Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Atlas of Scottish History to 1707

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Events from about 850 to 1460

Scotland from about 842 to 1286

The kingdom of Scotia or Alba, although probably not called such in Latin or Gaelic respectively until 900, came into being as a result of the takeover of Pictland by the Scots of Dalriada under their king, Kenneth MacAlpin (d.858). The traditional date for this event is 842 but the process had begun much earlier. It had certainly been completed by the year 849 when the relics of Colum Cille were taken from Iona to Dunkeld thereby marking the new administrative centre of the Church. At about the same time, Scone became the *caput* or legal centre, doubtless because it had already functioned as such for the important Pictish province of Fortriu, perhaps also for the whole of Pictland. This explains why tradition brings the inauguration stone of the kings of Scots, commonly known as the Stone of Destiny, from Iona to Scone rather than Dunkeld. The abbot of the royal (*regalis*) monastery at Scone, probably a community of Culdees, seems to have taken over the mantle of the Abbot of Iona in respect of taking part in the inaugural ceremonies associated with accession to the kingship of the Scots. The southern boundary of the enlarged kingdom of the Scots was now the Forth - Clyde line, though perhaps not precisely located on the Clyde until the final destruction of the British stronghold of Dumbarton by the Norse of Dublin in 870. It is likely to be at this point that Lennox, the northernmost province of the kingdom of Strathclyde, became part of Scotia. Control of the north depended upon the military presence there of the Norse and, for a time at least, their power extended as far south as Dingwall. Indeed, for the first fifty years or so of its existence, Scotia suffered a number of destructive raids by Scandinavians who plundered Dunkeld before 858 and probably also in 878 and again 903. But in the following year they were defeated in Strathearn by Constantine, king of Scots, who had the *bachall* or crozier of Colum Cille carried before his army. Constantine reigned from 900 to 943 and if nothing else was known about him the length of his reign, remarkable for this period, would be sufficient testimony to his success as a ruler. In 918 the Scots again defeated the Scandinavians, this time well outside the confines of Scotia on the banks of the River Tyne in Northern England. Constantine's retirement in 943 to become Abbot of the Culdee monastery of Kilrimont at St. Andrews 'on the brow of the wave' is an indication of his confidence that the seaborne threat to Scotia from the Scandinavians had receded. More significantly, perhaps, it was apparently in his reign that the administrative centre of the church was removed from Dunkeld to St. Andrews where it remained until the Reformation.

Much of what little is known of the history of Scotia has to do with succession to the kingship under the terms of the system now generally labelled tanistry. After Constantine's reign it seems no longer to have operated peacefully, hence a long period of feud and faction between rival claimants productive of strife at such identifiable locations as Fetteresso in 954, Duncrub in 965, Fettercairn in 995 and Rathinveramon in 997. Another theme, that goes back to Dalriada, indeed to the initial period of migration from Ireland, was the constant urge of the Scots to expand into new territories. Kenneth MacAlpin himself invaded Lothian on no less than six occasions, the stronghold of Edinburgh was captured by the Scots in the reign of their King Indulf (954-62), and victory at the battle of Carham about 1018 by Malcolm II finally secured the district of Lothian. About the same time, Malcolm's grandson, Duncan became king of Strathclyde which had been in a client relationship to the kings of Scots ever since the late ninth century, exemplified as much as anything by the influx of Gaelic speakers into the area in the interval, so that when Duncan succeeded to the kingship of the Scots on the death of his grandfather in 1034, Scotia had become Scotland more or less as we know it today.

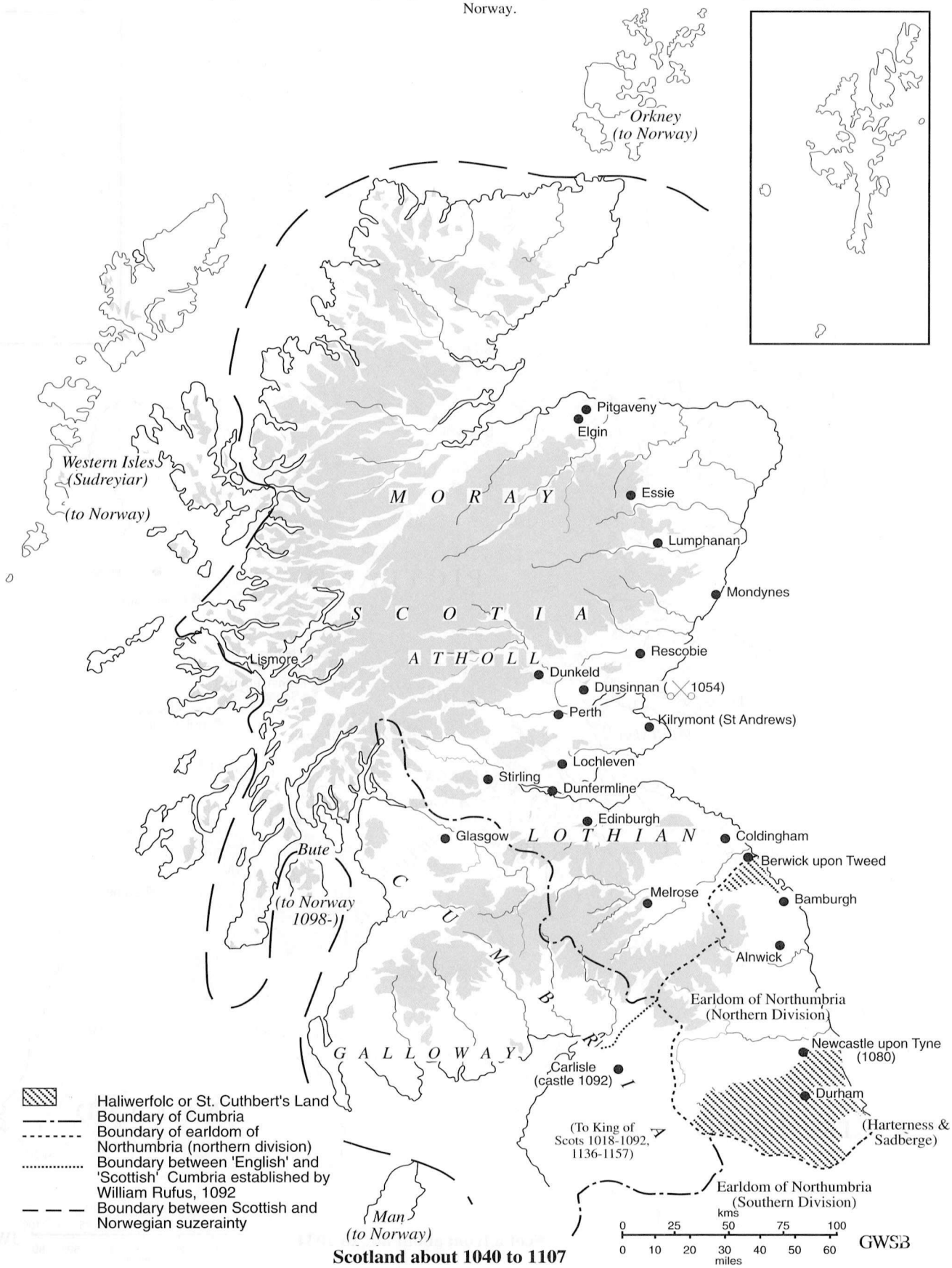
Scotland from about 842 to 1286



Scotia from about 842 to 1034

Scotland from about 842 to 1286

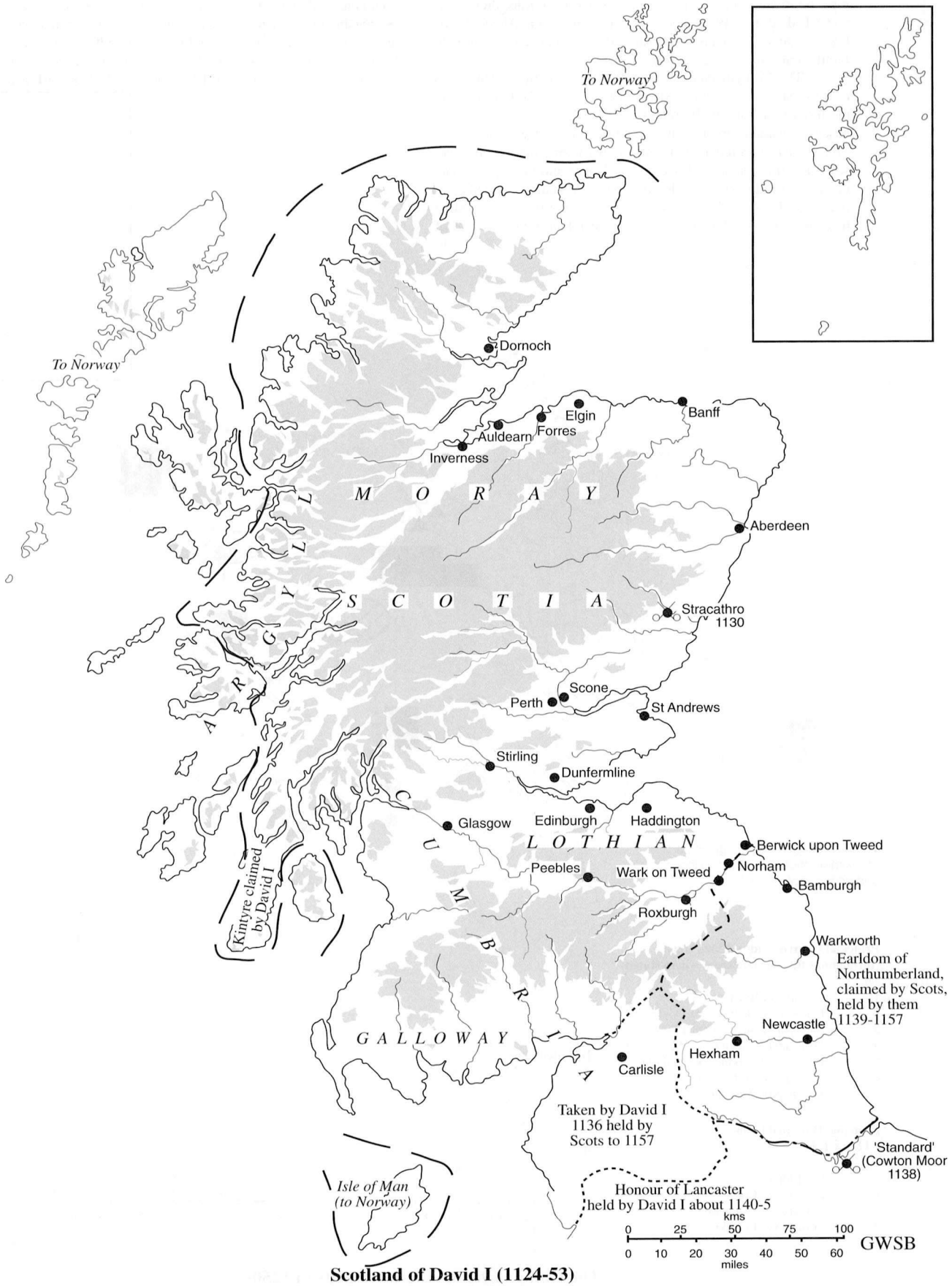
The period (1040 to 1107) saw the kingdom of Scotland take on its recognisable medieval shape both geographically and constitutionally. The rivalry between the Moray line of the royal house (represented by Macbeth (1040-57) and his step-son Lulach (1057-58)) and the direct descendants of Kenneth MacAlpin (represented by Malcolm II's grandson Duncan I, (1034-40) and his sons Malcolm III Canmore (1058-93) and Donald Ban (1093, 1094-97) was marked by old-fashioned slayings of Duncan I at Pitgaveny, of Macbeth at Lumphanan and of Lulach at Essie. The anti-foreign reaction which followed Malcolm III's death in 1093 entailed the killing of Duncan II at Mondynes in the interests of Donald Ban who in turn was fatally wounded at Rescobie. The way was clear for Edgar (1097-1107) to exploit the territorial advantages built up under the two Malcolms and rule effectively from the northern Highlands to the Tweed. But in the 1090s the king of Scots lost English Cumbria to William Rufus and the Western Isles to Magnus Barelegs king of Norway.



Scotland about 1040 to 1107

Scotland from about 842 to 1286

Although the Hebrides and Northern Isles remained Norwegian, the kingdom ruled by David I, especially from 1141 to 1153, represented the widest extent of Scottish royal government hitherto experienced. In the south, Cumberland, North Westmorland and Northumberland were brought under David's control after 1141, while the king took care to exercise royal authority in Argyll, Kintyre and Caithness, as well as establishing castle/burgh strongpoints in Moray, a province secured by the battle of Stracathro (1130). The centre of gravity however, in politics and government remained in the southern Lowlands, from Fife to the northernmost sheriffdoms of England.



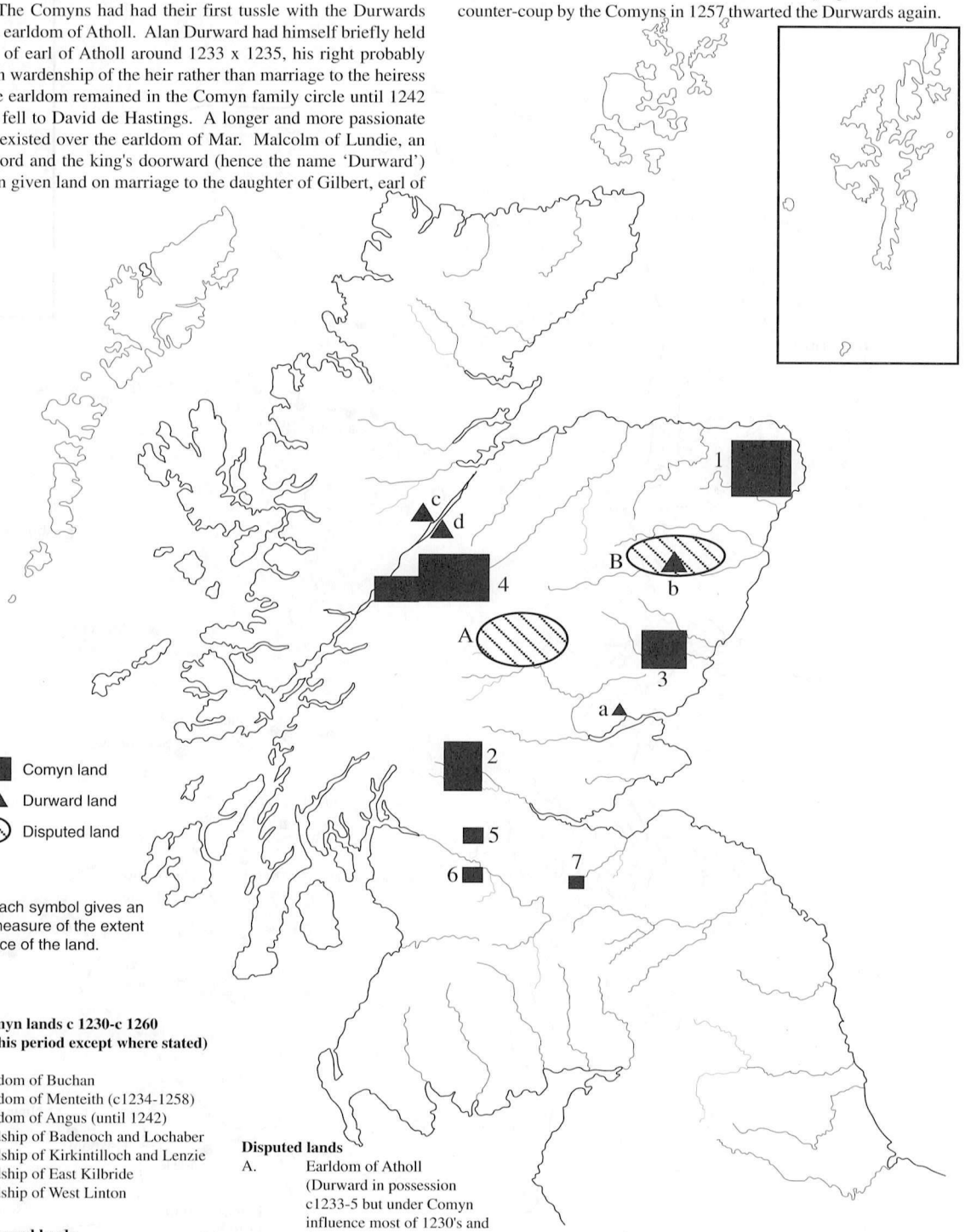
Scotland of David I (1124-53)

Scotland from about 842 to 1286

The political power struggle between the Comyn and Durward parties during the tense minority of King Alexander III cannot be fully understood without the awareness of their rival landed interests and ambitions, especially between about 1230 and about 1260.

The Comyn ascendancy of the 1230s was threatened in 1242 by the loss of the earldoms of Atholl and Angus from family control and more especially in 1244 by the promotion of Alan Durward as Justiciar of Scotia, chief adviser of Alexander II. This office, the main political office of state, would play a crucial role when Alexander II died in 1249 and the minority of the young Alexander III began. Durward sought to use the office to realise the long-held family ambition for the earldom of Mar.

The Comyns had had their first tussle with the Durwards over the earldom of Atholl. Alan Durward had himself briefly held the title of earl of Atholl around 1233 x 1235, his right probably based on wardenship of the heir rather than marriage to the heiress - but the earldom remained in the Comyn family circle until 1242 when it fell to David de Hastings. A longer and more passionate dispute existed over the earldom of Mar. Malcolm of Lundie, an Angus lord and the king's doorward (hence the name 'Durward') had been given land on marriage to the daughter of Gilbert, earl of Mar, about 1203 x 1211. Thomas Durward pressed a claim to the earldom when it fell vacant about 1210 - 1220 but had to be satisfied with the important lordship of Coull between Don and Dee. When the earldom of Mar also came under Comyn influence around 1242 x 1244 - through the marriage of William, earl of Mar to the daughter of William Comyn, earl of Buchan - Durward resentment was understandable. It is hardly surprising that, after exclusion from political power from 1251 to 1255 during another period of Comyn ascendancy, Alan Durward took full advantage of his renewed Justiciarship of Scotia to pursue personal profit. He challenged the legitimacy of the earl of Mar's father and grandfather in order to obtain the earldom himself. Earl William's delaying tactics and a counter-coup by the Comyns in 1257 thwarted the Durwards again.



The size of each symbol gives an aproximate measure of the extent and importance of the land.

Principal Comyn lands c 1230-c 1260 (throughout this period except where stated)

1. Earldom of Buchan
2. Earldom of Menteith (c1234-1258)
3. Earldom of Angus (until 1242)
4 Lordship of Badenoch and Lochaber
5 Lordship of Kirkintilloch and Lenzie
6. Lordship of East Kilbride
7. Lordship of West Linton

Principal Durward lands c 1230-c 1260

a. Lordship of Lundie
b. Lordship of Coull
c. Lordship of Urquhart
d. Lordship of Boleskine

Disputed lands

A. Earldom of Atholl (Durward in possession c1233-5 but under Comyn influence most of 1230's and until 1242)

B. Earldom of Mar (a daughter of William Comyn Earl of Buchan married William Earl of Mar [styled c 1242 x 1244 d. c 1276 x 1281 Durwards were claiments c 1210-1220 and 1255-1257.

AY

The Comyns versus the Durwards in 1250s

The Anglo-Scottish Border

The Anglo-Scottish frontier clearly delineated on the eve of the first war of independence was the product of a lengthy and complex process beginning around the middle of the tenth century when the kings of Scots pushed their eastern boundary through Lothian to the Tweed. By the early eleventh century they had taken over Cumbria or Strathclyde, giving them a foothold on the north-west boundary of Yorkshire. In 1092 this Scottish southward drive was reversed by William Rufus's annexation of 'English' Cumbria and building of Carlisle castle, but in 1136 the Scots re-asserted their suzerainty over Cumbria and attempted to annex Northumberland - successfully from 1139 to 1157, but thereafter thwarted by strong English resistance. At the same time, the kings of Scots acquired the extensive lordship - later 'liberty' of Tynedale, i.e. the dales of North and South Tyne. By the treaty of York (1237) Alexander II effectively recognised English possession of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland but in return was confirmed in Tynedale and was given the newly-created 'honour of Penrith'. A striking feature of the Border thus evolved and established was that the Scottish side was marked by relatively thickly-populated districts and important towns while much of the English side consisted of sparsely settled wastes and moorlands.



