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**Who's afraid of the big bad Bruce? Balliol Scots and 'English' Scots in the
Second Scottish War of Independence**

Iain A. MacInnes

During the Scottish Wars of Independence many Scots chose, or were forced to choose, the apparent security of English allegiance. In the years when Edward I, for example, appeared most likely to win his war with Scotland, many opted to enter the English king's peace in the hope of retaining their lands, rights and privileges under the new administrative order. This acknowledgement of the likelihood of an Edwardian victory prompted a practical response from most leading Scottish figures. The war in Scotland, as Edward I himself discovered, was not however simply a choice between Scottish independence and English overlordship. There was, bubbling under the surface, the ongoing civil conflict between the Balliol/Comyn and Bruce factions. The divisions that existed between the supporters of both parties became permanently fixed following Robert I's killing of John Comyn in 1306 and the rebellion that followed. Those individuals and families who had previously fought for Scotland's continued independence, but who were diametrically opposed to Bruce and his cause, now found themselves in need of English support as the only option if they were to defeat the Bruce seizure of the Scottish throne. Ultimately the opponents of Bruce, even with English assistance, lost their struggle and although some were able to enter into the new king's peace others were unable or unwilling to do so and instead entered exile in England. This was not, however, the end of the story. After Robert I's death, the question of the 'Disinherited', those nobles and other individuals who had been dispossessed of their ancestral lands or whose claims to inheritance had been ignored in favour of loyal Bruce supporters, raised its head. And although the

English Disinherited became the more famous, leading the invasion of Scotland in 1332 with Edward Balliol as their nominal leader, a number of Scottish Disinherited too re-entered Scotland in the wake of Balliol's early campaigns.

There were also those within Scotland whose allegiance to the Bruce dynasty had been extorted through force or the threat of its use against those who were unwilling to accept wholeheartedly the idea that Scottish independence and Bruce leadership were indelibly linked. The Guardianships that ruled Scotland in the name of David II were, therefore, faced with the challenge of governing a notably disunited kingdom. They also had to do so in the face of an active and militarily aggressive alternative in the shape of Edward Balliol assisted by various English Disinherited and Edward III of England. Various studies have examined, directly or indirectly, the subject of Scottish allegiance during the fourteenth-century war years. Most of these deal with specific geographical areas, such as Geoffrey Barrow's article on Lothian and Bruce Webster's study of Dumfriesshire, and more recently, Michael Brown's analysis of Teviotdale and Richard Oram's examination of Galloway.¹ In other works, authors such as Amanda Beam, Michael Penman and Michael Brown have produced

¹ G. W. S. Barrow, 'Lothian in the First War of Independence', *Scottish Historical Review* 55 (1976), pp. 151-71; M. H. Brown, 'War, Allegiance, and Community in the Anglo-Scottish Marches: Teviotdale in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History* 41 (2004), pp. 219-38; R. D. Oram, 'Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway: South-West Scotland and the Wars of Independence', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser., 67 (1992), pp. 29-47; B. Webster, 'The English Occupation of Dumfriesshire in the Fourteenth Century', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser., 35 (1956-7), pp. 64-80.

more detailed examinations of Scots whose allegiance was not pro-Bruce.² In spite of such studies, there has been little detailed analysis of the actual extent of support for the alternative Balliol regime. It is probable that a comprehensive search of existing materials would unearth the names of many more Scots who sided with the Balliol regime. This paper cannot, however, hope to provide full coverage of this subject. Instead it will present details of the careers of individuals whose prominence is reflected in the surviving record evidence, providing an alternative to the seemingly pervading view that Edward Balliol's invasion was doomed to failure through a general lack of Scottish support. His ceding of southern Scotland to Edward III and his increasingly marginalised position in Scotland, perceived generally as steps along the road to his eventual downfall, do not appear to have removed completely support for him in Scotland. And it is worth examining some of the more prominent examples of individuals and, perhaps more importantly, families who did continue to support his cause. Such groups can in themselves provide the basis of a wider study of allegiance and the way in which familial commitment, ties of lordship and even

² A. Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty, 1210-1364* (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 209-34; M. A. Penman, "'A Fell Coniuracioun agayn Robert the douchty king": The Soules Conspiracy of 1318-20', *Innes Review* 50 (1999), pp. 25-57; M. H. Brown, 'Scoti Anglicati: Scots in Plantagenet Allegiance during the Fourteenth Century', *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New perspectives*, ed. A. King and M. A. Penman (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 94-115. See also R. C. Reid, 'Edward de Balliol', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser., 35 (1956-7), pp. 38-63; idem, 'Myrton Castle', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser., 21 (1936-8), pp. 384-91; A. Ross, 'Men for All Seasons? The Strathbogie Earls of Atholl and the Wars of Independence, c.1290-c.1335. Part I', *Northern Scotland* 20 (2000), pp. 1-30; 'Part II', *Northern Scotland* 21 (2001), pp. 1-15; B. Webster, 'Scotland without a King, 1329-1341', in *Medieval Scotland, Crown, Lordship and Community: Essays Presented to G.W.S. Barrow*, ed. A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 223-38.

geographical proximity influenced the loyalty of some Scots during the Second War of Independence.

