

The Brus Family in England and Scotland 1100 - c.1290

Abstract of thesis submitted by Ruth M. Blakely for
the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Durham, October 2000.

The first Robert de Brus to settle in this country was established in his Yorkshire barony by Henry I soon after 1100, and was subsequently granted the district of Annandale in south-west Scotland by David I. These regions provided the respective heritages of his two sons, from whom the two main lines of the Brus family descended. The senior line, of Skelton in Cleveland, became one of the leading families in the north of England during the thirteenth century, playing a major part in the rebellion against King John and in the Barons' War. It ended with the death of the childless Peter de Brus III in 1272, when the barony was divided between his four sisters. While the Yorkshire Bruses were primarily regional barons, the Annandale branch of the family operated in a wider sphere. Marriage brought them not only an increase in lands which placed them firmly in the category of cross-Border lords, but also links with both the Scottish and English royal houses and eventually a claim to the kingship of Scots.

Although considerable work has been done on King Robert Bruce, little attention has been paid either to the Brus lords of Annandale who preceded him, or to their collateral Yorkshire kinsmen. This thesis sets out to rectify this omission by examining the lives and achievements of the individual Brus lords in each generation of both the English and Anglo-Scottish lines, by assessing the extent of their power, the development of their lordships and their perceived status within the society of their day. It aims to give equal consideration to the affairs of both branches, to draw out parallels and to highlight differences between them, and thus provide an overall assessment of the family's impact on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish Border.

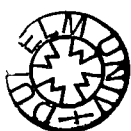
THE BRUS FAMILY IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND 1100 - c.1290

Ruth Margaret Blakely

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
in the Department of History at the University of Durham

October 2000

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Abbreviations

(Items are cited more fully in the bibliography, pp.295-310)

Ailred	Ailred of Rievaulx, <i>Relatio de Standardo</i>
<i>Annandale Family Book</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Annandale Family Book of the Johnstones</i> , I
<i>Arbroath Liber</i>	<i>Liber Sancte Thome de Aberbrothoc</i>
Barrow, Bruce	G.W.S. Barrow, <i>Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland</i> , 3rd ed.
BF	<i>Book of Fees</i>
BL	British Library
CChR	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CDS	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i>
<i>Charters of David I</i>	<i>Charters of King David I</i> , ed. G.W.S. Barrow
<i>Chron. Fordun</i>	<i>Chronicle of John of Fordun</i>
<i>Chron. Guisborough</i>	<i>Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough</i>
<i>Chron. Lanercost.</i>	<i>Chronicon de Lanercost</i> , ed. J. Stevenson
<i>Chron. Melrose</i>	<i>Chronicle of Melrose, a facsimile</i>
CIM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
CR	<i>Close Rolls</i>
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i>
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i>
DB:Yorks.	<i>Domesday Book 30: Yorkshire</i> , ed. M.L. Faull and M. Stinson
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Duncan, 'Bruces'	A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Bruces of Annandale, 1100-1304'
<i>Durham Seals</i>	W. Greenwell, <i>Catalogue of the Seals in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter at Durham</i>
<i>Eastern Dumfries</i>	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, <i>Eastern Dumfriesshire, an Archaeological Landscape</i>

<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ERO	Essex Record Office
<i>ESC</i>	<i>Early Scottish Charters</i> , ed. A.C. Lawrie
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i>
<i>Finchale Charters</i>	<i>Charters...of the Priory of Finchale</i>
<i>Feod. Prior. Dunelm.</i>	<i>Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis</i>
<i>Feudal Aids</i>	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids</i>
<i>Fountains Cart.</i>	<i>Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains</i>
GC	<i>Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne (Guisborough Cartulary)</i>
Hailstone MS 6.4	York Minster Archives, Hailstone MS 6.4
<i>Healaugh Cart.</i>	<i>Chartulary of the Augustinian Priory...of... Healaugh Park</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<i>HKF</i>	W. Farrer, <i>Honors and Knights' Fees</i> , II
John of Hexham	John of Hexham, 'Continuation of Simeon of Durham's <i>Historia Regum</i> ', in <i>Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia</i> , II
<i>Kelso Liber</i>	<i>Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou</i>
<i>Kirkby's Inquest</i>	<i>Survey of the County of York... called Kirkby's Inquest</i>
<i>Lancs. Inq.</i>	<i>Lancashire Inquests, Extents and Feudal Aids</i> , I
<i>Lindores Cart.</i>	<i>Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores</i>
Macquarrie	A. Macquarrie, 'Notes on some Charters of the Bruces of Annandale, 1215-1295'
<i>Melrose Liber</i>	<i>Liber Sancte Marie de Melros</i>
<i>Mon. Angl.</i>	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i>
<i>Mowbray Charters</i>	<i>Charters of the Honour of Mowbray</i> , ed. D.E. Greenway
NAS	National Archives of Scotland (formerly Scottish Record Office)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
n.s.	new series
Paris, <i>CM</i>	Matthew Paris, <i>Chronica Majora</i>
Paris, <i>HA</i>	Matthew Paris, <i>Historia Anglorum</i>
<i>Pontefract Cart.</i>	<i>Chartulary of St John of Pontefract</i>
<i>Pipe Roll</i>	<i>Great Roll of the Pipe</i>
PR	<i>Patent Rolls</i>
PRO	Public Record Office

PRS	Pipe Roll Society
<i>Reg. Episc. Glas.</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis</i>
<i>Reg. Holm Cultram</i>	<i>Register and Records of Holm Cultram</i>
<i>Reg. Pal. Dunelm.</i>	<i>Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense</i>
<i>Reg. St Bees</i>	<i>Register of the Priory of St Bees</i>
<i>Reg. Wetherhal</i>	<i>Register of the Priory of Wetherhal</i>
Richard of Hexham	Richard of Hexham, 'Historia de Gestis Regis Stephani et de Bello Standardi', in <i>Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen...</i>
<i>Rievaulx Cart.</i>	<i>Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievall</i>
<i>Rot. Chart.</i>	<i>Rotuli Chartarum</i>
<i>Rot. Hund.</i>	<i>Rotuli Hundredorum</i>
<i>Rot. Litt. Claus.</i>	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum</i>
<i>Rot. Litt. Pat.</i>	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium</i>
<i>Rot. Ob. et Fin.</i>	<i>Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus</i>
RRAN	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</i>
RRS	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum</i>
RS	Rolls Series
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
SHS	Scottish Historical Society
SS	Surtees Society
TAASDN	<i>Transactions of the Antiquarian and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland</i>
TCWAAS	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i>
TDGNHAS	<i>Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society</i> , 3rd ser.
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>
<i>Whitby Cart.</i>	<i>Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby</i>
YAJ	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</i>
YARS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society
<i>Yorks. Fines</i>	<i>Feet of Fines for the County of York</i>
<i>Yorks. Inq.</i>	<i>Yorkshire Inquisitions</i>

INTRODUCTION

It is now thirty years since the members of the Scottish Baronial Research Group, drawn together by a mutual interest in the nobility of medieval Scotland, first met under the auspices of Dr Grant Simpson. One of the common themes to emerge from their pooling of ideas, was the recognition of how close were the ties of kinship and landholding between the nobility of Scotland and of England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹ Since then, those barons who held lands on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish Border, and owed allegiance to both kings, have come to be regarded as a distinct category and given the now-familiar appellation of 'cross-Border' lords.

Following Simpson's seminal thesis on Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland,² the work of the Group has generated studies of a number of such barons, the most notable being that by K.J. Stringer of Earl David of Huntingdon, a cross-Border lord *par excellence*, being both a brother and one-time heir to the king of Scots as well as an English earl.³ The year in which *Earl David* appeared also saw the publication of a joint venture by the Baronial Research Group, entitled *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* which includes, in addition to an extract from Simpson's thesis on de Quincy, the results of research on a number of other cross-Border families, the de Balliols, de Morevilles, and Comyns.⁴ The Comyn family has subsequently been the subject of several other papers and a monograph by Alan Young.⁵

¹ The Group was established in 1969; *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K.J.Stringer (Edinburgh, 1985) p.xiii.

² G.G. Simpson, 'An Anglo-Scottish Baron of the Thirteenth Century: the Acts of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland' (University of Edinburgh, Ph.D thesis, 1965).

³ K.J.Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon: a Study in Anglo-Scottish History 1152-1219* (Edinburgh, 1985).

⁴ G.G. Simpson, 'The *Familia* of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland', in *Essays on the Nobility*, pp.102-130; G. Stell, 'The Balliol Family and the Great Cause of 1291-2', *ibid.*, pp.150-165; K.J.Stringer, 'The Early Lords of Lauderdale, Dryburgh Abbey and St Andrew's Priory at Northampton', *ibid.*, pp.44-71; A.Young, 'The Political Role of Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, during the minority of Alexander III of Scotland', *ibid.*, pp.131-149.

⁵ A.Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals : the Comyns 1212-1314* (East Linton, 1997). Young's other papers include *William Cumin: Border Politics and the Bishopric of Durham 1141-1144* (Borthwick Paper 54, York, 1978); 'The Earls and Earldom of Buchan in the Thirteenth Century', in *Medieval Scotland*, ed. A. Grant and K.J.Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993) pp.174-199; 'Noble Families and Political Factions in the Reign of Alexander III', in *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III 1249-1286*, ed. N.H.Reid (Edinburgh, 1990) pp.1-30.

There is, however, a notable omission from this list of influential cross-Border lords: that of the de Brus family, the progenitors of the future king. While considerable work has rightly been done on King Robert Bruce, little attention has been given to his antecedents, who laid the foundations for his rise to power. Although G.W.S. Barrow includes a brief introduction to the family background in his major work on King Robert, this concentrates on its most prominent members; only A.A.M. Duncan has presented an over-view of all the preceding Brus lords of Annandale, in an article arising from his work in preparation for the forthcoming edition of the new *DNB*.⁶ Moreover, the reverence accorded to King Robert for so many centuries as an icon of Scottish national identity, has created an atmosphere in which it is difficult to make an impartial assessment, not only of his own achievements but also those of his forebears. In particular, the not inconsiderable part played in English affairs by several of the Brus lords of Annandale, including that of Robert V (the ‘Competitor’ and grandfather of the king) has been largely disregarded.⁷ Until Judith Green’s recent work helped to redress the balance, even the founder of the dynasty, Robert de Brus I (d.1142), has received more attention for being ‘the first of the Bruses to come into Scotland’ than for his standing in England.⁸ It is abundantly clear that a more detailed survey of the family is long overdue, taking into account the achievements of the successive lords of Annandale from the first Robert de Brus, until the time of their involvement in the contest for the kingship of Scots.

In addition to the Annandale Bruses, however, there was another branch of the family flourishing in England, the Bruses of Skelton in Cleveland. These were the descendants of Robert I’s elder son, Adam de Brus I, who inherited his Yorkshire

⁶ Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.20-26; Duncan, ‘Bruces’, pp.89-102.

⁷ Distinguishing between the many Roberts de Brus is a problem which has led to discrepancies in the past. I have chosen to number them as follows:

Robert de Brus I (d.1142) - founder of the family

Robert de Brus II (d. c.1194) - his younger son, recipient of his father’s Scottish lands

Robert de Brus III (d. *ante* 1191) - son of Robert II, who predeceased his father

Robert de Brus IV (d. c.1230) - son and heir of William de Brus (second son of Robert II)

Robert de Brus V (d.1295) - the ‘Competitor’, claimant for the kingship in 1291-92

Robert de Brus VI (d.1304) - earl of Carrick, father of King Robert I

This brings the numbering into line with that used by Barrow, Duncan (though by a different method) and most other recent scholars, although there are still occasional reversion to earlier systems akin to that used in the first edition of the *DNB*. See also genealogical table below, p.10.

⁸ Robert’s importance in the understanding of Anglo-Scottish relations is highlighted in J.Green, ‘David I and Henry I’, *SHR*, 75 (1996) pp.1-19.

patrimony and held the barony until the death of Peter de Brus III in 1272. This branch too deserves to be more widely known, not only as providing points of comparison with its higher-profile kinsmen, but in its own right. For although the Yorkshire descendants of the first Robert de Brus remained regional barons, never attaining the prestige and royal connections which benefited their Anglo-Scottish kinsmen, they yet played a major part in developing Anglo-Norman society in northern England. By the early thirteenth century the Bruses were in the forefront of northern affairs, and were thus in a position to make a considerable impact on the course of regional, and thereby national, events. This point is well illustrated by Holt's study of the disaffected 'Northerners', in which he highlights the contribution made by Peter de Brus I to their cause of opposition to King John.⁹ The financial implications of Peter's defiance have also been thoroughly examined.¹⁰ Peter I has received further attention for his production of the 'Langbaurch charter', drawn up by him in conjunction with his Cleveland tenants, which has invited comparisons with Magna Carta.¹¹ However, while the achievements of Peter I have received some recognition, there are other lords of Skelton who also deserve to be better known. This is particularly true of the third and last Peter, who supported King Henry as staunchly as his grandfather, Peter I, had opposed King John, and held an equally distinguished place among those northern barons who took a firm stand against Simon de Montfort's government.

This thesis has been planned with the intention of rectifying such omissions by examining the lives and achievements of the individual Brus lords in each generation of both the English and Anglo-Scottish lines, in relation to their peers and to each other. It aims to give equal consideration to the affairs of both branches, to draw out parallels and to highlight differences between them, and thus provide an overall assessment of the family's impact on both sides of the Border. The starting date of the thesis, AD 1100, marks the approximate year of Robert de Brus I's first appearance in England, and his initial establishment by Henry I in what became a

⁹ J.C.Holt, *The Northerners: a Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961) pp.19-20, 22, 33-34, 84-85, 100, 110, 134-136, and *passim*.

¹⁰ Holt, *Northerners*, pp.150, 171-172; M.J.Vine, 'Two Yorkshire Rebels: Peter de Brus and Richard de Percy', *YAJ*, 47 (1975) pp.69-74.

¹¹ J.C.Holt, 'The Barons and the Great Charter', *EHR*, 70 (1995) pp.21-23; J.C.Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1992) pp.67-70; H.M.Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs: the Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154-1216* (Philadelphia, 1993) pp.204-206.

substantial Yorkshire barony, subsequently extended north of the river Tees to include the region of Hartness. In or before 1124 Robert was also granted the region of Annandale in south-west Scotland, by King David I. He thus became the first baron to be a major tenant-in-chief of both the king of England and the king of Scots, a prototype of the genre of cross-Border lords. While the Yorkshire barony passed down the senior line of the Brus family, to be held by them until the death of Peter de Brus III in 1272, the junior line continued to hold Annandale, together with Hartness and a varying amount of land south of the Border, until 1306, when King Robert I sacrificed the English estates in the course of his ambitions to obtain the kingship of Scots. Following the subsequent years of war, and faced with the problems of the 'disinherited' in the aftermath of Bannockburn, King Robert finally brought an end to the category of 'cross-Border lords' by his terms for the treaty of Edinburgh in 1328.¹² The Brus family can thus be said to mark both the beginning and the end of the era of Anglo-Scottish cross-Border lords.

The end date for this thesis, however, has been set somewhat earlier than this, in c.1290. It concludes at a time when the priorities of the Annandale Bruses changed from that of Anglo-Scottish land-holders and became centred on their aspirations to the kingship, some twenty years after the demise of the Yorkshire line. The time-scale of the thesis therefore spans the two hundred years of relative harmony between England and Scotland, when an atmosphere prevailed in which cross-Border lords could flourish and advance themselves in either kingdom, or hedge their bets by having a foot in both. It was an era which began when Scotland was the land of opportunity, especially for younger sons, attracting an influx of Anglo-Norman lords in a climate conducive to the development of baronial settlements in the border region. Indeed, for those whose lands lay solely within that region, the Border itself scarcely existed, a phenomenon it shared with other frontier zones of which it provides an interesting example for comparative research.¹³ It is notable how many historians with an expertise in Anglo-Scottish relations, beginning with Barrow and

¹² Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.259, 270; A.Grant, 'Scottish Foundations: Late Medieval Contributions', in *Uniting the Kingdom? the Making of British History*, ed. A.Grant and K.J.Stringer (London, 1995) p.102.

¹³ For comparisons with border regions in Wales and Ireland see R. Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100-1400* (Oxford, 1990) pp.199-206. For a Norman-French border see D.J.Power, 'What Did the Frontier of Angevin Normandy Comprise?', in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1995) pp.193-194.

including some of the original members of the Baronial Research Group, have contributed to the 'burgeoning genre of frontier studies' and its related field of emerging national identities.¹⁴

As in other frontier zones, those families which held lands in southern Scotland and in the northernmost counties of England, whose lives therefore were centred solely on the region, made up a distinct cultural network of interests, intermarriages and landholdings, a network of which the Annandale Bruses and their tenants formed a part.¹⁵ These tenants and sub-tenants, along with the emerging 'gentry' class, were as likely to look to Scotland as England when their loyalties were called in question; they travelled to markets in either country and, until the fixing of the Border in 1237 drew a firm line across their lands, might well find themselves wholly under English rule one month and Scottish rule the next. The ease with which David I entered Carlisle in December 1135 suggests an indifference among the inhabitants as to which monarch was their overlord.¹⁶ But while they were often aware of the Border, in terms of tolls, of fugitives or straying cattle, allowances were made under a code of Marcher laws and life went on regardless, until the onset of the Scottish Wars of Independence. Then it was families such as these which suffered most severely and whose own, regional, identity was destroyed by the tightening of the Border between the two countries.¹⁷

Stringer, however, identifies a minority of cross-Border lords who fall into the ill-defined and fluctuating category of 'magnates'.¹⁸ These were the major barons

¹⁴ Power, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17, p.183. See, for example, articles by W.M.Aird, K.J.Stringer and A.Young, in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England*, ed. J.C.Appleby and P.Dalton (Stroud, 1997); G.W.S.Barrow, in *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989) and *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975); J.Green, in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D.Williams (Woodbridge, 1990); K.J.Stringer, in *Social and Political Identities in Western History*, ed. C.Bjørn, A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (Copenhagen, 1994); K.J.Stringer and A.Grant, in *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, ed. C.Bjørn, A.Grant and K.J. Stringer (Copenhagen, 1994).

¹⁵ Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.177-211; K.J. Stringer, 'Identities in Thirteenth-Century England: Frontier Society in the Far North', in *Social and Political Identities in Western History*, pp.28-66; J.Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties on the Northern Frontier of England c.1100-1174', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, pp.83-100.

¹⁶ W.M.Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? the Anglo-Scottish Border in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries and the Problem of Perspective', in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England*, pp.32-33, 36-39.

¹⁷ Stringer, 'Identities', pp.51-52; C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruses: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306-1328* (East Linton, 1997) chs. 3 and 4.

¹⁸ Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.178-179, 313n.6.

who held as tenants-in-chief of both the English and the Scottish kings and whose lands, rather than being confined to the border region, stretched into the south of England and, in some cases, the north of Scotland. They included those mentioned above, such as Earl David of Huntingdon, Earl Roger de Quincy, the later Morevilles, Balliols and, certainly by the mid-thirteenth century, the Bruses. For them the question of borders, frontiers or national identities was irrelevant. They were akin to the Anglo-Norman barons prior to 1204, or the Norman-French magnates described by Power.¹⁹ Until the pioneering work of the Baronial Research Group, the evaluation of such Anglo-Scottish magnates had suffered from an imbalance, owing to historians' long-standing practice of working within the confines of national boundaries. Because of this, the interests and achievements of a cross-Border lord in another kingdom were sidelined, or even ignored by the writer; a clear example of the way in which the interpretation of history has suffered through being divided along national lines.²⁰ It is, perhaps, no coincidence that the Baronial Research Group came into being at a time when the concept of 'British' history was beginning to emerge in an attempt to transcend boundaries and persuade historians, especially English ones, to consider the history of these islands as an entity rather than from individual national viewpoints.²¹

Until the events at the end of the thirteenth century forced them to make a choice, it is anachronistic to wonder whether the Bruses, any more than other cross-Border magnates, considered themselves to be English or Scots. As Simpson said of Roger de Quincy, 'to him the idea would have been nonsense'.²² They belonged to an aristocracy which transcended frontiers. They moved between kingdoms as easily

¹⁹ Power, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17, p.193.

²⁰ Frame, *Political Development*, p.53. One example, quoted by Simpson, is that of Painter disregarding the Scottish income of Roger de Quincy, which was nearly equal to that from his English lands; Simpson, 'An Anglo-Scottish Baron', p.2.

²¹ This interest in 'British' history has been dated as beginning with Pocock's plea of 1974, but the impetus had certainly started in the 1960s, or even earlier with the publication of Barrow's *Feudal Britain* in 1956. Although the idea was slow to take hold at first, so that even as recently as 1989 Frame felt as if he was 'engaged in an odd, not to say, foolhardy, activity' in 'trying to view the medieval British Isles as a whole', it is now well-established; and specialists on Anglo-Scottish relations have joined with those on Welsh and Irish affairs in contributing to a proliferation of such studies, though not without reservations as to their validity. R.R.Davies, 'In Praise of British History', in *The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, ed. R.R.Davies (Edinburgh, 1988) p.9; J.G.A.Pocock, 'British History: a Plea for a New Subject', *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975) pp.601-621; G.W.S.Barrow, *Feudal Britain: the Completion of the Medieval Kingdoms 1066-1314* (London, 1956); Frame, *Political Development*, pp.vii, 1.

²² Simpson, 'An Anglo-Scottish Baron', p.227.

as they moved between their baronies, carrying their environment with them, amending their titles accordingly and using income from one set of estates to subsidise commitments in another.²³ And if their loyalties were called into conflict, there were few so altruistic that they would not put their own interests first when deciding which king to support. They were above, or rather outside, national considerations. The Bruses, like their fellow nobles, were loyal first and foremost to their own ambitions, and to their own family territories.

It is this loyalty to lineage and territory which provides a major link between the two branches of the Brus family. After the death of the first Robert, his descendants continued to be connected, not only by their shared interest in the region of Hartness but also in their patronage of the family foundation of Augustinian canons at Guisborough Priory, which remained the focus of the Scottish as well as the Yorkshire branch. Indeed, it was Robert de Brus V, the first Brus claimant to the kingship of Scots and grandfather of King Robert I, who in 1295 was the last Brus to be buried there, after the Yorkshire branch had died out.²⁴ This is a manifest example of family ties being stronger than national ones, in that one who had sought to be king of Scots, who had lived his latter years and died in Scotland, yet chose to be buried with his ancestors in England.

It is, clearly, only the Bruses of Annandale who justify the appellation of cross-Border lords. The only direct involvement of the Yorkshire Bruses in Scottish affairs came when they were summoned to keep the peace between the two countries. Yet they were an integral part of that network of northern families which included many other cross-Border families such as Balliol, Vescy, Percy, as well as their own collateral kinsmen. They were indeed more closely associated with such families than were the lords of Annandale. Their lands adjoined those of Balliol and Percy. They married into the families of Percy and of Ros. They collaborated with Vescy against King John, and with Balliol in support of Henry III. Unlike these prominent cross-Border barons, however, who also had significant holdings in Northumberland, the interests of the Yorkshire Bruses lay almost entirely south of the Tees, making them further removed from Border influence. Yet they must have been acutely

²³ Frame, *Political Development*, pp.53, 58-60; R. Frame, 'Aristocracies and the Political Configuration of the British Isles', in *The British Isles 1100-1500*, pp.144-146.

²⁴ *Chron. Guisborough*, p.259.

aware, especially during the reign of Stephen, that had events gone differently Yorkshire too could well have come under Scottish rule. Indeed, had the line of the Border in 1237 been drawn at the Tees rather than the Tweed, which a hundred years earlier would not have seemed improbable, the Brus lords of Skelton, with their continued interests in Hartness, would themselves have become cross-Border lords.

Despite the fact that the Yorkshire branch, with its *caput* at Skelton in Cleveland, remained unequivocally English throughout its existence, there are surprising parallels with the 'cross-Border' branch, especially in times of crisis such as occurred in 1174, 1215-16 and 1264-65. It is interesting to note that at such times a conflict of loyalties could affect the purely 'English' barons as greatly as those with dual allegiance, demonstrating that the problems of cross-Border lords were not unique to them, and that barons with strong regional affiliations such as the 'Northerners' experienced problems similar to those in frontier zones. This in itself provides a further significant reason for choosing to consider the two branches of the Brus family in parallel, rather than as separate entities. To do so, I believe, will provide a truer picture of the fluctuations in fortunes and loyalties which affected the family as a whole, and which can in themselves throw light on baronial attitudes to the political situations in either kingdom. I hope, too, that by taking this approach the gravitational centre of the early Brus family will be shifted to its natural place, instead of being so heavily weighted towards its Scottish interests; and by considering the 'Northern' and 'cross-Border' branches together in the now familiar context of 'British' history, their achievements will take on a truer perspective.

In the course of fulfilling these aims, this thesis has been developed in two parts. The first four chapters are concerned with the political dimension. They provide a chronological account of the successive Brus lords of Skelton and Annandale, highlighting their achievements and assessing the impact of their careers. The remaining chapters examine the social aspects, setting the family's achievements in context and making comparisons between the two branches in respect of their lands, tenants and households. Consideration is given to the development of the two distinct lordships, including the manner of their settlement and origin of their tenants.

So far as is possible from the surviving records, an attempt is made to chart the fluctuations of the Brus lords' landed resources, their management methods and exploitation of other forms of revenue over the two-hundred-year period, and to demonstrate how they adapted to changing economic and political circumstances. By analysing the beneficiaries and witnesses of the Brus, and other, charters, it has also been possible to provide a picture, albeit imperfect, of the men who tenanted their lands and provided the Bruses with their followers and household. A final chapter is devoted to an assessment of the Brus family's perceived status within the society they inhabited, as reflected by marriage alliances, by their religious affiliations, by the known achievements of younger sons, and ultimately by their relationships with their fellow barons and the royal courts of both kingdoms.

The thesis concludes with three appendices. The first tabulates the Yorkshire lands of the Brus barony, with an accompanying map to highlight their major concentrations of power. The second itemises the Brus share of the Huntingdon and Chester honors, inherited in 1252 by Robert V from his mother, Isabel of Huntingdon, whose lineage also bequeathed him his claim to the kingship of Scots. These estates, which lay principally in the English midlands, had come to Isabel on the death of her brother, John 'the Scot', earl of Huntingdon and Chester, in 1237, together with a share in the Scottish lands of their father, Earl David.²⁵ It was this major acquisition of English lands which, by shifting the balance of Brus interests southwards, effectively converted the Annandale branch from predominantly Scottish landholders to influential cross-Border lords.

The third appendix comprises a calendar of surviving acts of the Brus lords of both Skelton and Annandale during the period. These charters in themselves serve to highlight further the parallels and contrasts between the two branches, demonstrating how both of them continued to support the family foundation at Guisborough priory, and to develop their respective inheritances. However, while the acts of the lords of Skelton relate solely to the north of England, those of the lords of Annandale range more widely, initially between northern England and south-west Scotland but ultimately from Garioch to Essex. Yet the style and content of the charters are

²⁵ See below, pp.89, 135-137.

similar, despite the regionalism of the one branch and the Scottish dimension of the other. The Brus charters, when studied in conjunction with the other evidence, serve as a reminder that both branches of the family, despite differences of orientation, remained in cultural terms ‘very much a part of the chivalric, aristocratic and largely francophile *milieu* of medieval Christendom’.²⁶

²⁶ McNamee, *Wars of the Bruces*, pp.4-5.

Chapter One

ROBERT DE BRUS I : FOUNDER OF THE FAMILY

ORIGINS

The first Robert de Brus, the ‘*conquisitor* of Cleveland, Hartness and Annandale’,¹ founder of the Augustinian priory of Guisborough and progenitor of both the English and Scottish branches of the family, came into England from the west of Normandy among the followers of Henry I, in or around the year 1100. By 1103 he had been granted some or all of the estates in Yorkshire which made up the core of his barony, as it was entered in the Domesday Book sometime between 1114 and 1128 under the heading ‘The fief of Robert de Bruis which was granted after the Book of Winchester was written’. The entry was inserted at the end of the Domesday record for Yorkshire, in a space left blank at the time of the original survey, and is unique, being the only example of such a major addition to the manuscript in medieval times.² The hundred or so manors listed in it also appear in the main survey, mostly as royal demesne lands. The reason for the Brus fief being the only one of the many fiefs created by William Rufus and Henry I to receive this treatment will be considered later in the light of his career.³

Like many of King Henry’s supporters, and despite Loyd’s *caveat* regarding insufficient evidence, the Brus family undoubtedly originated from the Cotentin peninsula of western Normandy, where in Latin documents of the period the town and forest of Brix are entered as Brius, Bruis or Brus.⁴ Brix was a royal forest, and much of the surrounding region was ducal demesne land, which in 1180 was farmed

¹ GC, II, no.1156.

² *The Yorkshire Domesday*, 3 vols, ed. G.H.Martin and A.Williams (London, 1987-92) ff.332v-333r; M.Gullick, ‘The Great and Little Domesday Manuscripts’, in *ibid.*, I, p.104; E.M.Hallam, ‘Annotations in Domesday Book since 1100’, in *ibid.*, I, p.137. Not only is the entry written in a twelfth-century hand ‘distinctively later than that of the main text’, with many of the place-names in a different form from those of 1086, but there is additional evidence from the content of the entry that it could not have been made until Robert Fossard, who is described as having an interest in part of the Brus fief, had succeeded his father Nigel, for which the earliest possible year is 1114; *EYC*, II, p.326; P.King, ‘The Return of the Fee of Robert de Brus in Domesday’, *YAJ*, 60 (1988) pp.25-28.

³ See below, p.37.

⁴ L.C.Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families* (Harleian Society 103, 1951) pp.viii, 43; Barrow, *Kingdom*, p.322; *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. L.Delisle and E.Berger (Paris, 1909-27) I, pp.331, 473; *ibid.*, II, pp.76, 150, 396; R.L.G.Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1954) p.147.

by a bailiff. A William de Brus (Brix) occurs as witness to two of Henry I's Normandy charters in 1124x1129, and he is also named, along with his foresters, in a precept of 1121x1135 to the justiciars of the Cotentin, permitting the monks of Montebourgh to take timber and enjoy other perquisites in the forest.⁵ Later in the century (1156x1161) an Adam de Bruis is recorded as having granted the church of Brix, and several others, to the priory of La Lutumière. This may well have been a confirmation rather than an initial grant, as another reference credits Peter son of William de Bruis as the grantor, 'with the consent of his overlord, Adam'.⁶ All three of these Christian names recur regularly in both the English and Scottish branches of the Brus family, suggesting kinship with them, although the line of descent is clearly different.⁷ As William de Brus was both a contemporary of Robert de Brus I and a person of some consequence in Brix, it is highly probable that it was he who held the family estates in Normandy, and that to call the Yorkshire Robert 'lord of Brix' is a misnomer.⁸ Apart from a questionable attempt to connect him with the town of Querqueville near Cherbourg, there is no evidence from English sources of Robert de Brus I having any patrimony in Normandy.⁹ Nor is there any indication that his descendants suffered problems over Continental holdings in King John's reign. The most likely scenario is that Robert I was a younger son who found service and favour with Henry 'Beauclerc', came into England among his followers, and established in Yorkshire the dynasty which was to achieve its greatest fame in a country even further to the north.

As a landless younger son who had taken service with Henry I in Normandy before 1100 and supported him against his brothers, Robert de Brus can be compared to some extent with those 'new men' of King Henry who were established by him in the north of England. Judith Green calls them 'men of moderate status', whose 'relatively modest origins' she compares with the wealthy magnates of the south who

⁵ *RRAN*, II, nos.1600, 1601, 1951; F.M.Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy* (Manchester, 1913) pp.113-114.

⁶ *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, I, p.331; M.E.Cumming Bruce, *Family Records of the Bruces and the Cumyns* (Edinburgh, 1870) p.241.

⁷ See genealogical table, p.10. There is no clear evidence to support the identification of some surviving vaults and foundations in the area as 'Adam's castle', the family home of the Bruces. The earliest castle at Brix was a ducal one; Bruce, *Family Records of the Bruces*, p.227; *DNB*, III, p.114; J.Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, (Oxford, 1976) p.306.

⁸ G.W.S.Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980) p.12; P.Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066-1154* (Cambridge, 1994) p.104n.101.

⁹ Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp.322-323; see also below, p.38n.68.

had been William I's greatest vassals in Normandy, indispensable to his conquest and rewarded accordingly.¹⁰ Henry's followers were, and indeed had to be, content with poorer favours than those his father had distributed. Apart from royal demesne lands, which Rufus had already begun to alienate, and estates confiscated from rebel lords in 1101 and 1106, Henry had little to give. That little was mostly in the north, beyond the Tees and west of the Pennines, in regions as yet unassimilated into the Norman empire, although Rufus had begun the process which Henry was to continue.¹¹ So it was there, in the less fertile northern districts of England, that Henry was obliged to establish many of his own followers; and it is for this reason that the region was settled predominantly by men from western Normandy and the borders of Brittany, rather than according to Kapelle's ingenious theory of the oat-bread line.¹²

Unlike Cumbria and Northumberland, the district of Cleveland in north Yorkshire was sufficiently integrated into the administrative system to have been surveyed in 1086. Yet, at the beginning of Henry's reign it still comprised a considerable amount of unapportioned royal demesne land and remained in effect a border region, the most northerly part of the kingdom over which the king had any measure of control. Beyond it lay St Cuthbert's lands, under the jurisdiction of Ranulf Flambard, a bishop Henry could not trust. Further north, across the Tyne, lay a region which was as likely to look towards Scotland as England for its overlord. Despite the occasional forays of William I and William Rufus into the north of England, and even Scotland, despite the abolition of the Northumbrian earldom, despite the building of the New Castle and establishment of one or two lordships on the Tyne, the situation was little improved on that in 1086 when Yorkshire was the most northerly shire where Norman rule could make its presence felt. Cleveland was therefore an important staging post, if the Norman kings were ever to govern the more distant north and establish themselves in the border region with Scotland. Rufus had taken full advantage of rebellions against his authority, in which several northern magnates were implicated, by confiscating the rebels' estates and reorganising them into compact lordships, which he granted to trusted magnates

¹⁰ Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', pp.91-92.

¹¹ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.86-88; W.E.Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North* (London, 1979) pp.200-201.

¹² Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, pp.213-220; Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', p.92.

already settled in the county or 'new men' dependent on royal favour.¹³ This policy was one which Henry continued, and from which Robert de Brus was one of the first to benefit.

THE BRUS BARONY

Apart from a suspect pre-1100 charter of Earl Hugh of Chester to Whitby abbey, to which Robert de Brus I is a witness,¹⁴ his first confirmed appearance in England has been dated by Johnson and Cronne to 1103, when Henry I granted him twenty-four carucates of land in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, in exchange for a comparable amount in the West Riding.¹⁵ From the wording of this grant, it is clear that these were not the only lands which Robert held at that time, and that he had already been granted some, if not all, the manors subsequently entered in the Domesday record of his fief.¹⁶ The format of the Domesday entry itself supports this idea, because only those manors granted under the exchange are itemised separately, suggesting that all the others had been granted on a single, previous, occasion.¹⁷

The estates which made up the core of the Brus fief in Yorkshire, as entered in Domesday Book, comprised more than one hundred manors in ninety-eight villis which had been almost entirely royal demesne land or held by 'king's thegns' in 1086.¹⁸ The lands which Robert received in 1103, in exchange for the manors of Rigton and Collingham in the West Riding, consisted of two berewicks pertaining to the manor of Burton [Agnes] in the East Riding, which he undoubtedly already held, and land in upper Eskdale in the heart of the Cleveland hills.¹⁹ The Eskdale estates

¹³ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.77, 79-87; Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', pp.83-84; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, pp.193-194.

¹⁴ For debate on the authenticity of this charter see *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester c.1071-1237*, ed. G.Barraclough (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 126, Gloucester, 1988) no.5; *EYC* II, no.854; *Whitby Cart.*, I, pp. xliii-xlvi, 28.

¹⁵ *RRAN* II, no.648. The editors' dating is based on the supposition that 1103 was the only year during the time of Archbishop Gerard of York, to whom the notification is addressed, in which Henry could have kept Pentecost at Windsor.

¹⁶ *RRAN*, II, no.648. 'No one is to hunt in this land without [Robert's] leave and he is to have it with sac and soc, tol and theam, infangthief, and all other customs *as he holds other land*' (my italics).

¹⁷ *The Yorkshire Domesday*, ff.332v-333r.

¹⁸ For a fuller description, map and table of the Yorkshire fief, see below, pp.113-116 and appendix 1.

¹⁹ These same manors of Rigton and Collingham, together with Bardsey, were subsequently regranted by Henry II to Robert's grandson, in compensation for the manor of Danby which had been repossessed by the crown. See below, pp.58, 65-66.

had previously been held by Hugh fitz Baldric, a sheriff of Yorkshire during the time of William I, who had forfeited his lands in Rufus's reign, probably because he had transferred his allegiance to Duke Robert.²⁰ It was in Eskdale, at Castleton near Danby, that Robert de Brus I is believed to have established his first *caput*, later transferring it to the more easily accessible castle of Skelton when that came into his hands.²¹

During the first two or three years of his reign, Henry I reapportioned to his own followers those lands confiscated from barons who had supported Robert of Normandy against him. Most such lands in Yorkshire went to tenants already established in the county, such as the Percys and Rumillys, while his 'new men', such as Geoffrey fitz Pain, Anschetil de Bulmer and even the powerful Nigel d'Aubigny, did not benefit from similar handouts until 1106 or even 1110.²² Robert de Brus, then, stands out as one who was highly favoured and trusted by Henry to be given so large a proportion of crown lands so early in the reign. Far from being a reward for past services, however, Robert's grant should more properly be compared with that which was made to Richard de Redvers, one of Henry's foremost supporters in the Cotentin, who was given royal lands in the Isle of Wight and along the south-west coast as a strategic move, to strengthen the king's hold in a region dominated by the count of Mortain, one of Henry's most powerful opponents.²³ The grant should thus be seen, not so much as a reward for loyalty as a commission, a military responsibility, and Robert as one of those royal agents through whom Henry planned to bring security and order to northern England.²⁴

The exchange of 1103 has been cited as evidence of a deliberate policy by King Henry to consolidate the Brus holdings and concentrate them in the Cleveland

²⁰ *DB: Yorks*, I, sections 23/17, 23/18, 23/34; Dalton, *Conquest*, p.81; J.A.Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (PRO Handbook 24, 1990) p.89.

²¹ W.M.I'Anson, 'Castles of the North Riding', *YAJ*, 22 (1922) p.337n.1; *GC*, I, p.117n.1. Although I'Anson's evidence for Castleton is circumstantial, his supposition is supported by the fact that when the Brus barony was divided in 1272 the senior heiress received Skelton, and the second Danby and Castleton.

²² Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.87-9, 100.

²³ Their situations are not entirely comparable since Richard de Redvers was older than Brus, already held one manor in Dorset in 1086 and is named, together with Hugh d'Avranches earl of Chester, as one of Henry's most influential supporters in the Cotentin before 1100. J.A.Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986) p.61; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, IV, ed. M.Chibnall (Oxford, 1973), pp.220-221.

²⁴ Dalton, *Conquest*, p.104.

wapentake of Langbaugh, but this is not so apparent as has been suggested.²⁵ Half of the newly-granted lands were in the *East Riding*; and although it was in the Langbaugh wapentake that the Brus power-base was eventually concentrated, the original Brus fief was a patchy affair showing little evidence that Henry I was creating a compact lordship for Brus in the North Riding. Indeed, although the manors held by Brus in the West Riding were few and widely separated, those in the East Riding equalled those in the North in terms of extent, if not in number; while the multiple settlements of Burton [Agnes] with its dependencies, or those of Brunnus and Tibthorpe, could be deemed more appropriate centres for Robert to site his first *caput* than the isolated valley of the Esk, which could only be reached across high moorland.²⁶ However, the initial grant, as recorded in Domesday Book, is not the whole picture. Sometime before he founded Guisborough priory in about 1119,²⁷ Robert de Brus had acquired further manors in Langbaugh, from the honor of Chester and the former Mortain fee, which are not included in the entry. It is only when these are taken into account that a coherent policy begins to emerge for establishing him in Cleveland. Furthermore, as it was only in this region of Yorkshire that Brus received additional grants from any other source, then the hand of King Henry himself can surely be seen in the transfer of these lands to one of his most reliable supporters.

The Yorkshire lands of the honor of Chester formed only a tiny part of the great earldom. They were mainly situated on the east coast from Whitby northwards and on the southern side of the Tees estuary, where William I had established Hugh d'Avranches, one of his most trusted magnates, to provide protection against invasion from Scandinavia and Scotland. By 1086 about one-third of these manors had been subinfeudated to William de Percy, who also held some isolated manors along the coast although the majority of his estates were concentrated in the river valleys of the Pennine hills. Of the remaining two-thirds of Earl Hugh's manors, about half were subinfeudated to Brus. The rest were ultimately divided between

²⁵ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.92-93.

²⁶ See map and tables in appendix 1. The boundaries of the Domesday wapentakes do not entirely correspond with the later boundaries in, for example, *Kirkby's Inquest*. This means that certain Brus manors which were included in Allerton in 1086 were later reckoned to be in Langbaugh.

²⁷ See below, p.218 for discussion on the foundation date of Guisborough priory.

Percy and Brus, the Brus share consisting mainly of manors on the Tees estuary around what is now Middlesbrough, with a few in the Loftus area of the coast.²⁸

Apart from the fact that Robert de Brus I must have held these lands before 1119, since some of them feature in his foundation grant to Guisborough priory, there is no surviving evidence to establish whether he received them before or after his initial grant from King Henry. However, if Robert had been subinfeudated with the Chester lands *before* 1103, he would have more reason to regard Cleveland as his power-base and an obvious area in which to site his *caput*. Nor does Eskdale seem so isolated when the combined clusters of Brus manors which lay beyond the head of the dale are taken into account, since that provides one of the easier ways of access into the valley. The likelihood that there was already some form of stronghold at Castleton near Danby, surviving from the tenure of Hugh fitz Baldric, would have further influenced his choice. Furthermore, Robert de Brus is reputed to have had early links with Earl Hugh of Chester; he had possibly witnessed for him before 1100, and was undoubtedly associated with him during their mutual support of Henry in the Cotentin.²⁹ It is conceivable, therefore, that Brus was a protégé of the earl, who had already subinfeudated him on his honor in the North Riding, and it was this circumstance which prompted King Henry to consolidate Robert's holdings with the remaining crown land in that region, some of which was situated in villis where Chester also held. There is an alternative possibility. After the death of Earl Hugh in 1101, when the Chester honor was in the hands of the king during the minority of the heir, Henry himself may have initiated the subinfeudation of the Chester estates to Brus in conjunction with his own grant. In either case, the circumstantial evidence relating to the Chester lands gives credence to the theory that King Henry was indeed establishing a discrete lordship in the region, a theory which is less convincing when based on Henry's grant alone.

²⁸ *DB: Yorks*, I, section 4; Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.35, 57; C.P.Lewis, 'Formation of the Honor of Chester, 1066-1100', in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, ed. A.T.Thacker (*Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* 71, 1991) pp.41-44, 46. See also appendix 2, table B.

²⁹ *EYC*, II, pp.193-194; *DNB*, X, pp.161-162.

Taken together with the above suggestion, Henry's influence can also be seen in the acquisition by Robert de Brus of almost all those former lands of the count of Mortain in the wapentake of Langbaurgh which had been held by Richard de Surdeval. In 1086 the Yorkshire lands of the Mortain fee were divided between two tenants, Nigel Fossard and Richard de Surdeval, who later held them *in capite* after their forfeiture either by Count Robert in 1088 or his son William in 1106.³⁰ The majority of the Surdeval share elsewhere in Yorkshire subsequently passed to Ralph Paynel, probably through marriage to Richard's daughter, Maud,³¹ and although there is no clear evidence for the means by which Robert de Brus received his own, smaller, Cleveland share of Surdeval lands, there are several pointers to suggest that they also came through a judiciously arranged marriage, undoubtedly with the connivance of the king.

Little is known about the wife of the first Robert de Brus except that her name was Agnes, that she was linked with her husband in his grants to foundations at Guisborough, York and Whitby, and that she made a gift to Guisborough priory in her own right, of the manor of Carlton by Camblesforth.³² This last grant has given rise to the theory that Agnes was the daughter of a Paynel, an idea which Farrer rightly rejected. Although Carlton was soke of the Paynel manor of Drax, it had been held by the king in 1086, formed part of the original Brus fief and was later held by Paynel *of* Brus not the other way round. It is therefore more likely that Carlton had been gifted to Agnes by her husband as part of her dower.³³ Farrer's own initial suggestion was that Agnes was daughter of Geoffrey Bainard, a sheriff of Yorkshire who briefly held the manor of Burton [Agnes] in the time of Rufus. Although King supports this theory, Farrer himself ultimately rejected it, with good reason. Like Carlton, Burton [Agnes] was part of the initial Brus fief, and two of its berewicks were added in the exchange of 1103 as a direct grant from the king. In 1086 the manor had been held by the king and let out to farm, so despite Geoffrey Bainard granting the church and some land there to St Mary's, York, he may only have held it temporarily or by virtue of his office. Furthermore, Agnes is not named at all in her

³⁰ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.49-53, 80-81, 91-92; *DB: Yorks*, II, section 5N1; *ibid.*, appendix 3.

³¹ A.E.Ellis, 'Biographical Notes on the Yorkshire Tenants Named in Domesday Book', *YAJ*, 4 (1877) pp.222-223; *EYC*, VI, pp.4-5.

³² *GC*, I, pp.3, 5, 16; *EYC*, II, nos.680, 858.

³³ *Mon. Angl.*, VI, p.268; Ellis, 'Biographical Notes', pp.222-223; *EYC*, II, p.12; *EYC*, VI, pp.59-60.

husband's own grant of the church of Burton [Agnes] to York, making it unlikely that she was Geoffrey's heir. Finally, the appellation 'Agnes' was not used until the mid-thirteenth century and may well have come from Agnes d'Aumale, wife of Adam de Brus I.³⁴

In contrast to these unsubstantiated suggestions for the descent of Robert's wife, a few clues can be found from charter evidence which give tentative support for Farrer's subsequent theory, endorsed by Clay, that she was a Surdeval heiress.³⁵ In the foundation grant to Guisborough priory, which contained a large amount of Mortain/Surdeval land, not only is Agnes's name linked with her husband's, but their son, Adam, is designated as 'our' heir, suggesting that some of the lands were of her inheritance. The same meaning is implicit in the wording of an entry in the chartulary of St Mary's, York, regarding the grant of a mill and land in Sunderlandwick, made by Robert, his wife and *their* heirs. Sunderlandwick, a manor near Driffeld in the East Riding, may well have been in Surdeval's hands after Gospatric had forfeited it and come to Brus as his wife's *maritagium*.³⁶ In addition to these clues about Agnes herself, it has been noted that Robert de Brus I witnessed Henry I's confirmation of a grant by the count of Mortain to Marmoutier before 1104, in association with Ralph Paynel. This would suggest that both of them already had an interest in the count's lands through marriage to his tenant's daughters and possible heirs.³⁷ By whatever means the Mortain/Surdeval lands passed to Robert de Brus, they must have been a welcome and valuable addition to his barony. They included not only the manor of Skelton, where the castle to which he later transferred his *caput* may already have existed, but also the two manors in Guisborough which

³⁴ EYC, II, pp.1-2, 12, 33-34; King, 'Return of the Fee of Robert de Brus', p.28; A.H.Smith, *Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York* (English Place-Names Society 14, Cambridge, 1937) p.88. There is also evidence that Geoffrey Bainard had no direct heir, as his East Anglian lands were incorporated back into his brother's honor after his death.

³⁵ EYC, VI, p.4n.8.

³⁶ GC, I, pp.3, 5; EYC, II, no.680. Dalton, *Conquest*, p.92n.53 notes that several of Gospatric's forfeited estates came into the hands of Richard de Surdeval. Another manor near Driffeld, that of Rotsea which had been demesne land of the count of Mortain, also found its way to the Bruses, possibly via Surdeval. These are the only two manors with Mortain/Surdeval connections outside the North Riding to have come to Brus, so may well have been acquired by a different route, such as a marriage portion.

³⁷ RRAN, II, no.680; EYC, VI, p.4n.8.

provided the site and major part of his endowment for Guisborough priory and must therefore, like his Chester lands, have come to him before c.1119.³⁸

The Brus lordship, then, was a composite creation, and the fief as recorded in Domesday is far from the whole story. Only when the tenancies from Chester and the former Mortain lands are taken into account can its true value be assessed, and it was these additions which consolidated Robert's power within the North Riding. Despite the presence of other powerful families in the region, by c.1120 Robert de Brus had become the dominant baron in Cleveland, and his estates in the Langbaugh wapentake totalled more than those of the other four major tenants-in-chief put together.³⁹ He effectively controlled the south bank of the River Tees from Hornby, some seven miles above Yarm, to the sea; and together with the Percys of Topcliffe, he held much of the coast-line running south from its estuary as far as Runswick Bay. His inland holdings included not only Eskdale, which gave him authority over most of the northern flank of the Cleveland hills, but also the majority of the manors which lay between those hills and the valley of the Tees. So that from the distinctive height of Roseberry Topping (then called Osenburgh) Robert de Brus was lord of almost all that the eye can see.⁴⁰

Having established in Cleveland a tenant-in-chief whom he clearly trusted, it was a logical move for Henry I to extend the area of Brus's authority into the lands immediately north of the Tees, into the district of Hartness. Robert thereby became responsible for the defence of the whole estuary of the Tees, together with a further stretch of coast which included the sandy beaches and bay of St Hilda's Isle where Hartlepool was later established. Hartness lay within the wapentake of Sadberge, a surviving remnant of the earldom of Northumbria, an outpost of royal jurisdiction surrounded by Durham episcopal lands, which later caused problems for Robert's descendants when it became incorporated into the bishop's administration.⁴¹ The

³⁸ I'Anson, 'Castles of the North Riding', pp.380-384; *GC*, I, pp.xi-xii. Although the Domesday entry of the Brus fief may not have been made until after 1119 (see below, p.37) yet does not include the Mortain/Surdeval lands, this need not necessarily be a problem. They had not been royal demesne lands, and if they had come to Brus through his wife may well have been regarded as not yet an integral part of the fief.

³⁹ Although exact figures are difficult to calculate, partly because of boundary changes and lands held by subinfeudation, the Bruses held about 300 carucates of land in Langbaugh divided between 60 vills. Between them, the Percys of Topcliffe, Balliols, Fossards, and later the Meynells held about 260 carucates in 60 vills, several of which coincided. See table 1, p.115.

⁴⁰ See maps in Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.35, 50, 57, 94. See also appendix 1 below.

⁴¹ Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', p.91; *VCH: Durham*, III, p.256.

region had suffered as much as, if not more than, Yorkshire in the early years of the Norman era, both from the rebellion of its earls and the associated incursions of the Scots, which lasted well into the reign of Rufus. Norman administration had barely touched the region. Until 1100 few Norman baronies had been created north of the Tees. Thus the establishment of Robert de Brus in Hartness should be seen in the context of Henry I's continuing extension of royal authority.⁴²

Since the two churches of the district at Hart and Stranton (now West Hartlepool) were included in Brus's foundation grant to Guisborough priory, he had clearly been enfeoffed with Hartness before c.1119 and therefore in conjunction with his Cleveland lands.⁴³ Together they form a remarkably cohesive district, bounded on the north by the deep gorge of the Eden and on the south by the steep escarpment of the Cleveland hills, with the basin of the Tees at its centre. From the (comparative) heights of Hartness above the manors of Hart and Elwick, the Cleveland hills are clearly visible, and both viewpoints provide a commanding prospect of the river plain. With the addition of his view of the coast-line from the ramparts of Skelton castle, Robert de Brus was well placed to watch over a vulnerable region.

RELATIONS WITH KING HENRY

Despite his absence from the records prior to 1100, Robert de Brus I had clearly become a baron of some standing by the early years of Henry I's reign. This is borne out by two of the king's charters dated to about 1103 and 1105. One of these is the aforementioned confirmation of a grant by William count of Mortain to the monks of Marmoutier for the foundation of a priory at Winghall; the other was a general confirmation of gifts to Holy Trinity, York. In both, Robert's name appears high in the witness list. Indeed, of the six witnesses to the York confirmation, Brus is the second to be named, following only Nigel d'Aubigny who, despite being a 'landless knight', was soon King Henry's foremost agent in the north.⁴⁴

⁴² Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.198-199; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, pp.123, 139-42, 194; R.Lomas, *North-East England in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1992) pp.23-27.

⁴³ *GC*, I, pp.3, 5.

⁴⁴ *RRAN*, II, nos. 680, 715; Dalton, *Conquest*, p.89. It has also been suggested that *RRAN*, II, no.891, which is witnessed solely by Robert de Brus, might be dated to 1100.

Dalton describes Robert, together with Nigel d'Aubigny, as 'pioneer members' of Henry's coterie of new men;⁴⁵ but despite appearing together as witnesses to the king's northern charters on several occasions, when Nigel invariably precedes Robert, their situations are not entirely comparable. Nigel d'Aubigny came from a family already established in royal service in England. His brother William was Henry's *pincerna* and a considerable landholder in Norfolk and Kent, whose son was later to marry King Henry's widow. Besides two baronies in Yorkshire, Nigel had further substantial grants in other counties such as Lincolnshire, Leicester and Cumberland, as well as gaining control over the wealthy Mowbray estates in Yorkshire and Normandy by marriage to the heiress.⁴⁶ Moreover, Nigel d'Aubigny was essentially an administrator, like Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John who rose to prominence as royal agents in the north by 1130, and are named as justices for that region in the sole surviving pipe roll of Henry I's reign.⁴⁷ Robert de Brus, on the contrary, shows little evidence of serving the king in any formal administrative capacity. Although there is no doubt that he was, in the early days at least, a regular companion of Henry and witnessed several of his charters, primarily those relating to Yorkshire, Robert was never a part of that class of 'civil servants' by whom Henry governed the outlying regions of his kingdom. Instead Robert's career was to expand in another direction, one to which he had perhaps shown himself particularly suited by his service in Cleveland. He was to be sent as one of the vanguard of Norman barons into south-western Scotland, as companion to David, the king of Scots' brother.

This aspect of Robert de Brus's career has usually been considered in isolation, divorced from his achievements in northern England, and viewed from the vantage point of hindsight as the arrival of the Bruses in the country which was to bring them their greatest fame. In reality, it should be seen as an extension of Robert's service with King Henry, who was undoubtedly the prime mover in the stratagem. Henry's victory at Tinchebrai in the autumn of 1106, which gave him a temporary breathing space in his struggle to control Normandy and the opportunity to devote more manpower to bringing order to the north of England, coincided with the death of the

⁴⁵ Dalton, *Conquest*, p. 96.

⁴⁶ *Mowbray Charters*, pp.xvii-xxv; Green, *Government*, pp.26, 229-230.

⁴⁷ *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I*, pp. 27, 35, 142, 143; Green, *Government*, pp. 245-246, 250-252; Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.105-106.

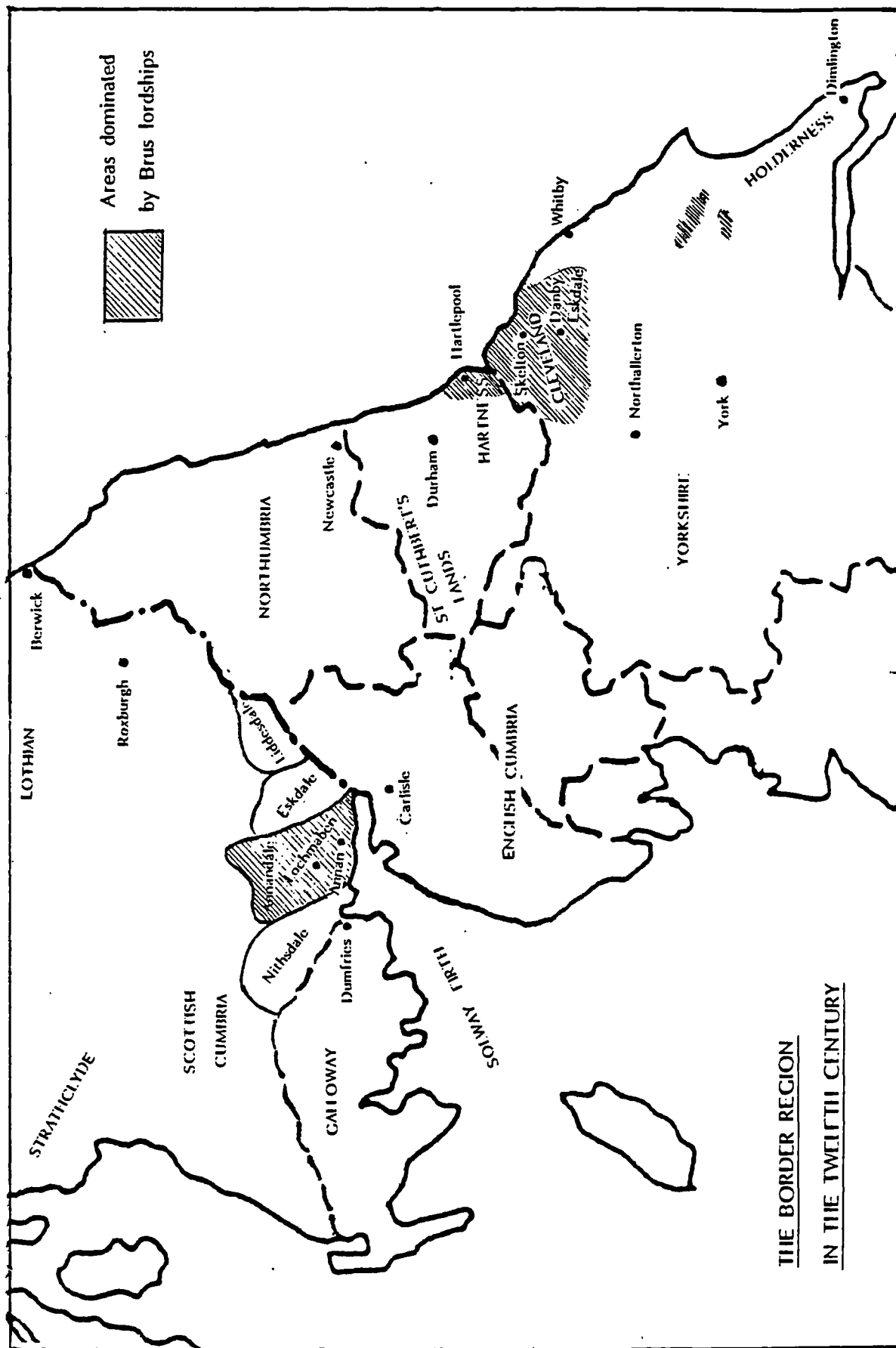
Scots king, Edgar, in January 1107. Although Edgar, as Rufus's protégé and brother of Henry's queen, had maintained peaceful relations with England, the accession of his brother Alexander to the kingship opened up new possibilities for Henry to exercise his influence in Scotland. Alexander was childless, and probably as yet unmarried.⁴⁸ The likely heir to the kingship of Scots was Alexander's younger brother David, who was high in favour with Henry and was, in effect, one of the king's 'new men'.⁴⁹ David had been brought to the English court as a comparative youth, soon after his sister's marriage to King Henry, was thoroughly imbued with Norman ways, and in 1114 was granted an English earldom, that of Northampton and Huntingdon, through marriage to the widowed heiress, Maud de Senlis. Before that, however, and possibly as early as 1107, David returned to Scotland to assume some rights of lordship in Lothian and in the south-west region, known variously as Strathclyde or Scottish Cumbria. Whether these had indeed been granted to David under the will of King Edgar (as Ailred states), or came to him as an appanage through his position as the king's heir, Alexander seems to have been reluctant to admit David's rights. This gave Henry his chance. By supporting David's attempt to claim his inheritance, the king of England had the excuse to send his own trusted agents into Scotland. Not only would they colonise the border region north of the Solway, but provide an additional barrier against the threat of raiders from Galloway crossing into English Cumbria, where Ranulf le Meschin, the future earl of Chester, had recently been installed in a vast lordship centred on the royal castle at Carlisle.⁵⁰

Thus the organisation of English and Scottish Cumbria was all part of the same cohesive policy. While Ranulf le Meschin was safeguarding the Solway crossings from the south by creating the lordships of Burgh-by-Sands and Liddel and installing in them his brother-in-law, Robert de Trivers and the Yorkshire tenant, Turgis Brundos, David was establishing himself on its northern shores with a following of Anglo-Norman lords. While his fellow baron Nigel d'Aubigny was granted the lordships of Kendale and Burton-in-Lonsdale south of the Cumbrian massif, Robert de Brus was enfeoffed of Annandale in Scottish Cumbria, to guard the Solway

⁴⁸ J.A.Green, 'David I and Henry I', *SHR*, 75 (1996) p.9.

⁴⁹ Ritchie, *Normans*, p.148; Dalton, *Conquest*, p.96.

⁵⁰ Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, pp.202- 208; Ritchie, *Normans*, pp.125-127; H.Summers, *Medieval Carlisle, the City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-Sixteenth Century* (CWAAS Extra Series 24, Kendal, 1993) I, pp.18-19; Ailred, p.193.



crossings and the through route to Edinburgh. On either side of the Border the lords established by Henry or David had similar origins, coming predominantly from western Normandy and the borders of Brittany, from the regions of Henry's primary heritage. David was, in effect, Henry's 'marcher lord in Scotland'; his followers, including Robert de Brus, were first and foremost King Henry's vassals.⁵¹

RELATIONS WITH KING DAVID

Robert de Brus's relations with David of Scotland were inextricably bound up with their individual relations with King Henry, a circumstance which has been highlighted by Green.⁵² It was at Henry's court that they first met, and David, as 'brother of the queen', witnessed the 1103 *notitia* implementing the exchange of lands for Robert.⁵³ It is clear that Robert must have been older and more experienced than David, who was only a 'youth' of between fifteen and twenty when he was brought with his sister to be 'educated' at her husband's court. This accords well with the image of Robert de Brus as David's mentor when he first went into Scotland, entrusted with the task by King Henry; an image which is reinforced by the impassioned speech put into Robert's mouth by Ailred of Rievaulx before the battle of the Standard in 1138. In it, Robert is reported as reminding King David of all the help which he and his family had received from the English king and barons to support their kingship, particularly at the time when he himself was claiming his inheritance.⁵⁴ It is logical to assume from this, that the baron who was granted the strategic region of Annandale was the same one who had played an important part in securing it for David.

By 1114, the year of David's marriage, Robert de Brus was one of David's most influential companions in both England and Scotland. He is the first witness to grants of land in the Huntingdon honor made to Llanthony priory by David and his wife, probably at the time of their marriage. He may also be the first witness to

⁵¹ G.W.S.Barrow, 'The Pattern of Lordship and Feudal Settlement in Cumbria', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975) pp.122-123, 130-131; J.A.Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997) pp.119-120; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, pp.200, 206; Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, I, pp.19, 22.

⁵² For an assessment of the relations between Henry I and David of Scots, see Green, 'David I and Henry I', pp.1-18.

⁵³ *RRAN*, II, no.648.

⁵⁴ Ailred, pp.192-195.

another Huntingdon grant, which David made for the soul of his sister, Queen Matilda, following her death in 1118.⁵⁵ In Scotland, Robert's name occurs among the first of the lay witnesses to David's foundation charter to the abbey of Selkirk, being preceded in this category only by those of David's wife, son, and nephew, William fitz Duncan. While this has the appearance of a composite charter, inscribed between 1119 and 1124, for which the witness list may be representative rather than actual, the position accorded to Robert's name is still testimony to his high standing among David's followers.⁵⁶ Robert was present with David at Henry's court in 1114 and 1121. In the intervening years, however, there is no record of Robert witnessing for the king, a longer interval than any before, or after, that period. It appears likely, therefore, that Robert did not accompany Henry into Normandy between 1116 and 1120, although David may have done so for a few months. Kapelle is surely right to suggest that Robert spent those missing years in the north-west, together with Ranulf le Meschin who is also absent from royal records for much of the same time, consolidating the expansion of royal authority in that region and across the Solway.⁵⁷

Robert de Brus had clearly been active in Scotland for many years before he received the surviving charter which granted him the lordship of Annandale. This was given at Scone, probably on the occasion of David's inauguration as king in 1124, and it is not improbable that Robert had been lord of the district, in effect if not in name, well before then.⁵⁸ Compared with David's grant to Selkirk, for which a considerable number of the witnesses were native Scots, his grant of Annandale to Robert de Brus was entirely an Anglo-Norman affair. All the witnesses were followers who had accompanied David from England, the first being King Henry's agent, Eustace fitz John, lord of Alnwick, who would side with the Scots at the battle of the Standard. The others included Hugh de Morville who was subsequently David's constable, Ranulf de Soules who received the border barony of Liddesdale, and Alan de Percy, illegitimate son of Brus's fellow baron in Cleveland, who fought

⁵⁵ *Charters of David I*, nos.7, 8, 13. In no.13 the name is entered as *Rics*, which Barrow suggests should perhaps be read as *Robertus*.

⁵⁶ *Charters of David I*, no.14; *ESC*, pp.26-27, 275-279. Lawrie notes that Abbot Herbert, who is mentioned in the charter, did not hold office before 1119. Barrow suggests 1120x1121 or 1123x1124 as the most likely dates for the charter, although he dates the foundation of Selkirk to c.1114 (*Kingdom*, pp.199-200).

⁵⁷ *RRAN*, II, nos.1062, 1241; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, p.207; Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', p.95; Green, 'David I and Henry I', p.8. David is said to have visited Tiron in c.1116.

⁵⁸ *Charters of David I*, no.16; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, pp.207, 287n.79.

on the Scots' side in 1138 and held land near Jedburgh.⁵⁹ Similarly, the rights which Robert was to enjoy within his lordship were defined in Anglo-Norman terms as being the same which Ranulf le Meschin ever had in Carlisle and Cumberland. The reference to Ranulf le Meschin is significant. By 1124 Ranulf had surrendered the lordship of Cumberland, having received the earldom of Chester following the death of his cousin in 1120 in the wreck of the White Ship. It is not surprising that the rights which he *had* enjoyed could still be defined as they were particularly generous. Ranulf had held Cumberland as an overlord with considerable powers, and it is significant that Robert de Brus was granted similar rights in Annandale.⁶⁰ The reference does, however, suggest something more: that the grant to Robert de Brus was initially made before Ranulf became earl of Chester, when it would have been natural, not only to cite his rights, but to name him as 'le Meschin'. Furthermore, the southern boundary of Annandale is defined as being the boundary of Ranulf's lands, as if he still held them. The 1124 charter therefore, can surely be regarded as confirmation of an earlier grant, made on the same terms and virtually a copy of the original, updated only where essential. The accession of David to the kingship had altered his relationship with Robert de Brus, and any grant, written or unwritten, made before that time would surely need reinforcement. The original grant, if a written one had existed, would then be obsolete and have no reason to have survived.⁶¹

Robert was not merely David's vassal in Scottish Cumbria, responsible for the military defence of the region, but appears to have been his regular companion in Scotland and England. Besides the early charters mentioned above, Robert witnessed at least one other belonging to David's period as earl, and thirteen more after he became king. These included several relating to the Huntingdon honor, although Robert is not known to have held land there.⁶² Yet despite this, Robert was not awarded any official household office after David became king; unlike, for example, Hugh de Morville who had also been granted large areas of land in south-west

⁵⁹ *Charters of David I*, no.16; *ESC*, pp.49, 273-274, 308-309, 441; *EYC*, xi, p.3.

⁶⁰ Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i, pp.22, 25; Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p.69.

⁶¹ Mention of a castle in the charter has been cited as evidence that Robert was established there before 1124, although Duncan dismisses this as a 'curious assumption that only a Norman could have constructed a castle'; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.90.

⁶² *Charters of David I*, nos.3, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 37, 41, 45, 46, 49.

Scotland and was made constable. But Hugh de Morville, while holding some land in the south-west of England, was not one of Henry's tenants-in-chief, nor were any of the others who became permanent officers at King David's court. Many were younger sons, or lesser barons with no substantial lands in England unless within the honor of Huntingdon. Among these were Ranulf de Soules and Robert Avenel. Others, such as the 'Stewarts' and the Comyns, were later arrivals, a generation younger than Robert, entering David's service well after he had become king.⁶³ Compared with these the lord of Annandale was essentially independent of the Scottish king and his favours, being only, as it were, seconded to David's retinue from King Henry's court, a continuing reminder of David's own dependence on the English king.

While England and Scotland were at peace, a situation which lasted throughout Henry's reign, there is no evidence of tension between Robert's English and Scottish responsibilities, even after David's accession made him the vassal of two kings. His work in south-west Scotland was an extension of his work in England. The interests of the English and Scottish kings in the Solway region were the same. And if David was secretly disappointed at not being granted the earldom of Northumbria or control over English as well as Scottish Cumbria, he bided his time until after Henry's death. Only during the crisis years of 1121-22, after the wreck of the White Ship had lost Henry his heir and brought the earldom of Chester to Ranulf le Meschin causing him to surrender his lordship of Carlisle, are there any suggestions that relations between the two kings and their followers might be strained. It was during this period that Henry, clearly uneasy about Scottish intentions, made one of his rare visits to the North, strengthening the fortifications of Carlisle and establishing castles at Alnwick and Wark. And although it may have been primarily the occasion of Henry's second marriage which brought Earl David and Robert de Brus so speedily to Westminster in January 1121, scarcely two months after the tragic drownings, it gave the king an ideal opportunity to assess their intentions and ensure their loyalty by keeping them close at his side.⁶⁴ Henry's suspicions may have been well-founded. There are several pointers, highlighted by Green, that David was preparing to step into the

⁶³ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp.62, 65-67, 70-73; Ritchie, *Normans*, pp.277n.6, 278-279, 281-282.

⁶⁴ *RRAN*, II, no. 1241; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, pp.308-309; Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', p.93; Green, 'David I and Henry I', pp.8-10; Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, I, pp.22, 25.

vacuum left in English Cumbria by the departure of Ranulf, while Robert was foremost among the northern barons who gathered at Durham in April 1121 for an unknown reason, possibly connected with Scottish activity in the region.⁶⁵

Robert de Brus's equivocal position during this period of heightened tension may well provide the clue for the entering of his Yorkshire fief into the Domesday Book. As mentioned above, this entry is the only one of its kind and, furthermore, Robert was the only follower of David to be granted lands in Scotland who was also a major tenant-in-chief of the English king. If, as Green suggests, the entry was made to remind Robert of the homage he owed to Henry, and pre-empt any problems of dual allegiance, then the troubled years of 1121-22 would seem the most likely time for such a measure to be taken. It would also confirm that Robert had indeed held Annandale before David's accession.⁶⁶

There is another puzzle relating to Robert de Brus which may have some bearing on David's status in northern England at this time. It concerns a grant made by Robert to the small priory of Wether(h)al near Carlisle, a cell of St Mary's York founded by Ranulf le Meschin in or soon after 1106. The register of Wetheral records that this grant, of the church and town of 'Karkarevill' (spelt variously Karkareuil', Kyrkareuil' or Kirkareuil') had been confirmed by *Earl* David, thus dating it between 1114x1124.⁶⁷ No one has as yet been able to identify the place with certainty or explain why David, before he was king, should have been the one to confirm the grant. Although Annandale would seem an obvious location, it is unlikely, because all the churches of Annandale were held by the bishop of Glasgow or granted to the priory of Guisborough. Furthermore, the priory of Wetheral held no lands outside the northern counties of England and few outside Cumberland, so it is undoubtedly there that Karkarevill should be sought. There are many places in Cumberland beginning Kirke, Karke or even Carker, and the common ending 'ton' or

⁶⁵ Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, ed. T. Arnold (RS, 75ii, 1885) pp.261-262. The meeting was only recorded by Symeon because the monks of Durham took advantage of the gathering to reiterate their grievances over the loss of Tynemouth priory. For suggested reasons for the meeting, see Green, 'David I and Henry I', *SHR*, 75 (1996) pp.9-11.

⁶⁶ Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', p.96. See also above, p.19.

⁶⁷ *Reg. Wetherhal*, no.106; *Charters of David I*, no.1.

‘land’, could easily become ‘vil’ from the pen of a Norman scribe.⁶⁸ There are in fact some indications that the Brus family had interests in Cumberland at this period. There are entries relating to both the Scottish and Yorkshire branches in the early pipe rolls of Henry II; and the manor of Edenhall, which was in the hands of the Annandale Bruses before the end of the twelfth century, had been held earlier by a Peter de Brus, possibly brother of Robert I, by grant from Henry I. In the interim Edenhall had passed to Henry son of Swain who, together with his brother Adam, held a number of manors in the same area, which included the parish of Kirkland.⁶⁹ These sons of Swain originated from Yorkshire, as did two other families in the area, the Turps and Setons, who were also tenants of the Bruses in Hartness. Furthermore, both sons of Swain witnessed charters for King David, and had connections with Wetheral.⁷⁰ There was, therefore, a considerable nucleus of land-holders in that part of Cumberland with links to Yorkshire, Hartness and David of Scotland, reinforcing the likelihood that Robert de Brus also held land there from which he made his grant to Wetheral. If this were indeed found to be the case, it would be another pointer to Earl David regarding himself as having authority in that county after the death of

⁶⁸ Prescott’s suggestion that Karkarevill was in Annandale (*Reg. Wetherhal*, p.195n.2) is possible but unlikely for the reasons given above. Lawrie’s suggestion that it was in the earldom of Northampton (*ESC*, p.305) is improbable as Brus is not known to have held lands there. Barrow’s identification of Querqueville in the Cotentin (Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp.322-323) is also unlikely for several reasons:- while Robert de Brus probably originated from that region of the Cotentin, he himself does not seem to have held land there, nor is there any evidence that the family held Querqueville; the church of Querqueville was granted to the abbey of Grestain in Normandy, which already held land there by 1195 (*Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ed. Thomas Stapleton ((London, 1840)) I, p.clxxv); David himself has not been shown to have held land in Normandy (except on the basis of Barrow’s suggestion regarding Querqueville); Robert de Kircheville, who witnessed a grant to Guisborough by Eudo de Sottevast, may well have originated from that town but appears only once among Brus witnesses, late in the time of Robert de Brus I’s grandson; finally, as has been shown above, the grant of a town in Normandy is out of keeping with all the other grants made to Wetheral. See also Green, ‘Aristocratic Loyalties’, p.95n.80.

⁶⁹ *Pipe Roll 5 Henry II*, p.32; *Pipe Roll 6 Henry II*, p.40; *Pipe Roll 7 Henry II*, p.40; *Pipe Roll 8 Henry II*, p.38; F.W. Ragg, ‘The Earlier Owners of Edenhall’, *TCWAAS n.s.*, 13 (1913) pp.199, 201, 203; J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London, 1777; 1976 reprint) II, pp.441-445, 447. See also below, pp.134-135. The church at Kirkland was granted to Carlisle; *Reg. Wetherhal*, p.45n.3.

⁷⁰ *EYC*, III, pp.317, 322; *Reg. Wetherhal*, pp.39-40, 311; *Charters of David I*, nos.111, 120, 196. See also below, pp.180-181 for the Turps and Setons. In the thirteenth century, the Turps held Edenhall, initially of the Bruses then later in chief. David himself made a grant to Wetheral, when he was king, of 1 mark annually from his manor of Scotby near Carlisle, and confirmed a grant of Adam son of Swain, evidently when he was occupying the county during Stephen’s reign; *Charters of David I*, no.76; *Reg. Wetherhal*, pp.41, 312-313.

King Henry's heir, and behaving as if he were lord of English as well as Scottish Cumbria.⁷¹

However firm the grounds may have been for King Henry's doubts about David's intentions and Robert's loyalty during those years, the crisis passed. Evidence from 1123 onwards demonstrates that David still held Henry's trust and favour, and he was the first layman to take the oath of allegiance to Matilda in 1126.⁷² Robert de Brus continued to appear at Henry's court, witnessed his charters on occasions, and accompanied him to Normandy in 1129.⁷³ Robert also remained closely involved with David throughout the remainder of Henry's reign, witnessing for him in Scotland and England both before and after he became king.⁷⁴

Despite Robert's undoubted commitment to Scotland, and to David, he remained throughout that time an influential figure in the north of England. As has already been noted, he was first-named of the northern barons at the 1121 gathering in Durham, and several of the charters he witnessed for Henry related to northern matters. It was also during these years that he founded the Augustinian priory at Guisborough in his Cleveland barony, and married his daughter, Agatha, to the kinsman of a Yorkshire magnate, the earl of Richmond.⁷⁵ Clearly, it was within the county of Yorkshire that Robert de Brus sought to establish his family roots through religious patronage and family ties. He saw himself primarily as a member of that distinctive group of Anglo-Norman lords whose interests were centred principally in the north of England. Robert de Brus I may have paid homage to the king of Scots for his land north of the Solway, but for him there was only one liege lord: the king of England, to whom David I also owed allegiance for his English earldom. So in 1138, four years before his death, when Robert was called upon to choose between

⁷¹ David's attitude is understandable. As Barrow has pointed out, 'English' Cumbria was, 'in Scots' eyes... an integral part of an ancient kingdom' which had been ruled by David's forebears. Green further suggests that David might have believed his descent from Edmund Ironside entitled him to be regarded as King Henry's heir after the death of the king's only legitimate son; G.W.S.Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994) p.245; Green, 'David I and Henry I', pp.18-19.

⁷² Green, 'David I and Henry I', pp.11, 15-17.

⁷³ *RRAN*, II, nos. 1319, 1335, 1451, 1464, 1586, 1638, 1639, 1654; H.S.Offler, 'A Northumbrian Charter of King Henry I', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser., 45 (1967) pp.181-183.

⁷⁴ *Charters of David I*, nos.23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 37, 41, 45, 46, 49.

⁷⁵ See below, p.205.

his loyalties, it was the king of England he elected to support.⁷⁶ Robert was happy to serve David while in so doing he was still serving the king of England; he was content to accept David as king of Scots, for that was his rightful heritage; content, too, to accept him or his son as earl of Northumbria, for as such they were subject to the king of England. But once David crossed the Tees, he had overreached himself and was threatening the stability of a region that unquestionably belonged to the king of England, a region which Robert was committed to defend. Barrow is close to the mark in suggesting that this first Brus to set foot in Scotland, this Anglo-Norman who owed his origins to the Cotentin peninsula, should be seen as 'essentially a Yorkshireman'.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ At the battle of the Standard. See below, pp.41-42.

⁷⁷ Barrow, *Bruce*, p.21.

Chapter Two

DIVIDED INHERITANCE

THE BRUS FAMILY IN THE REIGN OF STEPHEN

The death of King Henry I in 1135 brought an end to the amicable relations between the kings of England and of Scots, and radically altered the balance of power in the Border regions. Until then Robert de Brus I had been able to pay fealty to the king of Scots for Annandale without compromising his position as a major tenant-in-chief of the English king in Cleveland and Hartness. The accession of Stephen de Blois was to place that dual allegiance under severe strain. In company with the majority of magnates, and barons who had prospered as King Henry's 'new men', Robert had little hesitation in accepting Stephen as king. He was with Stephen in York during his tour of the north soon after his coronation, and again at the siege of Exeter in the summer of 1136.¹ King David on the other hand, seized the opportunity he may well have been waiting for, when Henry's firm hold had been removed, to renew his claim to the northern counties of England with an armed invasion, ostensibly in the name of his niece. So in August 1138, when the Scottish and English armies confronted one another on Cowton Moor near Northallerton, Robert de Brus had at last to choose between his two allegiances. He was not the only one. Bernard de Balliol, who had sworn some personal oath of loyalty to David, renounced it; Eustace fitz John, who had been King Henry's justice in the North and lord of Alnwick, chose to support the Scots.² It was a dilemma that must have affected many other barons; but according to Ailred of Rievaulx none was so dramatic about it as Robert de Brus who, after an impassioned speech in which he pleaded unsuccessfully with David to withdraw his forces, 'broke his chain of fealty' to the king of Scots and rode back to his place in the king of England's army.³ Ailred's account is clearly written to impress, but he was surely right in suggesting that Robert was considerably affected by the action he was forced to take. He must by now have been nearly seventy years of age, and was

¹ *RRAN*, III, nos. 337, 942, 985.

² Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', pp.244-245; Green 'Aristocratic Loyalties', pp.96-97; Richard of Hexham, pp.158-164.

³ Ailred, pp.192-195.

almost certainly the sole survivor of that vanguard of Norman barons who had accompanied David into south-western Scotland before his accession, as well as being the young man's closest companion in those early years.

In the ensuing battle 'of the Standard', Robert de Brus's elder son, Adam I, fought with his father on the victorious English side, while his younger son, Robert II, was in King David's army.⁴ They were not the only family to be divided by their allegiances. William de Percy of Topcliffe, for example, was in the English army, while his uncle, Alan, fought with the Scots.⁵ Adam de Brus I, who is described by Ailred as *juvenis*, must have been around thirty by this time, having witnessed at least one charter before 1118 and been associated with some of his father's grants, notably that to Guisborough in c.1119.⁶ Robert II's name first appears only after 1130 when, together with his brother, he witnessed a settlement between Whitby and Guisborough.⁷ An unreliable fourteenth-century source describes him as a minor at the time of the battle, who after being captured was returned by King Stephen to 'the keeping of his nurse, that is, his mother'.⁸ In apparent contradiction, the same source suggests that Robert II had already been granted Annandale by 1138, an unlikely circumstance if he were still under age and one which would, furthermore, reduce Robert I's renunciation of homage to little more than an empty gesture.⁹ It is more probable that, having renounced his homage to King David in 1138, Robert I was indeed deprived of his position as lord of Annandale but that an agreement was subsequently reached, possibly at the time of the second treaty of Durham in 1139, whereby the region would be granted to his younger son. Although it was not unusual for escheated land to be granted to another member of the same family,¹⁰ the fact that Annandale passed to one of Brus's sons rather than to some other tenant, could conceivably be taken as a gesture of

⁴ Ailred, p.182; *Mon. Angl.*, VI, p.267.

⁵ Ailred, p.190; Richard of Hexham, p.159.

⁶ *EYC*, I, no.527; *EYC*, II, nos.648, 858; *GC*, I, pp.3, 5. For an explanation of the term *juvenis*, see G.Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (Berkeley Cal., 1980) pp.112-113.

⁷ *EYC*, II, no.873.

⁸ This source is the Guisborough founders' history, taken from a parchment roll 'formerly at Pontefract castle'. It contains several stories of the Brus family unrecorded elsewhere, but is unreliable in certain aspects, especially dates of death. *Mon. Angl.*, VI, p.267; Duncan, 'Bruces', pp.91-92.

⁹ The earliest records of Robert II receiving rights in Annandale have been dated as 1150x1153, and his earliest grant to c.1150; *Charters of David I*, no.210; *ESC*, no.200; *EYC*, II, no.651.