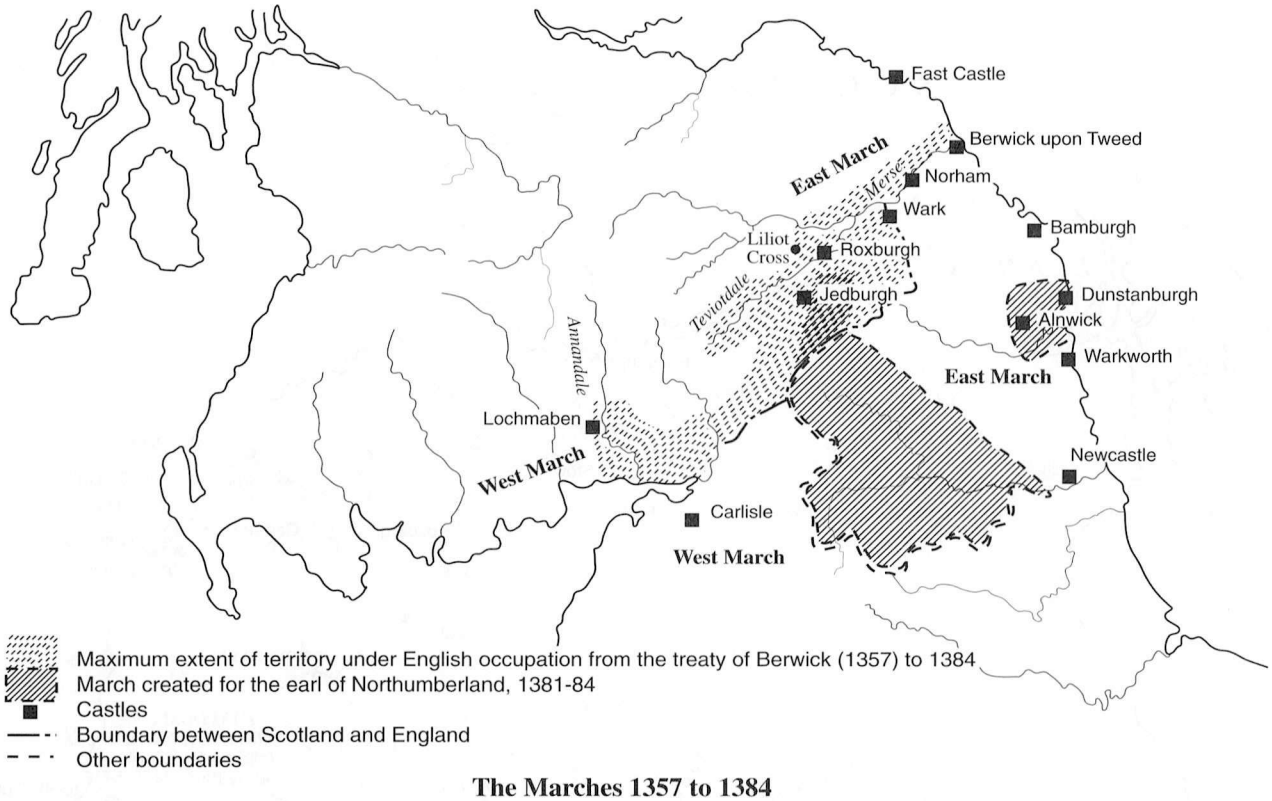
The Border to 1296 GWSB

The Anglo-Scottish Border

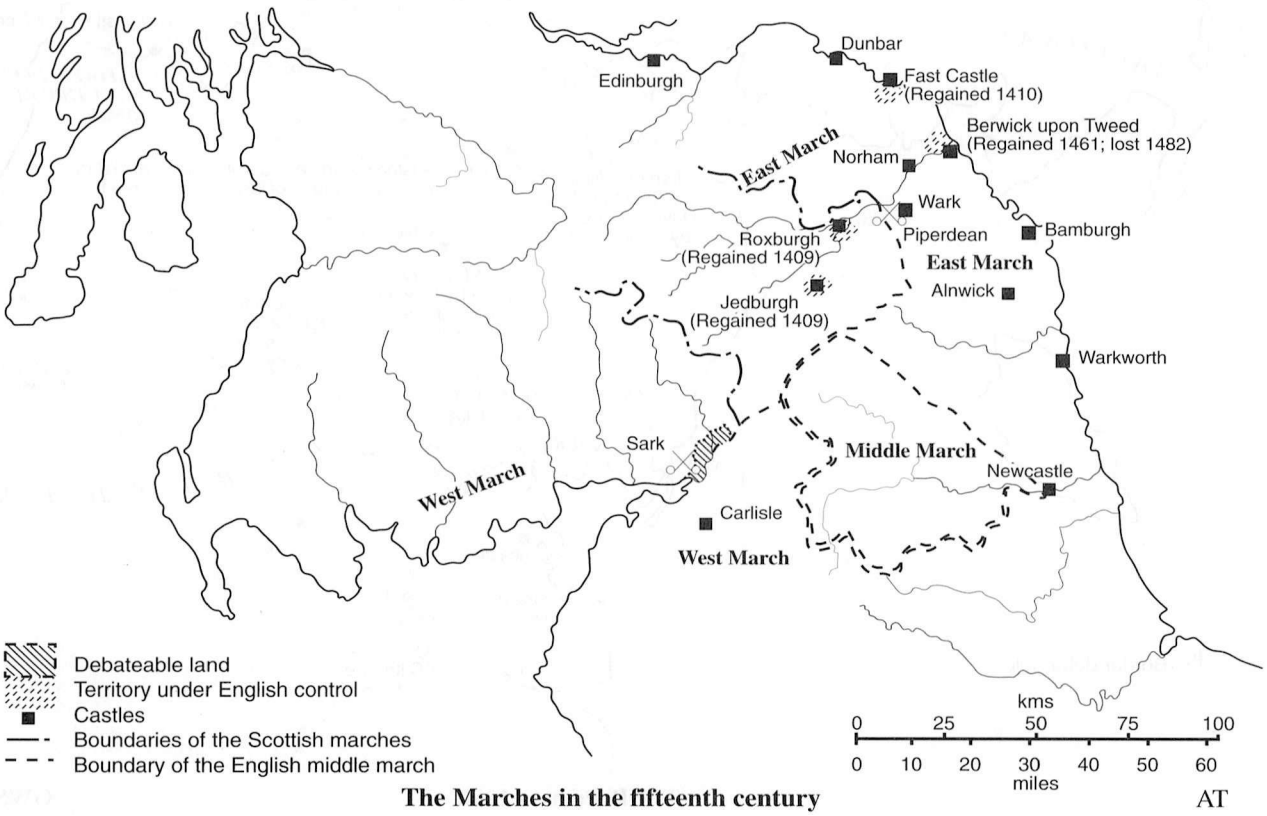
On the English side there were generally two marches. An exception was the middle march, created for the earl of Northumberland (1381-4) and again in existence from 1470 (combined with the east march until 1536). Its revival was perhaps intended to match its Scottish counterpart, referred to from the mid fifteenth century, and additional to the Scottish east and west marches (mentioned in 1355 and 1364 respectively).

The wardens, usually provided by the families of Percy and Neville on the English side and March and Douglas on the Scottish side, were to meet on March Days, often at Liliot Cross during the English occupation to Teviotdale.

Warfare was largely a matter of raids and sieges, for example, the siege of Roxburgh by the Scots during which James II was killed in 1460. The debateable land on the west march resulted from the uncertain allegiance of the Storeys and later the Grahams.



The Marches 1357 to 1384



The Marches in the fifteenth century

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Anglo-Scottish relations: David I to Alexander III

The accession of David I (1124-53) marked a major turning point in the inter-relationship of the Scottish and English kingdoms. David held the honour of Huntingdon in the English eastern midlands from 1113, and he had no wish to give it up when he became king. Moreover, he encouraged immigration from other parts of England, especially the Welsh marches, of young men prepared to serve him militarily as feudal vassals; and from 1141 to 1153 the king pressed his claims effectively to rule over the earldom of Northumberland and southern or 'English' Cumbria. On the ecclesiastical side, David successfully deprived Durham diocese of Teviotdale and Tweeddale, transferring them to Glasgow, but on the other hand Glasgow lost English Cumbria in 1133 when Henry I (1100-35) created the new diocese of Carlisle and assigned it to the province of York. The warfare of Stephen's reign (1135-54) played surprisingly little part in Anglo-Scottish relations.

Although the Scottish army led by David I and his son sustained a heavy defeat near Northallerton in 1138 (the battle of the Standard), the Scots were able to control most of the northern English counties during David's last decade; and David himself died at Carlisle.



Anglo-Scottish relations: David I (1124-53)

Anglo-Scottish relations: David I to Alexander III

William I's policies were to regain the earldom of Northumberland (of which he had been deprived by Henry II in 1156) and other northern English counties once ruled by David I, and to maintain Scottish independence.

Diplomatic attempts having failed, William allied with Louis VII and supported the rebellion of the "Young King" Henry against Henry II. William led three expeditions into England (1173-74), with little success, but Earl David helped to win control of the midland counties of England.

After capture at Alnwick (1174), William was taken to Normandy. The treaty of Falaise, confirmed at York (1175), made Scotland effectively a subject kingdom: Huntingdon was forfeit, and English garrisons stationed at Berwick, Roxburgh and Edinburgh castles.

English influence was seen in help given to William to restore his authority in Galloway and Carrick following revolts, and in intervention over a disputed election to the see of St Andrews. However, in 1185 the honour of Huntingdon was restored, and, on William's arranged marriage to Ermengarde of Beaumont, Edinburgh castle was returned.

Richard I, anxious to go crusading, accepted money to cancel the treaty of Falaise and restore Berwick and Roxburgh castles. William met John on three occasions between 1200 and 1207. A crisis over the Scottish destruction of the recently built Tweedmouth castle could not be resolved by a conference at Bolton (1209), and at Norham John obtained a ransom, the surrender of William's daughters, Margaret and Isobel, with a view to their future marriage, and the sons of nobles as hostages. The price of English help to suppress a revolt in Ross (1212) seems to have been a confirmation of this treaty and a concession that John should control the marriage of Prince Alexander, who was knighted by John. The kings last met , in a better atmosphere, in 1212.

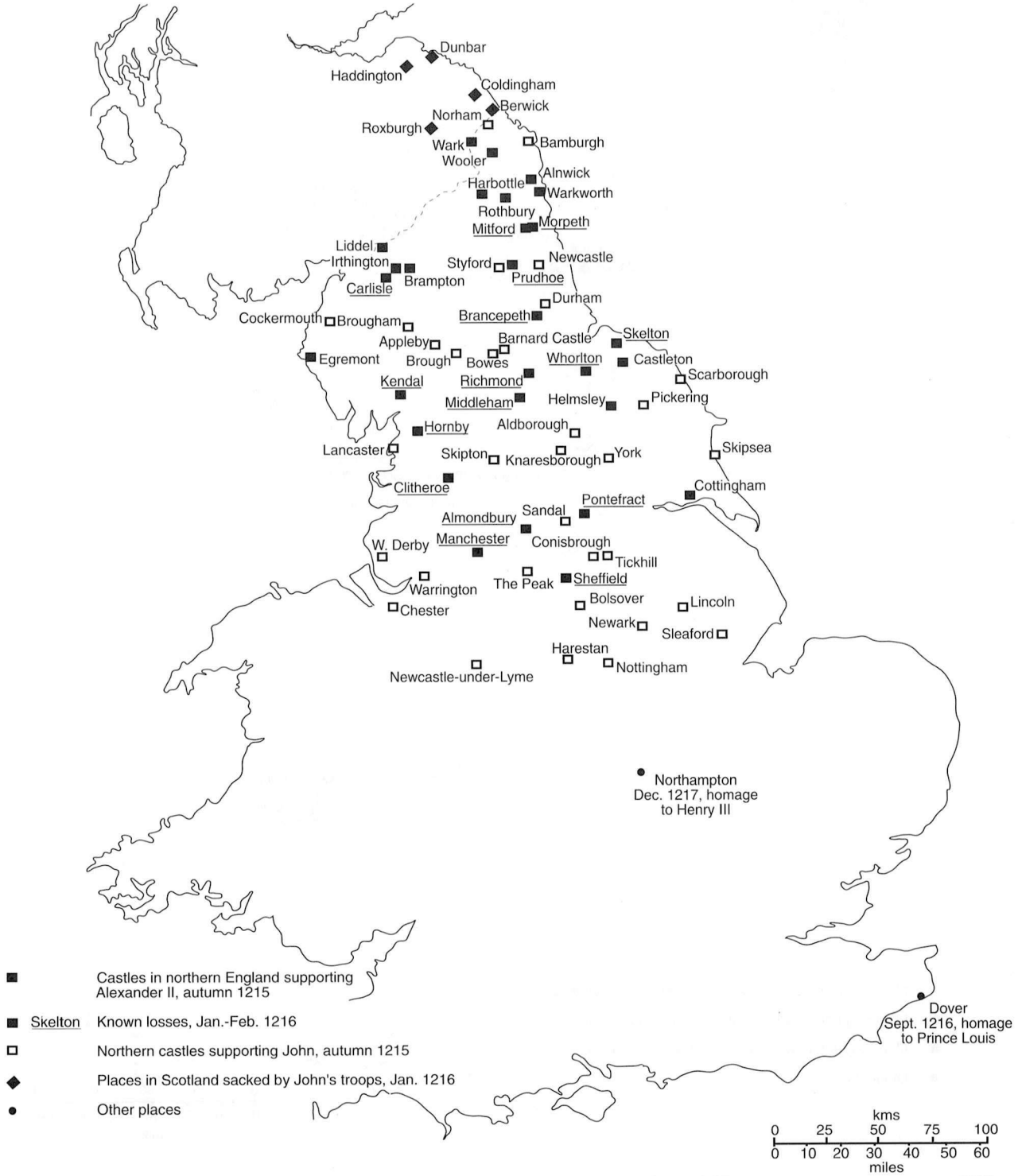


Anglo-Scottish relations: William I (1165-1214) WWS

Anglo-Scottish relations: David I to Alexander III

The baronial rebellion against King John enabled Alexander II to repudiate the treaties of 1209 and 1212 and claim the Border counties. The map illustrates the strength of the Scots' strategic position when they invaded (Oct. 1215) and assists in following the vicissitudes of the campaign. The 'Northerners' regarded Alexander as a natural ally in their struggle, and Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland were formally adjudged to him by the Twenty-five barons of Magna Carta. The Yorkshire rebels paid Alexander homage on 11 January 1216. But during John's northern drive (Jan.-Feb. 1216), sixteen rebel castles fell, and he conducted a devastating counter-invasion of Scotland. The Scots recovered Carlisle in August; Alexander had his candidate elected to the vacant bishopric; Alan, lord of Galloway, seized north Westmorland. The rebellions of the count of Aumale and the earl of Surrey, whose castles included Skipton, Sandal and Conisbrough, opened the way south, and Alexander marched to Dover, easily the deepest penetration of England by a hostile Scottish force. About mid-September, he offered homage at Dover to Prince Louis of France, who as claimant to the English throne acknowledged Alexander's right to the three Border counties (but not to Yorkshire).

On John's death (Oct. 1216) moderates rallied behind the young Henry III. The rebel army, including a Scottish contingent, was routed at Lincoln (20 May 1217), and the ground cut from beneath the Scots, whose war aims had always depended chiefly on the strength of the baronial movement. On 1 December Alexander relinquished Carlisle; at Northampton by 19 December he returned to the allegiance of the English crown, as lord of the Huntingdon honour and Tynedale. Despite Alexander's greater initial advantages, as in 1173-4 an enterprise confidently begun ended in abject failure, and that helped to introduce new realism into the conduct of Anglo-Scottish relations.



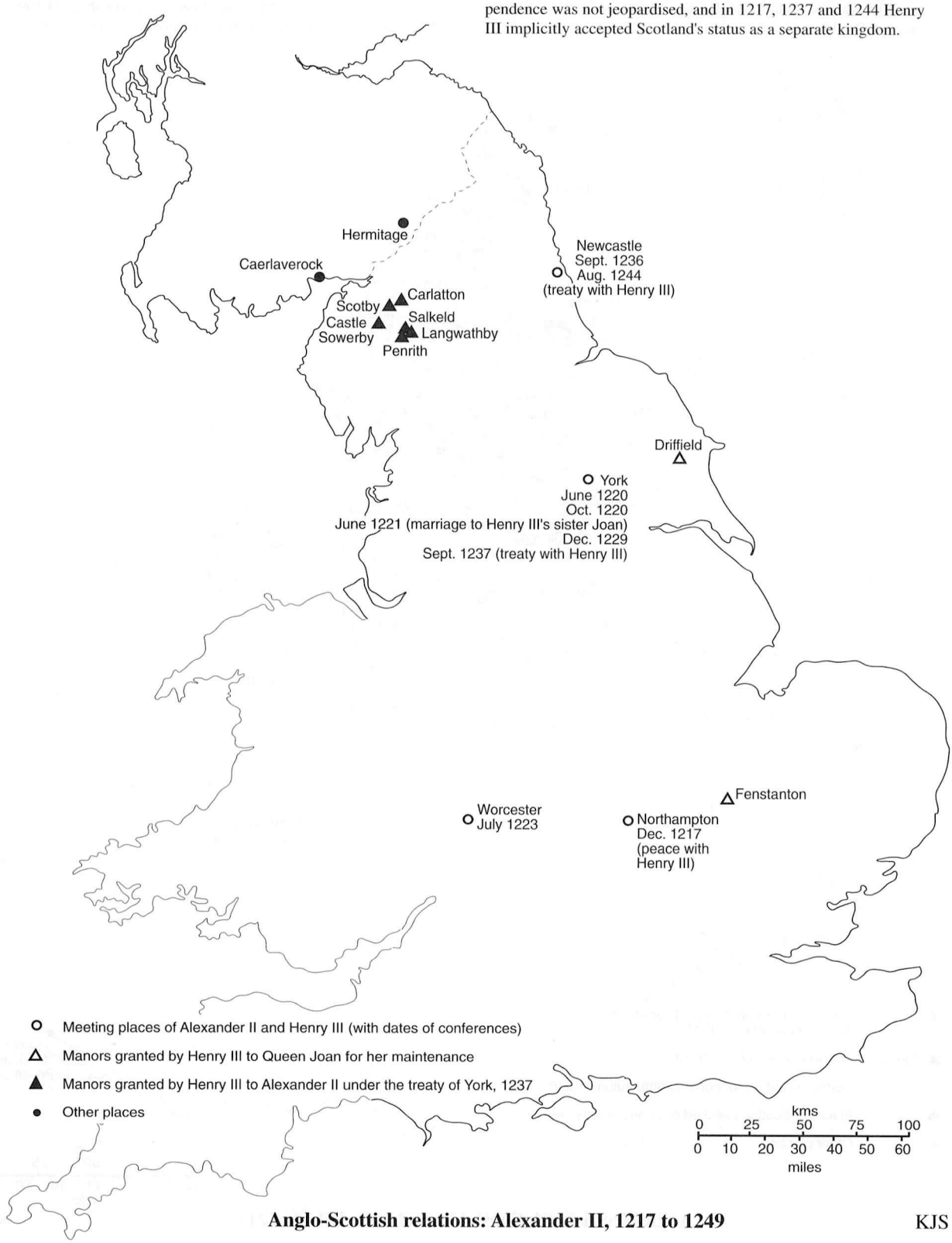
Anglo-Scottish relations: Alexander II, 1214 to 1217 KJS

Anglo-Scottish relations: David I to Alexander III

From December 1217 to March 1296 Scotland and England were continuously at peace. This long period of stability, unparalleled in the Middle Ages, owed much to the readiness of Alexander II and Henry III to settle or play down differences. Alexander's marriage to Henry's sister Joan at York (19 June 1221) reinforced the peace concluded at Northampton in 1217. Most significant was the treaty of York (25 Sept. 1237), a major landmark in the making of the Scots kingdom. Alexander renounced in perpetuity all claims to Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland for lands worth £200, and at last the Scots recognised the futility of continuing to pursue the traditional goal of southern expansion.

In 1244 the kingdoms verged on war. Alexander had married secondly Marie de Coucy, a match deemed provocative by Henry III who feared a Franco-Scottish alliance. Another cause of dispute was the fortification of Border castles, probably Hermitage and Caerlaverock as illustrated. But by the treaty of Newcastle upon Tyne (14 Aug. 1244) Alexander promised to refrain from any hostile act against Henry and that his son, the future Alexander III, would marry Henry's daughter Margaret.

The map cannot cover every important aspect of Anglo-Scottish relations in this period. Many of the barons of Scotland who swore to uphold the treaties of York and Newcastle were cross-Border landlords with a vested interest in harmony. The pope, England's overlord and protector, also encouraged peace. Unresolved by negotiation was the key question of the constitutional relationship between Scotland and the English crown. But Scottish independence was not jeopardised, and in 1217, 1237 and 1244 Henry III implicitly accepted Scotland's status as a separate kingdom.



