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## ENGLAND'S NORTHERN FRONTIER

The three counties of England's northern borderlands have long had a reputation as an exceptional and peripheral region within the medieval kingdom, preoccupied with local turbulence as a result of the proximity of a hostile frontier with Scotland. Yet, in the fifteenth century, open war was an infrequent occurrence in a region which is much better understood by historians of fourteenth-century Anglo-Scottish conflict, or of Tudor responses to the so-called border reivers. This first book-length study of England's far north in the fifteenth century addresses conflict, kinship, lordship, law, justice and governance in this dynamic region. It traces the norms and behaviours by which local society sought to manage conflict, arguing that common law and march law were only parts of a mixed framework which included aspects of 'feud' as it is understood in a wider European context. Addressing the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland together, Jackson W. Armstrong transcends an east–west division in the region's historiography and challenges the prevailing understanding of conflict in late medieval England, setting the region within a wider comparative framework.

JACKSON W. ARMSTRONG is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Aberdeen, where he specialises in late medieval Scottish and English history. He has led two major funded projects concerned with Scotland's earliest and most complete body of legal and town records, the UNESCO-designated Aberdeen council registers. Armstrong has previously served as book reviews editor for the *Scottish Historical Review* and as a trustee of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

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# ENGLAND'S NORTHERN FRONTIER

*Conflict and Local Society in the Fifteenth-Century  
Scottish Marches*

JACKSON W. ARMSTRONG  
*University of Aberdeen*



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*For Vicky, Findlay and Innes*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Note: All references to archival documents in the notes begin with an abbreviation denoting the name of the repository, except for references to documents in The National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office), Kew.

ADA	<i>The Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints, 1466–1494</i> , ed. T. Thomson, (Edinburgh, 1839)
ADC, I	<i>The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, 1478–1495</i> , ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1839)
BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BL	British Library
CAC	Cumbria Archive Centre
<i>Cal. Deeds</i>	<i>Calendar of Ancient Deeds</i>
<i>Cal. Papal Reg.</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers</i>
<i>Cata. Deeds</i>	<i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i>
Cbl.	Cumberland
CChR	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls</i>
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CDS	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i>
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
<i>Chron. Hardyng</i>	John Hardyng, <i>The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng</i> , ed. H. Ellis (London, 1812)
CIM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
Coldingham	<i>Coldingham Correspondence. The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls and Law Proceedings of the Priory of Coldingham</i> , ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 12 (London, 1841)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>

### *List of Abbreviations*

CSL	<i>Calendar of Signet Letters of Henry IV and Henry V (1399–1422)</i> , ed. J.L. Kirby (London, 1978)
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
DCM	Durham Cathedral Muniments
DSL	<i>Dictionary of the Scots Language</i> , Scottish Language Dictionaries (2001–), <a href="http://www.dsl.ac.uk/">http://www.dsl.ac.uk/</a>
DUL	University of Durham Library
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>English Chron.</i>	<i>An English Chronicle, 1377–1461</i> , ed. W. Marx (Woodbridge, 2003)
<i>English Suits</i>	<i>English Suits before the Parlement of Paris, 1420–1436</i> , ed. C.T. Allmand and C.A.J. Armstrong, Camden, 4th ser., 26 (Cambridge, 1982)
ER	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , ed. J. Stuart et al., 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1878–1908)
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc.</i> , ed. T. Rymer, 10 vols (Hagae Comitibus, 1745; reprint, Farnborough, 1967)
<i>Fox's Register</i>	<i>The Register of Richard Fox, Lord Bishop of Durham, 1494–1501</i> , ed. M.P. Howden, Surtees Society, 147 (London, 1932)
GEC	G.E. Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage</i> , ed. H.V. Gibbs et al., 14 vols (London, 1910–98)
HMC	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>
HNP	Howard of Naworth Papers (in DUL)
HOP	<i>History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386–1421</i> , 4 vols, ed. J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (Stroud, 1992)
<i>Incerti</i>	<i>Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliae . . .</i> , ed. J.A. Giles (London, 1848)
JLH	<i>Journal of Legal History</i>
JUST	Justices Itinerant
KB	King's Bench
LHR	<i>Law and History Review</i>
<i>Liber Pluscardensis</i>	<i>Liber Pluscardensis</i> , ed. F.J.H. Skene, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1877–80)
LOE	<i>List of Escheators for England and Wales</i> , ed. A.C. Wood, List and Index Society, 72 (London, 1971)
LOS	<i>List of Sheriffs for England and Wales</i> , ed. A. Hughes, Lists and Indexes, Public Record Office, 9 (London, 1898; reprint, New York, 1963)