Balliol Scots and Disinherited Scots in the Second War of Independence

Loyalty and allegiance to the Bruce dynasty were not as absolute as later fourteenth-century Scottish chroniclers suggested. Indeed as Michael Penman has argued, lingering Balliol support had already manifested itself in Scotland in the plot to overthrow Robert I in 1320.³ It should, therefore, come as little surprise that the return of a Balliol representative to Scotland in 1332 reawakened either latent support for Edward Balliol, or at least lasting resentment against the Bruce dynasty. Robert I had after all compelled many Scots to support him at the point of the sword and with the threat, or reality, of devastation and later forfeiture of territories as a means of enforcing obedience to his regime. Edward Balliol was certainly reported to have believed that a body of support for his return existed within Scotland, and that such men would come to his aid following his invasion. English chronicles name Donald, Earl of Mar as the principal supporter of Balliol, notwithstanding that he was named Scottish Guardian in 1332 following the death of Thomas Randolph.⁴ Indeed it seems inconceivable that the Disinherited would have staked their lives and prospects on an invasion if they did not anticipate some sort of popular support for their actions. Forward planning surely anticipated the recruitment of local levies to augment the relatively small Disinherited force sufficiently to face the inevitable Bruce military response.

³ Penman, 'The Soules Conspiracy'.

⁴ *The Brut*, ed. F. W. D. Brie, Early English Text Society, 1st ser., 131, 136, 2 vols (1906-8), i, 274; *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, ed. H. E. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), p. 268.

And such support does appear to have been forthcoming, either in response to the Disinherited invasion or to Balliol's victory at Dupplin Moor. The Disinherited landing at Kinghorn in Fife provoked an armed response by Bruce forces under the command of the earl of Fife, but the apparent ease with which the Bruce forces were defeated bought the invading forces several days of security. In this time they traversed Fife, including a trip to Dunfermline, and it is likely that during this time both financial and physical support was recruited from the earldom. Questions may already have been raised at this time about the loyalty of the earl of Fife, who was described by one English chronicler as 'so wonder sorry, and full evil shamed that so little company had him discomfited, and shamefully put him and all his company that was alive for to flee.'⁵ Fife's career and loyalty over the next few years would indicate his own indecision regarding his allegiance, and he shall be examined in more detail in due course. There appears to be an assumption in analyses of the war that much of the early support that Balliol and the Disinherited were able to attract was a short-term response to the shock of Balliol's arrival and early success.⁶ Those who did throw their weight behind Balliol in the early days are perceived as being less committed supporters, and more political opportunists who thought they saw the political wind blowing in Balliol's direction. As Amanda Beam has pointed out, however, Edward Balliol did enjoy ongoing support, for example from prominent Galwegian families based within the Balliol family's ancestral territories in the region.⁷ Indeed it was Galwegian forces under Eustace Maxwell who were reported to have risen in support

⁵ *Brut*, ed. Brie, pp. 275-6.

⁶ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, pp. 223, 233-4; Brown, 'Teviotdale in the Fourteenth Century', pp. 227-9; Penman, *David II*, pp. 48-9; Webster, 'Scotland without a King', pp. 229-32.

⁷ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, pp. 223-4.

of Balliol when the Disinherited were besieged in Perth and who may have been responsible in part for the abandonment of the siege.⁸ And record evidence of support for Balliol within the Galloway area is relatively abundant, mostly through English administrative sources.

Of highest social rank within the area was the Maxwell family. As already indicated it was Eustace Maxwell, lord of Caerlaverock, who was described leading the region's pro-Balliol forces to relieve Perth.⁹ Without such support the Disinherited invasion, despite its success at Dupplin Moor, could well have failed at a very early stage. This early example of pro-Balliol loyalty appears to have become a pro-English stance on 1 February 1334 when Maxwell entered Edward III's service for life. This was done in return for the king finding Maxwell his wife and his children a manor to the value of £40 a year, suggesting that by this time some of his own territories had been lost to the Bruce Scots.¹⁰ Maxwell's allegiance to Edward III appears to have been substantive and he received English pay for service with Edward III during the Roxburgh campaign over the winter of 1334-5.¹¹ In the following months he received £20 for service with the king over Easter.¹²

Thereafter his service to the English crown involved guardianship of his own castle of Caerlaverock, as well as service 'in other parts of Scotland' until 5 September 1335.¹³ Maxwell was also appointed English sheriff of Dumfriesshire, an

⁸ *Lanercost*, ed. Maxwell, pp. 272-3.

⁹ For Maxwell, see Oram, 'Bruce, Balliol and Galloway', pp. 43-4.

¹⁰ *CDS*, iii, no. 1143.

¹¹ BL, Cotton MS Nero C.VIII, fols 239, 253.

¹² *CDS*, iii, no. 1161.