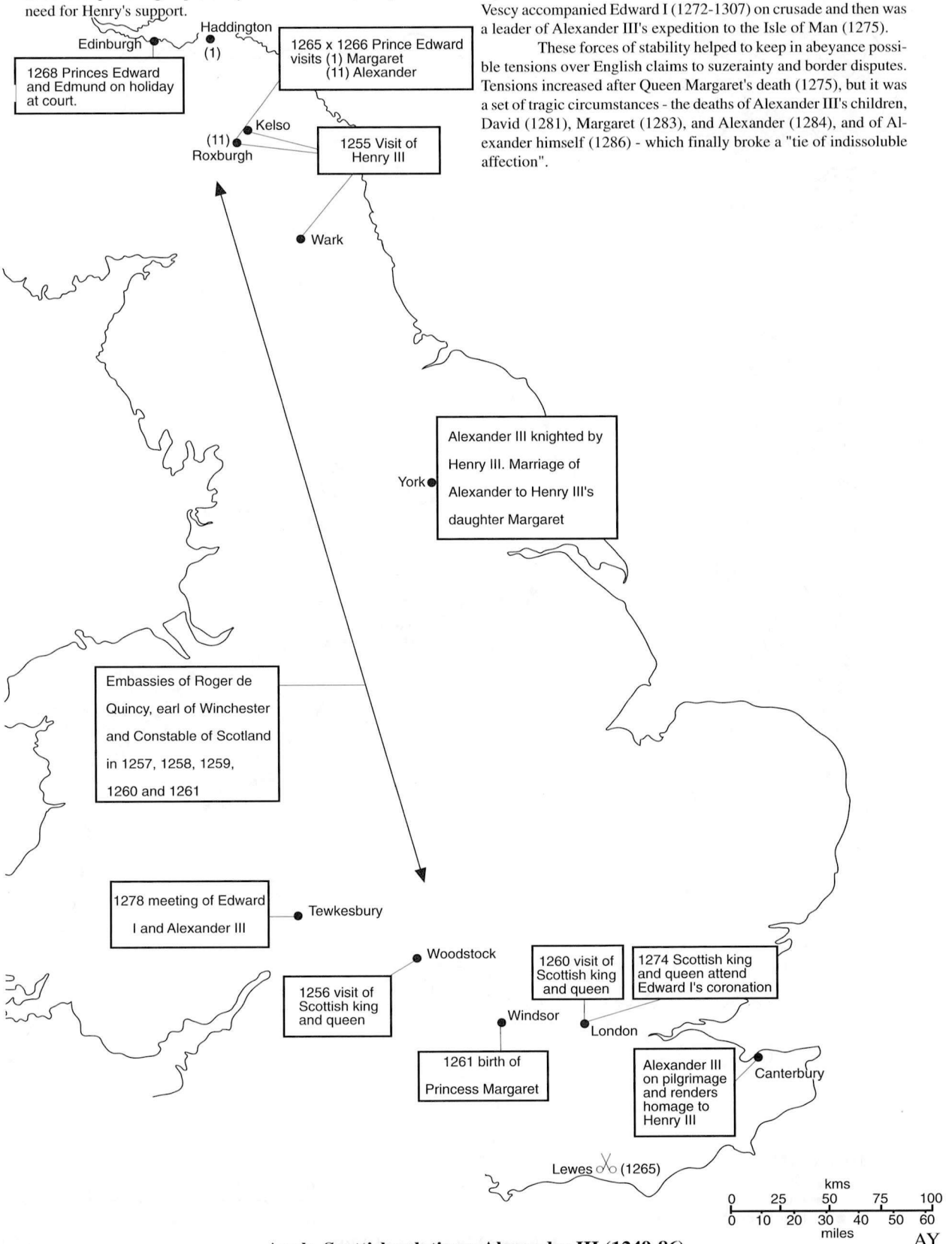
Anglo-Scottish relations: Alexander II, 1217 to 1249 KJS

Anglo-Scottish relations: David I to Alexander III

It is natural to place Alexander III's reign (1249-86) in the context of the subsequent war of independence. Despite signs of tension such as increased frequency of embassies (1275-78) and discussion of border disputes in 1278, the relationship between England and Scotland was close in Alexander III's reign, and, between about 1260 and 1286, probably friendlier than at any period because of Alexander's marriage to Henry III's daughter Margaret (1251). Much political activity in the minority years 1249- about 1260 sprang from Henry's concern for the young couple and for the stability of Scotland. Both political groups, Comyns and Durwards, recognised the need for Henry's support.

After the minority, there was a very good personal relationship between the two royal families. Another stabilising force was a politically active group of magnates with land in both kingdoms. For example, John de Balliol and Robert de Ros were guardians of the young Scots king and queen (1251-55), Alan Durward served Henry III in Gascony (1254), had Henry's support for his "takeover" in Scotland in 1255, and took refuge in England after 1257. On five occasions (1257-1261) Roger de Quincy took part in embassies to Scotland. The Bruce, Comyn and Balliol families were represented on Henry's side at the battle of Lewes (1264). John de Vescy accompanied Edward I (1272-1307) on crusade and then was a leader of Alexander III's expedition to the Isle of Man (1275).

These forces of stability helped to keep in abeyance possible tensions over English claims to suzerainty and border disputes. Tensions increased after Queen Margaret's death (1275), but it was a set of tragic circumstances - the deaths of Alexander III's children, David (1281), Margaret (1283), and Alexander (1284), and of Alexander himself (1286) - which finally broke a "tie of indissoluble affection".

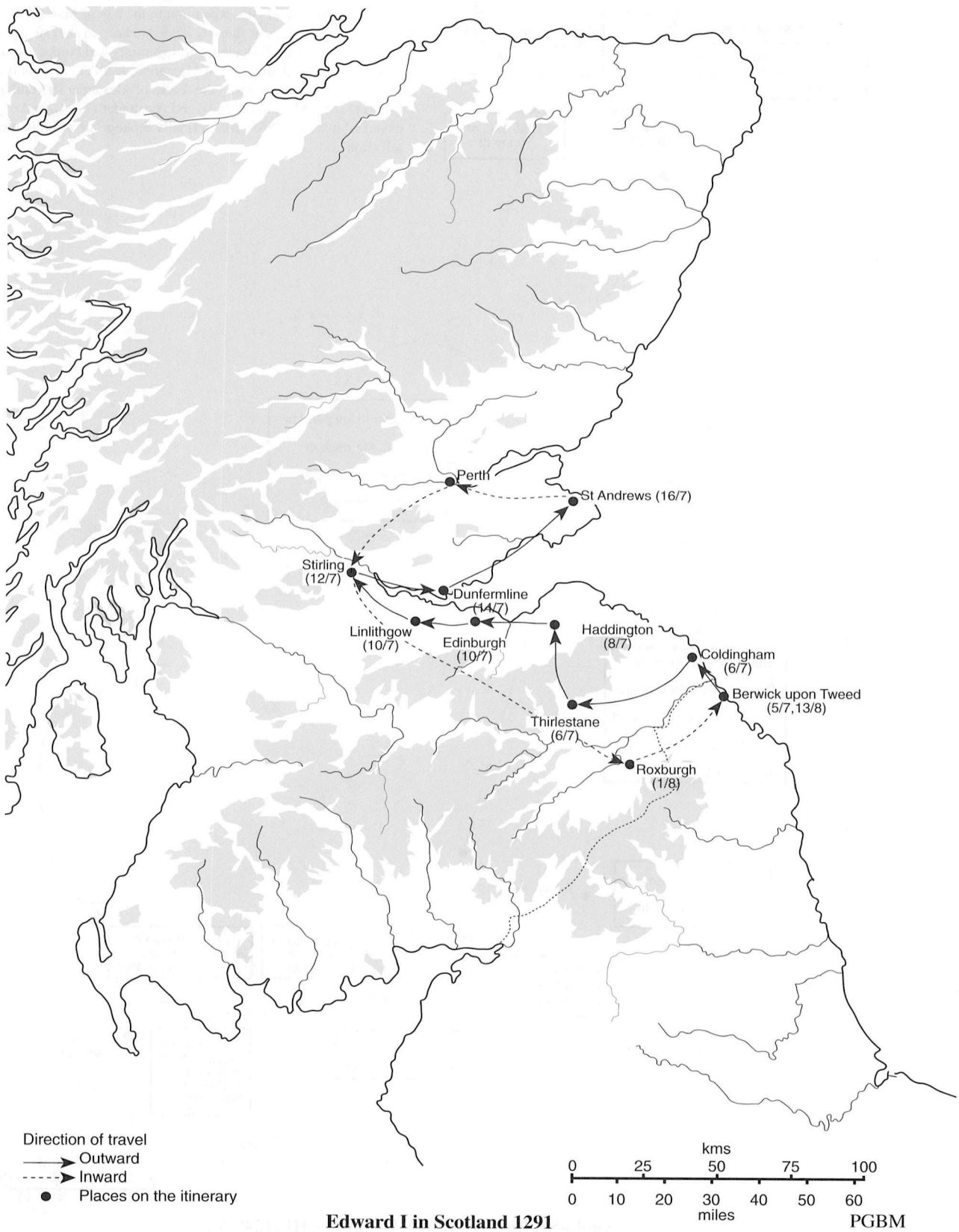


Anglo-Scottish relations: Alexander III (1249-86)

Edward I in Scotland

This series of maps shows the routes that Edward I (1272-1307) took on his expeditions to Scotland. The maps do not show every apparent foray which the king took, for example, when he wintered in Dunfermline from November 1303 until March 1304. However, the itinerary of 1296 is described in a contemporary account.

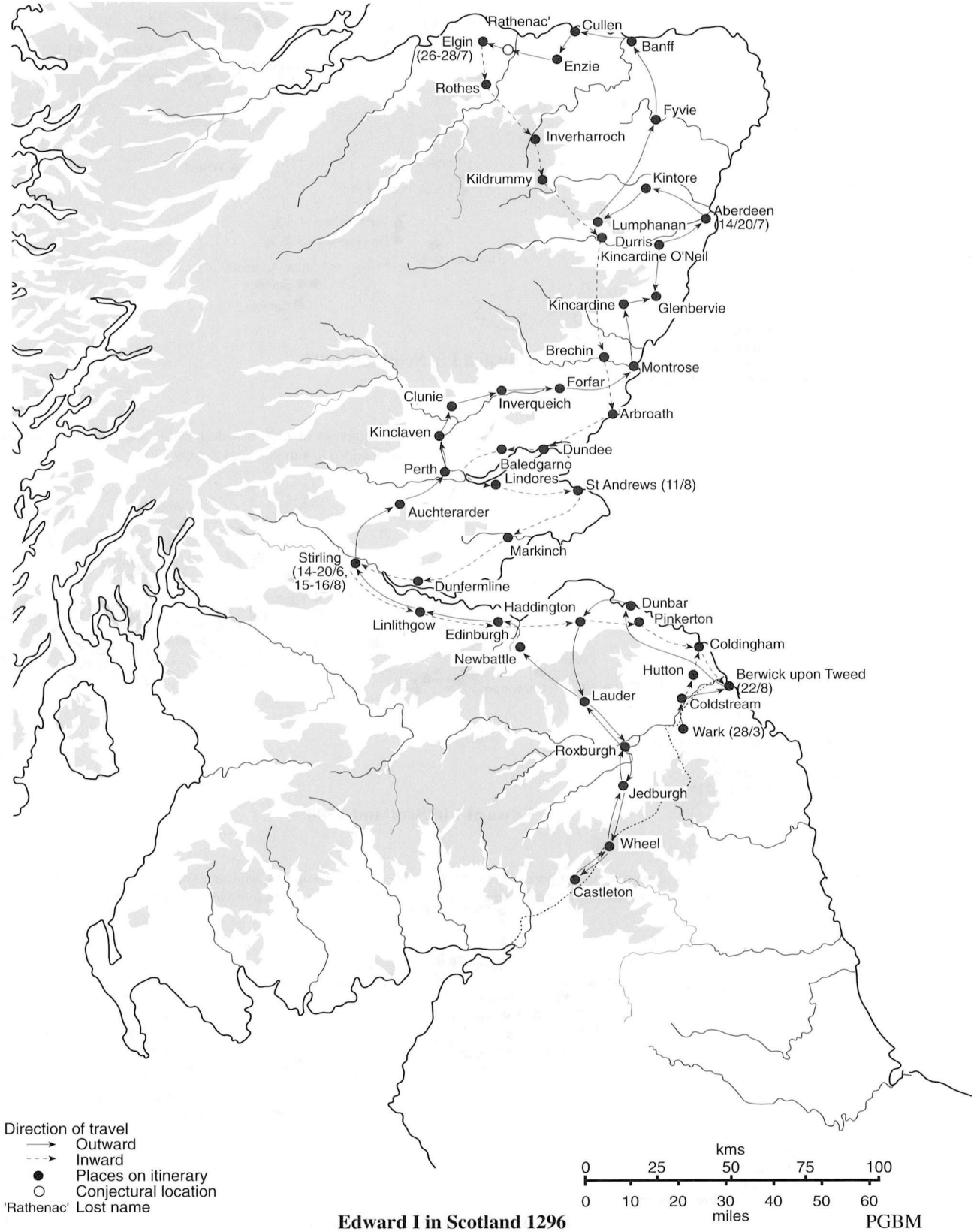
The first journey in Scotland came in the summer of 1291 after Edward's overlordship of Scotland had been acknowledged: he returned south in August for the assembly at Berwick at which the petitions in the great cause were to be presented.



Edward I in Scotland 1291 PGBM

Edward I in Scotland

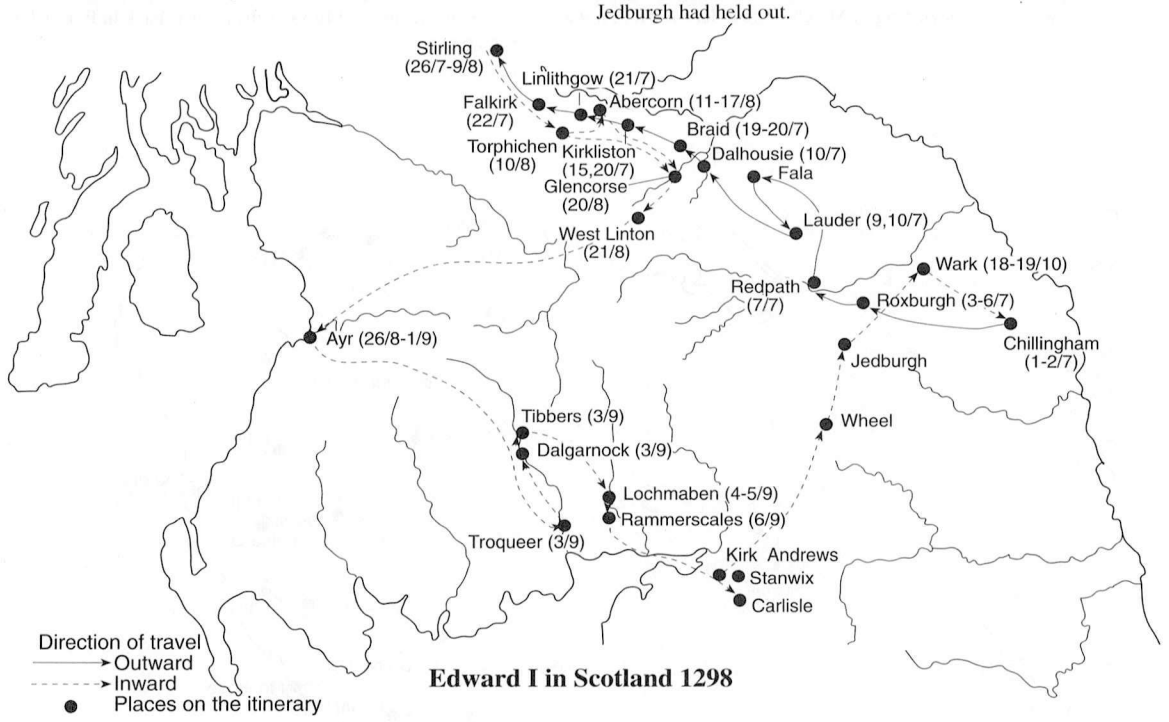
The itinerary of 1296 was a campaign of conquest which followed upon the Scottish declarations of independence and the ratification of the treaty between Scots and the French. The campaign lasted twenty-one weeks, beginning in March. After Berwick fell, it was sacked and the inhabitants were slaughtered. Edward travelled as far north as Elgin; on the way north he received King John's renunciation of the French treaty at Strathcathro (7 July) and his abdication of the throne at Brechin (10 July). Edward was back in Berwick by mid-September.



Edward I in Scotland 1296 PGBM

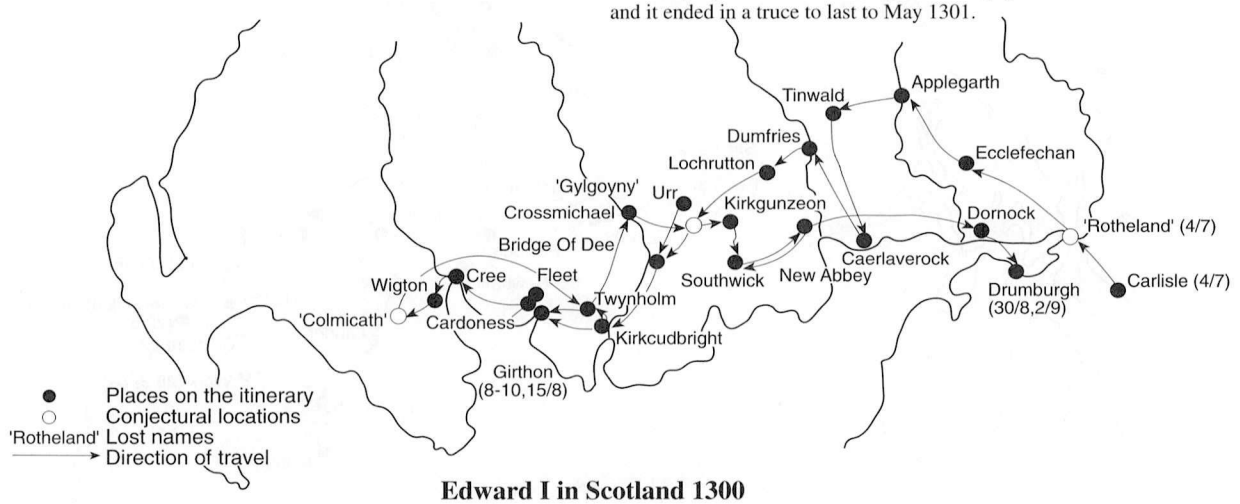
Edward I in Scotland

The military expedition of 1298 was designed to reverse the effect of Wallace's victory over the English at Stirling on 11 September 1297. After some difficulty, Edward's forces travelled as far as Falkirk where they defeated the Scots under Wallace. Edward's campaign took him to Ayr, from where he went to Dumfriesshire and back to Carlisle: but Edward had returned to Scotland because Jedburgh had held out.



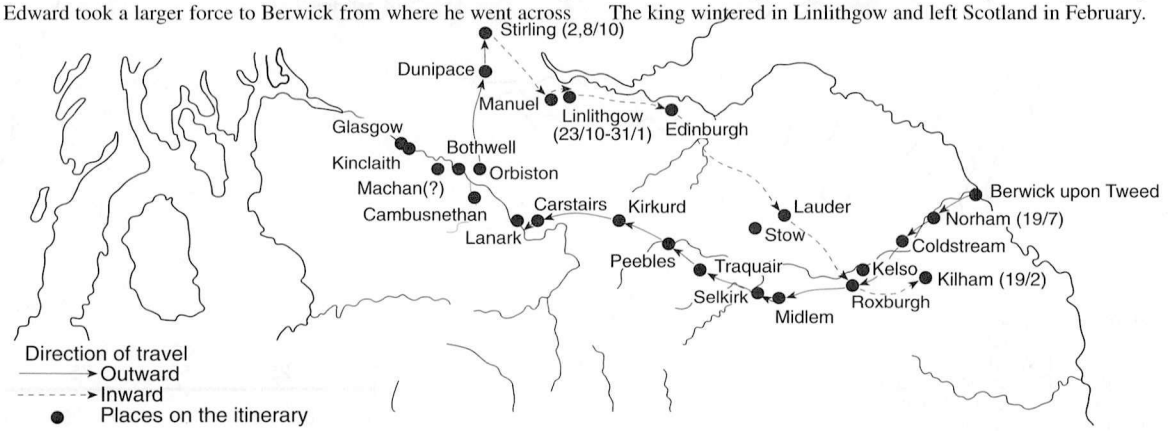
Edward I in Scotland 1298

The campaign of 1300 was designed to subjugate the south west: and it ended in a truce to last to May 1301.



Edward I in Scotland 1300

After the truce ended, there was no prospect of peace; while King Edward took a larger force to Berwick from where he went across Scotland to the upper Clyde and down the Clyde valley to Glasgow. The king wintered in Linlithgow and left Scotland in February.



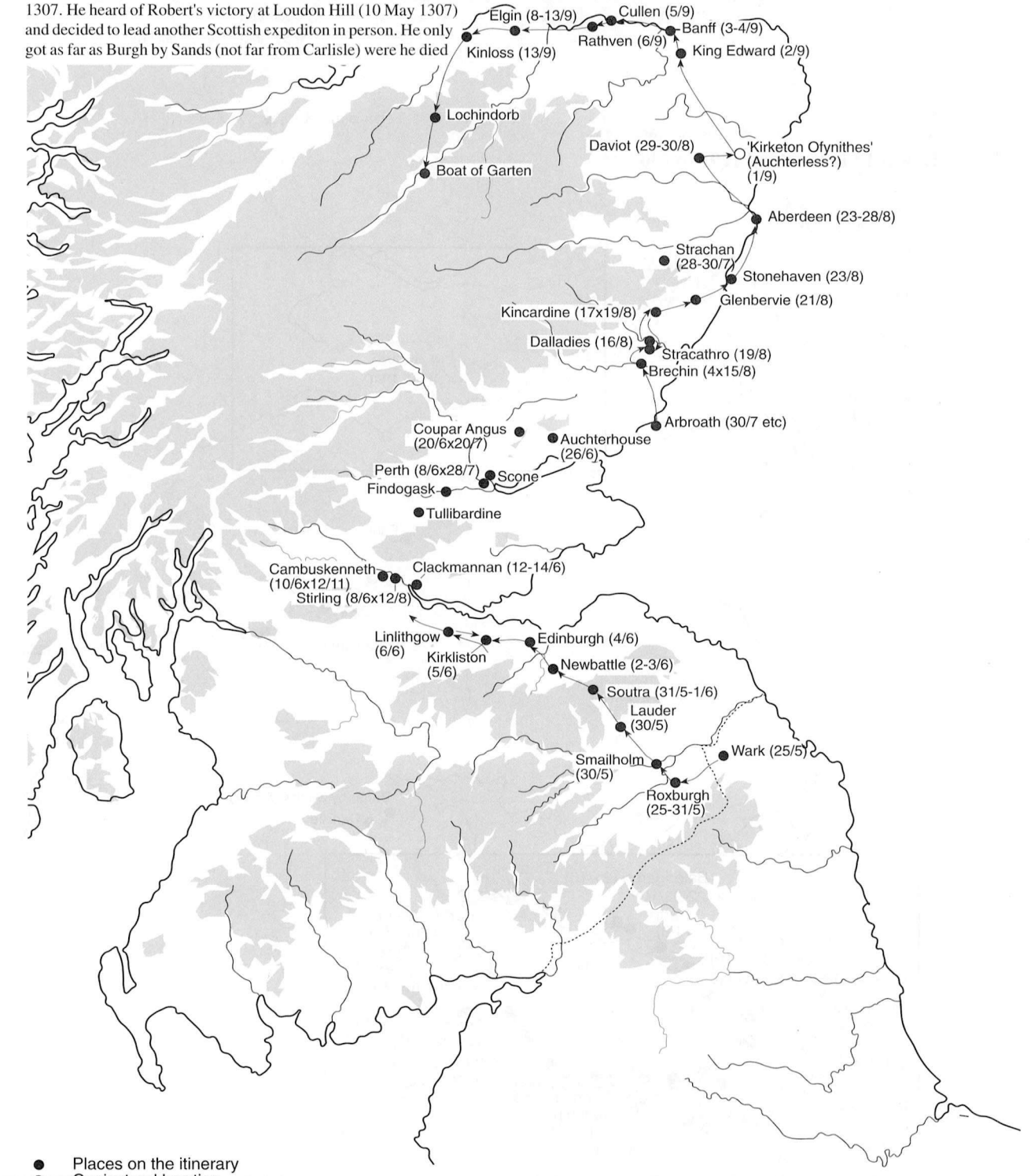
Edward I in Scotland 1301 to 1302 PGBM

Edward I in Scotland

On 24 February 1303, the Scots defeated an English contingent at Roslin; and on 20 May in the peace between England and France, Scotland was not comprehended. Edward's summer campaign was a full-scale invasion in which the English forces went as far north as Kinloss. After a long siege (May to 20 July) Stirling castle was taken by Edward. Thereafter, he wintered in Dunfermline and returned to England in August 1304. After this subjugation, Edward tried to stabilise the situation by a constitutional settlement. The resurgence of Scottish independence under Robert I - who had been made king on 25 March 1306 - had been kept in check by Edward's lieutenants, but Edward himself, although seriously ill, planned to undertake a futher campaign in July 1306, but he was incapacitated until March 1307. He heard of Robert's victory at Loudon Hill (10 May 1307) and decided to lead another Scottish expediton in person. He only got as far as Burgh by Sands (not far from Carlisle) were he died on 7 July at the age of 68.

