English allegiance in 1304, while the earldom of Carrick was overrun by Bruce forces in 1307.

³⁵⁵ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 51.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁵⁷ A formula adopted in reverse by Sir William Douglas on his release from English prison after Neville's Cross.

³⁵⁸ *Scalacronica*, 162; J.M.W. Bean, 'The Percies and their Estates in Scotland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 35 (1957), 97.

³⁵⁹ Bean, 'The Percies and their Estates', 98.

bringing the total of Percy's reward to just below the promised amount.³⁶⁰ When added to the lands already received from Robert I, Percy was becoming a substantial landowner in Scotland. Even when he lost his Dumfriesshire lands following a clash with a fellow English baron, Edward Bohun, whose father had been granted Annandale by Edward II and whose claims were supported by Edward III, Percy was more than compensated by Edward. He received the castle, constabulary and forest of Jedburgh, an annuity of 500 marks a year from the customs of Berwick and the custody of Berwick castle. The total value of the compensation was 1000 marks a year.

Percy was also active on the business of Edward III. In October 1333 he was appointed a commissioner to attend Balliol's parliament at Perth to ensure that Balliol confirmed the Roxburgh agreement with the English king to cede the southern counties. On 15 June 1334 Percy was replaced as warden of the town and castle of Berwick by Anthony Lucy and on 3 August 1334, as a result of the growing Scottish resistance to Balliol, he and Ralph Neville were appointed by Edward III as chief wardens of the marches and of 'the king's lands' in Scotland. In January 1335 he defeated a Scottish raid in Redesdale and in July 1335 he led the invasion force that set out with Balliol from Berwick. In the same year he was granted all the estates of Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, who had returned to the Bruce side, in Northumberland. He accompanied Edward III on expeditions into Scotland in 1336 and 1337 and was present at the siege of Dunbar in April 1338. From then on he played an integral role in the defence of the north of England. His importance in this respect achieved recognition on 28 April 1340, when he was appointed one of the councillors who were to advise the young Prince Edward during Edward III's absence overseas. In 1341 he temporarily raised the siege of Stirling.³⁶¹

In the end, however, just as Balliol failed to secure his throne and Edward III failed to hold on to the ceded counties, Percy failed to keep both the lands in Scotland restored to him by Robert I and those granted to him by Edward III in compensation for the loss of Annandale. Indeed he may never actually have taken possession of the latter.³⁶² However, he emerged from the second war of independence in a greatly enhanced position in England than when he first became involved in it. His grants from Edward III greatly added to his estates in England and made the Percy family one of the most powerful in the country.

³⁶⁰ J. Bain, 'The Percies in Scotland', *Archaeological Journal*, 41 (1884), 335-41.

³⁶¹ *CDS*, iii, no. 1378.

³⁶² W. Douglas, *The Douglas Book*, vol.1, (Edinburgh, 1885), 194.

Ramsay, Sir Alexander (*d.*1342)³⁶³ was the son of Sir William Ramsay of Dalhousie. His mother, wife and family are unknown.

The Ramsay family held the lands of Dalhousie in Midlothian and they may also have held lands in the borders. Alexander himself was ‘laird of Hawthornden and Carnock’.³⁶⁴ Although Sir William Ramsay had sworn allegiance to Edward I in 1296 he quickly turned to the Bruce cause and became one of Robert I’s staunchest supporters, signing the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320.

Alexander Ramsay was one of the outstanding leaders of the Bruce Scots in the second war of independence. He first came to prominence in 1335 when he fought alongside the earl of Moray, defeating the count of Namur at Boroughmuir. Three years later he successfully raised the siege of Dunbar castle, defended by Agnes, countess of Dunbar. Thereafter he adopted increasingly effective guerilla tactics aimed at driving out the English from the southern counties. Before David II’s return from France he was appointed warden of the east march and when he captured Roxburgh castle in 1342, David appointed him sheriff of Teviotdale. By thus extending Alexander’s authority into the central borders, however, a clash with Sir William Douglas was inevitable. Douglas regarded himself as the natural holder of this post and in June 1342 he seized Ramsay and imprisoned him in Hermitage castle, where he probably starved to death.

Randolph, John, earl of Moray (*d.*1346)³⁶⁵, was the second son of Thomas Randolph, first earl of Moray, and Isabella Stewart. He became third earl on the death of his brother, Thomas, second earl, at Dupplin Moor on 11 August 1332. John married Euphemia, daughter of Hugh, earl of Ross, but had no children. After his death at Neville’s Cross in 1346, Euphemia married Robert Stewart (in 1355), the future King Robert II.

John succeeded to extensive landholdings in Scotland. The earldom of Moray was vast in itself but just south were the provincial lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch, which he also succeeded to. In the south of Scotland he was now also lord of Annan, with its major castle

³⁶³ *SP*. iii, 89. Alastair J. Macdonald, ‘Ramsay family (*per. c.*1300–1513)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54304>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

³⁶⁴ J.H. Ramsay, ‘Notes on Early Ramsay Pedigrees, AD 1200-1600’, *The Genealogist*, 31 (1915), 14.

³⁶⁵ *SP*. vi, 297; S. I. Boardman, ‘Randolph, John, third earl of Moray (*d.* 1346)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23119>, accessed 23 Jan 2011]; *GEC Peerage*. ix, 170.

of Lochmaben, and lord of Man and he held large parcels of land in Dumfriesshire, Ayrshire, Aberdeenshire and Fife.³⁶⁶

The Randolph family had long been Bruce supporters, Thomas Randolph having been one of Bruce's key military figures in the first war of independence and guardian of Scotland from 1329-32. John continued in the family tradition and became almost as important a military leader for David II in the second war of independence as his father had been in the first. His first military activity came only four months after he assumed the earldom when, in December 1332 and with Sir Archibald Douglas, he attacked Edward Balliol at Annan, causing the latter to flee to Carlisle. He fought at Halidon Hill in July 1333 but managed to escape from the battle. In the winter of 1333-4 he visited Philip VI to seek help with transferring David II from Dumbarton to France, returning in the spring of 1334 with ships and money which enabled the transfer to proceed.

With David safely in France, Moray was appointed joint guardian with Robert Stewart by July 1334 and led the start of the Bruce resistance against Edward III and Balliol. He was active first in Clydesdale and then in September 1334 he followed David Strathbogie into his own lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch and forced him to submit to the Bruce cause. However at the Dairsie parliament in April 1335 he quarrelled with both Strathbogie and with his fellow guardian, Robert Stewart, who supported Strathbogie. In the summer of 1335 he went to Tarbert in a failed attempt to secure for the Bruce cause an alliance with John, lord of the Isles. Shortly after, he was in action in Edinburgh against Count Guy of Namur, who had participated in the joint invasion of the country by Edward II and Edward Balliol. The count surrendered to Moray but whilst escorting the latter to the English border, Moray was himself captured by an English force. His role in the second war of independence was effectively over. For the next five years he was imprisoned in several English castles until he was exchanged for William Montagu, earl of Salisbury in 1340. He continued to serve David II until his death at Neville's Cross in 1346.

Ros, Godfrey (*d.*1336)³⁶⁷ was probably the son of Godfrey Ros, a vassal of John Comyn, earl of Buchan in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Nothing is known of his mother or wife or whether he had any children.

³⁶⁶ *SP.* iii, 266.

³⁶⁷ See M.H. Brown, 'Scoti Anglicati', 105-6.

Godfrey's territorial interests were in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire. His father, along with John Comyn of Badenoch and others had capitulated to Edward I at Strathord in 1304³⁶⁸ and his Ayrshire lands of Ardneil and Kilbride had been confiscated. Despite this both Godfreys were in the Balliol/Plantagenet camp and the lands must have been restored to them as they were confiscated again, this time by Robert I, in 1315, and granted out to Robert Boyd.³⁶⁹

After Halidon Hill Balliol appointed the younger Ros as sheriff of Ayr and Lanark. However, in 1334 he was attacked by the Steward as the latter began his attempt to recover the kingdom and was forced to change sides. Now in the Bruce camp, on 8 September 1334 with William Keith, Balliol's steward of the household, who had also changed sides, he captured Richard Talbot and six of his knights, including Sir John Stirling, at Linlithgow and held him prisoner at Dumbarton.³⁷⁰ Eleven months later, following the joint invasion of Edward III and Balliol he undertook negotiations between these two and the Steward to bring the latter into the Balliol camp. By January 1336 he was back in that camp himself but during the negotiations he was killed by Maurice Murray, apparently in revenge for Ros' earlier slaying of Murray's brother. His death led to the loss of his family's lands, not only in Ayrshire but in Lanarkshire, where Stonehouse was held by Maurice Murray's son in the early 1340s.

Ross, Hugh, fourth earl of Ross (*d.*1333)³⁷¹ was the only son of William, third earl of Ross and Euphemia, about whose ancestry very little is known. He married Maud, sister of Robert I before 1323 and they had two sons, William and John and a daughter, Marjory, who married Malise, earl of Strathearn before 1334. After Maud's death he married, before 24 November 1329, Margaret, daughter of Sir David Graham of Old Montrose, and had four more children, Hugh, Euphemia, Janet and Lilius, of whom Euphemia went on to marry John Randolph, earl of Moray and then Robert Stewart, future king.

Hugh was one of the wealthiest men in Scotland. Even before he inherited the earldom he had received lands from Robert I – the sheriffdom and burgh of Cromarty in 1316 and Dingwall in 1321. Other grants, some of which were made jointly to him and Maud,

³⁶⁸ *CDS*, ii, no.1741.

³⁶⁹ *RRS*, v, no.67.

³⁷⁰ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 169.