¹³ BL, Cotton MS Nero C.VIII, fol. 256.

administrative role from which he could draw an income.¹⁴ No doubt it was convenient for Edward III to have a loyal Scot, and a local lord of note, in charge of this territory. It is, however, tempting to see the hand of Edward Balliol in the appointment, securing the reward of a prominent supporter for his loyalty and his actions in the recent conflict. Maxwell also continued to serve Edward III in a military capacity and was given £50 in May 1336 for his wages and those of his men-at-arms and hobelars ‘recently serving the king in the war in Scotland.’¹⁵ This service to the English king was a logical course of action following Edward Balliol’s ceding of southern Scotland, Maxwell’s territories included, to Edward III in 1334. That this altered political reality was in effect does not, however, mean that Maxwell had ‘gone English.’ Adoption of English status may have occurred in 1347 when Eustace’s son Herbert Maxwell submitted to the earl of Northampton and was recognised as ‘an Englishman.’¹⁶ For Eustace Maxwell, English service appears however to have been less a declaration of overwhelming English loyalty and more an indication of his enduring pro-Balliol/anti-Bruce inclinations.

Similarly, the receipt of English pay should not be perceived as a declaration of wholehearted adoption of an English identity. Like the Comyns after 1306, support of the English was a means to an end, for it was the English who provided the best chance of placing Edward Balliol on the Scottish throne, as well as providing the financial backing for the conflict. Even those Scots who were not officially enrolled in English service were as likely paid by the English exchequer. Much of the money

¹⁴ Webster, ‘English Occupation of Dumfriesshire’, pp. 69-72; Oram, ‘Bruce, Balliol and Galloway’, pp. 44-5.

¹⁵ TNA, E 403/288, m. 7. Maxwell also received a cash gift from Edward III in November 1335 of £40; BL, Cotton MS Nero C.VIII, fol. 273.

¹⁶ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 704.

Edward Balliol used to pay his own troops was, after all, subsidised by payments from Edward III. From a basic financial view, therefore, it may be argued that Balliol service and English service were in effect one and the same thing. And this is perhaps one of the reasons why the extent of Balliol support is unclear. The records of Balliol's administration are lost and with them the names of most of those who supported his regime. Meanwhile many of those, such as Maxwell, who served Balliol by engaging in English service have been regarded in the past as 'Scots in English service' rather than 'Balliol Scots.' This distinction may be narrow, but in denying or ignoring the pro-Balliol nature of such individuals it minimises their importance in the Scottish civil conflict of this period. Men such as Eustace Maxwell were Balliol supporters living in Scotland. They were an integrated part of Scottish society and as such they are potential indicators of the extent of wider support for Balliol.

English administrative evidence provides significant details on other Scots who were Balliol supporters.¹⁷ One of the most obvious is another family from south-west Scotland, the McCullochs. Although discussed less than that other prominent south-west kindred, the MacDowells, the McCullochs' record of service was impressive.¹⁸ As a Wigtownshire family with a history of Balliol/English allegiance and English military service they lost their lands in Scotland following the success of Robert I

¹⁷ Eustace Maxwell abandoned his support for Balliol in 1337, and suffered as a result as his lands were devastated by the English. Still, he had returned to Balliol's support once more by 1339. His son Herbert followed a similar path and entered English peace in September 1347, probably in the wake of the Balliol/English campaigns in southwest Scotland following Neville's Cross. He had, according to a letter written by the earl of Northampton, entered England under a safe conduct and submitted to Edward III as his king and to Northampton as his lord for Annandale, also surrendering Caerlaverock Castle into the earl's custody; *CDS*, iii, no. 1507.

¹⁸ Oram, Bruce, Balliol and Galloway', pp. 43-7.

against his internal enemies.¹⁹ Their return to Scotland appears to have been either in the company of Edward Balliol or in the aftermath of the Disinherited invasion. In the first years of conflict there are no mentions of the family at all in English service, suggesting either their return to Scotland in the months after the 1333 invasion or active military service with Balliol for which the records are now lost. English service appears to have been the next logical step, at least after 1334, and the family is first represented in English records by William McCulloch in 1336. He served in the army of Edward Balliol, albeit in the retinue of Henry Beaumont, on the march of the two Edwards to Perth in the summer campaign of that year.²⁰

It was, however, Patrick McCulloch who appears to have enjoyed the greatest benefits of long-term Balliol loyalty and English military service. Patrick was in receipt of an English pension by March 1338 and remained loyal throughout the 1340s.²¹ He served with two *armiger* men-at-arms in the garrison of Berwick from June 1340 to July 1341.²² Between 1341 and 1342, he received three payments for ‘his good and loyal service’ and for ‘remaining in the king’s peace.’²³ And in April 1344 he was one of a group of Disinherited Scots who petitioned Edward III for arrears of money owed to them. In McCulloch’s case this amounted to 100 marks as

¹⁹ R.C. Reid, ‘Myrton Castle’, pp. 384-91; Reid, ‘Edward Balliol’, pp. 51-2; Oram, ‘Bruce, Balliol and Galloway’, pp. 37-8, 44-7.

²⁰ William McCulloch had his horse, valued at £10, appraised at Berwick on 16 May 1336; TNA, E 101/19/36, m. 2.