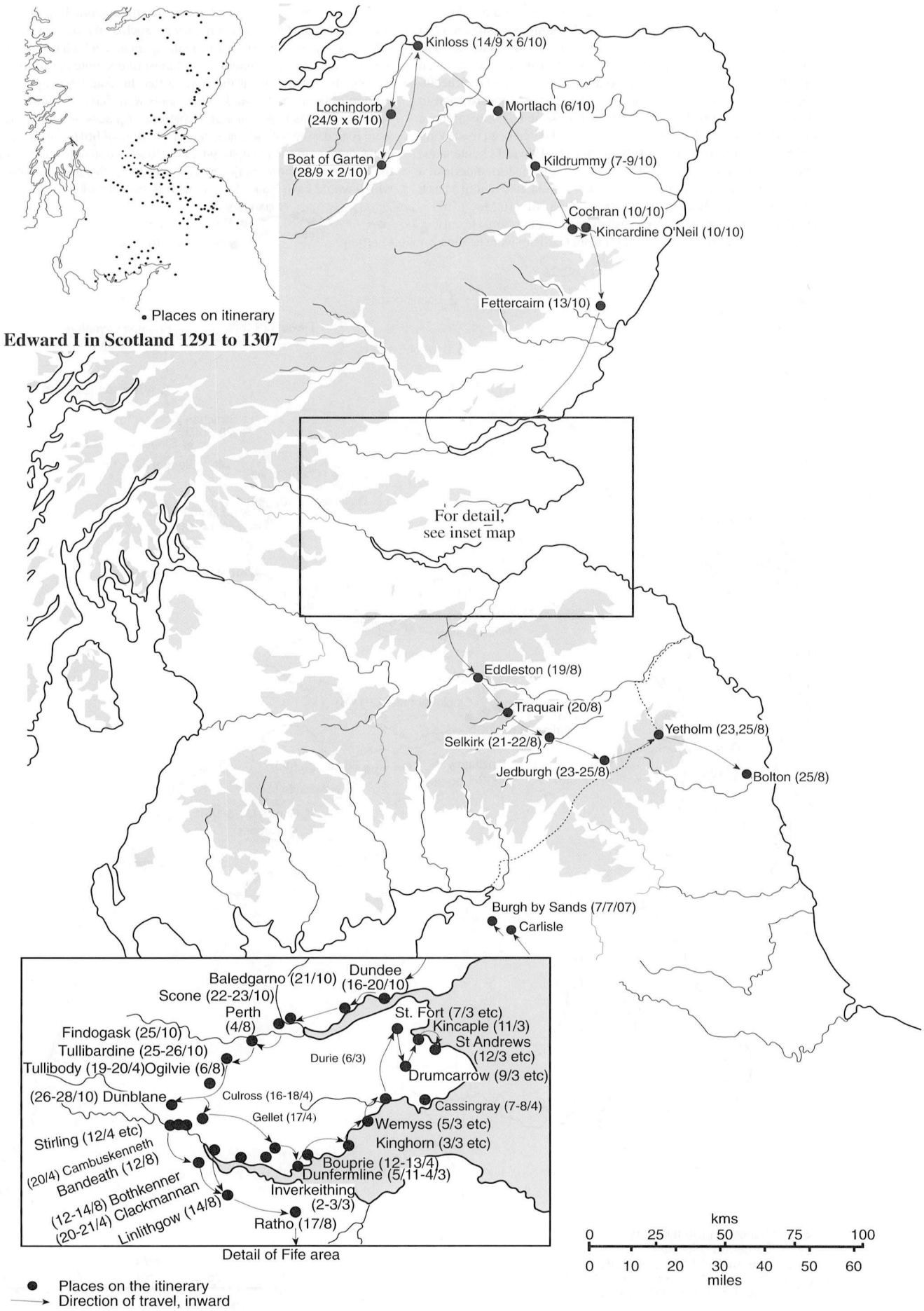
The composite map of all of Edward I's Scottish campaigns shows that apart from occasional forays such as the ones to Ayr in 1298 and to Boat of Garten in 1303 the main area which he covered was the eastern part of Scotland; and most of his routes were within reasonable distance from the sea, so that he could call upon the support of the fleet. Edward's lieutenants went further afield.

The maps give mainly a picture of places at which writs were issued: some of the places must have been of little significance. The Gough map (which is shown in the first section of this atlas), on the other hand, shows major places - cities, castles and passages - which would have been of use to travellers or invaders.

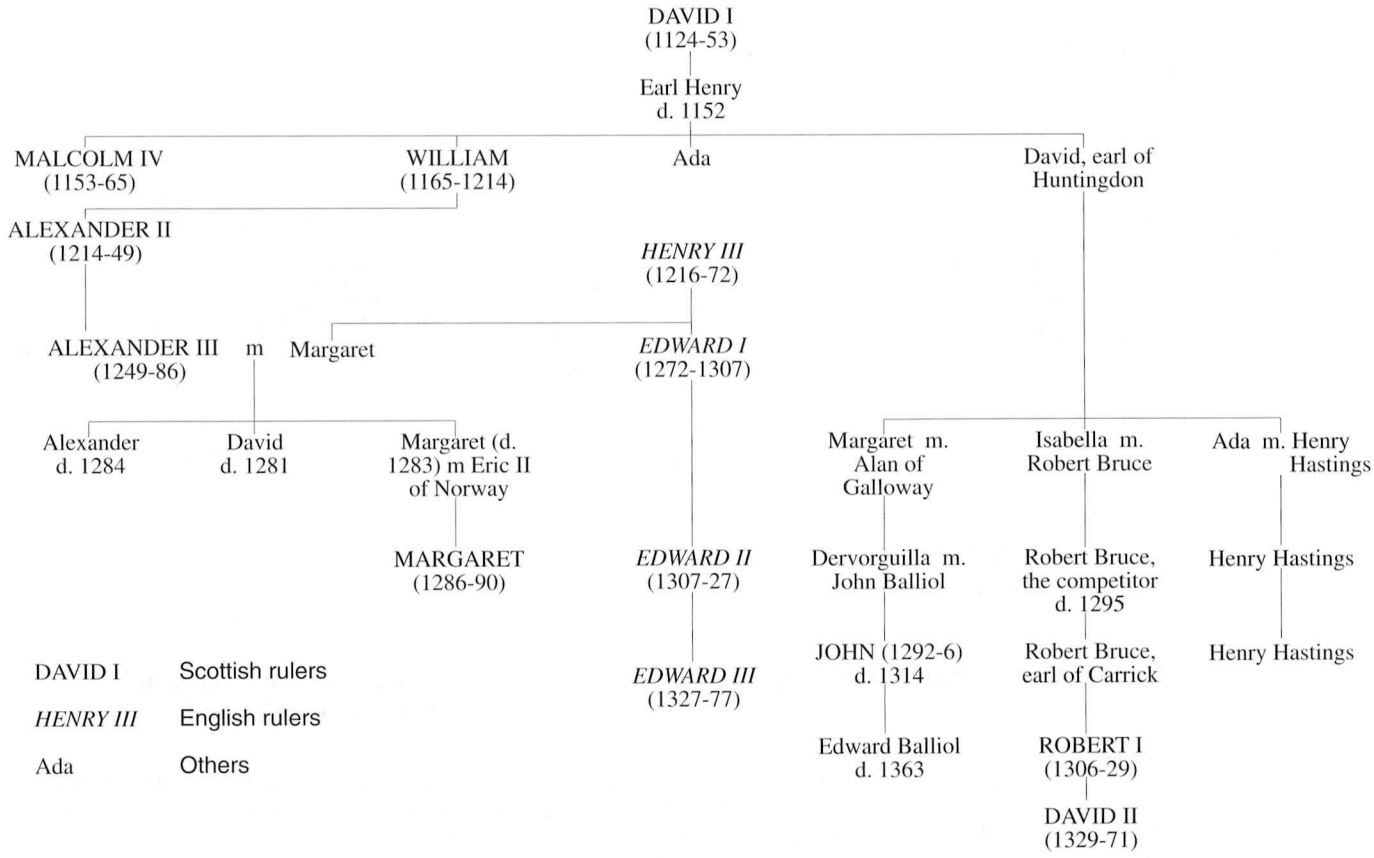


Edward I in Scotland 1303 to 1304, outward journey PGBM

Edward I in Scotland



Edward I in Scotland 1303 to 1304, inward journey, and 1307 PGBM



The Great Cause and after: genealogical table PGBM

The succession, diplomacy and war

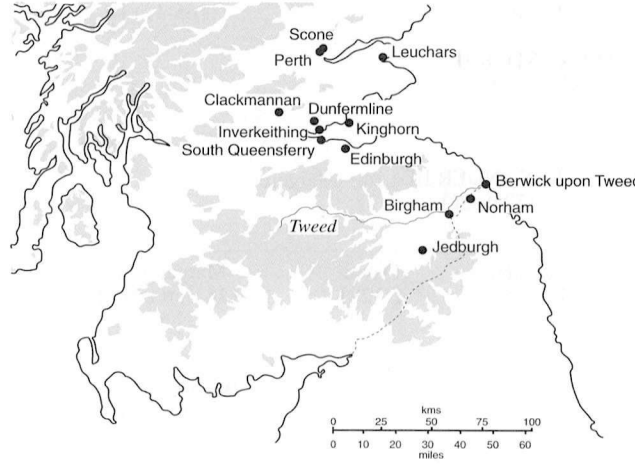
At Scone, early in 1284, following the deaths of his three children, Alexander III, with the consent of the magnates, settled the succession on his granddaughter, Margaret, the Maid of Norway. In 1285 he married Yolande of Dreux, but in March 1286, having left Edinburgh and crossed from South Queensferry to Inverkeithing to visit his wife at Kinghorn, he was killed by a fall from his horse.

After Alexander's burial at Dunfermline, a parliament at Scone chose six Guardians to govern the kingdom, and sent an embassy (instructions unknown) to Edward I. It travelled via Newcastle and London; its destination was perhaps St. Jean d'Angely, but it found Edward at Saintes and reported back to the Guardians at Clackmannan.

In 1289, the Guardians began negotiations with Norway and England for the marriage of Margaret to Edward's son. In the Treaty of Salisbury (November 1289), ratified by the Scots at Birgham in March 1290, the three countries agreed that Margaret should be sent to Scotland. The proposed marriage was arranged in the Treaty of Birgham in July 1290 and confirmed by Edward at Northampton in August. Edward sent a ship from Yarmouth to bring Margaret to Scotland (May 1290) and by June had taken control of the Isle of Man, which belonged to the Scottish Crown. However, the queen left Bergen in a Norwegian ship, only to die in the Orkneys, then Norwegian territory (late September 1290). English envoys were at Wick on 4 October, apparently to conduct further negotiations with the Norwegians. Meanwhile, the Scots magnates were gathering at Perth, perhaps for Margaret's inauguration at Scone. On 7 October Bishop Fraser of St. Andrews wrote to Edward from Leuchars telling him of rumours of the Maid's death and asking him to intervene. Although Edward announced during a parliament at Clipstone which began on 27 October 1290 that he intended to go to Scotland, the death of Queen Eleanor caused an interruption till March 1291.

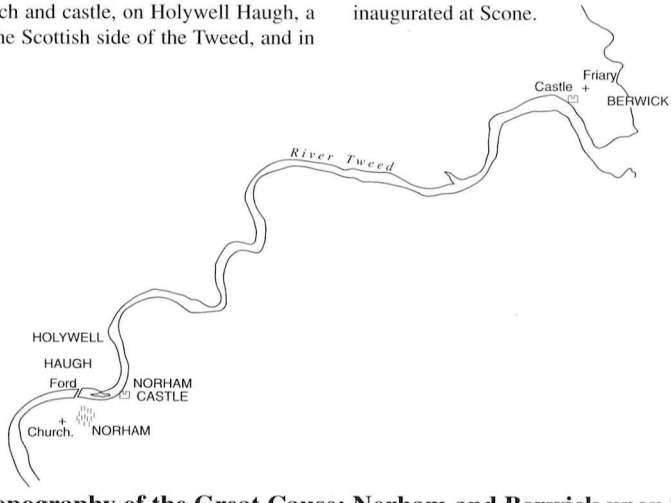


The Great Cause: European setting



The topography of the Great Cause: Scotland and England

In early May, Edward arrived at Norham to begin the "Great Cause" to decide who should be king of Scots. The meetings took place in Norham parish church and castle, on Holywell Haugh, a field opposite the castle on the Scottish side of the Tweed, and in the castle and former Dominican friary in Berwick. On 17th November 1292 John Balliol was awarded the kingdom and on 30th inaugurated at Scone.



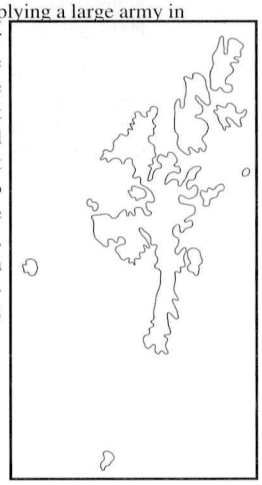
The topography of the Great Cause: Norham and Berwick upon Tweed NFS

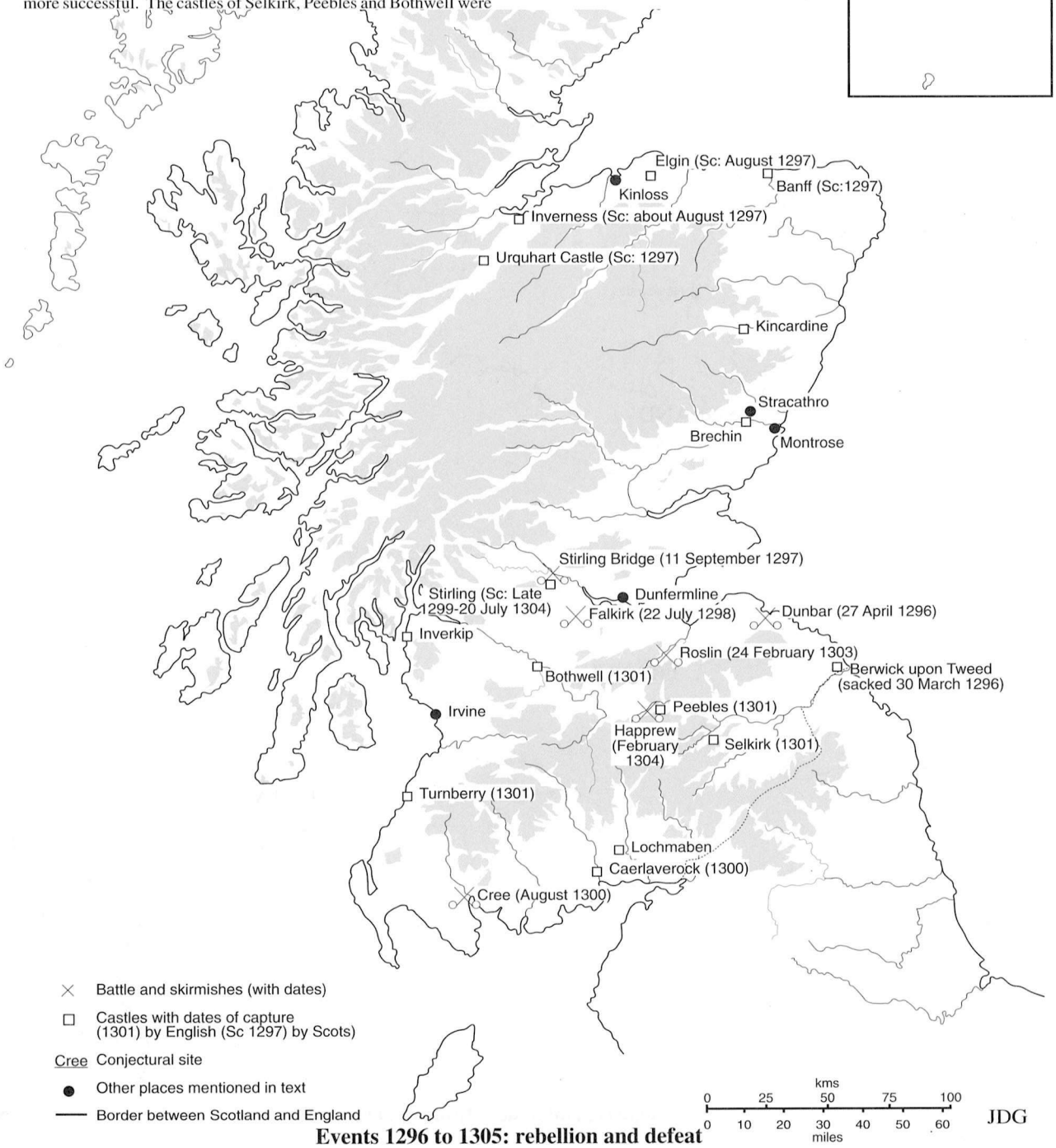
The succession, diplomacy and war

In the spring of 1296, Edward I sacked Berwick, defeated a Scottish army at Dunbar, and marched, virtually unopposed, as far as Elgin. On his way north, terms of surrender were dictated to the Scots at Brechin castle, and at Kincardine, Stracathro and Montrose, the royal authority of John Balliol was progressively dismantled in a series of humiliating submissions.

The general rising of 1297 was inspired by a number of prominent men, but is forever associated with only one figure, William Wallace. Unlike the other Scottish leaders, Wallace did not capitulate at Irvine in July, but went on to win the spectacular victory of Stirling Bridge. However, this was a piece of tactical opportunism, unlikely to be repeated. The Scottish massed-infantry schiltrom had many weaknesses when confronted by disciplined heavy cavalry supported by archers, as was demonstrated the next year at Falkirk, where the Scots sustained a serious defeat at the hands of a starving and near-mutinous army. For a variety of diplomatic and domestic reasons, Edward was unable to follow up this success, and the Scots recovered some ground; in particular, they regained the major Castle of Stirling.

Edward's expedition of 1300 achieved little apart from the relief of Lochmaben, the capture of Caerlaverock and the dispersal of a Scottish army at the Cree. A two-pronged attack in 1301 was more successful. The castles of Selkirk, Peebles and Bothwell were taken. However, the main English effort in the south-west was contained and did not reach Inverkip as planned, though it captured Turnberry. After wintering at Linlithgow, Edward made another in his series of intermittent truces with the Scots. It was clearly intended that the next invasion of 1303 should come to stay - Edward now had nothing to fear from the prospect of an active alliance of the Scots, the French and the Papacy. Though a probing force was defeated at Roslin, the main expedition penetrated to Kinloss before returning to winter at Dunfermline; the difficulties of supplying a large army in a hostile country, which had bedevilled earlier expeditions, had been circumvented by the use of shipping for this purpose. Edward was able to mount operations from his winter base against the Scottish stronghold of Ettrick Forest and one such raiding party defeated Wallace at Happrew. In the spring, the army moved to besiege Stirling. The general surrender of the Scottish leaders at Strathord, in February 1304, preceded the fall of the castle. Wallace, now a fugitive, engaged in at least one further skirmish near Bridge of Earn, but his capture on 3 August 1305 brought resistance to an end.





Events 1296 to 1305: rebellion and defeat

The succession, diplomacy and war

The seven cities shown on the map indicate the destinations of some 35 major political embassies which left Scotland between the accession of John Balliol and the death of Robert I. The cities are representative only: Paris of the French court; Avignon and Rome of the Papal curia; London and Newcastle of the English court; Bergen of the Norwegian court. The embassies do not include ecclesiastical (i.e. for the ordination of bishops) or trade missions (i.e. to the Baltic cities), unless these are known also to have been important in political terms.

Missions to France and the papacy make up the vast majority of these embassies: Dublin features only once (1315), Norway only twice (1299 and 1302) and most of the English missions took place after Bannockburn, aimed specifically at negotiating either truces or a 'final peace'.