³⁷¹ *SP*, vii, 235-7; R. W. Munro and J. Munro, 'Ross family (*per.c.*1215–*c.*1415)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54308>, accessed 25 Jan 2011].

included the third part of the fermes of Kirkcudbright, the Isle of Skye, the Strathglass and Strathconan estates in southern Ross and the thanage of Glendowachy in Fife.

Before 1329 the Ross family's support for the Bruce cause had been begrudging. Hugh's father had been a supporter of John Balliol during the Great Cause and had fought for Balliol at Dunbar, where he had been captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Despite this he was appointed Edward I's warden of Scotland in the north and in 1306 he had captured Bruce's close family at Tain and handed them over to the English king. He came over to Robert I in 1308 and remained a Bruce supporter till his death in 1323. Hugh, unlike his father, never wavered in his support for the Bruce cause. He was one of the guarantors of the marriage of Prince David to Princess Joan and fought, apparently with distinction, at Halidon Hill, where he was killed.

Ross, William, fifth earl of Ross (*d.* 1372)³⁷² was the eldest son of Hugh, fourth earl, and Maud Bruce. With a papal dispensation dated 25 May 1342 he married Mary, daughter of John of Islay, lord of the Isles. His sister Marjory married Malise earl of Strathearn and the two men were close associates. He was in Norway when the battle of Halidon Hill was fought and did not succeed to the earldom until 17 May 1336.

Local, not national, issues were of primary concern to William as earl of Ross. He was absent from most of the military events in Scotland during the 1330s – perhaps choosing to remain in Norway as the war was going badly for the Bruce side until late 1335 - but he did play an important part, with Robert the Steward, in the capture of Perth from the English garrison on 17 August 1339, by which time the war had turned decidedly in favour of the Bruce cause. Events subsequently were to go against him, however. In 1346 he arranged for the murder of Ranald Macruaridh at Elcho during the muster for the invasion of England because of a dispute between the two over the ownership of Kintail. Following the murder William and his men left Perth and did not participate in the invasion, leaving the king with a substantially smaller force. He paid the price for his desertion after David's return to Scotland from imprisonment, when he became a hostage for the king. Then in 1370 David II forced him to resign the earldom of Ross and the lordship of Skye to the crown so that it could be regranted to him under an entail that ensured the succession of Sir David Leslie, a key supporter of David, and the husband of William's elder daughter,

³⁷² *SP*. vii, 237-9; Munro, 'Ross Family', *ODNB*. [[http:// www.oxforddnb.com/ view/article/54308](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54308), accessed 25 Jan 2011].

Euphemia Ross. Earl William had opposed this marriage but it was forced on him by the king.

Seton, Sir Alexander (*d.c.*1348)³⁷³ may have been the son of Sir Alexander Seton, a noble owning the lands of Seton in East Lothian, from whom the family name is derived. His mother is unknown. His wife was reputedly Christian Cheyne, daughter of the ‘laird of Straloch’, with whom he had four sons – Thomas, William, Alexander and John.

The family’s base was in East Lothian, where they owned Seton and Winton. They also owned Winchurgh near Broxburn in West Lothian. However these relatively small landholdings were to increase dramatically during the first war of independence. Before 1329 Alexander Seton initially had been in the Bruce camp, having been one of the three Scottish nobles³⁷⁴, who, in 1308 at Cambuskenneth, ‘made a band together in defence of their king Robert and of the liberty of his realm with their last breath.’³⁷⁵ With English occupation of the Lothians, Alexander, no doubt with an eye to the security of his lands, entered the service of Edward II. On the eve of Bannockburn, however, he came over to Robert I and persuaded the king to attack in the morning because of reported demoralisation among the English troops. For this and for further service to Robert in both Scotland and Ireland he was well rewarded with grants of large estates – Elphinstone, Tranent (forfeited by the earl of Buchan), Barnes, Fausyde (Falside, forfeited by Alan la Zouche) all in East Lothian; Nodref (Niddry in West Lothian, forfeited by Alan la Zouche); Westercraigs, Gogar and Dundas, all near Edinburgh; Halsington and Hartshead in Berwickshire; a tenement in Aberdeen; and the burgh of Lamington in Lanarkshire; Furthermore, Alexander’s own lands of Seton were erected into a free barony.

In addition to all these grants Robert appointed Alexander as steward of Prince David’s household and as governor of the town of Berwick, where the earl of March was governor of the castle. During the second war, Alexander defended the besieged town in 1333 against the forces of Edward Balliol and Edward III. Two of his sons died at the siege – Thomas was taken as a hostage and hanged by Edward III, while William was drowned. His youngest son, Alexander had been killed earlier in August 1332 attempting to oppose Balliol’s landing at Kinghorn. Despite these personal losses and the forfeiture of his lands

³⁷³ C. A. McGladdery, ‘Seton family (*per. c.*1300–*c.*1510)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54318>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *SP*. viii, 563-9; B.G. Seton, *The House of Seton: a Study of Lost Causes* (Edinburgh, 1939), 86-95.

³⁷⁴ The other two were Thomas Hay of Borthwick and Neil Campbell of Lochawe.

³⁷⁵ Barrow, *Bruce*, 151.

after Dupplin, Sir Alexander attended Balliol's parliament in Edinburgh on 10 February 1334 and witnessed the cession of Berwick to England. He was also appointed as one of the commissioners charged with measuring out the 2,000 librates of land in the south of Scotland also to be ceded. On the Bruce recovery he swore allegiance once more to David II.

Alexander's estates must have been restored to him following the Bruce success as his great grandson, William, is recorded as granting some of them away.³⁷⁶

Stafford, Ralph, lord Stafford (1301-72)³⁷⁷, was the elder son of Edmund Stafford, first Lord Stafford, and Margaret Basset. His first wife, Katherine Hastang died and his second marriage, to Margaret Audley, brought him considerable estates in England, Ireland and Wales. He had four daughters.

Stafford was a close personal friend of Edward III, having supported the plot to free the king from the control of Mortimer and Isabella. He took part in Edward Balliol's expedition of 1332 and was one of Balliol's commanders at Dupplin Moor. From 1334 to 1337 he took part in three more campaigns in Scotland. He then served Edward III in France. In return for his loyalty and friendship, Edward created him first earl of Stafford in 1351.

Stewart, Robert, 'the Steward' (1316-90),³⁷⁸ king of Scots, was the son of Walter Stewart, hereditary steward of Scotland, and Marjorie Bruce, daughter of King Robert I. He was eight years older than his uncle, David II, whom he succeeded in 1371. He married twice but the marriage to his first wife, Elizabeth Mure, in 1336 was regarded as illegitimate until a papal dispensation was granted on 22 November 1347. This legitimised both the marriage and their children. Robert and Elizabeth had nine children, the first of whom would become King Robert III in 1390. In 1355 Robert married Euphemia, countess of Ross, sister of William earl of Ross and widow of John Randolph, earl of Moray. This second marriage produced two sons and at least two daughters.

³⁷⁶ *SP*. vii, 571.

³⁷⁷ C. Rawcliffe, 'Stafford, Ralph, first earl of Stafford (1301-1372)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26211>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

³⁷⁸ S.I. Boardman, 'Robert II (1316-1390)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23713>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

The Stewarts were the hereditary ‘stewards’ of Scotland since the reign of David I and, as such, possessed considerable landholdings throughout Scotland, granted by successive kings. By 1329 Robert Stewart owned Renfrew burgh and castle and the land later to become Renfrewshire, the Isle of Bute (including Rothesay castle), Cowal (including Dunoon castle), the northern half of Kyle in Ayrshire and large estates in Berwickshire, Roxburghshire,³⁷⁹ and east Lothian, to all of which he added substantially more landholdings after the ultimate success of the Bruce cause.

The stewards of Scotland had long allied themselves with the Bruce family even before the Great Cause of 1291. Robert’s grandfather, James Stewart, maintained this support constantly throughout the first war of independence until his death in 1309 and it was taken up by Walter and continued until the latter’s own death in 1327. Walter was one of the Scottish commanders at Bannockburn and a highly trusted adviser to Robert I.

In 1318, at the age of two, Robert was proclaimed heir to the Scottish throne should Robert I fail to produce any legitimate heir of his own but his position as heir presumptive was displaced when the future king David II was born on 5 March 1324. Two years later, the ten year old Robert became steward of Scotland when his father died. In 1333 he was present at Halidon Hill but fled to Dumbarton castle and safety. His uncle, the nine year old David II, escaped to France and an eight year exile but Robert chose to remain in Scotland and lead a resistance to the Balliol/English occupation.

Robert’s lands in Renfrewshire, Bute and Cowal had been forfeited by Edward Balliol and granted to David Strathbogie, titular earl of Atholl. In May 1334, at the age of eighteen he was made joint guardian with John Randolph³⁸⁰ and immediately set out to recover his forfeited lands. By the summer of 1334 he had recaptured Dunoon castle, where Balliol’s sheriff Alan Lisle was killed. At the same time, however, Strathbogie was receiving the fealty of the steward’s landholders in Renfrewshire, so his fight back could not have been entirely successful. Nevertheless the fact that in September 1335 an expedition by Edward III was launched from Ireland against his lands in Argyll showed that he must have

³⁷⁹ Many of which he gained through the forfeiture of William Soules and the deceased Sir Roger Mowbray following the collapse of the Soules plot in 1320.