²¹ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 541; cf. Reid, ‘Edward Balliol’, pp. 51-2; Oram, ‘Bruce, Balliol and Galloway’, p. 44. In May 1338, Patrick McCulloch received one tun of wine from the king’s stores at Carlisle; *CCR 1339-41*, p. 81.

²² TNA, E 403/321, m. 7.

²³ TNA, E 403/318, m. 8; E 403/321, m. 6; E 403/326, m. 13; cf. Reid, ‘Edward Balliol’, pp. 51-2.

wages for himself and two ‘vallets.’²⁴ Patrick McCulloch then appears to have utilised his record of English service on the Anglo-Scottish frontier to gain access to the potential rewards of continental service, in this case in Brittany. Between 1343 and 1347 he served with English forces in the duchy for at least sixteen months, for which he and his two *armigers* received regular payment.²⁵ McCulloch’s Breton service may even have been a response to a wider English recruitment of Scots to serve on the continent. In April 1345 the crown ordered that safe conducts should be issued to those *Scotis Anglicatis* who wished to cross the sea to serve the English king, although further investigation is required to ascertain how many Scots took advantage of this opportunity.²⁶

Having returned to the Anglo-Scottish frontier Patrick McCulloch remained in English pay and service in March 1354.²⁷ He continued to receive money from the English exchequer as late as 1362 when sums paid to him were apparently part of a grant of 100 marks a year he was given ‘until the lands and tenements which are of his inheritance in Scotland should be restored to him.’²⁸ By this late stage English service appears to have become his principal source of income and any territories he had recovered in Scotland during the war years had been lost once more to the Bruce party. By 1362 therefore it may be argued that McCulloch had in effect ‘gone English.’ He may even represent an early Scottish example of a developing professional soldier, earning his living wherever the English were willing to employ

²⁴ *CDS*, iii, no. 1432.

²⁵ TNA, E 101/23/39.

²⁶ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 660.

²⁷ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 763.

²⁸ *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, Lord High Treasurer of England*, ed. F. Devon (London, 1835), p. 457; *CDS*, v, nos 831, 833.

him. And Patrick McCulloch was certainly not alone in embarking on such a career. Various Scots are recorded serving in France for English pay in the 1370s.²⁹ This later career was, however, the obvious response of a Balliol supporter who had lost everything in his own, and his family's continued support for the Balliol party and continued rejection of the ultimately successful Bruce dynasty.

Patrick's ongoing service in English pay appears also to have acted as a stimulus for other members of the McCulloch kin network to follow his example, accounting for a possible seven members of the family present in English service over the period 1343-47. Thomas and Michael McCulloch petitioned Edward III at the same time as Patrick (25 April 1344) over arrears of their wages of 12d a day for military service already performed.³⁰ Gilbert McCulloch was in receipt of English wages of 12d a day in February 1343 and was still in English service in the border region in 1347.³¹ And a compilation of the names of those Scots recorded serving the English crown in a military capacity, in August 1341, June 1342 and in 1347, also includes those of: John son of Gilbert McCulloch; possibly another John; Patrick son of Patrick McCulloch; John son of Patrick; and Michael McCulloch, perhaps the same individual who petitioned Edward III in 1344.³² This, then, would appear to represent the service of a major south-west Scottish kindred, not simply individual members adopting Balliol/English allegiance. As with Maxwell, the service of these named individuals was often accompanied by various others – *hobelars*, *armigers* and *valets* – who were probably extended family, supporters, followers or tenants. The names of these

²⁹ See, for example, *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, ed. Devon, pp. 410-11.

³⁰ *CDS*, iii, no. 1432.

³¹ *CDS*, iii, no. 1406; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 690.

³² *Rot. Scot.*, i, 611-2, 626-8, 690.

individuals are not recorded. Military service such as this does, however, suggest a wider basis of support for the Balliol/English cause, based on the extended kin and military service networks at work throughout, in this case, south-west Scotland.

Evidence for this process repeating itself outwith the south-west is more limited, but Alisdair Ross has demonstrated that the return of David Strathbogie to his ancestral estates in Atholl reawakened latent support in the region from families with long-standing links to the comital family.³³ Loyalty to lords who had been forfeited in the wake of the Bruce settlement of the kingdom almost twenty years before confirms that some Scots welcomed the return of Disinherited families with long connections to particular areas, a situation that almost certainly required the return of a Balliol king to overturn the Bruce settlement. English records are also useful in demonstrating the importance of familial links in regards to service in English forces, an action which may in some cases also be interpreted as an acknowledgement of support for the Balliol cause in English-controlled southern Scotland. Amongst such groups are several families from Lothian. Some examples are provided by the families of Dalmahoy, Pontekin, Crichton and Napier. Alexander and Roger Dalmahoy served alongside each other in the garrison of Edinburgh Castle in 1335, Roger at least continuing his service in 1339-40, while Alexander was recorded serving with English forces patrolling the border region in 1342.³⁴ There is also record of a William Dalamahoy, who at Perth in July 1336 received a gift of £10 from Edward III that was intended for Alexander Mowbray.³⁵ This association of a member of the family with

³³ Ross, 'Men for All Seasons. Part II', pp. 4-5.