¹⁰ Green, *Aristocracy*, pp.130-131.

reconciliation, suggesting that despite his opposition to the king of Scots, Robert I had made his peace with David.

There is, in fact, a more substantial piece of evidence which supports the theory that Robert de Brus I did indeed return to King David's favour. Sometime between 1139 and the death of Robert I in 1142, both he and Robert II were witnesses to a charter of David's son, Henry earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, a charter which David also witnessed.¹¹ Furthermore, the name of Robert I is placed third in the witness list, following only King David and Earl Henry's wife, Ada, clear evidence that Robert de Brus I was still in high standing with the Scottish king and, since the charter was granted at Selkirk, was sufficiently reconciled to accompany him into Scotland. There is a certain irony that the charter in question was granted to Eustace fitz John, who had defected from Stephen to fight on the Scots' side on Cowton Moor. In it, Earl Henry not only confirmed Eustace in his Northumberland lands, as held of Henry I and Stephen, but also granted him several manors in the Huntingdon honor. It is a charter full of compromise, typifying the ambivalent position in which so many barons found themselves during Stephen's reign.

Several other charters of Earl Henry, and of King David, which were witnessed by a Robert de Brus, can be dated within the final years of Robert I's life. Duncan prefers to identify this witness exclusively with Robert II,¹² but the evidence is inconclusive and obscured by the lack of a distinguishing appellation such as is given to Robert 'le meschin' in the charter of Earl Henry described above. Indeed, the absence of such an appellation could be taken to mean that any charters undoubtedly drawn up before 1142 were witnessed by Robert I; also that it was Robert I who was associated with King David in 1140, when the lands of the monks of Durham were placed under Henry's protection as earl of Northumberland.¹³ Conversely, in the grant made by David to Kelso in 1144 no distinction is needed; it is clearly Robert II who witnessed.¹⁴

¹¹ *Charters of David I*, no.82. This counters Duncan's suggestion that the battle of the Standard marked the end of Robert I's long connection with King David, and that 'there is no evidence that the breach was healed'; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.91.

¹² Duncan, 'Bruces', pp.91-92.

¹³ *Charters of David I*, no.78. Two charters of David I to Tynemouth may well come into this category, as the Robert de Brus who witnesses is high in the list and therefore more likely to be Robert I; *Charters of David I*, nos.143, 144.

¹⁴ *Charters of David I*, no.130.

The number and variety of Earl Henry's grants which were witnessed by a Robert de Brus, both before and after 1138, prompts another speculation: that the younger Robert was one of Earl Henry's companions, having been given into the care of the king of Scots at some time before the battle of the Standard.¹⁵ This would account for his presence on the Scottish side, even though Annandale was not yet his; and as one of Earl Henry's followers, who were said to have included knights of King David's household, he would have been in the thick of the fighting and not unlikely to have been taken prisoner.¹⁶ Such an arrangement could well have been made at the time of the first treaty of Durham in February 1136. Robert de Brus I, having opted to support Stephen, was guarding against the possibility of a rift, and preparing the way for one of his sons to continue the Brus lordship of Annandale. This suggestion is strengthened by Barrow's dating of King David's foundation grant to Melrose, which is witnessed by Robert de Brus *meschin*, to March 1136.¹⁷ Robert II was evidently in Scotland with King David by that date.

The second treaty of Durham in 1139 must have eased the position of Robert de Brus I considerably, and facilitated a reconciliation with King David. With David's son officially recognised as earl of Northumberland under Stephen, Robert was not acting disloyally to the king of England by supporting the Scots north of the Tees, where he undoubtedly still held Hartness. Moreover, by this time Stephen had 'effectively abandoned the northerners', who were turning in increasing numbers to the king of Scots.¹⁸ So when William Cumin, the Scottish chancellor, made a bid for the bishopric of Durham in the spring of 1141 with the backing of King David, and another crisis of loyalties was forced upon the Brus family, it was surely Robert de Brus I, rather than his son, who was among the prominent supporters of Cumin's cause.¹⁹ This identification is reinforced by the list of four Cumin supporters in

¹⁵ *Charters of David I*, nos.62, 73, 83, 107, 139, 170.

¹⁶ Ailred, pp.196-197; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D.E.Greenway (Oxford, 1996) pp.716-719.

¹⁷ *Charters of David I*, no.120. In the witnesses to Earl Henry's confirmation of this grant, the name of Robert de Brus is unqualified but low in the list, so is also likely to be Robert II; *ibid*, no.121.

¹⁸ K.J.Stringer, 'State-Building in Twelfth-Century Britain', in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700*, ed. J.C.Appleby and P.Dalton (Stroud, 1997) p.53.

¹⁹ Young, *William Cumin*, pp.10ff. Although the Guisborough founders' history suggests that Robert I died in May 1141, within a week of the previous bishop of Durham, his death is more reliably dated by John of Hexham to Easter 1142; *Mon. Angl.*, VI, p.267; John of Hexham, p.312; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.91.

which Robert de Brus is named second, after Eustace [fitz John] but before Bernard de Balliol and Hugh de Morville, barons of a stature and maturity that the younger Robert could not yet have attained.²⁰ Nor is his support for the Cumin cause proof that the Brus in question was whole-heartedly loyal to the king of Scots. It was rather a question of discretion, in order to protect his English lands. The Brus estates in Hartness were part of the earldom of Northumberland and therefore under the control of King David through Earl Henry. If the surrounding lands of the bishop of Durham were also to fall into Scottish hands, it would be safer to have sided with the bishop, whose Yorkshire estates in Northallerton also adjoined Brus's Cleveland manors. Furthermore, when William Cumin's campaign commenced, Stephen was a prisoner; King David and the prospective bishop had gone south to join the empress; there was a strong possibility that the Angevin party would soon be governing the whole country, and that Matilda would endorse the election of her uncle's protégé. Bernard de Balliol, who had supported Stephen at the battle of Lincoln and been taken prisoner there, undoubtedly had the same reasons for supporting Cumin's cause. Not only did Bernard hold lands in the wapentake of Sadberge beside the Tees, and at Stokesley in Cleveland, but also in Northumberland, on the Tyne.²¹

There is an additional pointer to its being the elder Robert de Brus who gave his support to Cumin's cause: he is the only one of the four barons to receive no further mention in connection with the affair after 1141. Hugh de Morville, as constable of Scotland, clearly followed King David in withdrawing support for the former chancellor's increasingly egotistical campaign; Eustace fitz John was one of those who negotiated with the would-be bishop in 1143; and Bernard de Balliol, having reaffirmed his allegiance to Stephen after the king's release, was regarded by Cumin as an enemy and suffered devastating attacks on his lands. A place among the 1143 negotiators which might well have been filled by Robert de Brus, was taken by Stephen de Meynell, another baron with interests in both Yorkshire and Durham.²² With the death of Robert de Brus I in 1142, the family's involvement in the affair appears to have ceased.

²⁰ *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, I, ed. T. Arnold (RS 75i, London, 1882) p.144.

²¹ John of Hexham, p.308; J.C. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, VI (Newcastle, 1902) pp.18-20; *EYC*, I, pp.437-439; *VCH: Durham*, III, p.300.

²² *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, I, pp. 154, 155; Young, *William Cumin*, pp.12-14, 19, 22.

THE BRUSES AND WILLIAM OF AUMALE

When Robert de Brus I died in the spring of 1142, relations between England and Scotland remained critical and the county of Yorkshire faced an uncertain future. Although the battle of Lincoln had temporarily destroyed Stephen's power, Matilda had thrown away her advantage by her imperious behaviour towards those whom she would rule. By the following year England was settling into an uneasy compromise, with the Empress controlling the south-west and King Stephen the east. Meanwhile King David, who showed himself a more able sovereign than either of the protagonists for the English throne and had disentangled himself from overt involvement with his niece's cause, was consolidating his already strong position in the north.

There is nothing to suggest that the troubled state of the kingdom affected the transfer of the Yorkshire barony to Robert de Brus's elder son, in keeping with Norman tradition, or that Adam I entered into his patrimony other than peacefully. The Hartness estates, however, were the subject of a compromise, whereby they were held by Robert II as a tenant of his elder brother. While such a method of providing for a younger son was not uncommon at this period, Robert II was already well provided for, holding the equivalent of ten knights' fees in Annandale compared with Adam's fifteen in Yorkshire. It was clearly the prevailing political situation north of the Tees which made it expedient for both the English and Scottish branches to have an interest in such a debateable region.²³ The legend in the Guisborough founders' history, that his father granted Hartness to Robert II because he complained that he could not grow wheat in Annandale, is now quite rightly treated with scepticism.²⁴

Recent work by Barrow, Dalton and Stringer has highlighted the extent of Scottish involvement in the north of England during Stephen's reign, and demonstrated how King David's influence spread beyond Cumbria and Northumberland into Lancashire and west Yorkshire through the marriage of his nephew, William fitz Duncan, to Alice de Romilly, heiress of William le Meschin and Cecily de Romilly.²⁵

²³ It should be noted that the Bruses did not sever the connection between Hartness and their Yorkshire barony so completely as, for example, the Bolbecs separated their Northumberland and Buckinghamshire baronies; Stringer, 'State-Building', p.53.

²⁴ *Mon. Angl.*, VI, p.267; Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, p.8; Duncan, 'Bruses', p.92.

²⁵ Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', pp.231-253; Dalton, *Conquest*, esp. ch.5; K.J.Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen* (London, 1993) esp. ch.3; Stringer, 'State-Building', pp.40-62.

In Yorkshire, however, there was another strong power to be reckoned with. William le Gros, count of Aumale, lord of Holderness and King Stephen's cousin, had been created earl of York in 1138, following his prowess at the battle of the Standard.²⁶ There has been much debate on the rôle of the earls in Stephen's reign and his reasons for creating so many new ones.²⁷ In William's case the reason would seem to be administrative convenience, in response to an immediate military crisis, by which Stephen invested regional authority in one who was powerful enough to sustain it on his behalf, particularly in an area so far from the centre of government and vulnerable to Scottish interference.²⁸ It was a policy fraught with danger for the king, dependent as it was on the continued loyalty of an ambitious magnate who, according to William of Newburgh, became 'more truly the king beyond the Humber' than was King Stephen.²⁹ The extent of Earl William's power in Yorkshire, and how he exploited it, has been fully examined by Dalton.³⁰ Here, I am concerned only with William's appropriation of certain of the Brus lands and his influence over both branches of the family, in the course of which I hope to clarify some of the problems raised by Dalton and others regarding the means by which the earl achieved that dominance, enabling him to extend his influence into Cleveland and obtain control of the wapentake of Langbaugh and a further stretch of the Yorkshire coast.

The chance, if chance was needed by so ruthless a magnate as William of Aumale, was presented to him when Adam de Brus I died within about a year of his father leaving two young sons, the elder of whom, Adam II, did not reach his majority until after 1156.³¹ Long before then the earl had appropriated some of the Brus lands, including the original *caput* at Danby in Eskdale with its associated castle at Castleton, and gained control of the wapentake of Langbaugh where the Brus

²⁶ John of Hexham, p.295; Richard of Hexham, p.165.

²⁷ See esp. H.A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen 1135-1154* (1970) pp.138-149; R.H.C.Davis, *King Stephen 1135-1154*, 3rd ed. (London, 1990) pp.125-141; Green, *Aristocracy*, pp.298-305; W.L.Warren, *Governance of Norman and Angevin England 1086-1272* (London, 1987) pp.92-94.

²⁸ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.146-147; B.English, *Lords of Holderness 1086-1260* (Oxford, 1979) pp.18-19; Stringer, *Reign of Stephen*, pp.53-54, 59.

²⁹ William of Newburgh, 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum', in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (RS 82, London, 1884) I, p.103.

³⁰ P.Dalton, 'William Earl of York and Royal Authority in Yorkshire in the Reign of Stephen', *Haskins Society Journal*, 2 (1990) pp.155-165; Dalton, *Conquest*, ch. 4, esp. pp.152-184.

³¹ John of Hexham, p.315; *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p.27. The only surviving reference to Adam I's younger son, William, is in the witness list to EYC, II, no.1055.

lands were centred.³² It was also undoubtedly Aumale's influence which led the young Adam to grant the churches of Skelton, Kirk Leavington and Yarm away from his family's foundation at Guisborough to the earl's own foundation of Thornton abbey in Lincolnshire, a grant which Adam later rescinded.³³ A cluster of Brus estates near Pickering, which came into Earl William's hands, appear to have been seized by the Bigods, though possibly in collusion with the earl who was subenfeoffed of them.³⁴ In other Brus lands, however, Earl William seems rather to have been exercising lordship in the nature of a guardian, by confirming grants made by Brus tenants which Adam II himself subsequently confirmed.³⁵ So, despite his reputation, it would seem that much of the earl's control over the Brus fief was exercised quite legitimately, supposing that Adam II was his ward.

The question then arises as to how Earl William, in Dalton's words, 'acquired custody of the young heir, which belonged by right to Adam's mother, Juetta of Arches'.³⁶ The answer lies in the fact that, contrary to the assertions of Dugdale and Farrer, Adam II's mother was *not* Juetta de Arches but Earl William's sister, Agnes d'Aumale, a circumstance recognised only by William Brown in an article predating *Early Yorkshire Charters*.³⁷ Once this is realised, and there is ample evidence to substantiate Brown's statement, it is clear that the wardship of Adam de Brus II was acquired by Earl William, not by 'means unknown', but by virtue of his standing as maternal uncle of the boy, a position well-recognised to have been of considerable influence in the family hierarchy in the twelfth century.³⁸ The difficulties

³² Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.163, 166; *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p.74. Danby was not recovered by the Bruses until the time of Adam II's son on payment of a £1,000 fine, having been repossessed by the crown after Earl William's death in 1179; see below, pp.65-66.

³³ *Mon. Angl.*, vi, p.327; *GC*, II, nos.679, 682, 815; English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.24-25.

³⁴ *EYC*, I, pp.490-491; appendix 1, table A.

³⁵ *GC*, I, no.9; *GC*, II, nos.871, 872.

³⁶ Dalton, *Conquest*, p.180. At this time, according to a ruling of Henry I, guardianship of a minor 'was to be given to the widow or someone close to her, whichever was more just', and seignorial guardianship only became the norm later in the century; Green, *Aristocracy*, p.359.

³⁷ W.Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, I (London, 1675) p.448; W.Farrer, *EYC*, I, p.415; *EYC*, II, pp.12, 15; W.Brown, 'The Brus Cenotaph at Guisborough', *YAJ*, 13 (1895) p.244.

³⁸ Dalton, *Conquest*, p.180; C.A.Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I* (Philadelphia, 1988) p.51. The later Bruses were clearly descended in some way from the sister of Earl William. In 1274 the heirs of Peter de Brus III laid claim to the Aumale estates, after the death of Earl William's last direct descendant. They lost to another claimant, John de Eston, who 'said he was descended from Avise, an otherwise unrecorded daughter of William', a claim which may have been put forward at the suggestion of Edward I, was 'based on fantasy rather than fact', and ended with John de Eston quitclaiming the estates to the crown; English, *Lords of Holderness*, p.54; *EYC*, VII, pp.23-27.

encountered by Dalton, Farrer, and others in respect of the relations between the count of Aumale and the Bruses arise from their belief that Adam I was married to Juetta de Arches and the suggestion that Agnes d'Amaule was Adam II's wife, whereas the converse clearly answers many of the problems.³⁹

The marriage between Adam de Brus I and Agnes d'Aumale must have been arranged and taken place before the death of Robert I, as two sons had been born to them by 1143. A marriage alliance between the Aumale and de Brus families, who commanded between them such a large area of Yorkshire lands, must have seemed advantageous to both sides, especially in the aftermath of the battle of the Standard. So the year 1138 could well have seen the beginnings of the arrangement. In the end, however, the advantages were all for Aumale, undoubtedly to the dismay of his rivals in the county, the earls of Richmond and of Chester, both of whom had an interest in the Brus fief.⁴⁰ Yet, despite their confrontations with the earl of York over the lands of other tenants, there is no indication that either of these magnates was ever a serious competitor for control of the Brus fief. Indeed, the grants of a Brus sub-tenant which Earl William confirmed during Adam II's minority, were of land near Loftus which may still have been part of the Chester honor.⁴¹

Adam II's minority lasted throughout Stephen's reign and was clearly spent within the orbit of the Aumale household. His name appears as witness to at least three of Earl William's charters when he was still quite young, two of them in company with his mother. In them Agnes is designated as de Albemarle (Aumale) or 'sister of the count', such status being of more consequence than widow of Adam de Brus I. Indeed, even in grants made by Agnes in association with her second husband, William de Roumare II, son of the earl of Lincoln, she is still referred to as

³⁹ Other writers who have been exercised by the problem include C. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Families* (YARS, 135) p.2; D.E. Greenway, *Mowbray Charters*, p. xxxix; E. King, 'The Parish of Warter and the Castle of Galchin', *YAJ*, 52 (1980) pp.53-54. The evidence to support Brown's conclusions has been more fully expounded in my forthcoming article for the *YAJ*, 'The Bruses of Skelton and William of Aumale'.

⁴⁰ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.166-167. Robert I's daughter, Agatha, had married Ralph son of Ribald of Middleham, a major tenant and kinsman of the earl of Richmond, whose lands in the north of the county adjoined those of Brus. Some of the Brus lands near the coast at Loftus were still held of the earl of Chester.

⁴¹ *GC*, II, no.872. Aumale and Chester later resolved their differences and joined forces against the Gants; P. Dalton, 'Aiming at the Impossible: Ranulf II Earl of Chester and Lincolnshire in the Reign of King Stephen', in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, pp.122, 125.

Agnes de Albemarle.⁴² However, she is clearly the Agnes de Brus named in the pipe roll of 1156, who paid a fine of two marks for her son; the absence of any reference to her being, by then, widow also of William de Roumare is not inconsistent since this was an official record, concerned only with Brus dues.⁴³

It was not the Yorkshire Bruses alone who were involved with William of Aumale. At some date before 1152, Robert de Brus II was married to his niece, Eufemia.⁴⁴ There is no evidence for Eufemia's parentage, but she must have been William's ward since it was he who provided her *maritagium*. This was the manor of Dimlington, close to the southern tip of Holderness, far from any Brus estates and accessible only through the long peninsula of Earl William's lands or from the sea. Dimlington was made the subject of an unusual arrangement between the earl and his niece, when sometime between 1150 and 1160 Eufemia granted the manor back to her uncle for his lifetime, in return for a gold ring and a sum of silver.⁴⁵ Although this could be interpreted as evidence that Earl William had some hold over the couple, it may simply be that the manor was so remote from Robert II's other interests that ready cash was of more immediate use to him.

While it is understandable that Robert I's eldest son, and heir to the Yorkshire barony, should marry a kinswoman of the lord of Holderness, it is less explicable that Robert II should have done so. It is possible that this marriage too could have been made, or at least arranged, within their father's lifetime, perhaps between 1138 and 1139 when Robert II had been returned to the care of his family after the battle of the Standard and the future for the Brus family seemed more securely planted in Yorkshire than in Scotland. Yet if the Dimlington charter dates from no earlier than 1150, the marriage need not have taken place until nearer that time. This raises

⁴² *EYC*, III, nos. 1334, 1373, 1379, 1385, 1386. The second marriage of Agnes d'Aumale was as brief as her first. It was made c.1146 and ended in 1151 when William de Roumare II died, leaving her as widow for a second time with a very young child, William de Roumare III. For further information regarding Agnes's marriage to William de Roumare II, see King, 'Parish of Warter', pp.50-51.

⁴³ *Pipe Roll 2 Henry II*, p.27. The entry follows the account for the earl of Aumale. Conversely, in a confirmation made by Agnes to Meaux abbey (*EYC*, X, no.88) she is described as sister of the earl of Aumale and sometime wife of William de Roumare, with no mention of her being widow of Adam de Brus because that was of no relevance to the grant.

⁴⁴ See appendix 3, no.114 for evidence that Robert was married before 1152.

⁴⁵ *EYC*, III, no.1352. The suggested dating is Farrer's, based on the witness list.

the possibility that it formed a part of the political manoeuvring between Earl William and King David, when the Scots began to infiltrate the region south of the Tees, threatening the earl's authority and even, it has been suggested, persuading him to be a party to their planned attack on York. In those circumstances a marriage between one of the earl's nieces and Robert de Brus II, who was not only one of King David's barons but the son of Earl William's former companion-in-arms and uncle of his ward, could have been regarded as advantageous to both sides.⁴⁶ The reasons behind so much that happened in Yorkshire during Stephen's reign have been the subject of considerable speculation. Being once more the most northerly county theoretically under the rule of the English king, it was subject to the scheming of several magnates, all vying for control of the lesser nobles and changing their own alliances to ensure their very survival. It is clear, however, that in a region which could fall under either English or Scottish rule it was as useful to Earl William as to King David to have the support of a family such as the Bruses, whose connections transcended the current border.

DUAL ALLEGIANCE : ROBERT DE BRUS II

If the Brus family's arrangement by which Robert II held the Hartness manors had indeed been made in order to protect them while under the control of the Scottish king, the plan was vitiated in 1157 when Malcolm IV bowed to the superior strength of Henry Plantagenet and surrendered the northern counties to the English king at Chester. Robert de Brus II was now in the same position of dual allegiance as his father had been in 1138. In 1173-74, when he too was required to choose between his overlords, Robert II made the same choice as his father. Instead of siding with the Scots as he himself had done at the battle of the Standard, he is listed among those who remained loyal to King Henry, together with his nephew Adam de Brus II. As a result, Robert II sacrificed control of his castles of Lochmaben and Annan, which in 1174 were being held by King William of Scots, who was taking advantage

⁴⁶ For an account of King David's methods of strengthening his alliances in Yorkshire, see Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.211-230; K.J.Stringer, 'State-building in Twelfth Century Britain', pp.56-60. Earl William had arranged for another of his nieces to marry the nephew of William Cumin, King David's chancellor, when he was contesting the bishopric of Durham. He himself married the daughter of King David's nephew, William fitz Duncan.

of the unrest in England brought about by the Young King's rebellion to recover those lands in northern England which he believed were his entitlement.⁴⁷

It is difficult from the meagre evidence available to ascertain what reasons Robert II might have had for choosing to support Henry II, rather than following the lead of William the Lion and siding with Henry's wife and son. On the face of it he had more obligations in Scotland than in England. Sometime between 1165 and 1173 King William had confirmed Annandale to Robert de Brus II for the service of ten knights' fees; his charter is the earliest known record to specify the service due, since neither of David I's grants defines it, and the implied confirmation by Malcolm IV has not survived.⁴⁸ At the same time in England, by comparison, Robert was said to hold five fees which, although they are entered under Yorkshire, most probably refer to Hartness.⁴⁹ There is, however, evidence from the pipe rolls that despite having no part in the Yorkshire barony itself, Robert acquired some interests in the county. In 1166 he rendered account of £40 18s 6d for the royal farm of Pickering, and in 1173 was credited with *terrae datae* at Tibthorpe worth £11, land which for the previous six years had been held by Hugh de Morville '*ad opus Roberti de Brus*' and may have been part of the original Brus fee.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Robert still had family connections with William of Aumale, who ostensibly supported Henry II on this occasion. Taken together, these commitments must have given Robert sufficient incentive to show solidarity with the close-knit community of Yorkshire barons rather than with his Scottish overlord.

Indeed, although a staunch supporter of King David and Earl Henry, Robert de Brus II does not appear to have been so intimately involved with the next generation of Scottish kings. Although he witnessed eleven of Malcolm IV's surviving charters, these can be divided into two groups. The first consists of six charters relating to the honor of Huntingdon, of which all but one have been convincingly dated by Barrow to 1159, when Malcolm was *en route* to or from Toulouse, thus prompting the inference that Robert was in the king of Scots' large entourage which crossed the

⁴⁷ Benedict of Peterborough (attrib.), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS 49, 1867) I, pp.48, 51n.4; *Jordan Fantome's Chronicle*, ed. R.C. Johnston (Oxford, 1981) pp.20-29; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS 51) II, p.47; Barrow, *RRS*, II, pp.6-7.

⁴⁸ *RRS*, II, no.80; *Charters of David I*, nos.16, 210.

⁴⁹ *Red Book of the Exchequer* 3v., ed. H. Hall (RS 99, 1896) p.435. For the status of Hartness and reduction of its assessment to 2 fees when acquired by the bishop of Durham, see below, pp.67-68.

⁵⁰ *Pipe Roll 12 Henry II*, p.36; *Pipe Roll 13 Henry II*, p.78; *Pipe Roll 19 Henry II*, p.3.

Channel in support of King Henry's campaign.⁵¹ In four of the five remaining charters Robert's name, and those of his fellow barons, is preceded by numerous churchmen, suggesting that they were made at great gatherings, while in the fifth his name is at the end of the list.⁵² It would seem, therefore, that Robert was not a regular member of Malcolm's court but was only present, or at least called upon to witness, at times of ceremony, except when he was on campaign with the king.

If, as appears likely, Robert de Brus II did accompany Malcolm to Toulouse in 1159, he was fulfilling indirectly any military obligations he might owe to the English king for his lands in Hartness. Prior to 1157 such obligations would have been required of him through the Scottish royal house as earls of Northumberland. The change in circumstances after that year is apparent in the pipe roll for 1158 in which the sheriff of Northumberland renders account of £4 for the men of Robert de Brus, presumably for Hartness.⁵³ And it is the situation in Hartness, where Brus's ultimate overlord had at all times been the king of England, which may provide a further clue to Robert's reasons for supporting Henry II rather than William the Lion in 1174. In Scotland, the king of Scots was unquestionably Robert's overlord. In England they were both vassals of King Henry. William's invasion of England was therefore, in Robert's eyes, a rebellion against their common overlord. And now that Robert II was no longer in the king of Scots' household, as he may have been in 1138, his own service and loyalty was owed, first and foremost, to the king of England.⁵⁴

Robert II's choice in 1174 may also have been prompted by fears for his own position in Hartness, where his authority was clearly threatened by the bishop of Durham's superior power in the region, although it was another twenty years before the wapentake of Sadberge was to pass into the bishop's hands. Yet even in 1174 Bishop Hugh du Puiset was in a position to utilise the beaches of Hartlepool, where

⁵¹ *RRS*, I, pp. 105-106, nos. 139, 144, 148, 151, 152, 154. In another group of charters relating to the Huntingdon honor, which Barrow attributes to the time of Malcolm's journey south to pay homage to Henry at Woodstock in 1163, none is witnessed by Brus.

⁵² *RRS*, I, nos. 157, 174, 184, 197, 217.

⁵³ *Pipe Roll 4 Henry II*, p. 178. With Adam II still a minor, Robert is likely to have been held directly responsible for Hartness dues.

⁵⁴ For the difference in perspective between Anglo-Scottish lords and native Scottish magnates over the relations between the kings of Scotland and England, see Barrow, *RRS*, I, p. 12.

Robert was already establishing a port, for his own military purposes. In July of that year, on the very day that King William was captured at Alnwick, Bishop Hugh's nephew, the count of Bar, landed at Hartlepool with 400 mercenaries and 50 knights from Flanders as reinforcements for his uncle. Although the bishop himself never came out actively in support of the Scots, neither did he oppose them; and his Blois relatives in Normandy, including the count of Bar, had been fighting for the Young King. The very fact that potentially hostile troops were able to land without opposition at a port held by one described as a loyal adherent of King Henry indicates the extent to which the bishop's power dominated the region. With the unexpected turn of events at Alnwick, however, the arrivals were an immediate embarrassment to the bishop, who had the mercenaries swiftly pensioned off and the knights sent to garrison his castle of Northallerton.⁵⁵

Although the capture of the king of Scots heralded the end of the rebellion, at least in the north of England so that his Hartness lands were no longer under threat, Robert de Brus may not have recovered his Annandale castles immediately and could well have suffered further loss when the two lords of Galloway took advantage of the situation to turn against King William. Although Gilbert and Uhtred, the sons of Fergus, had supplied the king of Scots with troops for his campaign across the Border, they now abandoned all pretence of fealty to him, expelled the royal officers, killed the French and English who had been settled in their domains, destroyed the king's castles and invited the king of England to accept their allegiance. When Roger of Howden was sent by King Henry to investigate the problem, he arrived in Galloway to find that Gilbert had had his brother murdered and was now ruling as sole lord, a deed which lost him any hope of support from the English king.⁵⁶ Duncan cites evidence to suggest that the violence spread beyond the borders of Galloway to involve the Anglo-Norman settlers of Nithsdale, so it is not improbable

⁵⁵ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, II, p.63; *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle*, pp.40-41; G.W.S.Barrow, 'Kings of Scotland and Durham', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M.Harvey, and M.Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994) pp.319-320; G.V.Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956) pp.36-42.

⁵⁶ Benedict of Peterborough, I, pp.67, 68, 80; Roger of Howden, II, pp.63, 69, 69n.1; Barrow, *RRS*, II, pp.7-8; A.A.M.Duncan, *Scotland, the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975) p.182. See also A.Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550-c.1307* (London, 1974) pp.222-230, for comparison between the two chroniclers and Roger of Howden's part in the affair.

that Annandale also was attacked, contributing to the destruction and final abandonment of Annan castle in favour of Lochmaben at about this time.⁵⁷ Half a century after Robert de Brus I had been granted Annandale, it remained a frontier zone, providing with Nithsdale a buffer between the king of Scots' lands and a region which continued to cling fiercely to its independence and own code of laws.

Within two or three years, however, King William was reasserting his authority in that frontier zone, with the blessing of the King of England who had levied an enormous fine from the lord of Galloway; a fine which was still largely unpaid at Gilbert's death in 1185 when his nephew Roland, son of the murdered Uhtred, was seeking to establish himself as lord of Galloway. By this time William had reoccupied Nithsdale and was building a royal castle at Dumfries, suggesting that Annandale also was back within the king of Scots' control.⁵⁸ William, however, seems to have harboured doubts about the loyalty of Robert de Brus, because it was about this time, probably in 1183, that Robert's eldest son, Robert III, was married to William's illegitimate daughter Isabel, an alliance undoubtedly arranged by the king of Scots to ensure support from the Bruses in a politically sensitive region.⁵⁹ Isabel's mother was the daughter of Robert Avenel, lord of neighbouring Eskdale. This was clearly an additional advantage for William as a way of strengthening his southwestern borders against problems from across the Solway, as well as pre-empting any move by Brus to ally himself with the lords of Galloway.⁶⁰ For even before the events of 1173-74, when Robert II had chosen to support the king of England, evidence suggests that the lord of Annandale had become increasingly detached from the king of Scots' court. Robert II witnessed only three of William's surviving charters, held no royal office, is not recorded as playing any significant part in

⁵⁷ Duncan, *Scotland*, p.182. For a full discussion of the transfer of the *caput* from Annan to Lochmaben, see R.C. Reid, 'The Caput of Annandale, or the Curse of St Malachy', *TDGNHAS*, 32 (1955) pp.155-66.

⁵⁸ G.W.S.Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), p.76; Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.183-184, 233; *Pipe Roll 25 Henry II*, p.31. Duncan suggests that the new castle at Dumfries was erected in 1177, but Barrow says that William did not gain control of Dumfries until 1185, on the death of Ralph son of Dunegal, lord of Nithsdale.

⁵⁹ *Chron. Melrose*, p.44. Isabel was given Haltwhistle in Tynedale as her marriage portion, and Robert III confirmed King William's earlier grant of Haltwhistle church to Arbroath abbey; *Arbroath Liber*, I, no.37; *RRS*, II, no.227.

⁶⁰ R.C. Reid, 'The Scottish Avenels', *TDGNHAS*, 37 (1960) pp.71-73. The same motives undoubtedly applied to the later marriages of King William's nieces, Earl David of Huntingdon's daughters, to Robert de Brus IV and Alan of Galloway; see below, pp.85-86.

Scottish affairs, and was the only major landholder in Scotland who had not been given additional lands in Lothian.⁶¹

Brus may indeed have shown signs of making himself too powerful in the region, leading William to fear he would become another independent lord in the south-west, like the lords of Galloway, prepared to bypass William's authority and appeal directly to King Henry. With Annandale so close to Galloway, the Bruses could hardly fail to be influenced by their neighbours, who were clearly recognised as having an interest in the affairs of Annandale. The names of the three lords, Uhtred, Gilbert and Roland, all appear as witnesses for King William's confirmatory grant to Robert de Brus II at Lochmaben.⁶² The wording of this grant has itself been cited in support of widely disparate views on the relationship between King William and Robert de Brus II. Duncan interprets the king's reservations to himself of six crown pleas as demonstrating a curtailment of Brus's judicial powers in the region, thereby suggesting that William did indeed entertain doubts about his loyalty and regarded him as a baron whose power needed to be curbed. Barrow, on the other hand, sees the provision for 'one of Brus's [own] vassals to report and present the reserved cases', as an 'exceptional favour to a privileged tenant-in-chief'. MacQueen's legalistic and most convincing verdict considers the provisions to be no more than a 'mild modernisation of established procedures'. In other words, nothing of their personal relationships can be deduced from the phraseology, which is simply an early codification of what was already standard practice.⁶³

Whatever King William's reasons for making the marriage alliance with the Bruses, it did not long survive. Young Robert III predeceased his father, having died before 1191 when Isabel was married again, to Robert de Ros, taking her *maritagium*

⁶¹ RRS, II, nos.179, 192, 255; Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours*, p.56.

⁶² RRS, II, no.80.

⁶³ Duncan, 'Bruses', p.93; Barrow, RRS, II, p.42; H.L.MacQueen, *Common Law and Feudal Society in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993) p.42. In relating the story of St Malachy's journey through Annandale, the chronicler of Lanercost would certainly have us believe that as a young man Robert II behaved in the manner of a despotic ruler, when he precipitated the execution of a felon whom he had promised the Irish archbishop he would pardon. The resultant curse which St Malachy placed upon the family was still remembered by the Bruses in the time of Robert's great-grandson, Robert the Competitor, who made a grant of lands to provide lights for the altar of St Malachy at Clairvaux in 1273; *Chron. Lanercost*, pp.160-161; Reid, 'The Caput of Annandale', pp.156-159; Macquarrie, pp.76-77.

of Haltwhistle with her.⁶⁴ It was therefore Robert II's second son, William, who inherited Annandale when Robert died in or before 1194, the year in which William makes his first appearance in the pipe rolls, paying scutage on half a knight's fee in Cumberland.⁶⁵ In the following year William took over his father's Jewish debts of £209 and 41 marks owed to Aaron of Lincoln, which were first entered in the pipe roll of 1191. Despite this, Robert de Brus's name continued to be entered in the pipe rolls for several years to come as owing outstanding scutage, apparently on Hartness, which William eventually paid off in 1211.⁶⁶ There was considerable confusion in the pipe rolls during Richard I's reign, over which branch of the Brus family was liable for scutage payments in Hartness, or even if any were charged at all. This situation arose from the ambivalent position of the wapentake of Sadberge, in which Hartness lay, and which the bishop of Durham was in the process of purchasing from the king. The problems caused by this anomaly continued into the following reign and brought the next generation of Bruses into the king's court.⁶⁷

DEPLETED PATRIMONY : ADAM DE BRUS II

Compared with his grandfather, Robert I, who had found favour with Henry I from the outset of his reign, and his uncle, Robert II, who entered the service of the Scottish royal house as a youth, the surviving records of Adam de Brus II suggest that he lived out his life in a less elevated sphere. Despite being his generation's representative of the senior line of the family and holding fifteen knights' fees as a tenant-in-chief of the king of England, he does not figure largely in major political events.⁶⁸ Only one piece of evidence survives to show that he ever attended the king's court. This was on the occasion of the Great Council held at Pipewell abbey in 1189, following Richard I's coronation, when Adam's name appears among the long list of witnesses to the king's confirmatory charter to Fountains, made at nearby

⁶⁴ *Chron. Melrose*, p.48; *RRS*, II, no.574.

⁶⁵ *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, p.122. From subsequent evidence this half fee is known to be Edenhall; see below, pp.134-135.

⁶⁶ *Pipe Roll 3 Richard I*, p.55; *Pipe Roll 7 Richard I*, p.213; *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p.50.

⁶⁷ See below, pp.67-68.

⁶⁸ Adam made no return in the survey of 1166, but in the assessment of 1168 he was judged to hold 15 knights' fees in chief, two more of Chester and one of Fossard. He also held some land in Holderness, perhaps his mother's marriage portion. *EYC*, III, pp.69-70; *Pipe Roll 14 Henry II*, p.90; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp.407, 434; *English, Lords of Holderness*, pp.149-150.

Geddington.⁶⁹ While there may have been other, unrecorded, occasions when Adam was present, his lack of impact is understandable. Adam began his career from a point of considerable disadvantage, being little more than a toddler when his father died. He had grown up under the shadow of the count of Aumale, an association which was hardly likely to find him favour with Henry II when he attained his majority, sometime between 1156 and 1160. The blight laid on the Brus barony by Count William continued even after William's death in 1179 when the Eskdale lands, incorporating the original *caput* of the Brus fief at Danby which the count had somehow retained, escheated to the crown. In exchange Adam was regranted the less prestigious manors of Collingham and Rigton in the West Riding, which had been held by Robert I prior to 1103, together with Bardsey and a grange at Micklethwaite which subsequently involved him in dispute with the monks of Kirkstall Abbey.⁷⁰

Adam II's only appearance in any contemporary chronicle is in that of 'Benedict of Peterborough' where he is listed, along with his uncle, Robert II, as a loyal supporter of Henry II during the rebellion of 1173-74. Although no details are given of the part Adam played, his name is entered alongside three notable northern loyalists (William de Vescy, Odonell de Umfraville and Robert de Stuteville) which suggests that he was part of the force of Yorkshire tenants which relieved Prudhoe from the Scots.⁷¹ Yet his loyalty stood him in little stead when the forest amercements were assessed in 1176. He was fined as much as any Yorkshire baron and more than most, being one of only five, including Robert de Brus II, who were charged at the top rate of £100 in that county.⁷²

Apart from that one mention in 'Benedict', all surviving evidence regarding Adam II is of a financial or administrative nature, purely local, with little outside

⁶⁹ *Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains*, II, ed. J.R. Walbran (SS 67, 1878) pp.8-10.

⁷⁰ *EYC*, II, pp.12-13; *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p.74; *Rot. Chart.*, I, pp. 86b, 101. For relations between Henry II and Earl William, see W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973) p.60.

⁷¹ Benedict of Peterborough, I, p.51n4, 65-66; *Jordan Fantome's Chronicle*, pp.122-127; Roger of Howden, II, p.60.

⁷² *Pipe Roll 22 Henry II*, pp.112-116. Keefe notes that while King Henry 'had sanctioned the use of forest resources by his partisans during the war' the rebels had also exploited them, so that when the king took account of his forests afterwards no distinction was made between rebels and loyalists. Perhaps some of the loyalists, including the Bruses, had been taking too great an advantage of Henry's licence. T.K. Keefe, *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and his Sons* (Berkeley, 1983) pp.127-128.

Yorkshire. He paid his dues, managed his tenants, patronised religious houses, and we can only attempt to read between the lines of the official records to discover what he achieved. Most of the entries from these records have been summarised by Farrer, including Adam's involvement, or that of his men, in the pillage of a Norwegian vessel wrecked on the coast of Cleveland in 1180.⁷³ Adam was assessed for payment of scutage on several occasions, suggesting that he was not one to take up arms unless it was of immediate concern to him. He apparently did not serve or supply knights for Henry II's Welsh and Irish campaigns, nor for Richard I's Welsh campaign of 1190.⁷⁴ As he was not assessed for the Galloway campaign of 1186, which ended at Carlisle with Roland's submission to King Henry, his regional responsibilities evidently required him to participate in that, even as he had joined the Yorkshire contingent against the Scots in 1174.⁷⁵ Towards the end of his life Adam was given quittance for the scutage of 1194; and although charged for the second Normandy scutage in 1196, his son and heir Peter de Brus I was pardoned it. This may have been because he served in his father's place, as there is evidence that Adam was then still alive and Peter's fine for relief was not entered until 1198.⁷⁶

Although Adam II had begun from a position of weakness, he seems to have made good use of what he had and built on it. His marriage to Juetta, daughter and ultimately sole heiress of William de Arches, brought him control of the Arches fee which comprised seven knights' fees in the West Riding, mostly in the Ainsty wapentake, centred on the manor of Thorp Arch and held of the honor of Mowbray.⁷⁷ Despite the assertions of Dugdale, there can be no doubt that Juetta was wife of Adam II, not his father. This is made clear in two grants which Adam II's son, Peter de Brus I, made to the canons of Healaugh Park priory in the Arches fee, in which Peter names his mother as 'Juetta'.⁷⁸ Further evidence is forthcoming in

⁷³ *EYC*, II, pp.12-16.

⁷⁴ *Pipe Roll 11 Henry II*, p.50; *Pipe Roll 18 Henry II*, p.62; *Pipe Roll 2 Richard I*, p.73.

⁷⁵ *Pipe Roll 33 Henry II*, p.90; Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.183-184.

⁷⁶ *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, p.162; *Pipe Roll 8 Richard I*, p.185; *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, p.43.

⁷⁷ In 1086 the Arches estates had been held in chief by William's father, Osbern, but the overlordship was granted to Nigel d'Aubigny by Henry I. (Dalton suggests that William may have been involved in a rebellion against the king.) Juetta had a sister, Matilda, who became a nun and prioress at the family's foundation of Nun Monkton, thus ensuring that the family lands would not be divided on William's death. *EYC*, I, p.415; *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp.1-2; *Mowbray Charters*, pp.xxv, 262; Dalton, *Conquest*, p.90.

⁷⁸ *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.66-67.

connection with Adam II's daughter, Isabel, who was married in the early 1190s to Henry de Percy. In c.1192 Juetta granted seven carucates of land from the Arches fee at Askham [Richard] to 'my daughter' (*filie mee*) Isabel de Brus and her heirs, and confirmed this by a quitclaim before the king's justices in the same words.⁷⁹

Juetta de Arches was twice-married. Her other husband, Roger de Flamville who was a tenant and close companion of Roger de Mowbray, died in about 1169. Adam de Brus II was therefore Juetta's second husband and must have been at least thirty years of age when he married.⁸⁰ But it was not unusual for a young man to remain unmarried until his early thirties, and William of Aumale may have been reluctant to relinquish his hold on the Brus barony sufficiently to allow his ward to establish himself in his own household.⁸¹ There is nothing to suggest that Adam II was unduly influenced by his connection with the Mowbrays. In 1173-74, when they were rebels against Henry II, Adam was among the king's adherents. It is, however, just possible that Adam's marriage to Juetta did not take place until after Roger de Mowbray's defeat in 1174, when the Mowbray lands were temporarily forfeit to the crown.⁸² If wardship of the widowed Juetta had likewise passed to the crown, her marriage to one of the king's supporters could have been a deliberate ploy to lessen Mowbray control over the Arches fee. In which case, the count of Aumale may have had some say in the matter since he too is listed among Henry II's supporters, though a rather half-hearted one. Besides having an interest in the Bruses as Adam II's uncle and guardian, Count William had links with the Arches family through Juetta's aunt, Agnes, who had married successively two important Holderness tenants, Herbert de St Quintin and Robert de Fauconberg.⁸³ It is also noteworthy that the only Mowbray

⁷⁹ *EYC*, I, nos. 548, 549; *EYC*, II, no.668. Farrer interpolates 'grand' before 'daughter' in his abstracts of Juetta's grants.

⁸⁰ In a grant made by Juetta after Adam's death, for the souls of her parents and both her husbands, Roger de Flamville is named first, although Farrer's abstract transposes the names; *EYC*, I, no.555.

⁸¹ Duby; *Chivalrous Society*, p.113.

⁸² *Mowbray Charters*, pp.xxix-xxxi. The marriage could not have been later than 1175 as Adam's son was evidently of age by 1196x1198; *Pipe Roll 8 Richard I*, p.185; *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, p.43.

⁸³ Benedict of Peterborough, I, p.54n4; English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.24, 147-150. Agnes was subsequently married to another Aumale tenant, of the Pontefract fee.

charter included in Greenway's edition to be witnessed by William of Aumale, is that relating to their purchase of the manor of Askham [Richard] from Juetta.⁸⁴

Marriage to such a wealthy widow brought Adam control of an estate which more than compensated for the loss of those lands which Aumale still retained, even though he had no immediate expectations of his own children inheriting the Arches fee. From her first marriage Juetta had two daughters and a son, Hugh, who inherited the one and a half fees which Roger de Flamville had himself held of the Mowbray honor, and appears as an occasional witness to Mowbray charters. Juetta evidently retained the custody of at least one of her daughters. This daughter, Agnes, was granted the town of Kirk Hammerton by her mother on her marriage to a major Brus tenant, William de Percy of Kildale, who had been in Adam's wardship since at least 1170.⁸⁵ The Kildale Percys were a junior branch of that family. Adam de Brus's own daughter, Isabel, was married into the senior line, to Henry, son of the co-heiress Agnes de Percy, from whom were descended the Percy earls of Northumberland.⁸⁶ The marriage of Adam's son and heir, Peter de Brus I, linked the Bruses with another prestigious Yorkshire family. Although little is known of Peter's wife, Joan, her *maritagium* included land and a mill at Knottingley in the Lacy honor of Pontefract which, together with subsequent associations between Peter I and the Lacy lords, is indicative of some familial connection with the future earls of Lincoln, rather than one of their tenants.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ According to this grant, Juetta had sold her interest in the manor of Askham [Richard] to her overlord for 220 marks sometime before 1175x1177, thereby enabling Roger de Mowbray and his son Nigel to grant it to William Tickhill, a wealthy merchant of York, for an annual payment of one mark. Greenway suggests that Tickhill also paid a lump sum for the privilege, money which Roger was seeking to raise for his projected crusade. Juetta must have retained or regained some interest in Askham Richard, the church of which had already been granted by her father to the nunnery of Nun Monkton, because in about 1192 she granted land there to her daughter Isabel de Brus. In 1208 William Tickhill's daughter, Emma, failed to appear in a case against Isabel over 3 carucates of land at Askham Richard. *Mowbray Charters*, pp. xxxix, 248-249; *EYC*, I, nos. 535, 547, 548, 549; *CRR*, v, p. 276.

⁸⁵ *Pedes Finium Ebor, Regnante Johanne, A.D. 1199-1214* (SS 94, 1897) p. 34; *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp. 29-31 (where Roger de Flamville is assumed to be Juetta's second husband).

⁸⁶ *EYC*, II, pp. 24-25; *EYC*, XI, p. 6; *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 71. Agnes de Percy was wife of Jocelin de Louvain, brother of King Henry I's second wife, castellan of Arundel and lord of the honor of Petworth.

⁸⁷ It has been suggested that it was to the Grammary family, who were Lacy tenants in part of Knottingly, that Joan was related, but this seems unlikely; see below, p. 206; *Pontefract Cart.* I, pp. li-iii, 262-265; *Healaugh Cart.*, pp. 151-152, 182; *EYC*, III, pp. 140-141, 186-187, 193-194; W.E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966) pp. 39, 116.

So despite his initial disadvantages, Adam II managed to make family contacts which would sustain the position of the Yorkshire branch of the Brus family as an important part of that close network of northern barons which was held together 'by marriage or tenure'.⁸⁸ He continued his family's commitments to Guisborough and made grants to other religious houses in Yorkshire.⁸⁹ There is evidence that he developed the resources of his barony by subenfeoffments, by making new assarts, by disseising unprofitable tenants, and effectively increased his income by having control of the Arches fee through his wife, unaware that with the premature death of Hugh de Flamville it would eventually become a permanent part of the Brus fee.⁹⁰ All this was not without its price. Like many of his contemporaries Adam borrowed heavily from the Jews. When the debts of Aaron of Lincoln had been sorted out and finally transferred to the exchequer accounts in 1191, Adam was liable for 800 marks, twice as much as his uncle, Robert of Annandale. But he had paid off more than half before his son inherited his debts, together with the barony, in 1196 x 1198. Furthermore, despite his inauspicious beginnings, Adam had rebuilt the family finances sufficiently for Peter I to be able to offer King John £1,000 only two or three years after inheriting, in order to buy back Danby and the forest of Eskdale for himself and his descendants.⁹¹

⁸⁸ English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.153-154.

⁸⁹ See below, appendix 3, nos.11-26.

⁹⁰ *Pipe Roll 31 Henry II*, p.76; *Pipe Roll 33 Henry II*, p.89; *Pipe Roll 3 Richard I*, p.76. See below, pp.69-70 for Peter I's inheritance of the Arches fee.

⁹¹ *Pipe Roll 3 Richard I*, p.22; *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, p.31; *Rot. Ob. et Fin.*, pp.109-110; H.G.Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (London, 1960) pp.115-117.

Chapter Three

LORDS OF SKELTON

The start of the new century, which followed quickly on the start of a new reign in England and gave fresh impetus to King William of Scots' attempts to recover his lost possessions south of the Border, was also a time of new beginnings for both branches of the Brus family. Each was headed by a comparatively recent inheritor who suffered from the disadvantage of succeeding a long-lived father, in whose time the status of the family had declined from its auspicious beginnings under Robert de Brus I. When William de Brus succeeded his father in about 1194, Robert II had been in possession of Annandale for a little over fifty years; while by the time Peter I inherited the Yorkshire barony, Adam II had held it for nearly fifty-five years, of which at least fourteen had been spent in wardship. Both Robert II and Adam II left debts for their sons to repay, not least those originating from Jewish money-lenders. Both left a reduced legacy of lands. Some of Adam II's had escheated to the crown, while Robert II's Hartness estates, being in the wapentake of Sadberge, were currently the subject of a wrangle between the king and the bishop of Durham. Furthermore, by the end of the twelfth century, in addition to coping with rapid inflation and rising prices, England was having to bear a burden of higher taxation laid upon it by the crown. According to Holt, this hit the northern barons particularly hard, because they had been used to comparatively little interference from central government in their affairs prior to the rebellion of 1173-74.¹ And although in these respects the Bruses of Annandale had an advantage over the Yorkshire branch, inflation and taxation having less impact in Scotland, something of William the Lion's financial commitments to the king of England must have had repercussions on his tenants as he endeavoured to raise his ransom from them.²

Despite the fact that William de Brus of Annandale and Peter I of Skelton inherited their lands within three or four years of each other, it is likely that there was a considerable difference in their ages. Although William was a younger son of

¹ Holt, *Northerners*, p.201.

² Barrow, *RRS*, II, p.15; A.A.M. Duncan, 'John King of England and the Kings of Scots', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S.D.Church (Woodbridge, 1999) p.250.

Robert II, his father had married by 1150 and his elder brother in 1183, so it is likely that he was close to forty by the time he inherited. He was certainly married, as his own heir was of age by 1211.³ Peter I, on the contrary, could not have been born before 1170 and would therefore have been only in his twenties when his father died,⁴ a circumstance which may account for the apparent enthusiasm with which he plunged into financial speculation to recover and extend his holdings, compared with William's more seemingly cautious approach. Yet both men, in their differing ways, laid the foundations for a resurgence of the Brus prestige in their respective regions.

It might well have turned out otherwise for the Yorkshire branch. Peter I's rapid accumulation of debts and subsequent involvement in rebellion against King John, could easily have been its downfall. But he survived the turmoil, having set an example which his son and grandson followed. All three of them steadily increased the family's lands and status by purchase and judicious marriage alliances; all played their part in regional, and sometimes national, politics and administration; two of them served as justices, and one as castellan of the royal castle of Scarborough. For three generations, throughout the reigns of King John and Henry III, a Peter de Brus was numbered among the foremost of the northern barons, until in 1272 the death of the childless Peter III led to the barony being divided between his four surviving sisters.⁵

NORTHERN REBEL: PETER DE BRUS I

Peter de Brus I inherited the barony of Skelton sometime between 1196 and 1198, evidence regarding the date of his father's death being somewhat unclear. Although Peter I, as heir of Adam II, was remitted his father's scutage in 1196, he was not charged relief on his inheritance until 1198.⁶ There is also, in the Guisborough cartulary, the record of a case being settled in the courts of Adam de Brus and the sheriff of Yorkshire in 1197.⁷ Furthermore, Adam was still held liable for his Jewish debts in 1197; only in 1198 is his name crossed through and amended to 'Peter'.⁸ It

³ *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p.156.

⁴ See above, p.60.

⁵ See below, pp.83-84.

⁶ *Pipe Roll 8 Richard I*, p.185; *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, p.43.

⁷ *GC*, I, no.482.

⁸ *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, p.46; *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, p.31.

seems, therefore, that it was in 1198 that Peter actually inherited. By Michaelmas of that year he had already managed to pay off 260 of the 500 marks he was charged for his relief, as well as another £145 6s 8d, in three instalments, towards the debts of Aaron.⁹ The earlier pardon on his father's scutage may have been granted because he himself had served in Normandy instead, and likewise in the following year when neither of them were charged.

In whichever year Peter I inherited, it was not long before the change of monarch gave him opportunity to put plans into effect for the revival of the family fortunes. It was an activity into which he plunged wholeheartedly, giving little apparent thought to the future reckoning he would have to make, and lacking perhaps the foresight, or the guile, to comprehend King John's deviousness and desperation when in financial or political straits. It was undoubtedly such lack of foresight which brought Peter into heavy debt and may have been a contributory cause of his rebellion in 1214-16, compounded by his disillusionment with a king whom he had initially served faithfully. In the first flush of the new reign, Peter was in the forefront of John's followers, and his name appears among those of influential northern barons such as Roger de Lacy, Eustace de Vescy and Robert de Ros.¹⁰ Moreover, Peter was not only among the large contingent of barons which accompanied John on his return to Normandy after his coronation in 1199, but was included among such magnates as William Marshal and the earl of Chester as one of the guarantors to the king's treaties with the counts of Flanders and Boulogne in August of that year.¹¹

With John's return to England and tour of the North the following year, coupled with the king's desperate need for money, Peter I was given his first chance to carry forward his plans of rejuvenating the Skelton barony by buying back the vill and forest of Danby, which had been in the hands of the crown since the death of the count of Aumale in 1179. While this reacquisition was only the first of many deals Peter made, it was the largest, costing him £1,000 and the relinquishment of the manors of Bardsey, Collingham and Rigton, which had been granted to his father in

⁹ *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, pp.31, 43, 171.

¹⁰ *Rot. Chart.*, pp.30b, 86b, 120, 155, 174, 179.

¹¹ *Rot. Chart.*, pp.30-31; *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France AD 918-1206*, ed. J.H.Round (London, 1899) no.1363; S.Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949) p.16.

lieu of Danby.¹² It has not escaped the notice of previous commentators on Peter's financial deals that, whereas in 1179 those three manors were reckoned the equal of Danby, by 1200 it was worth a large additional sum, not entirely accounted for by the value of its iron-workings. Reading between the lines of the carefully worded agreement, Vine detects enormous eagerness on the part of Peter, an eagerness exploited by the king for his own financial gain. Painter, however, suggests that the initiative came rather from John, and 'the fact that Peter issued a charter stating that John accepted the arrangement because of Peter's extreme desire for it', causes him to suspect 'it was not voluntary'.¹³ It was undoubtedly a little of both. King John, with his talent for spotting every administrative detail that would work to his advantage, is sure to have appreciated the psychological importance of Danby to the Bruses as the site of their original *caput*, and recognised it as an area in which pressure could easily be applied on a not unwilling Peter. In fairness to King John, it should be pointed out that in 1203 he allowed Peter a reduction of £400 out of the surplus from the farm of Marlborough, to which the debt had been allocated.¹⁴

After the loss of Normandy, Peter de Brus was again ready with his money, offering fines to ensure that his barony did not suffer the loss of those lands which had been held by tenants who had defected to France. In 1204 he offered 200 marks and two palfreys to have seisin of the manors of Carlton and Camblesforth, which had been held of the Brus fee by the Paynels. In 1205 he offered 25 marks and one palfrey to have seisin of Loftus, which had been held of the Chester fee, sub-infeudated to William de Saucey, and confiscated when he opted to remain in Normandy.¹⁵ At the same time Peter was prepared to speculate with another major investment and offered 1300 marks, including a down payment of 300 marks, against the debts of William Briwerre in exchange for the wardship and marriage of Roger Bertram, heir of William Bertram of Mitford.¹⁶ William Briwerre, who as a favourite of King John aroused much resentment among the barons, had acquired

¹² *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p.74; *Pipe Roll 3 John*, p.159; *Rot. Ob. et Fin.*, pp.109-110; *Rot. Chart.*, pp.86b, 101.

¹³ Holt, *Northerners*, pp.180-181; Vine, 'Two Yorkshire Rebels', p.71; Painter, *King John*, p.221.

¹⁴ *Pipe Roll 5 John*, pp.161, 163.

¹⁵ *Pipe Roll 6 John*, p.188; *Pipe Roll 7 John*, p.60; *Rot. Ob. et Fin.*, pp.216, 323, 340, 368; *EYC*, vi, pp.59-60.

¹⁶ *Pipe Roll 7 John*, pp.23, 117, 228-229; *Pipe Roll 8 John*, p.208; *Rot. Chart.*, p.161; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, pp.62, 66b, 70; *Rot. Ob. et Fin.*, p.341.

five such wardships in 1200, including that of William de Percy, son of Henry de Percy and Peter de Brus's sister, Isabel.¹⁷ It is not immediately apparent why Peter should be prepared to pay so much for wardship of Roger Bertram rather than that of his nephew, but perhaps the latter was not for sale. There was, moreover, some shared interest between the Bertrams and the Bruses. Although the Bertram fief was centred on Mitford in Northumberland, it included the manor of Greatham in the wapentake of Sadberge, adjacent to the Brus manors in Hartness, which may have had some attraction for Peter.¹⁸

The region of Hartness itself, and specifically the manors of Hart, Stranton and Hartlepool which had not been subenfeoffed by the Bruses or passed to other tenants-in-chief,¹⁹ was the subject of litigation between Peter I and William de Brus of Annandale at the very beginning of John's reign. It was Peter who initiated the case, which was already under way in the spring of 1200, in what seems to be an attempt to re-establish his position *vis à vis* the Scottish Bruses in that region, following the transfer of the wapentake of Sadberge to the bishop of Durham, who had purchased it from King Richard in 1189.²⁰ Peter's action may have been precipitated by a reduction in the recognised service from five knights' fees to two, and the subsequent discrepancies in levy which fell more heavily on him. Although it is not entirely clear from the pipe rolls, in which the charge is entered under Yorkshire, scutage and aid seems to have been required for Hartness at the rate of five fees during the time of Henry II and intermittently through the reign of Richard I. Moreover, it was sometimes the Scottish, sometimes the English branch which was held liable. It is particularly notable between 1192 and 1194, when Bishop Hugh du Puiset was holding Sadberge, that Robert de Brus II is said to 'hold nothing in the county' [of Yorks i.e. Sadberge] of the king.²¹ Yet in January 1195, when Richard I regranted the wapentake to the bishop of Durham after an interval during which Sadberge had been repossessed by the crown, his charter specifies the service due from the Bruses in Hartness as being only *two* fees, a figure which is first entered in the pipe roll for

¹⁷ *Rot. Chart.*, p.48; *EYC*, xi, pp.6-7; Painter, *Reign of King John*, p.76-77.

¹⁸ *BF*, p.26; *VCH: Durham*, 3, p.243.

¹⁹ See below, pp.122-123 for details.

²⁰ *Rot. Curiae Regis*, ii, p.178; Roger of Howden, iii, pp.13-15.

²¹ *Pipe Roll 14 Henry II*, p.90; *Pipe Roll 18 Henry II*, p.62; *Pipe Roll 2 Richard I*, p.73; *Pipe Roll 3 Richard I*, p.73; *Pipe Roll 4 Richard I*, p.218; *Pipe Roll 5 Richard I*, p.66; *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, pp.154, 162; *Pipe Roll 7 Richard I*, p.85; *Pipe Roll 8 Richard I*, p.96, 168, 174, 185.

1197 under *Northumberland*. Furthermore, it is *William* de Brus and his heirs who are named as owing the service. It was also William who paid twenty marks in scutage and a fine to avoid service overseas in 1196, when the wapentake was again in the hands of the crown after the death of Bishop Hugh.²² There is no reference at all to the Yorkshire Bruses, although they had undoubtedly been recognised previously as the tenants-in-chief, both because the fee was occasionally named as theirs in the pipe rolls, and because it was Adam II who granted the first charter of liberties to the burgesses of Hartlepool.²³ The Yorkshire Bruses were clearly losing out; and in 1199, when they were threatened with paying scutage on *five* fees which were 'of the fee of Robert de Brus', something clearly had to be done.²⁴

It was now that Peter initiated his action in the king's court. At first the bishop of Durham, who clearly regarded William de Brus as his immediate tenant, refused to allow William to attend the court hearing in 1200, threatening the sheriff with excommunication when he attempted to serve the writ of summons.²⁵ When the case eventually went ahead, it resulted in Peter quitclaiming the lands in Hartness to William and his heirs, which they in turn would hold of the Yorkshire Bruses for the service of two fees, for which privilege William paid Peter 200 marks.²⁶ The case was then further prolonged into 1201 because the bishop insisted that it also be heard in his court. The outcome of this is not known, but must have ratified the decision of the king's court, because in the pipe roll of 1201 the offending fee for 1199 had been transferred to William's name, and from 1202 no new charges for scutage were laid on either of the Bruses in respect of the Hartness lands.²⁷ These were now established in law as being held by the Scottish Bruses of the Yorkshire branch, which held them of the bishops of Durham, not the crown. This situation was still recognised at the death of Peter de Brus III in 1272, but aroused further controversy

²² *Northumberland and Durham Deeds* (Newcastle upon Tyne Record Committee Publications 7, 1929), pp.253-254; *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, p.12; J.T.Appleby, *England without Richard 1189-1199* (London, 1965) pp.142-143, 171-172, 186, 220-221. The reduction from five fees to two may have been occasioned by the loss of some manors which the Bruses originally held in Hartness. Seaton Carew had passed to the Carew family and was held for one fee. Dalton Percy had passed to the Balliols and thence to the Percys by marriage. Castle Eden was outside the district of Hartness. Together these may account for the difference of three fees.

²³ *CChR*, v, p.370.

²⁴ *Pipe Roll 1 John*, p.55. This charge was entered provisionally in the name of the deceased Adam II.

²⁵ *Rot. Curiae Regis*, I, p.178

²⁶ *Feet of Fines, Northumberland and Durham* (Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee publication 10, 1931) pp.3, 114.

²⁷ *CRR*, I, p.464; *Pipe Roll 3 John*, p.150.

between the king and bishop after the forfeiture of King Robert I's English lands in 1306, ultimately resulting in the loss of Hartness to the Brus heirs.²⁸

In addition to his action against William over Hartness, Peter de Brus I was concerned with defending his rights in several other court cases, a not unusual situation for a typical baron whom Holt describes as an 'habitual litigant'.²⁹ In 1204, for example, Peter's half-sister, Agnes de Percy (née Flamville), was compelled to bring a case against him to obtain her dower of one third of the lands in Crathon and Badelsby which her husband had held of Peter.³⁰ And although it was the count of Aumale, as Peter's overlord in Holderness, who distrained the St. Quintins for their failure to pay due service to Peter as the mesne lord, thus obliging them to seek redress through the king's court, it was presumably Peter's own complaint which had prompted the earl's action.³¹

Peter's most revealing case, however, was undoubtedly that relating to his mother's seven fees in the honor of Mowbray, which he inherited so narrowly by the (un)timely death of his elder half-brother Hugh de Flamville. In 1212 Hugh's widow, Matilda de Conyers, claimed dower of a third of land in almost all the manors of the Arches fee against Peter de Brus, saying that her husband 'had endowed her on marriage with a third of all that could fall to him in inheritance and that the lands had afterwards descended to him'. Peter replied, by attorney, that 'Hugh was never seised, either at his marriage or afterwards'. The case was postponed, and must eventually have been decided in Peter's favour since he retained the whole fee.³² This suggests that Hugh, as elder son of Juetta de Arches, had indeed expected to inherit his mother's lands but had died either before her, or so soon after that he had not taken seisin of them. Both Hugh and his mother were still alive in 1209 when Peter de Brus made a fine of three palfreys to reach agreement with Hugh, and Juetta was named as liable for the aid levied from the Mowbray tenants.³³ Since she and Hugh were both dead by 1212 and Peter was able to refute

²⁸ *VCH: Durham*, III, pp.256-257. In 1279 (*CIPM*, II, p.189) Hartness is inexplicably entered as *one* fee, although in other records it continues to be assessed as two; e.g. *BF*, p.25; *CIPM*, VIII, p.384.

²⁹ Holt, *Northerners*, p.18.

³⁰ *CRR*, III, p.246.

³¹ *CRR*, IV, p.220. The St Quintins' case was that they held of Alice de Stuteville, who should have acquitted them of the service.

³² *CRR*, VI, pp.345-346; *Early Yorkshire Families*, p.30 (where Roger de Flamville is assumed to be Juetta's second husband, and Hugh therefore her *younger* son).

³³ *Pipe Roll 11 John*, pp.123, 131; Painter, *Reign of King John*, p.30.

Hugh's widow's claim, their deaths must have occurred within a matter of months of each other. Peter's inheritance of the Arches fee was evidently a close-run race. Having won it, he was suitably faithful to his mother's memory, making and confirming grants to her favoured religious foundation at Healaugh Park.³⁴

Throughout these early years, Peter de Brus seems, so far as was possible with such a king, to have been in favour with John. He was frequently present at John's court and witnessed at least thirteen of his charters between 1199 and 1213, mostly but not entirely in the North.³⁵ Until 1214 Peter regularly fulfilled his military obligations both at home and abroad, and received numerous favours (or bribes for his continued loyalty) from the king in the form of reduction of his debts.³⁶ Despite his close association with Eustace de Vescy, there is no suggestion that Peter was party to the plot against King John in 1212. Quite the opposite. He was associated with the king's favourites, William Briwerre and Philip de Ulecotes, as one of eight witnesses to a confirmation grant which John made to Finchale priory when he was at Durham in September, investigating the conspiracy, followed by one to Fountains as the king returned south in November.³⁷ Peter was also among those northern barons, many of them subsequently rebels, who met the king when he came north again in 1213.³⁸

That year seems to have been the turning-point for Peter de Brus, as for so many other barons. In the spring he was among the army assembled on Barham Down in Kent, which was kept inactive for six weeks while waiting for invasion, a sure breeding-ground for discontent and comparison of grievances among an increasingly restive baronage.³⁹ With the majority of his fellow Northerners, Peter refused to serve a second time in 1213; and in the following year he was one of the six Yorkshire barons who neither accompanied the king to Poitou nor paid scutage for the expedition, although there is no record that he was distrained for his refusal as

³⁴ *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.66-67, 151-152.

³⁵ *Rot. Chart.*, pp.41-42, 86b, 119-120, 155, 174, 179b, 181b, 190; *Cartae Antiquae Rolls* (PRS n.s.17, 1939) no.279; *EYC*, IX, p.126; *GC*, II, no.750; *Finchale Charters*, no.53; *Fountains Cart.*, I, no.73.

³⁶ *Pipe Roll 4 John*, p.50; *Pipe Roll 5 John*, p.163; *Pipe Roll 10 John*, p.149; *Pipe Roll 11 John*, p.122; *Pipe Roll 12 John*, p.151; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, pp.22, 38b; Holt, *Northerners*, p.150.

³⁷ *Finchale Charters*, no.53; *Fountains Cart.*, I, no.73; Painter, *Reign of King John*, pp.267-272; Holt, *Northerners*, pp.81-83.

³⁸ *Rot. Chart.*, p.190; Holt, *Northerners*, pp.84-85.

³⁹ *Praestita Roll 14-18 John*, ed. J.C. Holt (PRS n.s. 37, 1961) p.96; Holt, *Northerners*, p.88.

others were. While these initial rebels included such prominent northern barons as Eustace de Vescy, William de Mowbray and Richard de Percy, there were many others who, despite their grievances, refrained from rebellion for another year and actually sailed with the king in 1214. Among them were several of Peter de Brus's associates such as John de Lacy, Nicholas de Stuteville and John fitz Robert; while Robert de Ros, with whom Peter had once shared the purchase of some of the king's surplus wine, sent his son, a course probably not open to Peter I as Peter II may still have been too young to serve.⁴⁰ Indeed, there is no more reason to suggest that those who rebelled as early as 1214 had any greater influence with Peter de Brus than those who did not. Although de Vescy was among Peter's guarantors for his purchase of Danby, so were Robert de Ros and the fathers of Nicholas de Stuteville and John fitz Robert. All were members of the same baronial circle.⁴¹

What then caused Peter to rebel? Was it simply that he was caught up in the general situation created by his fellow Northerners, or was it, as has been suggested, an accumulation of his financial problems?⁴² He certainly had amassed debts in pursuit of the enhancement of his barony and, as for many other barons, it must have come as a shock to him when they were consolidated in 1208, showing that he owed a total of £1,235, five palfreys and two hunting-dogs which he was suddenly compelled to pay off at a higher annual rate than previously.⁴³ The obligation to find £400 per annum may have driven him to borrow elsewhere. Until then he had rarely paid more than £50 a year and sometimes nothing at all. On only two occasions since the year of his inheritance had he exceeded £200. One of these was in 1201, when he paid £300 towards his fine for Danby, undoubtedly assisted by William de Brus's payment for Hartness in that year.⁴⁴ Peter paid off all the debts by 1211, much more quickly than was surely possible out of his income, and after 1208 had ceased to make such extravagant offers, his only subsequent ones being made in the form of

⁴⁰ *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p.29; *Pipe Roll 3 Henry III*, p.206; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1, pp. 166, 200-201; Painter, *Reign of King John*, pp.212-214, 278-280; Holt, *Northerners*, pp.18-19, 88-89, 98-100; S.K.Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation Under John and Henry III* (London, 1914) pp.109-116.

⁴¹ *Pipe Roll 3 John*, p.159; *Rot. Ob. et Fin.*, pp.109-110; *Rot. Chart.*, pp.86b, 101; Holt, *Northerners*, p.77.

⁴² D.A.Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, (Berkeley, Cal., 1990) p.6; Holt, *Northerners*, p.34; R.V.Turner, *King John* (London, 1994) pp.218-219.

⁴³ *Pipe Roll 10 John*, p.143.

⁴⁴ *Pipe Roll 3 John*, p.159; *Pipe Roll 9 John*, p.67; *Feet of Fines, Northumberland and Durham*, pp.3, 114.

palfreys or hunting-dogs.⁴⁵ He still, however, seems to have been dealt with favourably by the king, having quittance of £200 in 1208, of a large forest plea in 1209 and a further £100 in 1210.⁴⁶ Indeed, Peter's financial burdens, though heavy, were by no means so severe as those of many of the greater barons; nor does he seem to have been so unfairly treated as some, such as William de Mowbray, Nicholas de Stuteville or Richard de Percy, could rightly claim.⁴⁷ It is therefore difficult to say how much of Peter's stand was due to his own grievances against the king, his thwarted ambitions, or a demonstration of solidarity with his close associates. There may well have been a large degree of 'peer pressure' within the closely-knit fellowship of northern barons, which encouraged Peter to strive for prestige as a leader among them, especially as his Cleveland barony was at the heart of the most disaffected region of the North.⁴⁸

Within this region Peter de Brus had by now attained a position of greater influence than either his father or grandfather, by purchasing the farm of the wapentake of Langbaugh. This purchase was Peter de Brus's most politically significant acquisition. The wapentake of Langbaugh encompassed the whole district of Cleveland in which the Bruses were the largest, though not the only nor even the most influential, tenants-in-chief.⁴⁹ The wapentake took its name from a long ridge of moorland in the manor of Great Ayton, adjacent to the Brus manors of Nunthorpe and Newton Ornbark, which was used as a meeting-place.⁵⁰ The farm of the wapentake, which became hereditary in the Brus family, had been in the hands of the crown until 1207, when Peter bought it for 400 marks and the ancient rent of 10 marks blanche plus 20 marks increment.⁵¹ Although Peter would have expected to gain financially by his purchase, it also undoubtedly increased his influence within the region, and furthermore gave rise to an unusual document, preserved in the Guisborough Cartulary, which is known as the Langbaugh charter.⁵² This

⁴⁵ *Pipe Roll 11 John*, p.123; *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p.29.

⁴⁶ *Pipe Roll 10 John*, p.149; *Pipe Roll 11 John*, p.122; *Pipe Roll 12 John*, p.151.

⁴⁷ Holt, *Northerners*, pp. 172-173; Painter, *Reign of King John*, pp.220-222, 256-257; Vine, 'Two Yorkshire Rebels', pp.74, 76-78.

⁴⁸ Holt, *Northerners*, pp.31-32.

⁴⁹ See above, p.28.

⁵⁰ *VCH: Yorkshire, North Riding*, II, pp.217, 219, 226; A.H. Smith, *Place-names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (English Place-names Society 5, Cambridge, 1928) pp.128, 165.

⁵¹ *Pipe Roll 9 John*, p.70. The farm compounded to 40 marks because the 10 marks were accounted blanche; Holt, *Magna Carta*, p.70n.80.

⁵² *GC*, I, no.213; Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp.67-68.

document, which has been seen as a prefiguration of Magna Carta,⁵³ was drawn up sometime between 1207, when Peter acquired the wapentake, and Michaelmas 1209, when Robert Walensis, one of the witnesses, ceased to hold office as deputy sheriff of Yorkshire.⁵⁴ It is, in effect, an agreement between Peter and his Cleveland tenants within the wapentake, by which he granted them certain liberties and assurances in exchange for their financial support in making up any shortfall in the annual farm he owed the king. The granting of similar liberties was not, in itself, a new idea. Other communities, especially boroughs, had purchased concessions and liberties from their lord or king for several decades. Peter's father, Adam II had granted a charter of liberties to the burgesses of Hartlepool which had recently been ratified by King John. There is also ample evidence that the need for corporate responsibility in management of local affairs was already recognised among groups of knights and tenants.⁵⁵ The Langbaugh charter may not, of course, be so unique as it appears but only the sole survivor of a type. It is, however, unusual for being drawn up at a county court and witnessed by the sheriff of Yorkshire, Roger de Lacy, his deputy, and magnates such as Robert de Ros and Eustace de Vescy who had no direct interest in it.⁵⁶ This raises the charter from the level of a personal agreement made between tenants and their lord to one of wider significance, and parallels have been drawn between some of its clauses and those of both Henry I's Coronation Charter and King John's Great Charter.⁵⁷ It is also of interest for the evidence it supplies, that ideals which would later be embodied in Magna Carta were already current among barons in the North some eight years earlier. In addition, it has been noted that almost all the witnesses to the Langbaugh charter would be among the rebels of 1215, and two of them members of the committee of twenty-five.⁵⁸

⁵³ GC, I, p.92n.3; Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp.67-70; Thomas, *Vassals*, pp.204-206; Vine, 'Two Yorkshire Rebels', p.73.

⁵⁴ Holt, *Magna Carta*, p.67n.76; *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to AD 1831* (PRO Lists and Indexes, 9, London, 1898, 1963 reprint) p.161.

⁵⁵ Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp.57-59, 70-72, 518-522.

⁵⁶ The remaining witnesses were Walter de Fauconberg, Roald constable of Richmond, Walter of Boynton (Bovington) treasurer of St Mary's York, Brian son of Alan, John de Birkin and William son of Ranulf, who was later constable of Pickering castle, which he was ordered to surrender in 1214. None of them are known to have been Brus tenants although some held land in Langbaugh wapentake; Thomas, *Vassals*, pp.204-205.

⁵⁷ Holt, 'The Barons and the Great Charter', pp.22-23.

⁵⁸ Holt, *Magna Carta*, p.68.

This has led Thomas to advance the hypothesis that the charter was drawn up as a kind of manifesto illustrative of good government, a vehicle by which 'some of the ideals of opponents to royal government could be openly publicized'.⁵⁹ His argument is not wholly convincing. It would be possible to make a case for almost any group of Yorkshire attestors in that era as being in some way implicated in future rebellion; and if the charter were drawn up in the county court, it was natural for the sheriff and his deputy to be among the witnesses. That Eustace de Vescy and Robert de Ros were high in the list, is simply a reflection of the circle in which Peter de Brus moved. They had both been prepared to act as pledges for his purchase of Danby;⁶⁰ they were similarly prepared to attest to his charter of faith with his tenants.

Whether it was the tenants or Peter himself who initiated the agreement cannot be ascertained. Both were set to benefit from it. Holt goes so far as to suggest that the purchase of the wapentake was a combined operation on the part of Peter de Brus and his tenants to 'get control of local government on terms agreed among themselves', whereby the local knights would, in effect, underwrite their lord's proffer to the king.⁶¹ But this presupposes that the agreement was made at the time of the purchase in 1207, whereas it could have been made at any time before Michaelmas 1209. Despite Holt's reservation that the agreement was made too soon after Peter's purchase of the wapentake for it to be the result of grievances against him, there was surely ample time for Peter de Brus, alarmed by the Exchequer's clamp-down of 1208, to have begun abusing his position in the wapentake by levying exceptionally heavy fines from his tenants in order to supplement his income and pay off his debts. That the charter was drawn up in the county court rather than in the lord's court may indicate a lack of trust in their lord's goodwill, and suggests that the tenants were in a position to put pressure on Peter because of his financial burdens. Indeed, in his own lesser way, Peter can be seen to be as grasping and as jealous of his rights and dues as was King John. If so, it is perhaps little wonder that his tenants ensured the safety of the charter by depositing it with the prior of Guisborough.

⁵⁹ Thomas, *Vassals*, p.206.

⁶⁰ *Pipe roll 3 John*, p.159.

⁶¹ Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp.69-70. In his earlier article, Holt concedes that while Peter may have made the grant at the demand of his tenants, because they were able to exert financial pressure on him, 'this scarcely affects its significance'; Holt, 'The Barons and the Great Charter', p.22.

Despite having had the experience of drawing-up and granting such a charter of liberties, there is no suggestion that Peter de Brus was at all involved in the negotiations leading up to Magna Carta, or that he had greater experience than other barons in such constitutional matters. Nor was he one of the twenty-five barons subsequently appointed to oversee its implementation, an omission which might well have rankled with him, as four out of the six initial Yorkshire rebels were included.⁶² Peter may well have been further disillusioned by the ease with which King John abrogated Magna Carta, while Peter himself had apparently upheld the charter he granted his tenants. Although this would not explain why Peter had stood out in 1214, it could account for the hardening of his attitude in 1216 when he entered into open rebellion.

By 1216 there is no doubt that Peter de Brus was in the forefront of the rebels, firmly linked with Robert de Ros in holding out against King John, despite several summonses and the mediation of the prior of Guisborough. He avoided capture in February by fleeing his castle of Skelton before it was taken by the king, and was involved in negotiations in May when delegates from the rebels met the king at Dover shortly before Louis of France landed.⁶³ Whether Peter de Brus himself went south to pay homage to Louis is unrecorded; nor is it known if he was among those who paid it to Alexander II, as his associates Eustace de Vescy, Robert de Ros and some of the Yorkshire barons are said to have done.⁶⁴ A more singular omission from the records is any evidence regarding Peter's return to the king's peace after the death of John, and the restoration of his castle of Skelton. The submission of most other prominent northern rebels can be traced in the Close or Patent Rolls, together with the restoration of their lands and the vicissitudes which some of them, like Roger Bertram and Richard de Percy, suffered before they finally recovered them.⁶⁵ Similarly, there is nothing to indicate whether Peter took part in the battle of Lincoln, alongside William de Mowbray and Nicholas de Stuteville and other of his former associates who were taken prisoner there.⁶⁶ In fact, after the spring of 1216, Peter de Brus I virtually disappears from the records until 1219 when, in the first pipe roll of

⁶² Holt, *Northerners*, pp.109-110.

⁶³ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, pp.165, 165b, 167, 176, 180; Holt, *Northerners*, p.136.

⁶⁴ *Chron. Melrose*, pp.61-62; Holt, *Northerners*, pp.131-132, 138.

⁶⁵ Holt, *Northerners*, pp.141-142, 243-244.

⁶⁶ Paris, *CM*, III, pp.22-23.

Henry III to include a return for Yorkshire, his obligations are listed exactly as before the war, even down to the palfreys and greyhounds, with an additional charge for the unpaid scutage of 1214.⁶⁷ By this time, therefore, Peter I clearly had returned to the king's peace.

Peter I lived long enough to demonstrate his loyalty to the new regime in February 1221, when along with most former rebels of Yorkshire, he received and answered the royal summons to besiege the count of Aumale's castle of Skipsea.⁶⁸ A year later, in February 1222, his whole estate, including outstanding debts, passed without problem to his heir, Peter II.⁶⁹ For the Bruses at least, the *status quo* had been restored.

AFTERMATH

As with so many other barons, it was King John's death that saved Peter de Brus I. Without that, it is unlikely that he would so easily have surmounted the consequences of his rebellion and would have been left, at the very least, with enormous fines which would have financially crippled him and his heirs for several generations. As it was, he was able to hand the barony on to his eldest son in a healthier state than he had received it, firmly consolidated, its influence enhanced; and although we do not know what debts were owing to money-lenders, the estate was certainly less encumbered at the Exchequer than it had been at the death of Adam II. Thanks to the efforts of his father and the other barons, Peter II was also spared a heavy fine for his relief, paying only the £100 prescribed in clause 2 of Magna Carta, less than a third of the 500 marks his father had been charged some twenty-five years earlier.⁷⁰ Not only did Peter II inherit his father's extended barony, with the addition of the seven Arches fees in the honor of Mowbray, but also his position of respect within the local government of Yorkshire. With the payment of an additional fine of 40 marks he was able to succeed to the hereditary farm of the Langbaugh wapentake and was soon serving as a justice.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *Pipe Roll 3 Henry III*, pp.61, 185, 187, 191, 204, 206. Peter de Brus does, however, get a mention in *Pipe Roll 2 Henry III*, p.47 under London and Middlesex, regarding a pledge of 10 marks which he had given.

⁶⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.474b; *Pipe Roll 5 Henry III*, p.138. For an account of the summonses prompted by the count of Aumale's rebellion see Mitchell, *Taxation*, pp.136-140. It is, of course, possible that Peter I did not answer in person and Peter II went in his place.

⁶⁹ *Excerpta è Rotulis Finium*, ed. C.Roberts (London, 1835-6), I, p.80; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.487.

⁷⁰ *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, pp.31, 43; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.487; Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp.450-451.

⁷¹ *PR 1216-25*, p.450; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.487; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II, p.151b.