The limited number of destinations is indicative of the relative isolation of Scotland during the war with England. Scottish envoys were consistently welcome only in the French court. (The Pope, as the leader of Christendom, had a duty to receive envoys, but it would not be true to say that the Scots were always welcome!) Scotland's active allies were few. The fact, however, that trade continued with the Italian and Baltic city states, the Empire and the Spanish kingdoms, indicates that England's allies, although many and powerful, were not necessarily anti-Scottish. Despite English protestations, trade and other peaceful links continued largely as usual. Most of Scotland's political diplomacy, however, was patently anti-English, and it is thus no surprise to find that Scottish envoys visited only powers which also had quarrels with the English



Scottish embassies abroad 1292 to 1329 NHR

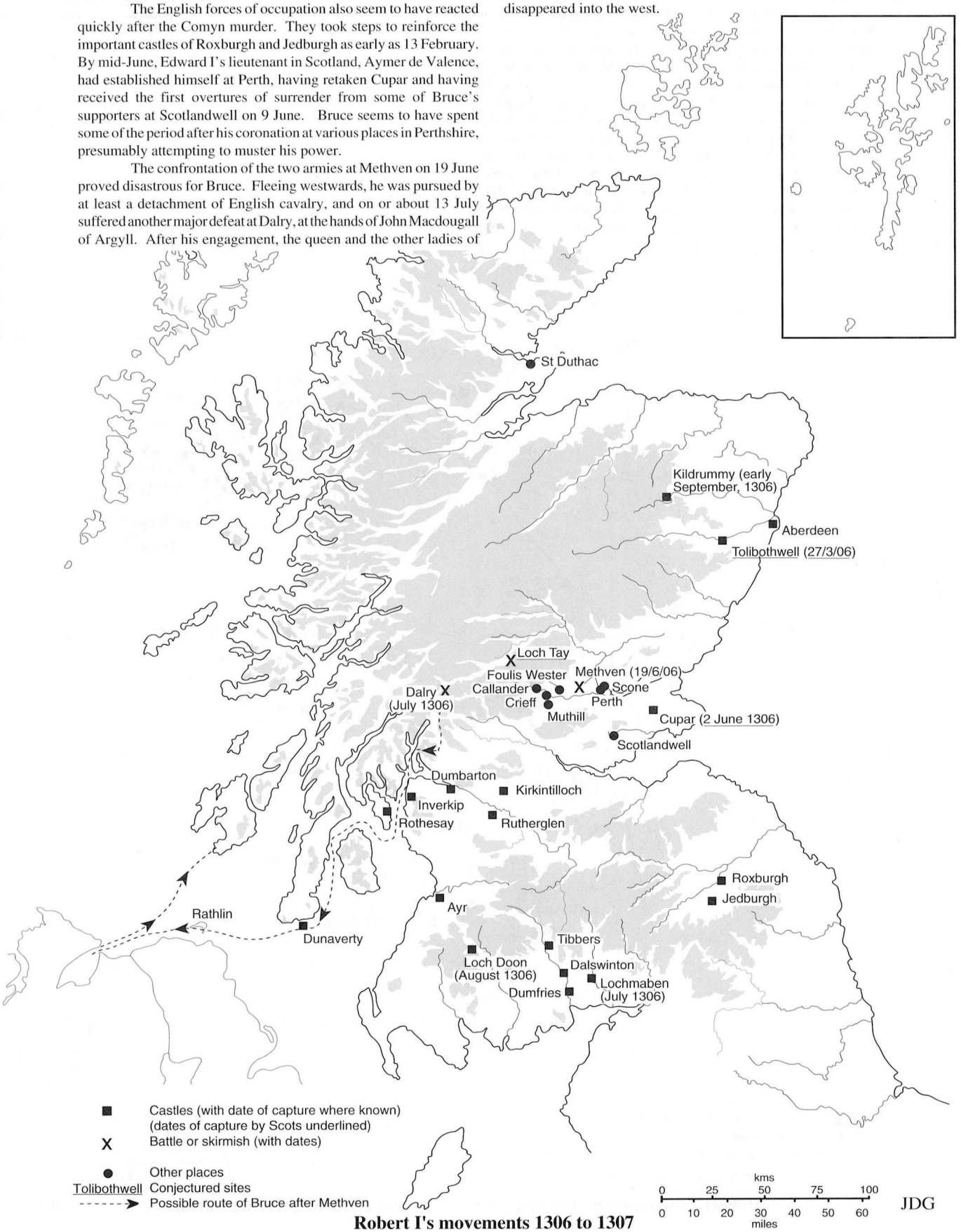
Robert I (1306-29)

Robert Bruce murdered John Comyn in Greyfriars' church, Dumfries, on 12 February 1306. By the time of his coronation at Scone on 25-27 march, he had replenished his castles of Dunaverty and Loch Doon, and he and his supporters had taken, besieged, or attempted to win over the garrisons of all the castles in the South-West which are marked on map. Support for this rebellion was not confined to that area; the castle of Cupar in Fife, and the new castle of Tolibothwell in Aberdeenshire were also captured.

The English forces of occupation also seem to have reacted quickly after the Comyn murder. They took steps to reinforce the important castles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh as early as 13 February. By mid-June, Edward I's lieutenant in Scotland, Aymer de Valence, had established himself at Perth, having retaken Cupar and having received the first overtures of surrender from some of Bruce's supporters at Scotlandwell on 9 June. Bruce seems to have spent some of the period after his coronation at various places in Perthshire, presumably attempting to muster his power.

The confrontation of the two armies at Methven on 19 June proved disastrous for Bruce. Fleeing westwards, he was pursued by at least a detachment of English cavalry, and on or about 13 July suffered another major defeat at Dalry, at the hands of John Macdougall of Argyll. After his engagement, the queen and the other ladies of Bruce's party were sent north to Kildrummy.

However, Valence also turned northwards on 13 July, reaching Aberdeen on 3 August. He quickly moved on Kildrummy. The ladies had left the castle before it fell in early September, but they were captured soon afterwards at St Duthac's sanctuary near Tain. The castles which were held for Bruce in the south-west were quickly subdued by the English local commanders, who had quelled any remaining resistance by 9 November. Bruce himself had already disappeared into the west.



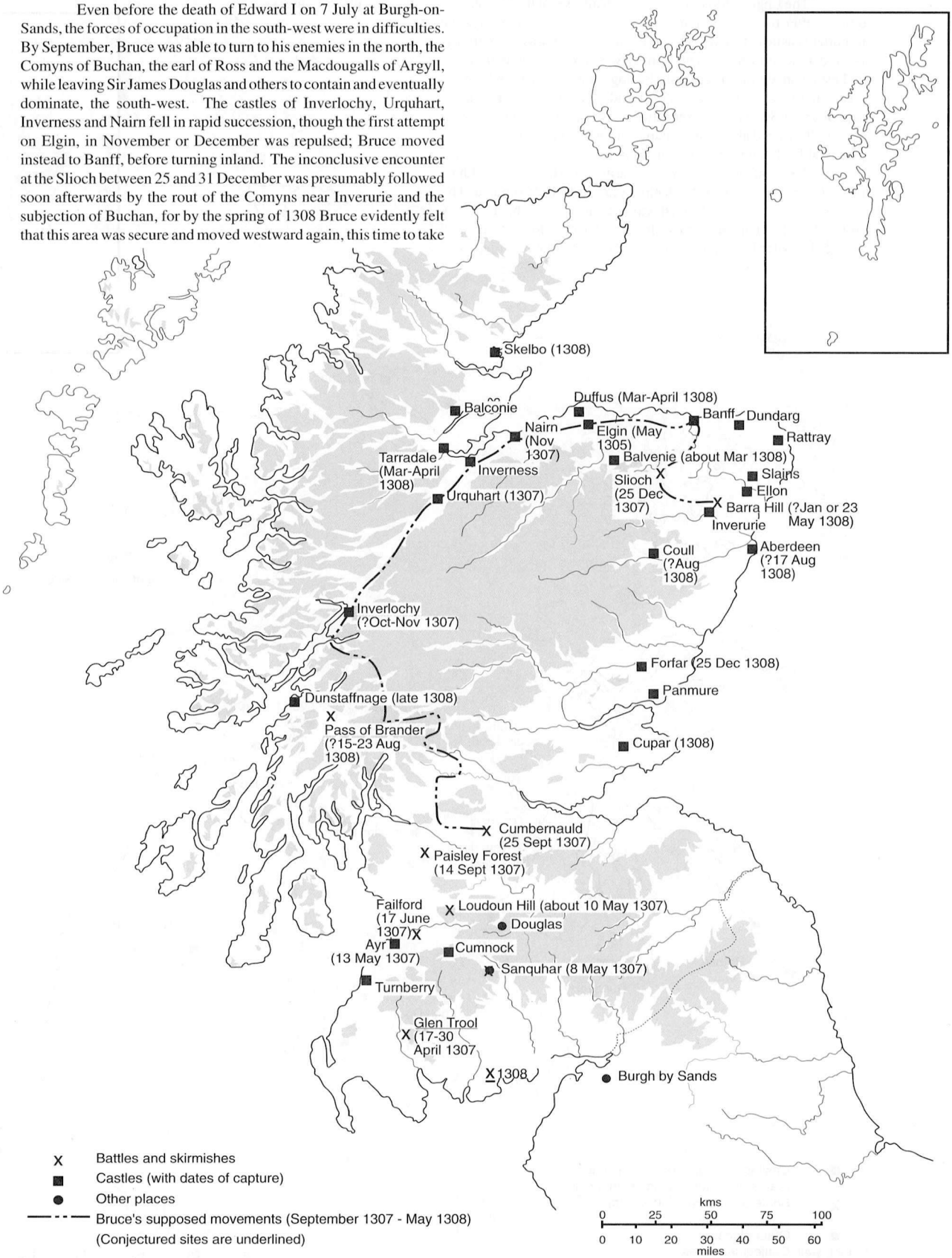
Robert I's movements 1306 to 1307

Robert I (1306-29)

When Robert Bruce returned to his earldom of Carrick in February 1307, he and his supporters began a highly successful guerrilla campaign. It seems that they had only two real advantages: the fact that the English local commanders, goaded by an irate Edward I, were obliged to 'come and get them' so that the superior English forces could be met on ground of the insurgents' choosing, and the ground itself, the advantage of which they had learned to exploit to the full.

Even before the death of Edward I on 7 July at Burgh-on-Sands, the forces of occupation in the south-west were in difficulties. By September, Bruce was able to turn to his enemies in the north, the Comyns of Buchan, the earl of Ross and the Macdougalls of Argyll, while leaving Sir James Douglas and others to contain and eventually dominate, the south-west. The castles of Inverlochy, Urquhart, Inverness and Nairn fell in rapid succession, though the first attempt on Elgin, in November or December was repulsed; Bruce moved instead to Banff, before turning inland. The inconclusive encounter at the Slioch between 25 and 31 December was presumably followed soon afterwards by the rout of the Comyns near Inverurie and the subjection of Buchan, for by the spring of 1308 Bruce evidently felt that this area was secure and moved westward again, this time to take Balvenie, Duffus and Tarradale, and on 7 April, to renew the siege of Elgin.

Aberdeen, 'besieged by land and sea' in July 1308, may have held out until August. If so, Bruce himself must by then have returned to Argyll, where his campaign against the Macdougalls and their associates culminated in the victory at the Pass of Brander and the capture of Dunstaffnage. By the end of 1308, Banff was the only stronghold north of the Mounth which was still in English hands.



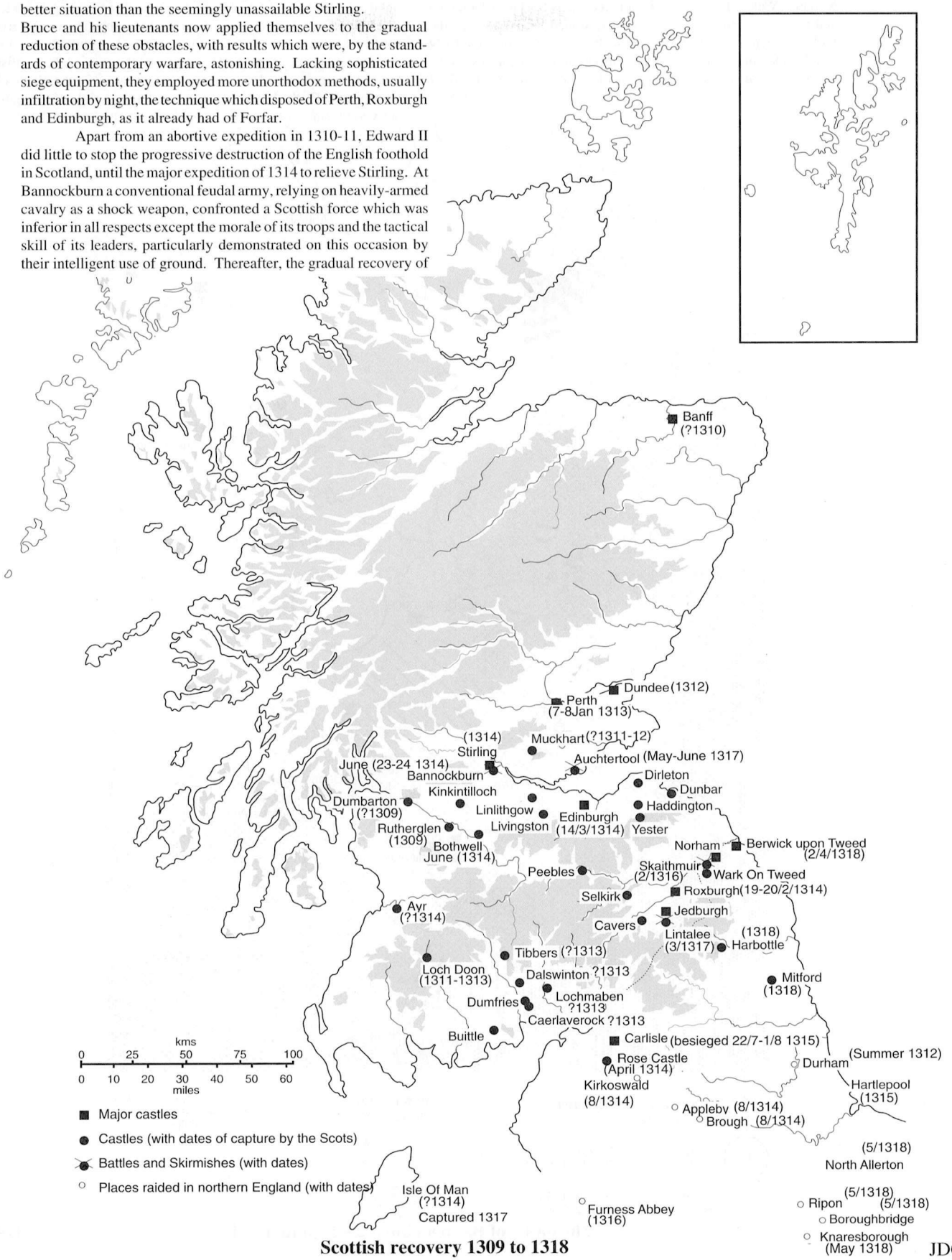
Robert I's movements February 1307 to December 1308: guerrilla warfare JDG

Robert I (1306-29)

At the start of 1309, Bruce and his supporters still faced formidable opposition, particularly in the south-east and the central belt, where their enemies held the major castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Jedburgh, the 'Marche Mont' of Roxburgh and Berwick, linked by a network of lesser fortifications. The one notable weakness in the English position was the difficulty of supplying and re-inforcing these garrisons; in this respect even the completely isolated Banff, which could (in theory at least) be supplied by sea, may have been in a rather better situation than the seemingly unassailable Stirling.

Bruce and his lieutenants now applied themselves to the gradual reduction of these obstacles, with results which were, by the standards of contemporary warfare, astonishing. Lacking sophisticated siege equipment, they employed more unorthodox methods, usually infiltration by night, the technique which disposed of Perth, Roxburgh and Edinburgh, as it already had of Forfar.

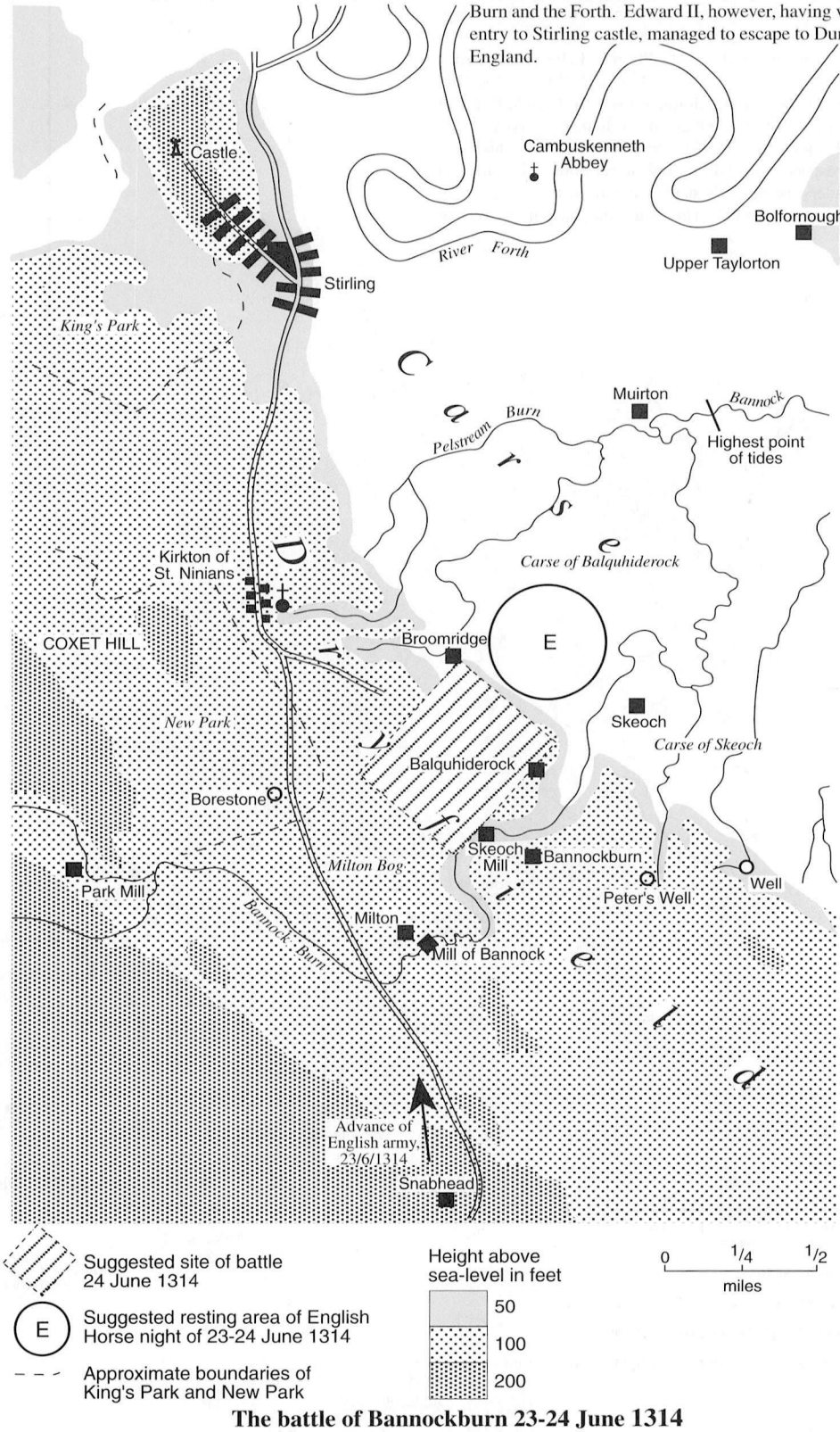
Apart from an abortive expedition in 1310-11, Edward II did little to stop the progressive destruction of the English foothold in Scotland, until the major expedition of 1314 to relieve Stirling. At Bannockburn a conventional feudal army, relying on heavily-armed cavalry as a shock weapon, confronted a Scottish force which was inferior in all respects except the morale of its troops and the tactical skill of its leaders, particularly demonstrated on this occasion by their intelligent use of ground. Thereafter, the gradual recovery of Scotland resumed without interruption, if we except the landing made in Fife by shipmen of the Humber which was thrown back in near-ludicrous circumstances at Auchtertool, and occasional skirmishes against local raiding parties, as at Skaithmuir and Lintalee. The initiative had passed firmly into the hands of the Scots. Long before Berwick fell, they were conducting carefully planned raids into the North of England, systematically levying blackmail, and had threatened the English hold on Man and Ireland.



Scottish recovery 1309 to 1318 JDG

Robert I (1306-29)

The battle of Bannockburn (1314) occupied the greater part of two days, from the late afternoon of Sunday 23 June until the evening of Monday 24 June. There is no serious dispute about the location of the Sunday phase. The Scottish army was drawn up in four brigades at the perimeter of the 'New Park' which lay between the Bannock Burn and St. Ninians kirk. Robert I's brigade faced the oncoming English host at the 'entry', that is,where the high road entered the Park, while the brigades of the earl of Moray (close to St Ninians), Walter the Steward (in practice led by Sir James Douglas) and the king's brother Edward were stationed by the edge of the Park between the Borestone and Stirling. There were relatively small-scale but nonetheless vitally important initial clashes on the Sunday, first of all at the 'entry', then close to St Ninians, in both of which the English were repulsed with considerable loss. It is not in doubt that the English army then proceeded, largely during the short hours of darkness, to move north on to the 'carse', the low-lying boggy ground east of the Scottish position. Disagreement persists as to whether the main battle beginning early on the Monday morning, took place out on the carse or (as is suggested here) on the 'dryfield' above the 50 - largely about the 100 foot - contour. It is certain that the conflict was chiefly between English cavalry, too tightly deployed, and Scottish foot, whose three leading brigades (the king's being kept in reserve) had room to manoeuvre and give support to one another. Once the horse were repulsed, the dismounted knights were pushed back against the mass of the English foot, as yet unengaged, and many were drowned in the Bannock Burn and the Forth. Edward II, however, having vainly tried to gain entry to Stirling castle, managed to escape to Dunbar and thence to England.