³⁴ *CDS*, iii, p. 361, nos 1390, 1407; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 626-8 (Alexander Dalmahoy); *CDS*, iii, pp. 360, 363; no. 1323; TNA, E 101/22/20, m. 3; E 101/23/1, m. 1 (Roger Dalmahoy).

³⁵ BL, Cotton MS Nero C.VIII, fol. 278v.

the Mowbrays, one of the major families involved in the Disinherited enterprise from the beginning, is reinforced by evidence from the previous year. In October 1335, William Dalmahoy is included in a long list of Scottish 'gentlemen' who received pardons from Edward III, presumably as a result of abandoning their Balliol/English allegiance in the aftermath of the Disinherited collapse in 1334, and returning to their previous allegiance following the summer campaigns of 1335.³⁶ The men named (who included two other members of the Mowbray family) had entered Edward III's peace 'on the same conditions as Sir Alexander Mowbray.'³⁷ If there was indeed a connection between the Dalmahoys and the Mowbrays this would appear to represent an example of the type of extended military network already alluded to in relation to the south-west kindreds.

Not all of the men pardoned in this year were necessarily linked to the Mowbrays and in turn with the Dalmahoys, but it does appear that the various named individuals were all linked through their support of Edward Balliol. Some of those others mentioned in 1335 can be traced through quite long periods of English service. These include men of the family of Craigie, with both Alexander *senior* and Alexander *junior* included in the 1335 warrant. Both men served in the garrison at Edinburgh in 1335-6, and were joined in this service by Gilbert and William Craigie.³⁸ The younger Alexander Craigie had left the garrison by January 1340 at the

³⁶ *CDS*, iii, no. 1184. The names of those listed were William Mowbray, Roger Mowbray, Alexander Craigie senior, Alexander Craigie junior, John Dunbar, Phillip Glen, William Dalmahoy, James Dundas, William Fairly, William Bartholomew, John Comyn, Roger Young, Roger de Aulton, Hugh Crawford, Geoffrey Mowbray, John Comyn, Alexander Latoft, Robert Scott, Duncan Bell, Adam French, Ellis Lythe, Robert Barber and Geoffrey Makelly.

³⁷ *CDS*, iii, no. 1184.

³⁸ *CDS*, iii, p. 361, no. 1186.

latest, but Craigie *senior*, who had remained in Edinburgh throughout the 1330s, was still in English service until at least 1342.³⁹ The departure of the younger Craigie may indicate a break with his father and with his Balliol/English outlook, for Craigie *junior* would later receive his father's estates from the Scottish crown as an apparent reward for the son's adoption of the Bruce allegiance.⁴⁰ These lands included the manor of Craigie as well as other lands in Lothian, such as Halton in Edinburgh, all lying within that area of southern Scotland administered by the English in the 1330s.⁴¹ Another Alexander Craigie, possibly Alexander *senior* but referred to as 'le cosyn', was in receipt of an English grant in 1343.⁴² The long service of Alexander *senior* which, similar to those families already discussed, is likely to have begun before the recorded resubmission to Edward III in 1335, may have been based on a familial history of similar service. In particular, the Craigies had past associations with Edinburgh Castle, the names of an Alexander and a William Craigie amongst the members of the English garrison of the castle in 1312.⁴³

Interestingly, the garrison at Edinburgh appears during the 1330s to have been the base for many Scots in Balliol/English service. Alongside Craigie *senior* served a

³⁹ TNA, E 101/22/20, mm. 3, 3v; *CDS*, iii, no. 1186, and pp. 361, 363. Both men had left Edinburgh by the time of the next financial account, which began on 26 January 1340; E 101/23/1, m. 5.

⁴⁰ *CDS*, iii, pp. 360, 362, nos. 1186, 1280, 1292, 1296, 1323, 1351, 1388, 1392, 1404; *Registrum magni sigilli regum Scotorum*, ed. J. M. Thomson and J. B. Paul, 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1882-1914), i, app. 2, p. 907. Craigie junior received £26 13s 4d from the Scottish chamberlain, on the orders of David II, in 1342; *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. J. Stuart, *et al.*, 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1878-1908), i, 509.

⁴¹ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 323. Margaret Craigie was confirmed of the 6 marks annual return from the land of Halton in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh in a charter of 1377; *Registrum magni sigilli*, ed. Thomson and Paul, i, 239-40.

⁴² *CDS*, iii, no. 1412.

⁴³ *CDS*, iii, p. 409.

fellow knight, William Ramsay of Colluthie.⁴⁴ He too possessed territorial interests in Lothian including properties in Edinburgh.⁴⁵ His service in Edinburgh appears almost as consistent as Craigie's, his name appearing in the accounts for 1336-7 and 1339-40, while he also received financial assistance from the English crown as late as 1343.⁴⁶ It appears to have been in this year, however, that Ramsey decided to alter his allegiance, and submitted to David II.⁴⁷ Below the level of these knightly figures, other local men also performed military service in the keeping of Edinburgh Castle. Alexander and John Crichton, Thomas, Adam and William Pontekin, and Duncan, Richard and John Napier, all served in the garrison at some stage between 1335 and 1340.⁴⁸ Their names suggest that they were all local Lothian men.⁴⁹ Of these three

⁴⁴ Ramsay's service was of considerable duration, recorded on the payrolls of the Edinburgh garrison for 1336-7 and 1339-40; TNA, E 101/22/20, mm. 3, 3v; *CDS*, iii, pp. 360, 362, and no. 1323. He continued to receive money from the English Exchequer until around 1343, when he appears to have returned to the Bruce allegiance; *CDS*, iii, nos. 1351, 1367, 1368, 1388, 1392, 1409.