³⁸⁰ Although the term ‘guardian’ is accepted by virtually all writers on this period, as Penman points out the term that was adopted by all the successors of Donald earl of Mar in their acta was ‘king’s lieutenant’. M. Penman, ‘Parliament Lost – Parliament Regained? The Three Estates in the Reign of David II, 1329-1371’ in M. Brown and R.J. Tanner (eds.), *The History of the Scottish Parliament, Vol. 1: Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235-1560* (Edinburgh, 2004), 79.

recovered much of his ancestral lands by that time. Unfortunately he quickly fell out with his joint guardian both before and during the Dairsie parliament of April 1335, at which he supported Strathbogie against Randolph. By September 1335 both joint guardians had been replaced by Sir Andrew Murray and the Steward probably came to terms with Edward III and Balliol. On the death of Murray in 1338 Robert was reappointed guardian and held the post until David II's return from France on 2 June 1341. Little is known of his activities from 1335-9 but in 1339 he was jointly responsible for the capture of Perth from an English garrison under Sir Thomas Ughtred.

Robert Stewart emerged successfully from the 1330s. With the defeat and expulsion from Scotland of the Balliol and English forces, he had all his ancestral land restored and he would go on to add substantially to them through 'deals' with other magnates such as Sir William Douglas, lord of Liddesdale, his marriage with Euphemia Ross and a series of land acquisitions for members of his family. On his death as king of Scotland in 1390 he was described by Wyntoun as a great king for having restored Scotland as an enduring territory. For those chroniclers sympathetic to him this achievement would have ranked alongside the cession of the southern counties by Edward Balliol as of equal importance in forging a national identity in the 1330s.

Stirling, Sir John (*d.*1378) '...was unique [in the second war of independence] in being Edward III's only Scottish captain.'³⁸¹ His father and mother are unknown. In 1327 or the following year he married Barnaba, the daughter and co-heiress of Adam Swinburne, a wealthy Northumbrian landowner. On the death of Barnaba before 1361, Stirling married Jacoba Emeldon, daughter of the mayor of Newcastle killed at Halidon Hill in 1333 and another co-heiress.

Stirling had no recorded landed interests in Scotland at the start of the second war of independence but he owned land in Swinburn, Tynedale in 1330-31.³⁸² As a result of his endeavours on behalf of Edward III, he was granted further lands in both Northumberland in 1335 and Lothian in 1336. The latter grant comprised lands to the value of 300 marks per annum, including Bathgate and Ratho, and contained a proviso that should they be retaken by enemies of Edward III, he would be compensated by lands worth 200 marks in England. As this is exactly what happened – Stirling lost his Lothian lands to the Bruce

³⁸¹ D. Cornell, 'Sir John Stirling: Edward III's Scottish Captain', *Northern History*, XLV:1 (March 2008), 111; M.H. Brown, 'Scoti Anglicati', 109.

³⁸² *CDS*, iii, no. 1027.

Scots by 1339 – he received at first monetary compensation from the English king, then more lands in Northumberland, The result was that Stirling became a powerful lord in northern England with substantial estates in Northumberland.³⁸³

Stirling was a trusted supporter of Edward Balliol. He probably fought on the English side at Halidon Hill and led the Balliol/English force in the siege of Loch Leven castle in March 1334. In the autumn of that year, however, he was one of those captured at Linlithgow by Godfrey Ros and imprisoned in Dumbarton castle for a year under harsh conditions until his ransom was paid. On his release, Edward III, who contributed 250 marks to the ransom, rewarded him with manors in Northumberland and appointed him sheriff of Edinburgh and constable of the castle in October 1335. As Cornell points out, in these positions, which he held until March 1338, he was acting as a commander of Edward III rather than Balliol.³⁸⁴ In May 1336 he successfully led a force from the castle to attack the Bruce Scots who were besieging Cupar castle but two years later he himself was captured, for the second time, before Edinburgh castle. Threatened with execution, a second ransom followed, after which Stirling spent time in the service of Edward III mostly in the Low Countries and France, where he fought at Crecy in 1346. However, he was back in Scotland three times for short periods in 1340 and the winter of 1341/2 and for a lengthier period from January 1345 till February 1346, when he was custodian, then chancellor and chamberlain of Berwick. From then until his death, Stirling was held in the highest regard by Edward III, who made him a knight banneret.

Doubtless regarded as a traitor by the Bruce Scots – which would account for his harsh treatment in Dumbarton castle and the threat to hang him before the walls of Edinburgh castle – Stirling failed to retain any lands in Scotland but emerged profitably in England from the war. On the losing side, he was nevertheless one of its biggest winners.

Strathbogie, David, titular earl of Atholl (1309-35)³⁸⁵ was one of the disinherited nobles endeavouring to recover his forfeited lands in Scotland. Born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, his father was David, earl of Atholl and his mother was Joan Comyn, daughter of John Comyn, killed by Robert Bruce in 1306. His wife was Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Beaumont and they had one son, also David, who was aged three when his father died.

³⁸³ *CDS*, iii, nos. 1183, 1207, 1209, 1319.

³⁸⁴ Cornell, 'Sir John Stirling', 114.

³⁸⁵ F. Watson, 'Strathbogie, David, styled tenth earl of Atholl (d. 1326)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54330>, accessed 2 Nov 2010]; *GEC Peerage*. i, 307-8.

In contrast to most other disinherited barons, Strathbogie came from a Scottish family. His claims were to the earldom of Atholl, which Robert I had confiscated from his father and conferred on Sir John Campbell, and half the lands of his maternal grandfather, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch.³⁸⁶

The Strathbogie earls of Atholl had a chequered history during the wars of independence. Before 1329, Strathbogie's grandfather, John, earl of Atholl, had supported the Bruce side in the Great Cause but had remained loyal to the crown when John Balliol became king, taking part in actions against the English at Dunbar and, probably, Falkirk. He was also active against the English between then and 1303 when he submitted to Edward I, receiving in return an appointment as Edward's warden and justiciar north of the Forth. However, he attended Bruce's inauguration at Scone in 1306 and after Methven led the queen and his niece, Marjory Bruce, north to Tain where they were captured. John himself was seized later, taken to London and executed on 7 November 1306. Edward then granted the earldom to Ralph de Monthermer, earl of Gloucester.

Strathbogie's father, however, recovered the earldom on payment of 10,000 marks, submitting to Edward in May 1307 and for the next five years he was on the Comyn/Balliol/Plantagenet side, fighting against Robert I at Inverurie in 1308 and at Loch Doon in 1311. By the end of 1312, however, he had made his peace with Robert and attended the king's parliament at Inverness. Bruce was surprisingly generous to him, appointing him constable of Scotland in place of his loyal supporter Sir Gilbert Hay of Erroll. However, possibly in revenge for a slight on his sister by Edward Bruce, the earl deserted the Bruce cause the night before Bannockburn, attacking the Scottish store and killing its commander, Sir William Airth. For this Strathbogie was forfeited of his earldom, which was given to Sir Neil Campbell, who married Robert's sister Mary on her release from English prison. Malcolm, earl of Lennox and Sir Adam Gordon (*d.*1328) were given lands in Strathbogie and Sir Gilbert Hay was restored to the constableness. Earl David spent his remaining years in England, receiving grants of land there from Edward II.

David Strathbogie, the son, was seventeen when his father died and he succeeded as the exiled earl of Atholl and to his father's English estates. He played a key role, with Henry Beaumont, in Edward III's seizure of power in 1330 from Isabella and Mortimer and so

³⁸⁶ The other half was claimed by Richard Talbot, Strathbogie's uncle, who had married Elizabeth, the second daughter of John Comyn.

became part of the Edward's inner circle. Like Donald, earl of Mar, he was brought up in England, but unlike Donald, was not restored to his Scottish lands by Robert I. Though his claims in Scotland were not officially recognised by the English king, he visited Edward Balliol when the latter arrived in England in 1331, and he took part in the 1332 invasion, having leased out manors in Norfolk, Northumberland, Wiltshire and Suffolk to raise money for the campaign.³⁸⁷ He and Beaumont effectively acted as Edward III's agents with Balliol, particularly in the matter of the transfer of the counties of southern Scotland. He was rewarded with £200 for participating in Edward III's campaign in 1333 and was also well rewarded by Balliol for his constant service, receiving Robert Stewart's lands and his office of steward of Scotland after Halidon Hill as well as restoration of his disinherited lands.

However when relations between the disinherited leaders and Balliol disintegrated during Balliol's parliament of February 1334 over claims to the inheritance of John Mowbray killed at Annan in December 1332, Strathbogie sided with Beaumont and Talbot in opposing Mowbray's brothers.

Having made great efforts to win over Stewart's men in the west, Strathbogie then went north to Lochaber, pursued by John Randolph, earl of Moray, who on 27 September 1334,³⁸⁸ forced him and his men to swear allegiance to David II. For this Edward III made arrangements for the titular earl's lands and property in England and Ireland to be forfeited. Strathbogie was allowed to serve as the Scottish king's lieutenant in the north, but a dispute arose over the control of former Comyn lands and Strathbogie, by winning over the young Robert Stewart, caused much dissension between the Steward and Randolph, both of whom were guardians at this time.