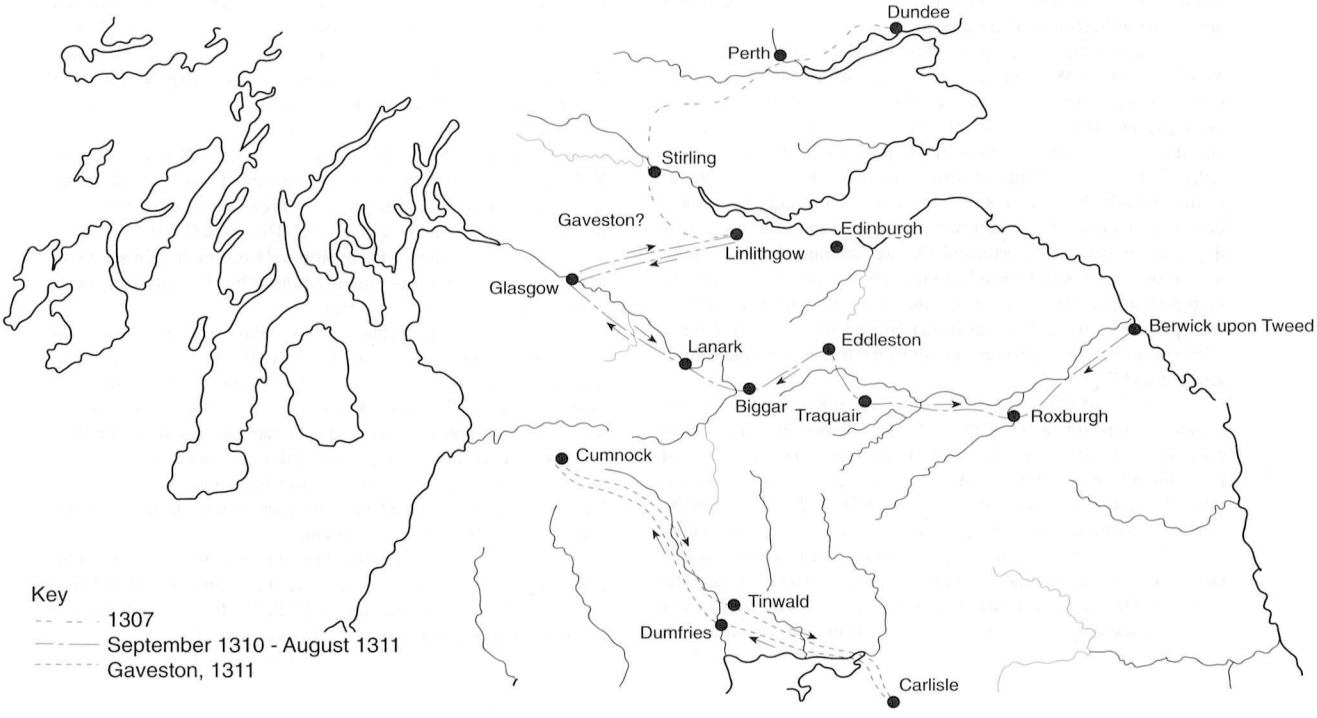


The battle of Bannockburn 23-24 June 1314 GWSB

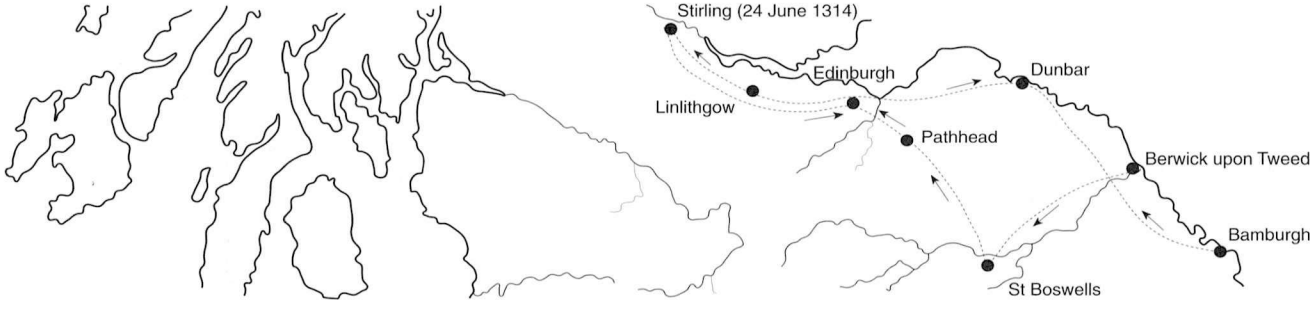
Robert I (1306-29)

Edward II conducted only four major campaigns in Scotland. In 1307, he attempted a brief campaign with the army gathered by his father Edward I before his death in July of that year. In 1310, he crossed the border with a large force, but only reached Linlithgow before retreating to winter at Berwick. Gaveston was sent north to Perth and Dundee, to try to bring Scotland north of the Forth under English sway. Further operations were carried out in the east march area through the winter and in the first half of 1311. In 1314 his largest campaign ended in disaster at Bannockburn, and his last attempt, in 1322, almost ended in the same way when, forced to retreat because of starvation, the English forcer was followed south by the Scots and routed at Byland in Yorkshire. On other occasions (e.g. autumn 1319) Edward II did enter Scotland, but only with these four campaigns did he penetrate further than the border area, or pose any real threat to Scottish security.

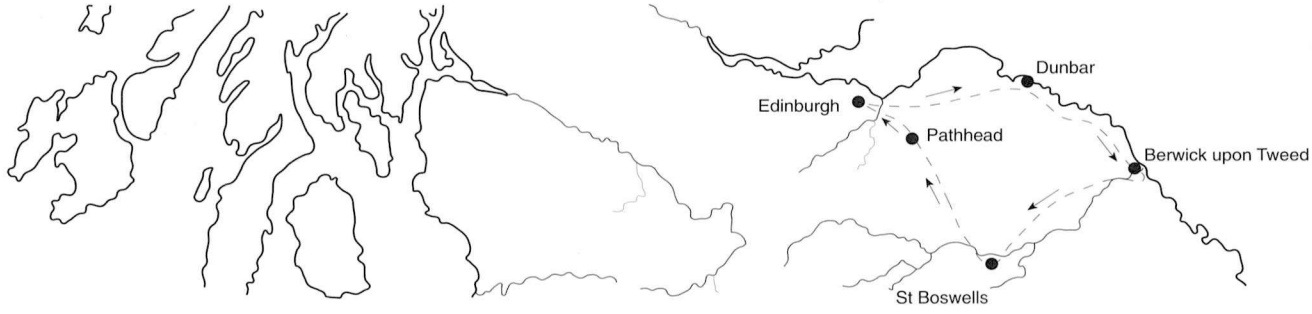
The campaigns were limited in scope and effectiveness. Generally, restricted to areas in which the English still held strongholds, with easy communications southwards, none of the campaigns broke new ground. Their very limited number and lack of success is indicative of the inadequacy of the support for the English forces resident in Scotland for much of Edward II's reign. The inability of Edward II to exert pressure on the Scots from south of the border was undoubtedly a major factor in the success of Robert I in re-asserting Scottish independent.



Edward II in Scotland 1307, 1310 and 1311



Edward II in Scotland 1314



Edward II in Scotland 1322

NHR

Robert I (1306-29)

In 1315 Edward Bruce landed at Larne. With him was a substantial force and many important Scottish magnates. After overcoming local opposition, Bruce gained the mastery of much of the earldom of Ulster and began an invasion of English lands further south. Dundalk was sacked, as were Louth and Ardee. Bruce made a tactical retreat northwards, drawing the earl of Ulster after him and completely routing him at the battle of Connor. The campaign is shown in the first map. In a few short months Bruce and his army had exposed the weakness of the Dublin government and the inability of the local magnates to contain him successfully. But he had also seen that in a famine-stricken land he must be careful not to stretch his lines of communication too far until he was sure of widespread Gaelic support and was reinforced from Scotland. When extra men arrived from Scotland, he tried again.

This time Bruce moved through Meath, defeating Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, and ravaging his lordship. He blazed a trail of destruction as far west as Granard in Longford, before turning to plunder Leinster. After looting as far south as Castledermot, he finally faced a royal army at the mote of Ardscull, not far from Athy. This was a formidable army, commanded by the justiciar, Edmund Butler but was scattered by Bruce. There appears to have been serious quarrelling among the Anglo-Irish and soon afterwards the great magnates of Leinster and Munster solemnly issued a public declaration to defend the English king's rights and, so far as lay in their power, to destroy his enemies the Scots (1316). By then Bruce was moving northwards again, driven by famine to seek his base in Ulster. But once again he left a path of destruction behind him in Kildare and Westneath.

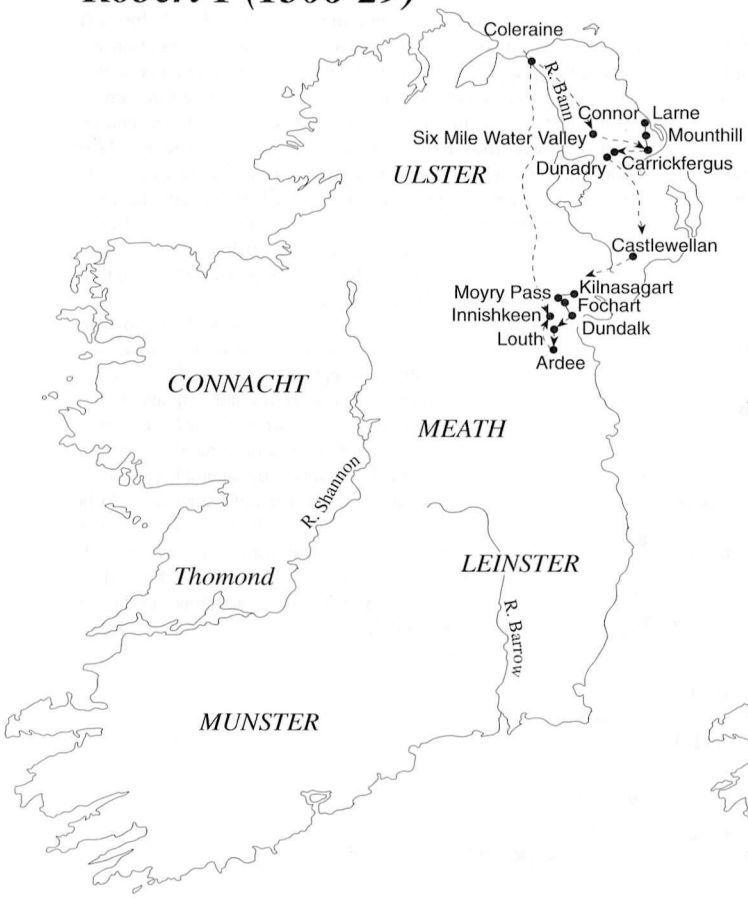
Edward Bruce was inaugurated High King of Ireland and began to consolidate his grip on Ulster, dispensing justice and possibly even holding a parliament. By now many Gaelic lords had taken his side or, more commonly, had used the disturbed condition which he had created to assert their independence. Even some of the Anglo-Irish of Ulster had accepted what seemed to them inevitable. The Dublin government was in a perilous state, almost bankrupt and suspicious of the attitude of many of the magnates. The terrible famine and the ravages of the Scots (supplemented by the destruction caused by the Anglo-Irish armies) had left many parts of Ireland in a desperate condition. When Carrickfergus Castle fell in 1316, after a year's siege, it seemed to signify the inevitable triumph for the Scots. The second map covers this part of the campaign.

By this time the Scots had control of the sea and King Robert joined his brother. The king brought much needed reinforcements. His presence escalated the war on to a new plane and presented the Dublin government with the gravest of perils. In 1317, most of the Scots left Ulster and, to the consternation of everybody, suddenly appeared in Meath. Their arrival at Castleknock on the outskirts of the city caused panic in Dublin. The citizens threw the earl of Ulster into prison, blaming him for not opposing the Scots. Hurriedly the city defences were repaired and part of the suburbs was fired to deprive the Scots of cover in approaching the walls. But the Bruces moved on, probably realising (especially after the experience at Carrickfergus) that a siege would be a long and expensive business. It is clear too that their main purpose was to join up with the O'Briens of Thomond. Once again no opportunity of wasting the lordship was lost; even churches and religious houses were plundered. By a slow progress through Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny and Tipperary, the Scots were able to devastate the lands and manors of many of the greatest Anglo-Irish lords. When they reached the Shannon at Castleconnel, Donough O'Brien, who had invited them, had been ousted by his rival Murtough O'Brien and all hope of a great Gaelic uprising in Munster had been dashed. These events are shown in the third map.

Gaelic Connacht had been important since the defeat of the O'Conners at the battle of Athenry in 1316, and bitter experience had shown that there was no hope of worthwhile support from Gaelic Leinster. To make matters worse for the Scots, Roger Mortimer had just been appointed lieutenant of Ireland, and England was at last providing resources to help defeat Bruce. Famine too was taking its toll. It was time to retreat to Ulster, and it was a tired and hungry army which arrived there. A turning point had been reached; and the king went home to Scotland.

The conquest of Ireland by the Scots was now out of the question: and when Edward Bruce foolishly moved out of Ulster again in 1318, he was defeated and killed at Fochart, just north of Dundalk. The fourth map covers this last period.

Robert 1 (1306-29)



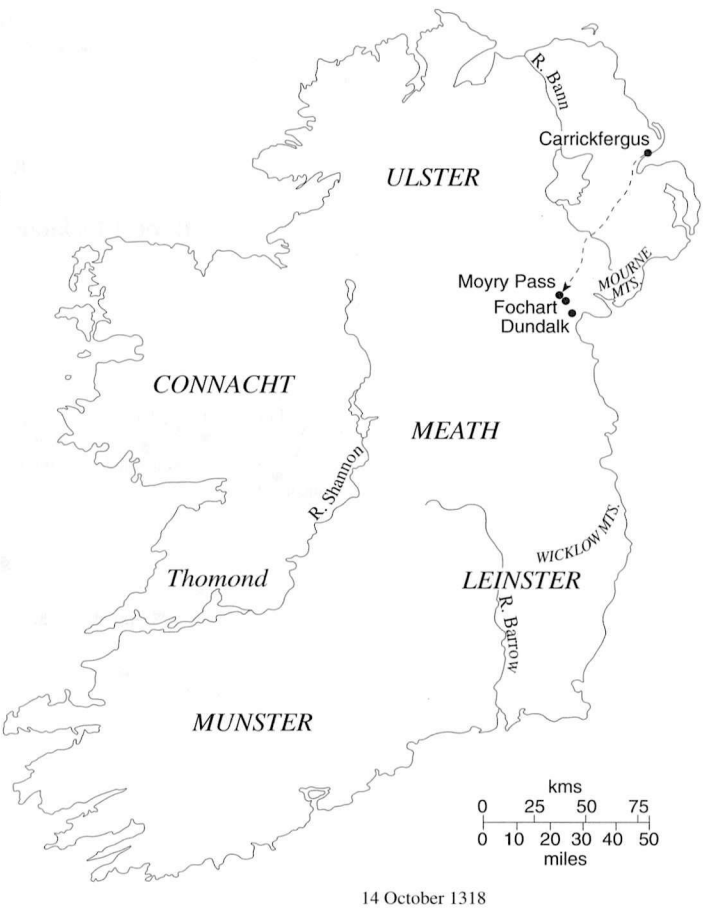
26 May to 10 September 1315



13 November 1315 to 20 (?) September 1316



18 February to late April 1317



14 October 1318

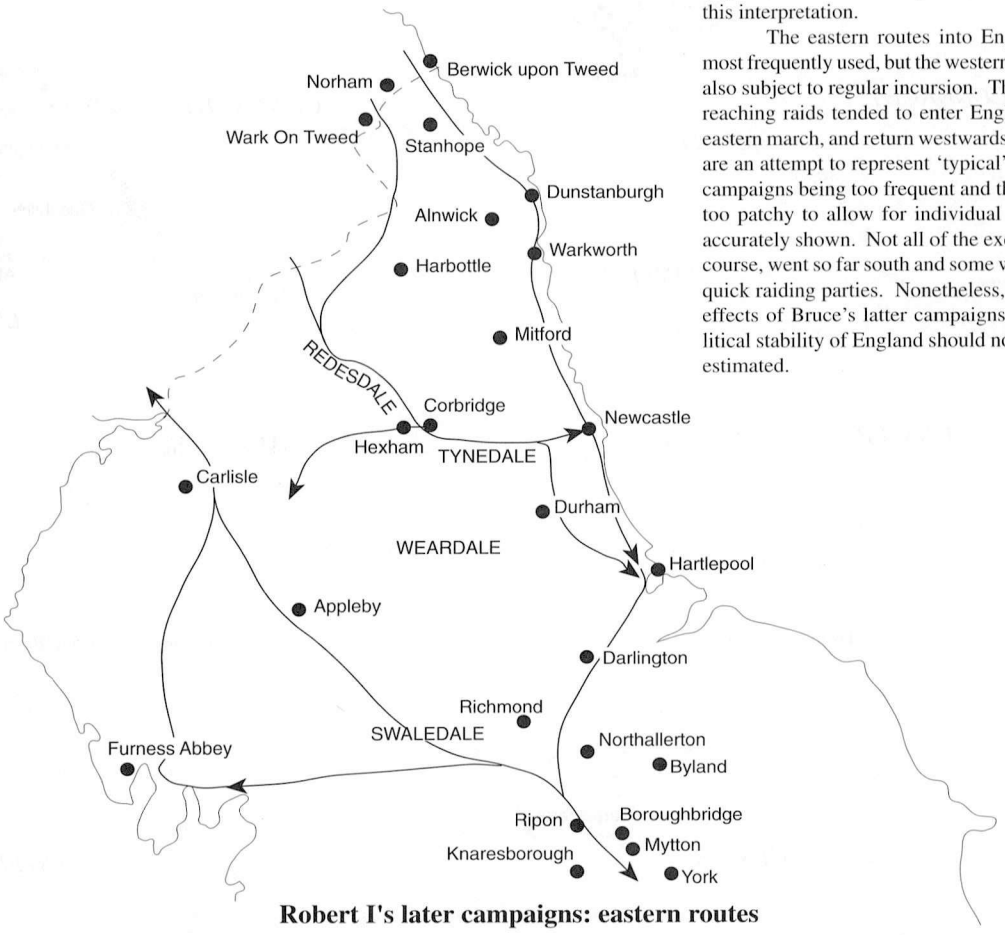
The Bruces in Ireland JFL

Robert I (1306-29)

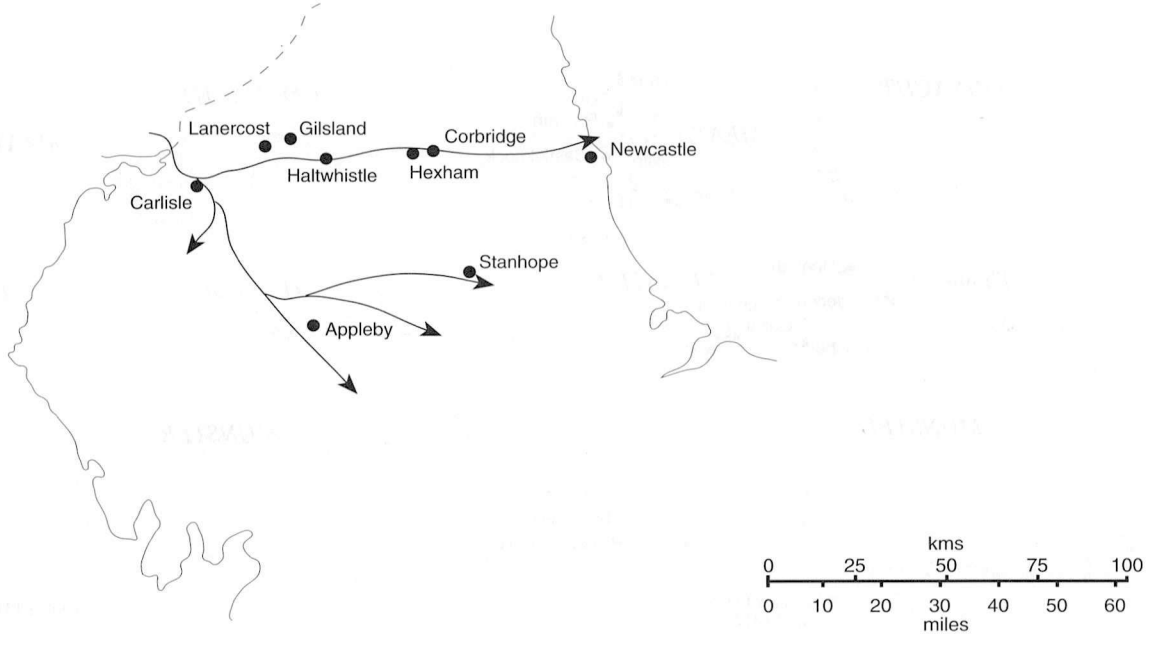
From 1311 onwards, the majority of Bruce's military efforts took place on English soil. There are, of course, exceptions: the Irish campaigns, which are treated separately; the campaign against Man in 1314 and again (under the Earl of Moray) in 1317; the defence of Scotland, most notably in 1314; and of course, the continued piecemeal reduction of English-held castles in southern Scotland.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that the bulk of the later campaigns by or on behalf of Robert I were offensive, on English soil. The king led an army across the border for the first time in 1311, and more than twenty subsequent invasions took place before a final peace was made in 1328. The area of greatest devastation was the north, but as the maps show, the incursions covered a good deal of England as far south as York. Almost annually, large amounts of tribute were raised in return for promises of local truce, and rumours spread that Bruce intended to annexe the northern counties.This may have been the case, but it seems more likely that his primary aim was to pressurise the English king to negotiate recognition of Bruce's royal status, and an end to the war. The timing of the raids, often immediately before or after negotiations for truce or peace, adds weight to this interpretation.