⁴⁵ *Rot. Scot.*, i, 689.

⁴⁶ *CDS*, iii, nos. 1292, 1294, 1323, 1409; pp. 360, 362.

⁴⁷ M. A. Penman, *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton, 2004), pp. 91-2, 101, 104, 107-8, 110.

⁴⁸ TNA, E 101/22/20, m. 3; *CDS*, iii, nos. 1184, 1323; p. 362 (Alexander Crichton); *CDS*, iii, pp. 360, 362 (John Crichton); *CDS*, iii, pp. 360, 363, no. 1323; E 101/22/20, m. 3; E 101/23/1, m. 1 (Roger Dalmahoy); *CDS*, iii, p. 361 (Alexander Dalmahoy); *CDS*, iii, nos. 1186, 1323, p. 363; E 101/22/20, m. 3; E 101/23/1, m. 1; cf. *CDS*, iii, nos. 1390, 1406, 1534 (Pontekin).

⁴⁹ The town of Crichton lay within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, and a William Crichton, who apparently did not enter English service, was forfeited two acres of land in the town in 1335-6 for his Bruce allegiance; *CDS*, iii, 334, 380. Dalmahoy lies within the city of Edinburgh, and Pontekin, although not now apparently in existence, was recorded in 1311-12 as lying within Mussleburgh; *CDS*, iii, no. 245. Duncan Napier received a grant from the Scottish crown of the lands of William Edinburgh, within the town itself, after the forfeiture and death of William. This grant was probably made in the 1340s, and confirms not only his return to Bruce allegiance but also his territorial interests

families it is the Crichtons who appear to have had the longest history of English service. In 1312 a Nicholas Crichton served both in the garrison and as a juror on an English inquisition into the forfeiture of lands in Edinburgh sheriffdom from Bruce rebels. The Pontekins, meanwhile, extended the geographical scope of their military service outside the walls of Edinburgh Castle, with Adam and Thomas Pontekin both serving in English border forces in 1341 and 1342.⁵⁰

The Lothian and Edinburgh connections of these families suggest that there may have been a local element at work in their choice of allegiance, the proximity of a nearby English garrison possibly being a strong factor in their decision. The examples of previous familial service hints, however, at something perhaps a little deeper and such a propensity to enter English service suggests underlying and enduring opposition to the Bruce regime. The defection of some of these individuals already mentioned in the 1340s, when castles such as Stirling, Roxburgh and Edinburgh fell, may indicate a final realisation by some that the Bruce Scots were winning the war and that a Balliol resurgence looked increasingly unlikely.⁵¹ Still there remained those who sustained their allegiance to Edward Balliol and/or Edward III. The MacDowells and McCullochs, one or two submissions to the Bruce Scots aside, remained loyal with both families recorded in Balliol's circle of supporters in the 1350s.⁵² The McCullochs, as already indicated, also sought greater service in English forces as a

within Edinburgh; TNA, E 101/22/20, m. 3; *CDS*, iii, pp. 361-2, no. 1323. All three Napiers appear to have left the garrison by the beginning of 1340; E 101/23/1, m. 1.

⁵⁰ *CDS*, iii, nos. 1186, 1323; p. 363; TNA, E 101/22/20, m. 3; E 101/23/1, m. 1; cf. *CDS*, iii, nos. 1390, 1406, 1534.

⁵¹ Michael Brown has argued that in Teviotdale, allegiance was to an extent governed by whoever held Roxburgh Castle at any given time; 'Teviotdale in the Fourteenth Century', pp. 227-9.

⁵² See, for example, Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, p. 342.

means of financial support. Elsewhere in Scotland a similar picture of continued anti-Bruce activities is suggested. As Michael Brown has demonstrated for Roxburghshire, the Corbet family continued their anti-Bruce stance. They too were a family with a history of support for the English. As a result of their allegiance some of their lands were granted by Robert I to Archibald Douglas during the first conflict.⁵³ During the second phase of the war, Roger Corbet served in the local garrison of Roxburgh in 1336 and 1337, as did Thomas Corbet, and Roger was joined in Roxburgh in 1340-42 by Richard Corbet.⁵⁴ The English recapture of Roxburgh Castle after Neville's Cross was followed by a return of an English administration in the area, and by 1357-8 the Corbets were once more participating actively within that system with William, Gilbert and Alan Corbet all appearing as jurors on English inquisitions.⁵⁵