With the arrival of two English armies at Perth four months later, Strathbogie surrendered Cupar castle to Balliol and changed sides again, still retaining his office of lieutenant. In October Balliol appointed him guardian of Scotland north of the Forth, and he acted in that office with growing ruthlessness and disproportionate force in his determination to root out

³⁸⁷ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 78.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 172. Alasdair Ross argues that Strathbogie's claim to the earldom of Atholl had been recognised by the two Guardians Robert Stewart and John Randolph, earl of Moray, along with the earl of March and, surprisingly, Andrew Murray, as they all witnessed a charter of Strathbogie, the opening clause of which describes him as 'earl of Atholl and 'constable of Scotland'. A. Ross, 'Men for all Seasons – the Strathbogie Earls of Atholl and the Wars of Independence, c.1290-c.1335: Part 2', *Northern Scotland*, 21 (2000), 1-15. The charter is NAS, GD50/130/6 and Ross notes that as John Randolph was in English custody by August 1335, it must have been issued between September 1334 and August 1335.

the supporters of David II. Fordun describes his aim as to ‘... wipe all the freeholders from off the face of the earth.’³⁸⁹ He probably chased Randolph out of Lochaber before the latter’s capture in the summer of 1335.³⁹⁰ His attack on Murray’s wife, Christian Bruce, at Kildrummy castle led to the battle of Culblean on 30 November 1335 where he was killed. As a tailpiece to these events Strathbogie’s wife, Catherine, was besieged in Lochindorb castle after her husband’s death – which suggests that Strathbogie must have made considerable inroads into Randolph’s earldom of Moray – until her rescue by Edward III.

Strathearn, Malise, eighth earl of Strathearn (1275x80-c.1350)³⁹¹ was the son and heir of Malise, seventh earl and was the last in the line of the ‘ancient’ earls of Strathearn. His mother is unknown, although she was the first of the seventh earl’s two wives.³⁹² Malise, eighth earl’s only recorded wife was Marjorie Ross, daughter of Hugh and sister of William, earls of Ross. He had five daughters, one by his first wife and four by Marjorie.

Malise held extensive landholdings. Apart from the earldom of Strathearn, by 1331 he was also earl of Caithness through his great grandmother, Matilda, although he only held one fourth part of Caithness.³⁹³

The sixth Earl Malise had been a supporter of John Balliol during the Great Cause and had fought against the English in 1296, submitting to Edward I in that year. From 1297-1303 he reverted to the Scottish (Balliol) cause, then from 1303-6 was back in the allegiance of Edward I. In 1306, however, he fought for Bruce at Methven, explaining to Edward I that he had done so under threat of death. He was imprisoned in England and returned to Scotland in 1310 and two years later joined the English garrison at Perth. On the fall of Perth to the Bruce forces in 1313, he was captured by his own son, Malise, and was compelled to resign his earldom to the latter. Malise, seventh earl, unlike his father, remained a firm Bruce supporter but little is known of him, other than that he witnessed both the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 and many of Bruce’s charters up to his death about 1329.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁹ *Chron. Fordun*, 351.

³⁹⁰ S. Boardman, ‘Lordship in the North-east: the Badenoch Stewarts. I: Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Lord of Badenoch’, *Northern Scotland* (16) 1996, 2n.

³⁹¹ *SP*, ii, 319-20; *SP*, viii, 252-4; *GEC Peerage*, xii, 385-7.

³⁹² The second being Joanna Menteith, daughter of Sir John Menteith of Rusky.

³⁹³ *ER*, i, 404, 570. Malise’s claim to the earldom was disputed. For details see Crawford, ‘Earls of Orkney-Caithness’, 24-8.

³⁹⁴ See C.J. Neville, ‘The Political Allegiance of the Earls of Strathearn during the War of Independence’, *SHR*, 65 (1986), 133-53 for a full account of the activities of the sixth and seventh earls.

Malise, eighth earl, succeeded to the title and to the earldoms of Caithness and Orkney on his father's death. He continued his father's support for Bruce and fought at Halidon Hill in 1333. Cynthia Neville states that he fought for Balliol at this battle³⁹⁵ but there is no evidence for this, although he was described by Edward III in 1334 as 'a notorious rebel',³⁹⁶ suggesting that at some time he may have supported Balliol or Edward III but subsequently changed sides. He does not appear to have taken any part in national affairs during the 1330s. Almost certainly he went off to Caithness after 1333 and remained there until his death. This may have been for reasons of personal safety as sometime after Halidon Hill, perhaps at Balliol's Holyrood parliament of February 1334, he resigned his Strathearn earldom to Balliol, who granted it to John Warenne, earl of Surrey. Then as the war turned in favour of the Bruce side he probably deemed it wiser to remain in the north as the act of surrendering the earldom would have been regarded by that side as traitorous. Indeed Malise was brought twice to trial in parliament – in 1339 by Robert Stewart as guardian and in 1344 by David II himself - for this deed. Although acquitted on both occasions he was not restored to the earldom by David. In Caithness Malise strengthened his hold on that earldom by arranging marriage alliances for his daughters, two to prominent Norwegian noblemen, visiting Norway, most likely with brother-in-law, William earl of Ross.³⁹⁷

Sutherland, Kenneth, 4th earl of Sutherland (*d.*1333)³⁹⁸ was the second son of William, 2nd earl and the younger brother of William, 3rd earl, whom he succeeded before December 1330. His mother is unknown. He married Mary, daughter of Donald, 6th earl of Mar and widow of John Strathbogie, 9th earl of Atholl, with whom he had three children – William, who succeeded as 5th earl, Nicholas and Eustachia.

Kenneth's landed interests were the earldom itself, which consisted of the large tract of land immediately south of the earldom of Caithness and including the villages of Dornoch, Creich, Golspie, Rogart, Clyne and Loth and part of Kildonan and Lairg. In December 1330, however, he gave up all claims to the lands of Reginald Moray within the earldom on the occasion of the marriage of Eustachia to Reginald's son, Gilbert.

³⁹⁵ Neville, *Native Lordship*, 35.

³⁹⁶ *CDS*, iii, no.1119.

³⁹⁷ Crawford, 'Earls of Orkney-Caithness', 171.

³⁹⁸ C. A. McGladdery, 'Sutherland family (*per. c.*1200–*c.*1510)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54333>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *SP*, viii, 324-5; *GEC Peerage*, xii, 541.

Kenneth's father had sworn allegiance to Edward I in 1296 and had remained sympathetic to the English king and the Balliol cause until his death in 1306 or 1307. Neither Kenneth nor his elder brother, William, however, adhered to their father's allegiance. William may have fought on the Bruce side at Bannockburn and he certainly signed the Declaration of Arbroath. In the second war of independence Kenneth supported the cause of David II but was killed at Halidon Hill in July 1333, having held the earldom for less than three years.

Sutherland, William, 5th earl of Sutherland (*d.c.*1371)³⁹⁹ was the eldest son of Kenneth, 4th earl and Mary, daughter of Donald, 6th earl of Mar. He married, first, after December 1342, Margaret, daughter of King Robert I and sister of David II, with whom he had one son, John, and, secondly, between March 1346 and November 1347, Joanna, widow of three former earls.⁴⁰⁰

During the second war of independence, William's territorial interests were the same as his father's, namely the earldom itself, although on David II's return to Scotland in 1341, his shortly to be acquired status as the king's brother-in-law brought him grants of land beyond the boundaries of the earldom, including the thanages of Downie in Angus, Kincardine, Fettercairn and Aberluthnot, all in Kincardineshire and half of the thanages of Formartine and Kintore in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen. In 1345 the earldom of Sutherland was erected into regality. More grants followed – the whole barony of Cluny in Aberdeenshire and the crag of Dunnottar in Kincardineshire. On David II's release in 1357 William was still very much in favour and received further substantial grants from the king.

Before then, however, William was faithful to the Bruce cause. He is not known for playing any leading role in the war but he took part in two actions - the failed siege of Cupar castle in 1336⁴⁰¹ and an invasion of England in 1340 with the earl of March, in which much of Northumberland was destroyed but after which the two earls were defeated by a pursuing force under Sir Thomas Gray.

³⁹⁹ McGladdery, 'Sutherland family', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54333>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *SP*. viii, 325-9; *GEC Peerage*, xii, 541-4.

⁴⁰⁰ Malise, 7th earl of Strathearn, John Campbell, earl of Atholl, and Maurice Moray, earl of Strathearn.

⁴⁰¹ *Chron. Lanercost*, 297.

William was one of the biggest ‘winners’ of the second war of independence. His earldom was secured and his marriage to the king’s sister brought him additional lands and considerable influence after 1342.

Talbot, Richard (c.1306-56)⁴⁰² was the eldest son of Gilbert Talbot, first Lord Talbot. His mother was perhaps Anne, daughter of William de Botelier. In 1327 he married Elizabeth Comyn, daughter of John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, killed by Bruce in 1306 and they had one son, Gilbert.

A considerable landowner in England, Talbot’s landed interests in Scotland were through his wife. Elizabeth Comyn was sister and co-heir of John Comyn,⁴⁰³ who was killed at Bannockburn. Claiming half the Comyn lands of Badenoch, Talbot regarded himself as one the ‘disinherited’, along with his nephew, David Strathbogie, who claimed the other half. Talbot joined Balliol’s invasion force in August 1332 and was rewarded on Balliol’s success with the title of ‘lord’ of Mar and custody of Kildrummy castle, as well as lands in Keith forfeited from Robert I’s marshal, Sir Robert Keith, on the condition that Talbot would ‘pledge himself not to take part in any quarrel against the king, excepting in allegiance to him’ and would have the castle ready for Balliol ‘in case he needs to retreat there’.⁴⁰⁴ He attended Balliol’s Parliament in Edinburgh on 10 February 1334.

Talbot was also a witness to the ceding of the Scottish counties to Edward III but he soon left the Balliol cause as a result of the dispute over the lands of the deceased John Mowbray, killed at Annan in December 1332. Talbot opposed the claims of John’s cousin, Alexander Mowbray, and when the group of Balliol’s strongest supporters broke up over this issue he travelled north to take possession of his ‘inheritance’. However, on the way to Badenoch he apparently turned back just as the Scottish resistance was gaining momentum and decided to travel south to England instead. Accompanied by Sir John Stirling, John Felton and other knights, he was captured near Linlithgow on 8 September 1334, ironically by two former prominent Balliol supporters, William Keith and Godfrey Ros, and imprisoned in Dumbarton castle. He was ransomed a year later and returned to England. However, he was back in Scotland in December as keeper of Berwick and justiciar of the

⁴⁰² S. L. Waugh, ‘Talbot, Richard, second Lord Talbot (c.1306–1356)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26938>, accessed 2 Nov 2010]; GEC *Peerage*, xii, 612-4.