Yet the aftermath of the rebellion must have impinged upon Peter II, not least because he was married, before his father's death, to Hawise, a sister of William of Lancaster. William was heir to the barony of Ken(t)dale (later included in the county of Westmorland) and lands in north Lancashire through his mother, whose patronym he took; and he himself married an Agnes de Brus, possibly Peter II's sister, so the families were doubly connected. Both William and his father, Gilbert fitz Reinfrey sheriff of Lancashire, were prominent rebels against King John, and William had been taken prisoner after the siege of Rochester. When Gilbert returned to the king's peace in January 1216 he suffered punitive punishment, including a fine of 12,000 marks to be repaid at an enormous 2,000 marks p.a. which, after John's death, Gilbert asked to be reduced to 300 marks. When Gilbert himself died in 1220, William was so impoverished by the outstanding fines that he was destitute of horses and equipment, and unable to travel to the king in London. Having been allowed to defer his homage until Henry III came north to York, William was then compelled to find pledges, one of whom was Peter de Brus I, for the payment of his £100 inheritance fine.⁷² In spite of his impoverished state, William was of sufficient standing to witness the marriage agreement between Henry III and Alexander II, though Peter de Brus did not, even if he was actually present at York.⁷³

Peter I was still alive in the following June, when the arranged marriage between Alexander and Henry's sister was solemnised, and was therefore among the barons of Yorkshire summoned to escort Alexander across the county.⁷⁴ If his age and health permitted him to answer the summons, Peter would have found himself in the company of his kinsman, Robert IV of Annandale, who travelled with the king of Scots to York. There they would have witnessed together a ceremony symbolic of the coming seventy years of comparative peace between the two countries, before the onset of that bitter enmity which would divorce the Bruses of Annandale from their English past.⁷⁵

Compared with his father and his son, Peter de Brus II appears to have played a less prominent rôle in politics, symptomatic perhaps of the age in which he lived,

⁷² Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, p.197; Holt, *Northerners*, pp.31, 137, 228; J.Nicolson and R.Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, I, pp.32-34.

⁷³ CDS, I, no.761.

⁷⁴ CDS, I, no.803.

⁷⁵ CDS, I, no.808.

when national affairs impinged less on the barons of the northern shires. He obeyed a summons in 1224 against the rebellious Falkes de Bréauté at Bedford and witnessed the assessment for the expedition's aid, taking the opportunity at the same time to deliver four hunting-dogs to the king in part payment of his father's debts.⁷⁶ In 1230 he was quit of scutage and served with Henry in Poitou.⁷⁷ Otherwise most records concerning him relate to his more localised activities, serving as a justice in Yorkshire and justice of the forest,⁷⁸ entering into prolonged litigation with the prior of Guisborough and the abbot of Byland,⁷⁹ and taking on the bishop of Durham over rights of wreck on the Hartness coast during the minority of Robert de Brus V of Annandale.⁸⁰

Peter de Brus II fathered at least two sons and five daughters. In 1237 he arranged with Peter de Maulay, the former royal official and favourite of King John, for marriages between their eldest respective sons and daughters, whereby Peter de Brus III married Hillaria de Maulay while Johanna de Brus married Peter de Maulay II. The arrangement received royal assent when King Henry came north to York in September of that year, for his meeting with the king of Scots which resulted in the treaty of York and fixed the Anglo-Scottish Border.⁸¹ Peter de Maulay had acquired lands in the North Riding through marriage to the heiress of the Fossard fee, and the marriages of his children into the prestigious family of Brus must have been welcome evidence that, despite his earlier career, he had been accepted into the community of Yorkshire barons.⁸² Unfortunately, since neither marriage produced an heir, the association lasted for only one generation; and as Johanna de Brus also predeceased her brother, the Maulays were not able to benefit from the division of Peter III's barony between his surviving sisters in 1272.

Whether or not Peter de Brus II and Peter de Maulay I had already taken the Cross together before the reciprocal marriages of their children were arranged, they both embarked on crusade with Richard of Cornwall in 1240 and both died during

⁷⁶ *PR* 1216-25, pp.464-465; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.606b.

⁷⁷ *Pipe Roll 14 Henry III*, p.34; *PR* 1225-32, p.360.

⁷⁸ *PR* 1216-25, p.450; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II, p.151b; *CR* 1227-31, p.585.

⁷⁹ See below, pp.221-222, 224.

⁸⁰ C. Sharp. *History of Hartlepool* (Durham, 1816) pp.20-21; see also below, p.163

⁸¹ *CDS*, I, no.1358, 1360. Peter de Maulay, but not Peter de Brus, testified to the treaty of York.

⁸² Holt, *Northerners*, pp. 32, 77, 105. Peter de Maulay was still in favour with King Henry, because he was one of those who 'received Edward from the font' in 1239; Paris, *CM*, III, p.540.

the course of the campaign. While it is possible that Peter de Maulay reached Jerusalem, Peter de Brus did not get farther than France, being one of several knights who succumbed to disease at Marseille on the outward journey. His body was returned to England for burial at Guisborough, and Peter III, as his 'contiguous heir', paid relief on his inheritance in November 1240.⁸³

LOYAL NORTHERNER : PETER DE BRUS III

Although Peter de Brus III undoubtedly fulfilled his obligations as a tenant-in-chief, which must at times have necessitated his presence at Westminster and may have involved him in personal service in other parts of Britain, there is little to suggest that he travelled to any extent outside the north of England, and certainly not overseas. Unlike his father, who served in Poitou with King Henry in 1230, Peter III took no part in the 1242 campaign or that of Gascony in 1253.⁸⁴ Nor did he follow his father's example by taking the Cross and joining the Lord Edward's crusade in 1270.

Because so many of the surviving records of Peter III are concerned with lands, with grants and with litigation, while those which originate from central government relate almost entirely to his activities in the North, it would be easy to belittle his achievements. Yet Peter de Brus III was clearly a powerful and respected baron in his own region. Although he never held the office of sheriff he is frequently among the first-named when mandates are addressed to several northern barons, sometimes above Robert de Neville and Adam de Gesemuth who both served as sheriffs; furthermore, he was castellan of the royal castle of Scarborough for a few years towards the end of his life.⁸⁵ Peter continued to answer for the farm of the wapentake of Langbaugh, and was therefore responsible for administering justice in that district.⁸⁶ By 1267 he was serving as a justice in York. In 1268 and 1269 the team of itinerant justices, led by Gilbert de Preston, was instructed to admit Peter de Brus to their company when they went on eyre in Yorkshire. On the first occasion Peter served only in Yorkshire, but although he travelled with the other justices to

⁸³ Paris, *CM*, IV, pp.44, 89, 174-175; Paris, *HA*, II, pp.446, 459; *Mon. Angl.*, VI, p.268; *Excerpta è Rotulis Finium*, I, p.332.

⁸⁴ *PR* 1225-32, p.360; *CR* 1256-59, pp.290, 299; *CR* 1259-61, pp.158, 193, 498; *CR* 1261-64, pp.304, 378, 382; *BF*, p.1104; Mitchell, *Taxation*, pp.224-236, 254-256.

⁸⁵ *CR* 1259-61, pp.275, 498; *CPR* 1258-66, pp.336, 339, 343, 364, 366, 374, 397, 398, 400, 415; *CPR* 1266-72, p.616; *List of Sheriffs*, pp.97, 161.

⁸⁶ *CR* 1259-61, p.178; *Receipt and Issue Rolls for 26 Henry III* (PRS n.s., 49, 1992) pp.55, 57.

Newcastle during the second session it may only have been because several Yorkshire cases were being heard there.⁸⁷

In 1246 Peter III's influence extended west across the Pennines, when he inherited a half share in the barony of Kendale from his mother's brother, William of Lancaster, together with some outlying manors in Yorkshire and Lancashire, all still encumbered by his uncle's outstanding debts, the legacy of rebellion against King John. Peter's fellow heir in the barony was Walter de Lindsay, son of another of William of Lancaster's sisters. The Lindsay family had long-standing links with Scotland. They were also tenants of Isabel de Brus, and later Robert V, in the honor of Huntingdon.⁸⁸ Walter de Lindsay was a minor in 1246, and his wardship was granted by King Henry to his Lusignan half-brother, William de Valence, who was set to profit further from the barony of Kendale. Among the many favours which Henry III granted his increasingly unpopular kinsman, were William of Lancaster's outstanding Jewish debts, (as well as those which Peter de Brus owed to Aaron the Jew) on which he demanded such a high repayment rate from the two heirs that they later complained it was more than the annual income of the lands.⁸⁹ The disgrace of the Lusignan brothers in 1258 brought them some relief when King Henry agreed to reduce the repayment rate from 300 marks to 100 marks per annum, although the money was still held for the benefit of William de Valence on his return to England in 1262.⁹⁰ It took the two heirs most of their lives to pay off the debts, both of them being given quittance in July 1270, less than sixteen months before Walter's death and two years before Peter's.⁹¹

As one of the many victims of the king's rapacious half-brother, Peter's steadfast loyalty to Henry is all the more creditable. Although Peter III did not serve at Henry's court, as his Scottish kinsman Robert de Brus V did,⁹² he attended on the king when he was in the North, and was among the knights to receive a wedding robe

⁸⁷ *CPR 1266-72*, pp.179, 299 and *passim*; *Yorks. Fines 1246-1272*, pp.vi, 130-175, esp. p.165n.1.

⁸⁸ *CIPM*, I, no.114; *CPR 1247-58*, pp.5, 29; I.J.Sanders, *English Baronies* (Oxford, 1960) pp.56-57; *HKF*, II, pp.378-379; see also above p.77.

⁸⁹ *CPR 1232-1247*, pp.505, 509; *CPR 1247-58*, pp.5, 29, 33, 41; *CR 1247-51*, p.345; *CDS*, I, nos.1796, 1968, 2318.

⁹⁰ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.4, 68, 96, 205, 223; *CR 1256-59*, p.446; *CDS*, IV, no.1758; R.F. Treharne, *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263* (Manchester, 1971 reprint) pp.128-129, 274.

⁹¹ *CPR 1266-72*, p.446; *CDS*, I, nos. 2562, 2626; *CIPM*, I, nos. 800, 820.

⁹² See below, pp.98-99.

in 1251 at the York marriage of Alexander III and Henry's daughter, Margaret.⁹³ In 1255 he evidently had charge of the forest of Pickering, because he was ordered to supply deer for the king's larder when Henry was on his way to the Scottish border, and was given three deer for himself as payment.⁹⁴ Prior to that, in 1244, Peter had been favoured with a gift of boar, which suggests that he had performed some service at the time of the king's confrontation with the king of Scots at Newcastle, when the feudal host was summoned to support him.⁹⁵ In January 1258 he was among the long list of northerners ordered to prepare for an expedition into Scotland when the Durward government, including Robert de Brus V, was rapidly losing control to the Comyns.⁹⁶ In March of the same year, along with the majority of barons, Peter received a summons for Wales and may well have joined the muster at Oxford, although there is no evidence that he was in any way involved with the baronial negotiations at that parliament.⁹⁷ He clearly attended Westminster in the following autumn, when he and Walter de Lindsay obtained the considerable reduction they had sought in the repayment rate of their debts to William de Valence.⁹⁸

Most of the foregoing gives no particular cause for comment or suggests any singling out of Peter as one providing outstanding service; yet by the winter of 1259-60 his name must have been known to Henry's inner circle as a baron who was eminently trustworthy and loyal to the king. While Henry was delayed by illness at Saint Omer, and increasingly mistrustful of the friendship developing between Simon de Montfort and the Lord Edward, Peter de Brus was among those to whom the king sent accredited letters by the count of Aumale and others, in order to gather reliable information from trusted sources.⁹⁹ After that it is inevitable that Peter's name appears in the list of Henry's loyal barons summoned to London for the king's return in April 1260, a list which also includes Robert de Brus V, and again in October 1261.¹⁰⁰ With the deepening crisis in the autumn of 1263, while Robert de Brus was with the king at Windsor following the collapse of the parliament, Peter was one of

⁹³ *CR 1251-53*, p.29.

⁹⁴ *CR 1254-56*, p.123.

⁹⁵ *CR 1242-47*, p.266.

⁹⁶ *CR 1256-59*, p.290.

⁹⁷ *CR 1256-59*, p.299.

⁹⁸ *CPR 1258-66*, p.4; see also above, p.80.

⁹⁹ *CR 1259-61*, p.275; F.M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1962) pp.155-157.

¹⁰⁰ *CR 1259-61*, pp.157, 158, 498.

two specifically named as defenders of the abbey of St Mary at York, which was under the special protection of the king. In December he was among those appointed as keepers of the northern shires.¹⁰¹

In the following March, Peter de Brus was included in several lists of those summoned to Oxford in preparation for the Welsh expedition which never took place.¹⁰² After that there is no further mention of him in the records until July 1264, nearly two months after the battle of Lewes. He was then in the North, because he is included among notable royalists, headed by John de Balliol, in an issue of safe-conduct to come to the king.¹⁰³ It is unlikely that Peter had fought at Lewes since there is no record of his being either ransomed, like the Scots lords Robert de Brus V and John Comyn, or released, like the northerners John de Balliol and Adam de Gesemuth.¹⁰⁴ After his failure to respond to that first safe-conduct of July 1264, other summonses followed thick and fast, reminiscent of those repeatedly issued to Peter I in 1216, all of which Peter III and his fellow northerners mistrusted and ignored as determinedly as his grandfather had done, until the Hilary parliament of 1265.¹⁰⁵ In March of that year, following the release of the Lord Edward and Henry of Almain from custody, Peter de Brus at last travelled to Westminster and 'in the king's presence' surrendered his castle of Skelton as security for his good behaviour, at the same time as John de Balliol surrendered Barnard castle. While he was at Westminster, Peter also provided surety of £100 towards the ransom of his brother-in-law, Marmaduke de Thweng, who had fought on the king's side at Lewes.¹⁰⁶

Following the battle of Evesham and ending of the 'Barons' War', Peter de Brus was once again retained for service in his own region, and when summoned to the muster at Northampton in May 1266 in preparation for the relief of Kenilworth, he was given quittance, having already served forty days in the North under the

¹⁰¹ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.290, 358; see below, p.99 for Robert de Brus V.

¹⁰² *CR 1261-64*, pp.378, 382; F.M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947, 1966 reprint in 1v.) p.457.

¹⁰³ *CPR 1258-66*, p.336.

¹⁰⁴ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.318, 340; *CR 1264-68*, p.105. Although a C14th document, appended to Bishop Hatfield's Survey, includes Peter de Brus of Hart among the knights of Durham who fought at Lewes, Hunter Blair has demonstrated that this list includes not only barons such as Robert de Neville who are known to have remained as peace-keepers in the North, but some who had died before 1264; *Bishop Hatfield's Survey* (SS, 32, 1857) pp.xiv-xvi; C.H.Hunter Blair, 'The Knights of Durham who Fought at Lewes', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser., 24 (1946) pp.183, 191-192.

¹⁰⁵ *CR 1261-64*, pp.399-401; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.336, 339, 343, 364, 366, 374, 397, 398, 400.

¹⁰⁶ *CPR 1258-66*, pp.414, 415; *CR 1264-68*, pp.104-105; J.R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994) pp.316-320.

command of Henry of Almain and John de Balliol.¹⁰⁷ As the country began its return to normality, Peter III quickly became involved in judicial duties including the administration and return of confiscated lands, some of which belonged to his own tenants and two of his brothers-in-law, Walter de Fauconberg and John de Bella Aqua who had been among the rebels in the north or at Kenilworth.¹⁰⁸ It was during the following years, when his Scottish kinsmen were preparing to join the Lord Edward's crusade,¹⁰⁹ that Peter spent much of his time serving as a justice in Yorkshire and was appointed castellan of the royal castle of Scarborough. He was retained in that office until January 1272 and died the following September, two months before King Henry, while the crusaders were still making their way home.¹¹⁰

The death of the childless Peter III brought the Brus era in Yorkshire to an end. His estates were divided between his four surviving sisters, whose husbands were either tenants or close associates of the Bruses.¹¹¹ The eldest remaining sister, Agnes, was married to Walter de Fauconberg, whose family were long-standing tenants of the counts of Aumale in Holderness and already connected to the Bruses through marriage with the Arches family.¹¹² Marmaduke de Thweng, husband of Lucy, was son of Robert de Thweng of Kilton, who under the name of William Wither had been a leader of the anti-Italian clergy movement in Yorkshire in 1231. Though principally tenants of the Percys, the Thwengs held a half fee of the Bruses and probably took their name from the East Riding manor of Thwing.¹¹³ It was these two sisters who shared the bulk of the Yorkshire barony between them. The Fauconbergs received the current *caput* of Skelton while the Thwengs were granted the older centre at Danby in Eskdale. The third sister, Margaret, was married to Robert de Ros, the prominent cross-Border lord of Wark whose forbears had been stewards in Holderness, and so brought him additional lands in England, principally in the Bruses' Kendale barony.¹¹⁴ Only John de Bella Aqua (Bellewe), husband of the youngest sister, Laderina, seems not to have been so well-endowed as the others

¹⁰⁷ CPR 1258-66, pp.595, 601, 656.

¹⁰⁸ CR 1264-68, pp.226-227, 131-132.

¹⁰⁹ See below, pp.101-102.

¹¹⁰ CPR 1266-72, pp.446, 616; CR 1268-72, p.537; CIPM, I, no.800; see also above, pp.79-80.

¹¹¹ CIPM, I, pp.267-268; Sanders, *Baronies*, pp.77-78.

¹¹² English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.147-149.

¹¹³ Powicke, *King Henry III*, p.78; *Complete Peerage*, xlii, pp.735-741; GC, II, pp.100-102.

¹¹⁴ English, *Lords of Holderness*, p.151-153; W.P. Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, I (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1968) p.225.

prior to obtaining his share of the inheritance. In 1265, when his lands were seized on account of his having been a rebel, John had land in Barkston wapentake worth £20, half of which was held of Peter de Brus in Carlton.¹¹⁵ It is not unlikely that Peter III himself had been responsible for arranging and endowing the marriages of these sisters, as some of them must still have been quite young when their father died on crusade in 1240 and Peter III himself was not long of age.¹¹⁶ Yet despite the many ties which existed between Peter and his four brothers-in-law, only one of them, Marmaduke de Thweng, was aligned with him on the king's side during the Barons' War.¹¹⁷

At the time of Peter III's death, the Brus barony in England was in its strongest financial position since the death of Robert de Brus I a century and a half earlier. The Yorkshire branch of the family was flourishing, and extending its influence across the north of England to the western side. Almost all the Yorkshire lands lost in the time of Adam II had been recovered, the barony had been extended by the addition of the Arches fee and half the barony of Kendale, and the status of the Skelton Bruses in Hartness had been established. All outstanding debts seem also to have been cleared, so that the whole barony and its additions passed unencumbered to Peter III's sisters, who spent the next decade in litigation with one another over its division, petitioning for amendments in order to maximise their own shares.¹¹⁸ It was a sad conclusion for a dynasty which had played so large a part in shaping the region over two hundred years. Although the lands remained with descendants of the Bruses for several generations, their power was diffused, and it was a Fauconberg who was lord of Skelton when the Scottish Bruses reached the height of their power at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

¹¹⁵ *CIM*, I, no.938.

¹¹⁶ The oldest sister, Johanna, had evidently died by this time, as had a younger brother, John; see below, p.133.

¹¹⁷ See above, p.82. Robert de Ros was among Monfort's supporters who were forced to surrender Gloucester castle shortly before the battle of Evesham; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p.336.

¹¹⁸ *CIPM*, I, no.800; *CIPM*, II, 324; *CCR* 1272-79, pp.3-5, 39-40, 46-47, 91, 249, 582; *CCR* 1279-88, pp.90, 105-107, 233.

Chapter Four

LORDS OF ANNANDALE

FOUNDATIONS OF PROSPERITY : WILLIAM DE BRUS AND ROBERT IV

By the end of the thirteenth century, when the Yorkshire Bruses had passed into oblivion, the Scottish Bruses were ascending towards their historic climax, beginning with the 'Great Cause' in 1292 when Robert de Brus V, 'the Competitor', narrowly lost the kingship of Scots to John de Balliol, his cousin's son, and coming to fruition in the person of his grandson, King Robert I. But the seeds of that achievement had been sown in the early years of the century, when the son of William de Brus, lord of Annandale, was married to Isabel, second daughter of Earl David of Huntingdon and niece of King William the Lion.

It is by no means certain that the marriage between Robert de Brus IV and Isabel of Huntingdon took place in the lifetime of William de Brus, who had died by 1212. According to John of Fordun's *Chronicle*, Earl David 'gave his daughter in marriage' which places it earlier than 1219,¹ a date compatible with Robert IV's heir, Robert V, being of age by 1242 at the latest.² Stringer suggests that the marriage took place as early as 1210, thus linking it with the marriage of Earl David's eldest daughter, Margaret, to Alan of Galloway in 1209, but there is no firm evidence for this.³ It is, however, highly plausible that the marriage was at least arranged at that time, even if it did not take place immediately, and was a consummation that King William had been working towards since the death of William de Brus's older brother had ended the earlier alliance between their families.⁴ The years 1209-10 are particularly significant if King William's reason for making an alliance with the Bruses, as well as with the lord of Galloway, was in order to protect and consolidate his power in the vulnerable and potentially independent south-west region of Scotland. The king of Scots had just suffered severe humiliation from King John under the agreement made at Norham, and two of his own daughters had been sent into England with the vain

¹ *Chron. Fordun*, I, p.281.

² In 1242, Robert V is recorded as reaching an agreement with the prior of Guisborough in the court of the bishop of Durham; *GC*, II, no.1168; Duncan, 'Bruses', p.96.

³ Stringer, *Earl David*, p.50.

⁴ See above, pp.55-56.

promise that at least one of them would be given a royal husband.⁵ Earl David had returned to a closer alliance with his brother, having been cast off by King John, who had no further need for his support now that Scotland had ceased to be a threat to England.⁶ It would undoubtedly have been prudent to ensure that the earl's daughters were used to forge alliances beneficial to Scotland while it was still possible. William de Brus himself was personally affected by the 'treaty' of Norham, being one of the thirteen (or so) Scottish nobles, including Alan of Galloway, who supplied a hostage to King John for King William's good behaviour. In William de Brus's case it was one of his two younger sons, William or John, who was sent into England in the care of his kinsman, Peter de Brus I, who was probably present at Norham, having been spared scutage for answering the king of England's summons on that occasion.⁷

Political expediency was undoubtedly the reason for the marriage alliance between the royal family and the Bruses, as it had been on the previous occasion. There is little evidence to suggest that William de Brus was any more in favour at the Scottish court than was his father, Robert II. He witnessed only one of King William's surviving charters, rather low in the list, in company with a large number of other barons at what was clearly a major gathering.⁸ In addition there are records of King William confirming two of William's own charters, one being the grant of a fishery to Melrose Abbey, and the other a re-grant of the churches of Annandale to the priory of Guisborough.⁹ The earliest date ascribed to any of these documents is 1198, but evidence from English records shows that William must have succeeded his father by 1194 when he first paid scutage on half a knight's fee in Cumberland, while in the following year he was also held liable for his father's debt to Aaron of Lincoln under the same county.¹⁰

When making comparisons between Scotland and England at this period, the balance of interests is liable to be distorted by the paucity of the Scottish records, with the consequent risk of making it appear that a 'cross-Border' lord was more active south, rather than north, of the Border. With William de Brus this is not the

⁵ Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.244-249.

⁶ Stringer, *Earl David*, p.48.

⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.137b; *Pipe Roll 13 John*, pp.31-32; Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.244-249.

⁸ *RRS*, II, no.405.

⁹ *RRS*, II, nos.425, 450.

¹⁰ *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, p.122; *Pipe Roll 7 Richard I*, p.213.

case. Indeed, although he seems to have had little involvement with the Scottish court, what English evidence there is suggests he had none at all with King John. Whenever scutage was charged on his English lands he paid it, rather than serve personally either at home or abroad, even to the extent of incurring large additional fines in 1203 and 1204.¹¹ Nor did he play any part as an English baron in the upheavals of the reign, symptomatic perhaps of his declining status south of the Border. After 1202, all that the Scottish Bruses held directly of the king of England was the half fee of Edenhall in Cumberland.¹² Their Hartness lands had by now been transferred with the rest of the wapentake of Sadberge to the bishop of Durham, to whom the Bruses owed the service of two fees, with William confirmed as sub-tenant of Peter de Brus of Skelton under the court agreement of 1201. So although the crown still intermittently claimed jurisdiction there, during an interregnum for example, or when disagreements arose between king and bishop, the immediate ties between tenant and crown had been virtually severed.¹³

This suggestion of a growing detachment from the English crown is given further credence by the promptness with which William settled most of his financial dues, thereby avoiding the burden of obligation to King John which affected so many barons, including his Yorkshire kinsman. Although he allowed most of his father's outstanding Hartness debts to lie on the file for several years, as if refusing to acknowledge liability for them,¹⁴ William paid his own fine of 20 marks on two fees there in 1197, the year in which it was first entered.¹⁵ In the same year he also paid off his father's Jewish debts, negotiating a reduction in the process and presenting the barons of the Exchequer with a quittance endorsed in Hebrew.¹⁶ The only recorded proffer that William made to the English king was one of 20 marks in 1201, for the privilege of holding a weekly market and annual three-day fair at Hartlepool. This he

¹¹ *Pipe Roll 5 John*, p.211; *Pipe Roll 6 John*, p.145.

¹² It is not clear how Edenhall came to be held by the Bruses of Annandale; see below, pp.134-135.

¹³ See above, pp.67-69.

¹⁴ He paid the scutage for 1190 in 1198. Other dues, dating from 1195 when the overlordship of Hartness was in question, continued to be entered in Robert's name. They were eventually paid in 1209-11, together with the one for 1199 which had initially been charged to the Yorkshire Bruses, but was transferred to William in 1201; *Pipe Rolls 2 Richard I - 11 John*, *passim*, esp. 2 *Richard I*, p.73; 8 *Richard I*, pp.174, 185; 10 *Richard I*, pp.36, 38, 145; 1 *John*, p.55; 2 *John*, p.150; 11 *John*, p. 137; 13 *John*, p.50.

¹⁵ *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, p.12.

¹⁶ *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, pp.11-12.

paid the following year.¹⁷ And when in 1209 William's outstanding debts were consolidated by the Exchequer, he paid off almost all of them in the same year with a lump sum of £25.¹⁸ The remainder was cleared in 1211, which may well have been the year of William's death, because the Cumberland return for 13 John refers to the fee of *Robert*, rather than *William*, de Brus.¹⁹ William was certainly dead by 1213, when the Scottish hostage whom Peter de Brus I was ordered to deliver to Portsmouth, is named as the brother of Robert de Brus rather than son of William.²⁰

Such prompt settling of his English debts suggests that William was either a careful man of business, unlike his rasher kinsman Peter I, or that such payments were proportionately less burdensome to one who held ten knights' fees in Scotland, as well as the increasingly lucrative district of Hart with its expanding port of Hartlepool. William would undoubtedly have used income from his Scottish lands to finance his English obligations and *vice versa* as, like his predecessors and all 'cross-Border' barons including the kings of Scots, he made no distinction between his holdings north and south of the Border.²¹ He confirmed his father's grant of Annandale churches to Guisborough, a fishery on the Scottish shore of the Solway to Holm Cultram abbey in England, and pledged lands at Hartness as warranty in an agreement made with Adam of Carlisle for an exchange of lands in Annandale settled in an English court.²² Yet while the witness lists of his few surviving charters include tenants from both his Scottish and English lands, the evidence suggests that those who travelled back and forth across the Border in his *entourage* were predominantly settled in Annandale.²³ Furthermore, while William was happy to confirm the grants of his predecessors, and his tenants, to Guisborough, Durham and Holm Cultram, the only new grants he is known to have made to any religious foundation were to the Scottish abbey of Melrose, suggesting that his English interests were declining.²⁴ He was, moreover, the first of the Brus lords of

¹⁷ *Pipe Roll 3 John* pp.249-250; *Pipe Roll 4 John*, p.201.

¹⁸ *Pipe Roll 11 John* p.137.

¹⁹ *Pipe Roll 13 John*, pp.50, 156. In 1209 William still owed £7 11s 8d, but in the 1211 pipe roll is recorded as paying only £7 9s 8d. This is undoubtedly a clerical error.

²⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.137b.

²¹ Holt, *Northerners*, pp.208-209.

²² GC, II, no.1176; *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95; *Annandale Family Book*, no.2; *Feet of Fines 10 Richard I* (*Pipe Roll Soc.*, 24), no. 79.

²³ See below, p.196.

²⁴ GC, II, nos.1150, 1152, 1176; *Feod. Prior. Dunelm.*, p.138n; *Reg. Holm Cultram*, pp.35-36; *Melrose Liber*, II, appendices 3, 4.

Annandale to stand by the king of Scots in a major confrontation with the king of England, at Norham in 1209.²⁵

Ironically it was the marriage of William de Brus's son to a niece of the king of Scots, a marriage arranged to benefit Scotland, which had the incidental effect of establishing the Annandale Bruses as English barons and led William's grandsons and great-grandsons to take service with the king of England.²⁶ Yet when the marriage was arranged between Robert IV and Isabel of Huntingdon, there was little immediate prospect of her inheriting any of her father's estates, even though two of her brothers had died in infancy and the third was still a child. It has even been suggested that her marriage portion was small.²⁷ It may well have comprised only Scottish lands, with which Earl David was well endowed; there is nothing in the English financial records to indicate that the Bruses held any additional lands in England before the death of Isabel's remaining brother, John 'the Scot', in 1237. John had still been a minor when their father died in 1219, only entering into his inheritance and the earldom of Huntingdon in 1227. In 1232, he inherited a share in the honor of Chester from his mother's brother, Earl Ranulf, together with the earldom. So when John himself died childless, Isabel not only inherited one third of his Scottish lands in Garioch and Dundee but, with her co-heiresses, a share of the vast Huntingdon and Chester estates. She thus bequeathed to her sons, Robert V and his younger brother Bernard, an interest in England that was larger, richer, and closer to the seat of English government than anything the Bruses had ever held before.²⁸

This, though, was all in the future, and during his lifetime Robert de Brus IV had no greater landed interest in England than his father. In 1214 even the scutage on his Cumbrian manor of Edenhall was paid by a sub-tenant.²⁹ Despite this, however,

²⁵ See above, p. 86, and pp.41-42, 51-52 for comparison with Roberts I and II in 1137 and 1174.

²⁶ Robert de Brus V, his brother Bernard, and his sons, Robert VI and Richard, all sought advancement at the English court. See below, pp.98, 104-105, 109, 211.

²⁷ Duncan, 'Bruces', p.95.

²⁸ Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.182-183.

For a summary of the Brus share of the Chester and Huntingdon lands see below, appendix 2.

For details of the divisions of the Chester and Huntingdon estates and of Earl David's Scottish lands see Stringer, *Earl David*, chs. 4-7; W. Farrer, *Honors and Knight's Fees*, II, (London, 1924); M.F. Moore, *Lands of the Scottish Kings in England* (London, 1915) pp. 31-33, 123-128; R.Stewart-Brown, 'The End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', *EHR*, 35 (1920) pp.26-53; R.Eales, 'Henry III and the End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', in *Thirteenth Century England*, I, ed. P.R.Coss and S.D.Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986) pp.100-113.

²⁹ *Pipe Roll 16 John*, p.140. This was Robert de Tu(r)p, who may at this time have been a Brus tenant and whose family later held the fee in chief; Ragg, 'The Earlier Owners of Edenhall', pp.199-200.

there is evidence in the year of Magna Carta that Robert was in contact with King John. On 5th May 1215 he was paid 30 marks from the Exchequer. At the same time Alan of Galloway received 300 marks in part payment for providing mercenaries for the king of England, and his brother Thomas, earl of Atholl, was granted 20 marks.³⁰ Alan of Galloway had been aiding the king of England for several years and had been well rewarded with lands in Ulster; but whether, like him, Robert de Brus was actively involved in negotiations on behalf of King John during the months prior to Magna Carta can only be a matter for conjecture.³¹ If he was, it placed him on the opposite side to his Yorkshire kinsman, Peter I, who was by now a known rebel, having refused to serve or to pay scutage for the Poitou campaign of 1214.³²

Whichever side he had taken, Robert de Brus IV was quickly in the queue of those seeking to benefit under clause 52 of Magna Carta, regarding the restoration of rights. On 26th June 1215, Robert was granted seisin of the manor of Ellinton (Elton), in the wapentake of Sadberge, which had been held of his father by William de Meisnill Durant who had chosen to settle in Normandy and since died. On the same day he was regranted his father's right to hold a market and fair at Hartlepool, a right which had been withheld from Robert by Philip de Ulecotes, custodian of the see of Durham, during the interregnum.³³ However, in November 1218 Robert came to an agreement with his widowed mother, Christiana, over her dower lands in Hartness. Christiana and her second husband, Earl Patrick of Dunbar, agreed to demise their share of the Brus lands there to Robert for a term of eight years, for £36 and an annual payment of six shillings, while retaining their one third share of the market and fair at Hartlepool '*if they and Robert can acquire these*'.³⁴ It appears that the promised concession had not yet been implemented.

Whether or not Robert IV had been associated with Alan of Galloway in courting King John's favour during the months leading up to Magna Carta, by the summer of 1216 he, like Alan, was following the king of Scots' lead in rebellion

³⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.198b.

³¹ *CDS*, I, nos.529, 533, 573; R.Greeves, 'The Galloway Lands in Ulster', *TDGNHAS*, 36 (1959) pp.116-121; Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp.448-449.

³² See above, p.70.

³³ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.217b.

³⁴ *CDS*, I, no.700. In this, the countess is referred to as 'C'. Only in a grant of William de Brus is she named as Christiana; *GC*, II, no.1176.

against him. At a time when Alexander II was marching through England to join Louis of France, Robert de Brus was among the occupying Scottish force supporting the rebels in Cumberland, where in company with Alan of Galloway and Walter fitz Alan he acted as witness to a charter of Robert de Vaux.³⁵ If Peter de Brus of Skelton, as a leader of the Yorkshire rebels, had been among those who are said to have paid homage to King Alexander in January 1216, then both branches of the Brus family were for the first, and only, time united in supporting a king of Scots against the king of England.

Little more is known of Robert IV after this, except that he witnessed a charter of Walter fitz Alan to Melrose, together with his brother William, between 1220 and 1226; he was in Canterbury in 1220 with Alan of Galloway and Walter fitz Alan, when he granted one mark yearly at the shrine of St Thomas; and was in York in 1221 for the marriage of Alexander II to King Henry's sister, Joan.³⁶ Despite his death being traditionally dated to 1245, it has been convincingly demonstrated that this is much too late.³⁷ Unlike those of her co-heiresses, the husband of Isabel de Brus is never named in any document connected with her inheritance; so Robert IV must have been dead before 1237.³⁸ This is consistent with the evidence that Peter de Brus II of Skelton was holding Hartness in wardship during the time of Bishop Richard le Poer (1228-37) when he clashed with the bishop over right to 'wrecks of the sea'. He may even have died before September 1230, when the bishop of Durham granted additional privileges to the burgesses of Hartlepool, which were confirmed before 1234 by Prior Ralph to Peter de Brus, 'saving the rights of Robert de Brus's heirs'.³⁹

³⁵ *Lanercost Cartulary*, ed. J.M. Todd (SS 203, Gateshead, 1997) pp.79-81; K.J.Stringer, 'Periphery and Core in Thirteenth-Century Scotland', in *Medieval Scotland*, ed. A.Grant and K.J.Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993) pp.89-92; Duncan, *Scotland*, p.523; Painter, *Reign of King John*, p.355; Holt, *Northerners*, p.28.

³⁶ *Melrose Liber I*, no.72*; appendix 3 below, no.145; *CDS*, I, no.808.

³⁷ *VCH: Durham*, III, p.257n.71; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.96.

³⁸ *CDS*, I, nos. 1342, 1384, 1398, 1429, 1430.

³⁹ *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.*, III, pp.46-48, 60; *GC*, II, no.1155; Sharp, *History of Hartlepool*, pp.20-21, 59, appendix, pp.iii-iv; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.96. Ralph Kenneth was prior of Durham, 1214-33. Although Robert de Brus is entered in the 1230 pipe roll as owing 30 marks for a *prest* made in 1214, this is not proof that he was still alive; *Pipe Roll 14 Henry III*, p.290. The entry was repeated in 1231; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.95n.59.

ROBERT DE BRUS V IN SCOTLAND

It is inevitable that a study of the Brus family in the latter part of the thirteenth century will be dominated by the figure of Robert de Brus V, the 'Competitor' or 'Claimant' for the kingship of Scots. Inevitable, not only by reason of his longevity, or the interest engendered in him as the first Brus contender for the kingship and grandfather of King Robert I, but because of the heritage which brought him into the milieu of both the English and Scottish courts during periods of upheaval. With his English lands so vastly increased by a share in the Huntingdon/Chester inheritance, Robert V was the only Brus since Robert I, the founder of the Anglo-Scottish dynasty, to be a prominent baron on both sides of the Border. Nor was it only his possessions which placed him in the same category as his great-great-grandfather. He also demonstrated the same dynamic personality, boundless energy and, if the eulogies of the chroniclers are to be believed, a reputation for devoutness and generosity which earned him the epithet of 'noble'.⁴⁰ Beside him his father, Robert IV, pales into insignificance, while his son, Robert VI, earl of Carrick *jure uxoris*, suffers from comparison with both the Competitor and King Robert I.⁴¹

Yet Robert the Competitor had an inauspicious start to his career, having been a minor at the time of his father's death. His Hartness lands were administered for ten or twelve years by his Yorkshire kinsman, and his Annandale inheritance was probably in the care of his father's brother, William.⁴² Duncan suggests that Robert could still have been under age even at the time of his first recorded act in 1237, when his name was included among the large number of Scottish nobles who testified in a letter to the pope that Alexander II would honour the agreement made with the king of England at York.⁴³ By 1242, however, Robert was clearly of age and had taken over responsibility for the Hartness lands when he came to an

⁴⁰ *Chron. Fordun*, I, p.304; *Chron. Guisborough*, p.259; *Chron. Lanercost*, p.159. John of Fordun anachronistically describes Robert V as lord of Cleveland as well as Annan.

⁴¹ For a comparative summary of the careers of Robert 'the Competitor' and his son, see Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.23-26, and Duncan, 'Bruces', pp.94-99.

⁴² Duncan, 'Bruces', p.96. William de Brus witnessed two charters for his brother, four early ones of Robert V (c.1242) and at least one for Alexander II in 1221; see appendix 3 below, nos. 141-142, 151-154; *Arbroath Liber*, no.131.

⁴³ Duncan, 'Bruces', p.96; Paris, *CM*, IV, p.383. For the misdating of this document by Matthew Paris, see *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328*, ed. E.L.G. Stones (London, 1965) p.51.

agreement with the prior of Guisborough, in the bishop of Durham's court at Sadberge, over rights in the manor of Castle Eden.⁴⁴

These early acts of Robert V were engendered by his position as his father's heir. The subsequent enhancement of his wealth and prestige came to him through his mother Isabel, second daughter of Earl David of Huntingdon. The death of Isabel's childless brother John, earl of Huntingdon and Chester, which brought her a one-third share in his lands in both Scotland and England, occurred a matter of months before the 1237 treaty of York, and was a factor in Alexander's decision to come to an agreement with King Henry, since he had now lost his nearest male heir.⁴⁵ Although it is highly doubtful that there was any substance in the claim presented by Robert's partisans during the 'Great Cause' in 1291-92, that Alexander II had formally recognised Robert de Brus as his heir at about this time, he was unquestionably the king of Scots' closest male kinsman out of infancy, since none of Dervorguilla de Balliol's sons could have been born before 1234.⁴⁶ The death of Queen Joan in 1238 must for a time have heightened contemporaries' awareness of Robert's position; and although his status as royal kinsman must inevitably have declined after the birth of Alexander II's son by Marie de Coucy in 1241, it was undoubtedly revived by Alexander's death in 1249 and the inauguration of the young Alexander III at Scone.⁴⁷

With two opposing factions competing for power in Scotland even prior to Alexander II's death, Duncan is surely right in suggesting that the presence of the three most senior members of the Comyn family at Robert de Brus's court at Dryfesdale (Drivesdale) in Annandale within a fortnight of Alexander III's inauguration, was a recognition of his closeness to the succession and an attempt to win him to their side.⁴⁸ It was an attempt which failed. Robert de Brus took no part in any Comyn-led administration. He may have been suspicious of the Comyns' motives, and indeed of their power, which was so much greater than his own; a

⁴⁴ GC, II, no.1168.

⁴⁵ CDS, I, nos.1325, 1329, 1342.

⁴⁶ *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296*, I, ed. E.L.G.Stones and G.G.Simpson (Oxford, 1978), pp.182-184, 187; *ibid*, II, pp.144-145, 170, 185; *Chron. Melrose*, p.82; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.23, 42.

⁴⁷ *Chron. Fordun*, I, pp.291, 292-295; *Chron. Melrose*, pp.86, 89, 108. Yet Robert de Brus's name appears immediately after the earls in the peace agreement of 1244, suggesting that he was still foremost among the barons; CDS, I, no.1654.

⁴⁸ CDS, I, no.1763; Duncan, 'Bruces', pp.96-97; Young, 'Walter Comyn', pp.132-133.

suspicion amply justified by their domination of John de Balliol when he was associated with their government between 1251 and 1255, and suffered disgrace as a result. Furthermore, the links which already existed between the Comyns and the Balliols in Galloway, links which would be strengthened in future years, provided another reason for Brus to be wary. Although there was no overt rivalry between him and the Balliols so early as this, Robert must have been aware of them as a threat to his own position, now that they had sons growing to maturity, older than the new king and eminently eligible as heirs.⁴⁹

However, although Robert de Brus was undoubtedly opposed to the Comyns, there is no evidence that he actively supported the other, Durward-led, faction at this stage. He had been granted no office in the early years of Alexander III's minority, when Alan Durward and his associates were in control of the government; and he would hardly have been a party to the alleged attempts to legitimise Durward's wife, which led to his disgrace at the royal wedding in 1251, since that would have placed Durward's daughters in closer proximity to the throne than Robert himself. So it is unlikely that Brus was among those followers of Durward who are reported to have slipped away from York after Walter Comyn's denunciation.⁵⁰ And although both Durward and Brus appeared in England during the years of the Comyn controlled council, their positions were markedly different. Durward's reason for taking service with Henry overseas, in place of the earl of Strathearn, has been interpreted as an attempt to ingratiate himself with the king of England and gain support for his own advancement in Scotland.⁵¹ Brus, on the other hand, had a natural reason for appearing at Henry's court, being not only an English baron of some substance since his mother's death, but linked by marriage to the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall.⁵²

At this time, indeed, Robert must have had other things on his mind than the change of government in Scotland. The death of his mother early in 1252 had brought him her Huntingdon and Chester estates which, though mainly consisting of

⁴⁹ Stell, 'Balliol Family', pp.150-151; Young, 'Walter Comyn', pp.131-133,137.

⁵⁰ *Chron. Fordun*, I, pp.296-297; *Chron. Melrose*, pp.109-110; W.Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D.E.R.Watt, (Aberdeen, 1991) v, pp.300-301.

⁵¹ *CDS*, I, nos.1888, 1956, 1984, 1985; *Chron. Melrose*, p.111; Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals*, pp.54-55.

⁵² His wife's mother had married Richard of Cornwall as her second husband.

small units well scattered through several midland shires, added up to a total assessment of some thirty knights' fees. In addition he received the former royal manors of Writtle and Hatfield in Essex, which had been granted to Isabel in lieu of her share in the palatinate lands of Chester. These were undoubtedly profitable, despite the two manors being assessed at only one fee in 1253 which brought Robert a welcome reduction in his relief from £100 to 100 shillings.⁵³ Yet while this inheritance raised Robert to the status of a major tenant-in-chief, it was through his wife, Isabel de Clare, whom he had married in May 1240 when she was thirteen years old, that he could claim kinship with the English royal family. This prestigious marriage not only united Robert with the family of the earls of Gloucester, but also with the Marshals. It was Gilbert Marshal, her mother's brother, who endowed Isabel with land worth £15 in the town of Ripe in Sussex as a marriage portion, because her father had died in 1230 and her brother, Richard de Clare the future earl of Gloucester, was still a minor. Isabel's mother had married Richard of Cornwall as her second husband, and although she died four months before Isabel married Robert, her son, Henry of Almain, was (half)uncle to the next generation of Bruses.⁵⁴

Despite his enhanced position in England, Robert de Brus was clearly still concerned with Scottish affairs and, like Alan Durward, may have been working actively for the displacement of the Comyns. He was certainly known to be opposed to them, and was therefore useful to King Henry in the deepening crisis of 1255 when Robert is among those Scottish lords, named as the king of England's 'beloved friends', to whom Henry accredited the earl of Gloucester and his other agents sent ahead of him into Scotland in August of that year.⁵⁵ So, after the dissolution of the Comyn administration, when Henry had imposed a new council on the Scots which he believed would be more beneficial to the welfare of his daughter and the young king, it is not surprising to find Robert de Brus a member of it, alongside Alan Durward. It should be noted, however, that while Durward resumed his position as

⁵³ *CChR*, I, p.262; *CR 1251-53*, pp.61-62, 64, 375. The total number of fees is estimated from material in W.Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, II, (London, 1924) and M.F.Moore, *The Lands of the Scottish Kings in England* (London, 1915). See also appendix 2 below. For an account of Writtle see K.C.Newton, *The Manor of Writtle: the Development of a Royal Manor in Essex, c.1086-c.1500* (Chichester, 1970) pp.1-8, 28-34, 41-54.

⁵⁴ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, in *Annales Monastici*, I (RS 36i, 1864) pp.66, 68, 76, 78, 115; *CChR*, I, pp.252-253; N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1947) pp.18-19. See also genealogical table below, p.96.

⁵⁵ *CDS*, I, nos.1986, 1987, 1988.

justiciar, the council was evidently led by the earl of Dunbar, and in surviving records Brus's name precedes Durward's, thereby suggesting a superior status.⁵⁶

There is some sense of premonition in Brus's appointment to the Scottish council just after John de Balliol had been removed; as if the king of England was already aware of a latent Brus/Balliol rivalry in Scottish affairs and the possibilities of exploiting it. It is also tempting to see King Henry's choice of Robert de Brus to replace John de Balliol as sheriff of Cumberland and castellan of Carlisle, in that same month, as a deliberate snub to the latter, underlining his displeasure over Balliol's ineffectiveness as guardian of the king and queen of Scots.⁵⁷ If so, Henry may have regretted it. Brus himself was replaced in the office after only two months, leaving the castle in a deplorable state (surely not Robert's fault after so short a time), and the shire accounts in confusion. These accounts were still causing problems with the Exchequer some five years later for both Brus and Balliol. Problems which, according to Robert, had resulted from the death of his receiver *en route* for London, having deposited the money, writs, rolls and tallies at the priory of Carlisle.⁵⁸ King Henry cannot have considered Brus's contribution to the Scottish government to have been particularly useful either since, together with the earls of Fife, Dunbar and Strathearn, he was granted no place in the compromise council of 1258 after the Comyns attempted to reassert their power.⁵⁹ By which time John de Balliol was back in favour with King Henry, acting as the king of England's agent during the negotiations and delegated as his representative at the Scottish parliament.⁶⁰

So Robert de Brus once more found himself side-lined and does not appear to have played any major part in the government of Scotland or been granted any office for the remainder of Alexander III's reign. Instead he turned his attention to England. In February 1262, after the birth of Alexander's first child, Margaret, Robert de Brus entered King Henry's service, being granted an allowance of £50 a year so long as he

⁵⁶ CDS, I, nos.2013, 2015; Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.565-567; D.E.R.Watt, 'The Minority of Alexander III of Scotland', *TRHS* 5th ser., 21 (1971) p.15. Compare also CDS, I, nos. 1654, 1987 and see Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.574-576 for an assessment of the relationships between members of the various Scottish councils and Henry III.

⁵⁷ *CPR* 1247-58, p.422; *CR* 1254-56, p.220; Watt, 'Minority', pp.10-15.

⁵⁸ CDS, I, nos. 2095, 2177, 2178, 2187, 2195, 2237; *Royal and Other Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, II, ed. W.W.Shirley (RS 27, 1866) no.515.

⁵⁹ CDS, I, nos.2139, 2140; Duncan, *Scotland*, p.573.

⁶⁰ *Chron. Melrose*, p.115; CDS, I, nos.2091, 2094, 2111, 2114, 2123.

remained in it.⁶¹ Not until after the death of Alexander III and, even more significantly, that of his granddaughter the Maid of Norway, would Brus the Competitor play a central rôle in Scottish affairs.

ROBERT DE BRUS V IN ENGLAND

Robert de Brus took service with the king of England at a time of impending crisis, which gathered momentum the following year with the return to England of Simon de Montfort to rebuild the opposition to the king. Until now Brus seems to have taken little part in the quarrel between king and baronage. And although it might seem surprising, with such in-laws, that he had not been drawn into the baronial discontent of 1258, his preoccupation with Scottish affairs is an adequate explanation for his absence; he had been excused service in Wales the previous year because he was in Scotland.⁶² The only surviving reference to Robert de Brus being involved in the dispute in any way, is the association of his name with that of his brother-in-law Richard de Clare, now earl of Gloucester, in the earl's treaty of alliance with the Lord Edward in March 1259.⁶³ While this did not necessarily implicate him in any action, it is the first indication that Robert was taking a greater interest in English affairs since his removal from the Scottish council.

Although it is not surprising to find Robert V seeking favours from King Henry at a time when opportunities for his advancement in Scotland were not forthcoming, it is remarkable that he should arrive at the English court simultaneously with John Comyn of Badenoch, formerly justiciar of Galloway, who was granted the same conditional allowance of £50 a year within a few days of Robert.⁶⁴ It was surely not a coincidence. The erstwhile opponents were both the victims of thwarted ambitions. While Brus's hopes of kingship were fading with every child born to the king of Scots, and he may have been marginalised because he was seen as a potential threat to the dynasty, Comyn had been compelled by Alexander to surrender the earldom of

⁶¹ *CPR 1258-66*, p.198.

⁶² *CR 1256-59*, p.196.

⁶³ *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton* (report no.69, 1911) pp.67-69; Treharne, *Baronial Plan*, pp.139-140. The name of William de Brus is also included. This is most probably the William de Brus who witnesses for Robert V in the 1290s. It is unlikely to have been the elder William, brother of Robert IV, who would have been quite old by now and is not known to have taken any part in English affairs.

⁶⁴ *CDS*, I, no. 2155.

Menteith which he had seized after the death of Walter Comyn.⁶⁵ Unlike Durward, who had sought King Henry's favour in order to advance himself in Scotland, Brus and Comyn seem to have been content to make a niche for themselves in England, receive favours from King Henry, and repay him with their loyal support in his own troubles by fighting on his side at the battle of Lewes. Thus a Brus and a Comyn were temporarily united in a common cause, until another change of circumstances in Scotland would place their descendants at such enmity that the grandson of the one would murder the grandson of the other.⁶⁶

This is not to say that Robert V abandoned his responsibilities in Scotland. He was still lord of Annandale and held his mother's lands in Garioch and Dundee. His wife and sons spent at least some of their time there, no doubt safeguarding his interests when Robert was in England, and he himself was involved in the administration of his Scottish estates. Although it is rarely possible to date his Scottish charters closely, at least one and possibly others date from this period.⁶⁷ Furthermore, in March 1260 King Henry saw fit to supply Robert with the copy of a letter to Alexander III regarding the pope's ruling on the appointment of the English cleric, John of Cheam, to the bishopric of Glasgow, which suggests that he knew the lord of Annandale had an interest in the appointment.⁶⁸ Robert was clearly a frequent traveller between the two countries and, like other cross-Border lords, was used as an envoy by King Henry on at least one occasion.⁶⁹

It is difficult to categorise Robert de Brus's perceived status in England during this period, as his designation varies according to the situation. It was presumably as one who was retained in the king's service that he witnessed one of Henry's charters in 1263; but it was as a major English baron that he affixed his seal in support of the king's deposition in December 1263, prior to the Mise of Amiens.⁷⁰ All the estates

⁶⁵ A. Young, 'Noble Families and Political Factions in the Reign of Alexander III', in *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III 1249-1286*, ed. N.H. Reid (Edinburgh, 1990) pp.12-13. King Henry's court had provided refuge and rewards for disaffected Scottish nobles on other occasions; Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals*, pp.80-81.

⁶⁶ *Chron. Guisborough*, pp.194, 366-367; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.146-148.

⁶⁷ See appendix 3, nos. 157, 170-172.

⁶⁸ *CR 1259-61*, pp.277-278; J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912) pp.304-305.

This episode may have some bearing on Brus's confession to Alexander III, at a major council at Scone in March 1270, that he had 'denied royal rights to the churches in Annandale during a vacancy in the see of Glasgow'. See below, p.102.

⁶⁹ *CR 1268-72*, pp.108-109; Young, 'Noble Families', p.17.

⁷⁰ *CPR 1258-66*, p.291; *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion 1258-67*, ed. R.F. Trehearne and I.J. Sanders (Oxford, 1973) pp.280-285.

which Robert held *in capite* lay in the Midland shires and Essex, while the Brus lands in Hartness were held as a tenant of the bishop of Durham; yet it was as a Northerner, together with Peter de Brus and John de Balliol, that Robert was summoned to support the king in March 1264.⁷¹ It was as King Henry's vassals that Brus and Comyn were summoned to Northampton and fought for him at Lewes; yet both Scottish and English chroniclers label them, not unnaturally, as 'Scots lords'.⁷² There *was* a Scottish contingent at Lewes, and Brus may well have had men from Annandale among his following. But if, as Fordun suggests, King Alexander himself, encouraged by his queen, had supplied troops to aid his father-in-law, these appear to have been under the command of Comyn rather than of Brus.⁷³

Both Robert de Brus and John Comyn are said to have been captured along with Richard of Cornwall, so may well have fought in his division on the left wing of the royalist army. John de Balliol and many of their fellow Northerners were also taken prisoner. But whereas Balliol was released immediately, and allowed to ride north with his men to maintain order there, Brus and Comyn were held for ransom.⁷⁴ It was now that Brus's family connections came to his aid. His brother Bernard, who supported the barons' cause despite having been at one time in King Henry's service, was sent as an envoy to Robert's wife in Scotland, with leave and safe-conduct for her to come to the king anywhere in England.⁷⁵ It was a favour she undoubtedly owed to her relationship as aunt of Gilbert de Clare, who had succeeded his father Richard as earl of Gloucester and was Simon de Montfort's closest ally. But if the safe-conduct was given that she might come and negotiate her husband's ransom, she does not seem to have taken advantage of it. It was their son Robert VI who, in the

⁷¹ *Royal Letters* II, no.612; *CR 1261-1264*, pp.375, 382.

⁷² *Chron. Melrose*, p.125; *Chron. Guisborough*, pp.188-189; *Flores Historiarum*, II, ed. H.R. Luard (RS 95ii, 1890) p.496. John Comyn, whose only English lands at this time lay in Tynedale under the jurisdiction of the king of Scots, had also been among the northern barons summoned to support King Henry; *Royal Letters*, II, no.612; *CR 1261-1264*, p.382. *Chron. Guisborough* and *Flores Historiarum* also include John de Balliol among the Scots lords.

⁷³ *Chron. Fordun*, p.302; *Chron. Guisborough*, pp.188-189, 194, where the 'many' or 'numerous' Scots are said to have been brought or led by John Comyn. According to Carpenter, Walter of Guisborough seems to have been well-informed about the battle of Lewes; D.A.Carpenter, *The Battles of Lewes and Evesham 1264/65* (Keele, 1987) pp.30-31. John Comyn's brother Richard was also captured at Lewes, and Queen Margaret herself intervened with a plea for his release, which lends further support to the supposition that it was the Comyns who led the troops which her husband had sent at her behest; *CDS*, I, no.2678.

⁷⁴ *Chron. Guisborough*, p.194; *CPR 1258-66*, pp.318, 340.

⁷⁵ *CPR 1258-66*, p.333. See below, p.211 for Bernard de Brus.

month after his twenty-first birthday, sought and was granted safe-conduct to come into England to procure the release of his father, whose ransom was paid at the end of October 1264. Furthermore, it is recorded in a memorandum that the rolls were to be scrutinised for Robert's outstanding debts to the king and for any arrears owing to him from his annual fee of £50.⁷⁶ His accounts were clearly being put in order and he had no outstanding penalties.

Nothing more is known of Robert V's movements until he was among those summoned to Northampton in May 1266, prior to the relief of Kenilworth.⁷⁷ He was at Kenilworth during November, when he was instrumental in persuading King Henry to make a grant of land in Newcastle to the friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ, and was in sufficient favour with the king to be given the custody of Carlisle castle the following year for a period of eighteen months.⁷⁸ With the tables now turned, Robert de Brus was on the winning side and was among those able to profit from the lands of the disinherited, including those of his brother Bernard who held of him in Exton and Conington. Bernard died before his Exton manor was redeemed, and in 1280 Robert quitclaimed it to Bernard's heir, although he still required the £120 arrears of debt to be paid off at a rate of £40 a year.⁷⁹ Other lands of which Robert gained custody were in Yorkshire, being those of John de Melsa and Walter de Fauconberg, the brother-in-law of Peter de Brus III for whose pledge Peter acted as a witness. Their ransoms were set at 220 marks and £250 respectively.⁸⁰ Robert de Brus VI did even better than his father, being granted custody of lands in Yorkshire and Northumberland belonging to Robert de Hilton, for which the agreed ransom was 1,000 marks; while in Bedfordshire his men evidently used more forceful methods to obtain money to the value of £13-3d from a manor of John de Bello Campo who had been killed at Evesham.⁸¹

Such financial speculation undoubtedly helped the Bruses when raising money to accompany the Lord Edward on his crusade, for which Robert V and both his sons were soon preparing. In view of their links with the earl of Gloucester, it is not

⁷⁶ *CPR 1258-66*, p.340; *CDS*, I, nos. 2358, 2369; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, p.129.

⁷⁷ *CPR 1258-66*, p.664.

⁷⁸ *CPR 1266-72*, pp.10, 24.

⁷⁹ *CDS*, I, nos.2419, 2543; *CCR 1279-88*, p.61; *HKF*, II, pp.375, 411-412; *CIM*, I, no.856. Lands of Bernard de Brus in Repton, Derbyshire, were seized by John de Balliol; *ibid*, no.646.

⁸⁰ *CPR 1266-72*, pp.293-294.

⁸¹ *CR 1264-68*, p.551; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.292-293; *CIM*, I, no.613.



unlikely that they took the Cross in company with him and the royal princes at Northampton in June 1268.⁸² The two younger Bruses, Robert VI and his brother Richard, received letters of protection in May and July 1270, preparatory to sailing with Edward in the autumn.⁸³ Duncan has cast doubts on whether Robert VI actually sailed, suggesting that his father was taking his place when Robert V received protection in October to join the later embarkation with Edmund's company in the following spring.⁸⁴ However, the only evidence to suggest that Robert VI did not go is a quitclaim made to him in October 1271 of lands in Writtle, in which he is described as son of the lord of Annandale and may have been acting on his father's behalf, but need not necessarily have been present.⁸⁵ Furthermore, there is a suggestion that Robert V was already settling his affairs in March 1270, when he asked and obtained pardon from King Alexander for having 'denied royal rights to the churches of Annandale during a vacancy in the see of Glasgow', an offence for which he was pardoned and permitted to retain the Brus franchise there.⁸⁶ Such a confession might well have been prompted by the need to clear his conscience before setting off on crusade later in the year. This would mean that Robert V was already planning to go even before Robert VI had received letters of protection, and his departure was not a sudden decision in order to replace his son.⁸⁷

All the Bruses returned safely from the crusade, and with characteristic opportunism, Robert V and Robert VI each made a speedy marriage to the widow of a fellow crusader who was not so fortunate. On 3rd May 1273 the elder Robert married, as his second wife, Christina of Ireby. She was widow of Adam of Gesemuth (Jesmond), former sheriff of Northumberland and an associate of Peter

⁸² S. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1988) p.114.

⁸³ *CPR 1266-72*, pp. 479, 480. Richard was granted quittance of a summons in Bedford in the autumn of 1272, when he would still have been out of the country; *CR 1268-72*, p.589.

⁸⁴ *CPR 1266-72*, p.465; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.98.

⁸⁵ *CR 1268-72*, pp.432-433. An alternative explanation is that Robert VI travelled with the Scottish contingent which joined the French in North Africa, and may have returned in the spring of 1271 following the disastrous outcome of that campaign and retreat to Sicily; A. Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560* (Edinburgh, 1985) pp.62-63.

⁸⁶ *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, ed. J. Robertson (Bannatyne Club, 1866) I, p.lxxiii n.2. Duncan notes that the document is unusual in Scotland at this period for being written in French; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.98.

⁸⁷ Lloyd and Maquarrie both assume that Robert VI did in fact go; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, appendix 4, p.271; Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p.59.

de Brus III and John de Balliol as keeper of the North during the baronial troubles.⁸⁸ Christina, who was an heiress and twice-widowed, brought Robert de Brus estates in Cumberland from both her parents and dower land from her previous husbands.⁸⁹ She was descended through her mother from the Hoddoms, Brus tenants in Annandale who had originated from Cumberland. So although Robert V's second marriage brought him more material gain than his first, it was much less prestigious. It was clearly regarded with disfavour by his elder son who, after Robert's death in 1295, tried to withhold his step-mother's dower lands, claiming that the marriage was unlawful, an accusation which Christina successfully refuted.⁹⁰

By his own marriage to the widow of Adam of Kilconquhar earl of Carrick, who was killed at Acre, Robert VI had done exceedingly well for his family, having at last achieved an earldom for the Bruses and the lands to go with it. Marjorie was countess of Carrick in her own right and, if Fordun is to be believed, it was she rather than Robert who forced the match, inviting him to her castle of Turnberry and detaining him there until he agreed to marry her, to the great displeasure of King Alexander.⁹¹ Whether it was Robert de Brus's person, or his lands and connections in both Scotland and England, that attracted Marjorie so strongly, Fordun does not make clear. But whatever advantages she gained from the alliance, the Bruses profited as much or more. And it was his mother's descent from the earls of Carrick and lords of Galloway that helped their son, King Robert I, to establish his credentials among the native nobility of Scotland.⁹²

⁸⁸ G.O.Sayles, *Scripta Diversa* (London, 1982) pp.23-26; *CPR 1266-72*, pp.440, 443. Although Adam de Gesemuth went on crusade and died about that time, it can only be conjectured that he died while abroad.

⁸⁹ Christiana's first husband was Thomas de Lascelles of Cumbria. Her dower from Adam de Gesemuth included land in Northumberland; *Three Early Assize Rolls for the County of Northumberland*, ed. W. Page (SS 88, 1891) pp.24-245, 246-247; *Northumbrian Pleas from De Banco Rolls 1-19 (1-5 Edward I)* ed. A.H.Thompson (SS 158, 1950) nos. 229, 247, 272, 318. The inheritance from her parents included Market Ireby, Glassonby and Gamblesby which involved her in litigation over claims by the heirs of her mother's sister; J.Nicolson and R.Burn, *History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, II (London, 1777, 1976 reprint) pp.149, 449-450.

⁹⁰ *CCR 1288-96*, pp.488, 513-514; Sayles, *Scripta Diversa*, pp.23-26.

⁹¹ *Chron. Fordun*, I, p.304; *Chron. Melrose*, p.146.

⁹² Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.25-26; S.Duffy, 'The Bruce Brothers and the Irish Sea World 1306-29', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 21 (1991) pp.72-73.

THE COMPETITOR

The second marriage of Robert de Brus V marks a distinct change in his interests following his return from the crusade. The surviving records of the next twelve years or so convey the impression that the older Robert was confining his activities to his northern lands, including those of his wife, while his sons took his place in the midlands and south of England. The Brus finances were clearly in a healthy enough state to provide settlements for the next generation. Robert V was probably in his mid-fifties with another twenty years of life ahead of him, was still an active hunter and attended the courts of both Scotland and England when required. He continued in favour with the king of England, being allowed repayment of debts on easy terms, granted numerous gifts of deer and treated with leniency when he infringed the forest laws by taking extra, or the wrong kind of deer 'by mistake'.⁹³

Robert VI, now earl of Carrick *jure uxoris*, and his brother Richard, held and administered the Essex lands between them from at least 1275, when there was a temporary confusion over debts for which Richard had been incorrectly charged. He was freed from the demand and his father ordered to be distrained for them instead.⁹⁴ Richard also held the Tottenham and Kempston manors from the Huntingdon honor.⁹⁵ Both the brothers seem to have been in favour with Edward I. The king ordered them to be given respite on fines for assarts made within their Essex manors, and gave Richard permission to empark land within the forest of Writtle despite a jury's verdict that such an enclosure would be 'to the damage of the king's forest'. The grant was accompanied by gifts of deer to stock the park, and followed a few years later by a pardon for taking too many.⁹⁶ In March 1283 the king gave Richard a personal assurance of redress in a dispute with his tenants in Writtle.⁹⁷ He was also granted wardship of the lands and heirs of Geoffrey de Lucy in 1284, of Almaric

⁹³ CCR 1272-79, p.341; CCR 1279-88, pp.210, 334, 380.

⁹⁴ CDS, II, nos. 43, 266.

⁹⁵ CCR 1279-88, p.448.

⁹⁶ CDS, II, nos. 173, 176, 266; CCR 1279-88, p.73; CPR 1281-92, pp.135, 137.

⁹⁷ CDS, I, no. 231. In October 1285 Richard entered into an agreement with some of his tenants in Writtle which by its wording suggests that 'an attempt had been made to ignore the binding force of manorial custom and to place further arbitrary impositions upon the tenants...'; Newton, *Manor of Writtle*, pp.53-54; Oxford, Wadham College charter no.1, transcribed in typescript by C.R.Cheney, Essex Record Office MS, T/A 139, p.72.

de Lucy in 1285, and of Roger de la Zuche in January 1286.⁹⁸ When he died the following year Richard's lands reverted to his father, though not without some confusion, as the king was given to understand that they were held *in capite* instead of subenfeoffed, and had ordered them to be taken into his hands.⁹⁹

While Richard appears to have been active solely in England, his elder brother, Robert VI, moved easily between the two countries and their courts, being granted favours by both kings. He acted as an envoy for Alexander III to England in 1277, and in the following year was chosen by the king of Scots to be his mouthpiece when swearing fealty to King Edward.¹⁰⁰ Yet in 1281 Robert is described as a bachelor of King Edward, and in 1283 was appointed sheriff of Cumberland and castellan of Carlisle, against the wishes of the local knights.¹⁰¹ In 1285 he failed to present his account as sheriff of Cumberland and was immediately relieved of his post.¹⁰² Like his father, Robert VI received gifts of deer and other signs of favour from the king of England, and when in 1281 he had run short of money while at the English court the king guaranteed him a loan of £40 from merchants of Lucca.¹⁰³ His wife's earldom of Carrick, though described as 'poor' by Oram, enabled him to build up power in the south-west of Scotland. It also gave him opportunity to create links with Ireland by reason of Carrick's previous connections there, thus increasing the Brus potential as rivals to the Balliols and Comyns in Galloway.¹⁰⁴ Robert de Brus VI was undoubtedly a man of influence, and should not be regarded just as the 'spineless' son of an energetic father.¹⁰⁵

This comfortable situation, in which the Bruses of the next generation were establishing themselves favourably both sides of the Border and their father was enjoying a life of reduced responsibility, was dramatically altered by the sudden death of Alexander III in March 1286, leaving as his heir his infant grand-daughter the 'Maid of Norway', and a wife who might or might not be pregnant. The ageing

⁹⁸ *CCR* 1279-88, p.273; *CCR* 1288-96, p.63; *CPR* 1281-92, pp.159, 215.

⁹⁹ *CCR* 1279-88, p.448; *CDS* 2, nos.309, 312, 315.

¹⁰⁰ *CCR* 1272-79, p.505; *CPR* 1272-81, p.225.

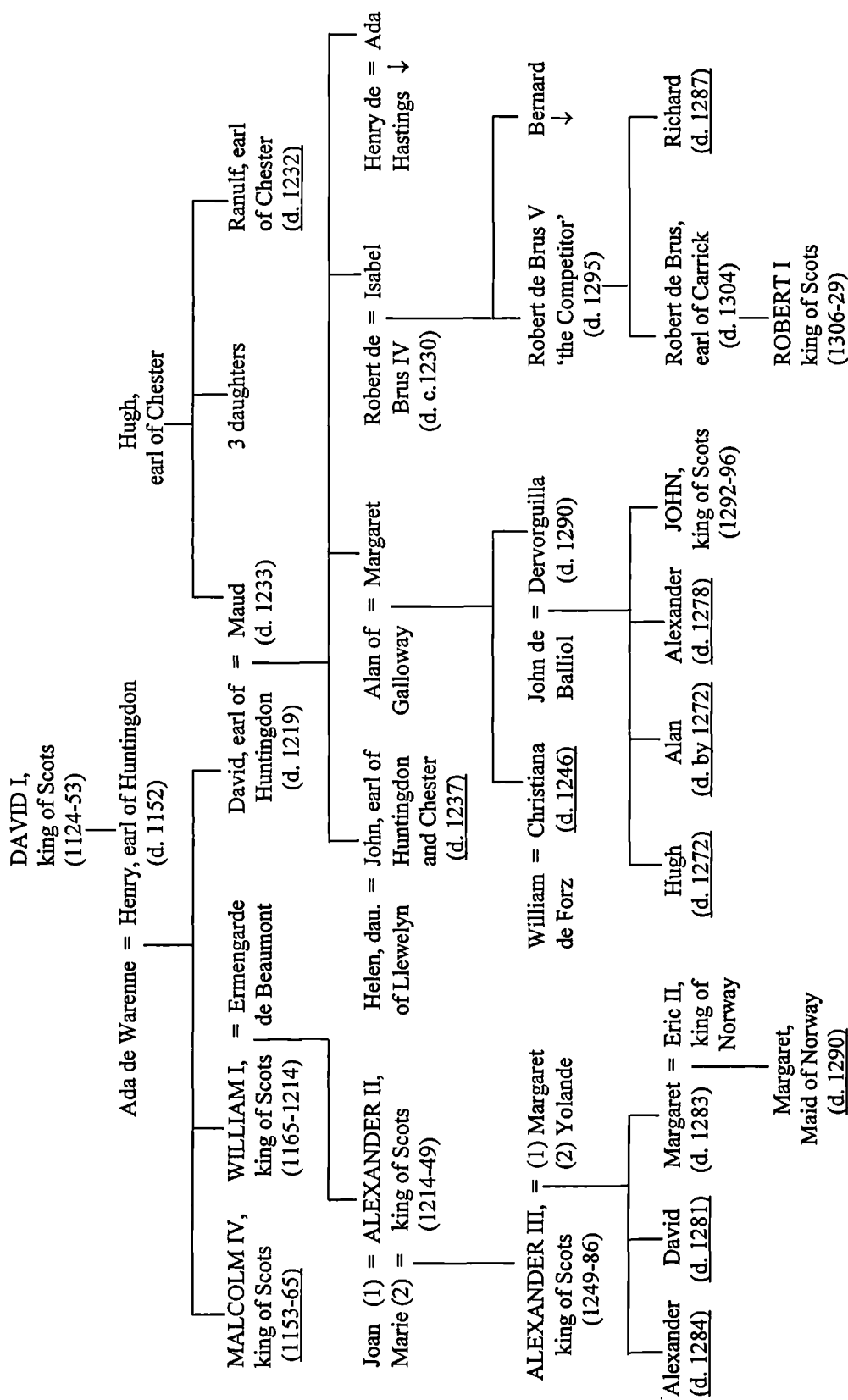
¹⁰¹ *CPR* 1272-81, p.456; *CDS*, II, nos. 236, 237.

¹⁰² *CPR* 1281-92, p.186; *CDS*, II, no.268.

¹⁰³ *CCR* 1279-88, p.211, *CCR* 1288-96, p.176; *CPR* 1272-81, p.456, *CPR* 1281-92, p.214; *CDS*, II, no. 200.

¹⁰⁴ R.D.Oram, 'A Family Business?', *SHR*, 72 (1993) pp.144-145; I.A.Milne, 'An Extent of Carrick in 1260', *SHR*, 34 (1955) pp.46-9; Greeves, 'Galloway Lands in Ulster', pp.115-121.

¹⁰⁵ Barrow, *Bruce*, p.26.



THE SCOTTISH SUCCESSION

Robert de Brus V was aroused to renewed activity, and from that moment, for the next six years, almost all surviving English records concerning him relate to the appointment of attorneys to act for him during his continued absence in Scotland.¹⁰⁶ At this time of crisis the future Competitor for the throne of Scots was remaining firmly north of the Border, renewing his contacts and strengthening the Brus position for the inevitable power struggle which lay ahead, whether it was the Maid of Norway, a posthumous child of Alexander, or another who would succeed.

The activities of Robert de Brus 'the Competitor' between 1286 and 1291, and their significance, have been the subject of considerable debate;¹⁰⁷ but it is clear that from the outset Brus was taking an aggressive stance, a sure sign that he was aware of the relative weakness of his claim to the kingship. In April 1286, when according to Bower the 'Bitter Pleading' between the two major protagonists first began, there were several possible claimants standing between Brus and the kingship of Scots: an unborn child of Alexander's widow, Yolande, the (very young) Maid of Norway, the (elderly) Dervorguilla of Galloway, and Dervorguilla's own descendants, principally her son, John de Balliol. Only by making a convincing case that a female could not herself inherit could Brus put himself forward as a possible heir. Even then he must not only make a case for a son of a *younger daughter* taking precedence over the grandson of the *elder daughter*, but demonstrate that no-one succeeding through a solely male line could be found.¹⁰⁸ In addition to their sense of inferiority in respect of their place in succession to the throne, the Bruses were pushed further on the defensive by the composition of the elected Guardianship, which they perceived to be Comyn-dominated and therefore antagonistic to their cause. Of the four lay Guardians, only James Stewart was a Brus ally, and even he was seen to place his responsibilities as a Guardian above partisanship.¹⁰⁹

The meeting at Turnberry castle in September 1286 points to a continuing state of alert on the part of the Brus faction. The timing of the meeting supports Duncan's

¹⁰⁶ CPR 1281-92, pp.227, 292, 315, 352, 394, 494.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.15-18; A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Community of the Realm and Robert Bruce: a review', *SHR*, 45 (1966) pp.184-192; R.Nicholson, *Scotland, the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974) pp.28-29; Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals*, pp.95-100.

¹⁰⁸ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, VI, p.8. Another of Dervorguilla's descendants was John Comyn the younger of Badenoch, son of John Comyn the Guardian who had married John de Balliol's sister.

¹⁰⁹ Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.15-16; Duncan, 'Community of the Realm', p.189; Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals*, pp.96, 98.

suggestion that it had been precipitated by their suspicion that all was not right with Yolande's reported pregnancy, especially in view of the hasty embassy which had been sent by the Guardians in early August to Edward in Gascony.¹¹⁰ The Bruses and their allies had therefore met to discuss the situation, pool their knowledge and prepare for whatever action might be necessary.¹¹¹ The gathering at Turnberry has acquired an added significance from the presence of two Anglo-Irish magnates who had their own agenda to pursue, namely a *quid pro quo* agreement on mutual aid with a group of Scots lords, some of whom had links with Ireland and were likely to be sympathetic to their problems. The need being more immediate in Ireland, and the fact that Thomas de Clare and Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, had themselves come to Scotland rather than *vice versa*, suggests that they were the prime movers in seeking aid.¹¹² The MacDonalds of Islay, who were among the Brus allies at Turnberry, were known as suppliers of mercenaries to Ireland.¹¹³ Furthermore, Thomas de Clare was first cousin to Robert de Brus VI, and must have been well acquainted with him from their mutual attendance at King Edward's court. In view of a previous earl of Carrick's interests in Ulster, which the Bruses were keen to renew, it would have been a natural assumption that Robert VI might be persuaded to provide help in Ireland in return for prospects there, in addition to the promise of reciprocal help in his own family's bid for power in Scotland should they need it.¹¹⁴ The carefully non-committal wording of the resulting agreement does not suggest that the Bruses were making a specific bid for the throne at this time, but were leaving the possibility open and strengthening support for such a bid should they need it.¹¹⁵

In all the debate over the connotations of the 'Turnberry Band', little consideration has been given to the fact that *Richard* de Brus was at Turnberry castle, and that his presence there may have had greater significance than being simply the younger

¹¹⁰ Duncan, 'Community of the Realm', p.188.

¹¹¹ Those present at Turnberry castle included, besides Robert de Brus V and his two sons, Patrick earl of Dunbar and his three sons, Walter Stewart earl of Menteith and his two sons, James Stewart the Guardian and John Stewart his brother, Agnus Macdonald lord of Islay and his son; *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland 1286-1306*, I, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870) p.22.

¹¹² A.J. Otway-Ruthven, *History of Medieval Ireland* (London, 1968) pp.201-225; R. Frame, *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450* (London, 1998) pp.195, 199; Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, p.598n.1.

¹¹³ A.McKerral, 'West Highland Mercenaries in Ireland', *SHR*, 30 (1951) pp.7-8.

¹¹⁴ Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp.224-225. See also genealogical table above, p.96.

¹¹⁵ *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, pp.22-23; Duncan, 'Community of the Realm' pp.186-187; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.18, 330n.46.

son of the Competitor. In April 1286, at a time when his father was preparing for a lengthy stay in Scotland, Richard de Brus was among those named as setting sail for Gascony with Edward.¹¹⁶ Although Richard must have left Gascony before the arrival of the latest embassy from Scotland, it is clearly possible that he could bring his father and brother some inside information about Edward's reaction to the Scottish situation.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the presence of Thomas de Clare, who was one of Edward's intimates, taken in conjunction with the fact that Richard de Brus had also been in favour with him and that the Brus brothers were cousins of de Clare, suggests that the king of England was not unaware of the gathering at Turnberry.

Although nothing seems to have come of the Turnberry pact itself, it is a logical conclusion, as Duncan demonstrates, that the Brus raids on Dervorguilla de Balliol's castle at Buittle and the royal castles of Dumfries and Wigtown followed rather than preceded it, undoubtedly precipitated by the final revelation in November that the queen was not pregnant.¹¹⁸ Once again it was the Bruses who were the aggressors, motivated perhaps by 'jealousy of Comyn political and territorial strength as well as an awareness of Balliol legal right'.¹¹⁹ Evidence in the Exchequer Rolls suggests that this Brus uprising in the south-west went further than a few raids, and would have escalated into a full-scale war had it not been for the ready action of the Guardians.¹²⁰ It would seem that John de Balliol was fully justified when he later accused the Bruses of disturbing the peace of the Lady of Scotland, thereby declaring themselves unfit to contest the kingship.¹²¹ However, by 1289 Robert V had evidently decided that he could achieve more by working with, rather than against, the Guardians, and was a party to the treaty of Salisbury and plans to bring the Maid to Scotland.¹²²

¹¹⁶ *CPR 1281-1292*, pp.240, 246.

¹¹⁷ The envoys left Scotland on 7th August, 'travelled continuously' with 'just one day's break in London' and found Edward at Saintes, where he was between September 13th-16th (Barrow, *Bruce*, p.330n.37). Richard de Brus was at Turnberry by September 20th.

¹¹⁸ Duncan, 'Community of the Realm', pp.188-189. As Richard de Brus died shortly before 26 January 1287, he himself may have been a victim of the raids; *CDS*, II, no.309.

¹¹⁹ Stell, 'Balliol Family', p.151.

¹²⁰ Duncan, 'Community of the Realm', pp.188-189; *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, I: 1264-1359*, ed. J.Stuart and G.Burnett (Edinburgh, 1878) pp.35-41.

¹²¹ *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, II, p.179.

¹²² *CDS*, II, no.386; *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, I, pp.105-111.

Her tragic death changed the situation once again, and the following events relating to Scotland's 'Great Cause' have been well documented and discussed.¹²³ Suffice to say that Robert de Brus fought his case long and hard, using all the resources open to him, some more devious than others, and knowing no doubt from an early stage that in Edward's legalistic mind his claim stood less chance of success than that of John de Balliol. Brus's appeal of the 'Seven Earls', his understanding with Count Florence, his agreement with Nicholas Biggar over the lands of Garioch, his unsubstantiated claim that Alexander II had named him as heir, all suggest a certain desperation.¹²⁴ Nor did he give up once the judgement had been made against him. Rather than letting his claim to the kingship drop, he resigned it to his son, Robert VI, thereby ensuring that his descendants could resurrect the claim when the opportunity arose.¹²⁵ In the meantime, Robert V himself entered a new claim, to one-third of the lands of Scotland and of Tynedale, arguing that while the kingship was not partible, its lands were, and should therefore be divided between himself, John de Balliol and John Hastings as heirs of the three heiresses of John the Scot. After examination by the Council, which considered the realm also impartible, his claim was rejected. Edward's verdict further declared that Brus's claim for a part of Scotland was not only ill-founded but incompatible with his former claim for the 'impartible whole'.¹²⁶ There is a suggestion of contempt in the king of England's response to this last-ditch attempt of Brus the Competitor, foreshadowing the crushing riposte Edward is alleged to have made to Robert's son in 1296, when he put forward a plea for the throne following the downfall of King John Balliol: 'Have we nothing else to do but win kingdoms for you?'¹²⁷

Even after this final, humiliating set-back there was no question of Robert de Brus V retiring in defeat to his English lands. He remained in Annandale; and one of his last recorded acts, in January 1294, was to secure the bishopric of Galloway, normally a Balliol patronage, for Thomas of Kirkcudbright, his own clerk and

¹²³ *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290-1296*, I, II; Barrow, *Bruce*, ch. 3; Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp.35-43.

¹²⁴ *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, I, pp.7-8, 180; *Ibid*, II, pp.144-145, 162-164, 170, 178, 185-186, 342-343; *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no.14; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.41-42, 43-46, 47; CDS, V, no. 78.

¹²⁵ *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, II, p.228; Barrow, *Bruce*, p.48.

¹²⁶ *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, I, pp.191-192; *ibid*, II, pp.222-225, 226-227, 233, 236, 242-243.

¹²⁷ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, VI, p.75; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.73-74.

protégé. It was an expression of the defiance which his son, and more especially his grandson, would continue.¹²⁸ Robert V did not live to see that defiance lose them Annandale, when the Bruses refused to answer King John Balliol's summons to arms in March 1296.¹²⁹ He died at Lochmaben on 31st March 1295, and his body was carried south across the Border for burial with his ancestors in the church of Guisborough priory.¹³⁰ Even in death Robert de Brus V demonstrated his affinities with both kingdoms and showed himself a true 'cross-Border' lord.

¹²⁸ Barrow, *Bruce*, p.66; Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, pp.359-360.

¹²⁹ *Chron. Guisborough*, pp.269-270; Barrow, *Bruce*, p.67.

¹³⁰ *Chron. Guisborough*, p.259.