The eastern routes into England were most frequently used, but the western march was also subject to regular incursion. The most far-reaching raids tended to enter England by the eastern march, and return westwards. The maps are an attempt to represent 'typical' routes, the campaigns being too frequent and the evidence too patchy to allow for individual raids to be accurately shown. Not all of the excursions, of course, went so far south and some were merely quick raiding parties. Nonetheless, the serious effects of Bruce's latter campaigns on the political stability of England should not be underestimated.



Robert I's later campaigns: eastern routes

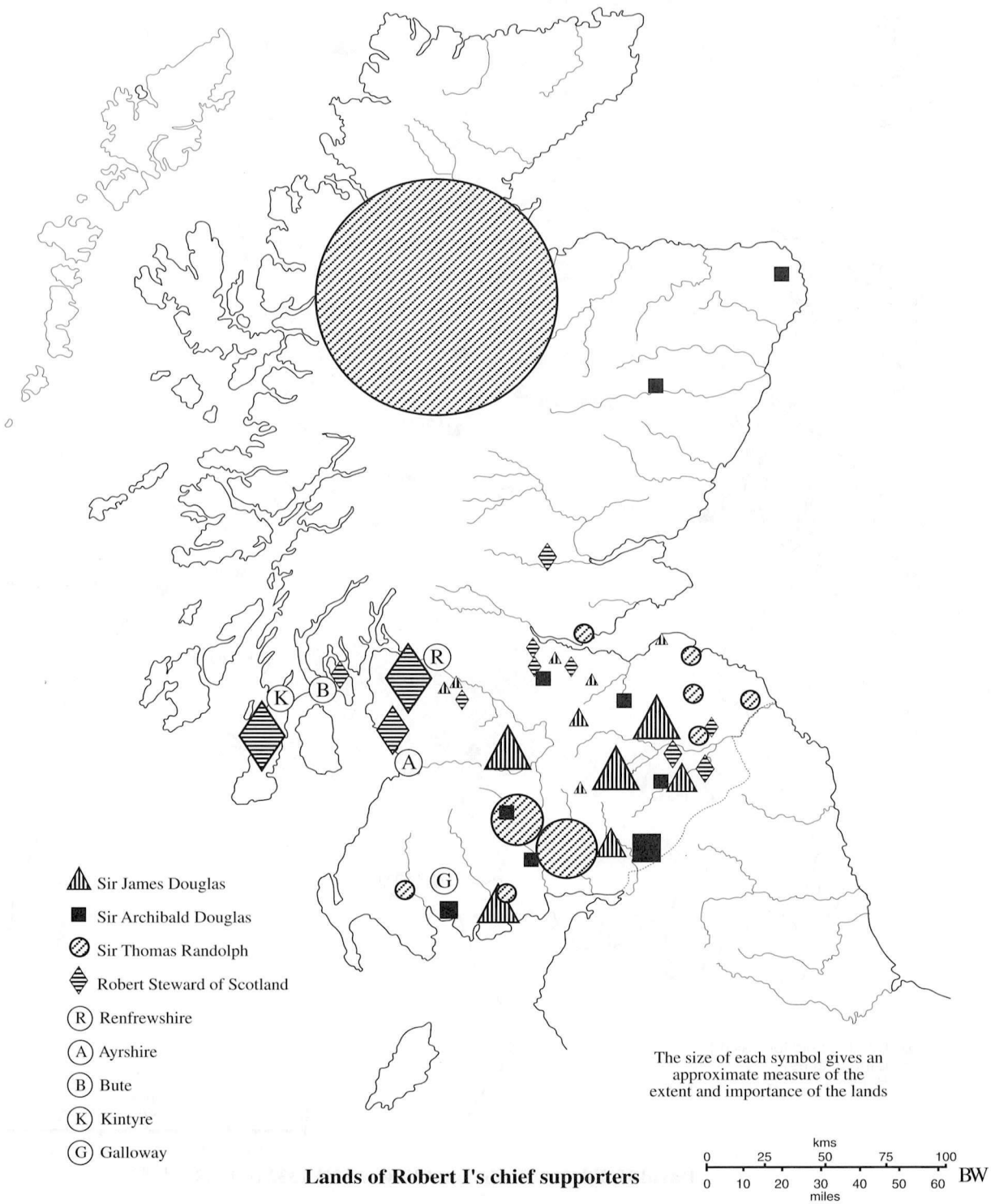


Robert I's later campaigns: western routes NHR

Robert I (1306-29)

The map tries to show something of the political significance of the gains made by Robert I's chief supporters during the Wars of Independence. Since, however, it is very difficult to determine the exact boundaries of the lands involved, they are simply indicated by conventional symbols, the size of which roughly corresponds to the extent and importance of the lands. The greatest changes came in the Borders, where there was almost an obligation to hand over lands recovered from the English to the men who had recovered them. The map shows the lands acquired by the two Douglas brothers, James and Archibald, and by Thomas Randolph, whose families had held only a modest inheritance on the eve of the wars. Most of the lands shown were gains. The map also shows the lands of the Steward family; but their lands in Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Bute and Kintyre had been held for generations and their gains were very small.

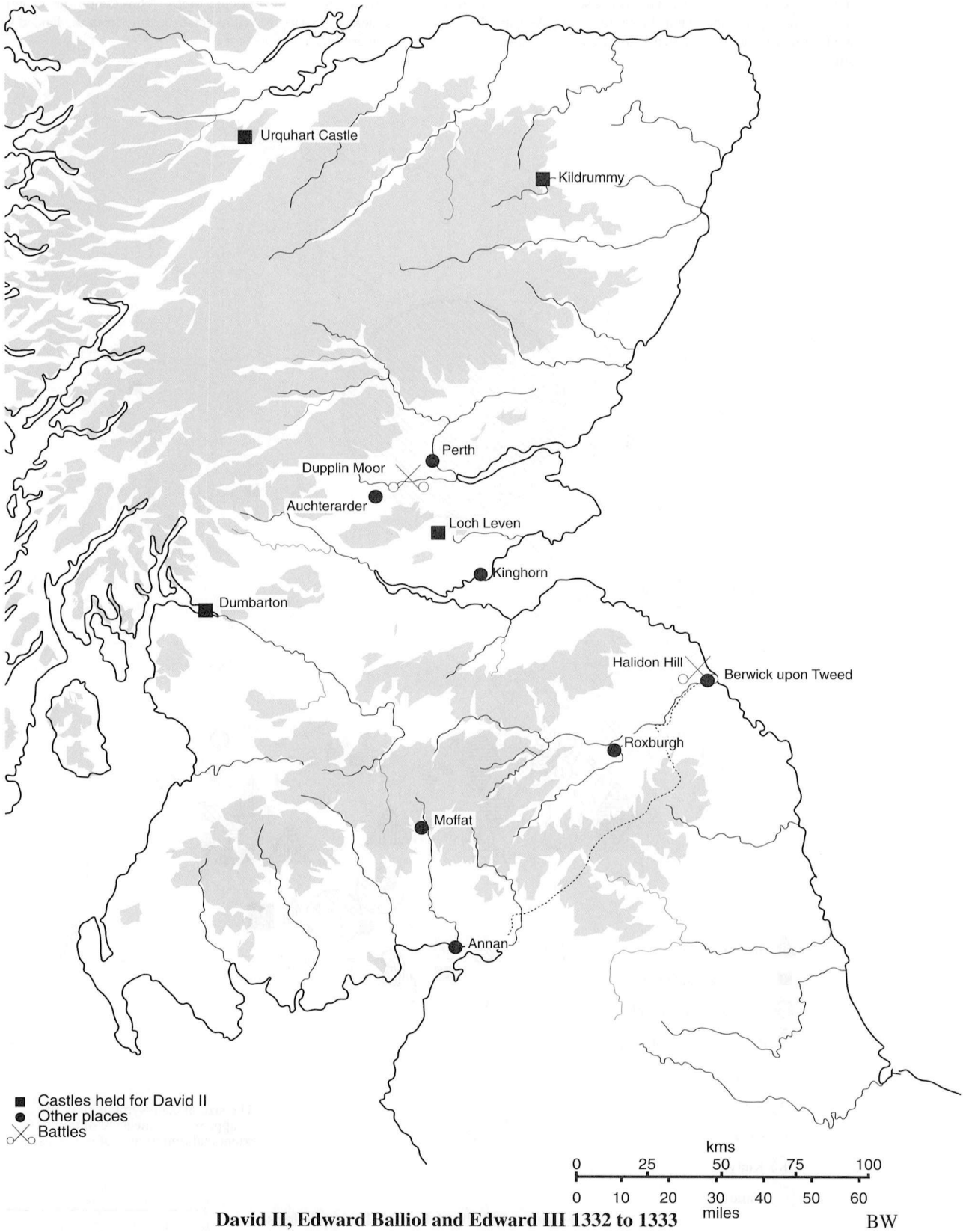
In 1329, there was a kind of equilibrium among these four families; but the descent of the lands, sometimes contrived, sometimes accidental, changed the situation profoundly. In 1371, the Stewards became kings, merging their lands in practice with those of the crown. In 1354, the lands of the two Douglas branches merged; and these were joined in 1388 by the lordship of Galloway, creating a predominant Douglas power in the Borders. Meantime, the Randolph inheritance had passed to the earls of March, producing as the map might suggest, a rivalry between Douglas and March which was resolved by the exile of George, earl of March in 1400, leaving the Douglas power in the Borders unchallenged until it was destroyed by the crown in the 1450s. Thus the power struggles of the next 150 years flowed in great measure from the landed settlement established by Robert I.



Lands of Robert I's chief supporters

Anglo-Scottish relations 1329 to 1422

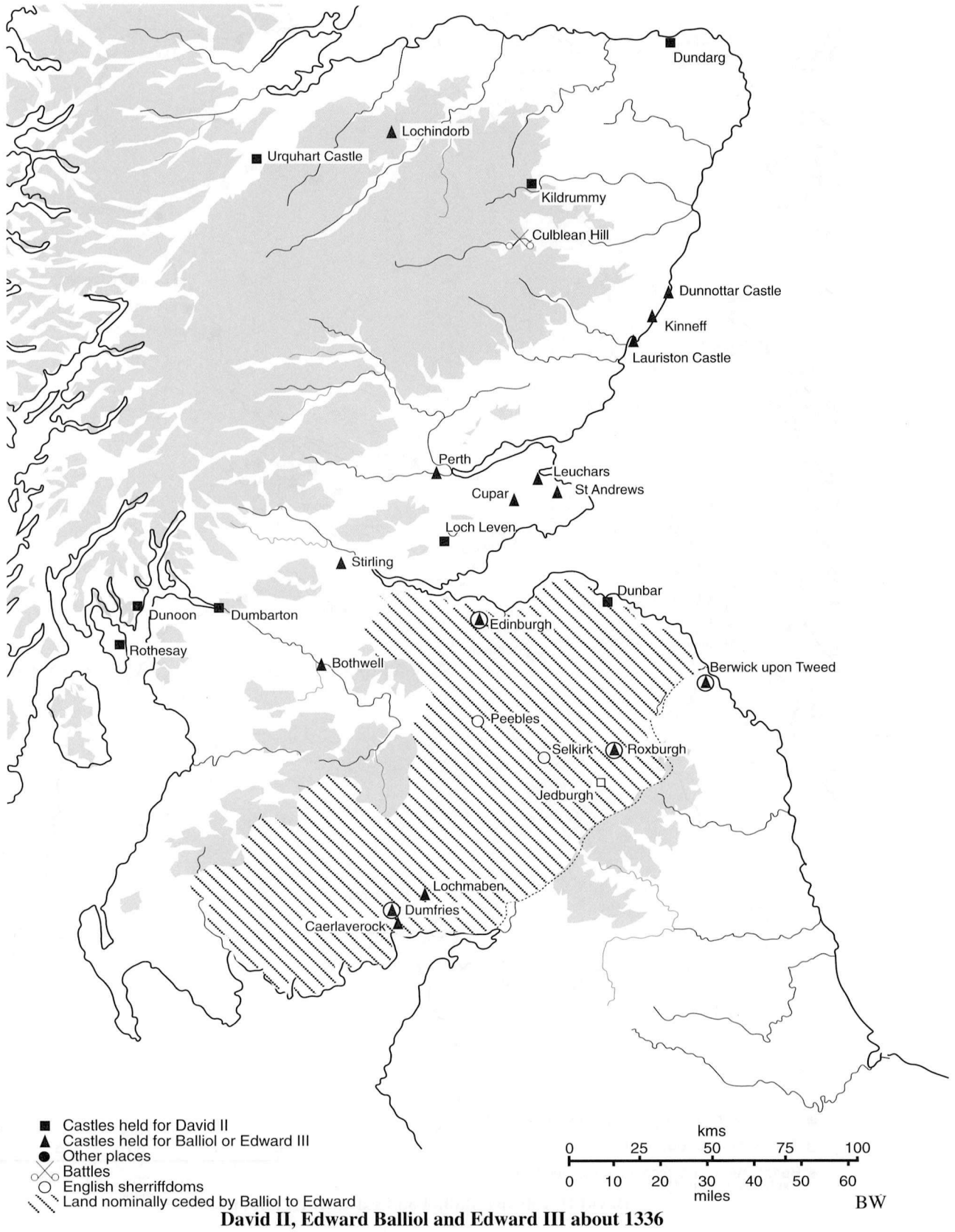
The death of Robert I left his kingdom weakened by the accession of his infant son David II (b. 1324) and the successive deaths of James Douglas (1330) and Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray (1332). In this new situation, the Treaty of Edinburgh/Northampton (1328) was rapidly disregarded and first Edward Balliol, the son of King John; the 'disinherited' (barons who had lost their Scottish lands for failing to adhere to Robert I); and eventually Edward III himself tried to conquer the country. The four maps represent the course of events. This map illustrates the campaigns of 1332 and 1333, in which Edward Balliol first secured the crown after his victory at Dupplin Moor, but was ejected after a skirmish at Annan; in the following year, Edward III himself defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill, captured Berwick and re-established Balliol as a puppet ruler.



David II, Edward Balliol and Edward III 1332 to 1333 BW

Anglo-Scottish relations 1329 to 1422

The situation which ensued is represented in this map. Balliol, as the price of Edward's support, ceded much of the south of Scotland, and English sheriffs were established, creating an administration centred on Berwick. Balliol claimed to rule the rest of the country, but in reality was heavily supported by English garrisons at many castles, and was uneasily accepted in most of the lowlands. It seems that formal administration in the name of David II ceased; the king himself had to take refuge in France, but a number of castles were still held for him, of which the most important are shown.



David II, Edward Balliol and Edward III about 1336

Anglo-Scottish relations 1329 to 1422

In 1335, David II's supporters won an important victory over David of Strathbogie, earl of Atholl, who was killed at the battle of Culblean while attempting to besiege Kildrummy. Several English expeditions failed to consolidate Balliol's position, and the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War distracted Edward; so that by 1340, David's position had improved; the English sheriffdoms no longer functioned; English garrisons were reduced to Stirling and Edinburgh and several sites in the Borders; and a number of burghs in the north-east rendered account at a session of the Scottish Exchequer held in April 1340. The Scottish administration was beginning to recover.



David II, Edward Balliol and Edward III about 1340 BW

Anglo-Scottish relations 1329 to 1422

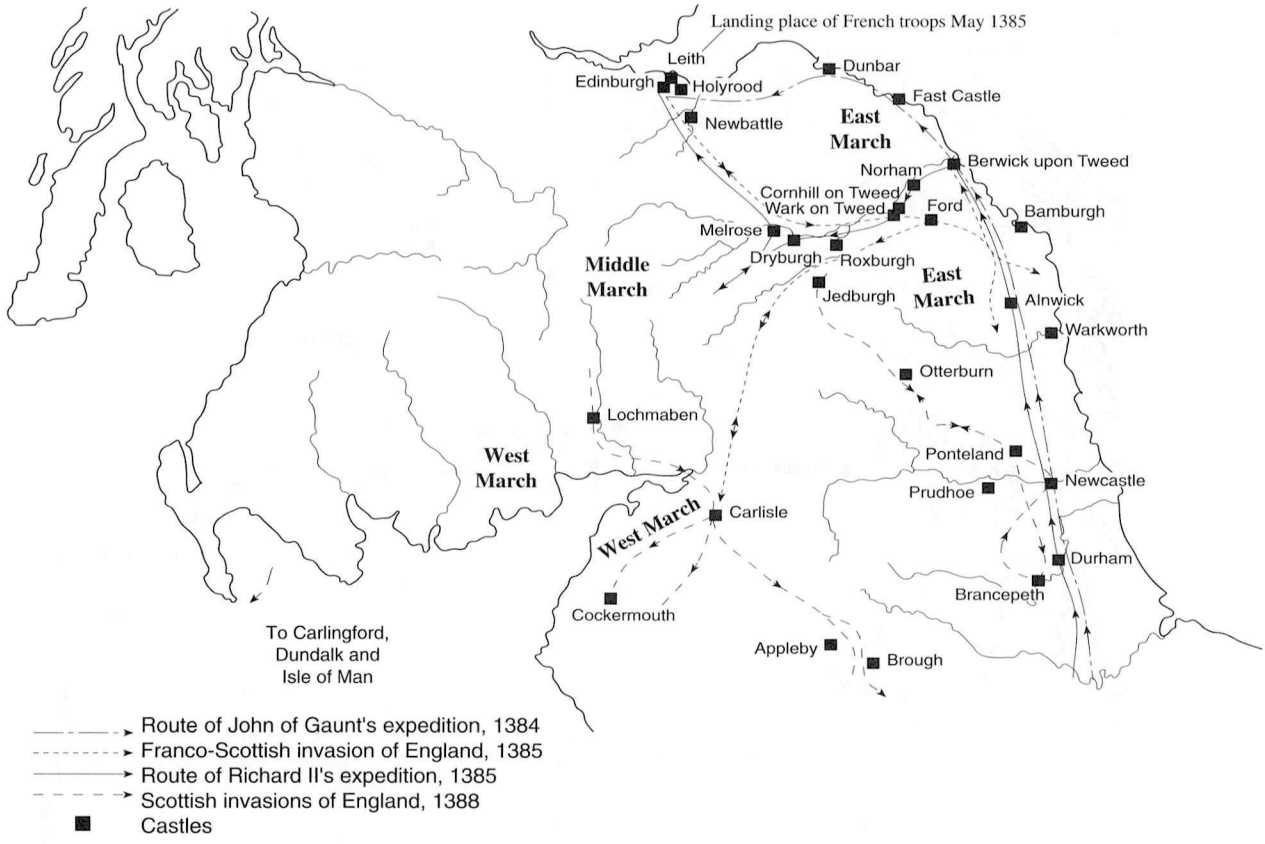
In 1341, David returned from France; and by 1343 normality was almost restored. The only English garrisons still holding out were at Lochmaben, Jedburgh and Berwick; in the rest of the country, David's administration was recognised and seems to have functioned efficiently. Balliol maintained his claim till 1356, when he formally resigned it into the hands of Edward III; but his pretensions were hardly taken seriously. David's capture in 1346 at the Battle of Neville's Cross re-awakened Edward's hopes of some sort of supremacy, but the notion of Edward Balliol as a possible king of Scots seems soon to have been abandoned.