⁴⁰³ The other co-heir was Elizabeth’s sister, Joan, who married David (II) Strathbogie, earl of Atholl.

⁴⁰⁴ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 228, nos.15-16, 330-1.

ceded counties.⁴⁰⁵ This was his last involvement in Scottish affairs. By February 1339 he was in England again and he possibly fought in France later that year. He died in 1356.

As one of the disinherited, Talbot ultimately gained nothing from his involvement in the second war of independence. He is not reported as having occupied any of the lands he claimed and it is unlikely he even took possession of Kildrummy castle. There is no evidence of Christian Bruce having left the castle given to her and her husband, Andrew Murray, by Robert I.

Ughtred, Thomas (1291/2-1365)⁴⁰⁶ first Lord Ughtred, was an English nobleman, the son of Thomas Ughtred and Isabel of Steeton. His wife was Margaret of Kexby and they had at least one son, Thomas, who succeeded him.

Ughtred was a wealthy landowner in Yorkshire. His landed interests in Scotland came entirely from his involvement on the Balliol side in the second war. He was not one of the disinherited lords but, unlike many other English participants in the war, his involvement was sustained throughout the 1330s, which brought him rewards in the form of land grants from Edward Balliol, which he sought to protect.

By the time of Balliol's invasion in 1332, Ughtred already had considerable experience as a soldier in the first war of independence. He probably fought at Bannockburn, served at the siege of Berwick in 1319, participated in Edward II's invasion of 1322 and was captured at Byland, also in 1322, and subsequently ransomed.

In 1332 he accompanied Edward Balliol and the disinherited and fought on the winning side at Dupplin Moor. When Balliol moved to Roxburgh in October 1332, Ughtred accompanied him and successfully warded off an attack by the guardian, Sir Andrew Murray, who was himself captured. As a reward, on 20 October 1332 Balliol granted him the barony of Bonkil in Berwickshire, forfeited by Sir John Stewart, earl of Angus, who had died on 9 December 1331. Although the charter is broad in its scope – it actually confers all the lands forfeited by Stewart – it was witnessed by Gilbert Umfraville, and it is unlikely that its terms were intended to apply to the earldom, which was being claimed by

⁴⁰⁵ *Chron. Bower*, xiii, 231, n.25.

⁴⁰⁶ Andrew Ayton, 'Ughtred, Thomas, first Lord Ughtred (1291/2–1365)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online edn, Jan 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27980>], accessed 11 June 2011]; A. Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution' in J.S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001), 107-32.

Gilbert, notwithstanding that Gilbert does not appear to have taken possession of them.⁴⁰⁷ Ughtred, however, sought and received the protection of Edward III to ensure that Bonkil was safeguarded.⁴⁰⁸ He almost certainly fought at Halidon Hill, again on the winning side but, in July 1334, following the beginnings of the Bruce recovery, he was sent by Balliol to Edward III for help. He took part in each of Edward's campaigns in Scotland from Halidon Hill to his appointment, in 1337 after some prevarication by Balliol, as garrison commander in Perth.⁴⁰⁹ His garrison, comprising mostly 240 men from Yorkshire, was the largest sustained English presence in Scotland. On 17 August, however, 1339 he surrendered the town to Bruce forces to avoid the starvation of his garrison, for which he was tried and acquitted in the English parliament. The rest of Ughtred's career was served with distinction in France, where he acted as sub marshal of the English army at Crecy in 1346, and in England tending to his own affairs, although he was still in service against David II during the winter of 1341-2.

His involvement in the second war of independence brought him no benefits in the end. As early as March 1334 the barony of Bonkil had been laid waste by war,⁴¹⁰ forcing Ughtred to borrow £100 from the archbishop of York to sustain his activities in Scotland.

Umfraville, Gilbert ninth [sic] earl of Angus (1309/10–1381)⁴¹¹ was the son and heir of Robert Umfraville, eighth earl, and Lucy Kyme, an English heiress. He married, first, Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Willoughby of Eresby, and with her had three sons, all of whom died before Gilbert and Joan; and secondly, Matilda Lucy, with whom there were no children.

The Umfraville family were powerful landowners in both Scotland and England. In northern England they held the strategically important lordships of Prudhoe and Redesdale in Northumberland and Gilbert's mother had been heiress to large tracts of land in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, all of which Gilbert inherited. Through his marriage to Matilda, sister of Anthony Lucy, Gilbert also inherited Cockermouth and estates in

⁴⁰⁷ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 273-4.

⁴⁰⁸ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 255; *CDS*, iii, no.1128.

⁴⁰⁹ Most notably he accompanied Edward III in his sortie to Lochindorb in July 1336 to relieve Katherine Beaumont, under siege from Sir Andrew Murray.

⁴¹⁰ *Rot.Scot.*, i, 261.

⁴¹¹ F. Watson, 'Umfraville, Gilbert de, seventh earl of Angus (1244?-1307)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27988>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

Cumberland. In Scotland the Umfravilles had held the earldom of Angus since 1243 and it was this that Gilbert was claiming after Robert I's death in 1329.

Gilbert was nineteen when Robert I died and, despite his extensive landholdings in England, was determined to pursue his claim to the earldom. His grandfather, Gilbert, the first of three Umfravilles to possess the earldom, had served as an English soldier in Wales and Gascony with Edward I and took little part in Scottish domestic affairs. He stayed loyal to Edward I in the first war of independence until his death in 1307. Likewise, Gilbert's father, Robert, remained a firm supporter of Edward II, even after his capture at Bannockburn and subsequent release. Robert Umfraville's penalty was the forfeit of his earldom, which was granted out to Sir John Stewart of Bonkil towards the end of Robert I's reign.

Robert Umfraville died in 1325 and it was as one of the disinherited that Gilbert joined Edward Balliol's invasion of 1332 in an attempt to win back the earldom. To raise money for his part in Balliol's expedition, he sold his manors of Barowford and East Whelpington in Northumberland, 'as well as a mill and a fishery on the Tyne.'⁴¹² Little is known of Gilbert's activities in Scotland but it is doubtful whether he took possession of the earldom after Dupplin Moor as, following Balliol's expulsion in December 1332, Gilbert was in receipt, some two months later, of 200 marks from the abbot of St Mary's, York, presumably to assist his involvement in the subsequent invasion of Scotland by Edward III. In July 1333 he attached his seal to an indenture concluded at Berwick between the English king and Patrick, earl of Dunbar, in the immediate aftermath of the battle. However there is no record of his attending Balliol's parliament at Edinburgh in February 1334.⁴¹³ He took part in Edward's Roxburgh campaign in the winter of 1334-5, providing a retinue of 30 men-at-arms and 80 mounted archers, for which he received £100,⁴¹⁴ and he was part of the large invasion force of July 1335, serving in Edward Balliol's army that set out from Berwick.⁴¹⁵ On this occasion he provided 40 men-at-arms and 48 mounted archers.⁴¹⁶ In October 1337 he and Henry Percy fought Sir Andrew Murray to a standstill in the English west march. Nothing is then heard of Gilbert's activities until 1346, when he participated in the battle of Neville's Cross against the Bruce forces.

⁴¹² Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 78.; CPR 1330-4, p.381.

⁴¹³ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 152.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 178. 246.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 248.

Gilbert's military career thus seems to have been successful but, as with the other members of the disinherited, he failed to achieve his aims of restoration of his lands. While Beaumont and Strathbogie managed a brief possession of Buchan and Atholl respectively, there is no record that Gilbert managed any kind of presence in Angus.

Vere, John de, seventh earl of Oxford (1312-60)⁴¹⁷ was the son and heir of Alfonso de Vere and Jane Foliot. He succeeded his elder brother to the earldom of Oxford in 1331. His wife was Maud Badlesmere and they had four sons and two daughters.

Oxford was involved in most of Edward III's Scottish campaigns. In 1333 he was one of the guarantors of Edward's terms when Berwick surrendered. He took part in the winter campaign of 1334/5, where his role was to support Anthony Lucy in defending Carlisle and the west march against any possible invasion by Bruce Scots, for which he received £50 from the English exchequer. In the summer campaign of 1335 he was part of Balliol's invasion force under Warenne, earl of Surrey. In the first of these campaigns Oxford provided only a small force compared with other magnates. In the second he is not listed as providing any men.⁴¹⁸ His need for a subsidy in 1333/4 and his non-listing in 1335 suggest that Oxford was not a particularly wealthy magnate. In 1339 he was appointed to bolster the defences of the south-east coast of England and thereafter served in France, returning to Scotland to take part in the expedition to relieve Lochmaben castle in 1343.

Wake, Thomas, second Lord Wake of Liddel, (1298-1349)⁴¹⁹ was an English nobleman, the son of John, first Lord Wake and Joan Fitzbernard, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster.

Wake was already an important baron, holding lands in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Westmorland and Cumberland. He had supported Isabella and Mortimer's coup against Edward II and campaigned on their behalf in 1327. However, he opposed the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, despite having been one of the commissioners appointed to negotiate the peace, and he refused to attend the English parliament of Salisbury in October 1328. His lands were therefore confiscated and he was forced to flee to France,

⁴¹⁷ A. Tuck, 'Vere, John de, seventh earl of Oxford (1312-1360)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28212>, accessed 8 Aug 2011]; GEC *Peerage*. x, 222-5.