### *List of Abbreviations*

<i>MED</i>	<i>The Middle English Compendium</i> (including <i>Middle English Dictionary</i> ), ed. F. McSparran et al., University of Michigan (2006– ), at <a href="https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/index.html">https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/index.html</a>
NA	Northumberland Archives
Nbl.	Northumberland
<i>NCH</i>	<i>A History of Northumberland. Issued under the Direction of the Northumberland County History Committee</i> , 15 vols (Newcastle, 1893–1940)
<i>Northern Petitions</i>	<i>Northern Petitions Illustrative of Life in Berwick, Cumbria and Durham in the Fourteenth Century</i> , ed. C.M. Fraser (Durham, 1981)
<i>Northumb. Petitions</i>	<i>Ancient Petitions Relating to Northumberland</i> , ed. C.M. Fraser, Surtees Society, 176 (Durham and London, 1966)
NRS	National Records of Scotland
NUL	Newcastle University, Philip Robinson Library
<i>OED</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> (2nd edn, 1989, and Additions series, 1993– ), consulted at <i>OED Online</i> , <a href="http://dictionary.oed.com">http://dictionary.oed.com</a>
<i>Oxford DNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B.H. Harrison (Oxford, 2004)
<i>Pèlerinage</i>	<i>Le pèlerinage de l'âme de Guillaume de Deguileville</i> , ed. J. J. Stürzinger, Roxburghe Club (London, 1895)
<i>Plumpton Letters</i>	<i>The Plumpton Letters and Papers</i> , ed. J. Kirby, Camden Society, 5th Ser., 8 (Cambridge, 1996)
<i>PPC</i>	<i>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England</i> , ed. H. Nicolas, 7 vols (London, 1834–7)
<i>PROME</i>	<i>The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504</i> , ed. C. Given-Wilson, 16 vols (Woodbridge, 2005)
<i>Pylgremage</i>	<i>The Pylgremage of the Sowle</i> , ed. F. van Vosselen (s.d.), consulted at <a href="http://pilgrim.groznynl">http://pilgrim.groznynl</a>
<i>REM</i>	<i>Return of the Names of Every Member . . . , Part I: Parliaments of England, 1213–1702</i> (London, 1878)
<i>RMS</i>	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. Register of the Great Seal of Scotland</i> , ed. J.M Thomson et al., 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1882–1914). Scottish Record Society, reprint (Edinburgh, 1984)
<i>Rot. Scot.</i>	<i>Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi . . . , ed. D. Macpherson et al., Record Commission, 2 vols (London, 1814–19)</i>

*List of Abbreviations*

RP	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum . . .</i> , ed. J. Strachey et al., Record Commission, 6 vols (London, 1767–7)
RPS	<i>The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707</i> , ed. K. M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007– ), <a href="http://www.rps.ac.uk">www.rps.ac.uk</a>
Scotichronicon	<i>Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English</i> , ed. D.E.R. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen, 1987–98)
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
Smyth, Berkeleys	John Smyth, <i>The Lives of the Berkeleys . . . and Description of the Hundred of Berkeley</i> , ed. J. Maclean, 3 vols (Gloucester, 1883–5)
SR	<i>Statutes of the Realm</i> , ed. A. Luders et al., 11 vols in 12, Record Commission (London, 1810–28; republ., London, 1963)
Statuta Ecclesia Scoticanae	<i>Concilia Scotiae: Ecclesiae Scoticae Statuta tam Provincialis quam Synodalia quae Supersunt MCCXXV–MDLIX</i> , ed. J. Robertson, Bannatyne Club, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1866)
Stonor Letters	<i>Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290–1483</i> , ed. M. C. Carpenter (Cambridge, 1996)
TA	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1473–1498</i> , ed. T. Dickson and J.B. Paul et al., 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1877–1978)
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>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
Wml.	Westmorland
York Civic Records	<i>York Civic Records</i> , ed. A. Raine and D. Sutton, 9 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Ser., 98–138 (Wakefield, York and Leeds, 1939–78)