Chapter Five

THE BRUS ESTATES IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

The first four chapters have been concerned with charting the careers and influence of the successive lords of Skelton and Annandale, with assessing the extent of their power and their impact on the world of their day. The remainder of the thesis sets out to investigate the basis of their power in terms of land, resources, men, and the social network within which they operated. Of all these assets, it was land and its right management which provided the most enduring resource, enabling a baron to attract men to his service, to maintain a living standard commensurate with his image, and maintain his position among his peers. It is therefore with the Brus lands that the next two chapters are concerned. They begin by detailing the Brus estates in both England and Scotland, their source, their extent, their gains and losses, and their relative worth to the respective branches of the family.

The initial grants of land which together made up the holdings of Robert de Brus I in England and Scotland, and formed the basis of the family's wealth and prestige, fall into three separate areas, Yorkshire, Hartness and Annandale, each with its own distinctive composition, development, management and problems. It is these regions, which had all been granted to Robert by 1124, which will be considered initially, followed by an assessment of those estates which were acquired subsequently by the two separate branches of the family over the next one hundred and fifty years.

THE YORKSHIRE BARONY

The circumstances under which the first Robert de Brus was granted those lands in Yorkshire which would form the core of his English fief have already been discussed, together with the entering of that fief as a unique twelfth-century addition to Domesday Book.¹ That grant, supplemented by further manors in Cleveland from the Mortain/Surdeval lands and subinfeudations from the honor of Chester, was to remain virtually intact for nearly two hundred years, with a high percentage of it still

¹ See above, p.19.

evident in the inquisitions following the death of Peter de Brus III in 1272. Even the assessments entered in *Kirkby's Inquest* of c.1284, after the estates had been divided between Peter's heirs, are frequently comparable, if not identical with the original manors. In the interim there had been some alienations to religious houses, particularly Guisborough priory, and a few losses to other tenants-in-chief, mostly during the minority of Adam de Brus II, some of which are inexplicable and some, notably Danby, which were subsequently recovered – at a price.² The origins, extent and distribution of these manors throughout Yorkshire have been set out in the tables and map in appendix 1 below.

The entry for the Brus fief in the Yorkshire Domesday comprises only those estates which had been granted directly from the king and which, apart from Eskdale and a very few minor exceptions, had been entered in the 1086 survey as *terra regis* or held by 'king's thegns'.³ Within the wapentake of Langbaourgh, which was to become the main Brus stronghold in Yorkshire, the grant included virtually all the crown lands which remained following the alienations made by William Rufus, mostly to Guy de Balliol. The Eskdale lands, which were the subject of a separate grant by Henry I to Robert de Brus, had been held by Hugh fitz Baldric, sheriff of Yorkshire during the time of William I, who had forfeited his lands in Rufus's reign, having transferred his allegiance to Duke Robert.⁴

Unlike the detailed entries derived from the original returns for the Domesday Book in 1086, those for the Brus fief are brief, comprising only the names of those villis in which Robert I had been granted lands, and their extent.⁵ There is no indication of the number of manors represented, nor any differentiation made between manors, sokes and berewicks as in the main text of the Yorkshire Domesday. Much of the missing information can be supplied by comparing the Brus fief with the main text and the 'Summary', that additional sequence of entries which appears for the county of Yorkshire alone. But although there is considerable

² *CIPM*, I, no.800; *CIPM*, II, no.324; *Kirkby's Inquest*, *passim*; see also above, pp.47-48, 65-66.

³ Apart from the lands of Hugh fitz Baldric, the exceptions lay entirely in the West Riding; appendix 1, table Aii.

⁴ Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.81, 83. For a comment on the royal demesne lands in Yorkshire see J.Green, 'William Rufus, Henry I and the Royal Demesne', *History*, 64 (1979) p.344, in which she suggests that these were still in the king's hands only because they were as yet unallocated, owing to the late settlement of that county.

⁵ *DB: Yorks.*, II, section 31.

agreement between the three sequences, there are sufficient discrepancies in place-names and extents, as well as the appearance of one or two additional places, to suggest that the fief was entered from an independently compiled source, perhaps the notice of grant which is no longer extant.⁶ Because of such discrepancies, which are fortunately few, it is not possible to compile a definitive list of Brus holdings and their origins, although Farrer made a valiant effort to reconcile any arithmetical variations between assessments of lands granted to Robert de Brus and their distribution between the king and other holders, as entered in the original survey.⁷ The problem is further compounded by the occasional grouping together of several villis under one total and the occurrence of disputed land in the claims section, information which is, in some cases, ultimately irreconcilable. Any detailed analysis of the Brus fief, therefore, needs to be qualified, and total numbers of manors cannot be stated with complete certainty since it is the villis that are quantified, not the manors. Bearing these qualifications in mind, the initial grant to Robert de Brus can be summarized as being made up of land in 98 different villis, spread across the three ridings and totalling almost 400 carucates of arable. The additional lands which Robert acquired by c.1119 from the Chester honor and the former Mortain fee, represented a further 180 carucates, in 24 villis.⁸ As can be seen from the map in appendix 1, it was the addition of these lands that really concentrated the Brus power in the Langbaugh wapentake, *especially in the region between the Cleveland hills and the river Tees.*

Although Robert de Brus I held the former Mortain lands *in capite* he was initially a sub-tenant in the lands he received from the honor of Chester, as were the Percys. The Yorkshire lands of the earl of Chester formed only a small part of his enormous honor, and by 1086 something like one third of them had already been subinfeudated to William de Percy, including the manors centred on Whitby. Of the remaining Chester lands in the North Riding, those centred on Acklam in the district

⁶ For the composition of the 'Summary' of the Yorkshire Domesday and a comparison with the main text and the entry of the Brus fief, see *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, ed. H.C.Darby and I.S. Maxwell (Cambridge, 1962) pp.458-459; R.W. Finn, *The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday* (Borthwick Paper 41, York, 1972) pp.16-22; *DB: Yorks.*, II, appendix 5 and notes to section 31. For a comparison between the place-names of the main text and the Brus fief see G.F.Jensen, 'The Domesday Book Account of the Bruce Fief', *English Place-Names Society Journal*, 2 (1968-69) pp.8-17.

⁷ *EYC*, II, pp.16-19.

⁸ For summary analysis, see table 1 below, p.115; for details see appendix 1 and map following p.250.

now engulfed by the vast conurbation of Middlesbrough, were tenanted by Hugh son of Northmann in 1086 and subsequently subinfeudated to Robert de Brus, while those around Loftus were divided between the Percys and the Bruses.⁹ However, by the death of Peter de Brus III in 1272, a large proportion of these estates too were held *in capite*, the remainder being held of Chester for two knights' fees, with their centres at Easington and Hemlington. These were presumably the same two fees held by Adam de Brus II of the Chester honor in 1168, suggesting that the other lands had by then already been absorbed into the Brus fief.¹⁰ A similar change has been noted with regard to the Percy tenancies, so that by 1176 the Chester honor in Yorkshire consisted of only four fees, two held by Brus and two by Percy. Whether this was a gradual process or the outcome of some deliberate reorganisation is not clear. Clay cites evidence to suggest that some of the Chester estates had become vested in the Percy fee as early as the reign of Henry I, so the same may be true of the Brus tenancies, perhaps as a result of the transfer of the Chester honor to Ranulf le Meschin after the loss of the White Ship.¹¹

Table 1 : Summary of Brus Estates in Yorkshire c.1120
(c = carucate b = bovate)

From King

North Riding	(Langbaugh)	122c 3b	in	36 vills
North Riding	(elsewhere)	42c 7b	in	16 vills
East Riding		169c 1b	in	28 vills
West Riding		62c 7b	in	18 vills

From Mortain estates

North Riding	107c 4b (est.)	in 13 vills (inc. 5 where land already held)
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In Chester honor

North Riding	73c (est.)	in 20 vills (inc. 4 where land already held)
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In c.1120 Brus held *in capite* almost 505c in 106 vills
and a further 73c in 16 vills as a sub-tenant of the earl of Chester.

Other major tenants in Langbaugh:-

Balliol	held c.40c	in 11 vills	<i>in capite</i>
Fossard	held c.50c	in c.13 vills	<i>in capite</i>
Meynell	held c.70c	in 11 vills	<i>in capite</i>
Percy	held c.60c	in c.17 vills	<i>in capite</i>
	+ c.29c	in c. 7 vills	of the earl of Chester

⁹ DB: Yorks., I, 4N-E; EYC, II, pp.196-197; EYC, XI, p.334; Lewis, 'Formation of the Honor of Chester', pp.41-44, 46.

¹⁰ CIPM, II, p.189; Pipe Roll 14 Henry II, p.90; appendix 1, table B.

¹¹ Dalton, Conquest, p.284n.120; EYC, II, p.194; EYC, XI, pp.86-87, 334.

The last few pockets of crown land in Langbaugh were subsequently settled on the Bruses, Percys and Meynells in what seems to have been a 'tidying-up' operation to rationalise their holdings. This 'tidying-up' provides another example of Henry I's 'concern for tenurial uniformity and compactness' which Dalton observes in the grant of Eskdale to Robert de Brus, and this further consolidation of his holdings ensured that he was now the most powerful baron in the wapentake of Lanbaugh.¹²

Robert de Brus also held two small pockets of land in Lincolnshire, which are recorded in the Lindsey survey of 1115 as four bovates each at Alford in Calceworth wapentake and West Ashby in Horncastle wapentake. These correlate almost exactly with the only lands held in Lincolnshire in 1086 by William de Taillebois, a kinsman of Ivo de Taillebois, sheriff and major landholder in Lincolnshire and later in Cumbria. Ashby was still in Brus hands in 1212. It was being held of Peter I by Simon Kyme, a prominent Lincolnshire landholder who was also a tenant and kinsman of the Arches family, whose fee had now passed to Brus.¹³ While it may be of little significance, it is interesting to note this connection between Robert I and Taillebois, which could have some bearing on Brus links with Cumberland.

Although the listing of manors and extents can give some idea of the comparative size of the grant made to Robert de Brus, the actual worth of such land at the beginning of the twelfth century in the much-troubled county of Yorkshire is more difficult, if not impossible, to assess. Less than twenty years had passed between the compilation of the Yorkshire Domesday and the granting of Robert's lands, so it is not unreasonable to use the evidence contained in the main text and summary to enlarge upon the briefer entry of the Brus fief. Such an exercise, however, inevitably calls in question not only the effects which the rebellions and reorganisations of William II's reign may have had upon the lands in the intervening years, but also the very nature of the evidence recorded in the Yorkshire Domesday, especially the paucity of information for the *terra regis* and the interpretation of

¹² Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.92-93; *EYC*, xi, pp.14-15; see table 1 above, p.115.

¹³ *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, ed. C.W. Foster and T. Longley (Lincoln Record Society Publication 19, 1921) pp.197, 254, 260; *BF*, pp.166, 193, 1467; *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp.49-50. The Arches lands included a half fee at Scal(l)eby in Lincolnshire.

‘waste’, subjects which still generate intense debate.¹⁴ While there is not room here to examine these problems in detail, some consideration must be given to their significance for the Brus estates.

The three sources from which Robert de Brus derived his estates present different aspects of the problem, which taken together can provide some slight evidence for the relative worth of the manors he was granted. Taking first the initial fief as entered in the Domesday Book, of which 94% was made up of land from the *terra regis* or held by ‘king’s thegns’. Here the problem is not so much the interpretation of the word ‘waste’, which is only rarely found even in the second category, but whether the scarcity of information in so many of the entries implies, as Maxwell assumed, that such manors were deserted.¹⁵ This applies particularly to the majority of manors in the king’s hands, which had not yet been enfeoffed and are given only a pre-Conquest value. The brief entries have every appearance of originating from some pre-existing list, suggesting that the manors were not yet integrated within the new administrative structure, for whatever reason, and were awaiting allocation to Norman tenants before assessment could be made.¹⁶ None of this land is actually classified as ‘waste’. In the few manors which had already been enfeoffed, however, some distinction is made between profitable and unprofitable land, and the word ‘waste’ is occasionally used. Although many of the entries relating to land held by ‘king’s thegns’ are similarly brief, most manors appear to support at least some villagers and plough-teams, and where no valuation of any kind is given, the land is actually stated as waste. Examples from all these differing kinds of entries can be found among the manors granted to Robert de Brus.¹⁷ In the ‘Summary’ of the Yorkshire survey, however, no distinction is made between *terra regis* and manors held by ‘king’s thegns’, all such lands being described as held by

¹⁴ In recent years a number of writers have questioned the conclusions of earlier historians about the devastating impact of King William’s army on the county, and have looked, at least in part, to other causes for the drastic decline in land values, the meaning of ‘waste’ and the significance of the brief entries for the king’s lands. Suggestions put forward by this school of thought are examined in D.M.Palliser, ‘Domesday Book and the Harrying of the North’, *Northern History*, 29 (1993) pp.1-23, and summarised in Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.23-27. This ‘revisionist’ view is now in turn being questioned; M.Strickland, *War and Chivalry: the Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy 1066-1217* (Cambridge, 1996) pp.266-267; J.Palmer, ‘War and Domesday Waste’ in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. M.J.Strickland (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, VII, Stamford, 1998) pp.256-275.

¹⁵ *Domesday Geography of Northern England*, p.144.

¹⁶ Green, ‘William Rufus, Henry I and the Royal Domesne’, p.344.

¹⁷ Appendix 1, table A.

the king. This suggests that both categories were regarded as unallocated, awaiting distribution among Norman tenants to the exclusion or demotion of any remaining Anglo-Scandinavian thegns.

In respect of those lands which came to Brus from the honors of Chester and Mortain, the situation is clearer. Manors are described more fully and given either a current taxable value, usually much reduced, or are actually stated to be waste. About 60% of Robert's Chester estates, including those which the Brus family continued to hold as mesne tenants, is described as waste. The figure for the Mortain/Surdeval estates is nearer 30%. It is noticeable from the available evidence, such as the Guisborough foundation grant, that Robert used much of the Chester land that was not waste to subinfeudate his earliest tenants. He also allocated to them most of those manors from the *terra regis*, and land of the king's thegns, which can be identified from the survey as being at least partially productive. Conversely, those manors for which little or no recent information was available in 1086 do not appear to have been allocated to Brus tenants until a later date. This also applies to most of the manors specifically described as waste, and would therefore suggest that lands which are not itemised in detail remained, if not actually waste, still of little value in 1100. It is also noticeable that Robert de Brus retained little of the more profitable land from the original grant in his own hands, keeping only the estates in Eskdale which came to him under the exchange of 1103.¹⁸ This appears to contradict the assumption that barons retained the most profitable lands for their own use,¹⁹ and suggests that Robert I was initially an absentee landlord, preferring to establish reliable tenants, some of whom already knew the region, and giving them sufficient incentive to support him in the task the king had assigned to him.²⁰

With the addition of the Mortain/Surdeval estates, however, a different picture emerges. They comprised the most valuable group of lands which Brus received, and these he did not share out between his tenants. Of those manors which were not

¹⁸ *DB: Yorks.*, I, 23N17-18, 34-35. The Eskdale lands of Hugh fitz Baldric had not benefited to the same extent as most of his other holdings, some of which had increased in value since 1086. The double entry for Eskdale, in which some of the lands are described as waste in one place and not in the other, generates some confusion, and casts further doubt on the interpretation of the term 'waste', and the clerical accuracy of the Yorkshire Domesday.

¹⁹ 'Almost every baron in England seems to have kept in demesne his more valuable estates while granting out the smaller ones as fiefs.' English, *Lords of Holderness*, p.139.

²⁰ See below, pp.173-179, for the origins of Robert I's principal tenants.

waste in 1086 he retained more than half in his own hands. Almost all of the remainder were used to endow his priory at Guisborough. Robert also transferred his *caput* from Eskdale to the former Mortain manor of Skelton which, together with Brotton and Marske which Brus also retained in his own hands, had been held by Richard de Surdeval since before 1086, when they were producing some return.²¹ By about 1120, therefore, Robert de Brus I was at last settling down, ensuring provision for his own family and, despite his commitments in Scotland, was clearly choosing to identify himself as a Yorkshire baron.

Although there are exceptions, it is apparent from the foregoing that Robert de Brus treated manors he had received from the *terra regis* to which no value had been assigned in 1086, in the same way as those from other sources described as waste. This suggests that even if such land was not completely unproductive, for there may have been at least a few peasants scratching a living, it had little or no monetary value for tax purposes and was of little initial worth to Robert de Brus. Such a situation is highly plausible. Unallocated land had not been subjected to the management needed to regenerate it. The example of Guisborough reinforces this. It was the only vill in which Brus received land from all his main sources. Within it, the manors held and directly administered by the count of Mortain and Robert Malet appear reasonably prosperous, and the former possesses such amenities as a church, a priest and a mill; the six bovates which pertain to the honor of Chester are unsubinfeudated and waste, and the manor belonging to the crown is valueless.²² It was not so much the devastation which the land had suffered at the hands of William I which determined its value in 1086, as the administrative effort which had been put into reviving it. The subsequent upheavals of William II's reign, with further rebellions involving northern magnates, must also have had repercussions on land values and can have given little opportunity for an effective administrative system to be imposed on manors which had lost or changed their overlord. Indeed, the very fact that some correlation can be shown between the state of the lands in 1086 and that in which Brus received them twenty or more years later, suggests that very little had changed in the intervening years. Such lands as had recovered to a

²¹ Appendix 1, table C; *DB: Yorks.*, I, 5N 17-18.

²² *DB: Yorks.*, I, 1N10, 4N2, 5N19, 11N1. Robert Malet's share in Guisborough probably came to Robert de Brus after it had escheated to the crown in 1106.

certain extent between 1070 and 1086 remained viable, while those which had been initially neglected continued to be so. But much more detailed work needs to be done if any firmer conclusions are to be drawn.

Although no return was made by Adam de Brus II in 1166 regarding the number of knights' fees in his barony, evidence suggests that the *servitium debitum* had been established at fifteen before the death of King Henry I, and it was on this number that he was charged aid and scutage. This is corroborated by the *inquisition post mortem* of Peter III in 1272, which refers to fifteen fees of the old enfeoffment and one of the new. The latter was Danby, which had been held by William of Aumale in 1166, passed to the crown in 1179 and was retrieved by Peter I only after 1200.²³ All of the fifteen fees had been subinfeudated by Robert de Brus I before 1135, some as early as 1109 or even 1104.²⁴ All but one were granted as full fees, distributed among six tenants. The two largest grants were of three fees each. Although it was only on these fifteen fees that aids and scutage were levied by the crown, the barony was clearly able to sustain further subinfeudation which the twelfth-century Bruses exploited for their own benefit. An inquisition of 1279 identifies eleven additional knights' fees which were being held of Peter de Brus III at the time of his death.²⁵ Most of these were made up of fractions, some very small, and there is circumstantial evidence that the majority had been in possession of the same families, or their precursors, well before 1200. They therefore date from a period when it was still usual to make grants for knight service, but the substitution of monetary payments for personal service had made fractional fees a practical possibility.

The size of a knight's fee in the Brus barony, as in other baronies, varied considerably, a reminder that it was not a standard measure of land, even within the same village, but the outcome of an agreement between lord and vassal.²⁶ The majority of fees granted out by the Bruses consisted of ten or twelve carucates, but there are instances of eight, fourteen, seventeen, or even twenty-one, this last being in

²³ *Pipe Roll 14 Henry II*, p.90; *Pipe Roll 18 Henry II*, p.62; *CIPM*, I, no.800.

²⁴ According to grants made by Richard Mauleverer to the monks of Marmoutier at York, he had already been enfeoffed of his lands at Allerton by 1104, although it is only his confirmation of 1109 which survives and names Robert de Brus as his lord; *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, I, no.1233; *EYC*, II, pp.74-75.

²⁵ *CIPM*, II, p.189.

²⁶ English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.142-143.

the East Riding, in Burton Agnes and its appurtenances.²⁷ Carucates could also vary in extent, but so far as can be ascertained a carucate in the Brus's Yorkshire lands was reasonably standard at eight bovates.²⁸

By 1200, then, the Yorkshire Bruses held fifteen fees on which they themselves were liable for scutage, and had probably subinfeudated a further eleven fees which must have been a useful source of income 'when scutage ran', but ceased to generate so much as the system changed during the course of the thirteenth century. Already in 1218 and 1229 Peter de Brus was summoned for the reduced service of five knights.²⁹ By this time the Bruses, like other barons, had virtually ceased to grant out land for military service. Of the ten surviving lay charters granted by the three Peters, only two mention military service. Both of these are for land held as knights' fees by previous tenants and specify that service as *forinsec*, which was attached to the land rather than the person and therefore difficult to commute.³⁰ The days of major alienation from the fee were over and the Bruses, like other barons, were conserving their remaining land resources.

HARTNESS

The district of Hartness takes its name from the central manor of Hart. Although its boundaries are not clearly defined, the area it covered was probably similar to that granted by the Danish invader, Regenwald, to one of his followers in c.923, which stretched from the river Eden south to Billingham and westwards from the coast to the line of the present A19 road.³¹ While there may be problems in interpreting the Yorkshire Domesday, that county was at least surveyed. North of the Tees there is no such record of extent or value of the lands to provide any comparison. However, among the Dodsworth transcripts at the Bodleian library, there is the copy of a document drawn up between 1146 and 1151 relating to the settlement of a dispute

²⁷ *CIPM*, I, p.265; *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp.53, 54, 56-58, 127-128. An extreme example of difference in size is found in Holderness, where the Brus's 20 carucates are said to be held where 23 carucates make one fee, yet the majority of fees held of the count of Aumale were of 48 carucates; English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.142-143.

²⁸ The carucate, the northern equivalent of the hide, was a measure of tax liability rather than land area. Like the bovat, and even the acre, it therefore varied in extent depending on the nature of the terrain. The bovat, or oxgang, normally represented the amount of land one ox could plough in one year.

²⁹ I.J. Sanders, *Feudal Military Service in England* (London, 1956) pp.111, 123.

³⁰ Appendix 3, nos. 69, 86.

³¹ Simeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia*, I (RS 75i) p.209; *VCH: Durham*, III, p.256.

between the monastery of Tynemouth and Guisborough priory over their share of tithes from Hartness, which records the lands held there in demesne by Robert de Brus I on the day of his death.³² According to this, Robert de Brus held 141 acres of demesne in the manor of Hart and there were another 108 acres which Robert de Camera held of the demesne. The other vills mentioned are Thorpe [Bulmer], Elwick, Dalton [Piercy], Stranton, Tunstall and Seton [Seaton Carew] in which a total of 1145 acres and one rood were held in demesne. Within Seton there were a further 90 acres of new land and 90 acres of old of the field of Owton (Oughton), in which manor there were an additional 220 acres in demesne. Although the state in which Robert de Brus I received his Hartness lands can only be a matter for conjecture, it is evident from this record of arable demesne land that the manors were going concerns by the time of his death in 1142 and were retained for the lord's own use. Later records show that the manors of Nelleston (Nelson), Thurston (Throston) and Morleston were also within the Brus lordship, possibly as part of Hart. Brierton, which was held for a time in chief by the Feugeres family, might also initially have been held by them of the Bruses.³³

These manors represented most, but not all the vills within the region. Billingham and Wolviston, near its southern boundary, were held by Durham priory, as was [Monk] Hesledon near Castle Eden, while Claxton was held by the bishop of Durham. Whether Greatham was ever part of the Brus grant is not known. It is first mentioned as belonging to the Bertrams of Mitford in 1196, but came into the hands of the bishops by escheat in 1265.³⁴ These manors were clearly few compared with those held by the Bruses, who were regarded as titular lords of the region, holding the long-established regional manor at Hart and the stronghold of Castle Eden on its northern boundary. They also held Elton, south of the region's boundary, since a charter of Robert de Brus II refers back to his father having granted that manor to Peter Werenge for one quarter of a knight's fee.³⁵

³² *GC*, II, nos.1148-1149. For an account of the dispute see *VCH: Durham*, III, p.262.

³³ *CIPM*, VIII, no. 531; *GC*, II, no.1151; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.445b; *VCH: Durham*, III, p.366; see also appendix 1, table F and map.

³⁴ *VCH: Durham*, III, pp.196, 199, 243-244; *Feod. Prior. Dunelm.*, pp.137-138.

³⁵ Appendix 3, no.123.

The earlier history of the Brus tenure of Hartness is obscured because the records place the region sometimes in Northumberland, sometimes in Yorkshire.³⁶ Its later history is further complicated as a result of its purchase from Richard I by the bishop of Durham, as part of wapentake of Sadberge. By that time it is evident that some manors had already passed from the Bruses, a factor which may have contributed to the reduction of their obligation for knight service from five fees to two.³⁷ At least one fee, at Seaton[Carew] and Oughton, had been lost to them before 1166 when it was held in chief by Robert de Carew, whose son Peter was specifically mentioned among those whose service was granted to the bishops of Durham in 1189.³⁸ By the early thirteenth century the manor of Dalton [Piercy] had passed to the Balliols, and was granted by Ingram de Balliol of Urr to his daughter Ellen on her marriage to William de Percy.³⁹

Hartness was initially regarded as an extension of the Bruses' Yorkshire fief, and after its transfer from the crown to the bishops of Durham the Yorkshire Bruses were confirmed in their rights of lordship. Yet only rarely are the lords of Skelton seen to be exercising those rights. It was the lords of Annandale who regularly confirmed Robert I's grant of the churches of Hartness to Guisborough. It was they who made further grants to that priory and to the monks of Durham, granted portions of its land to their own tenants and used it as warranty for lands in Annandale. It is they who are credited with developing the port of Hartlepool, and who offered fines to successive kings for the privilege of holding a weekly market and annual three-day fair in the town.⁴⁰ There are no surviving records of the Yorkshire Bruses confirming any of their kinsmen's grants.⁴¹ Only in Adam de Brus's charter of liberties to the

³⁶ For example, in 1158 an account was rendered for the men of Robert de Brus in Northumberland. In 1176, when Robert II was amerced for forest offences, the first instalment of his fine was entered under Yorkshire, but the second instalment was required of him in Northumberland. In 1196 and 1197, outstanding scutage payments are referred or divided between the two counties. *Pipe Roll 5 Henry II*, p.14; *Pipe Roll 22 Henry II*, p.116; *Pipe Roll 23 Henry II*, p.76; *Pipe Roll 8 Richard I*, pp. 96, 168, 174, 185; *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, pp.11, 56, 59.

³⁷ See above, pp.67-68.

³⁸ *VCH: Durham*, III, pp.367-368; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp.443-444; *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptorum Tres* (SS 9, 1839) pp.lix-lx.

³⁹ *The Percy Chartulary*, ed. M.T. Martin (SS 117, 1911) no.879. William de Percy was son of Isabel de Brus, sister of Peter I. It is not clear, however, how the manor had passed to the Balliols.

⁴⁰ See below, appendix 3, *passim*; Sharp, *Hartlepool*, pp.121-122; *Pipe Roll 3 John*, pp.249-250; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.217b.

⁴¹ Peter de Brus I is named as a witness to King John's charter of liberties to the burgesses of Hartlepool, but at the very end of the list; *Rot. Chart.*, II, p.86b.

burgesses of Hartlepool, in Peter II's control of the region during Robert V's minority, and in occasional dealings with the bishops of Durham are the Yorkshire branch's interests in any way acknowledged.⁴² After the death of Peter III the region of Hartness was assigned to his sister Lucy and her husband, Marmaduke de Thweng. It continued to be held of them and their heirs by the Annandale Bruses until 1306, when the English lands of the future King Robert I were confiscated. In the ensuing disputes between king and bishop over its custody, the successors to the Yorkshire Bruses were also deprived of their lordship and the manors of Hart and Hartlepool eventually passed into the hands of the Cliffords.⁴³

ANNANDALE

The experience which Robert de Brus I had gained in Cleveland, and even Hartness, must have been little preparation for the task which confronted him in Annandale, of imposing an alien system of government on such an extensive region. Annandale was the first area of south-west Scotland to be placed directly under Anglo-Norman control, and had long been recognised as of strategic importance. It had provided a valuable line of communication from early times, and the Roman road which ran along the lower slopes on its eastern side linked Carlisle to both the Clyde and the firth of Forth. In addition, the main land route out of Galloway via Nithsdale crossed the Annan near the future town of Lochmaben; and the stretch of coast which the Bruses were to control included access to several fords across the Solway.⁴⁴ It was undoubtedly for this reason that Annandale was for a time the site of an important ecclesiastical centre; there is archaeological evidence dating from the eighth and ninth centuries of an 'Anglian' minster at Hoddum where, according to his 'Life', St Kentigern had earlier founded a church and established his see before transferring it to Glasgow.⁴⁵ It was undoubtedly for the same reason that David I and Henry I considered it prudent to establish a strong presence there in the person of an able and trusted companion.

The initial grant of Annandale, made in c.1124, only partially defines its bounds. These are given as the lands of Dunegal of Nithsdale to the west, marked by the

⁴² *CChR*, v, p.370; see also above and below, pp.91, 166.

⁴³ For the later history of Hartness see *VCH: Durham*, III, pp.257-258.

⁴⁴ *Eastern Dumfries*, pp.170, 188; B.Blake, *The Solway Firth* (London, 1955) pp. 8-12, 63-64.

⁴⁵ *Eastern Dumfries*, p.243.

Lochar water, and those of Ranulf le Meschin across the Solway, which later formed the boundary between Scotland and England.⁴⁶ Although not stated in the grant, the northern extent was undoubtedly the watershed which separates the Annan from the sources of the Clyde and the Tweed, since the later grant made by David I to Robert de Brus II notes that his lands extended to 'Clud' and the forest of Selkirk.⁴⁷ To the east lay Eskdale, which was subsequently divided between Robert Avenel and Geoffrey of Conisbrough, when the boundary evidently followed the watershed between the two dales, then the line of the Sark to join the upper reaches of the Solway just above Gretna.⁴⁸ The whole region is estimated by Lawrie to comprise about 200,000 acres (300 square miles), a large part of which is moorland rising to well over 2,000 feet. In the twelfth century much of the coastal region was salt-marsh, and it has been suggested that parts of the valley floor may still have been thickly wooded, with settlements in clearings and on the lower slopes.⁴⁹ Annandale was, therefore, a geographically defined region, its boundaries following watersheds and rivers, very real barriers in such an area and creating a natural administrative district. Whether it had existed as such before its boundaries were defined in David I's charter is debatable.

Barrow has rightly noted that in south-west Scotland David I's practice was to grant out large districts such as Annandale as compact lordships, whereas in the south-east the new fiefs were more usually made up of 'single manors, villages or even smaller estates,...dispersed across several miles of country'. There are, however, exceptions to this pattern. Lauderdale in the Lammermuir hills, which comprises a distinct geographical area in the same way as Annandale, was granted to Hugh de Morville as a compact lordship.⁵⁰ This suggests that in mountainous regions, where natural boundaries were more evident, the nature of the terrain played a substantial

⁴⁶ *Charters of David I*, no.16; *ESC*, pp.48-49, 307-308.

⁴⁷ *Charters of David I*, no.210; *ESC*, pp.162, 413-414.

⁴⁸ Barrow, 'Pattern of Lordship', pp.131-132; appendix 3, no.125. Staplegordon in Eskdale, which was later the *caput* of Geoffrey of Conisbrough, was the venue for David I's grant to Robert de Brus II; this suggests that the boundary of Brus's lands may initially have extended further to the east, to the Esk itself, which may then have formed part of the boundary of Ranulf's lands. However, the bounds of the fishery granted to Ivo by Robert II which reached as far as the 'waters of Esk', probably lay where the Sark joins the Esk as there is evidence that the upper reaches of the Solway were then called Esk; appendix 3, no.125.

⁴⁹ *ESC*, pp. 307-308, 413-414; Blake, *Solway Firth*, pp. 29, 33 and *passim*; *Eastern Dumfries*, pp.22, 25, 51, 57, and *passim*.

⁵⁰ Barrow, 'Pattern of Lordship', pp.130-132.

part in determining the manner in which lordships were created. For this reason the patterns of Davidian settlement in south-west Scotland can well be compared with those of English Cumbria and the Welsh March, where the second generation of Anglo-Norman kings had utilized divisions of 'geographical rather than administrative significance' when extending their authority into those regions, and can be shown to have cut across pre-existing estate boundaries in many instances, such as the establishment of the barony of Kendale.⁵¹ David I clearly acknowledged the parallel when he decreed that Annandale should be held by Brus according to the same rights as Ranulf le Meschin had held Cumberland.⁵²

The similarity between Cumberland and Annandale went deeper than the manner in which Norman administration was being imposed; it was already present in the nature of the people, their customs and way of life. Although earlier settlers in Annandale, like those of Galloway and Nithsdale, had been British and Gaelic, place-name evidence suggests that these had been supplanted east of Nithsdale by a large Scandinavian contingent originating from English Cumbria rather than from the Norse settlers of the Western Isles.⁵³ Evidence is poor for the organisation of Scottish Cumbria in the eleventh century, but there is nothing to suggest that after the death of the last king of Strathclyde in 1018 it was subjected to any regional overlord in the manner of Galloway and Nithsdale. By 1107 it was clearly considered as part of the kingdom of Scots, and it is likely that any obligations, such as military service, were already regarded as being due directly from the land-holder to the king.⁵⁴ Some suggestion of this may be detected in the wording of the grant to Ingebald, who held Dryfesdale in Annandale for the service of two villis and one knight in the king's army, and to whose son Robert de Brus II restored the same rights.⁵⁵ Although Ingebald may only have come into Annandale with the Bruses, his Scandinavian name suggests that he could as well have been an earlier settler whose rights and

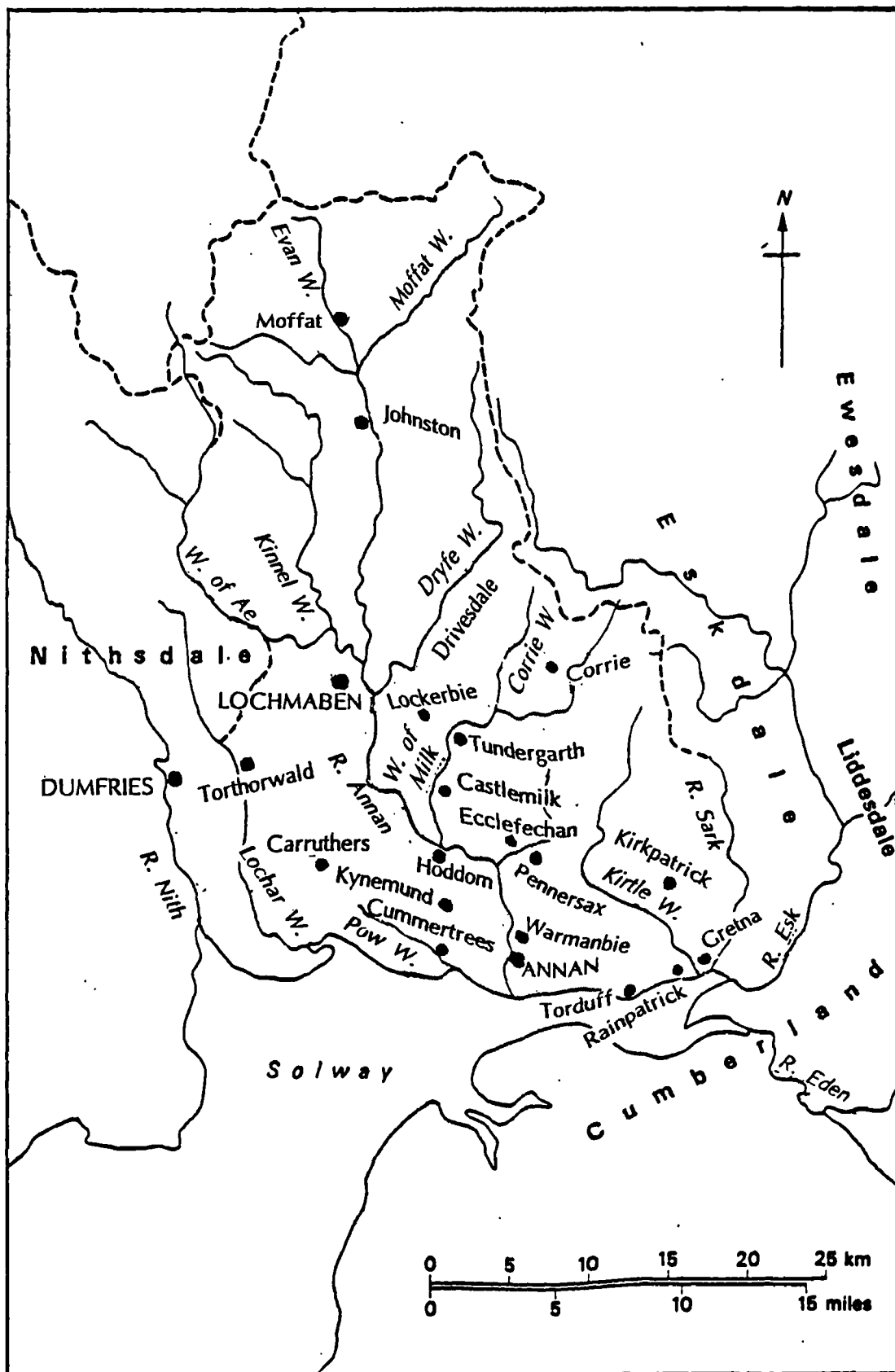
⁵¹ F.M.Stenton, 'Pre-Conquest Westmorland', in Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: England, *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (London, 1936) p.xlviii; Barrow, 'Pattern of Lordship', pp.121-124; Frame, *Political Development*, pp.65-66; A.J.L.Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) p.18.

⁵² *Charters of David I*, no.16; *ESC*, no.54.

⁵³ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp.32-35, 47; W.F.H.Nicolaisen 'Scandinavian Place-Names', in *Historical Atlas of Scotland*, ed. P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (St Andrews, 1975) pp.7, 113; G.Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: the Place-Name Evidence', in *Galloway: Land and Lordship*, ed. R.D.Oram and G.P.Stell (Edinburgh, 1991) pp.84-85, 92.

⁵⁴ Barrow, 'Pattern of Lordship', p.125.

⁵⁵ Appendix 3, no.124.



ANNANDALE : PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

(map based on Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, p.60)

obligations had been converted into Norman administrative terms in the same way as the Morvilles 'seem to have imposed knight service on existing tenants'.⁵⁶

The establishment of military tenants for knight service was not, however, a priority for Robert de Brus I. His main objective was to secure Annandale for David and extend the limits of Anglo-Norman rule further north. The early establishment of a castle at Annan as the centre of a military command or 'castlery', has much in common with the methods of infiltration used by the Anglo-Normans in the Welsh Marches, and is a reflection of the insecure, frontier nature of Annandale, adjacent as it was to the independent regions of Nithsdale and Galloway.⁵⁷ The specific mention of the castle in David's grant to Robert is indicative of its importance as the focus of power. It is likely that in the time of the first Robert the castle would have been garrisoned by mercenaries, including Flemings, some of whom came to be settled on small tenancies in the central area of the dale and have left their names attached to the Scandinavian suffix 'by'.⁵⁸ This may have been as far as the Anglo-Norman settlement of Annandale went in the time of Robert de Brus I. Although no records remain from the years of his overlordship, it is clear from Robert's behaviour at the battle of the Standard that his allegiance and interest lay primarily south of the Border. It is, I consider, a strong probability that the first Robert de Brus did little to colonise Annandale, using it as no more than a military base and leaving it to his younger son, whose stake in the area was so much greater, to establish more influential tenants and to impose full Anglo-Norman lordship upon the district.

LATER ACQUISITIONS OF THE YORKSHIRE BRUSES

Throughout the twelfth century there were no notable additions to the original estates in Yorkshire. Although Adam de Brus II had the use of his wife's inheritance of the Arches lands during his lifetime, it was not until her death in c.1209 that they became

⁵⁶ Duncan, *Scotland*, p.378.

⁵⁷ *Eastern Dumfries*, p.188; R.R.Davies, 'Kings, Lords and Liberties in the March of Wales 1066-1272', *TRHS* 5th ser., 29 (1979) pp.47-48; Le Patourel, *Norman Empire* pp.308-311; F.Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961) pp.194-196.

⁵⁸ See below, pp.184-185; Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', pp.85-86. See also Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p.309 for reference to a castle's garrison being granted small sub-tenancies for their support.

an undisputed part of the Brus barony.⁵⁹ Other additions which can be explained as coming through marriage include, firstly, the few manors in Holderness which may have come as a *maritagium* with Agnes d'Aumale, wife of Adam I. Secondly Joan, wife of Peter I, brought as her marriage portion an unknown quantity of land at Knottingley in the Lacy fee, including a toft which they granted to Pontefract abbey, and rent from a mill, of which they granted ten marks to Healaugh Park priory.⁶⁰ Before 1272 the Bruses had also acquired a half fee at Barton, in the honor of Richmond, which is included among Peter III's lands when they were divided between his sisters, and had been held by his uncle, William of Lancaster. Taken with the fact that Walter de Lindsay, Peter III's co-heir of William's barony, held a similar amount of land at Middleton Tyas in the same honor, it is likely that these estates were the marriage portions of their respective mothers.⁶¹ All these gains, however, are insignificant when compared with the two major additions which were assimilated into the Brus barony in the thirteenth century: the Arches fee and one half of the barony of Kendale.

The Arches Fee

As has already been demonstrated, it was only the early death of his older half-brother, Hugh de Flamville, that brought Peter de Brus I his mother's inheritance of the seven fees which her father, William de Arches, had held of the honor of Mowbray.⁶² Although Adam de Brus II had control of his wife's estates during his lifetime, she reassumed management of them in her widowhood, during which time she made grants to religious foundations, notably Healaugh Park priory, and to her own tenants.⁶³

In 1086, the estates which constituted the Arches fee had been held in chief by Osbern de Arches, along with lands in Lincolnshire and possibly Essex. After his death in c.1115 they passed to his son William, Juetta's father, but were subsequently

⁵⁹ See above, pp.69-70.

⁶⁰ *CIPM*, II, p.189; appendix 3, nos.53, 59.

⁶¹ *CCR 1279-1288*, p.106; *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp.170, 179; *EYC*, IV, pp.143-144; *EYC*, V, p.81.

⁶² See above, pp.69-70.

⁶³ *EYC*, I, nos. 536, 538, 552, 553, 555; *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.66-67. Farrer dates several of these grants within the lifetime of Adam de Brus II on the assumption that Juetta was a widow from 1169 to her death. However, the suggested date-limits are so wide that all except one could have been made after Adam II's death, while the remaining, earlier, one could date from the time of her first widowhood.

demoted to a mesne tenancy. Some lands were lost to him altogether. The remainder were incorporated into the fee which Henry I created for Nigel d'Aubigny, thus becoming part of the Mowbray honor of which William de Arches continued to hold them.⁶⁴ The fee as it passed to Peter de Brus I was made up of estates in about twenty-five vills in the West Riding. Most of them were situated in Ainsty wapentake, in the west of the Vale of York, but a few lay in the adjacent wapentakes of Claro and Barkston Ash where the Bruses already held manors as part of their original grant. There were at least two vills in which Brus and Arches both held land. A comparison between the Domesday Book and *Kirkby's Inquest* suggests that these estates represented about 126 carucates of land, held for seven knights' fees, with a further one half fee at Scalleby in Lincolnshire.⁶⁵ From the records available it would seem that the Arches fee continued to be administered as a separate entity, partly no doubt because of its dependence on Mowbray. There is, however, evidence of new subinfeudations being made by the Bruses, especially to their tenants already in that area, and of Peter de Brus I using it to provide for one of his younger sons while continuing to hold the central manors of Thorp Arch with Walton in his own hands.⁶⁶

The Barony of Kendale

When Peter de Brus II was married to the sister of the impoverished William of Lancaster in the aftermath of the barons' rebellion against King John, the prospect of his son becoming William's heir must have seemed fairly remote. When William died childless in 1246 and Peter III did indeed inherit a half share in his uncle's lands in Kendale and Lancashire, he may well have regarded them as a liability, encumbered as they still were with William's outstanding debts which the king assigned to William de Valence. Like his co-heir, Walter de Lindsay, it took Peter almost the rest of his life to pay off the debts, both heirs being finally acquitted in 1270.⁶⁷ Yet when Peter died, scarcely two years later, and his unsubinfeudated lands were initially divided between his four sisters, the income from the Lancaster estates

⁶⁴ *DB: Yorks.*, II, 25W; *Lincolnshire Domesday* pp.162, 238. Dalton suggests that William de Arches may have been involved in a rebellion against King Henry; Dalton, *Conquest*, p.90.

⁶⁵ Appendix 1, table D; *BF*, pp.193, 1467. The Lincolnshire fee may equate with that held in 1166 by Simon son of Simon who Greenway suggests was Simon Kyme, since the Kymes held other Lincolnshire lands of the Bruses; *Mowbray Charters*, p.264[18]; see also above, p.116.

⁶⁶ *Fountains Cart.*, I, p.323; *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.54, 59-60, 64-68, 70-72; *Yorks. Inq.*, I, pp.146-147.

⁶⁷ See above, p.80.

was clearly reckoned at more than one quarter of the whole, since they provided the whole of one share and part of another.⁶⁸ This may, in fact, be a reflection on the manner in which the Kendale barony was administered. As with Cumbrian lordships, and indeed with Annandale, very little of it had been subinfeudated for knight service, and the remainder was administered as an integral estate, thereby producing a larger share of income for the lord.

The barony of Kendale (or Kentdale), which made up the better part of William of Lancaster's estates, was centred on the town and castle of Kirkeby in Kendale (now Kendal). It encompassed some 200 square miles around the river and estuary of the Kent in the south-west of the region now known as the Lake District, extending northwards towards Ullswater and westwards beyond Windermere to include a large amount of upland 'waste' and some of England's highest peaks.⁶⁹ Yet within the sheltered valleys and fertile lowlands around the river there were thriving settlements which, according to detailed assessments which survive from around the time of Peter III's death, were undoubtedly providing their lords with a steady income.⁷⁰ The barony had its origins as one of the lordships established by William Rufus in his settlement of the North-West, being granted to Ivo de Taillebois together with that of Lonsdale. Subsequently granted by Henry I to Nigel d'Aubigny, the barony passed to Roger de Mowbray and then by grant of David I to Hugh de Morville.⁷¹ Although the ancestors of William of Lancaster had first held Kendale as a sub-tenant of these lords, by the end of the twelfth century they were holding it in chief, and the ancient render of noutgeld, or neatgeld, had been commuted to the service of two knights.⁷² This was, in reality, a fiscal convenience which would

⁶⁸ The Brus share of the barony of Kendale passed to Margaret de Ros, except for the vale of Kentmere, which went to Laderina de Bella Aqua together with the Lancashire manors; *CIPM*, I, no.800.

⁶⁹ Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, pp.16-17, 20, 28.

⁷⁰ These include inquests taken of the lands of Peter's heirs in 1274, 1301 and 1304, and those of Walter de Lindsay and his heir in 1272 and 1283; *CDS*, II, no.16; *CIPM*, II, no. 447; *Lancs. Inq.*, nos. 47, 83, 88. (no.47, which relates to Walter, is incorrectly headed *William de Lindsay*.)

⁷¹ For the earlier history of Kendale see Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, pp.199-200, and *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, ed. W. Farrer and J.F.Curwen, I (CWAAS Record Series 4, Kendal, 1923) pp.vii-xvii, 1-7.

⁷² Neatgeld was one of the variant names for a cattle-rent which, like cornage, was still current in the northern counties of England as well as Wales and Scotland, being a survival of the Celtic settlement of those regions. F.W.Maitland, 'Northumbrian Tenures', in *Collected Papers*, II, ed. H.A.L.Fisher (Cambridge, 1911) pp.98-100, 102-103; W.Rees, 'Survivals of Ancient Celtic Custom in Medieval England', in *Angles and Britons* (O'Donnell Lectures, Cardiff, 1963) pp.160-162; Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, p.18.

avoid the anomalies beginning to arise, even in John's reign, over the services due from tenants-in-chief in the northern shires who still held according to such renders, most of which had by now been converted into monetary terms. In Kendale, as in Cumbria, all landholders, whether military tenants or not, were under obligation as 'marchers' to answer the king's summons for service against the Scots. In this, as in so many other ways, Kendale can be compared with Annandale, where all landholders were obliged to serve in the king's army.⁷³

When the barony of Kendale was divided between the two surviving heirs of William of Lancaster, Peter de Brus III as son of William's elder sister, and therefore the senior heir, was granted the manor of Kirkeby in Kendale and custody of the castle. Walter de Lindsay, however, who was granted the manor of Warton as his chief messuage, was also granted a half share of the town of Kirkeby itself.⁷⁴ A comparison of various inquisitions and assessments of the inheritance suggests that a similar rule was applied throughout much of the barony, with many townships being carefully divided between the heirs, rather than each receiving a distinct region as was done at the division of the Brus inheritance in 1272.⁷⁵ At the time of his death, William of Lancaster was also holding one knight's fee, comprising 36 unspecified carucates, in the county of Lancashire. This was also divided equally between the heirs. Most of the half fee which came to Peter de Brus had been subinfeudated in very small fractions, some of which were held jointly by two or three tenants, for knight service or for rent.⁷⁶

While such a system of division could have been seen as fairer and less likely to result in disputes, the heirs may yet have found cause for complaint over the large number of sub-infeudations made by William of Lancaster on his death-bed. These were the subject of separate inquests the following year in both Lancaster and Westmorland to ascertain the circumstances, in which it was particularly noted that the grantees 'had seisin by none except by themselves'.⁷⁷ Most of the beneficiaries appear to be tenants or servants of William of Lancaster, receiving recognition of

⁷³ *CDS*, I, no.546; Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, p.133.

⁷⁴ *Lancs. Inq.*, pp.168n., 236.

⁷⁵ *CIPM*, I, no.800.

⁷⁶ *Lancs. Inq.*, p.166; *CIPM*, II, no.324. The Lancashire fee was said to have a yearly value of £93-10s-8d to William of Lancaster.

⁷⁷ *Lancs. Inq.*, pp.166-168.

their services or provision for their old age. The two largest recipients, however, were William's kinsmen. One of these, Roger of Lancaster, is believed to be an illegitimate brother of William, and much of his grant would seem to be a formal confirmation of land he already held.⁷⁸ The other is John de Brus, younger brother of Peter III, who was still a minor and whose inheritance of Killington was placed in wardship of the prior of Conishead, one of the canons taking seisin on John's behalf.⁷⁹

As John predeceased his elder brother, it was between Peter III's four remaining sisters and their husbands that the Brus estates were divided in 1272. The central core of the barony remained almost as it was when granted to Robert de Brus I, its small losses compensated by comparable gains. The additions of the Arches fee and Kendale more than offset the loss of Annandale. The four distinct centres of the estate, at Skelton, Danby-in-Eskdale, Thorp Arch and Kendale, are evident in the immediate grants made to the heirs, with one third of the residual unsubinfeudated land being added to each of the first three. The remainder of the lands, which had been granted out for knight service and represented by far the largest portion of the inheritance, took another nine years before they were finally apportioned to the satisfaction of all the interested parties.⁸⁰

ESTATES OF THE ANNANDALE BRUSES

Unlike those other barons who went into Scotland with David I, Robert de Brus's descendants were granted no additional lands there under his grandsons Malcolm IV and William. Although they retained Annandale itself and had it confirmed to them by William the Lion for the service of ten knights, together with confirmation of their rights, the Bruses received nothing in Lothian, close to the seat of royal government, and were given no opportunity to expand into adjacent areas such as Nithsdale.⁸¹ While the reasons for this cannot be stated with any certainty, they must surely be

⁷⁸ Nicolson and Burn, *History...of Westmorland and Cumberland*, I, pp.64-65.

⁷⁹ John de Brus probably died before 1260, as Peter III regranted Killington elsewhere in that year; appendix 3, no.107; *Records of...Kendale*, II, p.416.

⁸⁰ *CIPM*, I, no.800; *CIPM*, II, no.324; *CCR 1272-79*, pp.3-4, 39-40,46-47; *CCR 1279-88*, pp.90, 105-107.

⁸¹ *RRS*, II, no.80; Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours*, pp.56-57.

connected with the less cordial relationships apparently existing between the Brus lords and David I's successors, which have been examined in an earlier chapter.⁸² It was, therefore, well over a hundred years before the Brus lands in Scotland were increased when, after the death of his mother Isabel in 1252, Robert V inherited her one third share in the Scottish lands of his grandfather, Earl David of Huntingdon.

Prior to that time, the only changes to the lands of the Scottish branch of the Bruses took place primarily in England. Even two of the marriage grants which they acquired were from south of the Border. These were Dimlington in Holderness, which came to Robert de Brus II with the count of Aumale's niece Eufemia, and, temporarily, the manor of Haltwhistle in Tynedale granted by William the Lion to Robert de Brus III with his illegitimate daughter.⁸³ There is no evidence for any marriage portion brought by Christiana, wife of William de Brus, nor what part of Isabel of Huntingdon's inheritance had come with her on her marriage to Robert de Brus IV, although these could both well have been in Scotland.⁸⁴

While the Annandale Bruses continued to hold Hartness on a hereditary basis, any interest they held in Yorkshire was, as previously noted, purely temporary and had ceased by 1174.⁸⁵ It may have been at about this time that the half fee at Edenhall in Cumberland came into their possession, following the death of its previous tenant Henry fitz Swain, who had held it since at least 1159 and died without issue in 1172 when the manor reverted to the crown.⁸⁶ It appears, however, that Edenhall may originally have been held by the Bruses before that time, although the circumstances under which they acquired it remain a mystery which Ragg's investigations do little to resolve.⁸⁷ The Peter de Brus to whom it is said to have been granted by an unspecified King Henry cannot be one of the Yorkshire Bruses, since none of these Peters were of age before at least 1190. The most likely explanation is that it was granted to the earlier Peter, the putative brother of Robert de Brus I, by Henry I. On Peter's death, which could well have occurred before 1159, the manor reverted to the crown and was then granted to Henry fitz Swain,

⁸² See above, pp.52-53, 55-56.

⁸³ *EYC*, III, no.1352; *RRS*, II, no.227; appendix 3, no.127.

⁸⁴ There is nothing in the English records to suggest that the Bruses held any additional lands in England before Isabel of Huntingdon inherited her share of her brother's estates in 1237.

⁸⁵ See above, p.52.

⁸⁶ *Pipe Roll 5 Henry II*, p.32; *Pipe Roll 18 Henry II*, p.69.

⁸⁷ Ragg, 'The Earlier Owners of Edenhall', pp.199-205.

who already held lands in that area.⁸⁸ Having been again repossessed by the crown in 1172, it is entirely plausible that Henry II returned it to the Bruses, in the person of Robert II, perhaps in compensation for the surrender of his temporary Yorkshire tenures after 1174. Between 1194 and 1226 scutage was paid on the half fee of Edenhall either by the Brus lord of Annandale or one of his tenants. In 1211 the manor was held by Adam of Carlisle. In 1214 the scutage appears to have been paid by Robert de Turp, who was also liable for payment on several occasions after 1226. His descendant subsequently 'acquired' the manor in, at the latest, 1252 and thereafter held it in chief.⁸⁹ By this time, a single manor in Cumberland, which could never been of much consequence to the Bruses except as a staging post between Annandale and north-east England, was of no interest to Robert de Brus V, whose English possessions had now been so vastly increased by his mother's inheritance.

Inheritance in Scotland: Garioch and Dundee

The lands which Isabel de Brus acquired in Scotland came from the estates of her father, Earl David, the majority of which had passed to his only surviving legitimate son, Earl John. The exceptions were the provisions he had made for his two illegitimate sons, Henry of Stirling and Henry of Brechin. From Stringer's detailed account of Earl David's estates, it can be seen that the major area of Scottish land held by the earl at the time of his death was in the region of Garioch, comprising about 100 square miles to the north of Aberdeen. He also had estates in Dundee, in Longforgan and elsewhere in the Carse of Gowrie, the Mearns at Inverbervie, and Ecclesgreig.⁹⁰

Like his English estates, those of Earl John in Scotland were divided between his two surviving sisters, Isabel de Brus and Ada de Hastings, and the two daughters of his eldest sister, Margaret, who had married Alan of Galloway. Although the Scottish estates are 'imperfectly documented', the share which came to Isabel de Brus was evidently made up of one-third of the lands in Garioch, including

⁸⁸ *BF*, p.197; see also above, p.38.

⁸⁹ *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, p.122; *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p.156; *Pipe Roll 16 John*, p.140; *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-1260*, ed. F.H.M.Parker (CWAAS extra ser. 12, 1905) p.15; Ragg, 'The Earlier Owners of Edenhall', pp.200-203.

⁹⁰ Stringer, *Earl David*, chs. 4-5, esp. pp.30-31, 58-61, 74-75, 81-82, including map of Garioch, p.61.

Williamston and Leslie, a share in Dundee, including Cragyn, Mylnetoun and Abraham, and land 'within the barony of Inverbervie'.⁹¹ While the addition of these lands expanded the Brus horizons in Scotland, extending their interests into a region hitherto outside their sphere, there is no evidence that they became seriously involved there. It was the other component of Isabel's legacy, the English estates from the honors of Huntingdon and Chester, which would have the more formative effect on her sons' careers.

The Huntingdon and Chester Inheritance

There is a tendency to treat this inheritance as an entity, due to the earldoms having been combined in the person of John 'the Scot' as heir of his father, Earl David of Huntingdon, and of his uncle, Earl Ranulf of Chester. But the origins of the two estates are quite separate. Since the time of David I, the lands from the old earldom of Huntingdon had been intermittently in the hands of the Scottish king, and were granted to Earl David in 1185. They comprised manors in the English midlands scattered among some 160 villis in eleven shires from Lincolnshire to Bedford, with outposts in Buckinghamshire, Essex and Middlesex. The history, value and tenure of these estates has been extensively analysed by Farrer, Stringer and, previously, by Moore, who demonstrated how intricate was the division of the manors between the three heirs.⁹² The table in appendix 2 below sets out the Brus share so far as it can be ascertained, and shows that they received estates in more than fifty villis divided between eight counties which were subinfeudated for something approaching twenty-five knights' fees.⁹³ As Stringer demonstrates, however, the massive alienations to which the honor had been subjected since its inception had so depleted its reserves that the inheritance was of comparatively little value to the Bruses except in terms of prestige.⁹⁴ Their only regular income from the inheritance was derived from rents in Huntingdon and Cambridge, and their share of the unsubinfeudated manors. These initially comprised only Conington in Huntingdonshire and Exton in Rutland, later supplemented by a one-third share in Kempston near Bedford, and Tottenham in

⁹¹ Stringer, *Earl David*, p.56; appendix 3, nos.156, 157, 173-175.

⁹² HKF, pp.294-416; Stringer, *Earl David*, chs. 6-7; Moore, *Lands of the Scottish Kings*, esp. pp.123-128.

⁹³ Appendix 2, table 1; see also map, p.138.

⁹⁴ Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.110-111.

Middlesex. All these manors were, however, held in dower by Earl John's widow, Helen de Quincy until her death in 1253.

The division of such a prestigious honor inevitably led to disputes between the heirs, those over the manors of Kempston being particularly acrimonious.⁹⁵ But the litigation relating to the Huntingdon honor was nothing like so protracted as that resulting from the Chester inheritance, involving as it did the palatinate lands which King Henry was determined to retain. The Chester honor had already been subjected to one division after the death of Earl Ranulf in 1232, when his four sisters were his heirs. The eldest sister, Maud, widow of Earl David, received as her share the chief messuage of Chester and therefore the lands within the county palatine itself with only a little elsewhere.⁹⁶ These, together with the earldom, passed directly to her son, thence to be divided between his co-heiresses in 1237, along with the Huntingdon lands. At the time of his death, Earl John was in the midst of a law-suit with the other Chester heirs over the division of those lands outside the palatinate, a dispute which was continued by his own heirs, including Isabel de Brus.⁹⁷ This problem which John's heirs faced in claiming their inheritance was compounded by King Henry's refusal to divide the palatinate lands, which eventually led to their accepting alternative manors in compensation. In the case of Isabel de Brus these were the royal manors of Writtle and Hatfield Regis in Essex, which proved valuable additions to the Brus income, though reduced for a time by the one third of dower which they were obliged to pay to Earl John's widow until 1253.⁹⁸

Robert de Brus V was not himself the sole beneficiary of his mother's fortune. The manors of Exton and Conington were held by her younger son, Bernard, but probably not until after the death in 1253 of Earl John's widow, who had held them in dower. It must therefore have been Robert V who thus provided for Bernard after he himself had come into his inheritance, and granted him, in addition, the share in Repton which came to him in 1254 after the death of Earl Ranulf's widow, Clemencia.⁹⁹ Robert V also granted his manors of Caldecote and Great Catworth in

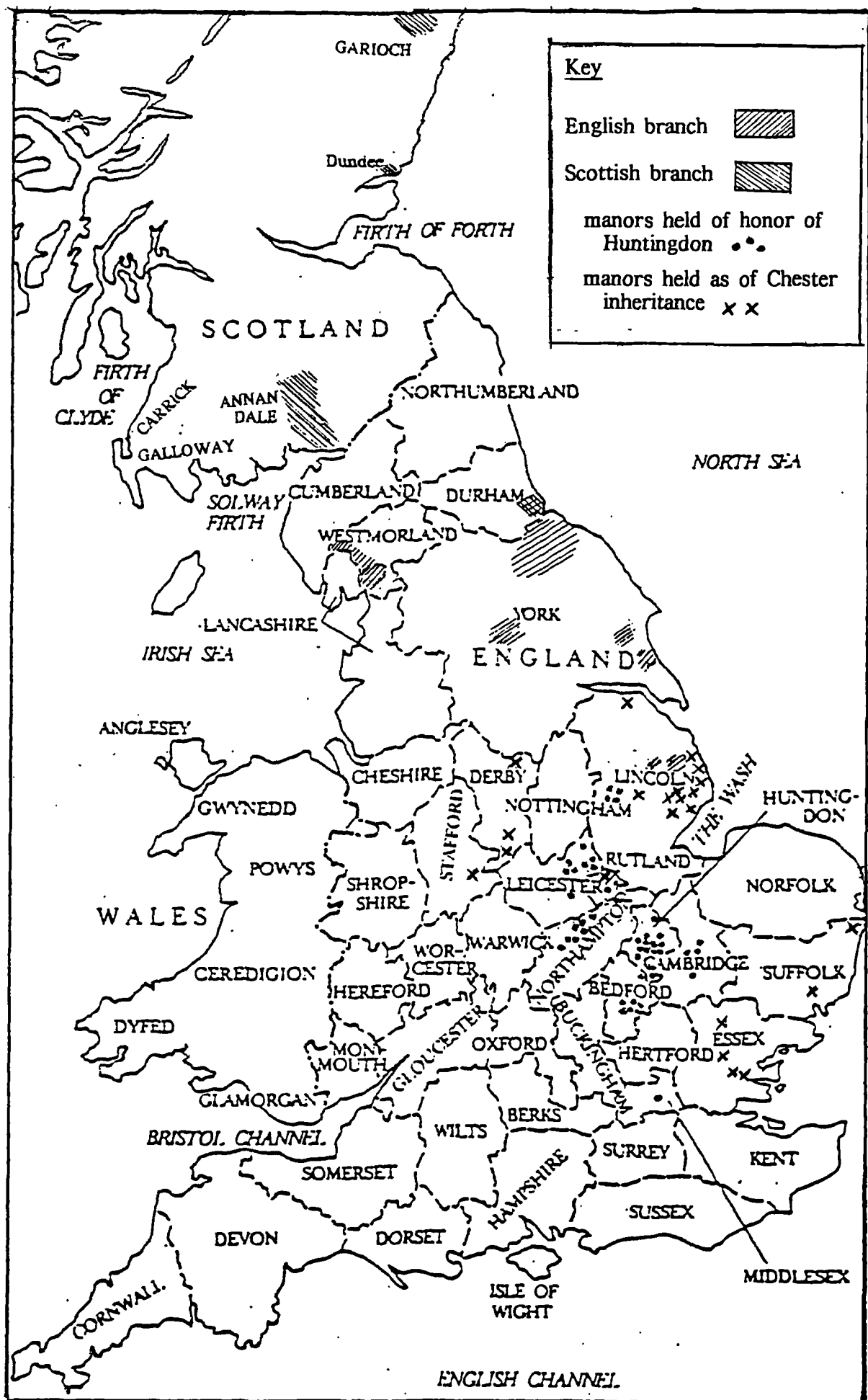
⁹⁵ *HKF*, p.402; *CDS*, I, no.1952.

⁹⁶ For details of the Chester inheritance see works cited above, p.89n.28.

⁹⁷ *CR* 1234-37, p.540; *HKF*, pp.9-11.

⁹⁸ *CPR* 1232-1247, p.224; *CChR*, I, p.262; *CRR*, XVI, no.1852. For an account of Writtle see Newton, *Manor of Writtle*, *passim*.

⁹⁹ See also below, p.211.



MAIN AREAS OF BRUS LORDSHIP c.1260

(map adapted from R.V.Turner, *King John*, p.290)

Huntingdonshire, which he held of the honor for fractions of a knight's fee, to a William de Brus for the same service. This William may have been either Robert's uncle, that uncle's son or, as Duncan suggests, Robert's own younger brother.¹⁰⁰ At a later date, Robert V made use of his English estates to provide for his own sons. His elder son, Robert VI, had Hatfield Regis. The younger, Richard, held the manor of Writtle together with the Brus share in the manor of Kempston and part of the Tottenham estate, all of which returned to Robert V when Richard predeceased him.¹⁰¹ These grants by Robert V to his sons appear to have been implemented around 1270 when he, and they, were preparing for the crusade.¹⁰² Robert himself therefore would have benefited from the income during the time he had eschewed the Scottish court for that of Henry III in the years prior to the Barons' War.

The Scottish Bruses continued to add to their lands through judicious marriages. Although Robert V received only the manor of Ripe in Sussex (worth £15) with his first wife, Isabel de Clare, despite her pedigree, he did better with his second wife, the twice-widowed Christina of Ireby whose Cumberland and Northumberland estates directed his attention northwards again. But it was his son, Robert VI, who accelerated the upward mobility of the Bruses in Scotland by acquiring not only the lands but also the earldom of Carrick through marriage to the Countess Marjorie, thus endowing his son, the future king, with the heritage he needed to cast off any lingering stigma of Englishness along with his forfeited lands, and identify himself with those earlier Celtic settlers in the kingdom of Scots.¹⁰³

CONCLUSION

It is not easy to make comparisons between the value of the estates held by the respective branches of the Brus family. If the *servitium debitum* is taken as the measure, then throughout the twelfth century the two branches were fairly comparable. The Yorkshire Bruses held fifteen fees *in capite*, another two of the earldom of Chester, and almost one of the lords of Holderness; the Scottish branch

¹⁰⁰ Duncan, 'Bruces', pp.95, 97.

¹⁰¹ See appendix 2.

¹⁰² Robert VI may only have been acting for his father in the manor of Writtle when he received a quitclaim in October 1271. Richard held land in Bedfordshire, presumably Kempston, by 1272, but there was confusion over whether he or his father was liable for dues in Essex in 1275; *CDS*, II, no.43; *CR* 1268-72, pp.432-433, 589.

¹⁰³ *CChR*, I, pp.252-253; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.23, 25-26; see also above, p.103n.89.

held ten fees in Annandale, five in Yorkshire (Hartness) and one half fee in Cumberland. The acquisition of the seven Arches fees by the lords of Skelton increased their holdings by some 40%; but even with the further addition of their half share in the barony of Kendale, they could scarcely compete with their Scottish cousins in terms of prestige after Isabel de Brus's inheritance had passed to her sons. By this time, however, the number of knights' fees did not necessarily reflect revenue, a point which will be considered further in the following chapter on the sources of their wealth.

Chapter Six

LAND MANAGEMENT AND INCOME

Although the overall view of the Brus lordships and estates as outlined in the preceding chapter, together with their assessment for *servitium debitum*, reflects the relative power and prestige of the two branches of the family, it does not take into account the income which each lord could command in order to maintain his family, household, lifestyle, and fulfil the commitments commensurate with his status. When such income, so far as it can be ascertained, is used as the measure of their comparative wealth, a different picture emerges. By the latter part of the thirteenth century, when both branches of the family had reached the peak of their land-holdings, it is the Yorkshire Bruses, despite their humbler status and the regional nature of their lordship, whose lands apparently generated a larger share of wealth in monetary terms. The picture is inevitably distorted, not only because of the paucity of surviving documentation, especially for the Scottish lands, but because of the differing methods of estate management which prevailed in various parts of the country. In Scotland and the barony of Kendale, for example, there was a continuing tradition of land being granted out for rent, some of which was payable, at least initially, in kind, rather than being subinfeudated in return for military service as was more common in most parts of England. It is, however, safe to say that by the second half of the thirteenth century, following the shift towards a monetary economy and decline in the emphasis on personal military service, the essential income of both the Yorkshire and the Annandale Bruses was derived principally from those lands which their predecessors had not subinfeudated. This income was supplemented by pertaining dues, rents and tolls, and in a very small way by such irregular perquisites as came from their military tenants or franchisal sources.¹ In this chapter, the differences in the management and value of the respective estates will be considered

¹ It has been suggested that the value of feudal dues has been over-estimated, at least for the later period, and that increasingly 'the tenant became the true lord of the fee'. A baron of the early fourteenth century is said to have complained that knights' fees held of the barony 'could be assigned no value', only scutage 'when it runs'; E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London, 1978) p.176.

first, followed by a break-down and comparison of the fundamental sources of income for both branches of the family.

LAND MANAGEMENT : YORKSHIRE AND KENDALE BARONIES

The only surviving itemised account of Brus estates in Yorkshire is the *inquisition post mortem* of Peter de Brus III in 1272. Despite the poor condition of the document, sufficient data has been extracted from it to provide a useful ‘snap-shot’ of the state of those manors at what must have been a high point of their value, when the economy of England was reaching its zenith before the decline which affected it by the turn of the century.² Lack of earlier records precludes detailed comparative study, so it is difficult to assess what changes the Brus lords might have made in management methods to counter the effects of social and economic change on their estates. The employment of professional stewards during the thirteenth century, however, suggests that the lands were being brought increasingly under more centralised control in an effort to improve their profitability, a move which was clearly successful.³ Compared with the state of the barony at the death of Adam II in 1196, when Danby was in the king’s hands and Peter I was burdened with his father’s outstanding debts, its potential value in 1272 suggests that it was in good financial order. Although the total figure cannot be ascertained exactly owing to the illegibility of parts of the manuscript, an analysis of the constituent sections as set out in the table on the following page shows something in the region of £560.

The Yorkshire manors which the Brus lords retained in their own hands were spread across the three ridings and can be divided roughly into five groups: i) the Brus *caput* at Skelton together with its castle, town and appurtenances at Stanghow, Moorsholm and Yarm; ii) the coastal manor of Brotton with Skinningrove and Marske; iii) Danby and Eskdale; iv) Brunnus and Tibthorpe in the East Riding; v) Thorp Arch and Walton held of the Mowbray fee in the West Riding, with which can be grouped the other West Riding manor of Carlton as both were granted to the same heiress, Laderina de Bella Aqua. As shown in table 2 below (p.143), the lands of the East Riding group were by far the largest and most profitable, their total value

² *CIPM* I, no.800; *Yorks. Inq.*, I, no.82. The condition of the ms. has deteriorated still further in the 100 years since the transcripts were made, and it is now virtually illegible.

³ N. Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England* (Oxford, 1937) pp.69-70; see also below, pp.146, 154-155.

Group	Manor	Demesne Arable	Demesne Meadow	In Villenage	Cottages	Freemen	Other Rents etc.	Totals
i	Skelfon	567 acres (at 5d)	84 acres (at 12d)	21 bovates (at 4s 6d)	16½ (8½ at 17s, 8 at 8s)	27 names	castle: £14 8s 8d town : £38 2s 4d	£81 16s 8d
i	Stanghow			10 bs + tofts (at 5s 3d)	6 tofts (at 2s)	3 names		
i	Moorsholm			6 bovs + tofts (at 6s)	5 tofts (at 2s)	3 names	8d for pannage	£5 14s 3d (with Stanghow)
i	Yarn						rents, tolls, court dues	£19 19s 8d
ii	Grenetige		7 acres (at 10d)	10 bovs + tofts (at 5s)		3 names		
ii	Marske	710 acres (at 8d) + 69 acres (at 4d)	80 acres (at 14d)	76 bovates + tofts (at 8s)	32 tofts (at 16d)	6+ names	2 bovates in drengage (11s total)	
ii	?				45 tofts + crofts (at 16d)			
ii	Brotton	382 acres (at 6d)	42 acres (at 18d)	40? (6s 8d)	6 tofts (at 12d) + 16 acres (at 6d), 11 tofts + crofts (at 12d)	5 names		
ii	Skinningrove						tofts, crofts and assarts (£2 17 9d total) 73 boats at 10s	£110 6s 6d (with Brotton, Marske and Grenetige)
iii	Danby	6 acres (at 12d)	6 acres (6s total)	56 bovates (at 6s)	32 tofts (at 6d) (some waste)	22 names	capital messuage (6s 8d) rents for mills, forges, pasture (14 14s? total)	£37 14s 2d
iii	Lealhome		114+ acres (at 8d)	6 names (total : £2 5s +)	6 tofts (total : 11s+) +150 acres of meadow for cottars (at 8d)		capital messuage (£4 12s) herbage, pannage, quarry (£2 6s)	£27 7s 7d
iii	Forest					9 names		£10 12s
iv	Kirkburn	24 bovs (at 13s 4d)		26bs + tofts (at 13s 4d)			capital messuage (£1)	£56 18s 6d
iv	Eastburn			47 bovs (at 13s 4d)				£52 2s
iv	Southburn			35 bovs (at 13s 4d)	18 tofts		+ ?£8	£52 15s 2d
iv	Tibthorpe	40?		83 bovs (at 13s 4d)	5 tofts			£55 18s 2d ?+
v	Thorp Arch with Walton	200 acres (at 12d)	17 acres (at 12d)	12 tofts + 8 acres waste		£8 7s 4d+	capital messuage (6s 8d) herbage (13s 4d)	£30 0s 10d
v	Carlton	2½ bovs (at 4s 4d) 45 acres (at 4d)	40 acres pasture (at 4d)	7 bovates (at 4s 4d)			capital messuage (10s) other rents (£8 8s 10d+)	£12 0s 6d+
Total : £553 6s +								

Table 2 : Extent of the Yorkshire Barony 1272

Information summarised from *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, I, no.82. The poor condition of the manuscript means that there are several gaps in the information and totals cannot always be given with accuracy, but valid comparisons can still be made.

being in the region of £220, while that of Skelton (including Stanghow and Moorsholm) was barely £90, more than half of which came from rents and tolls pertaining to the castle and town, with rents and tolls at Yarm adding a further £20. Brotton and Marske were assessed at a little over £110, Danby and Eskdale at around £75, Thorp Arch at £30 and Carlton at £12. A comparison of the value of the land per bovaté suggests that it is not only the extent of the East Riding manors that accounts for their higher assessment, but the evident fertility of the region compared with those manors in and around the Cleveland hills. In Skelton, for example, land in villenage is valued at 4s 6d the bovaté, while that in Brunnus and Tibthorpe at 13s 4d. Even land at Danby in Eskdale is rated more highly than in Skelton at 6s the bovaté. Arable demesne land, which is more often measured in acres, usually equates in value with that in villenage, while meadow land is assessed more highly. Some land at Marske (69 acres) which was said to be held in demesne of the Percy fee, was valued at only half that of the other demesne land in Marske, possibly because rent was due from it to the Percys.⁴

Unfortunately the *inquisition post mortem* contains little information about the men and their services, except for details of the freemen and their rents. It does appear, however, that by 1272 a fair proportion of the services from villeins and cottars had been commuted to money rents; only in Carlton are villeins said to owe aid 'according to ancient custom', and in Marske John de Tocotes owed eight boonworks in autumn for heather and for having 'common in Skelton pasture'.⁵ Where rents of named freemen are specified, most appear to be customary and some are paid in kind. At the end of the Skelton list, however, there are five freemen, including one woman, who are said to pay 'from year to year' and hold at 'the full value'. The fact that most of these holdings consist of assarts suggests that they were more recent acquisitions, and therefore rented out under a system more beneficial to the lord. From the size of rents paid by the nine 'freemen in the forest' (of Eskdale), one of whom was a woman, it would seem that they too were paying at full value. There is also, in Marske, a reference to land being held 'in drengage', the sole evidence in the Brus records for the survival of drengs as a separately defined class.

⁴ The land was valued at 4d instead of 8d per acre. The Percys held a manor at Marske, while the Brus share was probably soke of Brotton.

⁵ John de Tocotes was steward and executor for Peter III; see below, p.155.

Among the freemen who held land on their lord's unsubinfeudated manors were some whose families, or even they themselves, held more substantial lands elsewhere in the Brus barony, or of other Yorkshire tenants-in-chief, for knight service.

There is no similar *inquisition post mortem* surviving for the lands which Peter de Brus III held of the Kendale lordship, only an extent of knights' fees. However, some estimate of the value of his estates in Kendale and Lancashire can be extrapolated from the inquisitions of two of his heirs, the husbands of Margaret de Ros who inherited the bulk of Kendale, and Laderina de Bella Aqua who had Kentmere and the few manors in Lancashire. These date from 1274 and 1301 respectively. The inquest on Ashton, the one Lancashire manor which had not been subinfeudated, follows a similar pattern to the Yorkshire inquisition, but includes in addition the names of the villeins (9) and cottagers (4) as well as those of the freemen (at least 5). One of the villeins is a widow, as are two of the cottagers. Each of the villeins holds one or two messuages and one bovaté of land, valued at 6s 3d the bovaté. The cottagers pay 12d or 14d for a cottage and one to three acres. The 106 acres of arable in demesne is worth 8d the acre, the six acres of meadow 18d the acre, and the whole extent valued at £8 6s 7d.⁶

The extents of Kendale and Kentmere, however, follow a very different pattern from those of Yorkshire and Lancashire, clearly illustrating the historic difference in land management of that region. By the time Peter de Brus III inherited this lordship the service owed to the crown had been commuted to knight service, yet the majority of tenants still held their lands by the ancient render of 'neatgeld', which by the thirteenth century had been converted into a money rent.⁷ Apart from a very few manors which were held by four tenants for small fractions of knights' fees,⁸ the vast majority of the lordship was organised as a federal system of townships, or 'multiple estates', tenanted by freemen who owed rents or dues and services to the lord.⁹ The extent of Kentmere does little more than list the tenants' names and their combined rent of £40 per annum, with an additional £1 6s 8d from pannage, the valley court and a fulling-mill.¹⁰ That for Kendale, which includes the Brus share of the town of

⁶ *Lancs. Inq.*, no. 83.

⁷ See above, p.131n.72.

⁸ The fractions are $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{20}$.

⁹ For a summary of the system see Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, pp.3-5.

¹⁰ *Lancs. Inq.*, pp.309-310.

Kirkeby, is more detailed, itemising demesne lands in Kirkeby and Helsinton, worth 6d per acre 'with meadow', the rent and geld from individual farms, mills, fisheries, the total amount due from freeholders, and the value of forest dues and the court of Kendale. The Brus share in this, as inherited by Margaret de Ros, totalled £197 17s 3d, some adjustments having been made as a result of Kentmere being separately inherited by Laderina. This sum, together with those for Kentmere and Ashton, gives an approximate value for the Kendale lordship of £250.¹¹ When added to the approximate value of £560 for their Yorkshire lands, this suggests that the estates of Peter de Brus III were worth something over £800 at the time of his death.

Such figures must, of course, be treated with caution since recording methods varied, value does not necessarily equate with income, nor in the absence of account rolls is it apparent what outgoings need to be allowed for or what debts were owing. Despite such cautions, the income of the Yorkshire Bruses compares very favourably with the cross-section of contemporary barons whose estates were valued by Painter, of whom the wealthiest was Thomas de Moulton of Copeland with £537.¹² Although several of the earls had an income far in excess of such barons, some exceeding £1,500, Simpson suggests that the English lands of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester were worth only about £534 in 1264, a sum which equates with the estimated annual yield of Simon de Montfort's share in the honor of Leicester.¹³ Even the English patrimony of the influential de Vescy family was extended at little over £625 in 1254, although three dower manors were 'excluded from the reckoning'.¹⁴ It was clearly a significant inheritance which Peter de Brus III bequeathed to his sisters.

¹¹ CDS, II, no.16. *Lancs. Inq.*, no.83.

¹² S.Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943) pp.174-175.

¹³ G.G.Simpson, 'An Anglo-Scottish Baron', p.77; Painter, *English Feudal Barony*, pp.174-175; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp.47-49.

¹⁴ K.J. Stringer, 'Nobility and Identity in Medieval Britain and Ireland: the de Vescy Family, c.1120-1314', in *Britain and Ireland 900-1300 : Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*, ed. B.Smith (Cambridge, 1999) p.205.

LAND MANAGEMENT : ESTATES OF THE ANNANDALE BRUSES
IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

Evidence for land management in Annandale is patchy and almost entirely dependent on surviving charters, but is strongly suggestive of a similar organisation to that of Kendale. It also appears to bear out the proposition that in south-west Scotland there was less emphasis on military service as a return for subinfeudated land, even during the twelfth century, than the granting out of land for rent in money or in kind.¹⁵ Although the *servitium debitum* was eventually determined as ten knights, there is no mention of it in the early royal grants of Annandale, and it is doubtful that the Bruses ever established that number of fees.¹⁶ Lack of records makes it impossible to be conclusive, and it is not known for what service some of the major Brus tenants such as the Corries and the Johnstons held their lands, but the only surviving charter which makes reference to a full fee is that of Dryfesdale mentioned above, in which Hugh, son of Ingebald, was obliged to pay Robert II the 'service of two villis' and of one knight 'in the king's army'.¹⁷ The very wording of this grant emphasises the nature of military service in Scotland where it was a royal prerogative, and may well provide the reason why subinfeudation for knight service was of less importance to the lord.¹⁸ In addition to the Dryfesdale grant, however, there are three charters which relate to fractions of one quarter, one eighth and one twentieth of a knight's fee.¹⁹ Although these date from the time of William de Brus and Robert IV, two are for exchange of lands and may therefore represent the service due from an earlier grant, bearing out the premise that the practice of granting fractions of fees was already in place before the end of the twelfth century. While Duncan suggests that such a practice represented the 'break-up of old enfeoffments [rather] than the creation of new ones', it may well reflect the reality that feudal service in Scotland was becoming the same fiscal concept as in England.²⁰

¹⁵ This is a topic which continues to generate much debate. See, for example, Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp.120-121, 129-134; Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp.308-310; R.A. Dodgshon, *Land and Society in Early Scotland* (Oxford, 1981) pp.92-95; Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.378, 391-392; Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.64-65, 88-89.