⁴¹⁸ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 246-50.

⁴¹⁹ See W. M. Ormrod, 'Wake, Thomas, second Lord Wake (1298-1349)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28408>, accessed 2 Nov 2010].

remaining in exile until after Mortimer's fall and Edward III's assumption of power in October 1330. Thereafter he was quickly restored to favour by Edward III, who on 20 December 1330 demanded from David II restitution of Wake's (and Beaumont's) Scottish lands.

The lands in question were the barony of Kirkandrews and Barlocco in Dumfriesshire, which had been granted to Thomas' father by Alexander III⁴²⁰ but had been forfeited by Robert I and granted out, first to Sir John Soules (nephew of the Guardian) and then in 1318 to Sir Archibald Douglas; and the lordship of Liddesdale in right of Wake's grandmother, Joan d'Estuteville, which Robert had eventually granted out to his illegitimate son, Sir Robert Bruce in 1320. Edward repeated his demand for restoration to Wake on 24 February 1331 but to no avail. As with Beaumont's claims, the Regent, Randolph, ignored those of Wake, undoubtedly out of concern with the security of the realm. English possession of Kirkandrews and Liddesdale would have certainly threatened that security, in the eyes of Randolph.

Before April 1332 Wake petitioned Edward III declaring his refusal to be bound by the treaty of Edinburgh until such time as he was restored to his Scottish lands. He sold lands in Norfolk and borrowed money to promote his claims.⁴²¹ In the end he did not participate in Balliol's campaign of 1332 but took part in some of the later expeditions organised by Edward III, particularly the campaign of 1333. He was one of the witnesses to the letters patent of 12 June 1334 by which Balliol ceded the southern counties of Scotland. In September 1337 he also led a sortie from Carlisle into Scotland. He remained in England to defend the Scottish marches after Edward III's departure for the Low Countries in the summer of 1338. The rest of his career was spent in England, despite the siege of his castle of Liddel and the seizure of his lands by Sir William Douglas in February 1346 and the capture of the castle before Neville's Cross. Like the other members of the 'disinherited' he lost all his Scottish possessions.

Warrene, John de, earl of Surrey and Sussex (1286-1347)⁴²² was one of the great magnates of England, the son of William de Warrene, earl of Surrey and Joan de Vere, daughter of the earl of Oxford. In 1306 he married Joan, daughter of Henri, count of Bar by

⁴²⁰ *RRS*, v, no. 254

⁴²¹ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 77.

⁴²² S. L. Waugh, 'Warrene, John de, seventh earl of Surrey (1286-1347)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28735>, accessed 13 Jan 2011]; *GEC Peerage*. xii, 508-11.

Eleanor, daughter of Edward I. The marriage was an unhappy one and they were separated several times during its course. The marriage produced no children but Warenne had several illegitimate offspring.

At the age of 20, Warenne had custody of Edward Balliol, his cousin, until Balliol returned to the custody of Edward II in 1310. His relationship with that king fluctuated over the years and he took part in all of the political crises of the reign, for the most part on the king's side. On the succession of Edward III, Warenne was a faithful servant to the new king.

His involvement in Scotland's affairs was as a participant in various invading armies, including those of 1310, 1319 and 1323, although he was not involved in the 1314 campaign. He was at Halidon Hill in 1333 but did not take part in the 1334-5 winter campaign, although he sent a sizeable force. He witnessed Balliol's grant of the southern counties to Edward III at Newcastle on 12 June 1334 and was part of Balliol's force in the joint invasion of July 1335

Warenne was well rewarded in England for his involvement in the second Scottish war of independence, including freedom from all debts owed to the Crown. In Scotland Balliol granted him, before 2 March 1334, the earldom of Strathearn after it had been forfeited by Earl Malise.⁴²³ From then on Warenne called himself 'earl of Surrey and Sussex and earl of Strathearn.' Warenne could not have taken possession of the earldom, however, as he was for the most part in England when the Bruce recovery got under way. On 5 November 1338 he had to ask for protection for his clerk, Sir Robert Doget, whom he was 'sending to defend his earldom of Stratherne from the enemy.'⁴²⁴ The protection, if it was given, was to no avail. The earldom was soon recovered by the Bruce side. Warenne's involvement in Scottish affairs brought him nothing in Scotland in the end.

⁴²³ *CDS*, iii, no.1118.

⁴²⁴ *CDS*, iii, no.1289.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

APS The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes, (12 vols, Edinburgh 1814-75).

Barbour, J., *The Bruce*, ed. A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997).

CDS Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland in the Public Record Office, ed. J. Bain (5 vols, Edinburgh, 1881-88).

Chartulary of Bridlington Priory Abstracts of the charters and other documents contained in the chartulary of Bridlington in the East Riding of the county of York, ed. W.T. Lancaster (Leeds, 1912).

Chron. Avesbury Robert of Avesbury, *Adae Murimuth Continuatio chronicarum Robertus de Avesbury De Gestis mirabilibus regis Edwardi Tertii*, ed. E.M. Thompson (London, 1889)

Chron. Bower *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, 9 vols, general ed. D.E.R. Watt, vol. 7 ed. A.B. Scott and D.E.R. Watt (Edinburgh, 1996).

Chron. Fordun *Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scottorum*, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871-72).

Chron. Lanercost *The Chronicle of Lanercost: 1272-1346*, [translated with notes by Herbert Maxwell] (Glasgow, 1913).

ER The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland: Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum, vol. 1, 1264-1359, ed. J. Stuart and G. Burnett (Edinburgh, 1878).

Fraser, W., *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol.1 (Edinburgh, 1880).

Fraser, W., *The Lennox* (Edinburgh, 1874).

Fraser, W., *The Douglas Book*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1885).

Fraser, W., *The Book of Carliaverock: memoirs of the Maxwells, Earls of Nithsdale, Lords Maxwell and Herries*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1873).

Munro, J., and R.W. Munro, *Acts of the lords of the Isles, 1336-1493* (Edinburgh, 1986).

Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707, [electronic resource] (St Andrews, c.2007) [<http://www.rps.ac.uk>].

RMS Registrum Magni Sigilli Regnum Scottorum, ed. J.M. Thomson, *et. al.*, vol. 1, 1306-1424, (11 vols., Edinburgh, 1882).

Reg. Moray *Registrum Episcopatus moraviensisc: e pluribus codicibus consarcinatum circa A.D. MCCCC., cum continuatione diplomatum recentiorum usque ad*

A.D. MDCXXIII - Register of the Bishopric of Moray : assembled circa A.D.1400 from many manuscript documents, with a continuation of more recent charters to A.D.1623, ed. C. Innes, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1837).

Reg. Morton *Registrum Honoris de Morton: A Series of Ancient Charters of the Earldom of Morton with other Original Papers in Two Volumes*, Vol. 2 (1141-1580) (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1853).

Rot.Scot. *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati : printed by command of His Majesty King George III. in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain* (London, 1814-19).

Scalacronica *Scalacronica 1272-1363*, Sir Thomas Gray, [edited and translated and with an introduction by A.King] (Woodbridge, 2005).

Chron. Wyntoun *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, edited with introduction, notes and glossary by F.J. Amours* (6 vols., Edinburgh, 1903-14).

Works of Reference

Atlas of Scottish History to 1707, eds. P.G.B. McNeill and H.L. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1996)

Dalrymple, D., Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland: from the accession of Malcolm III in the year MLVII to the accession of the House of Stewart in the year MCCCXXI, to which are added, tracts relative to the history and antiquities of Scotland*, 2 vols, Vol. 2, 1306-1370 (Edinburgh, 1797).

The Breaking of Britain: Cross Border Society and Scottish Independence 1216-1314, electronic resource [<http://www.breakingofbritain.ac.uk>].

Dowden, J., *The Bishops of Scotland being Notes on the Lives of all the Bishops under each of the Sees, Prior to the Reformation*, ed. J.Maitland Thomson (Glasgow, 1912).

G.E.C. Peerage G.E. Cokayne, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant*, 6 vols (Stroud, 2000).

HBC *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn, ed. E.B. Fryde (London, 1986)

Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: a Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical and Historical, ed. F.H. Groome (Edinburgh, 1882-5).

Reid, N.H., and G.W.S. Barrow, *The Sheriffs of Scotland: an Interim List to c.1306* (St Andrews, 2002).

Robertson, *Index* W. Robertson, *An Index drawn up about the year 1629 of many Records of Charters granted by the different sovereigns of Scotland between the years 1309 and 1413* (Edinburgh, 1798).

Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland from the Death of Alexander III to the Accession of Robert Bruce 1286-1306*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870).

SP The Scots Peerage: founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's peerage of Scotland: containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom, 9 vols., ed. J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14).

Watt, D.E.R. and A.L. Murray, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638* (St Andrews, 2003).

Books

Armstrong, R.B., *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopdale and the Debatable Land* (Edinburgh, 1883).

Balfour-Melville, E.W.M., *Edward III and David II* (London, 1954).

Barrell, A.D.M., *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000).

Barrow, G.W.S., *Feudal Britain* (London, 1956).

Barrow, G.W.S., *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980).

Barrow, G.W.S., *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 4th edn, (Edinburgh, 2005).

Barrow, G.W.S., *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992).

Barrow, G.W.S., (ed.) *The Declaration of Arbroath* (Edinburgh, 2003).

Barrow, G.W.S., *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 2nd ed., (Edinburgh, 2003).

Beam, Amanda G., *The Balliol Dynasty 1210-1364* (Edinburgh, 2008).

Boardman, S., *The Campbells 1250-1513* (Edinburgh, 2006).