One final individual worth considering in such a study of allegiance and support for the Balliol party is Duncan, Earl of Fife. He provides an interesting example of the behaviour and allegiance of one of Scotland's principal magnates. Fife's loyalty to either side during the Second War of Independence was never particularly consistent. Amanda Beam's suggestion that he was 'at best...a closet Balliol partisan' may be complimented by suggesting that at worst he was a self-interested and self-serving

⁵³ *Registrum magni sigilli*, ed. Thomson and Paul, i, app. 2, no. 279. In 1309, Thomas Corbet, son and heir of Robert Corbet and his wife Matilda, swore homage and fealty to Edward II; *CDS*, iii, no. 99. In 1333, Edward III granted Marjory, widow of Roger Corbet, five quarters of wheat because her lands had been burned in the recent Scottish invasion; TNA, E 101/19/27, m. 9; E 101/22/40; *CDS*, iii, nos. 1240, 1382).

⁵⁴ TNA, E 101/19/27, m. 9; E 101/22/40; *CDS*, iii, nos. 1240, 1382. A Thomas Corbet served in Edinburgh Castle in 1336-7; *CDS*, iii, 363; cf. E 101/35/3, for a Thomas Corbet on English campaign service.

⁵⁵ *CDS*, iii, nos. 1636, 1641, 1670; Brown, 'Teviotdale in the Fourteenth Century', pp. 221, 228.

waverer who changed allegiance whenever one side appeared close to victory.⁵⁶ More likely his many changes of allegiance were a desperate attempt to ensure the retention of his earldom and protect the rights of his daughter as his sole heir. His vacillating loyalty does, however, provide a useful case study of the way in which the allegiance of a lord had a direct effect on the allegiance of his retainers and perhaps other prominent local figures. As already indicated, there may have been doubts over Fife's loyalty as a result of his capitulation when faced by the invading Disinherited force at Kinghorn. He did however take his place among the Bruce Scots at Dupplin Moor, his capture recorded in chronicle accounts as occurring amidst a desperate last stand by his knights.⁵⁷ His behaviour after his capture is more damning for not only did he submit to Edward Balliol, but his submission was apparently regarded as meaningful enough to ensure that he was entrusted with the custody of the new king's capital at Perth.⁵⁸ He also performed his ancestral duties at Balliol's coronation by crowning the alternative king of Scots, significantly a duty he had failed to perform at David II's own coronation.⁵⁹ Fife's attendance at Balliol's coronation is also notable for his

⁵⁶ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, p. 225.

⁵⁷ *Chronica gentis Scotorum*, ed. William F. Skene, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1871-2), ii, 347; *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, ed. D. Laing, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1872-9), ii, 391; *Scotichronicon*, ed. D.E.R. Watt, *et al.*, 9 vols (Aberdeen/Edinburgh, 1987-98), vii, 77-9.

⁵⁸ For Fife's potential pro-Balliol affiliation, see R. Tanner, 'Cowing the Community? Coercion and Falsification in Robert Bruce's Parliaments, 1309-1318', in *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235-1560*, ed. K. M. Brown and R. J. Tanner (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 50-73, at p. 71; Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, pp. 224-5; Penman, 'Soules conspiracy', p. 44.

⁵⁹ *Chronica*, ed. Skene, ii, 347; *Cronykil*, ed. Laing, ii, 392; *Scotichronicon*, ed. Watt, *et al.*, vii, 81; *Lanercost*, ed. Maxwell, p. 272; R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 93-4; Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, 224-5; Penman, *David II*, pp. 48-9.

appearance there with thirteen knights of his retinue. This was presumably intended to demonstrate to the new regime not only Earl Duncan's submission, but that of his extended entourage and by association the knightly elite of Fife itself.⁶⁰ The earldom was also well represented at Balliol's coronation by the appearance of several local religious figures, as well as the representatives of local burghs.⁶¹ In light of the catastrophic defeat at Dupplin Moor and Earl Duncan's own experience of two defeats at the hands of the Disinherited, defection to Edward Balliol, even without latent support for the Balliol cause, was probably a logical move for him personally. While the Disinherited army remained in the area, submission on a general scale by the population of the earldom was also a sensible precaution to take. There is, however, a lingering suspicion over the loyalty of Earl Duncan, his men and indeed much of his earldom in the ensuing years that suggests that this area retained Balliol sympathies.

A closer look at those who accompanied Earl Duncan to Edward Balliol's coronation suggests that those who submitted at the same time as their lord were indeed the knighthood of Fife and the earl's personal retinue.⁶² Three of those named individuals – David Wemyss, Michael Wemyss and Michael Scott – were witnesses to one of the earl's charters around 1330.⁶³ And at least six of those listed were recorded

⁶⁰ *Lanercost*, ed. Maxwell, p. 272; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 93; Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, p. 313.

⁶¹ Penman, *David II*, p. 48.

⁶² The knights were named as David Graham, Michael Wemyss, David Wemyss, Michael Scott, Alexander Lamberton, John Dunmore, John Bonvile, William Fraser, William Cambo, Roger Morton, John Laundel, Walter Lundie and John of Inchmartin; *Lanercost*, ed. Maxwell, p. 272; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 93; Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, p. 313.