¹⁶ *RRS*, II, no.80; *Charters of David I*, nos.16, 210.

¹⁷ Appendix 3, no.124.

¹⁸ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, p.133.

¹⁹ Appendix 3, nos.138, 139, 147.

²⁰ Duncan, *Scotland*, p.390; Barrow, *Kingdom*, p.301.

It is certainly the case that there is a body of surviving charters relating to land transactions between the Bruses and their Annandale tenants, which involve payment of rent in money or kind. Some of these use similar wording to those charters granted for knight service, stating that they are made for 'homage and service' and that the rents will cover such dues as 'services, customs and suits of court', with further reference to liability for aids in the same way as military tenants.²¹ Thus senior tenants who held land for rent were as surely their lord's men as those enfeoffed for knight service. The evidence of the Annandale court, and of witness lists, clearly testify to there being a core of such men, from successive generations of the same families, in the following of the Brus lords. Although paying rent for their estates, they were undoubtedly of knightly status, liable for reliefs, aids and probably castle-guard, which would have been performed at Annan or Lochmaben since King William had specifically exempted Robert II from providing that service at a royal castle.²²

Evidence for the establishment of several feus (fees), for whatever service,²³ is provided by the archaeological excavations of a number of small mottes and moated enclosures within the dale. While these may have been built over pre-existing settlement centres, they all reveal the existence of twelfth-century timber constructions, and each of them was clearly providing a *caput* for a principal sub-tenant of the Bruses. An exception is Moffat (Auldtoun), which the Bruses retained in their own hands. The extents of such estates can be ascertained in some cases by documentary evidence and are often co-terminous with pre-existing parish boundaries, which suggests that the Bruses may well have used an existing estate structure when establishing their principal followers.²⁴ The rest of the dale, however, appears to have been managed by the Brus lords as an integral estate, of which they retained only sufficient land in demesne to supply their own needs. The remainder was rented out in small farms, often for a return in kind and possibly for fixed terms.

²¹ Appendix 3, 148, 171, 172.

²² *RRS*, II, no.80; Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.383, 390-391.

²³ The term 'feu' (*feudum*) seems to have been used for estates held by those of the knightly class, whether for knight service or for rent; Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, p.9n35.

²⁴ *Eastern Dumfries*, pp.188-196, 207, 281-282; G.Stell, 'Mottes', in *Historical Atlas of Scotland*, ed. P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (St Andrews, 1975) p.29; G.G.Simpson and B.Webster, 'Charter Evidence and the Distribution of Mottes in Scotland' in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K.J.Stringer (Edinburgh, 1985) pp.8-9.

How far this system was able to adapt to changing circumstances is difficult to ascertain in the absence of estate records. There are, however, a number of charters surviving from around 1200 which relate to land exchanges, suggesting that fresh agreements were being entered into between the lord and his tenants in an attempt to maximise his income at a time of rising prices and increasing pressure on land. Even in the second half of the thirteenth century, new grants of land for rent were being made from the lord's 'demesne' land in Moffat.²⁵ Tenants inevitably had their financial problems too. Quitclaims made by Brus tenants in the thirteenth century include, among others, those of Helen, daughter of Roger Porter, who sold her father's grange 'in her necessity', and of the sons of Ralph 'the lardenar' who had incurred debts of Robert de Brus IV.²⁶ While it is not possible to draw firm conclusions, and it cannot be known if the tenants' problems had been in any way exacerbated by raised rents, such evidence as there is would seem to support the theory that there was little direct or 'high' farming on the part of the Annandale Bruses, and that they relied predominantly on rents for their income.²⁷

Any attempt to supply estimates of gross revenue from Annandale is, as with most lay estates in Scotland at this period, virtually impossible, and the only examples which have been calculated are those of earls. In 1294-95 the lands of the earl of Fife, the leading and probably the wealthiest earl in Scotland, were assessed at an annual value of £490, which Duncan equates with 'that of a modest English baron'.²⁸ Simpson has calculated that the Scottish lands formerly held by the earl of Winchester, including the Galloway inheritance of his wife, were worth £421 in 1296.²⁹ In 1260 two-thirds of the earldom of Carrick was extended at £112 12s 6d, although its full value would have been increased by the third then held as dower, making a total of £168 3s 9d.³⁰ There are no such clues to the value of Annandale. While Barrow's suggestions for the notional value of a knight's fee range from £5 to 20 marks per annum, the most nearly comparable examples point to a figure between

²⁵ Macquarrie, nos. 4, 5, 9.

²⁶ CDS, I, no.606; Macquarrie, nos. 2, 7, 11, 12.

²⁷ For comparative views on the extent of high farming in Scotland see Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.414-415, 426-427; Dodgshon, *Land and Society*, pp.128-129.

²⁸ Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.426-427.

²⁹ Simpson, 'An Anglo-Scottish Baron', pp.49-50, 80.

³⁰ CIM, I, no.253; Milne, 'An Extent of Carrick', pp.46-49.

£8 and £10, thus setting Annandale's value between £80 and £100.³¹ Simpson's evidence that the de Quincy half share of Galloway was assessed at £168 in 1296, making £336 for the whole of an area some three times the size of Annandale, supports such a valuation.³² Compared with England, where the manor of Writtle alone was valued at more than £100 between 1287 and 1304, Annandale might be regarded as a poor region.³³

It is likewise difficult to calculate the value of the Brus share in Earl David's Scottish estate. The agreement of Robert V with Nicholas Biggar in 1290 suggests that their one-third share of Garioch was worth 20 marks.³⁴ Inverbervie was rented out in 1291 at £16 per annum,³⁵ and there would also be tolls and rents from Dundee. By the end of his life, therefore, Robert V was holding land in Scotland valued at scarcely £150. To compare the monetary value of Scottish lordships with those of English baronies is not, however, entirely fair. Even in the thirteenth century, when Scotland too was experiencing the problems of an expanding population with its resulting pressure on land, and an increasing dependence on a monetary economy, there was little direct taxation, no scutage, and inflation was less acute than south of the Border. So the income needed by a baron in Scotland to maintain a similar lifestyle must have been considerably less than that required in the bureaucratic, highly taxed economy of England.³⁶

The income of the Annandale Bruses was, of course, supplemented by their English lands, including those in Hartness where, as military tenants, it was they, not their Yorkshire kinsmen, who enjoyed the revenue. The extent of their demesne lands there in 1142, which totalled something like 1,795 acres, suggests that the Bruses still retained in their own hands most of their manors within Hartness itself.³⁷ The manors of Elton, which had already been subinfeudated by Robert de Brus I, and

³¹ Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp.294-295.

³² Simpson, 'An Anglo-Scottish Baron', p.81. There is no firm evidence as to the way in which Galloway was divided between the two surviving heiresses after the death of Christiana de Forz. De Quincy may not have had an exact half share.

³³ Writtle was valued at £139 17s 9d in 1287, £100 17s 5d in 1299, and £108 17s 2d in 1304; CDS, II, nos. 312, 1073, 1540.

³⁴ Appendix 3, no.173. The compensation figure of 40 marks worth of land mentioned in the agreement suggests that this represented the value of two-thirds of Garioch; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.43-44.

³⁵ Appendix 3, no.174.

³⁶ See Stringer, *Earl David*, p.79 for a note of cautious optimism regarding the worth of Scottish lordships.

³⁷ See above, p.122.

Castle Eden, which Robert II granted out for one knight's fee, both lay outside the region's boundaries. There is, however, fourteenth-century evidence that other manors within Hartness were subsequently granted out for fractions of knights fees; an exercise which must have been well advanced before the end of the twelfth century.³⁸ The remaining manors would appear to have been administered collectively, at least in the time of Robert de Brus II, by one steward who was based at the manor of Hart; and despite the losses of some manors to other tenants-in-chief, the region was valued in both 1218 and 1344 at about £100.³⁹ The possession of Hartness therefore effectively doubled the value of the estates held by the Annandale Bruses before the addition of the Chester/Huntingdon lands; and although they held it as sub-tenants, it was clearly considered to be as permanent a part of their patrimony as was Annandale. There is, indeed, an example of land granted in Annandale being warranted by land to the same value in Hartness, for the same liberties and service, which unfortunately are not specified.⁴⁰ Despite differences in tenure and methods of land management between the Annandale and Hartness lands, the two regions were evidently regarded as compatible.

It is the estates which came to the Bruses as their share of the Chester/Huntingdon inheritance which demonstrate most clearly the discrepancy between the valuation of a barony according to its knights' fees compared with its income. Changing social conditions of the thirteenth century had led to a decline in the value of feudal dues, and land held by a tenant for military service provided little income for his lord. The tenant was now 'the true lord of the fee'.⁴¹ By 1253, when Robert de Brus V had finally come into possession of his full inheritance in the honor of Huntingdon, so much had been subinfeudated by successive earls that his share comprised twenty-five knights' fees but provided him with estates worth less than £60 in monetary terms.⁴² This was made up from his one-third share in the former dower manors of Kempston near Bedford and Tottenham in Middlesex, together with

³⁸ *CIPM*, VIII, no.531; appendix 3, nos. 9, 113.

³⁹ *CDS*, I, no.700; *VCH: Durham*, III, p.257. In 1218 the one-third share of the countess of Dunbar's dower in Hartness was valued at £36 6s, making the full value £108 18s.

⁴⁰ Appendix 3, no.138.

⁴¹ Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p.176.

⁴² Isabel de Brus had died in 1252, but only after the death of Earl John's widow in 1253 did the lands she had held in dower revert to the heirs. Even at the time of Earl David's accession to the earldom, 'the erosion of domanial resources had weakened a once great honour almost to the verge of dissolution'; Stringer, *Earl David*, p.110.

rents from Huntingdon and Cambridge. For a few years, after 1265, Robert V also benefited from the confiscated manors of his brother Bernard at Exton and Conington, which together were valued at £82.⁴³ A similar picture emerges from the Brus share of the Chester honor. This represented some ten knights' fees, yet it was only the royal manors of Writtle and Hatfield Regis in Essex, granted to Isabel in compensation for her share in the palatinate lands of the earldom, that provided any regular worthwhile income. These manors were, indeed, the most lucrative part of the whole of Isabel's English inheritance and were used by Robert V to provide an income for his two sons. At the death of his younger son, Richard, in 1287, the manor of Writtle was valued at £139. In 1299 and 1304, when extents were made of Robert VI's English lands, Writtle and Hatfield Regis together were valued between £164 and £170.⁴⁴

In the latter part of the thirteenth century, therefore, the unsubinfeudated English lands of Robert de Brus V, including Hartness, were worth something in the region of £340. Even when added to the £150 of his Scottish lands, and taking the lands of his second wife into account, this represented less than the value placed on the estates of Peter de Brus III in Yorkshire alone at the time of his death. It must have been considerably easier for the childless Peter III to sustain his position as a northern baron than for Robert V to emulate the lifestyle of his wife's noble and royal kinsmen.

ESTATE OFFICIALS

No manorial records exist for the Brus estates in either England or Scotland, but some information can be extracted from their charters regarding the officials who managed their lands. Those most frequently mentioned are stewards, the most senior officers who acted as their lord's representative in the overall administration of a group of manors or the whole barony.⁴⁵ There is reference in the charters to only one bailiff, John de Bledelawe, in connection with the Essex manors of the Scottish Bruses, although another, Henry de Boclaunde, is mentioned in the Close Rolls in

⁴³ See appendix 2 for details.

⁴⁴ *CDS*, II, nos. 312, 1073, 1074, 1540.

⁴⁵ For the position and duties of stewards see Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, pp. 67-69; English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp. 63-65.

connection with Robert V's share in the manor of Kempston.⁴⁶ Among the Yorkshire charters the term 'bailiff' as such is never used, but there are three references to a *serviens* or serjeant, who may well have acted in a similar capacity. These are Goce of Marske and Robert de Esturmy who served Adam de Brus II and Peter I, and a Richard, who is described as serjeant of Thorp in the Arches fee in the time of Peter III.⁴⁷

Several stewards are named in connection with the Yorkshire barony. Those of the thirteenth century are designated as 'seneschal', while Adam II's steward, Walter de Stainesby, is called 'dapifer'.⁴⁸ This change in terminology is a development which has been noted in other baronial households around 1200, though whether it indicated any radical change in status is not apparent, at least from the Brus evidence.⁴⁹ A steward of Robert II in Scotland (Udard) is in fact described as his 'seneschal' before 1190, whereas his steward of Hart in England (Nigel), is 'dapifer'. While this could suggest that Udard, whose name appears only once, was in a more senior position than Nigel, who witnessed on several occasions but only in Hartness, it may simply be that the agreement which Udard witnessed between Robert II and the bishop of Glasgow was drawn up by a more 'progressive' clerk and has no especial significance.⁵⁰

In the same way as Nigel's responsibilities related only to Hartness, the Yorkshire Bruses evidently appointed separate stewards for distinct divisions of their barony. William of Pickering, whose name proclaims his Yorkshire origins, was Peter III's steward in Kendale, where he was granted the manor of Killington in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale to establish him in the lordship. William had previously served as Peter's constable in Kendale, presumably at the castle of Kirkeby, when his name appears subordinate to that of another steward, Robert of Asseby (or Askeby). When serving as steward, William of Pickering himself takes precedence over the then constable, Thomas of Lancaster.⁵¹ Likewise, the Arches fee seems to have

⁴⁶ Appendix 3, nos.180, 185; *CR* 1253-54, p.145.

⁴⁷ Appendix 3, nos.53, 93; *GC*, I, no.394. For the work of a bailiff see Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, pp.32, 39-41.

⁴⁸ Appendix 3, nos.14, 28.

⁴⁹ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, p.67; English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.65-66.

⁵⁰ Appendix 3, no.120; *Feod. Prior. Dunelm.*, p.134n.

⁵¹ Appendix 3, nos.107-109. There was in Pickering a family known variously as de Brus, de Brus of Pickering, or simply of Pickering. It is possible that William was connected with them in some way. See below, p.212n.32.

continued under separate administration, certainly while Juetta was still alive. Her own steward is witness to one of her charters in which Adam de Seton, a tenant and occasional witness for Peter I, is named as his steward.⁵² Henry son of Conan, who witnesses for Peter I on nine occasions but is named as steward only once, provides another possible example of a distinct administrative responsibility. The charter in question concerns a grant made to Healaugh Park priory of rent from the mill of Knottingley, the *maritagium* of Peter's wife. Henry may therefore have served as steward only for that manor or, alternatively, for the Arches fee within which the priory lay.⁵³

The two remaining named stewards of Peter I, William of Redburne and William Tamton appear on several occasions in connection with the original Brus estates.⁵⁴ William Tamton, in particular, was one of Peter I's most frequent witnesses and clearly a very senior official. Not only was he responsible for overall administration of the barony but also for conducting manor courts in his lord's absence. It is also noticeable that in all the grants witnessed by William of Redburne and Henry son of Conan, the name of William Tamton takes precedence over them. This may not necessarily have been because he was a more senior official than they, but by reason of his standing in the county where he was a considerable landholder and, in 1226, is recorded as acting as an itinerant justice. By this time Peter de Brus II had succeeded his father as lord of Skelton, and although William Tamton occasionally witnessed for him he is never described as steward. William Tamton's period of service in the Brus household was but one step in a career which led to higher things.⁵⁵

Some of the other Yorkshire seneschals show evidence of being career stewards. William of Redburne, for example, is not known to have had any prior connections with the Bruses, while Henry son of Conan was descended from tenants of the Richmond honor although he subsequently acquired Liverton in the Brus fee,

⁵² EYC, I, no.552; appendix 3, nos.58, 69.

⁵³ Appendix 3, nos.35-40, 53 (as seneschal) 56, 57. Evidence suggests that Conan son of Henry, who is named in three of the charters, is an error for Henry son of Conan; GC, II, p.183n.2.

⁵⁴ Appendix 3, nos.35, 36, 38, 54 (William of Redburne, seneschal) 41, 42, 44, 45 (William Tamton, seneschal).

⁵⁵ See below, table 3, p.192; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II, pp.151b, 138. There were two William Tamtons, father and son, who between them witnessed at least 29 charters for Adam I, Peter I and Peter II. Their names also appear as grantors or witnesses in many other charters. The steward is William Tamton II. See EYC, GC, *Healaugh Cart.*, *Rievaulx Cart.*, *Whitby Cart.*, *passim*.

possibly through his mother.⁵⁶ Peter III's seneschal and executor, John de Tocotes, though a member of a firmly-established family of Brus tenants, had evidently begun his career as bailiff of Ripon, where the prior of Guisborough had a manor, before entering the Brus service.⁵⁷ Nicholas de Stuteville, another steward and frequent witness of Peter III, probably came from a cadet branch of that family, which held of other barons besides the Bruses.⁵⁸ It appears that the Yorkshire Bruses, in common with other thirteenth-century barons, may well have looked beyond their immediate circle of tenants for their senior estate official and employed a career administrator who had already proved his worth elsewhere.⁵⁹

A variation from this practice of the Yorkshire Bruses is revealed in thirteenth-century Annandale. Macquarrie suggests that the office of steward, at least in the time of Robert V, was rotated among 'the knights of [his] household'. Three such persons are named as seneschal of Annandale in Robert's charters (Robert de Heriz, David de Torthorwald and Humphrey de Kirkpatrick), while another (Alan de Dunwoody) witnesses a grant of Adam de Crosby, and Nicholas de Corri is named as seneschal to Robert VI.⁶⁰ But the sample is too small and the chronology too unclear to make a positive conclusion about this. Although these men were responsible for the Annandale estates, there is evidence to suggest that Robert V employed a professional administrator, at least in his later years. Adam de Crokdak, described variously as Master or Sir, appears in connection with an Essex charter, witnessing both the tenant's original grant and Robert V's confirmation of it, which was made at Hart in 1288.⁶¹ But it was not only the Essex manors with which Adam was concerned. He also witnessed grants made by Brus tenants to Holm Cultram, and one of Robert V himself at Lochmaben in 1294, so was clearly an itinerant member of Robert's household circle and concerned with all areas of his far-flung estates.⁶² Adam was also nominated on several occasions as Robert V's attorney during his

⁵⁶ GC, II, p.183n.2; EYC, II, p.237; EYC, v, pp.54, 58n.1.

⁵⁷ Appendix 3, no.98; York Minster Archives, Hailstone ms 6.4, p.96.

⁵⁸ Appendix 3, nos.89, 91, 93(as seneschal), 94, 95, 97, 99, 105; EYC, XI, pp.37, 68. Peter III had at least one other steward, Robert de Elgeton, who appears only in a grant to Drax abbey, and nothing further can be deduced about him; appendix 3, no.101.

⁵⁹ This was common practice in the thirteenth century; Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, pp.66, 70.

⁶⁰ Macquarrie, 'Charters of the Bruses', p.78n8; CDS, I, no.1685; appendix 3, nos. 159, 170-172, 179.

⁶¹ Appendix 3, no.168; CChR, II, p.412.

⁶² Reg. Holm Cultram, pp.58, 71; appendix 3, no.162.

periods of absence in Scotland.⁶³ Adam's widespread knowledge of the Brus estates made him well-qualified for his appointment as one of Robert V's executors. This resulted in his incurring personal expenses of £99 9s 6d which he claimed against Robert VI, who repaid some at least with land.⁶⁴ The Bruses of Annandale, like those of Yorkshire, had by this time learnt the value of employing a professional to manage their increasingly complex business affairs.

INCOME SOURCES IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Despite the differences in methods of land management which prevailed in the various regions of England and Scotland where their estates lay, the income of both branches of the Brus family derived principally from the resources of those estates. The nature of such resources clearly varied according to the terrain, but the districts which encompassed the central Brus lordships of Cleveland and Annandale shared many similar features. These included vast expanses of high moorland, steep wooded valleys, fertile river basins, and access to long stretches of estuary and sea-coast. In addition, the Yorkshire Bruses held several manors in the low lying and more fertile vale of York, while the Scottish Bruses had demesne lands in Hartness, which seem also to have been reasonably productive. The thirteenth century brought Kendale to the Yorkshire Bruses, another mountainous region with lakes, akin to Annandale, while the Scottish Bruses gained the benefit of a few Midland estates and the profitable Essex manors of Writtle and Hatfield Regis.

Crops

The daily life of the manor revolved around the cultivation of whatever crop could best be grown in the soil and climate of the region. In view of the apocryphal story of Robert de Brus II and his desire for wheat, it is interesting to note that the only crop mentioned in the 1272 inquisition of the Yorkshire estates, where he must have spent his formative years, is oats.⁶⁵ Yet if wheat could be grown in Hartness, and on the exposed flats of Holderness, it must surely have been possible in parts of

⁶³ *CPR 1272-81*, pp.362, 399; *CPR 1281-92*, pp.214, 227, 292, 315, 352, 494.

⁶⁴ *CCR 1288-1296*, p.447; *CDS*, II, no.1078.

⁶⁵ *Yorks. Inq.*, I, no.82. For the story of Robert II and wheat see above, p.46.

Cleveland, as indeed is demonstrated by a reference in the pipe roll of 1187 to *frumenti*, while a Guisborough rent roll of 1300 includes several mentions of measures of wheat as payments from tenants in the Langbaugh manors of Lackenby and Normanby.⁶⁶ Wheat could certainly be grown in Brus manors situated in the vale of York, as is confirmed by mention of a rent of wheat from the West Riding manor of Tockwith in a grant to Healaugh Park priory.⁶⁷ Besides oats and wheat, other crops are suggested by a 'barleyland' in Ormesby and a 'ryeland' in Tocketts. Evidence from field names suggests that peas were grown in Ormesby, flax and beans in Marton, with beans also getting a mention in the Guisborough rent roll.⁶⁸

The climate of south-west Scotland, sheltered by high ground to the north and east, is undoubtedly milder than that of the east coast of Yorkshire, and Laidlaw suggests that the floor of the Annan valley is good arable land. Yet despite some evidence for wheat being grown in Galloway in the medieval period, the stimulation of wheat-growing around the Solway firth in later times is mentioned by Blake as if it was a new initiative, suggesting that Robert de Brus II was right in complaining (if he did) that he could not grow wheat there.⁶⁹ There are no specific references to wheat among the records of Annandale, nor indeed of any crop other than oatmeal and [barley] malt which both feature as rents in kind.⁷⁰

The processing of grain and malt were notable generators of manorial revenue, so it is not surprising to find an abundance of references to mills among the Brus records, although mention of brewhouses is confined to the 1274 extent of Kendale in which one is recorded at Grasmere and another at Crostweyk.⁷¹ The mills were mostly water-powered, but windmills are recorded at Yarm in Cleveland, at Caldecote in Huntingdonshire and Hatfield Regis in Essex.⁷² There were five mills at Skelton and its related manors in 1272, worth a total of £21 8s, and a mill at

⁶⁶ Appendix 3, no.143; English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.198-199; *Pipe Roll 33 Henry II*, p.89; GC, II, p.414.

⁶⁷ *Healaugh Cart.*, p.104.

⁶⁸ GC, I, nos.311, 495, 516; GC, II, no.661; *ibid.*, p.414.

⁶⁹ *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, I: 1264-1359*, ed. J. Stuart and G. Burnett, (Edinburgh, 1878) pp.22-23; Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.323-324; Blake, *Solway Firth*, pp.127-128; M.Laidlaw, 'Geology of Annandale', *TDGNHAS*, 21 (1939) pp.333-334.

⁷⁰ Appendix 3, nos. 171, 172.

⁷¹ *CDS*, II, no.16.

⁷² The windmill at Yarm was worth 30s, at Caldecote ½ mark, and at Hatfield Regis 1 mark; *Yorks. Inq.*, I, p.145; *CDS*, II, nos.1078, 1540. There is later evidence for other windmills on the east coast at Marske, Coatham and Hartlepool. In view of their location, mills mentioned at these places in the time of the Bruses may also have been wind-powered.

Southburn provided 70s towards the share of John and Laderina de Bella Aqua. In comparison, the mill at Guisborough, which was granted to the priory at its foundation, had been worth 4s in 1086.⁷³ Several mills are valued in the 1274 extent of Kendale, some of which were shared, their rents ranging from £1 at Dylaker to £10 at Hotun. There is also, incidentally, mention of two fulling mills, one at Kirkeby worth 10 marks and another at Grasmere, while the 1301 *inquisition post mortem* of John de Bella Aqua adds another in Kentmere, 'which renders 1 mark yearly'.⁷⁴

Livestock

The high, unfertile moorlands of both Annandale and the Cleveland hills could provide little except peat and heather for fuel, and summer grazing for cattle as well as sheep. There are few references to cattle other than draught animals in the Brus records of either branch, although dairy products are included in the list of tithes from land in Garioch, quitclaimed by the abbot of Lindores to Robert de Brus V.⁷⁵ There are, however, mentions of cow-pastures (*vaccariae*) as well as draught animals (*averia*) in relation to the dispute over Glaisdale between Peter de Brus and the canons of Guisborough, whose shepherds also had herbage in the pasture of Danby for their own *averia*. This provides some small hint of the future, when the lower, sheltered side-valleys of Eskdale were developed into large-scale cattle farms by the Brus heirs of the fourteenth and fifteenth century.⁷⁶

Sheep must undoubtedly have played a large part in the economy of both regions, especially during the thirteenth century, but they are surprisingly absent from the Brus records, except for those on tenants' farms in Kendale and reference to a sheep-pasture in the forest of Eskdale.⁷⁷ Lack of manorial records may conceal the extent of Brus involvement in the industry, if it was effected principally through their tenants by renting out pasture for monastic flocks and providing facilities for the export of wool at the ports of Yarm and Hartlepool. Although it was the great

⁷³ *Yorks. Inq.*, I, pp.140, 148; *GC*, I, p.2; *DB:Yorks*, 5N19.

⁷⁴ *CDS*, II, no.16; *Lancs. Inq.*, p.309. The fulling mill in Kentmere may have been set up by John de Bella Aqua, because the share of the mill at Kirkeby had been reduced by 2 marks in 1274 as the tenants of Kentmere no longer made suit there 'as of old in Peter's time'.

⁷⁵ *CDS*, I, no.2267.

⁷⁶ *GC*, I, pp.102-112; *Yorks. Inq.*, I, p.144; *The North York Moors : Landscape Heritage*, ed. D.A.Spratt and B.J.D.Harrison (London, 1989) p.105.

⁷⁷ *Yorks. Inq.*, I, p.145; *CDS*, II, no.16.

Cistercian abbeys of Yorkshire which were at the forefront of wool production in the region, the canons of Guisborough had their shepherds and their sheepcotes on the moors, and it has been estimated that they maintained a flock of some 4,000 sheep in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁸ In 1257, Robert V granted to the monks of Holm Cultram rights of way across his lands in Scotland and England, probably to facilitate their access to the monastery's grazing grounds in Nithsdale and Galloway, as well as the transport of their fleeces to Hartlepool.⁷⁹ When the same Robert came to an agreement with David de Torthorwald over the fines to be levied for straying animals, sheep are among those specified, together with draught animals, goats, pigs and horses.⁸⁰

Goats and pigs were a vital part of the peasant economy and, while they are not specifically mentioned elsewhere among the Brus records, the frequent references to rights of pannage presuppose their existence. In addition to pannage, the well-wooded valleys of Annandale, Kendale and Eskdale provided herbage, sheltered winter enclosures for cattle and, in Kendale, a supply of squirrels and honey, besides being a valuable source of timber for local needs, for fences, buildings and fuel. The woodlands also had potential as a money crop but one which a baron exploited only in severe need, and there is no record of the Bruses marketing their timber.⁸¹

Expansion

Conflict between hunting grounds and grazing and arable lands was a perennial problem. So far as a baron was concerned, extensive woodland and open moors had other potentials besides the rearing of domestic livestock. This was hunting land with all its connotations of forest rights, those jealously guarded privileges relating to game preserves, which in terrain such as the Bruses held extended into the upland wastes. Both branches of the family were well placed for sporting opportunities. Forest rights were of enormous value for barons such as the Bruses, not only for

⁷⁸ GC, I, no.272; GC, II, pp.417, 418, 421, 437; B.Waites, *Moorland and Vale-land Farming in North-East Yorkshire: the Monastic Contribution in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Borthwick Paper 32, 1967) pp.27, 31-32. Some 70,000 fleeces were produced annually on the North York Moors by the end of the C13th; *North York Moors : Landscape Heritage*, p.186.

⁷⁹ Appendix 3, no.158; Blake, *Solway Firth*, pp.118-119. The Holm Cultram flock may have numbered 10,000; E.Miller, 'Farming in Northern England during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Northern History*, 11 (1975) p.12.

⁸⁰ Appendix 3, no.170.

⁸¹ *Yorks. Inq.*, I, no.82; *CDS*, II, no.16.

provisioning their households but for the prestige they afforded, including opportunities for bargaining and patronage. This is especially evident in Scotland, where David I granted Robert de Brus II forest rights within the whole region of Annandale. It was a privilege which Robert and his descendants undoubtedly retained for themselves, in one case specifically excluding the right to hunt the stag and hind, hog and roe deer from an otherwise generous grant to Adam of Carlisle.⁸² In Garioch, however, a confirmation made by Isabel de Brus and Robert V of lands in Leslie specifies that the land, previously granted by Earl David, was to be held by Norin son of Norman as a free forest, with a penalty of £10 on anyone cutting wood or hunting without licence. This was the same fixed penalty as had been set one hundred years earlier in King David's grant of Annandale to Robert II.⁸³ The forest of the 'chace of the dales', the forests of Skelton and Danby, and 'the chase of Westwyc, with the forest' are all specified in the inquisition of Peter de Brus III's lands, indicating that the Yorkshire Bruses held the rights in these regions of the Cleveland hills, as they also did in the higher reaches of Kendale.⁸⁴

Population growth, which was particularly marked in the north of England,⁸⁵ made an ever increasing demand on land for cultivation, to which the Bruses responded in the same way as their peers. In 1187 Adam de Brus II rendered account of £6 15s for 135 acres which had been sown with wheat (*frumenti*) within the forest.⁸⁶ Several assarts are specified in 1272, especially in Marske and Skelton. Peter de Brus I took the opportunity to develop the demesne lands in Thorp Arch when he had inherited them from his mother, and granted land in his 'new assart' to the priory of Healaugh Park, as did Peter de Brus II in his new assart at Walton near Thorp. No assarts are mentioned at Thorp Arch in the inquisition of 1272, but the 'waste' which is held for rent may refer to land reclaimed, in which case there must have been a considerable amount of recent development in the manor. The only

⁸² *Charters of David I*, no.210; appendix 3, no.138. But see Duncan, *Scotland*, p.422 for this being a common reservation.

⁸³ *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II*, comp. J.M. Scoular (Edinburgh, 1959) no.292; Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Fourth Report*, part 1 (London, 1874), p.493; Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.254-255; *Charters of David I*, no.210.

⁸⁴ *Yorks. Inq.*, 1, pp.148-149; *CDS*, II, no.16; Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, p.84.

⁸⁵ The growth of population in Yorkshire between 1086 and c.1377 'was among the fastest, if not the fastest in England'; Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p.32.

⁸⁶ *Pipe Roll 33 Henry II*, p.89.

indication of the size of such assarts, which was clearly variable, is from the rent charged. At Skelton, for example, where the arable is assessed at 5d per acre and meadow at 12d per acre, the rentable value of assarts suggests a range of size from one acre to three acres, although two assarts at Grenerige are valued at 12s and 14s. References to assarts in Skinningrove and Playgreve, towards the coast near Brotton, suggest that as much land as possible was being turned to arable, since these place-names mean steep and narrow valleys.⁸⁷

While Scotland, unlike England, had not reached the limits of expansion by 1300, both Duncan and Dodgshon cite ample evidence for an increasing pressure on resources throughout the thirteenth century. Extension of cultivation by both tenants and lords accounted for increased demesne, while attempts to maintain a balance between arable and grazing land, and to husband resources, suggests that they were being exploited to the full. Dodgshon points to evidence for disafforestation in the thirteenth century and to legislation of 1214 compelling landholders to cultivate more land; in addition, however, he cites several earlier instances of William the Lion granting new or waste land with specific permission to clear and cultivate it.⁸⁸ Much of the evidence for these trends derives from monastic records, but surviving lay grants among the Annandale charters provide similar illustrations in which specific conditions were stipulated when granting tenants the freedom to develop their land. For example, Adam of Carlisle and his heirs were permitted to build and cultivate anywhere within the bounds of their lands at Kynemund except in 'Brakenepheit' where they could only erect houses by agreement with the lord. Robert de Brus IV made an exchange with Roger Crispin in similar terms, the exception in this case being that while Roger himself was quit of multure and pannage, his men were required to pay it. In contrast, a grant made by William de Brus to William de Heineville states that the grantor must remit to his lord 'in common pasture' the newly cultivated lands 'as having no right therein except by the lord's sanction'.⁸⁹ By the thirteenth century tenants were being given the additional freedom to enclose their lands. Robert de Brus IV granted Robert Crosby the wood of Stableton with permission to enclose it as a free park; while towards the end of the century

⁸⁷ *Yorks. Inq.*, I, no.82; appendix 3, nos. 52, 81.

⁸⁸ Duncan, *Scotland*, pp.365-366, 414-415, 426; Dodgshon, *Land and Society*, pp.130-131, 175-176.

⁸⁹ Appendix 3, nos.138, 140, 147.

Robert VI extended William of Carlisle's holding from the common pasture at Kynemund, giving him the power to develop it as he would, and also enclose it by hedges and ditches.⁹⁰

It is noticeable that those Annandale grants which make specific reference to the expansion of lands, relate to places situated in the lower reaches of the dale, towards the coast. While it is necessary to be cautious in drawing conclusions from evidence which is subject to chance survival, and it is possible that these areas alone had land which was suitable for conversion to arable, it may well suggest that there was as yet not so much pressure on land in the upper dale as to necessitate the cultivation of the less fertile areas. The increase in population, which seems to have motivated the Yorkshire Bruses to cultivate every possible piece of land, even at Skinninggrove and Playgreve, was not so acute a problem for the lords of Annandale.

Fishing

The lands of both the Yorkshire and Annandale Bruses were bounded by long stretches of coast and estuary, so sea-fishing and fisheries provided them with a useful source of income, and a way of patronising religious houses. Grants of fisheries on the Tees estuary, which at that time was much wider than today, include references to several methods of fishing, with nets, with dragnets, and with hooks requiring bait.⁹¹ The catches on the Yorkshire coast, and undoubtedly the Hartness coast as well, were principally haddock and herring, while salmon and sea trout would have been caught in the estuaries and rivers. In the Solway there were salmon and herring, the former caught by the stake nets stretched across the estuaries as they headed up-stream, while use was also made of tide or 'haaf' nets in the fast-flowing channels, and spear-fishing in the shallower waters.⁹² The grant to Ivo by Robert de Brus II of a fishery on the Esk includes a place for him to stretch his nets, a reference to stake-net fishing, while the monks of Melrose were granted the right by William de Brus to practise whatever kind of fishing they chose at Rainpatrick. Fisheries at Torduff were granted to Holm Cultram by Robert II and confirmed by Robert III and William, whose confirmation reserved to himself the rights of sturgeon and whale.⁹³

⁹⁰ Appendix 3, nos.149, 179.

⁹¹ Appendix 3, nos.20, 21, 23, 84.

⁹² Blake, *Solway Firth*, pp.133-149.

⁹³ Appendix 3, nos.117, 125, 128, 134, 137, 144, 162.

One franchise which both branches were granted by reason of the location of their lands was 'wreck of sea', which the Skelton Bruses held on the north-east coast between Runswick and Yarm, although the income from this in 1272 was said to be 'so uncertain that it cannot be extended'. The right was divided equally between the four heiresses of Peter III, whether or not they held lands on the Yorkshire coast.⁹⁴ The Bruses also claimed right of wreck on the Hartness coast, but were forced to relinquish it to the bishops of Durham after an acrimonious dispute between the bishop and Peter II during the minority of Robert de Brus V. The case was settled in the bishop's favour in his own court of Sadberge, but Peter's fine of £20 was rescinded after the intervention of William de Forz, count of Aumale, and John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln.⁹⁵ The Annandale Bruses also held the right of wreck on their stretch of the Solway coast, which William de Brus reserved to himself when granting a fishery at Torduff to Holm Cultram.⁹⁶ As on the north-east coast, the income must have been uncertain in the sheltered firth, despite the fast tide and shifting sandbanks.

Salt and Minerals

Another commodity in great demand was salt, which the estuaries of Annandale, Hartness and Yorkshire could supply. The Solway coast on the Scottish side was a great expanse of saltmarsh, and the Bruses controlled a major portion of it. In an era when salt was the main preservative, the importance of saltpans is reflected in the frequency with which they are the subject of Brus charters. Grants were made of them to their own tenants and to the religious houses of Holm Cultram, Melrose and St Bees. The largest area of saltpans seems to have been at Rainpatrick (now Redkirk point) near Gretna, but they are also mentioned at Cummertrees, at the foot of Powe water, and at Ruthwell, which is said to have been famed for the best salt 'in the world' and where the tidal saltpits can still be seen cut into the rocks.⁹⁷ The evaporation of the salt required an enormous supply of fuel, which was provided by

⁹⁴ *Yorks. Inq.*, I, no.82.

⁹⁵ *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.*, III, pp.46-48.

⁹⁶ Appendix 3, no.134.

⁹⁷ Appendix 3, nos.126, 135, 136, 144, 162; *CDS*, I, no.1685. The saltmarshes were also good for wildfowling and for pasturing sheep; Blake, *Solway Firth*, pp.33, 46-47, 130-132.

peat from the moors as well as timber from the dale.⁹⁸ The estuaries on the north-east coast of England had their salt-marshes too, although less extensive than those on the Solway. Robert de Brus V granted a saltpan at Hart to John de Romundeby. The Yorkshire Bruses had the right to one skep of salt per annum from every salt pan in the marsh of Coatham at the mouth of the Tees.⁹⁹

One natural resource available to the Yorkshire Bruses but not those of Annandale was the iron ore of the Cleveland hills. Much of it was to be found within the Brus estates in Skelton, Eskdale, Glaisdale and Westerdale, and was undoubtedly one of the main reasons Peter de Brus I was forced to pay such a high price to King John to recover his lands around Danby.¹⁰⁰ Peter I granted licence to Guisborough priory to quarry and prospect for iron ore in Glaisdale; this became a cause for dispute between the priory and its patron, during which the canons claimed that forges valued at 10 marks had been destroyed.¹⁰¹ In 1272 there were five small forges in Danby worth 10s. Two other forges 'in the forest' were worth £4 'without destruction of the forest', a telling comment since iron workings made heavy use of charcoal which could lead to considerable destruction of timber and loss of game.¹⁰²

Ports and Boroughs

With their access to the coast both branches of the Brus family benefited from the opportunity to develop ports, at Yarm and Coatham in Yorkshire, at Hartlepool, and at Annan. After 1252 the Scottish Bruses also held a one-third share in the revenue of Dundee, which with its 'fine estuary site and harbour' and the benefit of Earl David's active interest in building up its borough status and mercantile trade, had developed into a thriving port and was well on its way to becoming 'one of the wealthiest towns of medieval Scotland'.¹⁰³ Compared with Dundee, the Bruses' other Scottish port at Annan was little more than a local harbour. The town itself,

⁹⁸ The grant of a saltwork to Melrose by William de Brus's chamberlain, Richard le Fleming, mentions a peat-hearth and also makes provision for pasturing of 4 oxen and 1 horse, presumably needed for transport; *Melrose Liber*, II, appendix 5.

⁹⁹ Appendix 3, no.169; *Yorks. Inq.*, I, p.140; *GC*, II, pp.113-116.

¹⁰⁰ *North York Moors : Landscape Heritage*, pp.176-177, 181; J.C. Atkinson, 'Existing Traces of Medieval Iron-working in Cleveland', *YAJ*, 8 (1884) pp.31, 35-41; Holt, *Northerners*, pp.180-181.

¹⁰¹ *GC*, I, pp.102-112; *GC*, II, nos. 930, 931, 935, 937; see also below, p.221.

¹⁰² *Yorks. Inq.*, I, pp.143-144; *North York Moors*, ed. A. Raistrick (National Park Guides 4, London, 1969) p.59.

¹⁰³ Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.74-75.

with its castle, was some two miles up river. Goods were landed at Annan Waterfoot which, while it provided a sheltered haven, must have been severely restricted by the narrow water course and tidal nature of the firth.¹⁰⁴ Although Annan was strategically placed at the head of one of the principal Solway crossings, it was overshadowed as a borough by Dumfries. Nor did it ever possess a major market or have any possibility of sharing in an import/export trade, which for the south-west of Scotland became centred on Ayr.¹⁰⁵ Annan was classed as a borough in 1296, although its castle had been abandoned more than a hundred years earlier when the Bruses moved their *caput* to Lochmaben, at much the same time as Annan had been devastated by a plague and its population considerably reduced. Lochmaben had also acquired borough status by 1296, and its own rise may have been linked to that of Dumfries, since it lay on the route from there to the Tweed, on the point at which it crossed the 'main corridor' from Carlisle to the Forth and Clyde.¹⁰⁶ Despite its setbacks and loss of status, Annan evidently recovered in the intervening years and remained the centre for local trade. Guisborough priory, for example, had a grange there, undoubtedly to store the tithes due to them from the Annandale churches prior to transport across the Solway.¹⁰⁷

In view of the limitations of Annan as a port, it is not surprising that the Scottish Bruses took advantage of the possibilities of developing Hartlepool on the promontory known as St Hilda's Isle, and it is undoubtedly they, rather than the Yorkshire Bruses, who were responsible for doing so.¹⁰⁸ It was William de Brus who obtained the grant of a weekly market and a three-day fair from King John in 1201, for which he paid 20 marks.¹⁰⁹ Like the right to wreck of sea, the market and fair became a point of dispute between the Bruses and the bishops of Durham. In 1230 Bishop Richard le Poer granted a new charter which extended the privileges of the burgesses, changed the market day from Wednesday to Tuesday, and increased the

¹⁰⁴ A.Graham and A.E.Truckell, 'Old Harbours in the Solway Firth', *TDGNHAS*, 52 (1976-7) pp.111, 115.

¹⁰⁵ Duncan, *Scotland*, p.505; S.G.Pryde, 'The Burghs of Dumfriesshire and Galloway: their Origin and Status', *TDGNHAS*, 29 (1952) pp.83-84, 95.

¹⁰⁶ *CDS*, II, no.826; R.C.Reid, 'The Caput of Annandale', pp.161-162; F.Miller, 'A Plague at Annan in the 12th Century', *TDGNHAS*, 8 (1923) p.56; William of Newburgh, *Chronicles of the Reigns*, II, pp.479-482; A.Geddes, 'The Royal Four Towns of Lochmaben', *TDGNHAS*, 39 (1962) pp.84-85.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix 3, no.154; *GC*, II, no.1181.

¹⁰⁸ See above, pp.123-124.

¹⁰⁹ *Pipe Roll 3 John*, pp.249-250; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.217b.

annual fair to two weeks. He granted both market and fair to the burgesses, specifically reserving all dues to the bishops, as well as exempting the men of the bishop and the prior of Durham from tolls. Despite this grant being confirmed by King Henry in 1234 and evidently accepted by Peter de Brus II on behalf of the young Robert de Brus V, it was subsequently declared by *quo warranto* in 1293 that both market and fair were the perquisite of the lord of the manor, who was still the same Robert de Brus.¹¹⁰ Robert V had also won a case in 1279, brought by the bishop's attorney to the court at Sadberge, in which the jury upheld all but one of the rights he claimed in Hartlepool by reason of holding it as a 'free port'.¹¹¹ Even the powerful bishops of Durham did not always succeed against their tenants.

By the latter part of the thirteenth century Hartlepool was well established as an international port, and although the earliest evidence for its items of merchandise dates from the fourteenth century, its principal exports must already have included corn, fish, wool and hides. Among the property which Guisborough priory held within the borough were four cellars, undoubtedly a part of their trading activities; and the house which was granted by Robert II to Holm Cultram may well have been used for the storage of wool awaiting export.¹¹² Mention has already been made of the part played by Hartlepool as a landing-site for Bishop Hugh du Puiset's Flemish knights and mercenaries in 1174. The port also provided ships for Edward I's wars, and was used as a depot for stores during his invasion of Scotland. King Robert I may have had good reason for ordering the bitter attack on his former borough in 1315.¹¹³

Although it is now difficult to imagine, Coatham at the mouth of the Tees was then a major fishing port, and figures largely in the records of the Yorkshire Bruses as one of the places where they exacted landing tolls and berthing charges, along with Redcar, Marske and Skinningrove. Although it acted principally as a fishing port there was a certain amount of local trade passing through, and in the customs duty

¹¹⁰ Sharp, *History of Hartlepool*, appendix, pp.iii-iv; *CChR*, v, p.191; *GC*, II, nos. 1155, 1156; *Placita de Quo Warranto*, ed. W. Illingworth (Record Commission, 1818) p.604.

¹¹¹ C.M.Fraser and K.Emsley, 'Durham and the Wapentake of Sadberge', *TAASDN*, n.s.2 (1970) p.72.

¹¹² *VCH: Durham*, III, p.276; *GC*, II, p.438; appendix 3, no.118.

¹¹³ See above, pp.53-54; C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruses: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306-1328* (East Linton, 1997) pp.79-80; *VCH: Durham*, III, pp.275-276.

assessment of 1204 Coatham was charged 11s 11d while Whitby paid only 4s.¹¹⁴ The other, and by far the more important, port in Cleveland was the Brus borough of Yarm, nearly twenty miles from the sea up the meandering river Tees. It was situated on the main road from York to Durham across the Hambleton hills, being the nearest point to the sea at which the river could be crossed by road. Yarm was not only the export centre for goods from south Durham and the north Yorkshire dales but also carried a considerable amount of international trade. In 1204 its duty was assessed at £42 17s 10d, about one quarter that of Newcastle; and while Yarm could in no way be compared in size to major east-coast ports such as Hull, Boston and King's Lynn, its volume of trade places it in the top third of those assessed. The first reference to Yarm as a borough occurs in 1273, and as a free borough in 1284, but its inhabitants are described as burgesses in a grant of Peter de Brus III before 1272.¹¹⁵ One other town in Langbaugh had been accorded borough status by 1272, and that was Skelton, where the Brus castle and *caput* were situated. A market was held there on Sundays until 1227, when it was changed to Mondays. There was a borough court and income from pleas there, which together with tolls taken at Skelton and its appurtenances, amounted to £10 4s 4d in 1272. The castle with its park, its fishpond and associated liberties, including those from Coatham and Redcar, were worth £14 8s 8d annually.¹¹⁶

The inheritance in the barony of Kendale, which Peter de Brus III received from his mother's brother in 1246, brought him a half-share in the borough of Kirkeby in Kendale together with its castle. In 1274 the castle with its parks, fishponds, 'herbage and cista' were valued at 10 marks per annum, and the half-share of the town another 10 marks. The court of Kendale was worth £20 per annum, and in 1268 Peter III was granted a three-day fair in his manor there.¹¹⁷ The burgesses of Kendale had already been given a charter of liberties by Peter's uncle, William of Lancaster, which was based on that granted to Ulverston and witnessed by either Peter III or his father. Although the text of this charter survives only in a

¹¹⁴ *Yorks. Inq.*, I, no.82; *VCH: Yorks. N. Riding*, II, p.373; *Pipe Roll 6 John*, p.218; A.L.Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (Oxford, 1951) p.96.

¹¹⁵ *VCH: Yorks. N. Riding*, II, pp.321, 323; *Pipe Roll 6 John*, p.218; Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, p.96; *CCR 1272-79*, p.46; *Kirkby's Inquest*, p.127; appendix 3, no.100.

¹¹⁶ *CR 1227-31*, p.9; *Yorks Inq.*, I, no.82.

¹¹⁷ *CDS*, II, no.16; *CChR*, II, p.112.

seventeenth-century copy, the original of Peter III's confirmation to the burgesses of his part of the town is preserved in Kendal town hall, complete with its seal. No evidence survives as to whether his co-heir Walter de Lindsay ever confirmed the charter to his burgesses, but he did use it as a basis for a grant of liberties to the borough he created in his own mesne tenancy of Warton.¹¹⁸

The boroughs of Skelton, Kirkeby in Kendale, Annan and Lochmaben owed their development to the presence of a castle, having been selected as the centre of a lordship. The borough ports of Hartlepool and Yarm derived their importance from their location as viable commercial centres; and it was these which, given the initial impetus of the Brus lords, expanded into thriving centres of population serving a wide region and undoubtedly contributing largely to the wealth and prestige of their respective lords. According to Reynolds, the location of friaries provides 'a good rough index to the chief towns of the later thirteenth century, when the mendicant orders were at the height of their success'.¹¹⁹ By this measure, the founding of a Franciscan house in Hartlepool before 1240 and a Dominican house in Yarm around 1260 entitles both boroughs to claim such distinction. Dundee was also selected by the Franciscans before 1289. In south-west Scotland, however, it was not the Brus borough of Annan but the royal borough of Dumfries which was sufficiently populous to attract the grey friars, whose church was to be the site of such a momentous event of Brus history.¹²⁰

Additional Income

It was a baron's unsubinfeudated lands, the exploitation of natural resources, and the development of commercial enterprises that provided him with his regular income, subject as it was to all the fluctuations common to a monetary economy. Other, irregular, income derived from his manorial rights, such as suit of court and the

¹¹⁸ Appendix 3, no.106; J.Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: the First Borough Charter and its Connexions', *TCWAAS*, n.s. 85 (1985) pp.95-114; J.F.Curwen, 'A Charter of Peter de Brus III', *TCWAAS*, n.s. 19 (1919) pp.113-117.

¹¹⁹ S.Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977) pp.51, 63.

¹²⁰ There were friars at Dumfries by 1262, possibly as early as 1234. Besides the Franciscans, there is one (doubtful) reference to Dominicans at Hartlepool; J.R.H.Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses* (New York, 1983) pp.167, 218; D. Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, rev. ed. (London, 1971) pp.219-220, 225; *VCH: Durham*, II, pp.109-110; C.F.R.Palmer, 'The Friar-Preachers or Black Friars of Yarm', *Archaeological Journal*, 37 (1880) pp.184-192.

obligations of those tenants liable for scutage, aids, and reliefs. Another of the military dues, castle guard, is not specifically mentioned in any of the surviving Brus grants, but as some members of the garrison taken prisoner at Skelton castle in 1216 can be identified as Brus tenants, it is likely that this obligation was paid by them in person, at least in time of war.¹²¹ Wardship of minors, which allowed a baron to profit temporarily from a tenant's demesne land, could be a useful source of additional income. It was as Robert V's lord that Peter II held Hartness in wardship during Robert's minority from c.1230 to 1241. Adam II held the lands of one of his major tenants, the Percys of Kildale, during the minority of William de Percy, who was subsequently married to Adam's step-daughter, Agnes de Flamville.¹²² At the time of his death Peter III held five heirs in wardship, including the heir of William of Pickering who had been his constable and steward in Kendale.¹²³

There were also opportunities for favoured or wealthy barons to supplement their income with favours obtained by patronage or purchase, including those privileges which Painter defines as 'franchisal', although most of these brought prestige rather than financial advantage. Others, such as 'sac and soc' were generally applicable to land tenure rather than special privileges¹²⁴ Many of the franchises listed by Painter were held only by the greatest barons or those of palatinate status such as Chester and Durham, but the Yorkshire Bruses were entitled to the perquisites of their borough courts, and that of the barony of Kendale. Although they became hereditary possessors of the wapentake of Langbaugh after Peter I had purchased the farm in 1207, no financial gain was available to them from suit to the wapentake court since he had granted immunity from it in his charter of liberties to the men of Cleveland.¹²⁵

The rights of wardship and marriage of heiresses from their own tenants were the barons' perquisites as lords and have been dealt with above, but the Bruses occasionally obtained the additional privilege of a royal wardship. In 1206, at a time

¹²¹ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, ii, p.167b.

¹²² See above, p.61.

¹²³ York Minster Archives, Hailstone ms 6.4, p.94 (will of Peter de Brus III). His other wards were the heirs of John Ingram, Robert Maucovenant, Robert Guer (Gower) and Robert de Boy(n)thorpe.

¹²⁴ Painter, *English Feudal Barony*, pp.91-123.

¹²⁵ *Yorks. Inq.*, i, no.82; *CDS*, ii, no.16; *GC*, i, no.213.

when he was particularly free with his money, Peter I purchased the wardship of Roger Bertram from William Briwerre, to whom it had been granted by King John, by paying 1300 marks of William's debts.¹²⁶ It was, however, Richard de Brus, younger son of Robert V, who received the most benefit from royal wardships, being granted custody of Geoffrey de Lucy's lands in the honor of Chester in 1284, of the heir of Almaric de Lucy in 1285, and the heirs of Roger la Zuche in 1286.¹²⁷ Richard was well-placed to petition for such favours, being cousin to Earl Gilbert de Clare and having close connections with King Edward's court.

The aftermath of the Barons' War presented barons such as the Bruses, who were now on the winning side, with opportunities for financial gain. Robert de Brus V was particularly successful in profiting from ransoms and forfeitures of the rebels of whom one, Bernard de Brus, was his own brother.¹²⁸ The others included the northern lords John de Melsa (Meaux) and Walter de Fauconberg, who warranted their lands for 220 marks and £250 respectively, while the lands of Robert de Hilton in Holderness and Northumberland were assigned to Robert VI as security for the 1000 marks which had been paid for his ransom.¹²⁹ It is notable, though not necessarily relevant, that all these three were tenants of the Aumale estates in Holderness whose heir was then in wardship of the Lord Edward, although the lands themselves had been bought back from him by the dowager countess.¹³⁰

From the foregoing evidence it is clear that in the later part of the thirteenth century the Scottish branch of the Bruses stood high in favour with the king of England, and were well placed to receive additional perquisites. These further included the appointments of Robert V and Robert VI as castellans of Carlisle and sheriffs of Cumberland, although their tenures of these offices were not wholly felicitous.¹³¹ But if the Yorkshire Bruses received fewer direct favours, their worth was recognised in the appointments of Peter II and Peter III as justices of the forest

¹²⁶ See above, pp.66-67.

¹²⁷ *CDS*, II, no. 256; *CCR* 1279-88, p.273; *CCR* 1288-96, p.63; *CPR* 1281-92, pp.159, 215.

¹²⁸ *CCR* 1279-88, p.61. This is one of several examples that 'in making grants, the king was not unsympathetic to family claims'; C.H.Knowles, 'The Resettlement of England after the Barons' War, 1264-67', *TRHS* 5th ser., 32 (1982) p.27.

¹²⁹ *CPR* 1266-72, pp.292-294; see also above, p.101.

¹³⁰ English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.53, 149, 167.

¹³¹ See above, pp.97, 101, 105.

and in eyre, for which no doubt they received the appropriate recompense. Towards the end of his life, Peter III also served for a time as castellan of Scarborough castle, although the sheriffdom of Yorkshire was an honour which was never accorded him, despite his unfailing service to the county and the king.¹³²

CONCLUSION

In common with their fellow barons, the wealth of the Bruses was subject to the vagaries of economic forces and a changing political situation. That both branches weathered a number of crises which led to the demise of other baronial families is a tribute, not only to their management of lands and men, but the ability of (some of) the Brus lords to take advantage of such opportunities as presented themselves, and to take risks in the face of uncertainties. Thus, despite some fluctuations in their fortunes over the previous century and a half, both branches of the Brus family were in the ascendant by the latter half of the thirteenth century. Their spheres of influence had extended with their additional estates, their prospects for bettering themselves had increased with their incomes, and the lords of both Skelton and Annandale were in favour with the king of England. Indeed, both lines of descent from Robert de Brus I were for a time utilising their resources, founded on his original lordships, in perpetuating his commitment to the English crown.

¹³² See above, pp.76, 78-80.

Chapter Seven

TENANTS, COMPANIONS AND HOUSEHOLD

Land provided the basis of a baron's power. His ability to exercise that power, however, was dependent on the calibre and loyalty of such men as he was able to attract to his service and to settle on his estates. A study of these men can provide clues to the lord's own background and status, his sphere of influence and degree of power. This chapter seeks to deal with three categories of such men: those subinfeudated with land, initially in return for knight service, those who provided their lord with companionship and counsel, and those who were entrusted with specific duties in the running of his household and estates. When studying the following of a great magnate such as, for example, Earl David of Huntingdon or Roger de Quincy, such distinctions can be made.¹ With the Bruses the distinctions are blurred. As will become evident, the Brus lords largely drew their closest companions, and in many cases their senior household officers, from among the ranks of their tenant families. A study of their companions and household, their *familia*, is an extension of a study of their tenants.

To identify and analyse all known tenants and followers of the successive Brus lords in Yorkshire and Annandale would be, however, a massive and largely unrewarding task. In lordships such as theirs, which demonstrate a marked continuity of families serving them through two centuries, it is their principal, and especially their earliest, tenants who can provide the most revealing insights into the Bruses' own origins and methods of colonisation within their territories. It is with these tenants that the following sections are primarily concerned.

YORKSHIRE TENANTS

When the first Robert de Brus came into Yorkshire in c.1100, he entered a situation which was still fluid, where alliances were still being forged, lands forfeited with each fresh rebellion and redistributed with each new wave of settlers under successive kings. Some of the original Norman tenants had managed to survive. In

¹ Stringer, *Earl David*, ch. 8; Simpson, 'Familia of Roger de Quincy', pp.102-123.

the north of the county, where the Brus power would ultimately be centred, only one of the Conqueror's followers, Earl Hugh of Chester, continued to hold his Domesday estates, although William de Percy's holdings had passed securely to his son, and Count Alan of Richmond's to his brother. However, the power of the earls of Mortain was weakened and their lands effectively controlled by their sub-tenants, Surdeval and Fossard. In place of such renegades as Gospatric, Robert Malet and Hugh fitz Baldric, William Rufus had established his new men, Robert de Stuteville and Guy de Balliol. Now Henry I was to continue that process of change, a process which would cause further upheavals until at least 1106 and the battle of Tinchebrai.²

In selecting and settling his own principal tenants, Robert de Brus appears to have taken the prudent step of recruiting a number of them from among the kinsmen or tenants of those barons who had most successfully survived the upheavals of the previous thirty years. This is clearly the case with the Percys of Kildale, who held three fees of the Bruses from an early date.³ Although their relationship to the main Percy line is not known, Ernald (Ernulf) de Percy, who held land at Ormesby of Robert de Brus before 1119, first appears as a witness to William de Percy's charter refounding the abbey of Whitby (1090x1096) and had evidently been active in the suppression of the northern rebellion of 1095.⁴ The continuing interest of this branch of the Percys in the Whitby foundation of their senior line, is demonstrated by Ernald's appearance as a witness to the grant which Robert de Brus I made of the church of Middlesbrough to Whitby in c.1120 and, together with his two sons, to the settlement of the dispute between Whitby and Guisborough agreed in Robert's presence in c.1132.⁵ Although the majority of manors with which the Kildale Percys were originally subinfeudated by the Bruses were in the wapentake of Langbaurch, they also had a substantial holding in the East Riding at Kilnwick [Percy] by the mid-twelfth century, and elsewhere by the time of *Kirkby's Inquest*.⁶ The marriage of William de Percy, ward of Adam de Brus II, to Adam's step-daughter, Agnes

² Dalton, *Conquest*, pp.79-96.

³ For an account of the family see *EYC*, II, pp.90-91; *EYC*, XI, pp.8-10; *Whitby Cart.*, II, pp.696-700.

⁴ Ernald de Percy's grant of the church and mill of Caldecotes in Ormesby is included in the Guisborough foundation charter; *GC*, I, nos.1, 2, 477; *EYC*, II, pp.89-90; *EYC*, XI, no.1; *Whitby Cart.*, I, no.27.

⁵ *EYC*, II, nos.858, 873; *Whitby Cart.*, I, nos.111, 271.

⁶ Besides Kildale and Ormesby, their North Riding fee eventually included lands at Ayresome, Thornaby, Lazenby, Normanby, Crathorne, [Ingleby] Barwick, Upsall and Nunthorpe. *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp.56, 90, 109, 127, 135-136, 144; *EYC*, II, p.93

de Flamville, also brought them lands in the Mowbray fee. But apart from these and some small tenancies held of the main Percy line, their fealty was owed almost entirely to the Bruses.⁷

Robert de Brus's early associations with the Percy family may well have been fostered by their shared interest in the Yorkshire estates of the earl of Chester. It is noticeable that all Brus tenants, including Ernald de Percy, who contributed to Guisborough priory at the time of its foundation had been subinfeudated with manors derived from the Chester honor. William Ingram is recorded as holding four carucates of Robert de Brus I in Ayresome, of which he granted one carucate to the priory. Since Ayresome, as part of Acklam, came to Robert de Brus from the Chester fee, William may already have held his land there from the earl. This William Ingram held land in Dorset, for which his son John owed relief in 1130 to be paid in Yorkshire. He may also be the William Ingram who held of the bishop of Durham at Girby, High Worsall, early in the reign of Henry I, not far from the Brus estates in Low Worsall and Yarm. John Ingram later increased his father's grant to Guisborough, but also supported Whitby and its cell at Middlesbrough in association with his daughter who succeeded him.⁸ Besides these Ingrams there was a junior branch who became more substantial tenants of the Bruses, holding three fees at Ingleby Arncliffe and Welbury in the North Riding, and Heslerton in the East Riding. The first Ingram to hold these lands in the time of Adam de Brus II was Walter, nephew of William Ingram of Ayresome, who apparently acquired Heslerton through his mother Matilda, whose parentage is unknown, and Welbury as his wife's marriage portion. So although Robert de Brus I may initially have subinfeudated William's younger brother directly with the manor of Arncliffe, he then appears to have encouraged the increase of his tenant's holdings through judicious marriages.⁹

Three smaller tenants named in the Guisborough foundation charter, Roger de Roselle, Theobald of Lofthus and Alvred (Alfred) of Acklam, also held lands which had partially or entirely come to Robert from the Chester honor. This suggests that, even if it was Robert who subinfeudated them, they may have been recommended by

⁷ *Early Yorkshire Families*, p.31; *EYC*, xi, p.9.

⁸ *GC*, i, nos.1, 2; *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I*, p.16; *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (SS 13, 1841), pp.77-78; *EYC*, ii, pp.54-56; *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp.47-48. The Ingrams were a large family with a variety of spellings of their surname and much repetition of Christian names.

⁹ *EYC*, ii, pp.56-64.

their mutual associations with Earl Hugh. Roger de Roselle was one of three knights of Robert de Brus I who acted as witnesses for a Percy grant to Whitby abbey. He held land in Easington from which he initially granted one bovate to Guisborough, and later the church as well. His descendants, who held land at Aislaby, Newton-Ornback and Thornton, made further grants to Whitby and to Rievaulx.¹⁰ It is tempting to relate another of Robert's three knights, Guy of Lofthus, to the Theobald of Lofthus who held three carucates and sixty acres in that manor and granted three bovates to Guisborough at its foundation. But while there is the strong possibility of a connection, there is no firm evidence. Theobald's descendants, the Butterwicks, were holding one fee of Peter de Brus III in 1272.¹¹

Alvred, who granted the church of Acklam to Guisborough with two bovates of land, is elsewhere described as 'the man' of Robert de Brus I and is said to hold three carucates in Acklam, which his descendants continued to hold until they passed by marriage to the Bovingtons. Since the church of Acklam was held by Earl Hugh in 1086, it must have been in the Chester share of Acklam that Alvred's lands lay. While Alvred's name could suggest that he was an Anglo-Scandinavian who had held land in Cleveland since before the Conquest, the name also occurs in Old Breton and he may therefore have been one of the several Bretons who accompanied the followers of Henry I from western Normandy.¹²

The remaining grantor, Robert Sturmy (Esturmi) who gave a moiety of the church of Marton to Guisborough, has a rather more tenuous connection with the Chester estates. Although he held one carucate of land in Acklam, this may have come from the king's grant to Brus, and the majority of his lands lay elsewhere in Langbaugh at Marton, Faceby and Little Busby, where his descendants were still holding two fees in 1272. While the later Sturmy family is well documented there is no evidence to show when they came into England, nor with whom, although it is not likely to have been before the time of Henry I.¹³

¹⁰ *Whitby Cart.*, I, p.35; *GC*, I, nos.1, 2; *GC*, II, pp.176-179. There is a gap in the descent of the family, and it is not entirely clear that the later Roselles were direct descendants of Roger, whose heir may have been his brother.

¹¹ *GC*, I, nos.1, 2, p.3n.11; *CIPM*, I, no.800.

¹² *GC*, I, nos.1, 2; *EYC*, II, p.51n.

¹³ *GC*, I, nos.1, 2; *EYC*, II, pp.40-44; *CIPM*, I, no.800; *Kirkby's Inquest*, p.132. The manors of Faceby and Marton had come to Brus from the *terra regis* and land of the king's thegns, and were both assigned a value in 1086.

While the foregoing followers of Robert de Brus can, to a greater or lesser extent, be linked with the Chester honor, another of his major tenant families, the Lascelles, appears to have its origins among the following of Count Alan in Richmondshire. Picot, who is said to have come from Loucelles near Caen, was a tenant of Count Alan in 1086. When Robert de Brus's daughter married Count Alan's kinsman, Ralph son of Ribald, a Gerard de Lascelles was among the witnesses, many of whom were tenants of Richmond. It is probable that Robert de Lascelles, father of Gerard II and first recorded tenant of the Brus fee in Bordelby and East Harlsey by 1159, was son of this Gerard; and although there is no evidence to identify him with a contemporary Robert de Lascelles, who held of the count in Lartington, the persistence of similar Christian names makes the family connection highly probable.¹⁴

All the Brus tenants considered so far held their fees in the North Riding. In contrast the three fees of Richard Mauleverer, their earliest confirmed tenant, lay in the West Riding. While there is no evidence for the family having lands in England before the time of Henry I, Richard Mauleverer was already enfeoffed of Allerton [Mauleverer] by 1104, when he granted a chapel and land there to the monks of Marmoutier at York. Among the witnesses to this grant were at least two, or possibly five, of Richard's brothers. One of these, Helte (or a Helte of a later generation), held of the Romillys in the honor of Skipton, while his descendants also held of the Percys. The Mauleverers of Allerton [Mauleverer] were also holding of the Percys in Beamsley by the late thirteenth century and, according to Clay, 'it is often difficult to distinguish between the two lines'.¹⁵

It is also difficult to place the origins of the Mauleverers. Although the derivation of their name is frequently attributed to a byname, *Malus Leporarius* (evil harrier), it has also been suggested that they came from a small district called Maulévrier in the *arrondissement* of Yvetot in Normandy. A third possibility would be the town of that name a few miles south of the Loire. While this suggestion would place the Mauleverers' origins in Anjou rather than Normandy, it would not

¹⁴ *DB: Yorks.*, I, section 6N27; *ibid.*, II, appendix 3, note 6N27; *EYC*, II, pp.70-73; *EYC*, V, p.300.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, I, no.1233; *EYC*, II, pp.74-79; *EYC*, VII, pp.114-116, 131-133; *EYC*, XI, *passim*; J.E. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge, 1999) pp.48-49.

preclude their participation in the Norman take-over of England.¹⁶ Furthermore, the location of Maulévrier in the same region as the abbey of Marmoutier would give added significance to their enthusiasm for supporting monks from that house settled in Yorkshire. For although Marmoutier had a high reputation and was the chosen mother-house of Battle abbey as well as Holy Trinity York, the Mauleverers do seem to have taken an especial interest in it. Not only was Richard's initial endowment promised in person when visiting the abbey on his return from a pilgrimage to Compostella, but was later considerably increased and the cell at Allerton eventually detached from Holy Trinity to become directly dependent on Marmoutier itself. Yet none of this provides any reason for the family being established on the Brus fee from such an early date. The most likely explanation is that they had come into England before 1100, been granted estates from crown lands by Rufus then reduced to mesne tenants under Brus by Henry I.

Apart from those tenants known to have been knights of Robert de Brus I, who may have accompanied him into England and then been granted lands in the Chester honor, there is little evidence that he subinfeudated companions from his own region of Normandy. A possible exception is William de Feugeres (probably from Feugères in Manche), who witnessed two of Robert I's few surviving charters and whose descendants held in chief the manors of Castle Leavington in Cleveland and Brierton in Hartness, both of which were originally in the Brus fee.¹⁷

Feugères is some forty miles from Brix, but the town of Sottevast is scarcely three. In the time of Adam de Brus II, Eudo de Sottevast granted a half-share in the church of Marton to Guisborough priory, thus completing the endowment made by Robert Sturmy. Eudo's grant was made with the consent of Adam [de Sottevast] his brother and heir, and witnessed by several other members of the family including his nephew, Robert le Bretun. Another witness is Robert de Kircheville, which in this context can surely be interpreted as Querqueville, as distinct from the Karkarevill of the Wetheral register. This grant provides the firmest evidence for any followers from the same region of the Cotentin as the Bruses holding land of them in Yorkshire. It was not made, however, until the time of Adam de Brus II, and is the

¹⁶ EYC, II, no.729; G.F.Black, *The Surnames of Scotland, their Origin, Meaning and History* (New York, 1946) p.588. Le Patourel cites evidence from Orderic Vitalis to show that men from Anjou also participated in the Conquest; Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p.27n.3.

¹⁷ Appendix 3, nos. 3, 4; *Pipe Roll 11 Henry II*, p.50; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.445b.

only reference to the Sottevasts having held a share in the church. Furthermore, the only other reference to a Sottevast in connection with the Bruses is in a grant made to John Sturmy which is witnessed by Eudo de Sottevast in company with Peter de Brus I.¹⁸ So unless their name was changed or they held a lowly position in the hierarchy, the numerous members of the Sottevast family played no further part among the Brus tenantry.

Apart from the Sottevasts, the foregoing tenants are those who are known to have held of Robert de Brus I by 1119 or soon after. As the charters of Adam II and Peter I show, many more had been subinfeudated by the late twelfth century, of whom several no doubt had already held their lands for a number of years. In view of the complexity of descent of these families and their tenure of other tenants-in-chief besides the Bruses, there is little to be gained in endeavouring to unravel the intricacies of their individual holdings. Many of them bore patronyms relating to the place in Yorkshire where their chief holding lay, and their origins are therefore obscure (e.g. Tocotes, Thweng, Liverton, Seton); others were themselves tenants-in-chief or their kin (e.g. Fossard, Meynell, Stuteville); some obtained lands in the fee through marriage (e.g. Merlay who inherited the Stuteville lands, and Bovington those of Acklam); many held of other barons with whom the Bruses were connected (e.g. Fauconberg of Aumale, Mallebisse of Mowbray, Maucovenant of Percy).

It is, therefore, from the early tenants alone that any useful deductions can be attempted, and these show little evidence of Robert de Brus I bringing with him a contingent of his own followers. The majority of those receiving large grants from him can be shown to have previous connections with Yorkshire, suggesting that he was consolidating his position by forging links with those already powerful in the region such as the Percys, Count Alan and the earl of Chester. It is also noticeable that almost all those who are associated with Robert in his foundation grant to Guisborough, and presumably closest to him, had lands which were derived from the honor of Chester as well as continuing links with Whitby, reinforcing the suggestion

¹⁸ *GC*, II, no.610. The grant is also witnessed by John Ingram, son of William, which dates it between 1130 and 1168, but as Eudo de Sottevast witnesses with Peter I it is likely to be towards the end of that period; *GC*, I, no.416. King Henry's confirmation charter implies that between them, the Sturmys had granted the whole of the church to Guisborough; *GC*, I, p.16. The Richard Keverel who appears in *GC*, II, nos.621, 627 in connection with land in Marton, may also be Richard de Kircheville.

that it was under Earl Hugh's patronage that Robert was initially enfeoffed in the Cleveland district. The conclusions which can be drawn from this rather meagre evidence are that Robert de Brus I was indeed a younger son, with no following of his own, who had found favour and promotion with King Henry through the recommendation of the earl of Chester and his own undoubted abilities. He then gathered to him such men as were available, including some already loyal to the earl, younger sons of previously established Yorkshire tenants, or, as is possible with the Feugeres, other adherents of King Henry who, like Brus, had come with him into England to establish themselves under the new regime.

TENANTS IN HARTNESS

Although later evidence suggests that the Bruses may have subinfeudated manors in Hartness from an early date, including that of Brierton to de Feugeres, the first known grant is that of Elton near Stockton, made by Robert de Brus I to Peter Werenge for the service of one quarter of a knight's fee.¹⁹ This grant must have been made towards the end of Robert's life, because Peter Werenge witnessed a grant of Alan de Ferlington after 1170 and probably survived until c.1184; in that year the manor of Elton was granted by Robert de Brus II to William, son of Silvester de Humez, who was given into the charge of his uncle, Peter de Humez, until he should be knighted.²⁰ The origins of Peter Werenge are unknown. The Humez family, however, was probably related to that in Yorkshire which held of the Percy fee from the early twelfth century, and of the Bruses in Lofthus by the time of Peter I. Both Sylvester and Peter de Humez witnessed for Robert de Brus II, while a Eudo de Humez was a frequent witness for Peters I and II. Another Peter de Humez held Brancepeth of the bishop of Durham, and the family was subsequently connected by marriage with the Nevilles of Raby, as well as the Yorkshire Bulmers who later held Thorpe [Bulmer] of the Bruses in Hartness.²¹ The network of Yorkshire families had crossed the Tees.

¹⁹ Appendix 3, no.9.

²⁰ Appendix 3, no.123; *EYC*, II, no.1055. Alan de Ferlington's grant was also witnessed by several members of the Brus family and by Rayner, son of Alvred of Acklam.

²¹ *EYC*, XI, pp.227-230; *GC*, II, no.892; *VCH: Durham*, III, p.235; appendix 3, nos.112, 125. Following a dispute over the advowson of the church at Elton with a William de Howden and Peter de Humez in 1185, Philip de Poitou (bishop of Durham 1197-1208) granted it to William de Humez.

It was also set to reach out from Hartness across the Pennines into Cumberland by way of the families of Turp and Seton. These two families, especially the Setons, were to maintain long-standing connections with the Scottish Bruses, although there is no record of either family holding land in Annandale until the fourteenth century when Christopher de Seton married the daughter of Robert de Brus VI. The association began sometime after 1150, when Robert de Brus II granted the manor of Castle Eden, at the northern boundary of Hartness, to William de Turp.²² While it is not possible to determine from which of the many manors of Thorpe in Yorkshire, or elsewhere, this family of Turp originated, circumstantial evidence suggests it may have been Thorp Arch in the West Riding. An Umfrid de Turp, who witnessed the marriage grant of Elwick in Hartness to the daughter of Robert de Brus I and may therefore be related to William de Turp of Castle Eden, also witnessed a charter for Osbern de Arches together with Robert I and his elder son.²³ The Turps held Castle Eden for only one generation. By 1200 it had passed to Adam de Seton by his marriage to William's daughter and heir, Matilda.²⁴ Other Turps, however, continued to be associated with the Annandale Bruses in their Cumberland manor of Edenhall, which by 1214 was being held by a Robert de Turp.²⁵ The connection between the Castle Eden Turps and those of Edenhall is obscure, but there was a Peter de Turp contemporary with William de Turp who witnessed for Robert de Brus II in both Hartness and Annandale. It is not impossible that it was his descendants who were granted Edenhall by the Bruses and later held it in chief.²⁶ Furthermore, an Ivo de Seton, descendant of Adam de Seton the son-in-law and heir of William de Turp of Castle Eden, had also held land in the region of Edenhall prior

²² The grant must have been made sometime after the marriage of Robert II, because Robert's grant of the chapel at Castle Eden to the priory of Durham makes mention of his wife. Although this grant could have been made between 1145 and 1152, it is likely from other evidence that the marriage was towards the end of that period; appendix 3, no.114; see also above, p.50. For William de Turp's grants to Guisborough and elsewhere, see *GC*, II, pp.327-329.

²³ Appendix 3, no.8; *EYC*, I, no.527.

²⁴ *GC*, II, no.1161. Adam de Seton was amerced for forest trespass in Northumberland in 1200, so probably held Castle Eden by then; *EYC*, II, p.26. William de Turp had another daughter, Emma, who was granted land in Eden on her marriage to Alan son of Ulkil de Hoton, which was later confirmed to them by Adam de Seton and Matilda. There were several Hotons among the Brus tenants in Yorkshire; *GC*, II, p.336n.3.

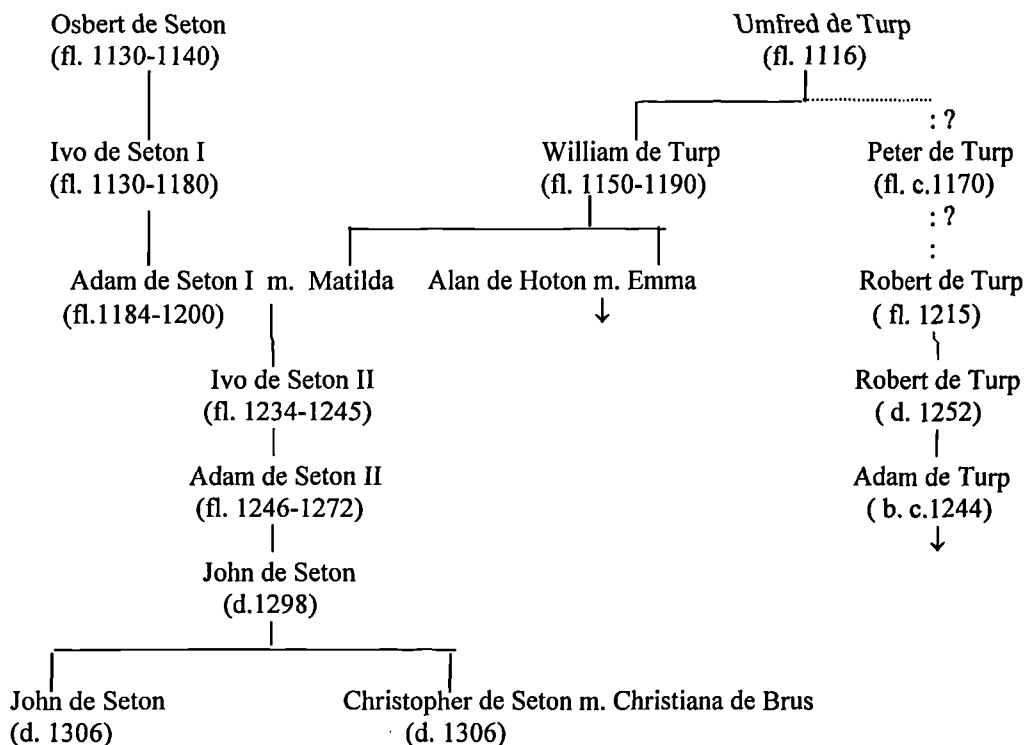
²⁵ *Pipe Roll 16 John*, p.140. For an account of Edenhall and the Turp family see Ragg, 'The Earlier Owners of Edenhall', pp.199, 201, 204-206.

²⁶ Appendix 3, nos.113, 116, 121. Two of these grants relate to Castle Eden, one being confirmation of a grant of William de Turp.

to 1245. This was land which William de Turp himself may have held, and which passed on his death to his daughter and her husband.²⁷

While the origins and family links of William de Turp are somewhat obscure, there is little doubt about those of his successor, Adam de Seton. He was clearly associated with the Yorkshire family of Setons, tenants of the Bruses at Se[a]ton Hall in Hinderwell from the time of Robert de Brus I.²⁸ Ivo de Seton, who had inherited from his father before 1176 when he was fined for forest trespass in Yorkshire, witnessed for both Adam de Brus II in Yorkshire and Robert de Brus II in Annandale, so the family was associated with both branches of the Bruses from an early date.²⁹ Similarly, the Adam de Seton who married Matilda de Turp of Castle Eden and was almost certainly son of Ivo, was granted land in Skelton by Adam de Brus II and in Southburn by Peter de Brus I, whose seneschal he was; yet in c.1184 he witnessed the grant of Elton made by Robert de Brus II to William de Humez.³⁰

Conjectured Descent of the Families of Turp and Seton



²⁷ *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.44.

²⁸ Osbert de Seton and his son Ivo were co-witnesses with Robert de Brus I to a charter of John Ingram, and were therefore established at Se[a]ton [Hall] in Hinderwell by 1142; *EYC*, II, no.707.

²⁹ *EYC*, II, p.26; appendix 3, nos.22, 124.

³⁰ Appendix 3, nos. 27, 69, 123; *EYC*, I, p.431.

The Seton lands in both Yorkshire and Castle Eden passed to Adam's son, Ivo II, before 1234, in which year he was evidently in financial difficulties and pledged his Yorkshire lands to three Jews of York. In 1236 Ivo demised the manor of Castle Eden to Guisborough priory for twenty-five years at a rent of 8 marks p.a., before selling it outright for 380 marks of which he received 280 marks. Yet in 1237, after the death of the bishop of Durham, Ivo was attempting to regain the manor on the grounds that the bishop had never granted seisin of it to the prior. The attempt was disallowed, and Guisborough's rights in the land were confirmed at the bishop's court in 1242 with the consent of Robert de Brus V.³¹ Thus ended the Seton interest in Castle Eden.

It must have been at about the same time that Ivo de Seton also lost his lands near Edenhall. The family did, however, retain its Yorkshire lands. In 1246, Adam de Seton II is named as the lord of Hinderwell, and in 1272 as holding land in Seton for knight service as well as two carucates in Southburn and the half carucate in Skelton which had been granted to the earlier Adam.³² Furthermore, despite the loss of their Hartness lands, they continued to be associated with the Bruses of Annandale. The John de Seton who succeeded Adam de Seton II in Yorkshire was undoubtedly identical with the John de Seton who was a knight of Robert de Brus V, held lands of Robert's second wife in Cumberland, was indicted for forest offences there in 1285 and died in 1298, seised of both Seton and lands in Cumberland.³³ His heir was Christopher de Seton who married Christiana, daughter of Robert de Brus VI, held lands in Annandale, and was executed in 1306, together with his brother John, for their part in the murder of John Comyn.³⁴ Of all the Brus tenants, the successive generations of the Seton family provide the strongest enduring links between the Scottish Bruses and their Yorkshire origins.

³¹ *CDS*, I, nos.1216, 1326, 1345, 1346, 1586; *GC*, II, pp.329-336.

³² *EYC*, XI, p.205; *CIPM*, I, no.800. Adam de Seton II was also a witness to Robert de Brus V's confirmation of Castle Eden to Guisborough after the agreement in the bishop's court in 1242, suggesting that he had already succeeded Ivo by that time; appendix 3, no.151.

³³ *Yorks. Inq.*, III, pp.99-100; *CCR 1279-88*, p.380.

³⁴ Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.148, 155, 161, 281, 318. *CDS*, II, nos.1102, 1775, 1811, 1861, 1894, 1904.