Brooke, D., *Wild Men and Holy Places: St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1994).

Broun, D., M. Lynch and R. Findlay (eds.) *Image and Identity: the Making and Remaking of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998).

Brown, C., *The Second Scottish War of Independence 1332-1363* (Stroud, 2002).

Brown, C., *The Knights of the Scottish Wars of Independence* (Stroud, 2008).

Brown, M., *The Black Douglases* (Lancaster 1998).

Brown, M., *The Wars of Scotland 1214-1371* (Edinburgh, 2004).

- Cassilis, Earl of, *The Rulers of Strathspey: a History of the lairds of Grant and earls of Seafield* (Inverness, 1911).
- Cowan, E.J., *'For Freedom Alone': the Declaration of Arbroath, 1320* (East Linton, 2003).
- Daiches, D., *Scotland and the Union* (London, 1977).
- Davidson, J., *Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch* (Edinburgh and Aberdeen, 1878).
- Duncan, A.A.M., *The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath* (London, 1970).
- Fowler, K., *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, first duke of Lancaster, 1310–1361* (London, 1969).
- Frame, R., *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100-1400* (Oxford, 1995).
- Given Wilson, C., *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987).
- Goldstein, R.J., *The Matter of Scotland* (London, 1993).
- Grant, A., *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1984).
- Holmes, G., *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957).
- Houston, R.A., and W.W. Knox (eds.), *The New Penguin History of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 2001).
- Lawson, J.P., *The Book of Perth: an Illustration of the Moral and Ecclesiastical State of Scotland before and after the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1847).
- Macdonald, C.M., *The History of Argyll up to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow, 1951).
- Macdougall, N., *An Antidote to the English: the Auld Alliance, 1295-1560* (East Linton, 2001).
- Macdougall, W.B., *Chronicles of Strathearn* (Crieff, 1896).
- Mackay, A., *The History of the Province of Cat (Caithness and Sutherland)* (Wick, 1914).
- Mackenzie, A., *History of the Chisholms: with genealogies of the Principal Families of the Name* (Inverness, 1891).
- McAndrew, B.A., (ed.), *The Balliol Roll* (Boston, 2002).
- McCulloch, A., *Galloway: a Land Apart*, (Edinburgh, 2000).
- McDonald, R.A., *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard, c.1100-c.1336* (East Linton, 1997).
- McKisack, M., *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959).

Miller, E., *War in the North* (Hull, 1960).

Neville, C., *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: the Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox, c.1140-1365* (Dublin, 2005).

Nicholson, R., *Edward III and the Scots: the Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965).

Nicholson, R., *Scotland: the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974).

Oram, R., *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000).

Penman, M., *David II* (East Linton, 2004).

Reynolds, S., *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford, 1997).

Roberts, J.L., *Lost Kingdoms: Celtic Scotland and the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh 1997).

Roberts, M., *The Mowbray Legacy* (Scunthorpe, 2004).

Rogers, C.J., *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000).

Seton, B.G., *The House of Seton: a Study of Lost Causes* (Edinburgh, 1939).

Sumption, J., *The Hundred Years War*, vol. 1 (London, 1990).

Webster, B., *Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603* (London, 1975).

Young, J., (ed), *Notes on Historical References to the Scottish Family of Lauder* (Glasgow, 1884).

Articles

Acheson, E., 'Ferrers family (per. c.1240-1445)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54521>, accessed 25 Jan 2011].

Appleyard, S.C., 'Gordon family (per. c.1300-c.1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54209>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

Ayton, A., 'Ughtred, Thomas, first Lord Ughtred (1291/2-1365)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online edn, Jan 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27980>. Accessed 11 June 2011].

Ayton, A., 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution', in J.S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001).

- Barber, R., 'Felton, Sir William, the younger (d. 1367)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [[http:// www. oxforddnb. com /view/article/9277](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9277), accessed 27 July 2011].
- Barrow, G.W.S., 'Wars of Independence', in G. Menzies (ed.) *The Scottish Nation* (London, 1972), 15-30.
- Barrow, G.W.S., 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', *IR*, 30 (1979), 16-34.
- Bain, J., 'The Percies in Scotland', *Archaeological Journal*, 41 (1884), 335-41.
- Beam, A., 'Edward Balliol: a Re-evaluation of his Early Career' in A. King and M. Penman (eds.), *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007), 73-93.
- Beam, A., 'The Umfravilles: War, Chivalry and Death: 1296-1437: Part 1', *History Scotland*, vol. 1 no. 2, March/April 2009, 27-31; Part 2', vol. 9, no. 3, May/June 2009, 14.
- Bean, J.M.W., 'The Percies and their Estates in Scotland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 35 (1957), 91-99.
- Bean, J.M.W., 'Percy, Henry, second Lord Percy (1301-1352)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21929>, accessed 2 Nov 2010].
- Boardman, S., 'Lordship in the North-East: the Badenoch Stewarts: I. Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Lord of Badenoch', *Northern Scotland*, 16 (1996), 1-29.
- Boardman, S., 'Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain', in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh, 2002), 49-72.
- Boardman, S.I., 'Lennox family (per. c.1300-1425)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54249>, accessed 9 Nov 2010].
- Boardman, S.I., 'MacRuairi, Ranald, of Garmoran (d. 1346)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [[http:// www. oxforddnb. com/ view/ article/54286](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54286), accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Boardman, S.I., 'Randolph, John, third earl of Moray (d. 1346)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23119>, accessed 23 Jan 2011].
- Boardman, S.I., 'Robert II (1316-1390)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [[http:// www. oxforddnb. com/ view/ article/ 23713](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23713), accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Brotherstone, T., and D. Ditchburn, '1320 and A' That: The Declaration of Arbroath and the Remaking of Scottish History', in T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn (eds.), *Freedom and Authority: Scotland c.1050-c.1650* (East Linton, 2000), 10-31.
- Broun, D., 'Mormaers', in John Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford, 1997), 656.

- Broun, D., 'The Origin of Scottish Identity' in C. Bjorn, A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (eds.) *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen, 1994), 35-55.
- Broun, D., 'The Birth of Scottish History', *SHR*, 76 (1997), 4-22.
- Broun, D., 'The Declaration of Arbroath: Pedigree of a Nation?', in G.W.S. Barrow (ed.) *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting* (Edinburgh, 2003), 1-12.
- Broun, D., 'The Declaration of Arbroath and the birth of Scottish Freedom', in *History Scotland*, Vol. 10, No. 5, Sep/Oct. 2010, 23-26.
- Brown, M.H., 'Scotland Tamed? Kings and Magnates in Late Medieval Scotland: a Review of Recent Work' *IR*, 45 (1994), 120-46.
- Brown, M.H., 'The Development of Scottish Border Lordship, 1332-58', *Historical Research*, 70 (1997), 1-22.
- Brown, M.H., 'Earldom and kindred: the Lennox and its earls, 1200-1458', S. Boardman and A. Ross (eds.), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland* (Dublin, 2003), 201-224.
- Brown, M.H., and S. Boardman, 'Survival and Revival: Late Medieval Scotland', in J. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: a History*, (Oxford, 2005), 77-106.
- Brown, M.H., 'Douglas, Sir Archibald, lord of Liddesdale (1294?-1333)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [[http:// www.oxforddnb.com/ view/ article/ 7860](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7860), accessed 4 March 2011].
- Brown, M.H., 'Scoti Anglicati: Scots in Plantagenet Allegiance during the Fourteenth Century', in A. King and M. Penman (eds.), *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007), 94-115.
- Cameron, S., and A. Ross, 'The Treaty of Northampton and the Disinherited (1328-1332)', *History*, 84 (1997), 237-256.
- Cameron, S., 'Lindsay family of Barnweill, Crawford, and Glenesk (*per. c.*1250-*c.*1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54260>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Cameron Smith, A., 'Wallace's Capture of Sanquhar and the Rising in the South-West, with Accounts of the Rosses of Wark and Sanquhar and of the Mowbrays of Kirkmichael', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, 11 (1925), 21-63.
- Cornell, D., 'Sir John Stirling: Edward III's Scottish Captain', in *Northern History*, 65 (2008), 111-123.
- Crawford, B.E., 'Medieval Strathnaver', in J. Baldwin (ed.), *The Province of Strathnaver* (Edinburgh, 2000), 1-12.
- Cumming, A.D., 'Loch-in-Dorb, an ancient royal fortress', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 46 (1912), 357-64.

- Ditchburn, D., and A.J. Macdonald, 'Medieval Scotland, 1100-1560', in R. Houston and W.W.J. Knox (eds.), *The New Penguin History of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 2001), 96-181.
- Duncan, A.A.M., 'The Early Parliaments of Scotland', *SHR*, 45 (1966), 36-58.
- Duncan, A.A.M., 'The War of the Scots, 1306-23', *TRHS*, 6th series, 2 (1992), 125-151.
- Duncan, A.A.M., 'Bruce, Edward, earl of Carrick (c.1280–1318)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3728>, accessed 20 Feb 2011].
- Duncan, A.A.M., 'Douglas, Sir William, lord of Liddesdale (c.1310–1353)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7923>, accessed 5 March 2011].
- Duncan, A.A.M., 'Randolph, Thomas, first earl of Moray (d. 1332)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23121>, accessed 12 Jan 2013].
- Duncan, A.A.M., 'Soulis, Sir John (d. before 1310)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26044>, accessed 12 Jan 2013].
- Duncan, A.A.M., 'Murray, Sir Andrew, of Bothwell (1298–1338)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19590>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Given-Wilson, C., 'Fitzalan, Richard (II), third earl of Arundel and eighth earl of Surrey (c.1313–1376)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9534>, accessed 31 July 2011].
- Goodare, J., 'The Estates in the Scottish Parliament, 1286-1707', *Parliamentary History*, 15 (1996), 11-32.
- Grant, A., 'Earls and Earldoms in Late Medieval Scotland (c.1310-1460)', in J. Bossey and P. Jupp (eds.), *Essays Presented to Michael Roberts* (Belfast, 1976), 24-40.
- Grant, A., 'The development of the Scottish peerage', *SHR*, 57 (1978), 1-27.
- Grant, A., 'Scotland's 'Celtic Fringe' in the Late Middle Ages: The Macdonald Lords of the Isles and the Kingdom of Scotland', in R.R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles 1100-1500* (Edinburgh, 1988), 118-41.
- Grant, A., 'Aspects of National Consciousness in Medieval Scotland', in C. Bjorn, A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (eds.), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen, 1994), 68-95.
- Grant, A., 'To the Medieval Foundations', *SHR*, vol. 73 (1994), 4-24.