⁶³ NAS, RH1/2/103; NAS, GD1/349/1.

in the same division as the earl at the battle of Halidon Hill (David Wemyss, Michael Scott, William Fraser, William Cambo, John Laundel and Walter Lundie).⁶⁴ The earl of Fife's political affiliation over the years from 1332 to around 1336 appears very complex, with several changes of allegiance in this relatively short period of time. His career is probably worthy of greater investigation in itself. Of interest here are the pieces of evidence that suggest that Fife's men followed a similar path to that of their lord. For example, John of Inchmartin appears to have been in the Disinherited allegiance in June 1334, when John Stirling, the prominent Disinherited leader and later sheriff of Edinburgh, witnessed a grant of his to the Blackfriars of Perth.⁶⁵ Even in 1336, the year in which Earl Duncan appears to have made a final decision to support the Bruce party, Michael Wemyss was the recipient of a grant of £40 (and possibly also a separate grant of victuals) from Edward III on 24 March.⁶⁶ Greater analysis of the actions of the Fife affinity, if the evidence exists, would be useful for exploring the ways in which the lord's allegiance, as well as his actions in support of one side or the other, was replicated by his followers. The evidence provided here, although brief, is certainly suggestive of the earl's retainers following the example of their lord. Whether this was as a result of lingering Balliol loyalty on their part or of following the political allegiance of the earl is less clear. There is at least an indication that the decision to support Balliol instead of Bruce was one made by more

⁶⁴ *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1307 to 1334, from Brotherton Collection MS. 29*, ed. W. R. Childs and J. Taylor, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 147 (Leeds, 1991), pp. 165-7; *Brut*, ed. Brie, i, 283-6. A possible seventh individual is Roger Mortimer (Morton?). A Duncan, son of Roger Mortimer, was a hostage for the earl's ransom in 1350 following his capture at Neville's Cross; TNA, E 39/14/1; Penman, *David II*, p. 205.

⁶⁵ NAS, GD79/1/6. For more on Inchmartin, see Penman, *David II*, p. 69n.

⁶⁶ *Foedera* (RC ed.), II, ii, 935; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 411.

individuals than has been recognised to date. That the decision appears to have been relatively easy for some men to make suggests that support for Balliol remained in existence throughout different parts of Scotland, and for a notably long period of time.

Conclusion

As already indicated, this paper has not provided a comprehensive discussion of the extent of Balliol support in Scotland during the period of the Second War of Independence. Such an investigation requires much more in the way of research, to locate references to those families and their associates to whom may be assigned some level of pro-Balliol allegiance. What this paper has suggested, however, is that the level of support for Balliol, some of it over a quite prolonged period of time, was stronger than has been recognised. The Bruce Scots, in spite of various individuals submitting to the Balliol/English party on several occasions, were relatively secure in having a committed base of support. Submissions to the Balliol party by individuals with pro-Bruce inclinations were mostly the result of short-term considerations or assumptions over the way in which the war was proceeding. Some individuals also remained who were so definite in their support that they did not submit at all, although these were the minority. Still, why should it be assumed that those who began as Balliol supporters, or who demonstrated such an allegiance from an early stage in the conflict, were quicker to submit to the Bruce party when things began to turn against them? Those who supported Edward Balliol may be argued to have done so as a result of much deeper loyalty to his cause, or at least to the change in Scottish landownership that a Balliol victory would represent, allowing the return of families who had been disinherited by Robert I.

Those individuals and families who were Disinherited Scots, who followed Balliol north or who returned to Scotland following his early successes in the hope of recovering lost territories, are indeed worthy of study in themselves. How many families were involved? Where had they been in the intervening years? How effective was their return, if there was indeed a return at all? And, considering the apparent primacy of the English Disinherited to the entire enterprise, how important were the Scottish Disinherited to the Balliol cause during the years of conflict which followed? This paper has suggested that some families who returned were of key importance to both Balliol's attempts to govern Scotland, and to Edward III's attempts to control the southern part of it. And this has been proposed without any reference to the prominent families who were at the forefront of anti-Bruce attacks during the First War of Independence, such as the Comyns, the MacDougalls and the MacDowells, all of whom are represented in the names of those in English pay from the 1330s onwards. This paper has also suggested that there is the possibility for analysing in more detail the careers of those Scots who had not gone into exile, who had instead submitted to the Bruce dynasty but who returned to a Balliol/English allegiance after 1332 and who fought to re-establish the Balliol dynasty once more. The scattered references in chronicles and administrative documents can be drawn together much more easily when potential patterns of service and loyalty are examined in more detail. The case of the earl of Fife is suggestive of the lordly military retinue acting to bind cohesively the men of the earldom to the allegiance of an individual lord. When expanded to its logical conclusion (even if, for a man like Fife, the extent of true loyalty to Balliol is more difficult to ascertain), this is suggestive of at-times large-scale support for the Balliol cause that can only have assisted his attempts to defeat the Bruce party. And if such support was available to Edward Balliol, then it suggests the need for a re-

evaluation of the reasons behind his ultimate failure to capture the Scottish crown, and the Bruce party's eventual victory.