ANNANDALE TENANTS

The settlement of tenants in Annandale by the Bruses should be seen in its context as a part of the Anglo-Norman colonization of southern Scotland which has engaged the interest of Barrow and Ritchie, as well as the many Scots who have attempted to discover their own family origins.³⁵ Although the provenance of the Bruses themselves is now generally accepted, that of many of their followers is still largely a matter of conjecture; and in view of Barrow's work on the number of Yorkshire-based families in Scotland, there are surprisingly few Annandale tenants who can be identified conclusively as coming via the Brus fee or even from Yorkshire at all.³⁶ Among the principal families, those which appear most regularly in the Brus charters and at the court of Annandale through several generations, the only name which is also borne by tenants of the Brus barony in Yorkshire is that of Mauleverer. Even in this case, however, the link is only tentative; the Christian names of the Scottish Mauleverers, Hugh and Humphrey, do not occur among the various branches of the Yorkshire Mauleverers. Although the Scottish Mauleverers appeared as witnesses through four generations of Bruses, the only surviving record of any holdings within the region is for a saltpan at Rainpatrick which came to them via a series of intervening grants.³⁷

One other family which may have had links with the West Riding, though not specifically the Brus barony, was that of de Bois (de Bosco) which was established in Annandale during the twelfth century and held land in Carruthers, now assimilated into Middlesbie. Three members of the family, Humphrey, Walter and Richard, witnessed for Robert de Brus II, while the last witnessed three grants of William de Brus and one in his court, as well as almost all the surviving charters of Robert de Brus IV.³⁸ As Barrow points out, however, de Bois is a common name. Although he produces plausible evidence to link the Annandale family with that of Bosc-Bénard near Lisieux, with whom there is certainly a duplication of Christian names, there is

³⁵ See esp. Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, chs. 3, 4, appendix B; Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, pp.273-294, 370-377.

³⁶ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp.106-117.

³⁷ Appendix 3, nos.124, 134, 138, 156, 170, 179. The salt-pan was demised to them by the prior of St Bees, being one which had been granted to the priory by William de Heriz with the consent of his lord Robert de Brus; *Reg. St Bees*, pp.93-95.

³⁸ *CDS*, I, no.606; appendix 3, nos. 111, 114, 116, 125, 134, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 145-148.

no concrete evidence to connect either family with that of Roger de Bois, who held land of the Stutevilles in the liberty of Knaresborough and witnessed one grant for Peter de Brus I.³⁹ The fact that two men with Yorkshire patronyms witnessed a grant of land in Carruthers made by Walter de Bois to Durham priory does not, as Barrow suggests, necessarily support any previous link between them and de Bois.⁴⁰ Despite the obvious importance of Richard de Bois in the following of Robert de Brus IV, there are no further references to the family in Annandale after his time.

Failure to identify a significant number of the principal Annandale tenants with the Brus barony in Yorkshire does not preclude the possibility that lesser tenants were imported from that county. These could well include members of the military force which garrisoned Annan castle. Unfortunately the origins of the earliest Brus colonists of Annandale cannot easily be ascertained, as they have left no clue except a forename which has survived as prefix to a settlement name. While these include names which Barrow identifies as Flemish, such as Lambin (Lammonbie), Loccard (Lockerbie), Sibbald (Sibbaldbie), Weremund (Warmanbie) and Wizo (Wyseby), others such as Piers (Pearsby), Richard (Rickerby), Robert (Roberdsbie) and William (Willambie) could as well be Norman, while Gill of Gillesbie in Dryfesdale may have been an earlier Gaelic settler, whose name lived on.⁴¹ These small settlements or homesteads to which the putative Flemish and Anglo-Normans have given their names, are all in the south-eastern area of the dale or its tributaries, on the less vulnerable side of the river Annan, where it would be most prudent for members of the first garrison at Annan to be given some footing in the land.⁴² Yet while these men may represent the original military followers of Robert de Brus I, and as such could have been recruited from among his lesser tenants in Cleveland and Hartness, there is nothing to prove or disprove this. They could as well have been recruited as

³⁹ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp.94-95, 175-176; *EYC*, I, p.399; appendix 3, no.59. Some of the land held by Roger de Bois was in Lofthouse Hill, where Peter de Brus I also appears to have held of the Stutevilles by 1204.

⁴⁰ J.Raine, *History and Antiquities of North Durham* (London, 1852) appendix, no. 166. One of the witnesses, Robert of Lithum (possibly Kirkleatham) is linked in *EYC*, II, no.719 with John de Rungeton, who was associated with Durham priory. The witnesses may therefore have had Durham or Hartness, rather than Annandale, connections.

⁴¹ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp.47-48; Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', pp.85-86. There was, however, a later Richard the Fleming who was chamberlain to William de Brus, and Peter the Fleming witnessed for Robert V; *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95e; appendix 3, no.171.

⁴² See map of Annandale above, p.127.

part of Earl David's wider campaign from among the Flemish communities in other areas of the north-east, and from the earlier Anglo-Norman settlers of Cumbria.⁴³ Thus Brus's contingent, placed under his command to occupy Annandale, should be seen as part of a larger force, eventually pushing north into Clydesdale and Ayr, where Barrow and Ritchie have found a more substantial Flemish presence by the time of Malcolm IV. For it is there, rather than in Annandale, that the names Tancard, Baard and Wyrfald occur, names which also appear in *Early Yorkshire Charters*, some as Brus tenants.⁴⁴ It was also in Clydesdale that an Agnes de Brus, who gave her name to Anniestoun, held one fee at Thankerton which she granted to Kelso abbey in 1180. The Bruses were clearly attempting to spread their influence further north by maintaining links, probably through marriage, with their fellow colonists.⁴⁵

While few firm links can be established between the principal tenants of Annandale and the Brus barony of Yorkshire, there is considerably more evidence for their links with Cumberland. One such tenant, Ingebald of Dryfesdale, has already been mentioned as of probable Scandinavian origin, perhaps even pre-dating the Brus advent into Scotland.⁴⁶ Two other families, those of Hoddum and Carlisle who undoubtedly came to Annandale by way of Cumberland, can be shown to share a common ancestor, Hildred, who may also have been an Anglo-Scandinavian. Hildred, who was sheriff of Carlisle in 1129, had been granted the manors of Gamelsby and Glassonby in the Eden valley by Henry I. These manors had passed by 1179 to his son Odard, the first Brus tenant of the large estate at Hoddum in Annandale, who was then succeeded by Robert. Hoddum descended through three generations of the family, who were all prominent members of the Brus entourage, until about 1211 when Odard II died, leaving only daughters.⁴⁷

⁴³ Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', pp.93-94. A colony of Flemings in Northumberland was withdrawn from the shire by Henry I in 1111, a date which coincides with the likely beginnings of David's activity in Scotland; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, p.207.

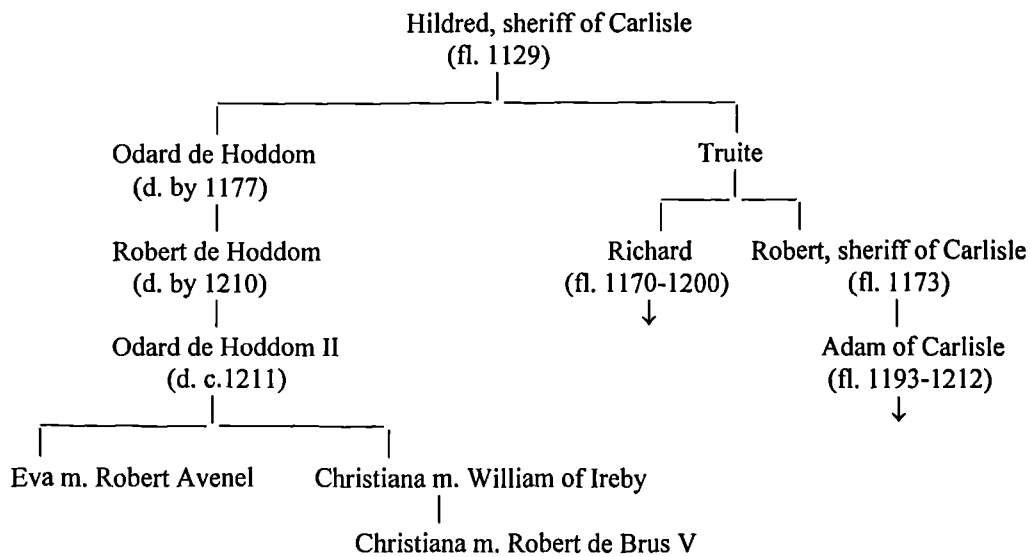
⁴⁴ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp.111-112, 173-174, 197-198; Ritchie, *Normans*, pp.374-377; *EYC*, II, pp.6-7, 10, 21-23, 99, 247-248 and *passim*.

⁴⁵ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp.111-112; *Kelso Liber*, I, no.275.

⁴⁶ See above, p.126.

⁴⁷ *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, p.26; *Reg. Wetherhal*, pp.143-144; *CDS*, I, no.154; appendix 3, nos.119, 120, 123, 124, 129, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 144. Hildred had been preceded as sheriff by another Odard. The Hoddums also held land near Tundergarth; appendix 3, no.144.

Links between Families of Hoddom and Carlisle



The first member of the Carlisle (Carlyle) family known to have settled in Annandale was Adam, who before 1198 had been granted land at Lockerbie which was subsequently exchanged for an equal amount at Kynemund.⁴⁸ Adam of Carlisle was also a tenant of Robert de Brus IV at Edenhall in Cumberland, and can almost certainly be identified with Adam, son of Robert the sheriff (of Carlisle) who, as Robert son of Truite, had witnessed King William's regrant of Annandale to Robert de Brus II. The same Robert also had links with the lords of Galloway.⁴⁹ It has been suggested that Truite was daughter of Hildred, and therefore sister of Odard of Hoddom. Although views differ over the exact line of descent,⁵⁰ some relationship between the families is clearly established by a law-suit of 1199-1200. This was brought by Robert of Hoddom against Richard son of Truite, brother of Robert the sheriff, concerning the manors of Glassonby and Gamelsby which had been repossessed by the crown in 1179. Despite Richard's counter-claims that Robert de Hoddom had been a traitor to the king of England by participating in the siege of

⁴⁸ Appendix 3, no.138.

⁴⁹ *Pipe Roll 23 Henry II*, p.120; *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p.156; appendix 3, no.134 (witnessed by 'Adam, son of the sheriff'); *RRS*, II, no.80; F.W.Ragg, 'Five Strathclyde and Galloway Charters...' *TDGNHAS*, 5 (1918) pp.249-250.

⁵⁰ Compare, for example, *Reg. Wetherhal*, pp.143-144 with T.H.B.Graham, 'The Sons of Truite', *TCWAAS*, n.s.24 (1924) pp.43-49.

Carlisle in 1173-74, Robert successfully recovered his father's Cumberland lands.⁵¹ After the death of Odard of Hoddome II, one of his daughters, Eva, remained in Scotland, married one of the Avenels of Eskdale, and died without issue. The other daughter, Christiana, who moved to Cumberland and married William of Ireby, retained possession of Gamelsby and Glassonby which then passed to her own daughter, the Christiana who married Robert de Brus V.⁵²

Another early Brus tenant from Cumberland, this time of Anglo-Norman origin, was William de Heriz (Herries) founder of a family which continued until the sixteenth century in Upper Annandale, where they held Moffatdale and Evandale. The Cumberland holdings of the Heriz family included land at Cumwhinton in Wetheral, probably held of Hildred of Carlisle, and also on Crummock water. They were benefactors of the Cumberland houses of Wetheral, Holm Cultram, and St Bees, to which William de Heriz granted a salt-pan at Rainpatrick on the north coast of the Solway.⁵³ William de Heriz was one of the witnesses to Earl Henry's foundation charter of Holm Cultram, and to a confirmation grant of David I to St Bees which was also witnessed by Robert de Brus II. He had earlier witnessed the agreement between Guisborough and Whitby made before Robert de Brus I between 1130 and 1139, in which his name appears above those of Robert's two sons.⁵⁴ Yet, although William de Heriz was associated with Robert I closely enough to accompany him to Yorkshire, there is no evidence that he ever held lands there. It is difficult to distinguish between the two, or even three, Heriz called William, but between them they witnessed at least eleven charters of the Annandale Bruses and one for Adam II.⁵⁵ Other members of the Heriz family include Ivo and Walter, who witnessed in the time of Robert II and William de Brus, Richard who held land in

⁵¹ Graham, 'Sons of Truite', pp.44-45; *CDS*, I, nos.288, 289, 449, 483, 546.

⁵² *CDS*, I, nos.1610, 1677, 2101; *CDS*, II, no. 51; Reid, 'The Scottish Avenels', p.76; see also above, pp.102-103. A later Avenel, like the Hoddoms, held land of the Bruses at Tundergarth; *CDS*, I, no.1682.

⁵³ *Annandale Family Book*, pp.XXII-XXIII; *Reg. Wetherhal*, pp.142-143; *Reg. Holm Cultram*, nos.73, 76; *Reg. St Bees*, no.63.

⁵⁴ *Charters of David I*, nos.196, 197; *EYC*, II, no.873.

⁵⁵ Appendix 3, nos.21, 123, 127, 129, 132-134, 138, 139, 146-148.

Cumberland, and Robert who was witness for Robert de Brus V and took a turn as seneschal of Annandale.⁵⁶

Circumstantial evidence suggests a Cumberland association for two other Annandale families, the Crosbys and Corries. Ivo de Crosby and his son Richard, who between them witnessed almost every surviving charter of Robert de Brus II, are most likely to have originated from one of the many Crosbys in that county.⁵⁷ There is a good case for identifying Ivo de Crosby with the Ivo to whom Robert de Brus II made an early grant of a fishery on the Esk.⁵⁸ The family continued to witness for subsequent lords of Annandale, and by the middle of the thirteenth century were in possession of land at Stapleton and in Cummertrees, which Adam of Crosby quitclaimed in exchange for land in Gretna.⁵⁹ The connection between the Corrie family and Cumberland is more tenuous, since their toponym derives from Annandale itself. Hugh de Corri first witnessed for Robert de Brus II in the late twelfth century, lived through William de Brus's lordship and was one of the sureties for Robert IV in his agreement with Earl Patrick of Dunbar in 1218. It was one of his descendants, Walter, who demonstrates an interest in Cumberland by marrying one of the sisters of Richard de Levinton of Kirklington, through whom his son eventually inherited a share in that barony. But whether the Corries had any previous connections with the county which led them to make such an alliance, can only be a matter of conjecture.⁶⁰ The family continued in the dale for several centuries, the Corrie lands near Lockerbie eventually passing to the Johnstons who became earls then marquises of Annandale.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Appendix 3, nos.117, 129, 159, 170; *Reg. Holm Cultram*, nos.73, 76. Another Heriz family, which may have been related, held land of the bishop of Durham at Claxton in the parish of Stockton. Two of its members, Leon and Reginald, witnessed for the Setons in Hartness; *GC*, II, pp.329-330, 336n; *VCH: Durham*, III, p.244.

⁵⁷ Appendix 3, nos.112-116, 120, 123, 124.

⁵⁸ Appendix 3, no.125. Fraser suggested that the recipient of the fishery was Ivo de Kirkpatrick; but he makes no appearance in the Brus records before the time of William de Brus. Another possibility is Ivo de Heriz, who witnessed for William de Heriz at about this time. But he had no other connections with the Bruses themselves, whereas Ivo de Crosby was a regular witness for Robert de Brus II; *Annandale Family Book*, pp.XIII, 1-3; *Reg. St Bees*, no.63.

⁵⁹ Appendix 3, nos.139, 146, 148, 149; Macquarrie, no.5.

⁶⁰ Appendix 3, nos.125, 134, 138, 139, 141, 146-148; C.Johnston, 'The Early History of the Corries of Annandale', *TDGNHAS*, 1 (1913) pp.86-88. Six other Scottish landowners also shared in the inheritance of Kirklington; Stringer, *Earl David*, p.200.

⁶¹ *Annandale Family Book*, p.cccxli.

The Johnston(e) family is one of the unknowns among the Brus tenants. Although the first to be mentioned is Gilbert 'son of John' in the time of William de Brus, it was his father who gave his name to the township in upper Annandale, and so must have been established there during the twelfth century. Nothing is known of John, the founder of John's 'tun', except his name, but his descendants became one of the foremost Annandale families.⁶² Other families came into prominence over the years whose earlier origins are as difficult if not impossible to deduce. Unlike John, who gave his name to the settlement, these conversely took their names from a place in Annandale. Most of them, such as the Kirkpatricks and the Tremors (Turmore) do not appear in the records before the time of William de Brus.⁶³ Indeed, of those principal Annandale tenants who are known to have been established by the time of Robert II, only one family remains to be mentioned, that of Jardine. The first to appear in the Brus charters is William de Gardin, who witnessed for Robert II, closely followed by Humphrey who witnessed later charters of Robert II, one of Robert III, and others for William and Robert IV. Gardin, like de Bois, is a common name. There was, however, a William Gardin holding land in Huntingdonshire in the early thirteenth century, which suggests the possibility that the family may have come into contact with the Bruses through an association with David I in the honor of Huntingdon.⁶⁴

The surviving evidence for the original Brus tenants of Annandale is, inevitably, patchy and biased. The earliest tenants are unlikely to have had written grants, and most of the charters which do survive belong to one of three categories: grants to religious houses, lay grants connected with the Johnston family preserved at Drumlanrig castle, and the few chance survivals among the Duchy of Lancaster records.⁶⁵ From the available material, however, two outstanding conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, while a proportion of lesser tenants, especially those among the initial military force, may have been recruited from among the families and followers of Cleveland tenants, few, if any, of the principal families had any connections with Brus's Yorkshire barony. The only followers of the Annandale Bruses to have

⁶² *Annandale Family Book*, pp. i-vii, ccxxiii-ccxxviii; appendix 3, nos. 138, 139, 146, 147, 149; CDS, I, nos. 606, 704, 705, 1763.

⁶³ Appendix 3, nos. 134, 139; CDS, I, no. 606.

⁶⁴ Appendix 3, nos. 123-125, 127, 134, 141, 146, 147; *Annandale Family Book*, pp. iii, viii.

⁶⁵ See below, p. 258.

undoubted links with the Yorkshire fee were the Turps and Setons, who held land in Hartness and later in Cumberland, and the Humez family, who held lands in Hartness alone. Although some members of these three families appear at the court of Annandale, there is no evidence that any of them, until Christopher Seton in the early fourteenth century, held lands in Scotland.⁶⁶

Secondly, a high proportion of those principal tenants whose origins can at least be conjectured, have clear or possible links with Cumberland, lending weight to the hypothesis that the Brus colonisation of Annandale was indeed an extension of Henry I's settlement of English Cumbria, carried into Scotland by David I. Robert de Brus clearly did not enter Annandale with a large contingent of his own followers, attracting them to his service with the promise of land. He was an officer of the king of England, through the king's vassal Earl David of Huntingdon, and was encouraged to settle as his tenants members of those families whose lands lay just south of the Solway, with a view to unifying the region.⁶⁷ Continuing links of the Bruses and their Annandale tenants with religious foundations in Cumberland demonstrate the affinity between the two regions, which was reinforced during David I's occupation of Carlisle between 1135 and 1153. As it was only then that David granted Annandale's adjoining districts of Eskdale and Liddesdale to his own followers, Robert Avenel, Ranulf de Soules, and Geoffrey of Conisbrough,⁶⁸ it is also a strong possibility that the settlement of Annandale did not begin in earnest until that time, when Robert de Brus II, who had fewer ties with Yorkshire than his father, had commenced his tenure.

COMPANIONS

Once established as tenants of either the Yorkshire or Scottish branch of the Bruses, the majority of such families remained in possession of their lands for several generations, reflecting the stability of the Brus lordships which both passed intact through an unbroken line of succession for some two hundred years, despite the occasional minority. This continuity of tenant families is well illustrated by an examination of the witness lists to the surviving Brus charters, since almost all their

⁶⁶ See above, pp.179-182.

⁶⁷ Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.2-3; Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties', pp.93-94.

⁶⁸ Barrow, *Kingdom*, p.281; *Charters of David I*, pp.35-36, 133-134, 167.

most frequent witnesses were drawn from among their own tenants.⁶⁹ In using witness lists as evidence for discovering the composition of the central following and household of the Brus lords over two hundred years, several reservations need to be made. Firstly, there is a considerable difference in the survival rate of charters, not only between the branches but also between individual lords. Furthermore, not only are there more charters available from the Yorkshire branch, but the average length of their witness lists is greater than that for the Annandale branch. This may reflect the fact that a higher percentage of Annandale charters represent lay grants (32%) compared with those of the Yorkshire Bruses (23%) suggesting that clerks representing religious houses habitually included the names of peripheral observers in their records, while lists appended to lay grants are more representative of the lord's own circle. In both cases, however, a large proportion of names (80%) appear only once or twice.⁷⁰

The majority of names appearing as witnesses for charters of the Yorkshire Bruses can be linked either to the Bruses own lands, to Guisborough lands, or to other place-names in Yorkshire. They appear with monotonous regularity throughout the Guisborough cartulary, as well as in the cartularies of other religious foundations in the county, witnessing not only for the major landholders but for each other, creating the impression of a remarkably cohesive, inward-looking society. Yet for each Brus lord there is, as might be expected from the findings of Simpson and Stringer, a hard core of names which appear in a cross-section of his charters.⁷¹ In view of the large number of grants surviving for Peter de Brus I (35) it is not surprising that the greatest body of evidence for regular companions comes from his charters.⁷² Of the twenty-three witness names appearing six or more times, eight appear more than ten times and witness a wide range of Peter I's grants, suggesting that they were regular members of his court on whose counsel he depended, present not only at Skelton or any one other central administrative point, but accompanying him to other venues. While a number of his household officers, such as chamberlains

⁶⁹ See tables 3 and 4 below, pp.192, 193.

⁷⁰ See table 5 below, p.194.

⁷¹ Simpson, '*Familia* of Roger de Quincy', pp.105-107; Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.150, 155-158.

⁷² See table 5 below, p.194. There is, however, a block of six Guisborough charters of Peter I made at or near the same time, for which some of the witness lists are virtually identical and therefore distort the pattern; appendix 3, nos. 35-40.

Table 3 : Family Continuity of Witnesses
to Charters of the Yorkshire Bruses

Witness	Robert I	Adam I	Adam II	Peter I	Peter II	Peter III
Peter de Brus	3	1	1			
Adam de Hilton					2	2
Richard de Hilton			2			
William de Hilton			1	2		
Hugh de Hoton				4	1	
Richard de Hoton				13	4	2
Robert de Hoton			2	2		
Umfrid de Hoton I and II			1			1
Walter de Hoton				4		
Eudo de Humez				13	3	1
Ivo de Humez				1		
John Ingram			1			
Hugh Ingram			1			
Robert Ingram I and II			4	13	5	5
Walter Ingram			2			
William Ingram I and II			6	2	1	
Gerard de Lascelles	1		6			
Robert de Lascelles			2			
Richard de Levington				23	2	
William de Levington						2
Godfred de Maltby			1			
Robert de Maltby			1			
William de Maltby I and II			2	1		1
Henry Mauleverer						1
Roger Mauleverer			1	2		
Alan de Parco I and II				3	2	7
Ernald de Percy	3					
Walter de Percy				2	1	
William de Percy I and II			3	3	1	1
Adam de Rosell			1			
Hugh de Rosell			1			
John de Rosell				1		
Reginald de Rosell				3		
Roger de Rosell	1		4			
Stephen de Rosell I and II			5		2	2
William de Rosell			1			
Radulph Tamton					1	
Richard Tamton			1			
William Tamton I and II			1	24	4	
Marmaduke de Thweng				7		
Robert de Thweng					2	
William de Thweng				5		
John de Tocotes					4	9
Michael de Tocotes			3	1		
Roger de Tocotes						9
Robert de Tocotes						2
Umfrid de Tocotes				2		1
William de Tocotes				5	2	
Alan de Wilton			1	7	1	
William de Wilton			1			
William, chaplain	4	1				

Table 4 : Family Continuity of Witnesses
to Charters of the Annandale Bruses

Witness	Robert I	Robert II	Robert III	William	Robert IV	Robert V	Robert VI
Humphrey de Bois I and II		2				1	1
Richard de Bois				3	7		
Thomas de Bois						1	
Walter de Bois I and II		1	1				1
Hugh de Brus		2		3			
Peter de Brus	3	1					
Hugh de Corrie		2		3	4		
Nicholas de Corrie							1
Walter de Corrie I and II					1		1
William de Corrie						1	
Ivo de Crosby		8	1				
Richard de Crosby		3					
Robert de Crosby				1	2		
Ivo de Heriz		1					
Leon de Heriz				2			
Robert de Heriz					1	3	
Walter de Heriz				3			
William de Heriz I and II		1	1	7	3		
Odard de Hoddom		3		6			
Robert de Hoddom		4		1			
Peter de Humez		1					
Richard de Humez					4		
Silvester de Humez		1					
Humphrey de Jardine		2	1	2	3		
Stephen de Jardine						1	
William de Jardine I and II		2					1
Gilbert Johnston				2	3		
Humphrey de Kirkpatrick					1	4	
Robert de Kirkpatrick				1			
Roger de Kirkpatrick I and II				2	1	10	1
Hugh Mauleverer I and II		1		2		2	1
Humphrey Mauleverer						1	
Adam de Seton I and II		1		2		4	
Ivo de Seton		2					
John de Seton					2		
David de Torthorwald						4	
Thomas de Torthorwald							1
Peter de Turp		3		1			
Umfred de Turp	1						
William de Turp		1					
William, chaplain	4	2					

Name	Grants witnessed	Total witnesses	Witness 6+	Witness 3-5	Witness twice	Witness once	Kin	House- hold	Clerks	Chap- lains
Robert I	4	41	-	3	1	37	2	1	0	1
Robert II	14	91	1	8	14	68	7	5	3	1
Robert III	1	12	-	-	-	12	0	0	0	0
William	9	50	2	6	9	33	3	1	0	3
Robert IV	8	35	1	7	6	21	2	0	1	2
Robert V	16	83	2	12	6	63	4	4	3	1
Robert VI	15	72	5	8	7	52	1	4	3	0
Adam I	1	12	-	-	-	12	2	2	0	1
Adam II	17	124	3	12	21	88	2	7	4	2
Peter I	35	149	23	27	18	81	0	9	7	0
Peter II	14	73	1	10	15	47	1	3	2	0
Peter III	19	100	5	8	13	74	3	8	3	0
Totals *	153	842	43	101	110	588				

* Allowing for overlap of witnesses between individual lords,
the actual total of all witness names = 709
the actual total of those witnessing once = 470; twice = 89; 3-5 times = 94; 6+ times = 56

Table 5 : Analysis of Witnesses

and clerks, appear as witnesses for anything up to seven or eight times, only one of the most frequent witnesses is noted as holding any office. That is William Tamton, Peter I's seneschal, whose name appears as first or second witness in twenty-three charters and fourth in one other.⁷³ The remainder are known only as Brus tenants of varying degrees, although one of them, William de Hamerton, held land of the Arches fee rather than Skelton.⁷⁴ Although the evidence is smaller, the same pattern emerges for the other Yorkshire Bruses. Peter I's father, Adam II, has several regular witnesses, all of them tenants or from tenant families, while only one, Walter Stainesby (steward), is described as holding any office.⁷⁵ In a list of members present at the court of Adam II towards the end of his life, all except two were Brus tenants who witnessed occasionally for Adam II or frequently for his son, Peter I.⁷⁶ In the same way, the most regular witnesses for Peter II and Peter III were either their tenants or officers, occasionally both, and the same family names continue to appear.

Some of those names which appear less frequently in the witness lists can be shown to be associated with a particular district, manor or religious house, supporting Denholm-Young's suggestion that the clerk would include as witnesses such persons as were most nearly affected by the transaction.⁷⁷ While this is particularly noticeable in relation to Guisborough priory, many of the 'one-off' names appearing among the witnesses for grants to other religious houses can similarly be shown to have connections with them. Nor is it only in grants to religious houses that this phenomenon can be observed, but also between the different regions of the Brus holdings. The few grants of the Yorkshire Bruses relating to Hartness contain names which otherwise appear only in Hartness charters of the Scottish Bruses. In the thirteenth century, distinctions can be found between tenants of the original barony of Skelton and those of the Arches fee, and it is only in grants affecting Yarm that names of its burgesses appear.⁷⁸ This trend is even more apparent in the grants of Peter de Brus III, when as lord of the barony of Kendale his charters there are witnessed almost entirely by names which have Cumbrian connections and appear

⁷³ See above, p.154. William Tamton also witnessed a very large number of charters granted by Brus tenants.

⁷⁴ *Healaugh Cart.*, p.65.

⁷⁵ Appendix 3, no.14.

⁷⁶ *GC*, I, no.482.

⁷⁷ Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, p.14n.1.

⁷⁸ Appendix 3, nos.54, 100.

nowhere else.⁷⁹ So although the lord of Skelton can be shown to have had a core of household officers and regular companions moving with him between his several manors in Yorkshire, where they were supplemented by additional local individuals who were most nearly affected by the acts to which they were witnesses, they seem not to have accompanied him in any great numbers when he travelled further afield. However, the examples available outside Yorkshire are too few for any firm conclusions.

Compared with the charters of the Yorkshire Bruses the witness lists of the Scottish branch contain a broader spectrum of interests, although the total number of names is actually smaller. Yet here too the same pattern emerges. There is a hard core, consisting mainly of tenants bearing a marked continuity of family names who witness a cross-section of grants, which is supplemented by a number of less frequent names associated with a particular area of Brus estates. As the Scottish Bruses held two distinct regions of lands, in Annandale and Hartness, it is readily apparent that several tenants witnessed in one but never the other. Nigel of Hart, steward of Robert de Brus II is an obvious example, witnessing only in Hartness; while the Johnston tenants of Annandale appear to witness only in Scotland. It is, however, noticeable that of those witnesses who appear most frequently on both sides of the Border, almost all are tenants in Scotland rather than in England. The only tenants whose holdings lay in England who yet appear as witnesses to Scottish grants or at the court of Annandale, are the Setons and the Turps, both being families which had wide-ranging connctions with the Scottish Bruses from an early date and held lands in Cumberland as well as Hartness.⁸⁰ Conversely, members of six or seven Annandale families are found as witnesses in England. The centre of focus of the Scottish Bruses would seem to lie very clearly north of the Border where, as with their Yorkshire kinsmen, there was great stability among their tenantry; the same few family names appear over several generations with considerable overlap between the witness lists of sequential lords.⁸¹

There is unfortunately little material with which to make a comparison of the entourage of Robert de Brus V when moving between his extended estates. The only

⁷⁹ Appendix 3, nos.106-110.

⁸⁰ See above, pp.180-182.

⁸¹ See table 4 above, p.193.

surviving charter relating to his Essex manors was executed at Hart in June 1288, and apart from his steward, Adam Crokdaik, is witnessed entirely by his followers from Scotland and the north of England. The grant, made by his tenant in Essex, had obviously been brought north for his confirmation as there was, presumably, no immediate expectation of Robert travelling so far south while the kingdom of Scotland was in a state of impending crisis.⁸² However, the one charter with a witness list which relates to his Huntingdon lands, includes no names which can be identified as regular Brus associates.⁸³ Other sources similarly suggest that there was little connection between the tenants in midland England and other Brus holdings.⁸⁴ This finding agrees with evidence from the large body of Writtle charters of Robert de Brus VI in which the witness lists consist almost exclusively of names associated with Essex, suggesting that the Bruses administered their Huntingdon and Essex lands as separate units.⁸⁵ There is not so marked a distinction among the witnesses of Robert V's two grants from lands in Garioch to the abbey of Lindores, one of which was made at Edinburgh to confirm his mother's grant. Although these do include some persons with local interests, such as descendants of Earl David's illegitimate son, Henry of Brechin, and the bishop of Aberdeen, there are also several Annandale tenants among them, many of whom are classed as knights.⁸⁶

By this period of the mid-thirteenth century, however, the term knight can no longer be taken as referring to a baron's household knights, his regular, landless companions, but was being applied to senior tenants who were wealthy enough to have taken knightly status. It is indeed at this same time that tenants of the Yorkshire Bruses also begin to be designated as knights on a regular basis. So although there are hints that some companions of the widely-travelled Robert de Brus V were 'his knights' in the earlier sense,⁸⁷ it is not generally possible to identify them as a

⁸² Appendix 3, no.168; see also above, pp.105-109.

⁸³ Appendix 3, no.167.

⁸⁴ *HKF*, *passim*.

⁸⁵ The only witness name which has northern associations is that of John of Durham, knight; appendix 3, nos.181, 190.

⁸⁶ Appendix 3, nos.156, 157.

⁸⁷ For example, William de St Michael and John de Seton, both of whom can be shown to have accompanied Robert V on some of his longer journeys, are not known to have been among his major tenants, although John de Seton held lands in Cumberland from the estates of Robert V's second wife. Appendix 3, nos.157, 159, 168, 171, 172, 175; *CCR 1279-88*, p.380; above, p.182.

separate class of dependants as it is with those of magnates such as Roger de Quincy or Earl David.⁸⁸

Although the emphasis so far has been placed on tenants, the Bruses' followers, like those of other barons, also included members of their families. Apart from wives and sons, who appear sometimes as associates of the grant and sometimes as witnesses, the other kinsmen who witness most frequently are younger brothers, who then continue to witness as uncles of the succeeding generation. The Peter de Brus who witnessed three out of the four charters of Robert I with lists, and was almost certainly his brother, also appears as witness for both of Robert I's sons and one of his grandsons, Adam II.⁸⁹ Master Hugh de Brus who witnessed grants of Robert II in both Scotland and England, as well as several for his heir, is likely to have been Robert II's brother rather than his son.⁹⁰ Grants of Robert IV were witnessed by his brother William and a John de Brus, who was probably his father's brother of that name.⁹¹ Five charters of Robert V were also witnessed by a William de Brus, who in the earlier charters may have been his uncle, and in the last, dated 1294, perhaps that uncle's son.⁹² In Yorkshire, the two brothers of Peter II, Roger and Simon, witness both for him and for their nephew, Peter III.⁹³

While these are the only examples of close relatives witnessing on a fairly regular basis, there are occasional examples of more distant kin witnessing grants in which they had a particular interest. Gilbert of Lancaster, a kinsman of Peter III on his mother's side, witnessed one of his Kendale charters.⁹⁴ The Ribald son of Ralph whose name appears high in the witness list of one of Robert II's Hartness grants is likely to have been his nephew, son of his sister Agatha who married Ralph son of Ribald and was granted land in Hartness as her *maritagium*.⁹⁵ It has already been

⁸⁸ Simpson, 'Familia of Roger de Quincy', pp.107, 113-121; Stringer, *Earl David*, pp.166-167. Even in the time of Robert de Brus I, at least two of his three named knights appear to have been rewarded with grants of land, thus entering the category of tenants; see above, pp.174-175.

⁸⁹ Appendix 3, nos.4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 121.

⁹⁰ Appendix 3, nos.115, 119, 123, 136, 138; D.E.R.Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D.1410* (Oxford, 1977) p.67; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.93, who prefers the alternative suggestion that Hugh was son of Robert II.

⁹¹ Appendix 3, nos.141-143.

⁹² Appendix 3, nos.151-154, 175; see also below, pp.210-211.

⁹³ Appendix 3, nos. 80, 88, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 100, 101, 108.

⁹⁴ Appendix 3, no.106.

⁹⁵ Appendix 3, nos. 8, 122.

noted that grants made by Robert V to Lindores abbey are witnessed by his step-cousin William Brechyn and son Robert, who as descendants of Earl David's illegitimate son Henry had some share in his inheritance and were builders of a castle at Lindores.⁹⁶

HOUSEHOLD OFFICERS

In addition to his regular companions and kinsmen, it is usual to find a number of household officers among a baron's witnesses, and in this the Bruses are no exception. Those officers whose names appear most frequently are the stewards, who have already been discussed in connection with estate management, where it was noted that at least two of them, John de Tocotes and Adam Crokduk, also acted as executors and, in the case of Adam, as an attorney for Robert V.⁹⁷ There are several other references in thirteenth-century records to persons acting as attorneys for the Bruses, representing them in court cases or during the lord's absence. Yet only a minority of these make any appearance as witnesses in the surviving charters, so may have been employed for their legal expertise rather than being regular members of the household. Four of those nominated as attorneys by Peter de Brus II, however, did act as his witnesses. Among them is Berardo de Fontibus, who in the time of Peter I had been one of those taken prisoner by King John at Skelton castle.⁹⁸ Berardo, whose 'man' Thomas was also among the prisoners, is not known to have held any land of the Bruses, so may have been a paid officer, perhaps serving as castellan.

Of other household officers, those witnessing most frequently are chamberlains, chaplains and clerks; and there are sufficient of these appearing on more than one occasion to show that such officers moved with their lord as an integral part of his household. As chamberlains were responsible for the household finances, it is natural that the two who appear in lists of the earlier Scottish Bruses, Hamelin (for Robert II) and Richard le Fleming (for William), both show evidence of this.⁹⁹ One chamberlain of the Yorkshire Bruses (Ambrose) demonstrates continuity between the

⁹⁶ Appendix 3, nos.156, 157.

⁹⁷ See above, pp.155-156.

⁹⁸ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p.167b.

⁹⁹ English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp.86-87; *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95e; appendix 3, nos.123, 124, 129, 138.

generations. Having acted as chamberlain for Peter II, he appears in the same office for his son, Peter III.¹⁰⁰ It is therefore likely that Ambrose had held responsibility for the household finances during the absence and death of Peter II on crusade.

While a number of chaplains appear among the witness lists, especially those of the Scottish branch, not all of them can be identified as being the Bruses' own chaplains. Suan, for example, who witnessed two of William de Brus's charters in Hartness, is described in one as chaplain of Stockton and was therefore undoubtedly acting for the bishop of Durham.¹⁰¹ William, however, did have another chaplain, Simon, who appears for him in both England and Scotland, and is therefore likely to be his own.¹⁰² Robert II clearly brought his own chaplain with him when he visited Castle Eden, because when granting its chapel to the monks of Durham, he made it a condition that his own chaplain should sing mass when he or his wife was there.¹⁰³ Similarly Henry, who witnesses for Robert V and is specifically described as 'my chaplain' in a charter dated from Edinburgh, had clearly travelled there with him.¹⁰⁴ Robert I's chaplain, William, appears in all four of his surviving charters with witness lists, and may well have been the same who witnessed for both his sons.¹⁰⁵ The only other Brus of the Yorkshire branch to include a chaplain among his witnesses was Adam II, who had one named Robert and another, Adam, for whom he tried to obtain a benefice.¹⁰⁶ The later lords of Skelton may well have relied on the canons of Guisborough to take care of their spiritual welfare, rather than maintaining their own household chaplains.

All the Brus lords except Robert I, Adam I and William, each number at least one clerk among their witnesses, while Peter I has seven. As with the chaplains these were not necessarily their own clerks, especially in charters granted to religious houses which may well have been drawn up by the beneficiary's clerk. There are, however, a few cases in which the clerk is clearly identified. Roger, who witnessed two Hartness charters of Robert II and two of William de Turp, is named in one of

¹⁰⁰ Appendix 3, nos.73, 75, 89, 96, 99, 103.

¹⁰¹ Appendix 3, nos.132, 133.

¹⁰² Appendix 3, nos.132-134, 138.

¹⁰³ Appendix 3, no.114. Robert's chaplain is named as Peter, in the agreement made with William of Aumale over Dimlington; *EYC*, III, no.1352; see also above, p.50.

¹⁰⁴ Appendix 3, no.156.

¹⁰⁵ Appendix 3, nos.3-5, 8, 10, 112, 114, 116.

¹⁰⁶ Appendix 3, nos.13-15, 22; see also below, p.220.

the latter as Robert's clerk. He is also stated to be, in one instance, the clerk who drew up the charter, and is likely to be the Roger who was final witness to another grant made by Robert II, of land at Lochmaben, to the hospital of St Peter, York. This would suggest that Roger travelled with Robert.¹⁰⁷ Robert V's clerk, Adam, certainly accompanied him to Edinburgh, along with his chaplain, and may be identified with Master Adam of Kirkcudbright who witnesses on other occasions.¹⁰⁸ Robert IV's clerk, Thomas, who witnessed for him several times at Hartness, may have been the same Thomas who, along with two other clerks, witnessed Robert's grant at the shrine of St Thomas in Canterbury.¹⁰⁹ In respect of the Yorkshire Bruses, only those clerks witnessing a range of their grants, rather than being limited to one particular beneficiary such as Guisborough, can be identified as belonging to their household. Using this criterion, only one of the four clerks named among Adam II's witnesses (Richard) and three of the seven among Peter I's (William, Wydone and possibly John) are likely to be their own.¹¹⁰ There are too few surviving original charters of the Yorkshire Bruses to identify the work of any individual clerks. Although one of these originals, Peter III's grant of liberties to the burgesses of Kendal, does include a clerk among its witnesses (Nicholas de Lee), the script of the other remaining original of Peter III is in a different hand.¹¹¹ There is more scope for comparison among the charters of the Scottish Bruses, but the only ones which appear to be in the same hand are the two duplicate originals of Robert V's confirmatory grant to Guisborough of the Annandale and Hartness churches, in which no clerk is named.¹¹²

Minor members of the households make occasional appearances among the witness lists, but only in those appended to English charters, not those drawn up in Scotland. Thus there are no references to minor officers of Annandale, although the Scottish Bruses have an arbalaster and a salter in Hartness and two cooks at Writtle

¹⁰⁷ Appendix 3, nos. 116, 121, 122; *GC*, II, p. 327.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix 3, nos. 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 159, 172.

¹⁰⁹ Appendix 3, nos. 141-143, 145.

¹¹⁰ Another William is specified as being 'clerk of Guisborough'; appendix 3, nos. 28, 29, 32, 35-41, 44, 49, 53, 65-67.

¹¹¹ Appendix 3, nos. 105, 106.

¹¹² Appendix 3, no. 153.

in Essex.¹¹³ The Yorkshire Bruses have cooks, a sauser, a huntsman (or rather his son) and a porter, while grants of Peters I and II are witnessed by John the physician, (*medicus*).¹¹⁴ In some instances, however, where witnesses may have been selected from two households it cannot be certain whether those persons given occupational names belong to that of the Bruses or of the other interested party.¹¹⁵

CONCLUSION

The main conclusions which can be drawn from the witness lists of the Brus charters regarding their followers are, that they were chiefly dependent on their own tenants in the administration of their affairs, and on their immediate neighbours for support, the latter being particularly noticeable in the Yorkshire branch. Thus, in the conduct of their lives, both branches of the Brus family would seem to match the conventional pattern of other known baronial families of their time, but were not comparable with those of the magnate class. Their following differs markedly from that of Roger de Quincy as described by Simpson, in that the 'inner circle' who made up their court and regular counsellors were effectively their own tenants.¹¹⁶ Even their most senior hereditary tenants are found witnessing for them and, in the case of the Annandale branch, accompanying them into England. This is at variance with Stringer's findings regarding Earl David's entourage, which included followers that the earl himself had raised from more humble positions by his patronage, yet few if any of his greater tenants.¹¹⁷ It is, however, in line with the discovery made by Neville regarding the earls of Strathearn who, despite their status, were in many ways as insular and as intimately involved with their hereditary lands as lesser barons in England.¹¹⁸ The pattern is one which may well be revealed among other baronial families south of the Border when further studies are made.

For the Scottish branch it is also worth commenting that their household organization reflects standard Anglo-Norman practices, and shows no residual Gaelic

¹¹³ Appendix 3, nos. 115, 116, 184, 185, 190, 189.

¹¹⁴ Appendix 3, nos. 10, 15, 28, 35, 36, 38, 65, 72, 74.

¹¹⁵ Examples can be found in appendix 3, nos. 8, 21.

¹¹⁶ 'Tenants of the earl take only a small place within his *familia*'; Simpson, '*Familia* of Roger de Quincy', p. 121.

¹¹⁷ Stringer, *Earl David*, p. 164.

¹¹⁸ C.J. Neville, 'The Earls of Strathearn from the Twelfth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century' (University of Aberdeen, Ph.D. Thesis, 1983) pp. 207-208.

influence. None of their witnesses is designated *rannair*, an office which persisted, for example, in the royal household and that of the earls of Strathearn. Nor is there any reference to a *toschdor* as in documents relating to Carrick and Galloway.¹¹⁹ So despite assertions that Annandale can be regarded as a Gaelic region,¹²⁰ albeit one which had been resettled by Anglo-Scandinavians, there is no evidence in the Brus charters to suggest that they assimilated any indigenous practices into their lifestyle.

Finally, there remains another aspect of particular interest to be ascertained in the course of analysing the witness lists and identifying the principal followers of the Brus lords. This is the existence of any correlation between the two branches. At first sight there are certainly a number of overlaps among those witnessing for them. On closer investigation, however, the majority of charters in which a name recurs for both Yorkshire and Annandale lords are those relating to Guisborough priory or to Hartness, and the witness is found to be associated with the beneficiary or the district rather than with the grantor. Apart from members of the Seton family, who retained their connections with their Yorkshire origins throughout their longstanding association with the Annandale Bruses, only two examples of genuine duplication of allegiance are to be found. These were both companions of Robert de Brus I, being his brother Peter and his chaplain William. Between them they witnessed almost all Robert I's surviving charters and continued to appear occasionally for his successors in both kingdoms.¹²¹ Once the initial division of the Brus estates had been made, however, when tenants had been established and old associates of the first Robert had died, there was virtually no cross-connection between their adherents.

¹¹⁹ Neville, 'Earls of Strathearn', pp.178, 183; *Charters of David I*, p.35; Dodgshon, *Land and Society*, p.66.

¹²⁰ D. Broun, *The Charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Early and Central Middle Ages* (Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Medieval Gaelic History 2, Cambridge, 1995) p.3n.6.

¹²¹ Appendix 3, nos.3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 112, 116, 121.

Chapter Eight

STATUS, KIN AND PATRONAGE

The aristocratic society of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was hierarchical and ruthlessly competitive. Although it was possible to cross the boundaries which divided each level, and men could be 'raised from the dust' by patronage of king, magnates or Church, yet there were very clear marker posts which men ignored at their peril. It was easier to fall than to rise. In such a society, it was essential to a baron's survival that he not only knew his own position within the hierarchy but made that position plain to his associates, both superior and inferior; only so could he assess and take such action as was appropriate to maintain or advance his position among his contemporaries. While status could be manifested by such outward signs as the extent of his lands, size of his household, his following, and his links with the royal court, a baron still depended on the support of his peers, his own overlords, tenants and, indeed his family, in order to prosper. Even a royal favourite such as Peter de Maulay, who had been endowed with lands by marriage to a Yorkshire heiress, took time to be accepted within the circle of northern barons to which he had been transplanted. Only through the double marriage of his children into the long-established Brus family was his position among his new-found peers firmly secured.¹

While marriage alliances were one very evident measure of a baron's position within the hierarchy, and one which was supremely dependent on the concurrence of his fellows, other aspects of family life, such as the achievements of younger sons and sphere of religious patronage, also served as indicators of his success in the eyes of his contemporaries. Many such aspects of the Brus lords' careers have already been discussed in their chronological place during the first part of this thesis. However, drawing them together in a comparative review will not only highlight comparisons and contrasts between the two branches of the family, but contribute towards an understanding of their social position and ambitions, both in their own eyes and those of their contemporaries.

¹ Holt, *Northerners*, pp. 77, 105; see also above, p.78.

MARRIAGES

As with many of the Bruses' contemporaries, the majority of marriages contracted by both branches of the family were made with a view to social betterment or political expediency rather than an expansion of their landed wealth.² One obvious exception to this pattern within the Brus family is the marriage of the first Robert de Brus, which was almost certainly arranged by Henry I as a means of enhancing the barony of one of his favourites, at no cost to himself, by marriage with an heiress, most probably a daughter of Richard de Surdeval.³ The initiative for Robert de Brus I's own marriage, therefore, came from above. The marriages which Robert I arranged for his children, however, were clearly an attempt to consolidate his own position in Yorkshire by allying himself to more powerful neighbours, rather than to increase his lands. That of his daughter Agatha to Ralph fitz Ribald (or Taillebois) of Middleham must have been a considerable *coup*. Ralph was a kinsman and major tenant of the count of Richmond, holding fifteen fees of that honor. Robert's grant to his daughter of the manor of Elwick in Hartness as her *maritagium* includes among its lengthy witness list a number of tenants and officers from the honor of Richmond, but few Brus adherents. It was not a marriage of social equals. The Bruses were still in the process of establishing themselves.⁴

The marriages of Robert I's sons Adam I and Robert II with, respectively, the sister and niece of William le Gros, lord of Holderness and count of Aumale, fall into a similar category, in which the Bruses were allying themselves to a more powerful magnate within their own region. Though undoubtedly seen as a shrewd move at the time, the alliance brought the Brus family little in the way of benefits, and had instead the unfortunate consequences of placing their estates in the unscrupulous hands of Count William, then earl of York, during the minority of Adam II at a time of great upheaval in the country. Yet despite the losses which the Brus barony suffered at the hands of the count, the Aumale/Holderness connection may well have

² Compare, for example, Stringer's comments on the marriages of the de Vescy family; Stringer, 'Nobility and Identity', p.204.

³ See above, pp.26-27; Green, *Aristocracy*, p.366.

⁴ *EYC*, v, pp.298-301; appendix 3, no. 8. Ralph's father was an illegitimate half-brother of the first Count Alan of Richmond, and his mother Beatrice was a daughter (possibly also illegitimate) of Ivo de Taillebois. Ralph inherited Middleham before 1130 and the marriage probably took place before 1135, during the lordship of Count Stephen; *EYC*, iv, pp.84-87.

played a part in providing Adam de Brus II with his wife, Juetta de Arches. Juetta's aunt, Agnes de Arches, had been wife successively of three prominent Aumale tenants, Herbert de St Quintin, Robert de Fauconberg and William Foliot. Furthermore, the St Quintin lands in Holderness included a mesne tenancy of manors which formed a part of the Brus fee through the *maritagium* of Agnes d'Aumale, mother of Adam II. Agnes d'Aumale lived until after 1170, being by then the widow of William de Roumare II, so was still alive when Juetta's first husband, Roger de Flamville, died. Even if, as suggested above, the marriage between Adam and Juetta had been sanctioned by the crown to weaken Mowbray's hold over one of his principal tenants, surely the count of Aumale, and therefore his sister, must have had a part in arranging the marriage of her son to the wealthy kinswoman of one of their own tenants.⁵

Despite Juetta's status as a wealthy widow and heiress, the marriage was undoubtedly made for social and political reasons rather than the enhancement of the Brus barony. It was only the accident of his half-brother's early death that allowed Peter de Brus I to inherit his mother's estates.⁶ Before that event, Peter's own marriage and that of his sister Isabel had already been contracted. These too followed the same pattern of alliances, made with a view to an advantageous family connection rather than the hope of landed gains. Although little is known about Peter I's wife, Joan, her *maritagium* included a mill and land at Knottingley in the Lacy fee. While the editor of the Pontefract cartulary believed that Joan was related to a tenant rather than the lord of the honor, the standing of the Brus family at the end of the twelfth century would point to the latter assumption.⁷ Peter I's sister Isabel was twice-married. Her first marriage, to Henry de Percy, was clearly arranged by her parents with a view to linking two Yorkshire families which already had ties going back to the time of the first Robert de Brus. Henry was son of Agnes de Percy, co-heiress of the main Percy line, and Jocelin de Louvain, brother of King Henry I's second wife, castellan of Arundel and lord of the honor of Petworth. Isabel was well endowed by both her parents, being granted the vill of Kirk Levington by her father

⁵ See above, p.60.

⁶ See above, pp.69-70; *CRR*, vi, pp.345-346.

⁷ The Grammar family had held of the Lacys in Knottingley since 1086, but there is evidence to suggest that the Lacys themselves retained an interest there; *Pontefract Cart.*, i, pp. li-lij, 262-265; *EYC*, iii, pp.140, 185-188, 193-194; appendix 3, nos.53, 59.

and land in Askham Richard by her mother.⁸ Henry de Percy did not long outlive his father-in-law and was dead by 1198, in which year, following the enquiry by the judiciary into the status of widows, Isabel offered a fine of 100 marks to marry only as she chose. When she eventually did remarry, her choice was Roger Mauduit, a Percy tenant. It is indicative of Roger's lesser status that their son Robert took his mother's surname. This Robert de Brus benefited from the patronage of his wealthier Percy half-brother, being granted land and income at Tadcaster and serving as chamberlain in the Percy household, in which capacity he witnessed several charters.⁹

The marriages of the remaining Brus lords of Skelton, Peters II and III, both formed part of a double contract. That of Peter II to Helewise, sister of William of Lancaster, was clearly made to strengthen an alliance formed across the north during the troubles of John's reign; and it is highly probable that the Agnes de Brus who married William was herself Peter II's sister. So even had William and Agnes produced an heir, thus denying Peter III a half-share in the barony of Kendale, the Bruses would still have retained some interest in the Lancaster estates.¹⁰ The marriages which Peter de Brus II arranged for his eldest son and daughter before he set off on crusade, were likewise a two-way affair, with Peter III being married to Hillaria, the daughter of Peter de Maulay, while Johanna de Brus was married to his son, Peter de Maulay II. This was undoubtedly a political move, benefiting the Maulay incomers by uniting them with a long-standing Yorkshire family, and the Bruses by establishing links with a former royal favourite who might yet have some influence at court. The betrothals were certainly of sufficient interest to the king for his consent to be obtained when he was at York in 1237.¹¹ As it chanced, neither alliance had any lasting effect since there were no surviving children for either couple. Johanna de Brus clearly predeceased her brother, thereby depriving the Maulays of a share in the Brus fee when it was divided between Peter III's four remaining sisters, Agnes de Fauconberg, Lucy de Thweng, Margaret de Ros, and Laderina de Bella Aqua, all married to established northerners.¹²

⁸ *EYC*, I, nos.548, 549; *EYC*, II, no.668; *EYC*, XI, pp.6-7.

⁹ *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, p.42; *EYC*, II, p.25; *Percy Chartulary*, pp.19-21, 32-33, 45-48, 135, 144; *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven*, ed. J. McNulty (YARS 87, 90, 1933-34) I, pp. 20-22, 55; *ibid.*, II, nos, 577, 583, 646.

¹⁰ See above, p.77.

¹¹ *CPR 1232-47*, p.196; see also above, p.78

¹² See above, pp.83-84.

Like the marriage alliances of the Yorkshire Bruses, those of the Annandale branch were also made for socio-political reasons rather than the acquisition of lands. Even that of Robert IV to the daughter of Earl David which brought their son his share in the Chester/Huntingdon inheritance did so because of the failure of heirs, not by deliberate intent. Unlike the marriages of the Yorkshire Bruses, however, all of which were made within their own geographical region and social sphere, those of the Annandale branch were more varied and prestigious. Indeed, in the case of Robert IV's marriage to Isabel of Huntingdon, as in that of Robert III's to the natural daughter of William the Lion, it was diplomatic rather than family considerations which led to the match.¹³ The consequences of the Brus/Huntingdon marriage, which directed the Brus interests back towards England, have already been commented on at length.¹⁴ The only related point which warrants further consideration is the selection of Isabel de Clare as a wife for the son of that marriage, Robert de Brus V, in which the influence of his widowed mother can surely be seen. Rather than a political marriage, this was one of social ambition. Isabel of Huntingdon was the daughter and grand-daughter of English earls, and it was to the families of English magnates that she looked for her son's wife in 1240. It was probably through her Chester rather than her Huntingdon connections that she managed to secure the sister of the young earl, Richard of Gloucester, who had married the daughter of John de Lacy, constable of Chester and earl of Lincoln, two years earlier. Not only was Isabel of Huntingdon cousin to John de Lacy's wife, Margaret de Quincy, she could also claim kinship via the earls of Derby with Isabel de Clare's widowed mother (also Isabel) who was now the wife of Richard of Cornwall.¹⁵ As Barrow has noted, the marriage of Robert V was clearly not made for lands or wealth. His wife's *maritagium* was not large and came from her uncle, Gilbert Marshal, not from the Gloucester lands which were still in the king's hands by reason of the minority of her brother.¹⁶

There is a marked contrast between the first and second marriages of Robert V. In place of an earl's daughter he chose Christina of Ireby, the twice-widowed daughter of a small Cumberland land-holder, who was descended from a

¹³ See above, pp.55, 85-86.

¹⁴ See above, ch. 4, p.89 and *passim*.

¹⁵ See genealogical table, p.96.

¹⁶ Barrow, *Bruce*, p.23; *CChR*, I, pp.252-253.

family of Annandale tenants, the Hoddoms. It is scarcely surprising that Robert VI, descended from the Clares and Marshals, should look upon his step-mother as an interloper or fortune-seeker, and endeavour to withhold her dowry.¹⁷ Through his own marriage to Marjorie, countess of Carrick, Robert VI had achieved an earldom and lands to go with it. Furthermore it seems to have been a marriage arranged by himself and his bride rather than their kinsfolk, and was certainly not made to further Brus relations with the king of Scots, as his grandfather's marriage had been. On the contrary, Alexander III is said to have been considerably displeased by the match.¹⁸

It is noticeable that, after Robert II's marriage, the Scottish Bruses took no more wives from Yorkshire, not at least for their eldest sons. Nothing is known of the wives of any younger sons, except for Christiana wife of William, the son of Robert II who inherited Annandale. Even she is little more than a name. But as Christiana married the earl of Dunbar for her second husband, it is more likely that her origins lay in Scotland than Yorkshire.¹⁹ Similarly, the Yorkshire Bruses never sought to ally themselves with their Scottish kin, or indeed with any other families who had settled north of the Border. In this they were unlike some of their associates, such as the Vescy, Ros and Balliol families, who all made cross-Border marriages of distinction.²⁰ In marriage alliances, as in their choice of followers, the two branches of the Brus family seem to have gone their separate ways.

YOUNGER SONS

William de Brus was a fortunate younger son to inherit the lordship of Annandale through the death of his elder brother. Most of the evidence available for the younger sons from both branches indicates that few of them after Robert II received any substantial inheritance. Roberts I and II both benefited from the period of conquest and expansion in the first part of the twelfth century, when there was still unallocated land in England, and Scotland was seen as a land of opportunity for younger sons.²¹ After that, the Bruses conformed to the pattern of the times and protected their

¹⁷ Sayles, *Scripta Diversa*, pp.24-25; see also above, pp.102-103.

¹⁸ *Chron. Fordun*, I, p.304; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.25-26.

¹⁹ Appendix 3, no.146.

²⁰ In these cases it is likely to have been the Northumberland interests of the barons which commended them to the kings of Scots

²¹ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, p.7.

lordships by passing them on intact to the eldest son. Any grants made to younger sons continued to be held of the elder. While this criterion had been employed in respect of Robert II's tenure of Hartness, he alone of all the younger sons was also awarded a separate inheritance, in Scotland, leading to the establishment of a distinct and successful branch. In this, of course, Robert II was following in the footsteps of his father, who must himself have come from a younger line of those Bruces who continued as lords of Brix in the Cotentin.²² Whatever the exact relationship was between Robert I and his Norman kinsmen, he was evidently considered to have 'made good', since one, or possibly two, brothers were sent to join him in England. Of these, William is well documented as the first prior of Guisborough.²³ The other, Peter, who appears as witness for the king of Scots as well as for Robert de Brus I and his successors, may have been the Peter de Brus who first held Edenhall in Cumberland and presumably died without issue, since the manor later came to William, son of Robert II.²⁴

The only other known son of Robert II besides Robert III and William, was Bernard, who witnessed for him on at least two occasions. Although there is no firm evidence, he could well be equated with the Bernard de Brus who in 1212 was in the service of King John.²⁵ William de Brus had two other sons, William and John, besides Robert IV. One of these was among the Scottish hostages taken by King John in 1209 and released from the custody of Peter de Brus of Skelton in 1213.²⁶ Both appear as witnesses for their brother, Robert IV. A William de Brus is also listed several times among the witnesses to charters of Robert V, but in a lower place except for one dated 1294. This William may therefore have belonged to the next generation and been Robert V's cousin rather than his uncle, rising to greater

²² See above, pp.19-20.

²³ *GC*, II, p.xxxix.

²⁴ *Charters of David I*, no.147; appendix 3, nos. 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 121; see also above, pp.86-87, 134-135. This Peter is more likely to have been brother of Robert I rather than his son. In one of Robert I's charters Adam I is designated *filio meo* whereas Peter, whose name follows immediately, is not; *EYC*, II, no. 648; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.91.

²⁵ Appendix 3, nos.115, 123. Bernard de Bruce is said to have 20 marks of a fee, to have been in the king's service in the north of England, and to have received £12 5s 6d in expenses when on expedition to Scotland for 38 days with 5 knights and 2 Poitevan serjeants; *Pipe Roll 14 John*, pp.23, 161; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, pp.118b, 125.

²⁶ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p.137b. A John de Brus, associate of Robert de Brus, is named in 1215 acting as a courier for King John. While this could be Robert IV's brother, he may be the John de Brus who appears in connection with Norfolk in 1205. The names Robert and John both appear in the Norfolk family of Brus during the thirteenth century; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, pp.43, 183.

prominence in his service as time passed. One William was rewarded with the manors of Caldecote, Molesworth and Great Catworth in the honor of Huntingdon.²⁷

The younger sons of Roberts IV and V fared better than many of their predecessors, but the lands they were granted were notably from the English inheritance of Isabel of Huntingdon. There was now more land to go round. Isabel's younger son, Bernard, was granted Exton and Conington and later a share in Repton by his older brother; all of these, after their brief confiscation during the Barons' War, he was able to pass to his son, also Bernard.²⁸ Bernard senior's interests seem to have been confined to England. He was named as one of the four knights for the county of Rutland in 1258. It is likely that he is also identical with the Bernard de Brus who received robes, gifts and expenses from King Henry between 1247 and 1257. With his Scottish connections he was surely the Bernard in the king's service who was given £10 for expenses relating to the marriage at York in 1251.²⁹ So when Robert V entered King Henry's service in 1262, he was not the first of the Scottish Bruses to be retained by the king of England. Robert V's younger son, Richard, was also well provided for, again from the English rather than the Scottish estates. However, the manors he held at Writtle, Tottenham and Kempston all reverted to his father when Richard died without issue, and so passed down the senior line after all.³⁰ Land which Richard had been granted by his uncle and godfather, Richard de Clare, at Long Preston and Wigglesworth in Yorkshire, remained in Brus hands for a few years after his death, but ultimately reverted to the earls of Gloucester.³¹

No younger sons of the Yorkshire Bruses fared so well. It is possible that William, the younger son of Adam I, may have been given a small endowment by his uncle, William of Aumale, and given rise to the Pickering line of Bruses, from which

²⁷ Appendix 3, nos.141-143, 151-154, 175; appendix 2, table 1. The elder William also witnessed a charter of Walter fitz Alan in 1220x1226, with his brother Robert IV, and in 1226 witnessed a grant of Alexander II; *Melrose Liber*, I, no.*72; *Charters Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*, ed. W.A.Lindsay, J. Dowden and J.M.Thomson (SHS publication 1st ser. 56, 1904) pp.46-47.

²⁸ See appendix 2, tables 1 and 2. The evidence for this Bernard being Robert V's brother is purely circumstantial, but is the most plausible explanation for his receipt of these manors.

²⁹ *CPR 1247-58*, p.649; *CR 1247-51*, pp.17,157; *CR 1256-59*, p.144; *CDS*, I, no.1853.

³⁰ *CDS*, II, nos. 309, 312, 315.

³¹ *EYC*, XI, pp.172, 176; *Feudal Aids*, VI, p.13. It was a William de Brus who held the manor after Richard's death, until he was ejected and paid compensation by Gilbert de Clare.

Peter III possibly drew his steward for Kendale.³² The younger sons of Peter I, Simon and Roger, received small grants within the Yorkshire fee from their brother or nephew, for whom they witnessed. Simon's lands were at Loftus, and Roger's at Walton in the Arches fee.³³ The only confirmed younger son of Peter II benefited briefly from the legacy of his uncle, William of Lancaster, in the barony of Kendale before dying without issue.³⁴ As with the manors granted from Huntingdon lands to the descendants of Isabel, almost all these grants were made from lands which had been added to the Brus barony by marriage, suggesting that such provisions were normally made only when there was sufficient land from another source without threatening the viability of the central fee. A similar comparison can be made with the generous grants from the Arches fee to Juetta's daughters by her first as well as her second marriage.³⁵

True to the prevailing custom, at least in the twelfth century, two younger sons are known to have entered the church. One of these, William prior of Guisborough, has already been mentioned. The other was Master Hugh de Brus, who is thought to have been the younger brother of Robert II for whom he witnessed several grants, as well as one of his son, William. Since Hugh is never given any appellation other than 'Master', he must have remained in minor orders and may have acted as an

³² See above, p.153. The Bruses of Pickering first appear in the records in the mid-thirteenth century. The only reason for connecting them with the count of Aumale is that they held land in the wapentake of Pickering of the Bigods, who had been associated with Aumale in that area during the reign of Stephen; *VCH: Yorkshire, North Riding*, II, pp.438, 469; *Feudal Aids*, VI, pp. 80-81. Robert de Brus II also held the farm of Pickering of the crown in 1173; see above, p.48, 52. The names William, Adam, Robert and Richard appear with as much regularity among the families of Pickering and Brus of Pickering as they do in the two main lines of the Bruses of Skelton and of Annandale. Furthermore, the arms of the Pickering family show similarity with those of the Skelton Bruses, incorporating a lion rampant azure, although the fourteenth-century tomb of William de Brus of Pickering displays arms which suggest an affinity with Robert de Brus V of Annandale (a saltire engrailed with a chief indented); *VCH: Yorkshire, North Riding*, II, pp.117, 473, 475. Master William of Pickering, son of Adam de Brus of Pickering, was archdeacon of Nottingham before becoming dean of York in 1310. He was succeeded in the latter position by his brother, Robert de Brus of Pickering; *York Minster Fasti*, I, ed. C.T. Clay (YARS 123, 1958) p.45. While there is undoubtedly some link between these Bruses and the senior line, there is no clear evidence as to when they first arose from it.

³³ Appendix 3, nos. 80, 88, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 100, 101, 103-105, 108; *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.64-65, 66, 70-71, 72, 75, 189.

³⁴ See above, p.133.

³⁵ *EYC*, I, nos. 548, 549; *Pedes Finium Ebor, Regnante Johanne, A.D. 1199-1214* (SS 94, 1897) p.34.

administrator for his brother and nephew.³⁶ There was also a John de Brus who was inducted to the living of Rudby in the wapentake of Langbaugh in 1228 by Stephen de Meynell. While it is probable that he had some connection with the main Brus family, it can only be conjectured from the date that he may have been a younger son of Peter I.³⁷

Apart from the enormously successful Annandale branch, therefore, only one other cadet line of the Brus family can be identified with any certainty, that of Bernard son of Robert IV, although it is a strong possibility that the Pickering Bruses were an offshoot of the main Yorkshire branch. There is also continuing evidence of other, later, Bruses in that county who may well have been descendants of some of the younger sons mentioned above, or of the son of Isabel de Brus and Roger Mauduit who took his mother's name.³⁸ These Bruses, however, had no share in the main inheritance, unless as tenants. The successive lords of the barony, like most of their contemporaries, maintained a clear policy of ensuring that younger sons remained subordinate to the senior line, supporting it as tenants, clerics or administrators, in order to preserve the unity and power of the lordship.

SEALS AND ARMS

Among those outward trappings of the aristocracy by which a baron demonstrated his position in the hierarchy and advertised his relationship with powerful families, were the use and design of seals and arms. In the early twelfth century, when use of a seal was in itself a mark of nobility, there was little variety in their design, even earls being content to use a version of the common equestrian form.³⁹ The one surviving seal of Robert de Brus I is among the few which display a different motif, in his case a bird, probably a falcon, with outspread wings rising from a perch.⁴⁰ Robert I's

³⁶ Appendix 3, nos. 115, 119, 123, 136, 138; Watt, *Scottish Graduates*, p. 67. Although it has been suggested that Hugh was Robert II's son, rather than his brother (Duncan, 'Bruces', p. 93) this is unlikely. One of Robert II's charters is witnessed by his three sons, Robert III, William and Bernard, who are all designated as such. Hugh's name appears lower in the list, with no such qualification; appendix 3, no. 115.

³⁷ *Register or Rolls of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York* (SS 56, 1872) nos. 87, 152.

³⁸ *VCH: Yorks*, *passim*.

³⁹ D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992) pp. 223, 242; P. D. A. Harvey and A. McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (London, 1996) p. 43.

⁴⁰ Attached to appendix 3, no. 8. It has been described as an 'eagle rising'; J. H. Stevenson and M. Wood, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, II, (Glasgow, 1940) no. 578. Several other Brus seals are also detailed; *ibid*, nos. 579-597, 612, 614.

successors in the later twelfth century reverted to the use of stock images. Robert II adopted the common design of a fleur-de-lys, which he later varied by the addition of two birds, each perched on one of the lower petals.⁴¹ When Adam II attained his majority he used a basic equestrian seal of a thin, apathetic knight with sheathed sword and conical helm, spurred and mounted on a docile horse. It bears little comparison with early equestrian seals of magnates such as Count Alan of Richmond or David I, when earl of Huntingdon.⁴²

At the turn of the century, when the use of distinctive devices was becoming wide-spread among the baronage, both families of Brus followed the trend by choosing a lion for their image. In view of the later identification of the lion *rampant* with the royal house of Scotland, it is interesting to note that this form was used by the Yorkshire Bruses, beginning with Peter I, while William de Brus of Annandale had a lion *passant*.⁴³ The Yorkshire Bruses continued to display the same device until 1272, with slight variations, so that the lion faces sometimes to the sinister sometimes to the dexter, and on one occasion appears to have a double tail. The seal of Peter I is simply a shield with the lion emblazoned on it.⁴⁴ Peters II and III conformed to the fashion of the thirteenth century by choosing to have equestrian seals, in which the lion is displayed on the knight's shield. While the seals of both show a knight with drawn sword and flat-topped helm, those of Peter III demonstrate a higher quality of craftsmanship, with finer details and a more spirited horse. On occasions, Peter III also used a counterseal, which was smaller but otherwise similar in device to his grandfather's seal.⁴⁵

The seals of the Annandale Bruses are more varied. Descriptions of a broken seal appended to one of William's charters suggest that before the end of his life he had changed his design from a simple lion *passant* to that of a shield with a saltire, above which a chief had borne some device, possibly the earlier lion.⁴⁶ This device

⁴¹ Attached to appendix 3, nos.114, 115; drawings of lost originals with appendix 3, nos.111, 113, 121, 122; Harvey and McGuinness, *Guide to British Medieval Seals*, p.80.

⁴² Attached to appendix 3, no.21; drawings of lost originals with appendix 3, nos.18, 28; *Durham Seals*, no.397, 1420, plates 1, 12.

⁴³ Attached to appendix 3, no.133; drawings of lost original with appendix 3, no.130.

⁴⁴ Attached to appendix 3, no.44; drawings of lost originals with appendix 3, nos.32, 46, 50.

⁴⁵ Attached to appendix 3, nos.77, 105, 106; *Durham Seals*, no.442, plate 1; drawings of lost originals with appendix 3, nos.72, 74, 76, 89, 91, 92.

⁴⁶ *Annandale Family Book*, p.2n.1; HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts... at Drumlanrig Castle*, (15th report, 1897) part 8, no.68. I have been unable to verify this as the charter concerned cannot at present be traced; appendix 3, no.139..

was certainly used by William's son, Robert IV, but with the lion on the chief facing to the dexter rather than sinister.⁴⁷ Robert V followed the current fashion by adopting an equestrian seal. The device, which is displayed on the horse's trappings as well as the knight's shield, is of a saltire and chief but without the lion.⁴⁸ Robert VI reverted to the use of a shield alone, bearing the saltire and lion *passant* in chief. The many examples of Robert VI's seals which are attached to his Writtle charters embody the same shield but are elaborated with a background of foliage or hung from a tree between two wyverns.⁴⁹ Where counterseals are used by the Annandale Bruses, as is sometimes the case with Roberts IV and V, they consist of a small version of their own shield of arms.

Examples of original seals, or drawings, which retain some portion of an inscription have survived from all the Brus lords except Robert I. The legend on the majority of these includes the owner's name. Only Robert V, who possessed at least three different seals as well as a counterseal, used a motto instead of his name on two of the versions. The seal which he used for most of his life bears the legend 'Esto Ferox ut Leo'. The latest surviving documents to which this version is attached are two competitors' letters dated in June 1291.⁵⁰ By August 1291, following an adjournment in the proceedings of the 'Great Cause', Robert's seal had changed. Though similar in style, the new seal is larger and the legend now reads 'Esto Fortis in Bello'. The same seal was also used the following year.⁵¹ On both these seals the knight, as is most usual, rides to the sinister. A third and probably earliest equestrian seal of Robert V, which carries his name rather than a motto, shows the knight riding to the dexter, and consequently wielding his sword in his left hand.⁵²

The Bruses' choice of the ubiquitous lion for their devices allows little scope for identifying any families with whom they were associating themselves. The lion of the Annandale branch, despite its posture, may have indicated affiliation to King

⁴⁷ Attached to appendix 3, nos.143, 147; Duncan, 'Bruces' p.102; drawings of lost originals with appendix 3, nos. 141, 142.

⁴⁸ Attached to appendix 3, nos.153, 169; drawings of lost originals with appendix 3, nos.151, 154.

⁴⁹ Attached to appendix 3, nos.180, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190. A similar seal together with that of the countess of Carrick, is attached to their grant to the tenants of Melrose; appendix 3, no.5602.

⁵⁰ Appendix 3, nos.151, 153, 154; PRO E39/18; PRO E39/88/1; *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, II, pp.69, 75.

⁵¹ British Library, Cott. Charter xii.59; British Library, Cott. Charter xviii.48; *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, II, pp.143, 228.

⁵² Appendix 3, no.169; D.Brown, 'A Charter of Robert de Brus', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 2nd ser., 4 (1867-70) p.211.

William ‘the Lion’, and they were not alone among the Scottish nobility in adopting the saltire. Peter I’s lion *rampant* is similar in its design to that used by Earl Ranulf de Blundeville of Chester, whose tenant Peter was. Earl Ranulf is known to have adopted the design in c.1199, and used it until c.1217, although his father, Earl Hugh, had also used a lion on a counterseal.⁵³ However, the Lacy family, with whom Peter I was associated through his wife, the Mowbrays, of whom Peter’s mother held the Arches estates, and the Percys, with whom Peter I was connected through the marriage of his sister, all adopted a lion *rampant* at some time during the thirteenth century; so any similarity between the Brus arms and those of any other family may be coincidental rather than intentional.

The adoption of imitative arms by Brus dependants is more transparent. By the end of the thirteenth century several long-standing Annandale families were using variant forms of the saltire and chief, as were the descendants of Robert V’s brother Bernard.⁵⁴ In Yorkshire, by the time of Edward III, the Fauconberg heirs at Skelton were displaying their continuity of descent from the Bruses by adopting the lion *rampant* in place of their own family arms.⁵⁵ The status of the Bruses was now such that, rather than they themselves needing to claim association with greater magnates or with royalty, it was their own tenants and successors who sought prestige by advertising links with them.

RELIGIOUS PATRONAGE

Both branches of the Brus family were notably single-minded in fulfilling the obligations of religious patronage expected of their position in contemporary society. For more than 150 years they devoted themselves almost exclusively to supporting the family foundation at Guisborough, making only infrequent gifts and concessions to other houses within their regions, and confirming the grants of their tenants. The limited patronage of the Yorkshire Bruses is understandable, if somewhat unusual in comparison with many of their associates. Their *caput* at Skelton was only a few

⁵³ T.A. Heslop, ‘The Seals of the Twelfth-Century Earls of Chester’, in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, pp.193-194.

⁵⁴ J. Woodward and G. Burnett, *A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign*, new ed. (Newton Abbot, 1969) pp.144-145; *Rolls of Arms, Edward I (1272-1307)*, ed. G.J. Brault, (London, 1997) II, p.79.

⁵⁵ *Rolls of Arms*, II, pp.159-160; *GC*, I, p.99n. See also above, p.212n.32 for the Bruses of Pickering.

miles from Guisborough, and canons from its priory served the parish churches in their manors. It is rather more surprising that the Bruses of Annandale show little sign of transferring their allegiances to any foundation north of the Border. Apart from confirmatory grants, Melrose abbey was the only Scottish house to receive their limited support. They did, however, show more interest in its daughter house at Holm Cultram, and in St Bees, another Cumberland house with Scottish links. Otherwise, apart from maintaining their links with Guisborough, the Scottish branch confined their patronage to a few other foundations in northern England, such as Durham priory, surely a significant indicator of their orientation.

Guisborough Priory

The successful foundation of Guisborough priory must have provided Robert de Brus I with the confirmation he desired that he had taken his place among the greater barons of Yorkshire. It was made at a time when he had received all the lands which established his power in Cleveland, including those from the Mortain/Surdeval estates, and had transferred his *caput* from Eskdale to Skelton. He was now in a position to emulate those major, wealthier barons like the Percys of Topcliffe, the Lacys, and the counts of Richmond with whom he was now associating, in having his own family foundation as a focus for his religious obligations.⁵⁶

In choosing Augustinian canons as the recipients of his patronage, Brus was conforming to the current trend. Following the founding, or refounding, of several Benedictine abbeys in the late eleventh century, no religious houses were established in Yorkshire during the early years of Henry I until c.1114, when the first of the Augustinian priories in the county was founded at Bridlington by Walter de Gant. During the next six or seven years it was followed by others, at Nostell, Kirkham and Embsay (later Bolton) as well as Guisborough, while between 1099 and c.1130 no houses of any other orders were founded in the county.⁵⁷ So just at the time when Robert de Brus was sufficiently established both financially and socially to

⁵⁶ William de Percy had refounded the abbey at Whitby in c.1079. Earl Alan had been instrumental in establishing St Mary's at York in c.1088, and Robert de Lacy had founded Pontefract by 1099. The other early Yorkshire foundations were at Selby and Holy Trinity, York. For an account of their development see Burton, *Monastic Order*, *passim*.

⁵⁷ Burton, *Monastic Order*, pp.xviii, 8.

contemplate ‘the diversion of capital into a non-productive sector’,⁵⁸ the obvious choice for his patronage was the order of Augustinian or ‘Black’ canons who were then in receipt of royal and archiepiscopal approval.⁵⁹ Had Robert waited another twelve years, he might well have opted for the Cistercian order. Looked at from a less cynical and worldly view-point, Robert de Brus may also have considered the canons to be suitable beneficiaries of his patronage because they would themselves serve in the re-built churches of his manors, and provide for the spiritual needs of his tenants in a way the cloistered Benedictines could not. In view of the munificence of Robert’s initial grant to the canons of Guisborough, which far exceeded Walter Espec’s ‘much-vaunted gift to Rievaulx’, Southern’s oft-repeated suggestion that the canons required less in the way of endowment and were therefore a cheaper option is, in this case, irrelevant.⁶⁰

The precise year of Guisborough’s foundation has been the subject of some debate. The fourteenth-century chronicle of Walter of Guisborough dates it to 1129 but this is now recognised as an error, possibly scribal. As the priory was founded during the papacy of Pope Calixtus II (1119-24) on the advice of archbishop Thurstan of York, the date is now generally accepted as c.1119.⁶¹ Two versions exist of Robert de Brus’s foundation charter to Guisborough. That version which is entered second in the cartulary appears to be the later. While essentially the same as the other, it fills out details of extents and boundaries, as well as adding a licence to take material from Eskdale for building and repairs.⁶² In his charter, Robert granted twenty carucates and two bovates from his newly-acquired vill of Guisborough, together with its mill, reserving to himself only one carucate, which may have represented his original grant from King Henry. In addition he gave all his land at Kirkleatham and Coatham (nine carucates) as well as a large extent of moorland on

⁵⁸ Duncan, *Scotland*, pp. 413-414. Duncan also describes such investment as ‘irrational and uneconomic’.

⁵⁹ J.C.Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950) pp.109-110, 125-130; Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp.169-171, 177. Patrons included King Henry I, Queen Matilda, King Alexander I, Anselm of Canterbury and Thurstan of York.

⁶⁰ R.W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and other studies* (Oxford, 1970) p.216; D.Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986) p.198; Burton, *Monastic Order*, pp.94, 101, 189; *GC*, I, pp.xi-xii, xvi. Walter Espec’s grant to Rievaulx comprised nine carucates. He had been more generous when founding Kirkham abbey.

⁶¹ *Chron. Guisborough*, pp.xi, 33; *GC*, I, pp.vi-ix; *EYC*, II, pp.28-29; King, ‘Return of the Fee of Robert de Brus’, p.29; Burton, *Monastic Order*, p.77; *Durham Episcopal Charters 1071-1152*, ed. H.S.Offler (SS 179, 1968) pp.115-116.

⁶² *GC*, I, nos.1, 2.

what are now Guisborough, Comondale and Kildale Moors, representing some 10,000 acres in all. The churches which were granted to Guisborough, with their tithes, are listed in the earlier charter as Marske, Danby, Upleatham and Stainton in Cleveland, Brunnus (Kirkburn) in the East Riding, and Stranton and Hart in Hartness. The later charter adds the churches of Skelton and Kirk Levington. By 1272 the priory was said to hold the advowsons of all the churches in the barony.⁶³

The Guisborough foundation grant was made in association with Robert I's wife, Agnes, and son, Adam I. It concludes with a confirmatory list of donations by six of his tenants. Subsequent confirmations by Adam II and Peter II summarise the numerous additional grants made by Brus tenants, while the whole Guisborough cartulary, though lacking records for some districts, is testimony to the generosity of a wide range of benefactors and the extent of its influence. The majority of its grants, as might be expected, were concentrated in Cleveland and in the Brus lordships of Hartness and Annandale; but the canons also received gifts from other parts of Yorkshire, from Cumbria and from Lincolnshire, which combined to make it the wealthiest, though not the largest, Augustinian house in Yorkshire. At the time of the Dissolution it was one of the five richest monasteries in the county.⁶⁴ Unlike the two earlier Yorkshire Augustinian foundations, Bridlington and Nostell, with which it can best be compared for wealth and influence, Guisborough did not attract royal patronage except in the receipt of confirmation charters. As a partial consequence of this it maintained a closer association with, and dependence on, the founder's family than did many monasteries, including other houses of Augustinian canons which by the very ethos of their rule were more closely involved with their patrons than were the cloistered orders. Furthermore, this relationship continued throughout the four hundred years of the priory's existence. Not only was it the burial place of the Yorkshire Bruses and many of the Scottish branch until 1295, but also of the subsequent lords of Skelton, the Fauconbergs and Latimers (heirs of the Thwengs) who inherited the advowson jointly in 1272. In return for their patronage, the names

⁶³ GC, I, pp.xi-xvi; *Guisborough Before 1900*, ed. B.J.D. Harrison and G. Dixon (Guisborough, 1981) pp.12-13; *Yorks. Inq.*, I, p.143. The church at Middlesbrough remained a cell of Whitby.