- Grant, A., 'Scottish Foundations: Late Medieval Contributions', in *Uniting the Kingdom: the Making of British History*, Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds.), (London, 1995), 97-108.
- Grant, A., 'Fourteenth Century Scotland' in M. Jones (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 6, c.1300-1415 (Cambridge, 2000), 345-74.
- Grant, A., 'The Death of John Comyn: What was Going on?', *SHR*, 86 (2007), 176-224.
- Grant, A., 'Lordship and Society in Twelfth Century Clydesdale' in H. Pryce and J. Watts (eds.), *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, (Oxford, 2007), 98-124.
- Grant, A., 'Franchises North of the Border: Baronies and Regalities in Medieval Scotland', in *Liberties and Identities in Medieval Britain and Ireland*, M. Prestwich (ed.) (Woodbridge, 2008), 155-99.
- Macdonald, A.J., 'Kings of the Wild Frontier? The Earls of Dunbar or March, c.1070-1435', in S. Boardman and A. Ross (eds.), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland* (Dublin, 2003), 139-158.
- Macdonald, A.J., 'Ramsay family (per. c.1300–1513)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54304>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- McDonald, R.A., 'Macduff family, earls of Fife (per. c.1095–1371)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50328>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- McGladdery, C.A., 'Fraser family (per. c.1300–c.1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54206>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- McGladdery, C.A., 'Hay family (per. c.1295–c.1460)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54228>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- McGladdery, C.A., 'Keith family (per. c.1300–c.1530)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54235>, accessed 24 April 2011].
- McGladdery, C.A., 'Seton family (per. c.1300–c.1510)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54318>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- McGladdery, C.A., 'Sutherland family (per. c.1200–c.1510)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54333>, [accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- McInnes, I.A., 'Shock and Awe: the Use of Terror as a Psychological Weapon during the Bruce-Balliol Civil War, 1332-1338', in A. King and M. Penman (eds.), *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge 2007), 40-59.

- McMichael, T., 'The Feudal Family of de Soulis', *TDGNHAS*, 2nd series, 26 (1948) 163-93.
- Maddicott, J.R., 'Beaumont, Sir Henry de (c.1280–1340)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37619>, accessed 24 April 2011].
- Maitland Thomson, J., 'A Roll Call of the Scottish Parliament, 1344', *SHR* 35 (1912), 239-40.
- Mason, R., 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland' in R. Mason and N. Macdougall (eds.), *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout*, (Edinburgh, 1992), 50-73.
- Munro, R.W., and J. Munro, 'MacDonald family (per. c.1300–c.1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54280>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Munro R.W., and J. Munro, 'Ross family (per. c.1215–c.1415)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54308>, accessed 25 Jan 2011].
- Neville, C.J., 'The Political Allegiance of the Earls of Strathearn during the War of Independence', *SHR*, 65 (1986), 133-53.
- Nicholson, R., 'David II, the historians and the chroniclers', *SHR*, 45 (1966), 59-78.
- Oram, R., 'Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway: the South West of Scotland and the Wars of Independence', *TDGNHAS*, 67 (1992), 29-47.
- Oram, R., 'The Lordship of the Isles: 1336-1545', in D. Omand (ed.), *The Argyll Book* (Edinburgh, 2004).
- Oram, R., 'Fleming, Malcolm, first earl of Wigtown (d. in or before 1363)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9706>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Ormrod, W., 'Henry of Lancaster, first duke of Lancaster (c.1310–1361)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12960>, accessed 2 Aug 2011].
- Ormrod, W.M., 'Montagu, William, first earl of Salisbury (1301–1344)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19001>, accessed 8 August 2011].
- Ormrod, 'Wake, Thomas, second Lord Wake (1298–1349)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28408>, accessed 2 Nov 2010].
- Penman, M., 'A fell coniuiracioun agayne Robert the douchty king: the Soules conspiracy of 1318-20', *IR* 50 (1999), 25-57.

- Penman, M., 'Parliament Lost – Parliament Regained? The Three Estates in the Reign of David II, 1329-1371', in M. Brown and R.J. Tanner (eds.), *The History of the Scottish Parliament*, vol i: *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235-1560* (Edinburgh, 2004), 74-101.
- Penman, M.A., 'Murray, Maurice, earl of Strathearn (d. 1346)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [[http:// www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54300](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54300) accessed 11 September 2012].
- Radford, C.A. Raleigh, 'Balliol's Manor House on Hestan Island, *TDGNHAS*, 35 (1956-57), 33-37.
- Ramsay, J.H., 'Notes on Early Ramsay Pedigrees, AD 1200-1600', *The Genealogist*, 31 (1915), 1-22.
- Rawcliffe, C., 'Stafford, Ralph, first earl of Stafford (1301–1372)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [[http:// www.oxforddnb.com/view/ article/ 26211](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26211), accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Reid, N., 'The Kingless Kingdom: the Scottish guardianships of 1286-1306', *SHR*, 61 (1982), 105-29.
- Reid, R.C., 'A Mowbray Service, c.1365', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, 33 (1956), 197-99.
- Reid, R.C., 'Edward de Balliol', in *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, 35 (1956-57), 38-63.
- Ross, A., 'Men for all Seasons? The Strathbogie Earls of Atholl and the Wars of Independence, c.1290-c1335: Part 1', *Northern Scotland*, 20 (2000), 1-30.
- Ross, A., 'Men for all Seasons? The Strathbogie Earls of Atholl and the Wars of Independence, c.1290-c1335: Part 2', *Northern Scotland*, 21 (2000), 1-15.
- Ross, A., 'The Lords and Lordship of Glencarnie' in S. Boardman and A. Ross (eds.), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland* (Dublin, 2003), 159-174.
- Simpson, G.G., 'The Declaration of Arbroath: What Significance When?' in G. Barrow (ed.), *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting* (Edinburgh, 2003), 108-115.
- Summerson, H., 'Lucy, Anthony, first Lord Lucy (c.1283–1343)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, O Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53091>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Tanner, R.J., 'Boyd family (per. c.1300–c.1480)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].
- Tuck, J.A., 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility, 1250-1400', *Northern Studies*, 22 (1986), 1-17.
- Tuck, A., 'Neville, Ralph, fourth Lord Neville (c.1291–1367)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [[http:// www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19950](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19950), accessed 13 Jan 2011].

Tuck, A., 'Vere, John de, seventh earl of Oxford (1312–1360)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28212>, accessed 8 Aug 2011].

Watson, F., 'The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland, Kingship and National Identity in the Wars of Independence', in D. Broun, R.J. Finlay and M. Lynch (eds.), *Image and Identity: The Making and Remaking of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), 18-37.

Watson, F., 'Dunbar, Patrick, eighth earl of Dunbar or of March, and earl of Moray (1285–1369)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8206>, accessed 1 Nov 2010]

Watson, F., 'Bruce, Christian (d. 1356)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60019>, accessed 20 Feb 2011].

Watson, F., 'Bruce, Sir Robert, lord of Liddesdale (c.1293–1332)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54143>, accessed 27 Feb 2011].

Watson, F., 'Donald, eighth earl of Mar (1293–1332)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18021>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

Watson, F., 'Strathbogie, David, styled tenth earl of Atholl (d. 1326)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54330>, accessed 2 Nov 2010].

Watson, F., 'Umfraville, Gilbert de, seventh earl of Angus (1244?–1307)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27988>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

Waugh, S.L., 'Talbot, Richard, second Lord Talbot (c.1306–1356)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26938>, accessed 2 Nov 2010].

Waugh, S.L., 'Warene, John de, seventh earl of Surrey (1286–1347)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28735>, accessed 13 Jan 2011].

Webster, B., 'The English Occupation of Dumfriesshire in the Fourteenth Century', *TDGNHAS*, 35 (1956-57), 64-80.

Webster, B., 'Scotland without a King', in A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (eds.), in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community: Essays Presented to G.W.S. Barrow*, (Edinburgh, 1993), 223-38.

Webster, B., 'Balliol, Edward (b. in or after 1281, d. 1364)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1206>, accessed 19 Jan 2011].

B. Webster, 'Bullock, William (*d.* 1342/3)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54145>, accessed 21 Jan 2011].

Unpublished Theses

Crawford, B., 'The Earls of Orkney-Caithness and their Relations with Norway and Scotland: 1158-1470', unpublished PhD thesis (University of St. Andrews, 1971).

Grant, A., 'The Higher Nobility in Scotland and their Estates, *c.*1371-1424', unpublished D. Phil thesis (Oxford University, 1975).

Neville, C., 'The Earls of Strathearn from the Twelfth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century, with an Edition of their Written Acts', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols, (University of Aberdeen, 1983).