David II, Edward Balliol and Edward III about 1343 BW

Anglo-Scottish relations 1329 to 1422

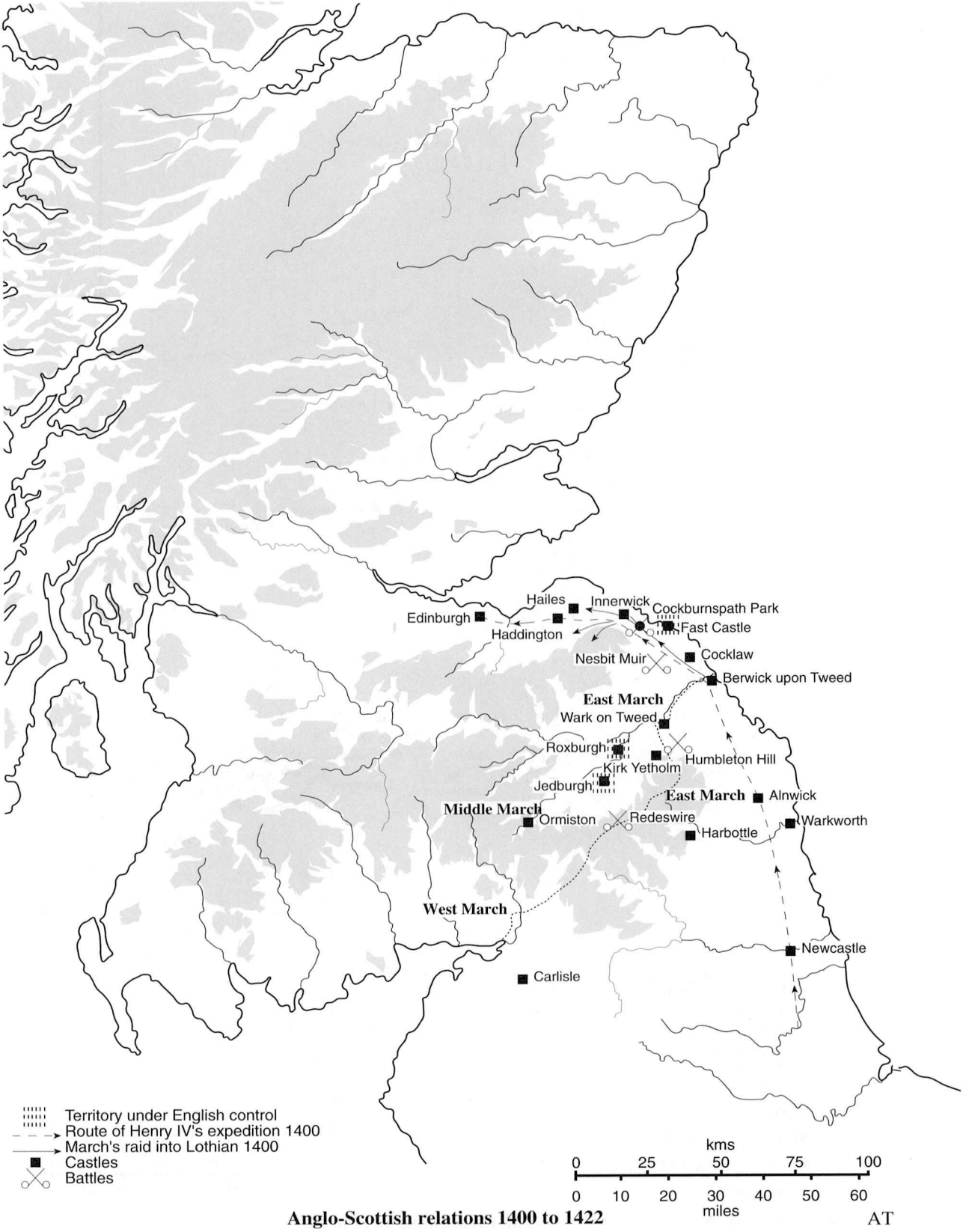
When a truce ended in 1384, the English forces were dislodged easily from Annandale and Teviotdale, and the French became directly involved in accordance with the agreement of 1381 Robert II (1371-90) and Charles VI. After the expedition of John of Gaunt and Richard II, the French withdrew from Scotland. There were invasions of Cumberland and Northumberland (1388): the invasion of Northumberland was defeated at Otterburn, and Scotland subsequently adhered to the Anglo-French truce.



Anglo-Scottish relations 1379 to 1388

Anglo-Scottish relations 1329 to 1422

The earl of March's defection to England in 1400 led to his raid into Lothian. Henry IV's expedition and a Scottish raid defeated at Reseswyre were followed by inconclusive negotiations at Kirk Yetholm in 1401. In 1402 March won a victory at Nesbit Muir. A retaliatory raid was defeated at Humbleton Hill, but the fall of the Percies and the capture of Prince James ended this phase of Anglo-Scottish warfare, the main Scottish concerns were directed to aid to France and recovery of their prisoners.



Anglo-Scottish relations 1400 to 1422 AT

James II (1437-60)

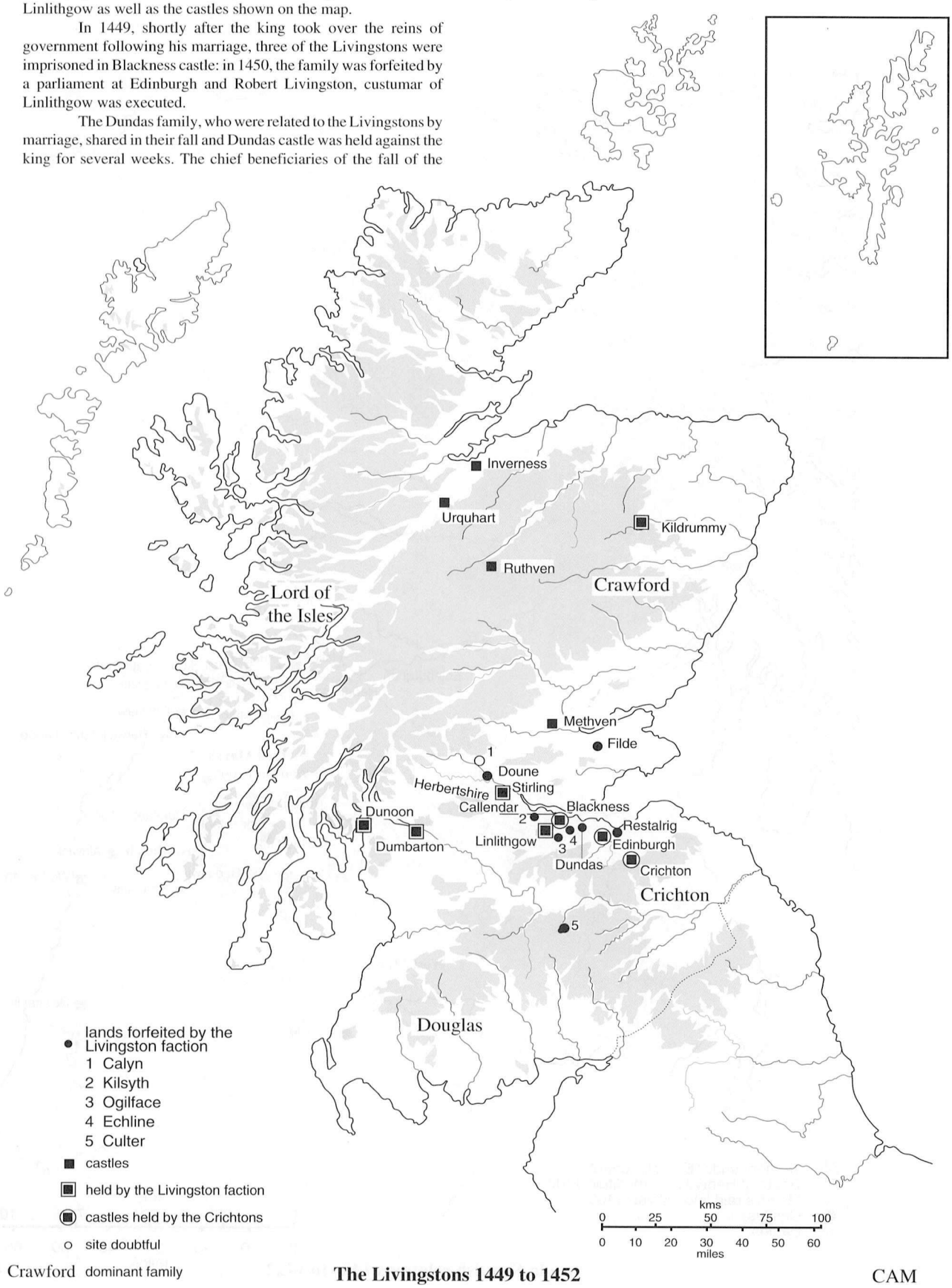
The deaths of James I in 1437 and Archibald, fifth earl of Douglas, lieutenant general, in 1439 left a power vacuum which allowed two baronial families, the Crichtons and the Livingstons, to rise into prominence.

Sir Alexander Livingston was given the keeping of the young James II after the removal of his mother in 1439. At various times in the 1440s, the family held the offices of justiciar, chamberlain, comptroller, warden of the mint at Stirling and custumar of Linlithgow as well as the castles shown on the map.

In 1449, shortly after the king took over the reins of government following his marriage, three of the Livingstons were imprisoned in Blackness castle: in 1450, the family was forfeited by a parliament at Edinburgh and Robert Livingston, custumar of Linlithgow was executed.

The Dundas family, who were related to the Livingstons by marriage, shared in their fall and Dundas castle was held against the king for several weeks. The chief beneficiaries of the fall of the Livingstons were the earls of Douglas and Crawford and the new queen, Mary of Guelders.

James Livingston, who had been keeper of the person of the young king during his minority, escaped to his son-in-law, John, lord of the Isles who in 1451 seized Ruthven castle. Inverness castle and possibly Urquhart castle were given to Livingston. His keepership was recognised by James II. In addition, by 1454, Livingston had been restored to royal favour.

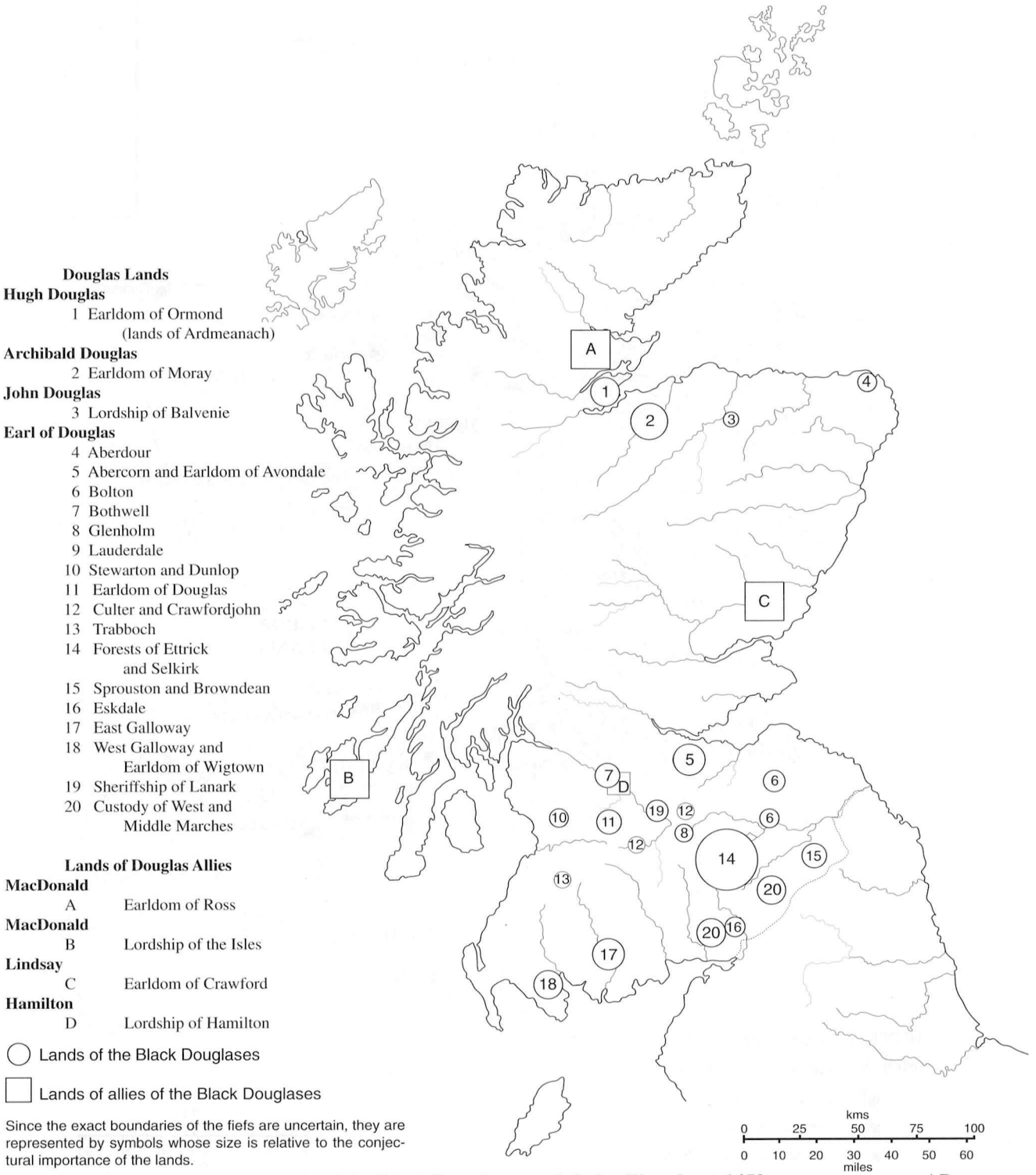


The Livingstons 1449 to 1452 CAM

James II (1437-60)

In the space of a few years, James II removed from the political scene many men who had been responsible for the government of the realm during his minority. First to go were the Livingstons, in 1449-50; James himself struck the first blow in the murder of the eighth earl of Douglas in 1452 and in 1455 after Arkinholm the Black Douglases effectively disappeared, although the ninth earl lived mainly in England until 1491. One of the most significant features of this period is that an army lacking the king's presence won the final conflict. Three years before, the earl of Huntly, claiming to bear the king's banner and be his lieutenant, had seen off the earl of Crawford at Brechin. It is probable the king feared a repetition of the events of 1437; his people were anxious to prevent any lasting threat to the stability of the realm.

The maps (based on those provided for the first atlas) show the territorial possessions of the Black Douglases and their allies; and indicate the areas where the king found support in the 1450s. The reign of James I had seen great changes in the higher nobility which meant the earls of Douglas had no peers in terms of possession of property. This allowed previous historians to see the earls as archetypal over-mighty magnates, yet the earls held public offices, and no-one is known to have petitioned for their removal. Certainly, there was tension between the Crown and the Douglases, e.g. over the right the eighth earl had to the lands of his mother; and his bond with the earl of Crawford and the Lord of the Isles was also contentious: his refusal to break it seems to have precipitated his murder, but none of this was likely to produce a Scottish War of the Roses. Indeed, although it cannot be quantified, more people were probably killed in the various outbreaks of plague during the reign than in any of the armed encounters.



The lands of the Black Douglases and their allies about 1452 AB



The civil wars 1450 to 1455 AB

James II (1437-60)

In the parliament of August 1455, it was enacted that certain lordships and castles be annexed perpetually to the Crown. No gifts of these lands could be made without the consent of parliament; if they were made, the monarch could at any time resume them into his own hands without compensation. Many of the lands so annexed had been held by the Douglases, whose recent forfeiture had brought much land into Crown hands. It would thus be possible to see this as parliament instructing the king to retain these lands perhaps to avoid the need for taxation in the future to pay for the Crown's expenses. But this did not stop the Crown obtaining contributions, e.g. for the expenses of ambassadors, presuming the Aberdeen burgh records give a fair indication of what may have been a general occurrence. The whole customs as in the hands of James I on the day he died were also annexed: it has been estimated that this act gave the Crown an annual endowment of £6,050. The Act was to form part of the monarch's coronation oath, and indeed we find it referred to in subsequent reigns when revocations were announced.



The act of annexation 1455 AB

Scotland and Europe

The marriages included in these maps are those of the Scottish monarchs, their siblings and their children. The dates used are the regnal dates: thus King John's marriage to Isabella de Warenne (x1281) is included in the second map. Royal bastards are included, though they seem more important politically in the period 1107 to 1286 (map one) rather than later. Second and subsequent marriages are also included.

The first map shows how limited was the scope of royal marriages from 1107 to 1286, England being the main source; even the appearance of France is somewhat misleading, since the two brides - Ermengarde de Beaumont and Yolande de Dreux - were daughters of vassals of the English king. Apart from Norway, which comes in only at the end of the period (marriage of Alexander III's daughter Margaret to Eric II of Norway), choice is confined to the seaboard of northern Europe. The second map shows even greater limitations: Scotland seems largely to have been turned in on itself. Some of this may be explained partly by the fact that John, Robert I and Robert II were not born heirs to the crown, partly by the marriages of Robert II's numerous children, and partly by those who married two, three or four times.

The wider spread of connections shown in the third map is largely the result of the ambitious diplomacy of James II. For Scottish monarchs after 1460 France and Denmark became more important as sources of consorts.

DENMARK	Kingdom
BRITTANY	Province
(Dreux)	Other places
(2)	Number of marriages into royal family where more than one
(*11*)	Number of marriages into baronial family where more than one
*	Two of these daughters were vassals of the king of England



Royal marriages 1107 to 1286



Royal marriages 1292 to 1406



Royal marriages 1406 to 1603

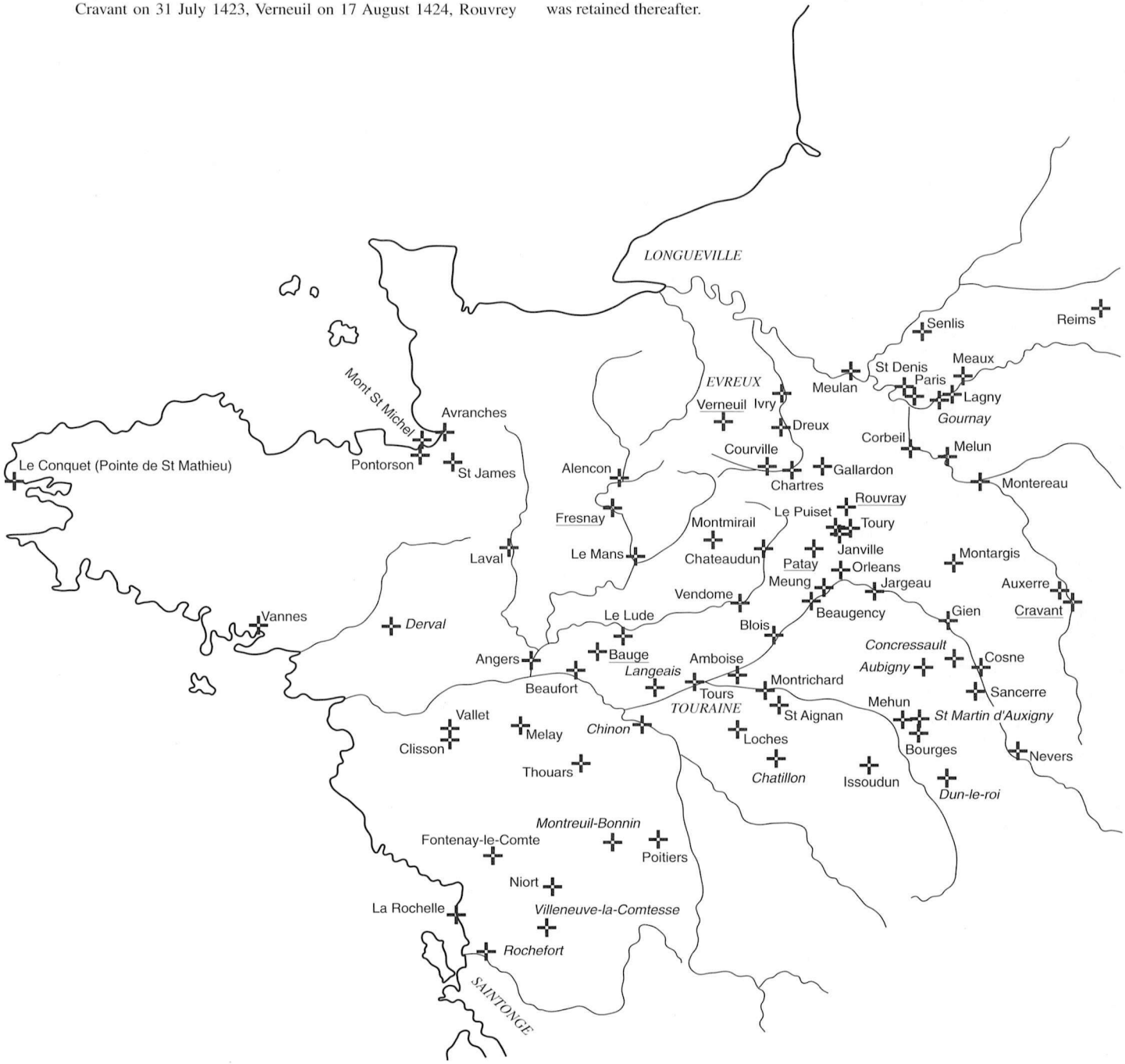
NFS

Scotland and Europe

As the English conquest of northern France proceeded from mid-1417 onwards, the Dauphin Charles sought the help of foreign troops to resist the invader. Sir John Stewart of Darnley was among the first Scots mercenaries to enter his service in October 1418. Large contingents of an army sent officially by the governor and the estates of Scotland followed from the end of 1419, using La Rochelle as the port of entry, led by John, earl of Buchan and Archibald, earl of Wigtown. Wigtown was replaced by his father the fourth earl of Douglas in 1424. The Scottish component of the Dauphin's forces in the early 1420s may have at times comprised as many as 6000 men.

The places on the map are those where Scottish troops are known to have been stationed or to have taken part in operations against the English and their Burgundian supporters between 1418 and the capture of Joan of Arc in 1430. (A few individual Scots also accompanied the Dauphin on his journey to Toulouse and Carcassonne in the south of the country in the early months of 1420.) The major engagements in which they took part (underlined on the map) were at Fresnay on 3 March 1420, Baugé on 22 March 1421, Cravant on 31 July 1423, Verneuil on 17 August 1424, Rouvrey ('the battle of the herrings') on 12 February 1429 and Patay on 18 June 1429. Some were present at the coronation of the Dauphin as King Charles VII at Rheims on 16 July 1429.

Scottish leaders were awarded with grants of castles and lands from the French royal domain, since the Dauphin had notoriously little cash at his disposal. Such grants are marked in italic type on the map. It is hard to know how effective they were, for there were often other claimants with conflicting rights. The earl of Douglas certainly held the duchy of Touraine for four months in 1424 before he was killed at Verneuil; but his heirs had no success in retaining these French lands. Wigtown was granted the county of Longueville in 1421, and Stewart of Darnley the county of Evreux in 1427. Both areas were under English control, and neither man ever took possession. The county of Saintonge was promised to King James I in 1428 as part of an agreement over further military help from Scotland: but the grant was not effective, for with the advent of Joan of Arc in 1429, the tide of war moved quickly in favour of King Charles and soon a large Scottish contingent in his army was no longer needed or welcome. Only a small Scots Guard was retained thereafter.



The Scots in France in the 1420s DERW