⁶⁴ GC, *passim*; *Guisborough before 1900*, pp.12-19; Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp.290-299; Burton, *Monastic Order*, p.273.

of the family were entered in the Guisborough calendar and *obits* said for them by the canons.⁶⁵

Relations between priory and patron were not always harmonious, however. Mention has already been made of the duplicate grant by Adam II of the churches of Skelton, Kirk Levington and Yarm to William of Aumale's Augustinian foundation at Thornton in Lincolnshire.⁶⁶ The Cleveland churches were subsequently recovered for the Guisborough canons, but only after they had conceded a church they held at Kelsterne in Lincolnshire in exchange. Despite this agreement, and Adam's charter confirming their return to Guisborough, there were continued repercussions over the rights of the canons to Skelton, for this and other reasons, until 1239 when their possession was finally established.⁶⁷ Adam II made a further blunder when he attempted to extort from the canons a pension of ten marks a year for his chaplain until a vacancy should occur at the church of Skelton, which should then be granted to the said chaplain. This deed he later revoked.⁶⁸ The disputes which the canons of Guisborough had with the abbey of Whitby over the chapel of Middlesbrough because of its dependancy on Stainton church, and with the priory of Tynemouth over tithes in Hartness, although both arising from Brus grants, were more a matter of legal interpretation than of fault on either part, as was the dispute over the Annandale churches which Robert II had granted to Guisborough but were claimed by the bishop of Glasgow.⁶⁹

Apart from these difficulties, which were minor compared with those experienced by many religious houses, relations between Guisborough and the Bruses ran into few problems during the twelfth century. It was in the thirteenth century, when attitudes and expectations of both laity and clergy were changing,

⁶⁵ *Yorks. Inq.*, I, p.149; F.Wormald, 'Liturgical Calendar from Guisborough Priory', *YAJ*, 31 (1934) pp.29-33.

⁶⁶ See above, p.48.

⁶⁷ *Mon. Angl.*, VI, p.327; *GC*, I, p.xv; *GC*, II, nos. 672, 679, 682, 815; *EYC*, II, pp.20-21; English, *Lords of Holderness*, p.25.

⁶⁸ Appendix 3, no.15.

⁶⁹ Appendix 3, no.3; *EYC*, II, no.873; J.E.Burton, 'Monasteries and Parish Churches in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 23 (1987) p.49 (Middlesbrough). *GC*, II, nos.1148-1149 (Tynemouth). G.Neilson and G.Donaldson, 'Guisborough and the Annandale Churches', *TDGNHAS*, 32 (1955) pp.142-154; below, pp.226-227 (Annandale churches).

when the religious fervour of the barons had cooled and the monasteries were overburdened with worldly wealth, that a protracted dispute developed between successive Peters de Brus and the canons regarding their rights on the moors around Eskdale. Although it has been represented as a conflict between grazing and hunting rights, the trouble seems to have been initiated by his free tenants rather than by Peter de Brus himself. In 1223 Peter II had made an agreement admitting the rights of the canons as granted by his father. These included an extension of the priory's moorlands into the hills south of Eskdale, conditions regarding their mineral rights to the iron ore in Glaisdale, and where they may or may not erect buildings. Peter reserved to himself certain rights of pasture as well as the usual hunting rights, and gave the canons warranty of thirty librates of land in his manors of Marske or Brunnus.⁷⁰ Within a year Peter's free tenants had brought an action of *novel disseisin* against the prior over their rights of common pasture in Glaisdale and Swinehead. This led to the king's justices of the forest ordering the demolition of buildings which the canons had erected, and the destruction of their iron forges. The complaint of the priory against Peter II was that he had failed either to get restitution for them, or to grant them warranty according to his agreement. The case dragged on for many years, undoubtedly with wrongs on both sides, until the canons had quitclaimed all their rights in Glaisdale and Swinehead pastures, except those pertaining to land they held in Danby and certain rights of access. In return they received two grants of land in Brunnus in the East Riding. The dispute did not end with the death of Peter II. Within a year the canons were complaining that Peter III had encroached on the prior's remaining common pasture in Glaisdale, by keeping pigs and erecting buildings there. Finally, in 1246, the prior seems to have admitted defeat. He accepted a number of other concessions such as relief of toll on ships at Coatham in place of the pasture, and quitclaimed all his claims for loss and damage. The heirs of Peter III appear to have been more lenient or well-disposed towards the canons. Marmaduke and Lucy de Thweng restored some of their rights in Glaisdale, while Walter de Fauconberg granted them land at Marske and relief of tolls at

⁷⁰ GC, I, no.220; *Yorks. Fines 1218-1231*, no.190. As this is a court agreement it suggests that some problem had already arisen.

Skelton market in compensation for some further loss of land which Peter III had evidently enclosed within his park at Skelton and given 'little satisfaction' in return.⁷¹ Yet despite these difficulties, which were no worse than many legal wrangles between lay land-holders, or indeed between religious houses, Guisborough owed its prosperity almost entirely to the continued support of the Bruses and their tenants.

Additional Patronage: Yorkshire Branch

In retaining Guisborough as their sole foundation and major interest, the Brus lords differed from a large number of their fellow barons. They evidently felt no need to patronise a wide range of houses in atonement for their sins, or endow a variety of orders as if hedging their bets as to which was more acceptable with the Almighty.⁷² All of which might suggest that the Bruses, as a family, were less conscious of spiritual need or fearful of divine retribution than many of their contemporaries; the grateful prayers of the canons of Guisborough were sufficient for their salvation. When they did patronise other monasteries, it was only in a small way and generally for some discernible family or social reason. The thirteenth-century Yorkshire Bruses, for example, made grants to the Augustinian priory of Healaugh Park, which had been founded by a tenant of the Arches fee and was favoured by Peter I's mother.⁷³ Feminine influence is also apparent in a charter of Peter I, by which he granted a toft at Knottingley, from the *maritagium* of his wife in the Lacy fee, to the Lacy foundation of Pontefract. The couple granted rents from a mill in the same manor to Healaugh Park priory.⁷⁴

The grants of Robert de Brus I to Whitby and to St Mary's York are likely to have been made out of deference to their founders, the Percys and the counts of

⁷¹ *PR 1216-1225*, p.487; *GC*, I, pp.102-120; *GC*, II, pp.xii, 145-146, 199-201, 252; *CRR*, XIII, nos. 220, 359, 605, 1690, 2288, 2338; *CRR*, XIV, nos.1985, 2025; *Yorks. Fines 1218-1231*, pp.51-53, 119-121; *Yorks. Fines 1232-1246*, pp.21-22, 111-112. For an account of these, and other boundary disputes between the priory and Brus tenants, see *Guisborough before 1900*, pp.32, 62-66.

⁷² Yorkshire families which founded houses of more than one order include the Percys, Mowbrays, Lacys, Gants, Paynels, Hagets and Walter Espec. There were of course others, such as the Romillys and Bulmers who, like the Bruses, confined themselves to establishing one house; Burton, *Monastic Order*, *passim*.

⁷³ Appendix 3, nos.51-53, 79, 81, 95, 97; *Healaugh Cart.*, *passim*. Healaugh Park priory was also the eventual beneficiary of a grant made by Adam II to the hospital of St Nicholas within his borough of Yarm, which was later transferred by its patron, Alan de Wilton, to the priory; appendix 3, nos.54, 97.

⁷⁴ Appendix 3, nos.53, 59.

Richmond, with whom he was closely associated.⁷⁵ It may also have been the Percy connection which prompted Peter I, whose sister had married Henry de Percy, to grant a half-share in the manor of Waupley to the nunnery of Handale near Loftus, which had been founded by a cadet branch of the Percy family and retained links with Whitby abbey. Peter had acquired Waupley, which may have constituted part of the original Chester grant to Robert I, as an escheat following its forfeiture by William de Saucey in 1206. The other half of the manor was granted to the monks of Grosmont, who had recently been settled in Eskdale by Joan, heiress of Fossard. The value of the whole manor was 100s. According to a barely legible entry in the *inquisition post mortem* of 1272 the nuns of Handale had also been granted some unidentifiable property in Yarm.⁷⁶ It was the Kildale Percys, tenants of the Bruses, who involved the Bruses in their patronage of another nunnery in Cleveland when Ralph de Neville, son-in-law of Ernald de Percy I, founded a nunnery at 'Hutton' with his wife's marriage portion. The foundation was confirmed by Adam de Brus. The nuns moved for a time to [Nun]Thorpe then again a few years later to Basedale, outside the Brus fee, although they evidently retained their lands at [Nun] Thorpe and were at some time also granted two bovates in Kildale by a sub-tenant of the Percys.⁷⁷

The marriage of Adam II to Juetta de Arches brought the Bruses into potential contact with a group of nunneries founded by members of her family at Nun Monkton, Nunkeeling and Nun Appleton, and by one of their tenants at Sinningthwaite.⁷⁸ However, despite the survival of several records of Juetta's almsgiving to a variety of religious houses, the only one which clearly associates the

⁷⁵ Appendix 3, nos.3, 5, 6.

⁷⁶ *BF*, p.357; *Rot. Ob. et Fin.*, pp.323, 340; *Yorks. Inq.*, I, p.145.

⁷⁷ The circumstances relating to the foundation of the nunnery before its transfer to Basedale are obscure. Although it has long been believed that the original foundation was at Hutton Rudby, it is much more likely to have been Hutton Lowcross, which lies in the Brus fee and would explain Adam de Brus's involvement. Its foundation date was given by Dugdale as 1162, but this is incompatible with Adam's grant, which refers to his wife. Adam de Brus II could not have been married before 1170 (see above, p.60). If however, the grantor was Adam I, a circumstance which the witness list makes more probable, the confirmation must have been made before 1143. An examination of the meagre evidence provides nothing to disprove the possibility of such an early date for the initial foundation of the nunnery, a suggestion with which S.Thompson agrees, placing it between c.1139 and c.1159. In which case, the confirmatory grantor must have been Adam I, and the nunnery founded in 1142-1143. Appendix 3, no.10; *Mon. Angl.*, V, pp.507-509; *EYC*, II, pp.91-92, 463; Burton, *Monastic Order*, pp.xix, 131; S.Thompson, *Women Religious: the Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1991) pp.52, 218.

⁷⁸ Burton, *Monastic Order* pp.132-134.

name of Adam II with that of his wife grants her church of Thorp Arch *away* from Nun Monkton, which had received it from her father, to the chapel of St Mary and the Angels at York.⁷⁹ A grant which Juetta made *to* Nun Monkton where her sister was prioress, with the consent of her husband and heirs, does not name the husband, and could as well have been made during the time of her first marriage to Roger de Flamville. The manor in question was [Nun] Stainton which, although it is near Aycliffe in County Durham, is not known to have had any connection with the Brus lands in Hartness and was clearly Juetta's own inheritance, either from her parents or as dower from her first husband.⁸⁰ So the Bruses themselves did little to benefit the Arches nunneries. Even a grant made by Peter III to the nuns of Sinningthwaite, of land at Walton in the Arches fee, was that which a (deceased) tenant had conveyed to them, with the additional exemption of the rent of 6d or a pair of gilt spurs which the tenant had formerly paid.⁸¹

In addition to these examples of land grants, the Yorkshire Bruses made concessions to Byland and Fountains abbeys in respect of tolls and fishing rights. One of the Peters gave to the monks of Fountains two fisheries at Eston on the Tees, which were the subject of a court plea in 1229, and right of way across his lands for access to the sea. In 1267 Peter III granted them liberty to be among the first after his own men to buy fish at Coatham and Redcar.⁸² Adam II had previously allowed the monks of Byland relief of toll on fish purchased at Coatham for themselves or the sick. Peter I must have made some further agreement with Byland, because his son was taken to court by the abbot who claimed arrears of rent of one measure (*unius milliaris*) of haddock a year, which by 1239 amounted to eight measures and in 1243, when Peter III had inherited, had increased to ten. The abbot subsequently quit-claimed the rent to Peter III in exchange for the service of half a knight's fee in Otterington.⁸³

⁷⁹ *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. J.Raine (RS 71) 3, p.76; *EYC*, I, no.535. This grant clearly caused problems as at some time before 1226 an agreement was reached with the chapel of York whereby the nuns of Nun Monkton retained their lands in Thorp Arch together with a chapel at Walton, but ceded their rights to the church of Thorp itself; *Reg. of Walter Gray*, p.2.

⁸⁰ *Feod. Prior. Dunelm.*, p.163n.1. A confirmation by Juetta's son, Hugh de Flamville, suggests that the manor must have come to her from her first husband; J.E.Burton, *The Yorkshire Nunneries in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Borthwick Papers 56, 1979) p.47n.23.

⁸¹ Appendix 3, no.102.

⁸² Appendix 3, nos. 83, 84, 99; *CRR*, XIII, nos.174, 603, 1064, 1631, 1935; *Yorks. Fines 1218-1231*, no.443; *Fountains Cart.*, I, p.297.

⁸³ Appendix 3, no.19; *CRR*, XVI, nos.538, 716; *CRR*, XVII, nos.1275, 2164; *Yorks. Fines 1232-1246*, no.1088.

From the foregoing it can be seen that between them the Skelton Bruses invested very little of their land in any religious house except Guisborough. Indirectly, however, they committed resources from their fee through the gifts of their tenants, which they confirmed and occasionally supplemented.⁸⁴ Most of the surviving confirmations are to monasteries which the Bruses themselves favoured, with the possible exceptions of Bridlington, Rievaulx, Selby and Kirkham. There are also, of course, records of grants made by Brus tenants for which no confirmation by the overlord survives. While a full survey of such is beyond the scope of this thesis, an initial assessment of those printed in *Early Yorkshire Charters* suggests that there are few additions to this list and that the vast majority were indeed made to Guisborough priory.

Additional Patronage : Annandale Branch

The situation of the Annandale Bruses differed substantially from that of the Skelton Branch. Not only were they established at a distance from the focus of their family piety but their interests were more dispersed, eventually stretching from the north-east of Scotland to the south of England. Yet despite the widespread concerns competing for their attention and support, they continued to regard Guisborough priory as their foremost commitment, fostering their familial heritage by new and confirmatory grants from their landed resources, and looking to it to provide them with a burial place among their ancestors.

The existing churches of Hartness, at Hart and Stranton, had already been granted to Guisborough priory in Robert I's foundation charter. Robert II continued his father's commitment by confirming the grant, to which he later added the church of St Hilda's Isle together with adjacent land.⁸⁵ This is the earliest record of what is now the parish church of Hartlepool, built near the site of the pre-Conquest abbey on St Hilda's Isle. Because of this, the foundation of the present building has been credited to Robert de Brus II, although stylistically it is regarded as slightly later, thus dating from the time of William de Brus. It may well be William's tomb which occupies the chapel behind the altar, despite the fact that the only decipherable

⁸⁴ For example, Fountains abbey was released from suit of court for all lands held of the Brus fee in Merston; and Peter I added sheaves of corn to his confirmation of a tenant's grant to St Peter's hospital, York; appendix 3, nos.60, 98.

⁸⁵ Appendix 3, nos.111, 112, 130.

carving is that of the lion arms of the Bruses of Skelton.⁸⁶ In addition to these churches, Robert de Brus I had granted to Guisborough the tithes from his manors in Hartness, which after his death led to the dispute between the priory and the monks of Tynemouth, who also claimed a share of tithes from the lord's demesne lands.⁸⁷ Occasional grants from the Brus tenants in Hartness were also directed to Guisborough, notably from the Turps and Setons at Castle Eden.⁸⁸ Prior to the subinfeudation of Castle Eden, however, it was to the monks of Durham that Robert de Brus II granted his chapel there, and later favoured them with a messuage, houses and a toft in Hartlepool, together with two fishing boats. Robert IV further granted six measures of wheat annually from his manor of Hart to the cell of Durham at Finchale.⁸⁹

It was not only from their Hartness lands, however, that the Scottish Bruses chose to endow the priory of Guisborough. Sometime before 1175 Robert II granted the priory the rights in several of the churches of Annandale.⁹⁰ This act on his part reflects the attitude of those early Norman settlers in England who granted English lands and churches to Norman houses. While several such grants were accompanied by the establishment of a cell or daughter-house to facilitate the administration of the grant, Robert de Brus II made no such provision, despite the precedent set by Alexander I who imported Augustinian canons from the Yorkshire house of Nostell to his foundation at Scone.⁹¹ Since Annandale was in the diocese of Glasgow, it is not surprising that this grant to Guisborough affronted the bishops of Glasgow, who claimed an ancient right to the churches of Annandale as ratified by an inquest undertaken at the instigation of the future David I between 1115 and 1124. The inquest, however, did not identify the extent of the bishops' rights, which only applied to the churches themselves and not to their lands; these had been held by Robert de Brus I, as was confirmed by the bishop of Glasgow to Robert II before the

⁸⁶ *VCH: Durham*, II, p.278.

⁸⁷ *GC*, II, nos.1148-1149.

⁸⁸ Appendix 3, nos.113, 132, 142, 150, 151; *GC*, II, nos.1151, 1158, 1159, 1161, 1162, 1163.

⁸⁹ Appendix 3, nos.114, 115, 143. Duncan suggests that it is this grant to Finchale which gave rise to the story that Robert de Brus II had been given Hartness in order to supply himself with wheat, since it could not be grown in Annandale; Duncan, 'Bruces', p.92; see also above, p.46.

⁹⁰ Robert II's grant of the Annandale churches has not survived, but it was confirmed by William the Lion and successive lords of Annandale; *RRS*, II, no. 450; appendix 3, nos.129, 141, 153.

⁹¹ D.Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962) pp.43-61; Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp.169-171.

death of King David.⁹² Furthermore, the churches to which the bishops of Glasgow laid claim were those of an earlier foundation, at Hoddum, St Mungo (Castlemilk), Dryfesdale, Trailtrow and Esbie; whereas those which Robert II granted to Guisborough were at Annan, Lochmaben, Kirkpatrick, Cummertrees, Rainpatrick and Gretna, which were probably founded, or re-established, by the Bruses themselves.

Sometime before 1175 Robert de Brus II reached an agreement with Bishop Engelram of Glasgow, which was completed and ratified by his successor Bishop Jocelin, in which Robert added the churches of Moffat and Kirkpatrick juxta Moffat to those held by the see of Glasgow.⁹³ The bishops had evidently conceded Guisborough's rights in the other churches, rights which the priory eventually found burdensome to maintain at such a distance. In 1223 the canons renounced the patronage in the bishop's favour, while retaining a percentage of the teinds (tithes). The remainder was assigned to the incumbents of the churches. In c.1242, when Robert V confirmed the churches of Annandale and Hart to Guisborough, he granted them an additional meadow beside the priory grange in Annan. The canons were therefore still pursuing their rights to the produce of the church lands, perhaps overzealously, because in 1265 another agreement was made, raising the incumbents' allowances and detailing the exact amount in money and in kind which Guisborough undertook to pay to each. This deed continued to be ratified until at least 1330, despite the intervening wars and a plea of poverty by the canons of Guisborough in 1318 due to the loss of income from, among other things, the Annandale churches which are then said to be in the diocese of Carlisle.⁹⁴

While a baron might choose to grant churches to religious houses as an inexpensive way of endowing them, it was a reciprocal process in that the monastery took on the responsibility for providing priests to serve in the churches. Thus the granting of the Annandale churches to Guisborough should be seen, not so much as an alienation of Scottish land to an English house, as indicative of the Bruses' perspective. It was still to the family foundation in Yorkshire that they looked initially for suitable clerics to serve them in their Scottish lordship. It was no doubt

⁹² *Charters of David I*, no.15; *ESC*, pp.162-163, 414.

⁹³ Appendix 3, no.120. These churches were probably Brus foundations.

⁹⁴ *GC*, II, pp.346-352; appendix 3, no.154. For a full account of the dispute see Neilson and Donaldson, 'Guisborough and the Annandale Churches', pp.142-154.

for a similar reason that Robert II granted a house in Lochmaben to the hospital of St Peter (later St Leonard's) at York. The house, together with its associated land, was clearly a hospital or almshouse, and furnishes another example of Robert turning to a familiar establishment, already patronised by his wife's uncle the count of Aumale, to staff and run an amenity for his tenants.⁹⁵

Despite their disregard of the Anglo-Scottish border when making land-grants, particularly during the twelfth century, there is no evidence of the Bruses applying their policy in reverse and granting any of their English lands to monastic foundations in Scotland, like David I and barons such as Ranulf de Soules, who endowed Scottish houses from the honor of Huntingdon.⁹⁶ Robert de Brus I, indeed, appears to have been remarkably untouched by the religious fervour of David I. There is no surviving evidence that he made any contribution towards the king's many foundations in Scotland from his own lands in either Annandale or England, even though he witnessed several of David's own charters.⁹⁷ Certainly neither Robert I nor his descendants followed the example of other associates of King David and his successors, such as Hugh de Morville, Alan fitz Walter or the lords of Galloway, in endowing their own foundations.⁹⁸ These non-royal founders were in fact a minority among the magnates. Most Anglo-Scottish barons fulfilled their religious obligations by contributing to the foundations of the kings. Even so, such grants as the Bruses are known to have made were not particularly generous in comparison with, for example, their neighbours the Avenels and de Soules in Eskdale and Liddesdale.⁹⁹ Indeed, the only surviving grant of *land* made by a Brus to any Scottish monastery is that of Robert de Brus II, who granted an area in the district of Witton in Annandale to the abbey of Melrose during the reign of William the Lion. Two further grants were made to the same abbey by Robert's son, William de Brus,

⁹⁵ Appendix 3, no.116; *EYC*, III, no.1313. Robert's wife, Eufemia, was the first witness to the grant. William the Lion also patronised the hospital of St Peter with a grant of land in Dumfries and Caerlaverock. The grant was made at Gretna and witnessed by Robert de Brus II; *RRS*, II, no.255.

⁹⁶ Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp.180-181; Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, p.122. The grant which Robert III made to Arbroath from his wife's *maritagium* of the church at Haltwhistle, was in fact confirmation of William the Lion's earlier grant from his land in the liberty of Tynedale and as such is a special case; appendix 3,127.

⁹⁷ Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp.171-187, 199-209; *Charters of David I*, nos 3, 14, 34, 37, 49.

⁹⁸ I.B.Cowan and D.E.Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland*, 2nd ed. (London, 1976) pp.64-65, 69, 74-75, 78, 101-103, 105-106 and *passim*.

⁹⁹ Ritchie, *Normans*, pp.338-339; Reid, 'Scottish Avenels', p.71; R.C.Reid, 'Some Early de Soulis Charters', *TDGNHAS*, 26 (1949) pp.153-157.

of a saltpan and a fishery near Rainpatrick on the Solway. These were transferred in 1294 to the abbey of Holm Cultram in Cumberland, which had already benefited from similar grants by the Bruses and their tenants.¹⁰⁰

The interest which the Brus lords and their tenants took in Holm Cultram and other Cumberland houses such as St Bees and Wetheral, reinforces the cross-Solway connections already highlighted by the settlement patterns of Annandale.¹⁰¹ Holm Cultram itself was a Cistercian abbey, colonised c.1150 with monks from Melrose during the time when King David was occupying English Cumbria. It was effectively a cross-Border house with considerable holdings on both sides of the Solway. In 1257 Robert V granted the abbot and monks rights of way across his lands in both England and Scotland, undoubtedly at a time of strained Anglo-Scottish relations, to facilitate their access to their properties north of the Solway as well as Hartlepool, where Robert II and several Brus tenants had granted them a house and lands, probably in connection with their trade in wool.¹⁰² St Bees, which as a cell of St Mary's York could be regarded as firmly English, nevertheless also had connections with Galloway and was granted a saltpan at Rainpatrick by a Brus tenant, though nothing from the Bruses direct. Patronage of its sister-house at Wetheral was more localised, being confined to Cumberland and other northern English counties, unless the mysterious Karkarevill, granted to the priory by Robert de Brus I and confirmed by David when earl, should indeed come to be identified with a place in Annandale.¹⁰³

In addition to their links across the Solway, these Cumberland houses reached even further across the sea, to Ireland, where together with Carlisle they were associated with the foundation by John de Courcy of monasteries in Ulster, and were granted land there by him and, later, Richard de Burgh.¹⁰⁴ Even before these manifestations of Anglo-Norman piety had served to strengthen the religious network of the 'Irish-Sea World', the links of the Celtic church with international

¹⁰⁰ Appendix 3, nos.117, 119, 128, 134-137, 144, 162. The bounds of Witton are described, but have not been identified. It may be by Kinnel Water.

¹⁰¹ See above, pp.185-188.

¹⁰² *Reg. Holm Cultram*, pp.43-44, 117-122; appendix 3, nos.118, 158.

¹⁰³ *Reg. St Bees*, pp.v, viii-xi, 93-94, 353-354; *Reg. Wetheral*, *passim*; appendix 3, no. 7; see also above, p.38n.68.

¹⁰⁴ *Reg. St Bees*, pp.xi-xiii, 520-526; *Reg. Holm Cultram*, pp.96-97; S.Duffy, 'The First Ulster Plantation: John de Courcy and the Men of Cumbria', in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland*, ed. T.Barry, R.Frame and K.Simms, pp.6-10.

Christendom had been indirectly responsible for a portion of Brus land being subsequently granted to a Continental house, the abbey of Clairvaux. Clairvaux was the burial place of St Malachy, the Irish bishop who is reputed to have laid a curse on the Brus family and its *caput*, when Robert II hanged a felon whose life the saint had desired should be spared. Whatever the effects of this curse, Robert V was sufficiently convinced of a need to appease the saint by praying at his shrine, possibly on more than one occasion but certainly on his return journey from crusade in 1272. As a further act of appeasement, he granted the abbey a piece of land at 'Esticroft' in either Annandale or Cumberland, to maintain lights before the saint's shrine.¹⁰⁵

As time went on, in common with the prevailing trend among the barons of the thirteenth century, few new grants were made by the Bruses of either branch to religious establishments, and all of them were small. Population was increasing, land was at a premium, and the lords had little left to spare after the generous alienations of their ancestors. Although both Peter III and Robert V show evidence of being prepared to support the newer orders of friars, it was at little cost to themselves. Peter III gave a toft in Yarm to the Dominican friars when they were first establishing themselves there, but it was left to his tenants to enlarge their holding.¹⁰⁶ It has been suggested that Robert V may have been involved in establishing a house of Franciscans in Hartlepool before 1258, but there is no firm evidence for this. Nor did the Bruses attract any friars to Annandale, the nearest house being at Dumfries. Robert V, however, appears to have been instrumental in obtaining a grant from Henry III in 1266 on behalf of the 'Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ' in Newcastle in order to enlarge their premises.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the Brus lords continued to honour the obligations of their ancestors by confirming earlier grants, including those attached to the various inheritances they acquired. Thus Peter I confirmed gifts

¹⁰⁵ Appendix 3, no.159; *Chron. Lanercost*, pp.160-161; Reid, 'The Caput of Annandale', pp.155-159. Barrow suggests that Robert's anxiety to appease St Malachy may have had something to do with his projected second marriage; Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.24-25.

¹⁰⁶ Appendix 3, no.100; Palmer, 'The Friar-Preachers ... of Yarm', pp.184-187. Henry III granted the friars ten good oaks from the forest of Galtres in 1266.

¹⁰⁷ *VCH: Durham*, III, p.264; Sharp, *History of Hartlepool*, pp.115-116; *CPR 1266-72*, p.10; see also above, p.168. The friary at Hartlepool may have been established as early as 1240. If it was during the minority of Robert V, perhaps it should be Peter de Brus II who is credited with encouraging the friars.

made from the Arches fee.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, while there is no suggestion of new grants being made to any English foundations by the descendants of Isabel de Brus in respect of her Huntingdon and Chester inheritance, Robert V and his son confirmed those made previously to the abbeys of Croxton and Garendon in Leicestershire, to Warden, to Sawtry, and the hospital of St Margaret at Huntingdon. Robert V also confirmed a tenant's grant of to the church of Writtle.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, the only two charters given by Robert V to his grandfather's foundation at Lindores were a confirmation of land near Dundee granted by his mother Isabel, and an exchange of land in Williamston, Garioch, for a grant of second tithes made by Earl David. At the time of his marriage to Christina of Ireby, Robert V also confirmed a grant of his father-in-law to the Augustinian priory of Lanercost of pasture on the fells of her Cumberland inheritance. Sometime later he also confirmed the church of Glassonby to the priory of Carlisle.¹¹⁰

Despite changing social attitudes, those houses which were already well-established and endowed continued to receive encouragement, to flourish and to husband their worldly wealth. Among these was Guisborough priory. Ties between founder's family and priory transcended their differences. The Skelton Bruses and their successors continued to hold the patronage of Guisborough; the canons continued to pray for the family and serve in their churches; the Annandale Bruses continued to honour their obligations to the priory, and to regard it as their spiritual home until their severance from England.

CONCLUSION

Both branches of the Brus family display telling signs of their awareness of family continuity, which although more evident within each separate line of descent, also embrace their common ancestor and his origins. There is, for example, a marked continuity of Christian names. Although each branch demonstrates different preferences, both revert back to their Norman origins. Not only the name of Robert, so popular with the Annandale Bruses, but also those of Adam and Peter which recur regularly in the Skelton branch, and William which was a favourite for younger sons,

¹⁰⁸ Appendix 3, nos.51, 56, 60.

¹⁰⁹ Appendix 3, nos.163-168.

¹¹⁰ Appendix 3, nos.156, 157, 160, 161.

are all found among the Brus family of Normandy.¹¹¹ Family pride, or rather an awareness of the Brus standing in society, is further exemplified in the Yorkshire line by the adoption of his mother's name by Robert, son of Isabel de Brus by her second marriage to Roger Mauduit.

A similar pride in family connections can be seen in the continuity of design for their seals and arms. Once the design of each branch had been established in the early thirteenth century, with the lion rampant for Skelton and the saltire and chief, with or without lion, for Annandale, it passed down from father to son with little alteration. There was no need for further change to demonstrate new affiliations with other major families. It was enough to be a Brus – of either line. The subsequent adoption of the Brus arms by the Fauconberg heirs of Peter III affirms this perception. It was a name and family of standing, a family to be proud of and to be perpetuated.

Dynastic consciousness manifested itself in another form among the Annandale Bruses, in the persistence of their belief in the curse of St Malachy. Whether or not the early death of Robert II's eldest son, the plague of Annan and the collapse of its castle were indeed believed to have resulted from the curse is unclear. It is certain, however, that Robert V was sufficiently troubled by the story to appease the saint by honouring his shrine.¹¹² He saw his family as an entity. The sins of one member had repercussions for all.

These examples suggest that a family awareness prevailed most strongly within each separate line of descent. Yet the relationship between the two branches must have been well recognised by their contemporaries. It was surely an acknowledgement of their kinship which decided that the son of William de Brus, when a hostage of King John, should be given into the care of Peter I of Skelton.¹¹³ For both branches, however, the major continuing link both with their ancestors and with each other, lay in Guisborough priory, the family burial place. The priory's liturgical calendar demonstrates that the canons observed the *obits* of both lines.¹¹⁴ The

¹¹¹ See above, p.20.

¹¹² See above, p.230. It was at the altar of St Malachy in Coupar Angus abbey that King Robert I provided for candles and a lamp to burn perpetually after the death of his brother Edward; Duffy, 'Bruce Brothers', p.72.

¹¹³ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p.137b.

¹¹⁴ Wormald, 'Liturgical Calendar', pp.29-33.

Skelton Bruses must surely all have been buried there; it is specifically recorded that the body of Peter II was returned from Marseille for this purpose.¹¹⁵ The position of the Annandale Bruses is less clear, and one at least may have been buried at Hartlepool. But Robert V was buried at Guisborough, even though the priory church must still have been in a ruinous state following the fire of 1289.¹¹⁶ He is said to have been laid beside his father, thus implying that Robert IV was also buried at Guisborough, despite another tradition that he shared a tomb with his wife Isabel at Sawtry in Huntingdonshire.¹¹⁷

Robert V, 'the Competitor' was therefore the last Brus lord to be buried at Guisborough. His son, Robert VI and earl of Carrick *jure uxoris*, was buried at Holm Cultram, having died nearby on his way from Essex to Annandale in April 1304 soon after the English forces, aided by the future King Robert Bruce, had succeeded in breaking the Scottish resistance.¹¹⁸ A tradition going back almost two hundred years had ended. The abbey of Holm Cultram, however, could also claim long-standing association with the Bruses of Annandale, having been patronised by them and their tenants for several generations. It was King Robert himself who made the final, irrevocable break with the family consciousness of his Brus forebears, and sought an alternative identity from his mother's kin of Carrick and Galloway. Following the loss of his English lands he showed no love for his ancestral roots, nor reverence for his grandfather's tomb. The canons of Guisborough complained of loss of income through the destruction of their lands in the wars of Scottish Independence. The former Brus town of Hartlepool suffered particularly severe attacks by the Scottish forces.¹¹⁹ In fulfilling his grandfather's ambition and becoming king of Scots, Robert Bruce had brought to an end the cross-Border associations of the longest-standing Anglo-Scottish family.

¹¹⁵ Paris: *HA*, II, p.459.

¹¹⁶ *Chron. Guisborough*, pp.225-226, 259.

¹¹⁷ *DNB*, III, p.115. Isabel's father, Earl David, had been buried at Sawtry. But as Robert IV had died some twenty years before his wife, and certainly before she came into the Huntingdon inheritance, Guisborough would seem to be the more likely venue.

¹¹⁸ *Chron. Guisborough*, p.363; Barrow, *Bruce*, p.142.

¹¹⁹ *GC*, II, pp.357, 399-400; McNamee, *Wars of the Bruses*, pp.79-80, 101-105.

CONCLUSION

Among the aims of this thesis, as outlined in the introduction, was that of drawing out parallels and highlighting differences between the two main branches of the Brus family in England and Scotland. At first sight it is the differences that are the more apparent. This has undoubtedly contributed to that dichotomy of perception among historians which has resulted in their being treated as two distinct families, with their common origin largely disregarded. Following the death of the first Robert de Brus and division of the lands between his heirs, much of the evidence does indeed point to the two branches going their separate ways. Only their common interest in Hartness and in Guisborough priory provided enduring links between the two lines of Bruses, and at times even these seem tenuous. As has been demonstrated, the Skelton and Annandale lines had few tenant families in common, and those were mainly through Hartness. Only rarely are the names of lords from both branches found in the same document. Although they occasionally appear together in witness lists, there is no charter surviving to suggest that they ever witnessed for each other. And while there are witness lists which suggest that the lords of Annandale actually visited Guisborough priory, accompanied on occasion by their wives or brothers, there is no indication that any family reunions took place with their Yorkshire kinsmen.¹

Even at the battle of the Standard, before the death of Robert de Brus I, a difference of orientation is already apparent, with Adam I at his father's side in the English army and Robert II fighting for King David. This epitomises the reasoning which has led historians to treat each branch in isolation. The Skelton Bruses were unquestionably English. The Annandale Bruses, despite their continued involvement in English politics to a greater or lesser extent, have been perceived solely from a Scottish viewpoint. Only with the advent of a unified approach to the study of 'British' history, and in particular the work of the Baronial Research Group, has that perception been modified, so that the Brus lords of Annandale can now be viewed in their wider context as prime examples of Anglo-Scottish cross-Border lords.

¹ Appendix 3, nos.111, 129, 141.

There is another reason for the differing lines of approach taken to each of the branches. This has its origins in the relative priorities and status of the Yorkshire and the Anglo-Scottish branches. The Bruses of Annandale, as forerunners of a king of Scots, are usually studied in a national context, their achievements measured against subsequent events. In contrast, the Skelton Bruses have been considered purely as regional barons, playing little part in national affairs, their only importance lying in their contribution to northern matters. This perception is not unreasonable. Although Holt has demonstrated the impact that such barons could have on the course of national events, when their regional loyalties brought them into conflict with the central government, the concern of the Yorkshire Bruses lay predominantly in the North. They were concerned with the affairs of England and the maintenance of stable government only so far as it affected their own interests. Each Brus lord of Skelton played his part to the extent he considered necessary within England, but they were rarely involved in the king's enterprises elsewhere. They took no personal part in expeditions to Wales and only occasionally followed the king overseas. Their only interest in Scotland was in maintaining peace on the Border. Until the marriage of Peter III's sister to Robert de Ros, they made no alliances with cross-Border families. They never took, or perhaps never had, any opportunity to extend their interests out of the north of England and, until the barony of Kendale came to Peter III from his mother's family, held almost nothing outside Yorkshire itself. They were wholly absorbed by the concerns of the circle in which they moved and held a prominent place. This contrast with the Annandale Bruses is amply borne out by evidence from their surviving charters. Those of the Yorkshire Bruses demonstrate a marked parochialism when compared with the wider, international, interests and responsibilities of the Annandale branch, whose lands eventually stretched from Garioch in north-eastern Scotland to Essex in south-eastern England and whose standing brought them into contact with the royal courts of both kingdoms.

Another distinction in status between the two branches of the family is manifested by the access which the Annandale Bruses had to the royal court of England as well as Scotland. This privilege further emphasises the minimal amount of interconnection between them, in that the Yorkshire Bruses seem in no way to have benefited from the greater prestige of their cousins. While both lines originated from the same founder, who was a close companion of kings, it was the Annandale

family alone who maintained, or rather regained, some measure of that relationship. It was undoubtedly their position north of the Border which enabled them to do so. Despite the evident waning of Brus influence at the Scottish court in the time of King David's successors, the relatively small size of the Scottish magnate class placed them comparatively closer to the king than would have been the case in England. Furthermore, the geographical location of their lordship ensured their continuing importance in cross-Border politics, and led to marriage alliances between them and the royal house. It was the second of these marriages, between Robert IV and Isabel of Huntingdon, which brought them into contact with the magnate class of England, and gave them readmittance to the English court, a sphere which remained beyond the reach of the regional Brus lords of Skelton.

While the Annandale Bruses became kin to high-ranking earls and princes, the Skelton family continued to make marriage alliances which were advantageous to them within their own region. The North was their world. The network of northern families, which has so often been cited in the course of this thesis, was their strength. In this world it was the Annandale lords who were on the periphery, loosely linked and sometimes identified with it, yet not so deeply enmeshed. Having no part in the Yorkshire inheritance and being only sub-tenants in Hartness, they had less of a stake in the concerns and aspirations of the 'Northerners'.

It is this standing of the Skelton Bruses within their own narrower society which suggests another, subtler difference of attitude between them and the lords of Annandale. The Skelton Bruses, though less highly connected, were more firmly based within a supportive community. They 'knew their place' and could take advantage of it. They 'belonged'. They were therefore emboldened to shape their own destiny, to take a risk for their principles and, especially in the cases of Peters I and III, be prepared to stand out against their rulers. In comparison, the Annandale Bruses seem less at ease. As cross-Border barons they could take advantage of moving between two countries, but their allegiances were less sure. This is exemplified by the actions of Robert V, who for a time transferred his focus from Scotland to England. It became even more apparent in the later conflict of loyalties betrayed by the Brus earls of Carrick, trying to keep in favour with Edward I while yet wanting to take their place as leaders of the Scots. On occasions their lives seem to have been at the mercy of international politicking because of their position in

Annandale, a politically sensitive region. They made diplomatic marriages; they provided hostages on the king's behalf; they became one of the many scape-goats of the English king during the minority of Alexander III. At times of difficulty between the two kingdoms, they supported sometimes the king of Scots, sometimes the king of England. At the battle of Lewes, Robert V fought for King Henry as an English baron, yet may well have been leading a troop of Scots on his own behalf, if not for the king of Scots. Not until 1306, when the murder of John Comyn forced King Robert into making an irrevocable choice, did the Scottish Bruses find their true and single-minded home.

Yet despite these many differences in status and priorities, there are clear parallels in the lives of successive Brus lords of the two branches. Political events drew them repeatedly together, so that in times of crisis they are often found working for the same cause, and in English records their names are frequently linked. In 1174, for example, the names of Adam II and Robert II are combined by Benedict of Peterborough in their support of Henry II. In 1216 they are joined in opposition to King John. During the crises of Alexander III's minority, Peter III was a part of King Henry's support party and therefore sometimes on the side of Robert V (as in 1255) and sometimes against (1258), until Robert's move to the English court in 1260 brought them firmly together again in their support of the English king. It was at this period that Robert V became particularly associated with the northern barons, despite his landed interests in the midlands, and his name was linked with theirs in several writs. His second marriage and relinquishment of the Essex lands to his sons reinforced that identification. Indeed, at this stage in his career, Robert V seems to have been rediscovering that recurrent theme of British history, whereby the inhabitants of northern England find themselves more in sympathy with those living north of the Border than with their compatriots in the South. Cross-Border lords, despite their dual loyalties and higher profiles, shared much in common with the Northerners.

In the south-west corner of the parish church of Guisborough stands a monument known as the 'Brus Cenotaph', which was removed from the priory church at some time after the dissolution of the monasteries.² Although erected some two hundred

² A full description and history of the monument, so far as it is known, is given in Brown, 'Brus Cenotaph', pp.226-258. See also photographs below, p.239.

years after the last Brus lord was buried at Guisborough, the monument was clearly intended to honour the lives of the founding family, more particularly the Scottish branch. In doing so, its design encapsulates many of the conclusions reached about the relationships between the two lines.

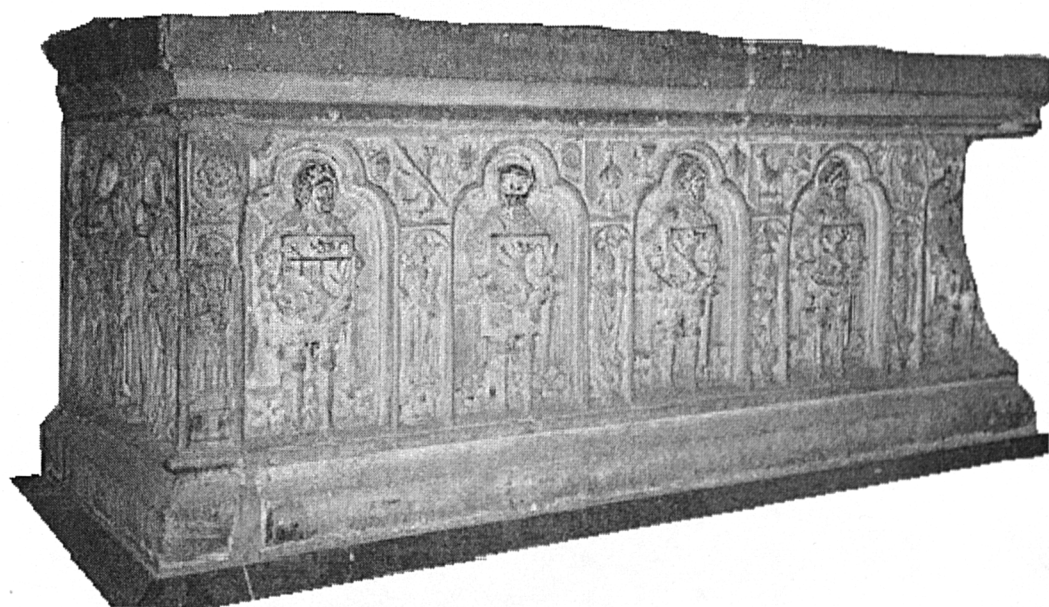
The monument takes the form of a table-tomb, some nine feet long and three and a half feet wide. It is made from carboniferous limestone, or blue marble, and decorated with elaborate carvings. On the two longer sides are five large niches, in each of which stands a knight bearing a shield with his insignia. Those on the north side represent the Skelton Bruses from Adam I to Peter III. Those on the south side are the Annandale branch from Robert II to Robert VI. Between the main niches are smaller ones filled with statues of the Virgin and Child, the four evangelists, and fathers of the Church. The spaces above are carved with symbols of the evangelists and of the Passion, and shields of arms relating to the the priory. One of the latter bears a cock and reel, a punning reference to James Cockerell, the penultimate prior (1519-c.1534), which suggests a sixteenth-century date for the erection of the monument, although some of its carving is thought to be stylistically earlier. The west end of the monument is lost, but a seventeenth-century drawing, printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, depicts a crowned king, presumably King Robert I, bearing the shield of Scotland and flanked by two smaller crowned figures, possibly his son (David II) and grandson (Robert II).³ It is this which suggests that the cenotaph was conceived as a memorial to the Scottish Bruses, while establishing their English links and origins. From this evidence, coupled with the appearance of a Tudor rose on one of the shields above the statue of the Virgin, Brown surmised that it might have been commissioned by Mary Tudor, widow of King James IV, in the period of strained English/Scottish relations following the battle of Flodden.⁴ Like that of Robert de Brus V, the body of James IV had been taken into England for burial. Perhaps Mary was endeavouring to establish a precedent for this, and to demonstrate that like her son, King James V, an earlier king of Scots had English kin. In view of Queen Mary's ambivalent position during the minority of James V, this suggestion is not entirely convincing, but no better theory has yet been forthcoming.

³ *Mon. Angl.*, VI, facing p.265. A suggestion that the two smaller figures are King Robert's father and grandfather is less likely, especially as they are already depicted on the side of the monument; *VCH: Yorkshire, North Riding*, II, p.363.

⁴ Brown, 'Brus Cenotaph', pp.240-242.



Brus Cenotaph
East end



Brus Cenotaph
Skelton side

The panel at the east end of the cenotaph, unlike the two side panels, shows signs of weathering, having been removed to Hardwick hall near Sedgefield in the mid-eighteenth century, where it formed part of a sham ruin for about one hundred years before being returned to Guisborough. As the lost western panel depicted the end of the Brus era, so the eastern one depicts the beginning. In its centre sits a habited figure, surrounded by kneeling canons and holding on his knees the priory's shield of arms. Since this figure alone has his hood drawn over his head, it has been suggested that he must be the prior, perhaps the first prior, William de Brus. Brown, however, has another theory. As there is no representation of the priory's founder on any other part of the monument, he believed it probable the habited figure is in fact the first Robert de Brus.⁵ This seems highly likely. It would be strange to omit the priory's founder and most generous benefactor. And although his dress might simply suggest that Robert was regarded as an honorary canon in recognition of his benevolence, it could have a deeper meaning. Despite Robert I's evident involvement in political affairs until nearly the end of his life, he may well have had time before his death to be admitted into the religious community he had founded.⁶

The wealth of symbolism embodied in the Brus cenotaph provides a visual summary of the Brus family and the relations between its two branches. At its beginning is Robert de Brus I, founder of the dynasty as well as of the priory which continued to hold the two branches together. From him originate the lords of Skelton and of Annandale, arrayed in descending order on either side, beginning with his two sons. They progress in parallel, each of the five lords reflected by his opposite kinsman with whom he stands back to back, separated by the space of the empty tomb yet held together by their common ancestor and the priory. At the further end, now blank, stood King Robert I, who oversaw the final severance of the remaining branch of the Brus family from its roots. The earlier demise of the Skelton branch is poignantly, if inadvertently, illustrated by the now broken figure of Peter III.⁷

The allegory can, indeed be stretched even further. As already noted, the cenotaph was clearly erected to commemorate the Scottish Bruses. This is evident

⁵ *VCH: Yorkshire, North Riding*, II, p.363; *Guisborough before 1900*, p.239; Brown, 'Brus Cenotaph', p.242.

⁶ Robert's contemporary, Hugh de Morville, entered his own foundation of Dryburgh in the year of his death; *Charters of David I*, p.36.

⁷ See photograph above, p.239.

not only from the subject matter of the missing panel, but also from the positioning of the Annandale lords on the south (more honourable) side and the greater depth of relief and individuality of form with which their figures are sculpted. The base of the Scottish side is also ornamented with scroll work, while that on the English side is plain. The Scottish branch was therefore clearly regarded by the designer of the monument as of greater importance, being the originators of the ruling house of Scotland. Yet despite this, the Skelton Bruses are afforded as much space as their kinsmen, even as they must surely have been of equal importance to the priory in which the monument was designed to stand. Finally, in the same way as the monument needs both sides, both lines of knights for its completeness, so the achievements of both lines of descent from Robert de Brus I need to be taken into account, in order to present a full and rounded picture of the Brus family during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Appendix 1

THE BRUS LANDS IN YORKSHIRE AND HARTNESS

including map, following p. 250

BRUS LANDS IN YORKSHIRE AND HARTNESS

Table Ai	initial grant from king : North Riding
Table Aii	initial grant from king : West Riding
Table Aiii	initial grant from king : East Riding
Table B	lands acquired from honor of Chester
Table C	additional grant from Mortain/Surdeval estates
Table D	lands acquired from Arches fee and held of honor of Mowbray
Table E	additional Yorkshire lands (miscellaneous)
Table F	Hartness lands

abbreviations : DB - Domesday Book K - King KT - King's thegn M - manor
 B - berewick S - soke c - carucate b - bovaté # - lost to Brus by 1272
 (L) - later in wapentake of Langbaurch

* * * * *

The information in tables A-E has been derived from Domesday Book,
 Kirkby's Inquest and Brus charters.

Table Ai INITIAL GRANT : NORTH RIDING						
Vill	Wapentake	DB assess- -ment	Status	Holder/ Tenant	Notes	Map ref. ●
Acklam	Langbaurch	2c	M	K	K held 3c in DB, Chester held 8c and Robert Malet 1c, which all came to Brus	N23
Amotherby	Ryedale	2½c	M	K		N48
Appleton Wiske #	Allerton (L)	6c	M	K	granted to St Mary's, York	N1
Arncliffe (Hall)	Allerton (L)	2c	M	K		N11
Bergolbi'	Langbaurch	1c	M		incorporated in Seamer	N19
Bordelby	Allerton	2c	M	K	site of Mount Grace priory	N12
Brompton #	Pickering Lythe	14b	M	K	probably passed to Bigod	N44
(Little) Busby	Langbaurch	2c	S	KT	K held 3c; Balliol also held here.	N16
Cawthorn #	Pickering Lythe	1c	M	K	passed to Wake by 1284, possibly via Stuteville	N42
Cayton #	Pickering	2c	M	K	passed to Bigod and held by count of Aumale	N46
Crambe #	Bulmer	4c	M	K	passed to Bigod and held by count of Aumale	N51
Crathorne with Foxton	Langbaurch	9c	3M	K	K held 6c in Crathorne, and Mortain held 3c in Foxton	N18
Crunkley in Eskdale	Langbaurch	3c	M	Hugh fitz Baldric	granted in 1103 exchange	N40
Danby in Eskdale	Langbaurch	6c	B	Hugh fitz Baldric	granted in 1103 exchange	N38
Faceby	Langbaurch	8c	2M	K	including Sexhow	N14
Foxton	Langbaurch	-	-	-	see Crathorne	N17
Ganthorpe	Bulmer	½c	M	K	or Gamelthorpe	N49
Goulton (Grange)	Langbaurch	1c	M	K		N15
(Great) Moorsholm	Langbaurch	½c	-	K		N37
Guisborough	Langbaurch	1c	M	K	Mortain held 25c here, Chester 6b, and Robert Malet 3c 2b, all of which came to Brus	N34

Hangton Hangton Hill (Eskdale)	Langbaurgh	2c	B	Hugh fitz Baldric	granted in 1103 exchange	N41
(East) Harlsey	Allerton	6c	M	K		N10
Hilton	Langbaurgh	3c	M	K		N21
Hornby #	Allerton	2c	-	K	not in DB proper; possibly in jurisdiction of Appleton Wiske; granted to St Mary's, York	N7
(Low) Hutton	Bulmer	3c	M	K	probably the Hutton Murhom of <i>Kirkby's Inquest</i> , p.109, when Brus heirs held 4c here	N50
Ingleby (Arncliffe)	Allerton (L)	6c	M	K		N3
Kildale	Langbaurgh	6c	M	KT		N33
Lazenby	Langbaurgh	1½c	M	K	K held 3½c, Chester ½c, which may all have come to Brus	N35
Lealholm in Eskdale	Langbaurgh	10b	S	Hugh fitz Baldric	granted in 1103 exchange	N39
(Castle) Leavington #	Allerton (L)	4c	M	K	passed to de Feugeres then to Meynell by 1284	N4
(Kirk) Leavington	Allerton (L)	6c	M	K		N5
Low Worsall	Allerton (L)	3c	M	K		N8
Marton	Langbaurgh	4c	2M	K (1c) KT (3c)	Robert Malet also held 5c	N27
Morton (Grange)	Allerton	3c	M	K		N9
Morton (Grange)	Langbaurgh	3c	M	K		N30
Newham (Hall)	Langbaurgh	2c 2b	2M	K	Robert Malet also held 5b	N20
Newsham	Ryedale	10b	M	K		N47
Newton (Ornback)	Langbaurgh	4c 6b	M	K		N32
Nunthorpe	Langbaurgh	6c	2M	K		N28
Ormesby	Langbaurgh	12c	4M	KT		N24
(South) Otterington	Allerton	6c	2M	K		N13
Pinchingthorpe	Langbaurgh	3c	M	K	Robert Malet also held 3c	N31
Stainton	Langbaurgh	1b	-	K	probably in Stanghow	N36
Tanton	Langbaurgh	2½c	M	K	KT held 1½c and Mortain 2c, which possibly came to Brus	N29
Thornaby	Langbaurgh	1½c	M	K	Chester also held 3c, Robert Malet 1½c	N22
Thornton (Dale)	Pickering Lythe	11b	S	K	jurisdiction of Pickering; K also held 3M of 3c here, which may have passed to the Mowbray fee	N43
Tollesby	Langbaurgh	3c	M	see notes	K held 2c, and a KT 4c; Robert Malet held 3c, which may be the share which came to Brus	N26
Upsall (Hall)	Langbaurgh	3c	M	K (1c) KT(2c)		N25
Welbury	Allerton	6c	2M	K		N2
Wykeham #	Pickering	½c	S	K	with Martin Garth in juris- diction of Falsgrave; granted to Whitby abbey	N45
Yarm	Allerton (L)	3c	M			N6

<p style="text-align: center;">Table Aii INITIAL GRANT : WEST RIDING</p>						
Vill	Wapentake	DB assess- ment	Status	Holder/ Tenant	Notes	Map ref. ●
Allerton (Mauleverer)	Claro	6c	3M	K(3c) KT(1½c) Gospatric (½c)		W12
Azerley #	Claro	6c	3M	KT (½c) Gospatric (5½)	passed to Mowbray	W2
Branton (Green)	Claro	3c 3b	M	K(1c) KT(4c)		W9
Camblesforth	Barkston Ash	1c	M	KT	Paynel also held here; held in 1272 as 'sokage of fee of Paynel'	W17
Carlton	Barkston Ash	6c	M	KT	held in 1272 as 'sokage of fee of Paynel'	W18
Dunsforth (Upper and Lower)	Claro	2½c	M	KT(3c)		W7
Grafton #	Claro	4c 6b	3M	K(4c) KT(2c) Erneis de Burun (3c)	granted by Brus to Richard Mauleverer, who by 1109 had granted 7½c to Holy Trinity, York; 1c later granted to Fountains	W8
Grewelthorpe	Claro	2c	M	Gospatric	This seems the most plausible identification of 'Thorpe'. Another 5c held by Gospatric which may have passed to fee of Mowbray	W1
Hopperton	Claro	4c	3M	K(1½c) KT(1½c) Erneis de Burun (1c)	Osbern de Arches also held 1c here	W13
Horsforth	Skyrack	2c	M	K	K held 6c in 3M	W16
Laverton	Claro	4½c	3M	K(½c) KT(3c) Gospatric (2½c)	the remaining 1½c, representing a fourth manor, may have passed to Brus later	W3
Leathley	Claro	2c	?2M	K(2½c in 3M)		W14
(Great) Ouseburn	Claro	12c	5M	K		W10
Rawdon	Skyrack	6b	M	K(3c in 3M)		W15
Scotton	Claro	2c	M	KT		W5
(Scotton) Thorpe	Claro	2c	M	KT		W6
Susacres (South Acres)	Claro	1c	B	K	Osbern de Arches also held 1c here	W4
Widdington (Hall)	Claro	1c	M	KT		W11

<p align="center">Table Aiii INITIAL GRANT : EAST RIDING</p>						
Vill	Wapentake/ Hundred	DB assess- ment	Status	Holder/ Tenant	Notes	Map ref. ●
Birdshall #	Scard	2c	M	KT	may have passed into fee of archbishop of Canterbury, who held 2½c here in 1086 and 4c in 1284; Fossard also held 13c	E5
Brantingham +North Cave + Hotham	Welton Cave Cave	9c 1b	?B M M	?Malet	lands here were the subject of claims in DB, some having been held by William Malet but acquired by Fossard	E28 E27 E26
Brunnus (Kirkburn Southburn Eastburn) with Tibthorpe	Driffield	32c2b	S S S S	K (5c) (7c) (6c) (8½c)	Farrer suggests that (Great) Kendale was also included to make up the remaining 6c	E21 E22 E20 E19
Burton Agnes with Harpham Gransmoor Haisthorpe Thornholme Foxholes Thwing	Burton	44c	M B B S S S S	K	see also Thwing below; the berewick of Boythorpe was added later	E11 E12 E13 E9 E10 E6 E7
Burythorpe	Acklam	3c	M	K(2c)		E17
(South) Cliffe	Cave	2b (?c)	-	K	'b' may be a scribal error for 'c', and therefore the 2c which Fossard wrongfully held according to DB 'claims'	E25
Eddlethorpe	Acklam	4c	M	K		E16
Firby	Acklam	2c	-	-	not in DB main text	E15
Garrowby (Hall)	Acklam	6c	M	KT		E18
Gransmoor	Burton	2c	S	K	added in exchange of 1103; see also Burton Agnes	E13
(North) Grimston	Scard	4c 2b	5M	K	in 1284 Brus heirs held 3c; remainder may have passed to Bigod and held by Aumale	E4
Harpham	Burton	8c	S	K	added in exchange of 1103; see also Burton Agnes	E12
(East) Heslerton (West) Heslerton	'Thorshowe'	10c6b	2M	KT(3½c) KT(5c)	Hugh fitz Baldric and Berenger of Tosny also held here; according to DB summary, Mortain also held 2c (+5c) which may have made up discrepancy	E1 E2
Kilnwick (Percy)	Warter	16c	B/S	K	6c 'for the hall' + 10c in jurisdiction of Pocklington	E24
Millington	Warter	6b	S	K	jurisdiction of Pocklington	E23
Rudston	Burton	8c	M	KT		E8
Scampston	Scard	5c	M/S	K	K held 1½c + 4c in jurisdiction of Rillington	E3
Thornthorpe	Acklam	1c 6b	-	-	not in DB main text; possibly part of Burythorpe	E14
Thwing	Burton	10c	M	K (9c2b)	see also under Burton Agnes	E7
Tibthorpe					see Brunnus	E19

<p style="text-align: center;">Table B LANDS ACQUIRED FROM HONOR of CHESTER</p>					
Vill	DB assess- ment	Previous tenant	Status	Notes	Map ref. O
Acklam	8c	Hugh son of Northmann	M	probably including Ayresome, Linthorpe and Middlesbrough; see also North Riding.	N23
Airsholme (Ayresome)				see Acklam	
Barwick (Ingleby) on-Tees	3c	Hugh son of Northmann	B		N52
(Old) Boulby	2c		S	K held 1c which may have come to Brus; held of Chester in 1272	N63
Coulby	1c	Hugh son of Northmann	S	held of Chester in 1272	N59
Easington	8c		S	held of Chester in 1272	N62
Guisborough	6b		S	see also North Riding	N34
Hemlington	3c	Hugh son of Northmann	S	held of Chester in 1272	N57
Hinderwell	10b		S	jurisdiction of S Lofthus; another 4c 6b held by Percy	N61
Ingleby Hill (Cold Ingleby)	6c	Hugh son of Northmann	S		N54
Kirkleatham	2c		S	this may have come either to Brus or Percy; see also under Mortain.	N66
Lackenby	1c 6b		S	1c 5b according to DB summary; Fossard held 2c here.	N65
Lazenby	½c		S	see also North Riding	N35
Linthorpe			S	see Acklam	
Liverton	7c		S	probably included Waupley (Glaphou)	N60
(South) Lofthus	4c		M	part to Percy; later included 1c at Roskelthorpe	N61
Maltby	3c	Hugh son of Northmann	S		N53
Marske	2c		S	may have passed to Brus in addition to the 10c from Mortain	N67
Stainsby (Hall)	3c	Hugh son of Northmann	S	held of Chester in 1272	N58
Stainton in Cleveland	2c	Hugh son of Northmann	S	Robert Malet held 2c which may have come to Brus	N55
Thornaby	3c	Hugh son of Northmann	S	see also North Riding	N22
Thornton	3c	Hugh son of Northmann	S	Robert Malet held 1c which may have come to Brus	N56
Upleatham	see note		S	10c shared between Brus and Percy	N64
Waupley				see Liverton	
West Leatham				see Kirkleatham	

Of the lands held by the earl of Chester in the North Riding (Langbaugh wapentake) in 1086, those in Whitby and its outliers were already enfeoffed to William de Percy (4N1). Of the remainder, those subenfeoffed to Hugh son of Northmann in Acklam and its outliers (4N3) all appear to have been granted to Brus, and those in South Lofthus and its outliers (4N2) to have been shared between Brus and Percy. While both Brus and Percy continued to hold some of their grant of the honor of Chester, they both came to hold much of it *in capite*.

<p align="center">Table C ADDITIONS FROM MORTAIN/SURDEVAL ESTATES</p>				
Vill	DB assess- -ment	Status	Notes	Map ref. □
Aislaby	3c	M		N75
Barnaby	6c	M	(Bernaldeby)	N74
Brotton	12c	M		N71
Coatham			see Kirkleatham	
Guisborough	25c	3M	included Hutton Lowcross and 'Middleton'; Robert Malet held 3c 2b and Chester 6b, all of which may also have come to Brus	N34
Hutton-Lowcross			see Guisborough	
Kirkleatham	9c		formerly West Leatham; included Coatham; K held 3c, Percy held 4c, and Chester 2c which probably passed to Percy	N66
Marske	10c	S	'pertains to Brotton'; Percy held 8c; Chester held 2c which may have come to Brus.	N67
Moorsholm (Morsum) (Great and Little)	3½c 1c	2M	Brus held ½c in Great Moorsholm from K	N37
Normanby	7c	M	Percy held ½c; Robert Malet held ½c which may have come to Brus	N68
Rousby	2c	S	soke of Seaton	N73
Seaton (Hall)	3c	M	near South Lofthus	N72
Skelton	13c	M		N70
Tanton	2c	M	Brus held 2½c here and K another 1½c	N29
Tocketts (Tocotes)	2c	M		N69
West Leatham			see Kirkleatham	

All the lands are in the wapentake of Langbaugh and include almost all those held there by Richard Surdeval of the count of Mortain. Farrer (*EYC*, II, p.19) includes Kilton and Kilton Thorpe, but Hebditch has demonstrated that these passed to Percy then to Thweng; W. Hebditch, 'The Origin and Early History of the Kilton Fee', *YAJ*, 34 (1939) pp.296-307.

Table D
ARCHES FEE, HELD OF THE HONOR OF MOWBRAY

Vill	Wapentake	DB assess- ment	Status	Notes	Map ref. ◆
Appleton (Roebuck)	Ainsty	12c	3M		W39
Askham Richard	Ainsty	6c	2M		W35
Beningbrough	Bulmer	3c	2M	see <i>EYC</i> , I, pp.429-30	N76
Bilton	Ainsty	9c	3M		W32
Cattal (Little)	Claro	5c	S	soke of Aldborough	W23
Colton	Ainsty	4½c	5M		W37
Copmanthorpe	Ainsty	3c	-	the heirs of Brus held 3c here of Mowbray in 1284, but these were not a part of the Arches fee in 1086	W36
Follithwaite	Ainsty			see Walton	
(Green) Hammerton	Claro	8c	3M		W21
(Kirk) Hammerton	Claro	6c	2M		W22
Hopperton	Claro	1c	M		W13
Hutton Wandesley	Ainsty	6c	M		W31
Kirby Hall (or Ouseburn)	Claro	2c	M	near Little Ouseburn	W19
Knapton ?	Ainsty	2c	M	evidence inconclusive as to whether this passed to Brus	W28
Marston (Long)	Ainsty	12c	M		W30
Newton Kyme	Barkston Ash	73c	7M	included with Toulston and Oglethorpe for 10c 7b; Fossard also held here	W41
Nun Monkton	Claro	8c	5M		W24
Oglethorpe ?	Barkston Ash			evidence inconclusive as to whether this passed to Brus	W40
Rufforth	Ainsty	4c	2M		W29
Scagglethorpe	Ainsty	3c	M		W26
Stiveton (Steeton in parish of Bolton Percy)	Ainsty	6c	4M		W38
Susacres (South Acres)	Claro	1c	M	Brus also held 1c from the king	W4
Thorp (Arch)	Ainsty	3c	3M		W34
Tockwith + Wilstrop Hall	Ainsty	11c	S	soke of (Long) Marston	W27
Walton	Ainsty	9c	6M	inc. Follithwaite	W33
Whixley	Claro	13c	M	Percy held 4c here	W20
Wilstrop (Wivelstrop)	Ainsty			see Tockwith	W25

<p align="center">Table E OTHER ADDITIONS</p>			
Vill	Wapentake	Notes	Map ref. ★
Bardsey #	Skyrack	held in exchange for Danby (1184-1200)	W46
Barton	Gilling East	½fee; ? <i>maritagium</i> of Peter II's wife from Lancaster	W42
Boythorpe	Langbaurch	part of Lofthus	N61
Boythorpe	Dickering	B of Burton Agnes (q.v.); 6c added to fee of Brus	E30
Buckton (with Bempton and Newsham)	Dickering	5c held by Brus by 1284; may have been in king's hands in 1086 (<i>VCH: Yorks, E. Riding</i> , II, pp.10-11)	E39
Clareton	Claro	held by Mauleverer of Brus by 1284; 3c held by Gospatric in 1086	W43
Collingham (near Rigton) #	Skyrack	exchanged for Eskdale etc. in 1103, then held in exchange for Danby (1184 -1200)	W44
(Dimlington)	Holderness	<i>maritagium</i> of Robert II's wife from Aumale; ?5c	E38
Dringhoe with Ulrome	Holderness	held of Aumale, 5c; ? <i>maritagium</i> of Adam I's wife	E34
Knottingley	Osgoldcross	<i>maritagium</i> of Peter I's wife from Lacy fee	W48
Mappleton with Rowston	Holderness	held of Aumale, 12c; ? <i>maritagium</i> of Adam I's wife	E36
Owstwick	Holderness	held of Aumale, 3c; ? <i>maritagium</i> of Adam I's wife	E37
Pic(k)ton (near Crathorne)	Langbaurch	held of Brus fee by 1284	N68
Raisthorpe	Acklam	2c held of fee of Brus after 1284; K held 3c in 1086	E29
Rigton (?East)	Skyrack	exchanged for Eskdale etc. in 1103, then held in exchange for Danby (1184 -1200)	W45
Rotsea	Driffild	2c held by Mortain in 1086; held by Brus heirs in 1284	E32
Rowston	Holderness	see Mappleton	E35
Scarcroft	Skyrack	2c held by Brus heirs in 1284; not in DB	W47
Sunderlandwick	Driffild	K held 1½c and Gospatric 1½c in 1086	E31
Ulrome	Holderness	see Dringhoe	E33

<p align="center">Table F HARTNESS LANDS</p>			
Manor	Notes	References	Map ref. ■
Castle Eden	granted to Turp	<i>GC</i> , II, nos. 1158-1160	H1
Dalton[Piercy] #	later held by Percys of Balliol	<i>GC</i> , II, no.1149; <i>VCH: Durham</i> , III, p.255	H10
Elton	granted to Werenge	<i>EYC</i> , II, p.4	H13
Elwick	granted as <i>maritagium</i> to daughter of Robert I	<i>GC</i> , II, no.1149; <i>EYC</i> , II, no.650	H9
Hart		<i>GC</i> , II, no.1149	H5
Hartlepool	developed later on site of St Hilda's Isle		H4
Morleston	with Hart		H5
Nelleston (Nelson)		<i>GC</i> , II, no.1151	H3
Oughton #	passed to Carew	<i>GC</i> , II, no.1149	H11
Seaton [Carew] #	passed to Carew	<i>GC</i> , II, no.1149	H12
Stranton	now West Hartlepool	<i>GC</i> , II, no.1149	H7
Thorpe [Bulmer]		<i>GC</i> , II, no.1149	H2
Thurston (Throston)			H6
Tunstall		<i>GC</i> , II, no.1149	H8

BRUS LANDS IN YORKSHIRE AND HARTNESS

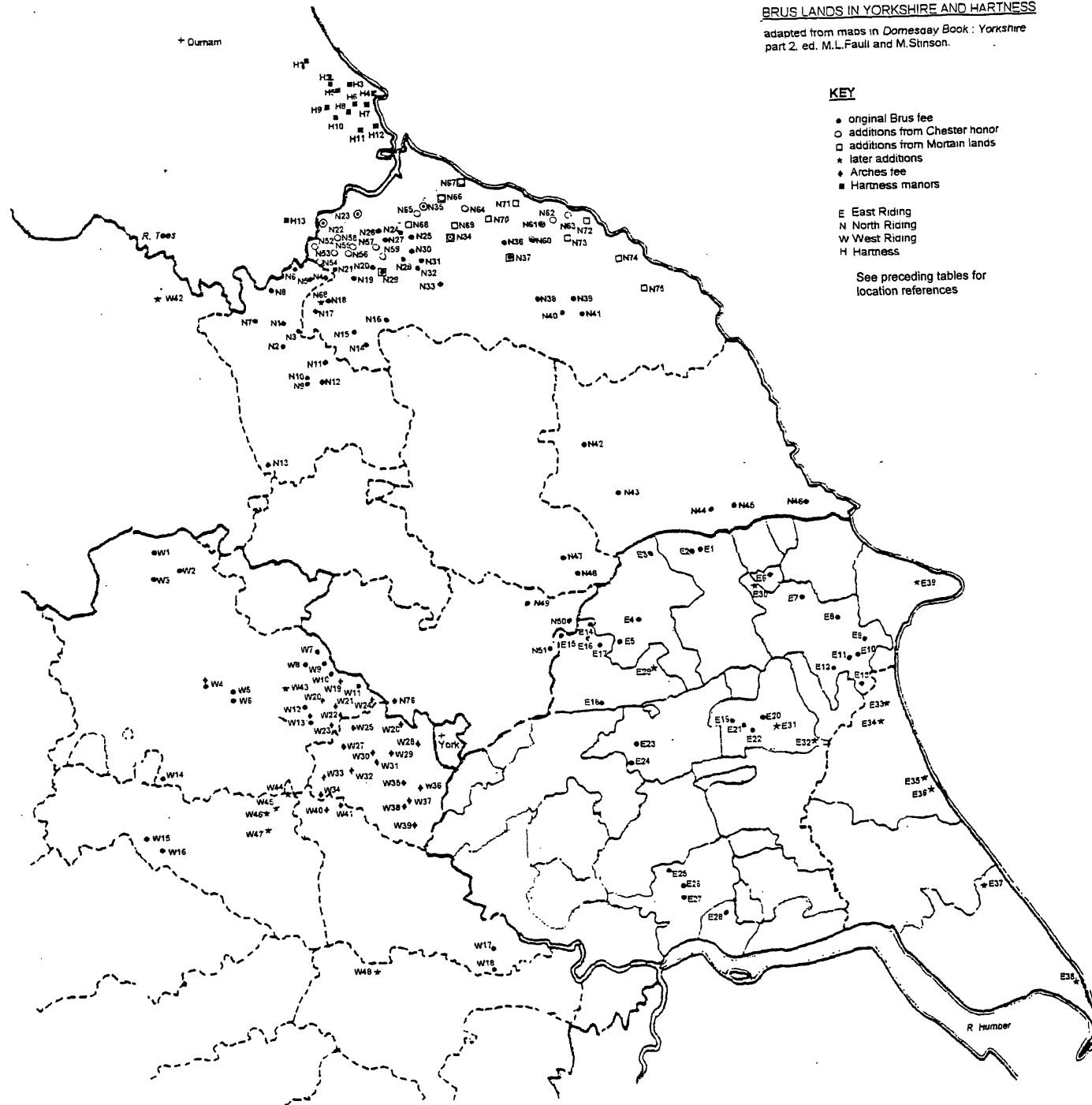
adapted from maps in *Domesday Book : Yorkshire*
part 2. ed. M.L.Faulk and M.Stinson.

KEY

- original Brus fee
- additions from Chester honor
- additions from Mortain lands
- * later additions
- ◆ Arches fee
- Harness manors

E East Riding
N North Riding
W West Riding
H Hartness

See preceding tables for
location references



Appendix 2

THE BRUS INHERITANCE IN THE HONORS OF HUNTINGDON AND CHESTER

This appendix provides a simplified summary of those parts of Earl John's inheritance for which there is evidence that they were at sometime held by Brus.

Fuller details of the complex division between the heirs, and of their tenants, including changes over the years, can be found in

M.F. Moore, *Lands of the Scottish Kings in England* (London, 1915) and
W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, II (London, 1924).

TABLE 1 BRUS SHARE OF THE HONOR OF HUNTINGDON			
County	Manor	Notes	References
Bedfordshire	Broom	land here granted to Wardon abbey	appendix 3, no.167
Bedfordshire	Clifton	land here granted to Wardon abbey	appendix 3, no.167
Bedfordshire	Holme	see Sutton	
Bedfordshire	Kempston	dower of Helen de Quincy, widow of Earl John, until her death in 1253, then divided between the 3 heirs and held of the crown for the service of a 'sore sparrowhawk'. Brus share valued at £35 in 1287	<i>CDS</i> , I, nos.1952, 1953, 1963; <i>CDS</i> , II, no.312; <i>Feudal Aids</i> , I, p.2; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Bedfordshire	Potton	½ fee held of Brus in 1284-86	<i>Feudal Aids</i> , I, p.3
Bedfordshire	Sanday	rents	Moore, <i>Lands of the Scottish Kings</i> , p.123
Bedfordshire	Southill	1 hide: granted to Wardon abbey	appendix 3, no.167
Bedfordshire	Stratton	1 fee held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.869
Bedfordshire	Sudbury	½ fee held of former Brus fee in 1317	<i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Bedfordshire	Sutton	1 fee held of Brus in 1284-86; ½ fee held of former Brus fee in 1317, including hamlets of Potton, Holme and Stratton	<i>Feudal Aids</i> , I, p.4; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548; <i>CIPM</i> , VI, no.37
Bedfordshire	Wootton	possibly held with Kempston	<i>Feudal Aids</i> , I, p.31
Cambridgeshire	Boxworth	1 hide held of 'heirs of Robert de []' in 1279	<i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.479.
Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	½ fee held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.929
Cambridgeshire	Oakington	⅓ fee formerly held by Brus in 1317	<i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Cambridgeshire	Over	⅓ fee formerly held by Brus in 1317	<i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Huntingdonshire	Abbotsley	½ fee formerly held by Brus in 1317	<i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Huntingdonshire	Ba(r)ford	see Boughton	
Huntingdonshire	Beachampstead	¼ fee held of Brus in 1279 in Toseland hundred; now lost	<i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> II, p.667.
	Boughton (Bouton)	½ fee (with Barford) held of Brus in 1242-43, 1279, 1303	<i>BF</i> , pp.924, 928; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.686; <i>Feudal Aids</i> , II, p.469
Huntingdonshire	Brampton	1 fee shared with Balliol and Hastings	<i>Placita de Quo Warranto</i> , p.294; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.610
Huntingdonshire	Caldecote	½ fee held of Brus in 1242-43 ⅓ fee held by William de Brus of Robert de Brus in 1279; valued at £12 18s (1299), £18 11s 2d (1304)	<i>BF</i> , pp.924, 929; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, pp.618, 626, 636, 670; <i>CDS</i> , II, nos 1078, 1540; <i>CIPM</i> , IV, no.220
Huntingdonshire	Great Catworth	⅓ fee held by William de Brus of Robert de Brus in 1279	<i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.632
Huntingdonshire	Conington	valued at £22 in 1269; held by Bernard de Brus of Robert de Brus	<i>BF</i> , p.923; <i>CDS</i> , I, no. 2543; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, pp.652, 653; <i>HKF</i> , pp.374-375
Huntingdonshire	Hardwick (Saher)	½ fee held of Brus in 1279 in Eynesbury township	<i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.669; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Huntingdonshire	Huntingdon	share of farm valued at 56s 8d in 1304	<i>CIPM</i> , IV, no.220.
Huntingdonshire	Molesworth	½ fee held of Brus (sometime William de Brus) by Lindsay family, co-heirs of Kendale with Peter de Brus III	<i>BF</i> , pp.924, 929; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.632; <i>HKF</i> , pp.376-379
Huntingdonshire	Offord Darcy (Daney's)	1 fee held of Brus	<i>BF</i> , pp.923, 928; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.668; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548

Huntingdonshire	Little Paxton	½ fee held of Brus	<i>BF</i> , pp.924, 928; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.672; <i>Feudal Aids</i> , II, p.469; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Huntingdonshire	Southoe	pasture called 'Mulsho' in 'Stirt', which was granted to Wardon abbey, was probably in Southoe	appendix 3, no.167; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.686; <i>VCH: Huntingdon</i> , 2, pp.318, 349
Huntingdonshire	Toseland	1 fee held of Brus	<i>BF</i> , pp.924, 928; <i>Feudal Aids</i> , II, p.469; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Leicestershire	Ashby Folville	2 fees (including Newbold Folville) held of Brus	<i>BF</i> , pp.519, 952; <i>CIPM</i> , V, nos.190, 548
Leicestershire	Loseby (Lowesby)	1 fee held of former Brus fee in 1317	<i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Leicestershire	Saxby	see Sproxton	
Leicestershire	Sproxton	½ fee held of Brus in 1242-43; 2½ fees held with Saxby of former Brus fee in 1317	<i>BF</i> , p.952; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Leicestershire	Sysonby (Sixtenby)	⅓ fee held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.952
Leicestershire	Little Thorpe	¼ fee held of 'the heirs of Robert de Brus' in 1284-85	<i>Feudal Aids</i> , III, p.101
Leicestershire	Welby (Aleby)	⅛ fee held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.952
Lincolnshire	Bas(s)ingham	1 fee held of Brus	<i>Rot. Hund.</i> , I, p.285; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Lincolnshire	Coleby	½ fee held of Brus	<i>BF</i> , p.1092; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548.
Lincolnshire	Norton Disney	2 fees (with Stapleford) held of former Brus fee in 1317	<i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548.
Lincolnshire	Stapleford	see Norton Disney	
Northamptonshire	Broughton (Bruhton)	1½ fees held of Brus	<i>BF</i> , p.934; <i>Feudal Aids</i> , IV, p.2
Northamptonshire	Clipston	see Little Harrowden	
Northamptonshire	East Farndon (Farendon)	⅙ fee held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.935
Northamptonshire	Edgecote (Edgcott or Hochecot)	1 fee held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.934
Northamptonshire	Great Harrowden	1 fee held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.934
Northamptonshire	Little Harrowden	1½ fees with Clipston held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.934
Northamptonshire	Luffwick (Lowick)	½ hide held of Brus in 1284	<i>Feudal Aids</i> , IV, p.13
Northamptonshire	Great Oxendon	½ fee held of Brus in 1242-43	<i>BF</i> , p.935
Rutland	Exton	held by Bernard de Brus of Robert de Brus worth £60 p.a. in 1265	<i>CIM</i> , I, no.856; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , II, p.54; <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Rutland	Whissendene	½ fee held of former Brus fee in 1317	<i>CIPM</i> , V, no. 548.
Middlesex	Tottenham	worth £19 5s 2d (1253) £12 16s (1287) £14 3s 10d (1304) held by Richard de Brus until 1287	<i>CDS</i> , I, no.1945; <i>CDS</i> , II, nos. 312, 1540; <i>CIPM</i> , IV, no.220

TABLE 2
BRUS SHARE OF THE CHESTER INHERITANCE

1. Estates outside the Palatinate assigned to Isabel de Brus in 1241			
Derbyshire	4 fees in Walton and Measham	held by Roger de Montalt, seneschal of Chester	<i>CR 1237-42</i> , p.306; <i>CDS</i> , II, nos.1536, 1583, 1618; <i>HKF</i> , pp.36-37.
Essex	2½ fees in Lammars, Henny, Twinstead and Alphinstone	held by heirs of Stephen de Bello Campo of the earls of Chester as of the honor of Peverel	<i>CR 1237-42</i> , p.306; <i>CIPM</i> , I, p.273; <i>Rot. Hund.</i> , I, pp.481, 484, 488; <i>HKF</i> , pp.48-50
Lincolnshire	1 fee in Mablethorpe, Theddlethorpe, Wainfleet, Markby, Huttoft, Sutterby, Hagnaby, Dunsthorpe, and Sausthorpe	held by Roger de Montalt, seneschal of Chester	<i>CR 1237-42</i> , p.306; <i>CDS</i> , II, nos.1536, 1583, 1618; <i>HKF</i> , p.112
Lincolnshire	66 bovates in Harmston	held by Roger de Montalt, seneschal of Chester	<i>CDS</i> , II, no.1583; <i>HKF</i> , p.112
Lincolnshire	1½ fees in Ouresby (Otby)	held by Peter P'llus in 1279	<i>Rot. Hund.</i> , I, p.360
Rutland	½ fee in Ashwell	held by Henry Tuschet	<i>CR 1237-42</i> , p.306; <i>HKF</i> , pp.31, 254. <i>CIPM</i> , V, no.548
Staffordshire	1 fee in Elford	held by Roger de Montalt, seneschal of Chester	<i>CR 1237-42</i> , p.306; <i>CDS</i> , II, nos.1536, 1583, 1618; <i>HKF</i> , pp.272-273
Suffolk	3 fees in Framsdan, Kessingland and elsewhere	held by Roger de Montalt, seneschal of Chester	<i>CR 1237-42</i> , p.306; <i>CDS</i> , II, nos.1536, 1583, 1618; <i>HKF</i> , pp.236-237
2. Manors granted to Isabel de Brus in exchange for a share in the Palatinate, 1241			
Essex	manor of Writtle valued at £139 17s 9d (1287) £100 17s 5d (1299) £108 17s 2d (1304)	held as 1 fee with Hatfield Regis	<i>CDS</i> , I, nos.1429, 1431, 1553, 1587, 1756, 1926; <i>CDS</i> , II, nos.312, 1073, 1540; <i>HKF</i> , p.12
Essex	manor of Hatfield Regis valued at £63 13s 4½d (1299) £60 6s 1½d (1304)	held as 1 fee with Writtle	<i>CDS</i> , I, nos.1429, 1431, 1553, 1587, 1756, 1926; <i>CDS</i> , II, nos.1074, 1540; <i>HKF</i> , p.12
3. Share in the <i>maritagium</i> of Matilda (Maud), widow of Earl David, acquired by Isabel de Brus before 1243			
Essex	2 fees in Great Baddow	later held as dower by widow of Robert de Brus V	<i>HKF</i> , pp.47-48; <i>CCR 1288-96</i> , pp.488, 513
4. Share in dower of Clemencia, widow of Earl Ranulf, granted to Robert de Brus in 1254			
Derbyshire	a share in Repton valued at £4 14s 7½d (1265)	held by Bernard de Brus	<i>CIM</i> , I, no.646; <i>HKF</i> , pp.34-35
Lincolnshire	a share in Alkborough valued at £1 13s 4d (1254)		<i>Rot. Hund.</i> , I, p.339b; <i>HKF</i> , pp.192-193

Appendix 3

THE BRUS CHARTERS

THE BRUS CHARTERS

INTRODUCTION

This appendix comprises a list of those surviving acts of the Brus lords of Skelton and Annandale made between 1100 and c.1295 which I have been able to trace, including notices of 'lost acts' for which evidence is forthcoming from other records. It concludes with thirteen grants of Robert de Brus VI relating to the Essex manors of Writtle and Hatfield Regis. Although these are dated mostly between 1295 and 1304, which is outside the date-limits of this thesis, they form an homogenous group and provide interesting points of comparison with the main body of the charters.¹ There are 192 identifiable acts in total, including the Essex charters, confirmations of earlier grants and notices of lost acts. Table 6 sets out their distribution between the successive lords of the two branches of the family.² As this table also demonstrates, there are more known acts surviving from the Yorkshire branch (110) compared with Annandale (69 + 13 from Essex).³ Some 70% of the total acts were made to religious bodies, although there is a comparatively higher rate of lay grants from the Annandale lords.⁴ The Annandale branch is also better represented by surviving originals, thirty-nine in all, of which one is a duplicate. Even allowing for the fact that eleven of these relate to Essex, this is a sizeable number compared with the Yorkshire branch, for which only seven originals remain.⁵ There may indeed be some connection between these two findings, as the majority of surviving originals are addressed to lay beneficiaries.⁶

The higher survival rate of original charters from the Annandale Bruses is largely due to the preservation of three particular groups of documents. The lay charters of Robert VI relating to the manors of Writtle and Hatfield Regis all contain the name of Nicholas de Barrenton, usually as a witness. These have been preserved

¹ One charter of Richard de Brus relating to Writtle has also been added at the end, but is not included in any statistics.

² See below, p.257. Two acts of Robert III have also been included (nos.127, 128) even though he predeceased his father.

³ Robert I has been counted with the Yorkshire Bruses as none of his acts relate to Scotland.

⁴ Only 23% of the Yorkshire grants are to the laity, compared with 32% of Annandale grants. The latter figure rises to 41% if the large body of Essex charters is included.

⁵ See table 7 below, p.257. The duplicate is no.153.

⁶ Of the 7 Yorkshire originals, 5 are lay grants, as are 10 of the 11 Essex grants and 17 of the 28 remaining Annandale originals.

Table 6 : Beneficiaries of Brus Grants

Name	Guisbro' grants	Guisbro' confirm-ations	Other religious grants	Other religious confs.	Lay grants	Lay confirm-ations	Totals
Yorkshire Branch							
Robert I	2	0	4	1	2	0	9
Adam I	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Adam II	4	4	3	5	4	1	21
Peter I	12	7	6	7	7	1	40
Peter II	4	3	5	2	2	0	16
Peter III	3	2	7	3	5	3	23
Annandale Branch							
Robert II	1	2	7	0	5	1	16
Robert III	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
William	1	3	3	2	3	0	12
Robert IV	0	2	2	1	4	0	9
Robert V	4	2	3	10	7	0	26
Robert VI	0	1	2	0	12	2	17
Totals	31	26	43	33	51	8	192

Table 7 : Sources of Brus Grants

Name	Grants with witness list	Total grants	Original charters	Cartulary copies of lost originals	Copies from other records	Later transcripts of lost originals	Notices
Yorkshire Branch							
Robert I	4	6	1	5	0	0 (+1)*	3
Adam I	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
Adam II	17	19	1	15 (+1)*	1	2 (+4)*	2
Peter I	35	35	1	30 (+1)*	1 (+1)*	3 (+5)*	5
Peter II	14	15	2	13 (+1)*	0 (+4)*	0 (+4)*	1
Peter III	20	22	2	10 (+1)*	4 (+5)*	6 (+2)*	1
Annandale Branch							
Robert II	14	15	7	3	1	4	1
Robert III	1	2	0	2	0	0	0
William	9	11	5	3 (+1)*	0	3	1
Robert IV	8	9	5	2	0	2	0
Robert V	16	23	8 (+1)*	6	3	6	3
Robert VI	15	17*	13	0 (+2)*	1	3	0
Totals	154	175	45 (+1)*	88 (+7)*	11 (+10)*	30 (+16)*	17
		* incl. 13 for Writtle	*(duplicate original)	*(copies of surviving originals)	*(also survive as cartulary copies)	*(also survive as cartulary copies)	

in the remarkably large collection of Barrington family archives, most of which has been brought together in the Essex County Record Office at Chelmsford. All but one of the surviving originals relating to Annandale are divided between two widely separated collections, which also include a few charters of Brus tenants.⁷ The first of these is the Buccleuch muniments at Drumlanrig castle, near Dumfries. The other, more surprising collection, is the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster at the Public Record Office, to which the Brus charters may have found their way through the de Bohun family. Humphrey de Bohun held Annandale for a time after its forfeiture in 1306.⁸ The remaining originals of the Annandale Bruses, relating mainly to Hartness lands, are dispersed between several other repositories, as are the few surviving originals of the Yorkshire branch.

Texts of most of the remaining Brus acts, including the bulk of those from the Yorkshire branch, owe their survival to monastic cartularies and seventeenth-century transcripts of lost originals. The Yorkshire Bruses are particularly well served by the cartulary of Guisborough priory, which supplies nearly one half of all their known charters, including some grants made to their tenants which were subsequently gifted to the priory. The majority of the other texts for that branch come from the cartularies of other Yorkshire religious houses. Evidence regarding Hartness, as well as Yorkshire lands, is provided by transcripts of documents formerly stored in St Mary's tower, which was destroyed during the siege of York in 1644. Those made by Dodsworth prior to that event are now housed in the Bodleian library at Oxford. Many of these have also survived in cartulary copies. In addition there is a small book of transcripts preserved among the Hailstone manuscripts in York Minster archives which is confined to charters of the Bruses and their successors.⁹ Although a few of these are also noted by Dodsworth, many of them are now known from no other source. They were copied out in 1809, evidently from an earlier transcript now missing, which bore a date of 1804. Unless this manuscript itself comes to light, however, there is no clear evidence that this was the date at which it was made, or

⁷ The exception is no.153, the duplicated confirmation by Robert V to Guisborough priory of the churches of Hartness and Annandale. Both copies are in the British Library.

⁸ R.Gladstone, 'The Early Annandale Charters and their Strange Resting Place', *TDGNHAS*, 6 (1919) pp.137-146.

⁹ Hailstone MS 6.4.

that the originals were themselves in Skelton castle in 1804, as Brown suggests.¹⁰ They may instead have been a part of some other collection of the many documents rescued after the destruction of St Mary's tower, and preserved until the early nineteenth century. The subsequent fate of these is now unknown.¹¹ Despite reservations regarding the ease with which errors can creep into transcripts (a fault to which monastic scribes were as prone as later copyists) it can only be regarded as fortunate that these copies were made before the destruction or dispersal of the originals.

With so few surviving original charters of the Yorkshire Bruses it is not possible to identify the work of any individual clerks, a fact which has already been noted.¹² There is more scope for comparison among the charters of the Annandale Bruses, especially the Essex grants of Robert VI, which is the largest group of surviving originals from any one lord and district. These show a variety of hands, but three of the Essex grants appear to have been written by the same scribe.¹³ Otherwise, it is only the duplicate originals of Robert V's confirmatory grant to Guisborough of the Annandale and Hartness churches which are clearly in the same hand, and presumably were written on the same occasion.¹⁴

Twenty-two of the surviving originals have seals, or parts of seals attached, including five of the Essex grants of Robert VI. Examples of seals survive for all the Brus lords except Adam I. Additional examples for Robert V can be found attached to other documents, mostly relating to the Great Cause. There are a further twenty-six drawings or descriptions of seals noted in transcripts. A fuller account of the seals, and their devices and inscriptions can be found above.¹⁵

The survival rate of Brus charters, in common with all baronial records of this period, is heavily dependent on chance and can therefore give rise to misleading distortions of evidence. One example already mentioned is the high number of lay grants surviving for Robert VI, a result of the preservation of the Essex charters in

¹⁰ *GC*, II, pp.326n.2, 328n.2 etc. The present owner of Skelton castle, Mr A.C.P. Wharton, whose family has held it since the early C18th, has no knowledge of either the originals or transcript.

¹¹ B.A. English and C.B.L. Barr, 'The Records Formerly in St Mary's Tower, York', *YAJ*, 42 (1967-70) pp.220-234.

¹² See above, p.201.

¹³ See nos.184, 185, 190.

¹⁴ See no.153.

¹⁵ See above, pp.213-216.

the Barrington archives.¹⁶ Another disproportionately high figure is found among the Guisborough grants of Peter de Brus I, which appears to suggest that he was much more generous to the priory than were his ancestors and successors. The majority of these charters, however, relate to land transactions in Glaisdale, Swineshead and the moors around Eskdale, where Peter was seeking to protect his hunting rights and make alternative grants to the canons while limiting their access. Indeed, several of the charters are successive variants of one another with almost identical witness lists, and thus can hardly be considered as separate evidence.¹⁷

Another set of figures which may also give a false impression of the facts are those comparing the total numbers of religious and lay beneficiaries. In common with other baronial collections, the grants and confirmations made to religious houses by the Brus lords exceed those made to laity. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, lay grants may not have been recorded in writing to the same extent as those made to religious houses, especially during the earlier period. Secondly, religious houses were more systematic in ensuring that they received confirmatory charters from each succeeding lord, thus inflating the overall number of recorded charters. Thirdly, religious houses were accustomed to making additional records of their grants, thus providing them with a greater chance of survival. It has already been remarked at the large number of Brus records which owe their survival to cartulary copies.

The total number of Brus acts listed in this appendix may appear impressive in comparison with, for example, the material available to Neville and Young in their respective studies of the earls of Strathearn and the Comyn family. They were, however, generated by two distinct branches of the Brus family, as well as covering a spread of nearly two hundred years.¹⁸ Furthermore, the grants relate to English as well as Scottish lands, which adds significantly to the number because of the higher survival rate of English records. Indeed, when compared with the number of texts available for certain individual magnates, the sample for each Brus lord is small. For

¹⁶ See above, p.256.

¹⁷ See nos.7004-7011 and above, p.221.

¹⁸ Neville, 'Earls of Strathearn', p.301, lists 75 grants and 15 *notitiae* for 8 earls over a period of nearly 300 years. A.Young, 'The Political Role of the Comyns in Scotland and England in the Thirteenth Century' (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Ph.D. thesis, 1974) pp.375-389, lists 79 charters and 23 *notitiae* for the family, including minor members, for about 150 years.

example, Simpson located seventy-nine full texts (and eighty *notitiae*) for Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester.¹⁹ Stringer's study of Earl David includes the texts of fifty-five charters and thirty-six notices of 'lost acts'.²⁰ In comparison, the Anglo-Scottish Brus lords most nearly contemporary with these cross-Border magnates can provide, over a similar period, hardly more than thirty texts between them. And although a slightly larger number survive from their English contemporaries, some of these as has already been explained, are little more than updatings of one another. When placed against the three hundred or so texts and *notitiae* available for Roger de Mowbray in a fifty-year period between 1138 and 1188, and the 135 for the Beaumont twins,²¹ it is readily apparent that the Brus lords were in no way comparable in status and possessions with these magnates and can provide only a fraction of the material.

Arrangement of Entries

The acts are arranged chronologically in two sequences, under the lords of Skelton and Annandale. The religious acts of each lords precede those made to lay beneficiaries. Notices of 'lost acts' are incorporated in the main sequences.

Entries comprise :-

- i) a brief summary of the grant.
- ii) date, where known, or possible date-limits, which in some cases incorporate the whole duration of the grantor's lordship. For Yorkshire grants, the dates are based in many cases on those of Farrer in *EYC*.
- iii) source of the text, which is the original if extant, otherwise the most complete transcript or cartulary copy available.
- iv) details of published versions, if any.
- v) comments, including the existence of seals (or drawings of such in transcripts), relationship to other charters, notes on dating.

Abbreviations used in the list are as in the main body of the thesis, and details of the manuscript sources are incorporated in the general bibliography below.

¹⁹ Simpson, 'An Anglo-Scottish Baron', p.155.

²⁰ Stringer, *Earl David*, p.212.

²¹ *Mowbray Charters, passim*; D.Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins* (Cambridge, 1986) p.157.

CHARTERS OF THE BRUS LORDS
OF SKELTON AND ANNANDALE

Robert de Brus I (c.1103-1142)

1. Foundation charter of Guisborough priory.

Date : 1119 x 1129.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.110.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.1.

2. Another version of foundation grant to Guisborough priory.

Date : 1119 x 1129.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.110^v-111^r.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.2.

Notes : Transcript in Dodsworth MS 94, f.117. For a discussion of the variants in these two grants, and their dating, see *GC*, I, pp.vi-xvi, and above, pp.218-219.

3. Grants to Whitby abbey the church of Middlesbrough, with land in Newham, for monks to serve in the church..

Date : c.1120.

Printed Source : *Whitby Cart.*, no.111; *Mon. Angl.*, III, p.632; *EYC*, II, no.858.

Notes : Wife Agnes, and son Adam, named as co-grantors. Printed from an MS of the Whitby Cartulary, f.23 in private hands. Summarised in Dodsworth MS 61, f.20.

4. Confirms to Bridlington Priory land in Bempton granted by Morcar.

Date : 1120 x 1135.

Source : BL Add. MS 40008.

Printed : *Chartulary of...Bridlington*, p.48; *EYC*, II, no.647.

5. Grants to St Mary's York land in Appleton Wiske and Hornby, and the church of Burton [Agnes] with land and tithes.

Date : c.1125 x 1135.

Source : BL Harleian MS 236, f.21^r (old f.24).

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.648.

6. Grants to St Mary's York two carucates of land and a mill in Sunderlandwick for the service of a third part of a knight.

Date : 1120 x 1141.

Printed Source : *EYC*, II, no.680.

Notes : Wife Agnes, and heirs included in grant. Noted in cartulary of St Mary's York in Manchester, John Ryland's Library, f.271, n.1. For details of the services, see Farrer's note, *EYC*, II, p.37.

7. Grants to Wetheral priory the town and church of 'Karkarevill'.

Date : c.1114 x 1124.

Source : Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office, Dean and Chapter Muniments, Register of the Priory of Wetheral, f.72^v.

Printed : *Reg. Wetherhal*, pp.194-195.

Notes : This is a confirmation by Earl David, later King David I, of Robert's grant. Karkarevill has not yet been satisfactorily identified. See above, pp.37-39.

8. Grants to his daughter Agatha, on her marriage to Ralph son of Ribald, the manor of Elwick in Hartness.

Date : 1120 x 1141.

Source : BL Cott. Charter viii.21.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.650.

Notes : Seal of bird (?falcon) attached. Farrer ascribes this to Robert de Brus II, but see *EYC*, V, pp.299-301 where Clay ascribes it, with reasons, to Robert I.

9. Grants to Peter Werenge the manor of Elton near Stockton, to hold for one quarter of a knight's fee.

Date : c.1120 x 1142.

Notes : Noted in a grant of Robert de Brus II to William de Humez. See below, no.123, and *EYC*, II, p.2.

* * * * *

LORDS OF SKELTON

Adam de Brus I (1142-1143)

10. Confirms foundation grant by Ralph de Nevill of the Cistercian nunnery at Hoton, which was later moved to [Nun]Thorpe then Basedale.

Date : 1142 x 1143

Printed Source : *Mon. Angl.*, V, p.508, 'ex autographio penes...dominum Fairfax de Gilling in com. Ebor'.

Notes : See above, p.223n.77 for the attribution of this to Adam I.

Adam de Brus II (1143-1198)

11. Grants to Guisborough priory the churches of Kirk Leavington and Yarm for the souls of Robert, his grandfather and Adam, his father.

Date : c.1160 x 1165.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.249^v; Dodsworth MS 7, f.56.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.679; *EYC*, II, no.654.

Notes : Description in Dodsworth MS of equestrian seal with legend SIGILLUM ADAM DE BRUS.

12. Confirms various grants to Guisborough priory made by Brus tenants.

Date : c.1160 x 1175.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.111^v-112.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.9; *EYC*, II, no.656.

13. Grants to Guisborough priory all Westwith in Guisborough.

Date : 1170 x 1180.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.112.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.10; *EYC*, II, no.662.

14. Confirms the foundation charter of Guisborough priory.

Date : 1170 x 1190.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.112^v-113.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.13; *EYC*, II, no.659.

15. Revokes a grant extorted from the canons of Guisborough to pay ten marks yearly to Adam the chaplain until the church of Skelton fell vacant, with a promise that the church would then be presented to him.

Date : 1170 x 1178.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.285.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.814; *EYC*, II, no.660.

Notes : Adam the chaplain witnesses for Adam de Brus II in nos. 13, 14.

16. Confirms to Guisborough priory the church of Skelton as granted by his grandfather and father.

Date : 1170 x 1180.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.285; Dodsworth MS 7, f.73^v.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.815; *EYC*, II, no.661.

17. Grants to Guisborough priory one carucate of land in Brotton.

Date : 1185 x 1196.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.290.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.839; *EYC*, II, no.667.

Notes : Given with consent of Peter his heir.

18. Confirms to Guisborough priory land in [Ingleby] Arncliffe granted by William Engelram.

Date : 1170 x 1180.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4, no.7.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1099; *EYC*, II, no.715. Both taken from a C15th transcript then at Arncliffe Hall.

Notes : Drawing in Hailstone MS of equestrian seal

19. Grants the monks of Byland abbey relief of toll on fish purchased by them at Coatham.

Date : 1165 x 1176.

Source : BL Egerton MS 2823, f.19^v.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.657.

20. Confirms to Byland abbey a fishery in Linthorpe on the Tees granted by William of Acclum.

Date : 1185 x 1198.

Source : BL Egerton MS 2823, f.38^v; Dodsworth MS 94, f.16.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.773.

Notes : The entry in Egerton MS 2823, which includes only the first three witness names, follows William of Acclum's grant (*EYC* 2, 703). Both are blotched, faded and almost illegible.

21. Confirms to Rievaulx abbey a fishery at Normanby demised by Roger Host.

Date : 1175 x 1185 .

Source : Original, Northallerton, North Yorkshire County Record Office, ZPQ 9; cartulary copy in BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.235^v-236.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.608 ; *EYC*, II, no.664; *Rievaulx Cart.*, p.232n.1.

Notes : Equestrian seal appended with image on reverse side; knight with conical helmet and undrawn sword, mounted on standing horse facing to dexter. Inscription gone. The charter was formerly at 'York Museum'.

22. Confirms to Rievaulx abbey land in Welbury and [Ingleby] Arncliffe granted by William Ingram.

Date : 1178 x 1190.

Source : BL Cott. MS Julius D.i, f.80 (old f.76).

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.665; *Rievaulx Cart.*, no.121.

23. Confirms to Rievaulx abbey land in Normanby with fisheries on the Tees granted by Richard Lost.

Date : 1175 x 1185.

Source : BL Cott. MS Julius D.i, f.78 (old f.74).

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.744; *Rievaulx Cart.*, no.119.

24. Confirms to Kirkham priory land in Crambe granted by William Esturmy.

Date : 1165 x 1180.

Source : Bodleian, Fairfax MS vii, f.65.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.691.

25. Grants to Thornton abbey the churches of Levington, Yarm and Skelton.

Notes : Noted in confirmation charter of Richard I, printed in *Mon. Angl.* VI, p.327; *EYC*, I, no.1312.

26. Grants to the hospital of St Nicholas, Yarm three acres and three roods of land.

Notes : Noted in confirmation of Peter de Brus I. See no.54 below.

27. Grants to Adam de Seton half a carucate of land in Skelton.

Date : 1170 x 1195.

Source : Dodsworth MS 118, f.141.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.663; also noted in *GC*, II, p.329n.1.

Notes : Description in MS of an equestrian seal with worn-out inscription.

28. Grants to William de Wicton half a carucate of land in [Kirk]Leavington.

Date : 1180 x 1198.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.249^v; Dodsworth MS 7, f.49; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.6.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.680; *EYC*, II, no.666.

Notes : Dodsworth and Hailstone MSS include more witnesses than the Cott. MS. Hailstone MS includes drawing of an equestrian seal similar to 6011. William de Wicton later granted this land to Guisborough priory with the consent of Peter de Brus I (*GC*, II, no.669) having first considered granting it to Meaux abbey (*GC* II, no.681).

29. Confirms to Geoffrey Fossard II a tenement in South Otterington granted by his father, Geoffrey Fossard I.

Date : 1180 x 1195.

Source : BL Egerton MS 2823, f.88.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.759 from Dodsworth MS 7, f.167^v.

30. Grants to his daughter Isabel, on her marriage to Henry de Percy, the town of [Kirk]Leavington, excluding his (named) 'free men' of the town.

Date : 1190 x 1196.

Printed Sources : *EYC*, II, no.668; *The Percy Chartulary*, ed. M.T. Martin (SS 117, 1911), no.435.

Notes : Both printed from the MS of the Percy Cartulary in the Percy archives at Alnwick Castle.

31. Grants to the burgesses of Hartlepool the same liberties as those enjoyed by the burgesses of Newcastle.

Date : 1160 x 1196.

Source : PRO C53/167 m.13.

Printed : *CChR*, v, p.370.

Peter de Brus I (1198-1222)

32. Grants to Guisborough priory eleven acres and three roods of land in Danby.

Date : 1201 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.311;
Hailstone MS 6.4, no.8.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.924.

Notes : Hailstone MS includes drawing of seal, a shield with lion rampant.

33. Grants to Guisborough priory a meadow and tofts in Danby.

Date : 1201 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.311.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.925.

- 34.** Confirms to Guisborough priory one bovate of land in Danby with a toft and croft, granted by William de Camera.
Date : 1201 x 1222.
Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.311^v-312.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.929.
Notes : Confirms *GC*, II, no.927. See also no.65 below for Peter I's grant to William.
- 35.** Grants to Guisborough priory extensive pasture and woods in Glaisdale and Swinehead, together with ironworks and the right to prospect for iron-ore.
Date : 1216 x 1222.
Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.312; Dodsworth MS 7, ff.69^v-70^v.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.930.
Notes : Drawing in Dodsworth MS of seal with lion rampant. Grant confirmed by Walter, Archbishop of York, 1216-1255 (*GC*, II, no.932). Several of the following grants to Guisborough regarding Glaisdale and Swineshead (nos. 36-40) have almost identical witness lists, and in some cases are variant conditions connected with the same areas of land, so were probably made within similar date limits.
- 36.** Grants to Guisborough priory pasture and rights in Glaisdale and Swineshead.
Date : 1216 x 1222.
Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.313.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.931.
Notes : As no.35 but with reduction of warranty from thirty to twenty librates of land.
- 37.** Grants to Guisborough priory pasture in Glaisdale, as in 7004, but with amended rights
Date : 1216 x 1222.
Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.314^v-315^v.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.933.
Notes : Similar to no.35 but reserving rights of common grazing to men of Danby and Skelton, and hunting and turbary rights to Peter de Brus and his heirs.
- 38.** Grants to Guisborough priory pasture and rights in Glaisdale and Swineshead.
Date : 1216 x 1222.
Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.317.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.939.
Notes : As no.35 with minor variations.
- 39.** Grants to Guisborough priory pasture in Swineshead.
Date : 1216 x 1222.
Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.315.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.934.
Notes : Almost identical with that part of no.35 relating to Swineshead.
- 40.** Grants to Guisborough priory his ironworks in Glaisdale with licence to prospect for iron-ore.
Date : 1216 x 1222.
Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.315.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.935.

41. Grants to Guisborough priory scrubland with pasture in Hinderscog and the moor east of Guisborough.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.112.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.11.

Notes : Includes a reference to Joan, the donor's wife.

42. Grants to Guisborough priory scrubland with pasture in Hinderscog and the moor east of Guisborough.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.155.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.214.

Notes : This is similar to no.41 and has been crossed through in the MS, as has an incomplete copy of it (*GC*, II, no.936).

43. Confirms to either Meaux abbey or Guisborough priory half a carucate of land at Kirk Levington granted by William Wicton.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.249^v-250.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.681.

Notes : William's grant is printed in *GC*, II, no. 669. The land had been granted to him by Adam de Brus II (see no.28). It appears that Guisborough was the ultimate beneficiary of the grant.

44. Confirms to Guisborough priory three bovates of land in Normanby granted by Richard Lost and Stephen son of Henry de Percy.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : Original, Northallerton, North Yorkshire County Record Office, ZPQ 11; BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.236.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.609; *Mon. Angl.* 6i, p.271.

Notes : Seal of red wax displaying lion rampant on a shield with the inscription SIGILLUM PETRI DE BRUIS. Original formerly at 'York Museum'.

45. Grants to Guisborough priory one tenth of all beasts of the chase taken by him and his heirs.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.114^v.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.18.

46. Confirms to Guisborough priory four bovates of land in Brotton granted by Adam II.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.290; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.11; Dodsworth MS 7, f.56^v.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.840.

Notes : Compare nos.17 and 47. Hailstone MS has drawing of seal, a shield with lion rampant, but names grantor as Robert de Brus.

47. Confirms to Guisborough priory half a carucate in Brotton granted by Adam II.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.290.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.841.

Notes : Compare nos.17 and 46.

48. Confirms to Guisborough priory two bovates of land in Brotton granted by Robert de Thyrum.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.290^v.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.843.

Notes : For the grant by Robert de Thyrum see *GC*, II, no.842.

49. Confirms to Guisborough priory one toft in Skelton and three bovates in Moorsholme granted by Hugh son of Patrick.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.288.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.831.

Notes : See nos. 66-68 for Peter I's grant of these lands to Hugh, who then granted them to Guisborough (*GC*, II, no.830).

50. Grants to Guisborough priory the sum which Ivo, nephew of Adam chaplain of Heslerton, had paid to obtain freedom for himself and his family.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4, no.14.

Notes : Not printed. Probably Peter I from witness list and drawing of seal with lion rampant on shield (inscription broken). No other reference yet found to Ivo or Adam of Heslerton. The church and 'other chapel' of Heslerton were given to Guisborough by Walter Ingram, *temp.* Adam II (*GC*, II, no.1095).

51. Confirms to Healaugh Park priory a toft and croft in Walton and pasture for twenty cows granted by his mother, Juetta.

Date : 1209 x 1218.

Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, ff.54^v-55.

Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.66-67.

52. Grants to Healaugh Park priory eight acres of land in his new assart at Thorp [Arch].

Date : 1209 x 1218.

Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, f.55; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.9.

Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, p.67.

Notes : Granted for his own soul and that of his mother, Juetta de Arches. Hailstone transcript includes four more witnesses than the cartulary.

53. Grants to Healaugh Park priory ten marks yearly in the mill of Knottingley.

Date : 1218 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, ff.133-134; PRO C53/97, m.18;

Hailstone MS 6.4, no.10.

Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.151-152; abstract in *CChR*, III, p.147.

Notes : Hailstone transcript and *CChR* include six more witnesses than the cartulary. The mill of Knottingley was the marriage portion of the donor's wife.

54. Confirms to the hospital of St Nicholas Yarm various grants made by his father, Adam II, and several Brus tenants.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : Dodsworth MS 116, ff.64^v-65.

Printed : *Mon Angl.*, 6ii, p.637, no.IV. Noted in *Healaugh Cart.* pp.222-223.

Notes : The hospital of Yarm was later granted to the priory of Healaugh Park.

55. Confirms to Fountains Abbey grants of land in Hamerton, Grafton and Cattal by Ralph Mauleverer and Alan son of Helias, and a toft in Yarm by Robert le Palmer of Hartlepool.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Add. MS 40009, f. 200^v (old p.400).

Printed : Abstract in *Fountains Cart.*, I, p.323, no.6.

56. Confirms to Fountains Abbey land in Hamerton granted by Hugh de Calton.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Add. MS 37770, pp.204-205.

Printed : Abstract in *Fountains Cart.*, I, p.430, no.3.

57. Confirms to Fountains Abbey land in Merston granted by Geoffrey of Buggethorp and Guy son of Guy.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Add. MS 37770, f.315^v (old p.634).

Printed : Abstract in *Fountains Cart.*, II, p.544, no.116.

58. Confirms to Byland abbey all lands, tenements and appurtenances held within his fee.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Egerton MS 2823, f.19^v.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.670.

59. Grants to Pontefract abbey a toft in Knottingley.

Date : c.1200.

Source : BL Add. MS 50754, f.52^v (old f.45^v).

Printed : *Pontefract Cart.*, no.229.

Notes : Donor's wife, Joan included in grant, which was a part of her *maritagium*. Compare no.53 above.

60. Confirms to the poor men of St Peter's Hospital York lands in Beningburgh granted by Henry and William of Beningburgh, with the addition of one sheaf of corn annually from every plough ploughing in the demesne of Peter de Brus in the province of York.

Date : 1209 x 1222.

Source : PRO C53/80, m.7.

Printed : Abstract in *CChR*, II, p.445.

Notes : Probably a grant of Peter I because of the witness list. Beningborough was in the Arches fee.

61. Grants to Nostell priory several measures of a variety of grains from the manor of Thorp Arch to support one canon at the priory's cell of Skokirk, in exchange for one half of a tithe of bread granted to Skokirk by his mother Juetta de Arches.

Date : 1218 x1221

Source : BL Cott. Vespasian E xix, f.129v (old p.320).

Printed : *Mon. Angl.*, vii, p.103.

Notes : Derived from a mandate of Pandulf, when papal legate, following a complaint of the priory that Peter had been withholding the tithe. Juetta had herself reduced the grant from a full tithe of bread previously granted by her father, William de Arches. The mandate is dated at 'Galwude' on the third of the ides of January. Peter's grant, which follows Juetta's in the chartulary, includes reference to his wife Joan.

62. Grants to Grosmont priory 50s worth of land in Waupley.

Source : Noted in *Book of Fees*, p.357.

63. Grants to Handale nunnery 50s worth of land in Waupley.

Source : Noted in *Book of Fees*, p.357.

64. Confirms to Henry de Percy and his wife Isabel, sister of Peter de Brus I, the town of Kirk Leavington, granted to them in marriage by Adam de Brus II. (see 6018 above).

Date : 1198 x 1206.

Source : Noted in Dodsworth MS 159, f.191^r.

Printed : Abstract in *EYC*, II, p.25 and *Percy Chartulary*, p.140n.1.

65. Grants to William de Camera one bovat of land in Danby, for one pound of cummin p.a.

Date : 1198 x1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.311.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.926.

Notes : William granted this land to Guisborough (*GC*, II, no.927).

66. Grants to Hugh son of Patrick a toft and croft in Skelton, for four arrows at Pentecost.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.288.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.832.

Notes : Hugh later granted this to Guisborough *cum corpore meo* (*GC*, II, no.830) .

67. Grants to Hugh son of Patrick two bovates of land in Moorsholme and thirty-three acres between there and Swindale for one pound of cumin at Christmas.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.291^v.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.847.

68. Grants to Hugh son of Patrick fourteen acres of land in Moorsholme for four arrows at Pentecost.

Date : 1198 x 1222.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.291^v.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.848.

69. Grants to Adam de Seton two carucates of land in Southburn, to hold by *forinsec* service for one seventh of a knight's fee.

Date : 1198 x 1212.

Source : Dodsworth MS 7, f.327.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.669.

Notes : Description in MS of seal with lion rampant.

70. Grants to William son of Alan de Hamerton land in Walton which was later granted to the nuns of Sinningthwaite.

Source : Noted in PRO C53/46A, m.2 (*CChR* I, p.450).

Notes : See no.102.

71. Grants to his tenants in Cleveland certain liberties in return for making up any shortfall in his annual payment on the farm of the wapentake of Langbaugh.

Date : 1207 x 1209.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.155.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.213.

Notes : The 'Langbaugh Charter'. See above, pp.72-74. Another copy is entered in the MS, f.115 and summarised in *GC*, I, no.19.

Peter de Brus II (1222-1240)

72. Confirms to Guisborough priory his father's grant of pasture and mineral rights in Glaisdale.

Date : 1223.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.316; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.13.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.937.

Notes : Drawing of equestrian seal in Hailstone MS as described in *GC*, II, p.196n.2. This grant, witnessed by the archbishop and two canons of York, appears to have been made as a result of the court agreement following the initial dispute between the Bruses and the prior of Guisborough over rights in Glaisdale in 1223. See *GC*, I, pp.102-112 and above, pp.220-222.

73. Grants to Guisborough priory one tenth of all beasts of the chase taken by him and his heirs.

Date : 1222 x 1240.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.155.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.212.

Notes : Although the beginning of grant is missing, Brown ascribes it to Peter II because of the witness list. See no.45 for a similar grant by his father.

74. Grants to Guisborough priory for the pittances in the refectory, all the fish taken in their seven boats at Coatham, saving to Peter and his heirs one hundredweight of haddock a year. (recheck terms)

Date : 1222 x 1240.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.281; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.17.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.798.

Notes : Drawing of equestrian seal in Hailstone MS as described in *GC*, II, p.119n.9.

75. Grants to the canons of Guisborough priory freedom from the duty exacted in the previous agreement and of all tolls on their boats at Teesport or the beach of Coatham. (recheck terms)

Date : 1222 x 1240.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.281^v; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.18.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.799.

76. Grants to the canons of Guisborough three acres of land adjacent to their granges in Marske and Brotton in exchange for eleven acres of land in Guisborough and Marske.

Date : 1222 x 1239.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.340^v-341; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.15.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1039.

Notes : Witness list and drawing of seal in Hailstone MS suggest that this is Peter II.

77. Confirms to Guisborough priory lands in Cleveland granted by Brus tenants.

Date : 1239.

Source : Original, BL Add. Charter 20578; Cartulary copy in BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.318.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.940.

Notes : Equestrian seal of green wax. Dated by witnesses, who include John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, Robert de Lexington and William of York when the two latter were justices itinerant. Reference given incorrectly in *GC* as Add. Charter 20758.

78. Confirms to Guisborough priory lands granted by Brus tenants.

Date : 1239.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, ff.155^v-157, ff.318^v-319^v; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.16.

Printed : *GC*, I, no.215, *GC*, II, no.941; *Mon. Angl.*, VI, pp.268-269.

Notes : See no.77 for note regarding date. Both charters may have been given when Peter II was preparing for the crusade.

79. Grants to Healaugh Park priory land in Thorp [Arch] and Walton in exchange for six bovates of land in Upleatham.

Date : 1222 x 1240.

Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, f.61.

Printed : *Heaulaugh Cart.* p.74.

80. Confirms to Healaugh Park priory land and a mill in Askham held in fee farm of Theodore de Riebroc.

Date : 1222 x 1240.

Source : BL Cott. Vespasian A.iv, f.48^v-49; PRO C53/97, m.14.

Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, p.59; abstract in *CChR*, III, p.154.

Notes : The cartulary entry was taken from the *inspeximus* recorded in the Charter Rolls but lists fewer witnesses.

81. Grants to Healaugh Park priory eight acres of land in his new assart in Walton and access to take stone from his quarry in Thorp.

Date : 1222 x 1240.

Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, ff.53^v-54; PRO C53/97, m.16.

Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, p.65; abstract in *CChR*, III, p.152.

Notes : The cartulary entry was taken from the *inspeximus* recorded in the Charter Rolls but lists fewer witnesses.

82. Confirms to Fountains abbey one carucate of land in Arneford granted by Peter son of Alan of Arneford and quitclaims the service due.

Date : 1222 x 1232.

Source : BL Cott. MS Tiberias C. xii, f.152. (damaged in fire); PRO C53/136, m.5.

Printed : Abstracts in *Fountains Cart.*, I, p.85, and *CChR*, V, p.111.

Notes : John de Lacy witnesses as constable of Chester. He was created earl in 1232.

83. Grants to Fountains abbey right of transit to the sea across Brus land to buy fish.

Date : ?before 1229.

Source : BL Add. MS 40009, ff.153^v-154 (old pp.306-307); PRO C53/136, m.4.

Printed : Abstracts in *Fountains Cart.*, I, p.297, no.5, and *CChR*, V, p.115.

Notes : Witness list suggests that this grant may belong to time of Peter I, but the evidence is inconclusive. As 8016 below suggests that it was Peter II who granted fisheries to Fountains, it has been included here.

84. Grants to Fountains abbey permission to make two fisheries on the Tees at Eston.

Date : 1222 x 1229.

Source : BL Add. MS 40009, f.153 (old pp.305-306).

Printed : *Fountains Cart.*, I, p.297, no.4.

Notes : This is the record of a court settlement made in 1229 regarding the fisheries.

85. Grants to Selby abbey one acre of land adjacent to their grange in Carleton, formerly held of Agnes widow of Ranulf son of Swain.

Date : c.1240.

Source : BL Add. MS 37771, f.163 (old f.162).

Printed : *Coucher Book of Selby*, II, no.921.

Notes : The preceding entry relates to an agreement made in 1240 between the abbot of Selby and Peter de Brus regarding this piece of land and maintenance by the monks of a chantry chapel at the parish church.

86. Grant to Theodore de Riebroc land and a mill in Askham for *forinsec* service.

Date : 1222 x 1240.

Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, f.49.

Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, p.59.

Notes : This was subsequently granted to the priory of Healaugh Park (see no.80).

87. Agreement made with Richard, bishop of Durham regarding the rights and liberties of the burgesses of Hartlepool during the minority of Robert de Brus V.

Date : c.1230 x 1233.

Source : Original, Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments 4.8.Spec.4.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1155.

Notes : This is Prior Ralph's confirmation of the agreement to which the seal of Peter de Brus is attached.

Peter de Brus III (1240-1272)

88. Grants to Guisborough priory four acres of land with tofts and crofts at Redcar.

Date : 1240 x 1272.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.334^v.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1008.

89. Grants to Guisborough priory twelve bovates of land and two tofts in Marske for the provision of wax for lighting the court of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Date : 1240 x 1255.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4, no.19.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1055A (p.251).

Notes : Numbered in *GC* as MCLVA . Drawing in Hailstone MS of equestrian seal with shield bearing lion rampant.

90. Confirms to Guisborough priory a grant by Simon de Brus of 30s per annum, to maintain a chantry in the chapel of Brotton and to keep vigil there ... especially for Simon de Brus.

Date : 1240 x 1260

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.290^v-291.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.844.

Notes : Noted in charter of Simon de Brus.

- 91.** Grants to Guisborough priory four tofts in Kirkburn for the soul of his brother, John.
Date : 1246 x 1272.
Source : Hailstone MS 6.4, no.20; abstract in Dodsworth MS 118, f.153.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.1090.
Notes : Drawing in Hailstone MS of equestrian seal with shield bearing lion rampant and inscription reading SIGILLUM PETRI DE BRUS TERCII. John de Brus died 1246 x 1260; see above, p.133.
- 92.** Affirmation to W [alter] bishop of Durham regarding rights of Guisborough priory in the churches of Hartness as granted by Robert de Brus I 'whose heir I am'.
Date : 9 October 1256.
Source : Dodsworth MS 95, f.58; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.12.
Printed : *GC*, II, no.1156.
Notes : Dated at Skelton, the feast of St Dionysius 1256. Drawing in Hailstone MS of seal, shows shield with lion rampant similar to counterseal of Peter III. (see no. 105)
- 93.** Confirms to Healaugh Park priory land at Askham granted by Theodore de Riebroc during time of Peter de Brus II.
Date : 1242 x 1272.
Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, f.48^v; PRO C53/97, m.9; Dodsworth MS 7, f.73.
Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.58-59; abstract in *CChR*, III, p.165.
Notes : The cartulary entry was taken from the *inspeximus* recorded in the Charter Rolls and lists fewer witnesses. The witness named as Robert de Tocotes in *CChR* should read Roger de Tocotes.
- 94.** Confirms to Healaugh Park priory all lands in Walton granted by William de Levington.
Date : 1240 x 1272.
Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, f.55^v; PRO C53/97, m.17.
Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, p.67; abstract in *CChR*, III, p.148.
Notes : The cartulary entry was taken from the *inspeximus* recorded in the Charter Rolls and lists fewer witnesses.
- 95.** Grants to Healaugh Park priory land in Walton in exchange for land in Thorp.
Date : 1240 x 1260.
Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, ff.58^v-59^v; PRO C53/97, m.15.
Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.71-72; abstract in *CChR*, III, pp.152-153.
Notes : The cartulary entry was taken from the *inspeximus* recorded in the Charter Rolls and lists fewer witnesses.
- 96.** Quitclaims to Healaugh Park priory land, tofts and crofts in Marston and Hutton in Ainsty, held of the gift of William son of William de Marisco.
Date : 1240 x 1272.
Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, f.170; PRO C53/97, m.14.
Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, p.191; abstract in *CChR*, III, p.154.
Notes : No witnesses recorded in cartulary MS.

97. Grants to Healaugh Park priory one carucate in Yarm with the services of Peter de Monceaux, and also confirms the hospital of St Nicholas Yarm, granted to them by Alan de Wilton, together with all its lands held of his fee in Cleveland.

Date : 1240 x 1272.

Source : BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, ff.43^v-44^v, 167^v-168^v; PRO C53/97, m.14.

Printed : *Healaugh Cart.*, pp.53, 189-190; *Mon Angl.* VI, p.637 from BL Cott. MS Vespasian A.iv, ff.167^v-168^v; *CChR*, III, p.154.

Notes : The two versions entered in the chartulary show slight variations, especially in the witness lists, while the Charter Roll incorporates both witness lists into one. The hospital of St Nicholas Yarm was granted to Healaugh Park by Alan de Wilton before 1233 for the salvation of several souls including those of Peter de Brus and his wife Joan, and of Peter de Brus II and his wife (*Healaugh Cart*, pp.xii, 118-119).

98. Confirms to Fountains abbey all its possessions held of his fee as confirmed by his father or other ancestors and in the vill and territory of Marston. Also releases and quitclaims to the monks all suit of court for these lands.

Date : 2 May 1258.

Source : BL Add. MS 37770, f.315^v - 316 (old pp.634-635).

Printed : Abstract in *Fountains Cart.*, II, p.544, no.117.

Notes : 'Done at the Ascension of the Lord, 1258'.

99. Grant to the monks of Fountains abbey the power and liberty to be among the first to buy fish and herrings at Coatham and Redcar.

Date : 25 November 1267.

Printed Source : Abstract in *Fountains Cart.*, II, p.582, no.2.

Notes : Dated at Skelton, feast of St Catherine the Virgin 1267. Printed from a cartulary of Fountains Abbey in Manchester, John Ryland's Library, Latin MS, f.40^v.

100. Grants to the Black Friars of Yarm a toft in Yarm.

Date : c.1260.

Source : PRO C66/142, m.24.

Printed : *Arch. Jnl.*, 37 (1880) pp.184-185; abstract in *CPR 1313-1317*, p.171.

101. Quitclaims to the church and canons of St Nicholas Drax half the annual rent of 40s on 200 acres of land in Camblesforth, which they held of his father.

Date : 1240 x 1272.

Source : PRO C53/97, m.6.

Printed : Abstract in *CChR*, III, p.167.

102. Grants to the nuns of Sinningthwaite the land in Waleton, 'saving one toft,' which his grandfather gave to William son of Alan de Hamerton, and the rent of 6d or gilt spurs which William used to pay as rent

Source : Henry III's general confirmation of 6th October 1255 in PRO C53/46A, m.2.

Printed : *CChR*, I, p.450.

103. Grants to his uncle, Simon de Brus, seven bovates of land at Lofthus.

Date : 1240 x 1260.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.306.

Printed : GC, II, no.905.

104. Confirms to Robert son of William Brithyeve two bovates of land away from the sun at Boythorpe which he holds of the gift of Simon de Brus

Date : 1240 x 1260.

Source : BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.303^v.

Printed : GC, II, no.894.

Notes : The witness lists for this and the preceding grant are almost identical.

105. Confirms to Thomas son of ... son of William Brithyeve two bovates of land on the sun-side at Boythorpe and elsewhere in Lofthus, which he holds of the gift of Simon de Brus.

Date : 1240 x 1260.

Source : Original, BL Add. Charter no. 20550; BL Cott. MS Cleopatra D.ii, f.303^v.

Printed : GC, II, no.893.

Notes : Equestrian seal of green wax. Inscription gone. Counterseal with shield bearing lion rampant and inscription SIGILLUM SECRETUM.

106. Confirms to the free burgesses of Kirkeby in Kendale all the liberties and free customs granted to them by his uncle William of Lancaster.

Date : 1247 x 1260.

Source : Original in mayor's parlour at Kendal Town Hall.

Printed : TCWAAS n.s., 19 (1919) pp.114-115 with photograph facing p.113; abstract in *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, I, p.8 with photograph on facing page.

Notes : Equestrian seal of green wax with part of inscription remaining. See also J. Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: the First Borough Charter and its Connexions', TCWAAS n.s., 85 (1985) pp.95-114 regarding a transcript in a C17th register at Levens Hall, Kendal, together with a transcript of William of Lancaster's charter which it confirms (Levens Hall MSS Box 18 M/10, f.24).

107. Grants to William of Pickering the manor of Killington in the barony of Kendal, for a pair of gilt spurs or 6d at Pentecost and one twentieth of a knight's fee.

Date : 1259 x 1260.

Printed Source : Abstract in Nicolson and Burn, *History and Antiquities...of Westmorland and Cumberland*, I, pp.261-262; *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, II, p.420 from a transcript by Dugdale.

108. Grants to Richard Gilpin the manor of Ulthwaite in the barony of Kendale.

Date : 1260 x 1272.

Printed Source : Abstract in *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, II, pp.394-396 from a C17th transcript at Levens Hall, Kendal (Register of Deeds, Box 12, no.4).

109. Grants to William of Strickland and Elizabeth his wife release and exemption from pulture of the land serjeant, from pulture and jurisdiction of the forester, and from service at the baron's court on lands held by them in Hakethorp, Natland, Sizergh and elsewhere in the barony of Kendale.

Date : 1246 x 1272 .

Printed Sources : Abstract in HMC, *fifth report* , appendix (London, 1876) p.329, no.9 from a volume at Sizergh Castle of Deeds and Documents compiled in 1778 by Father Thomas West from originals and transcripts. Fuller abstracts in Nicolson and Burn, *History and Antiquities of...Westmorland and Cumberland*, I, p.90; D. Scott, *The Stricklands of Sizergh Castle* (Kendal, 1908) p.15.

Notes : Sizergh and other lands were brought to William of Strickland by his wife, heiress of Ralph Deincourt.

110. Grants to John of Burton (in Kendale) three carucates of land in Carlton, Yorkshire for a pair of gilt spurs or 6d at Christmas

Date : 1265 .

Printed Source : *CPR 1334-1338*, p.157. Also noted in *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, II, p.278.

* * * * *

LORDS OF ANNANDALE

Robert de Brus II (1142-1194)

111. Confirms to Guisborough priory land in Stainton and Hert previously granted by Robert I.

Date : 1150 x 1160.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4, no.1.

Notes : Not printed. Drawing of seal in Hailstone MS of a fleur-de-lys without birds. Robert's wife Eufemia named as co-grantor. Stainton may be an error for Stranton. Robert I gave both the churches of Stainton and Stranton, with land, to Guisborough in its foundation grant. However, Stainton is in Cleveland, forming part of the Yorkshire barony, while Stranton was in Hartness, being now West Hartlepool.

112. Grants to Guisborough priory the church of St Hilda's Isle [Hartlepool].

Date : 1160 x 1175.

Source : Original, NAS, RH6/2.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.655; *Register...of Walter Gray*, p.80n.

Notes : Robert's wife, Eufemia, named as co-grantor. Transcript in Dodsworth MS 7, f.68.

113. Confirms to Guisborough priory an eighth part of the land of [Castle] Eden with tofts and crofts as granted by William de Turp for 8s a year.

Date : 1160 x1170.

Source : Dodsworth MS 7, f.68^v; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.5.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.652; *GC*, II, no.1160.

Notes : Drawing in Hailstone MS of seal with fleur-de-lys between two birds. William de Turp's grant is noted in *GC*, II, p.328n.2 and was witnessed by Adam de Brus II. See also *GC*, II, no.118 (*EYC*, II, no. 653) for a further grant by William and a reduction of the rent to 5s.

114. Grants to Durham priory the chapel of [Castle] Eden with its tithes and two bovates of land, with the condition that mass should be sung by Robert's own chaplain when he or his wife should be there, and by the monks' priest at other times.

Date : 1145 x 1152

Source : Original, Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments, 3.8.Spec.9.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.649; *Feod. Prior. Dunelm.*, p.131n.

Notes : Seal of fleur-de-lys. Date limits depend on the statement that the grant is confirmed by William, bishop of Durham (1143-1152) and was witnessed by Cuthbert, who did not succeed as prior of Guisborough before 1145.

115. Grants to Durham priory the messuage in Hartlepool which belonged to Gilbert the smith, together with houses and toft pertaining to it, and two boats for fishing.

Date : 1170 x1190.

Source : Original, Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments 4.8.Spec.1.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.658; *Feod. Prior. Dunelm.*, p.138n.

Notes : Seal of fleur-de-lys between two birds. Witnessed by Robert's three sons, Robert III, William and Bernard.

116. Grants to the Hospital of St Peter, York a house in Lochmaben with appurtenances.

Date : 1150 x1170.

Source : PRO C53/93, m.8.

Printed : *CChR*, III, p.92; *EYC*, II, no.651. Abstract in *CDS*, II, no.1606(9).

Notes : Confirmed by Robert de Brus, earl of Carrick (the future king) at York, 9 November 1304.

117. Grants to abbot Everard and the monks of Holm Cultram abbey a fishery at Torduff on the north bank of the Solway.

Date : 1150 x 1190.

Source : Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office, Dean and Chapter Muniments MS, Register of Holm Cultram, pp.66-67; BL Harleian MS 3891, f.83; BL Harleian MS 3911, ff.101^v-102^r.

Printed : Abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.93.

Notes : No witnesses are included in the the two Harleian MSS, but the Carlisle version gives one, Ivo de Heriz. Robert's wife Eufemia, and his heirs are named as co-grantors. Grant was confirmed by his eldest son, Robert III, with additional land (see below, no.128). Date limits are fixed by those of Abbot Everard (1150-1192) and the death of Robert III before 1191.

118. Grants to Holm Cultram abbey a house in Hartlepool for a rent of 5d p.a.

Date : 1150 x 1194.

Source : Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, Dean and Chapter Muniments MS, Register of Holm Cultram, pp.76-77; BL Harleian MS 3911, f.1.

Printed : Abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.109.

119. Grants to Melrose abbey land in the district of Witton.

Date : 1174 x 1194.

Printed Source : *ML*, I, no.169.

Notes : Granted during the reign of King William. Printed from an original MS then in the archives of the earl of Morton, 'now missing'.

120. Agreement in the form of a chirograph made with the bishop of Glasgow regarding the churches and their lands in Annandale.

Date : 1174 x 1191.

Source : Original, PRO DL 36/1, no.120.

Printed : *EYC*, II, no.776; *GC*, II, no.1182; *Reg. Episc. Glas.*, I, no.72; abstract in *CDS*, I, no.197.

121. Grants to Christian the moneyer land in Blicesleie(?) and Loftlandes, Castle Eden, for the rent of ten pounds of pepper.

Date : 1142 x 1160.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4, no.4.

Printed : Noted, with witnesses, in *GC*, II, pp.327-328 n.1.

Notes : Drawing in Hailstone MS of seal of fleur-de-lys between two birds.

122. Confirms to Christian land in Castle Eden as granted by William de Turp for the same payment as it was held of the lord Robert de Brus.

Date : 1160 x 1190.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4 no.3.

Printed : Noted in *GC*, II, pp.327-328n.1.

Notes : Drawing of seal in Hailstone MS of fleur-de-lys between two birds. William de Turp's grant is printed in *GC*, II, p.327 n.1 from original, BL Add. MS, 20570. Although the description of the land is not quite the same as in no.121, and some additions have been made, William's charter would appear to be a regrant following his receipt of Castle Eden from Robert II; see above, p.22.

123. Grants to William de Humez the manor of Elton near Stockton, to be held in wardship for him by Peter de Humez.

Date : c.1184.

Source : Original, BL Cott. Charter xviii, 50.

Printed : Abstract in *EYC*, II, p.4n. Witness list is incomplete.

Notes : Rather mutilated, especially at the bottom, and seal missing. It is possible to decipher at least three more witness names in addition to those given by Farrer; i.e. Adam de Seton, Humphrey de Jardine and Odard de Hoddum. Another may be William de Heriz, but the remaining one is too damaged to read.

124. Grants to Hugh son of Ingebald land in Dryfesdale as his father held it, for the service of two villis and in the king's army the service of one knight.

Date : 1150 x 1194.

Source : Original, PRO DL 36/3, no.219.

Printed : Abstract in *CDS*, I, no.635.

Notes : Bain ascribes this to Robert de Brus IV, but the beneficiary and witness list relate to an earlier period, compatible with that of Robert II.

125. Grants to Ivo and his heirs a fishery on the Esk, for the annual rent of a pound of pepper or 6d.

Date : c.1190.

Source : Original, Drumlanrig castle, Buccleuch archives MS, Bundle no.1323.

Printed : *Annandale Family Book*, no.1, with facsimile between pp.xii and xiii; abstract in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts...at Drumlanrig Castle* (15th report, 1897) part 8, no.66.

126. Grants to William de Heriz a saltwork at Rainpatrick.

Date : 1142 x 1194.

Source : BL Harleian MS 434, f.35^v.

Printed : *Reg. St Bees*, pp.93-94.

Notes : Noted in William de Heriz's grant of the saltwork to St Bees priory.

Robert de Brus III (d. before 1191)

127. Grants to Arbroath abbey the church of Haltwhistle.

Date : c.1183.

Source : NLS Advocates MS 34.4.2, f.44^v.

Printed : *Arbroath Liber*, I, no.37.

Notes : Haltwhistle was granted by King William as a *maritagium* for his daughter on her marriage to Robert III. This grant is, in effect, a confirmation of the grant made previously to Arbroath by King William (*RRS*, II, no.227).

128. Confirms to Holm Cultram abbey his father's grant of a fishery at Torduff, with additional land.

Date : before 1191.

Source : Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office, Dean and Chapter Muniments MS, Register of Holm Cultram, p.67; BL Harleian MS 3891, f.83; BL Harleian MS 3911, f.102.

Printed : Abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.94.

William de Brus (1194-1211)

129. Confirms to Guisborough priory the churches of Annandale, as granted by his father, Robert II.

Date : 1194 x 1211.

Source : Dodsworth MS 7, f.74.

Printed : GC, II, no.1176.

Notes : Description in Dodsworth MS of seal with lion passant. Confirmed by King William (GC, II, no.1177; RRS, II, no.450).

130. Confirms to Guisborough priory land adjacent to the chapel of St Hilda, Hartlepool as in the time of his father.

Date : 1194 x 1211.

Source : Dodsworth MS 74, f.112^v.

Printed : GC, II, no.1152.

Notes : Drawing in Dodsworth MS of seal with lion passant.

131. Grants to Guisborough priory the chapel of St Helen in the warren at Hartlepool for a light at the great altar.

Printed Source : Noted in J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (York, 1758) p.346.

132. Confirms to Guisborough priory half a wood in Hartlepool granted by Simon of Billingham.

Date : 1194 x 1211.

Source : Dodsworth MS 7, f.56.

Printed : GC, II, 1150.

Notes : Description in MS of seal with lion passant.

133. Grants to Durham priory land adjacent to the chapel of St Hilda in Hartlepool, and confirms the grants made previously by his father as in no.115.

Date : 1194 x 1211.

Source : Original, Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments 4.8.Spec.2.

Printed : *Feod. Prior. Dunelm.*, p.138n.

Notes : Seal with lion passant.

134. Confirms to Holm Cultram abbey the fishery at Torduff granted by his father.

Date : 1194 x 1211.

Source : Original, PRO DL 36/2, no.65.

Printed : Abstracts in CDS, I, no.607, and *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95.

Notes : Also entered in Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, Dean and Chapter Muniments MS, Register of Holm Cultram p.67; BL Harleian MS 3891, f.83; BL Harleian MS 3911, f.102. All omit witness list.

135. Grants to Melrose abbey a saltpan at Rainpatrick between those of Richard de Bois and Richard le Fleming.

Date : 1194 x 1200.

Source : BL Harleian MS 3891, ff.83^v-84^r; BL Harleian MS 3911, f.103.

Printed : *ML*, II, app. 4; abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95c.

Notes : Saltpan transferred to Holm Cultram abbey in 1294 (see no.162).

136. Confirms to Melrose abbey a saltpan granted by his chamberlain, Richard le Fleming.

Date : 1194 x 1200.

Source : BL Harleian MS 3911, f.104.

Printed : *ML*, II, app. 6; abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95f.

Notes : Saltpan transferred to Holm Cultram abbey in 1294 (see no.162).

137. Grants to Melrose abbey a place near the church of Rainpatrick (Redkirk) to construct a fishery, with one acre of land and pasture for four cows and six oxen.

Date : 1194 x 1211.

Source : BL Harleian MS 3891, f.83^v; BL Harleian MS 3911, ff.102^v-103.

Printed : *ML*, II, app. 3; abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95a.

Notes : Confirmed by King William (*RRS*, II, no.425). Grant transferred to Holm Cultram abbey in 1294 (see no.162).

138. Grants to Adam of Carlisle land at Kynemund to hold for one quarter of a fee, in exchange for lands at Lockerby, granted to Adam's father by Robert de Brus II. Warranty given in time of peace, or an exchange from William's land in Hartness.

Date : c.1198.

Source : Original, Drumlanrig castle, Buccleuch archives (facsimile).

Printed : *Annandale Family Book*, no.2, with facsimile between pp.xii and xiii; abstract in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts...at Drumlanrig Castle*, no.67.

Notes : An agreement was reached in the king's court at Westminster 29 October 1198 regarding the warranty of land in Hartness; *Feet of Fines 10 Richard I, 1198-1199* (PRS 24, 1900) no.79. This charter cannot at present be traced.

139. Grants to Ivo of Kirkpatrick land at Pennersaugh, Annandale for one eighth of a knight's fee.

Date : 1194 x 1211.

Source : Original, Drumlanrig castle, Buccleuch archives (facsimile).

Printed : *Annandale Family Book*, no.3, with facsimile between pp.xii and xiii; abstract in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts... at Drumlanrig Castle*, no.68.

Notes : According to the HMC report, the remains of a seal were attached showing a shield with saltire and chief with charge defaced, and inscription : S. WILELMI D. BR. At present neither the charter nor seal can be traced.

140. Grants to William de Heineville lands in Annandale beyond 'Blakebec'.

Date : 1194 x 1211.

Source : Original, PRO DL 25/90.

Printed : Abstract in *CDS*, I, no.605.

Notes : Much mutilated.

Robert de Brus IV (1211-c.1230)

141. Confirms to Guisborough priory the churches of Annandale and land in Hartlepool as granted by his father and grandfather.

Date : 1211 x 1230.

Source : Dodsworth MS 7, f.52^v; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.26 .

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1178.

Notes : Drawing in MSS of seal and counterseal both showing a shield with saltire and lion passant in chief. Inscriptions read SIGILLUM ROBERTI DE BRUS and SECRETUM ROBERTI DE BRUS.

142. Confirms to the church of St Hilda Hartlepool (and Guisborough priory) a toft adjacent to the cemetery granted by Gerard de Seton.

Date : 1211 x 1230.

Source : Dodsworth MS 7, f.62.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1153.

Notes : Drawing in MS of seal and counterseal as in no.141.

143. Grants to Finchale priory six measures of wheat annually from the manor of Hart.

Date : 1211 x 1230.

Source : Original, Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments 4.1.Finc. no.52.

Printed : *Charters... of the Priory of Finchale*, no.144.

Notes : Seal and counterseal as described in 141 and 142, but inscription missing from seal. The printed edition omits one of the witnesses, Richard de Bosco, and gives MS reference as 3^a, 3^æ, 25.

144. Confirms to Melrose abbey land, fisheries and saltworks at Rainpatrick granted by William de Brus, Odard de Hoddom and Richard le Fleming.

Date : 1211 x 1230.

Source : BL Harleian MS 3911, ff.104^v-105^r.

Printed : *ML*, II, app. 7; abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95d.

145. Grants to the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury one mark p.a.

Date : 1220.

Source : Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Muniments Register A, f.351; *Ibid*, Register E, f.143 (photocopies seen).

Notes : For the circumstances of this grant see G.W.S.Barrow, 'Early Stewarts at Canterbury', *The Stewarts*, 9, p.232, and above, p.91.

146. Agreement with Patrick, earl of Dunbar over that portion of the dower of his wife Christina, widow of William de Brus, in Hartness.

Date : 11 November 1218.

Source : Original, PRO DL 36/3, no.43.

Printed : *Annandale Family Book*, no.5; abstracts in Macquarrie, no.1, and *CDS*, I, no.700.

Notes : Includes names of pledges.

147. Grants to Roger Crispin land at Cnoculeran, Annandale, in exchange for lands at Kynemund and Moffat for the twentieth part of a fee.

Date : c.1218.

Source : Original, Drumlanrig castle, Buccleuch archives, Bundle no.1323.

Printed : *Annandale Family Book*, no.7, with facsimile between pp.xiii and xiv; abstract in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts...at Drumlanrig Castle*, no.69.

Notes : Broken seal appended of a shield bearing saltire with a lion passant in chief and counter-seal of similar crest with inscription SECRETUM R...TI DE B... .

148. Grants to Humphrey son of Simon the place called Hunnelve croft, for a pair of gilt spurs to be paid annually at Carlisle.

Date : c.1218.

Source : Original, PRO DL 36/3, no.12.

Printed : Macquarrie, no.3; abstract in *CDS*, I, no.707.

Notes : Granted at Carlisle.

149. Grants to Robert de Crosby commonty in the wood of Stableton, to enclose as a free park.

Date : c.1218.

Source : Original, Drumlanrig castle, Buccleuch archives, Bundle 1323.

Printed : *Annandale Family Book*, no.8, with facsimile between pp.xiii and xiv; abstract in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts... at Drumlanrig Castle*, no.70.

Robert de Brus V (c.1230-1295)

The first three charters relate to a settlement made in the court of the bishop of Durham at Sadberge in 1242 between Robert de Brus V and John, prior of Guisborough regarding land in Castle Eden, which Ivo de Seton held of Robert de Brus and had sold to Guisborough when he was in financial difficulties in 1237. Ivo had subsequently made an unsuccessful attempt to buy back the land. The final agreement, which is preserved as PRO DL 35/3, no.46, is printed in *GC*, II, no.1168 and abstracted in *CDS*, I, no.1586. This grants Robert de Brus two marks from rents of land held by the prior in Hartlepool in exchange for his acknowledgement that the priory held the manor of 'Casteleden'.

150. Agreement between Robert de Brus and John, prior of Guisborough in accordance with the above settlement.

Date : 1242.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4, no.25.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1169.

Notes : According to the agreement, the seals of both the prior and Robert de Brus were attached. The transcript depicts only one seal which is identical with that of Robert de Brus II (a fleur-de-lys without birds). As the seals have been drawn on separate sheets and stuck into the book, this may be an error. See also *GC*, II, p.330n.1 regarding a seal of Ivo de Seton depicted by Dodsworth, which is also a fleur-de-lys.

151. Grants to Guisborough priory the whole manor of Castle Eden as in the charter of Ivo de Seton.

Date : 1242.

Source : Dodsworth MS 7, f.74^v; Hailstone MS 6.4, no.23 (incomplete).

Printed : GC, II, no.1170.

Notes : Relates to above agreement. Dodsworth MS describes an equestrian seal with motto ESTO FERROX UT LEO. Witness lists to 151 and 152 are identical with each other and almost identical with 153 and 154 so may well have been made on same occasion. Ivo's charter, (GC, II, no.1162) is witnessed by Peter III and Robert V.

152. Robert de Brus grants to Guisborough the rents from land in Hartlepool which had been awarded to him under the above agreement and amounted to 57s 10d.

Date : 1242.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4, no.22.

Notes : Not printed, but noted in Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p.346. There is a slight discrepancy in the total amount of rent compared with 150 above. Witness lists to 151 and 152 are identical with each other and almost identical with 153 and 154 so may well have been made on same occasion.

153. Confirms to Guisborough priory the churches of Annandale and Hartness as granted by his predecessors.

Date : c.1242.

Source : Two originals, BL Harleian Charter 43, B.12; BL Cott. Charter xi, 58.

Printed : GC, II, no.1179; *Reg. Episc. Glas.*, II, app. 2, no.546.

Notes : Printed versions are both taken from the Harley charter, which is identical in all essentials with the Cotton charter and appears to have been written by the same scribe. Both carry the same equestrian seal with the motto ESTO FERROX UT LEO. Witness lists to 153 and 154 are identical with each other and almost identical with 151 and 152 so may well have been made on same occasion.

154. Grants to Guisborough priory a meadow in Annandale adjacent to the priory grange.

Date : c.1242.

Source : Hailstone MS 6.4 no. 24.

Printed : GC, II, no.1181.

Notes : Drawing in MS of seal as in 151, 153. Witness lists to 153 and 154 are identical with each other and almost identical with 151 and 152 so may well have been made on same occasion.

155. Confirms to Fountains abbey land and buildings in Hartlepool granted by Robert le Palmer and Martin the fuller, and quitclaims the rent of 12d p.a. together with suits of court, customs, tolls etc belonging to the liberty of Hartlepool.

Date : 1242 x 1295.

Source : PRO C53/136 m.5.

Printed : Abstract in *CChR*, v, p.113.

Notes : J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p.169, adds that the land given by Robert, son of Robert le Palmer and his wife Emma, lay on the west side of St Helen's chapel, and that given by Martin Fuller lay on the north side, in which land his daughter Alice also released her dower.

156. Confirms to Lindores Abbey land at Cragyn, Mylnetoun and Abrahe near Dundee granted by his mother, Isabel de Brus.

Date : 9 August 1248.

Source : SRO microfilm no. RH.4/78 of Lindores Cartulary, ff.44^v-45^r.

Printed : *Lindores Cart.*, no.41.

Notes : Made at Edinburgh. For Isabel's grant see *ibid.*, no.40.

157. Grants to Lindores abbey Williamston in Garioch in exchange for the second tithes granted them by Earl David.

Date : 1261.

Source : SRO microfilm no. RH.4/78 of Lindores Cartulary, f.81.

Printed : *Lindores Cart.*, no.116.

Notes : Confirmed by Alexander III, 29 August 1261 (*ibid.*, no.117).

158. Grants to the monks of Holm Cultram abbey right of way through Brus lands in England and Scotland.

Date : 1257.

Source : Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, Dean and Chapter Muniments MS, Register of Holm Cultram, p.77.

Printed : Abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.110.

Notes : Date in *Reg. Holm Cultram* incorrectly given as 1157.

159. Grants to the monks of Clairvaux land at Esticroft for lights at the shrine of St Malachy.

Date : 1273.

Printed Source : Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 185, cols 1759-60; Macquarrie no. 10.

Both taken from Troyes, Archives départementales de l'Aube, MS 3H332.

Notes : Probably granted on return from crusade, 1273.

160. Confirms to Lanercost priory rights of pasture on the heights of Gamblesby and Glassonby as granted by his father-in-law, William of Ireby.

Date : 1273.

Source : Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office, MS D Z/1, f.119^v.

Printed : *Lanercost Cartulary*, no.304.

Notes : Made on his marriage to Christina of Ireby, 3rd May 1273 at Hoddum.

Gamblesby and Glassonby in Cumbria were Christina's *maritagium*.

161. Petitions Bishop Ireton to confirm the grant of the church of Glassonby to priory of Carlisle made previously by his wife Christina of Ireby.

Date : 1282.

Source : Noted in Nicolson, *History ... of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2, p.450.

162. Confirms the transfer of land, fisheries and saltpans at Rainpatrick from Melrose abbey to Holm Cultram, according to the agreement made between their abbots at the feast of the Holy Trinity 1294.

Date : 13 December 1294.

Source : BL Harleian MS 3891, f.84^v ; BL Harleian MS 3911, f.106 .

Printed : *ML*, II, app. 9; abstract in *Reg. Holm Cultram*, no.95h.

Notes : Dated at Lochmaben, St Lucy's Day 1294.

163. Confirms to the Abbey of Croxton land in Sproxton in the honor of Huntingdon granted by John of Sproxton.

Date : 1252 x 1295.

Printed Source : J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (London, 1971 reprint) Iii, pp.322-323, from Register of the Abbey of Croxton, Leicestershire.

Notes : This grant further confirmed by Robert de Brus VI

164. Confirms to Sawtry abbey, Huntingdonshire, land granted in Conington by his mother, Isabel de Brus, in Paxton by Ivo, Gilbert and Philip le Moyne, Roger the physician and others, and in Offord by Emma de Offord.

Date : 1254.

Source : Bodleian Rawlinson MS B142, f.22^v.

Notes : The entry is preceded by Isabel's grants and confirmations, and followed by a confirmation from a John de Brus of all grants made by Isabel, Robert and Bernard de Brus II.

165. Grants and confirms to the leper hospital of St Margaret, Huntingdon land in Conington.

Date : ?c.1254.

Source : PRO C66/192, m.4.

Printed : *Mon. Angl.*, VI, p.652; noted in *CPR 1338-1340*, p.59.

Notes : Part of a confirmation by Edward III of earlier grants made, among others, by Malcolm king of Scots, Isabel and Bernard de Brus as well as Robert V.

166. Confirms to Garendon Abbey, Leicestershire all lands in Aleby, Sixtenby and Scandiford held of his fee in the honor of Huntingdon.

Date : 1252 x 1295.

Source : PRO C53/127, m.8.

Printed : *Mon. Angl.*, V, p.332; abstract in Nichols, *History ... of Leicester*, Iiii, p.791, no.75.

167. Confirms to Warden abbey, Bedfordshire the land in Stirt called Mulsho granted by Norioth of Wilby and confirmed by Malcolm, king of Scots. Also land held of the honor of Huntingdon at Southill, Broom and Clifton.

Date : c.1257 x 1258.

Source : Original, BL Cott. MS Nero C. iiii, f.230 (old f.208).

Printed : *Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Warden, Bedfordshire...*, ed. G.H. Fowler (Manchester, 1931) no.349.

168. Confirms to the church of All Saints, Writtle pasture in Writtle granted by Richard of Great Baddow.

Date : 24 June 1288.

Source : PRO C53/78, m.12.

Printed : Abstract in *CChR*, II, p.412.

Notes : Dated at Hart, Nativity of John the Baptist 1288.

169. Grants to John de Romundeby a salt-pan in Hart, formerly held by Adam the miller, and pasture for two horses in his warren.

Date : 1242 x 1295.

Source : Original, Northallerton, North Yorkshire County Record Office, ZFL 48.

Printed : *Proc. of Soc. of Antiquaries* 2nd ser., 4 (1867-70) pp.210-211 from the original then at Arncliffe Hall. Also noted in *GC*, II, p.335n.2.

Notes : Equestrian seal riding to dexter with drawn sword apparently in left hand. Shield and trappings display saltire and chief. Remains of legend reads SIGILLUM ROBERTI DE BRUS.

170. Agrees concessions with David of Torthorwald regarding fines levied for straying animals between Annandale and the tenement of Torthorwald.

Date : 1260 x 1295.

Source : Original, PRO DL 36/3 no.211.

Printed : Macquarrie, no.6; abstract in *CDS*, I, no.1683.

171. Grants to Henry of Kirkcudbright land at Cummertrees and Ryehill in Annandale for a rent of four skips of malt.

Date : 1260 x 1295.

Source : Original, PRO DL 36/3, no. 84.

Printed : Macquarrie, no.8; abstract in *CDS*, I, no.1680.

172. Grants to William de Henevile eighteen acres of his demesne land in Moffat for an annual rent of four skips of flour, and one-third of its mill for a rent of a pair of gilt spurs or 12d.

Date : 1245 x 1295.

Source : Original, PRO DL 36/2, no.186.

Printed : Macquarrie, no.9; abstract in *CDS*, I, no.706.

Notes : A draft charter. Bain ascribes this to Robert IV, but Macquarrie demonstrates that it dates from Robert V because Humphrey de Kirkpatrick witnesses as seneschal of Annandale. Another witness, David de Torthorald, was also contemporary with Robert V, and the grantor is described as 'Lord of Annandale', a title not otherwise known to be used before Robert V.

173. Makes agreement with Nicholas of Biggar that Nicholas will quitclaim to Robert his rights in lands in Garioch if he recovers them from John de Balliol and John Hastings in the king's court. In return, Robert will pay Nicholas's expenses and give him land worth forty marks in exchange

Date : 19 April 1290.

Source : Original chirograph, PRO DL 36/3, no. 152.

Printed : *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, II, pp.342-343; abstract in *CDS*, V, no.78.

Notes : For the political significance of this see Barrow, *Bruce* pp.43-44, 47.

174. Agreement to lease all his land in Invirbervyn to John of Stirling for five years for an annual rent of £16.

Date : Pentecost (31 May) 1291.

Source : Original chirograph, PRO DL 27/41.

Printed : Abstract in *CDS*, II, no.495.

Notes : Seal of John of Stirling appended to this counterpart of the chirograph.

175. Grants land in Dundee to Ralph of Dundee for the payment of 1d at Pentecost, but reserving to the grantor ward and relief when these shall occur.

Date : 1294.

Source : NLS, Advocates MS 34.3.25, pp.149-150.

Printed : *Highland Papers*, II, ed. J.R.N. MacPhail (SHS publications 2nd ser.,12, 1916) pp.129-130.

Notes : Dated at Lochmaben, 4 October 1294.

Robert de Brus VI (1295-1304)

176. Confirms to Guisborough priory the churches of Annandale and Hert as granted and confirmed by his predecessors.

Date : 1295 x 1304.

Source : Dodsworth MS 94, f.118.

Printed : *GC*, II, no.1180.

Notes : Drawing of seal in MS, depicting a shield with a saltire and lion passant in chief. Witnesses include Walter de Fauconberg and Marmaduke de Thweng who held Hartness following the death of Peter de Brus III.

177. Earl and Countess of Carrick grant to Melrose Abbey and their men of Carrick claiming English law, freedom from certain jurisdictions.

Date : 1285.

Source : Original, NAS GD.55/316.

Printed : *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland*, I, p.32, plate 67;

ML, I, no.316.

Notes : Dated at Turnberry, 1 June 1285. Seals of earl and countess both attached.

178. Agreement with Christina, widow of Robert de Brus V, regarding her dower lands.

Date : 1296.

Source : PRO C54/113, m.7^v.

Printed : Abstracts in *CCR 1288-1296*, pp.513-514, and *CDS*, II, no.826.

Notes : Dated at Berwick, 29 August 1296.

179. Grants to William of Carlisle land from the common pasture of Neuby 'for the increase of his land of Kynemund'.

Date : 1295 x 1304.

Source : Original, Drumlanrig Castle, Buccleuch archives (facsimile).

Printed : *Annandale Family Book*, no.11; abstract in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts ...at Drumlanrig Castle*, no.71.

Notes : This charter cannot at present be traced.

GRANTS OF ROBERT DE BRUS VI RELATING TO
WRITTLE AND HATFIELD REGIS IN ESSEX
(Unless otherwise stated none of these charters has been printed)

Robert de Brus VI (d.1304)

180. Exchange agreed by Robert de Brus, earl of Carrick with Roger, prior of Hatfield Regis, of land in Estfield for a field adjacent to his manor of Brunesho.

Date : 1295x1304.

Source : Original charter : ERO, D/D Ba T1/4.

Notes : Transcribed in typescript at ERO (T/Z 199/1, T/Z 199/2). Armorial seal of yellow wax with good impression. Device on shield of a saltire and lion passant in chief.

181. Robert de Brus, earl of Carrick and lord of Annandale, son of the lord Robert de Brus, grants to Robert Taper and Millicent his wife a messuage in Hatfield Regis formerly held by Walter, 'perpetual vicar' of Hatfield Regis.

Date : c.1295.

Source : Original charter : BL Additional Charter 28535. Cartulary copy in fragment of C15th Cartulary of Hatfield Priory, ERO, D/D Ba Q1, no.11, ff.7^r-8^r.

Notes : Original calendared on microfilm, available at ERO (T/A367) with several witnesses omitted. Cartulary copy omits all witnesses. Seal as on no.180. Good impression. Illustrated in *Vetusta Monumenta* III (London, 1796) plate XXVIII. The messuage had been granted to Walter by Isabel de Brus (BL Additional Charter 28451) calendared on microfilm available at ERO (T/A 367).

182. Robert de Brus, earl of Carrick, grants to John de Bledelawe land in Hatfield Regis formerly held by Richard de Cumbes

Date : 1271x1304.

Source : Original charter : BL Additional Charter 28536.

Notes : Calendared on microfilm available at ERO (T/A 367) with several witnesses omitted. No seal. Witnesses similar to no.181.

183. Robert de Brus, earl of Carrick quitclaims to John de Bledelowe all service, rents and customs owed on a tenement in Hatfield Regis, with the reservation of 1d annual rent.

Date : 1271x1304.

Source : Original charter : ERO, D/D Ba T4/13.

Notes : Lacks seal. Calendared on handwritten card in ERO (T/Z 199/3).

184. Robert de Brus, lord of Writtle and Annandale, quitclaims to Richard de Fanwreyte all services at Folewelleshalyverde, Montpeliers, Writtle in exchange for an annual rent.

Date : 1295x1304.

Source : Original charter : Oxford, Wadham College MS no.2 (facsimile).

Same scribe as nos.185 and 190. Seal attached as no.180. See notes in Newton, *Manor of Writtle*, pp.41-42, who ascribes this to Robert V.

185. Robert de Brus, lord of Writtle and Annandale, quitclaims to Stephen the Tanner of Writtle all services at Folewelleshaleyerde, Montpeliers, Writtle in exchange for an annual rent.

Date : 1295x1304.

Source : Original charter : Oxford, Wadham College MS, no.4 (facsimile).

Notes : Typed transcript by C.R.Cheney available at ERO (T/A 139, pp.74-75). Seal attached as no.180. Same scribe as nos.184 and 190. See notes in Newton, *Manor of Writtle*, pp.41-42, who ascribes it to Robert V.

186. Robert de Brus senior, lord of Annandale grants to Robert Taper 5½ acres arable and ½ acre meadow in Hatfield Regis for 16d annual rent.

Date : 1295x1304.

Source : Original charter : ERO, D/D Ba T4/17.

Notes : Rather mutilated. Lacks seal. Calendared on card at ERO (T/Z 199/3).

187. Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale and Hatfield Regis quitclaims to William son of Richard Mahell (?Mayhew) of Hatfield the tenement called 'Barrieland' with all tenants and appurtenances with reservation of 6s rent annually and certain other services.

Date : 1295x1304.

Source : Original charter : ERO, D/D Ba T4/27

Notes : Seal, broken, as no.180. Calendared on handwritten card at ERO (T/Z 199/3).

188. Robert de Brus, earl of Carrick and lord of Annandale confirms to William son of Walter Arnby(?) land formerly held by grantee's father in Hatfield Regis.

Date : 7 January 1298.

Source : Original charter : ERO, D/D Ba T4/22.

Notes : Seal, broken, as no.180. Dated at Hatfield Regis, the day next after Epiphany, 26 Edward I. Calendared on handwritten card at ERO (T/Z 199/3).

189. Robert de Brus senior, earl of Carrick and lord of Annandale releases and quitclaims to John Herolff a half virgate of land in Writtle.

Date : 29 May 1298.

Source : C17th copy on single sheet of paper : ERO, D/DP T1/1770.

Notes : Dated Thursday in Pentecost week, 26 Edward I.

190. Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale and Hatfield Regis quitclaims to John de Bledelawe land held by him in Hatfield Regis, reserving a rent of 4s p.a. for all other services etc.

Date : 1 February 1299.

Source : Original charter : ERO, D/D Ba T4/24; cartulary copy, of latter part only, in fragment of C15th Cartulary of Hatfield Regis priory: ERO, D/D Ba Q1/1, f.1.

Printed : Facsimile in *Archives*, 8 (1967-68) facing p.130.

Notes : Dated at Bronsho, Sunday before the Purification 27 Edward I. Seal on reddish wax with good impression, as no.180. Same scribe as no.184 and 185. Witnesses omitted in cartulary copy.

191. Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, Writtle and Hatfield Regis quitclaims to Nicholas de Barenton an annual rent of 21s for tenements and lands in Hatfield Regis except for 6d rent, suit of court and certain other services.

Date : 4 August 1299.

Source : Original charter, ERO, D/D Ba T2/9

Notes : Dated at Writtle, Tuesday after feast of St Peter ad Vincula 27 Edward I.

192. Robert de Brus senior, lord of Hatfield Regis and Writtle quitclaims to Roger ?Brun of T(h)akely lands in Hatfield Regis for rent of 6s p.a.

Date : 26 November 1301

Source : C15th copy in a roll of eight deeds dated between 1301 and 1442 all relating to lands at Hatfield Regis and Takely. ERO, D/D Ba T3/1.

Notes : Dated at Bronsho, Sunday after St Katherine virgin and martyr, 30 Edward I.

* * * * *

Richard de Brus, son of Robert de Brus V (d.1287)

193. Agreement between Richard de Brus and tenants of Writtle regarding services at Montpeliers, in the form of a chirograph.

Date : 24 October 13 Edward I (1285).

Source : Original charter : Oxford, Wadham College, no.1 (facsimile).

Notes : Typed transcript by C.R.Cheney in ERO (T/A 139, p.72).

Tenants named as Walter de Bures, Alexander de Munteny, Henry de Sparkebregg, John atte Heg. Tags for four seals of which only two remain, those of the tenants Alexander and John. See also notes in Newton, *Manor of Writtle*, pp.53-54, where it is ascribed to 'Robert' de Brus.

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