

## INDEX

- acculturation, 18–19, 50  
 accustomed practices. *See* conflict  
 adjudication of conflict, 26, 223, 309  
 administration of justice, 45, 180–1  
   border diets, 186–7  
   border justice, 167, 181–97  
   common law, 174  
   cross-border homicide, 191–3  
   days of march, 185–6  
   equity, 174  
   France, 170–1  
   German-speaking lands, 170  
   justices of the peace, 175–6  
   liberties and franchises, 178–80, 196  
   private appeal of felony, 177–8  
   royal justice, 167, 169–70, 172–81  
   Scotland, 171–2  
   sheriff's tourn, 176–7  
   sheriffs, 172–4  
   treason, 182–5, 196  
   truce-breaking, 187–91  
   trust, 188–9  
 Afghanistan, comparison with northern  
   marches, 3–4, 94  
 Agincourt, Battle of (1415), 68, 110, 300  
 agriculture, 45, 104–6  
   cereal agriculture, 101–3  
   diverse forms of productivity, 98–100  
   hill farming, 98  
 aid and adherence, cross-border, 60, 114, 183,  
   253–4  
 Alnwick, 69, 88–9  
   Alnwick Abbey, 85  
   Anwick Castle, 67, 78, 84, 147  
   sieges, 81  
 Anglo-Scottish marches defined  
   borders, marches as, 19–22  
   east, west and middle marches, 58–9, 67  
   frontiers, marches as, 19–22, 49–53  
   geographical area, 3  
   late medieval perception, 64–5  
   legal history of the marches, 16–17  
   unique nature, 51, 57  
   Welsh or Irish marches compared, 51–3  
 annuities, grants of, 120, 324, 328  
 antiquarian societies, 13  
 appeal of felony, private, 177–8  
 arbitration, 26, 39, 45, 169–70, 272, 309,  
   334–6  
   compensation, 328  
   extra-judicial arbitration, 39, 272, 311, 334  
   justices of assize, 310  
   King's justices, 310  
   kinsmen, 311–13, 333  
   lovedays, 309  
   peace-makers, 311–15  
   umpires, 310  
 Arthuret, 61–3  
 assize, courts of, 71, 175–6, 201, 211, 310  
 assythement, 172, 329  
 Bamburgh, 69, 78  
   sieges, 81  
 'bastard feudalism', 1–2, 9, 82, 120  
 Berwick, 69, 88  
   Berwick Castle, 91  
   sieges, 81  
   trade, 63  
 bloodfeud. *See* feud  
 border justice, 16, 197, 268; *see also* arbitration;  
   redress  
   codification, 181–2  
   King's role, 196  
   liberties and franchises, 182  
   offence of treason  
     high treason, 183  
     march treason, 183  
   reparation, 308

## Index

- border justice (cont.)  
     royal justice compared, 45, 167, 196, 265, 270, 308, 335, 339, 341  
     wardenial jurisdiction, 182  
 border magnates  
     England, 8; *see also* Nevilles of Raby, earls of Westmorland; Percy earls of Northumberland  
     Scotland, 60; *see also* Douglas family, earls of Angus (Red Douglasses); Douglas family, earls of Douglas (Black Douglasses); Dunbar family, earls of March  
 border raiding and defence, 5, 7, 36, 74, 338  
     cross-border offences  
       jurisdiction, 264–5  
     Piccolomini's report, 259–60  
     environmental and economic factors, 262–4  
     gender segregation, 260–2  
 border violence, 4–5, 15–16  
     cross-border conflict, 249–50  
     degree and intensity, 307  
     homicides, 233–6  
     landed elite, 234  
     law, 40  
     liberties and franchises, 240  
     patterns of conflict, 232–3  
     peasants, 303  
     severe violence, 297, 300–1  
     strategic violence, 297  
     vengeance, 299–300  
 borderland towers. *See* towers and castles  
 Bourchier, Henry, Lord Bourchier (earl of Essex), 110, 178  
 Bower, Walter (abbot and chronicler), 4–6, 247  
     classification of buildings, 78  
 Braudel, F., 97–8  
 Brisco–Denton affair, 217–19, 300–1, 312  
 'British' history, approaches  
     archipelagic approach, 20  
     British Isles approach, 21  
     English world approach, 21  
 Brunner, O., 32–3  
 by-names, 131–2  
     patronymic by-names, 133, 136  
 canon law. *See* ecclesiastical law  
 Cardew, A., 17  
 Carlisle, 12, 88  
     Carlisle Castle, 45, 91  
     cathedral, 87, 115  
     sieges, 81  
     St Mary's Priory, 330  
     trade, 63–4  
 Carpenter, C., 2, 105, 209, 235, 315  
 castles. *See* towers and castles  
*castra*, 78–80  
*Causa de Heron* (1428–31), 289, 295, 304, 310, 313–14, 325, 329–30  
 cellular England, 42, 340–1. *See also* 'centre', 'periphery' and 'locality'  
 centralisation of the English state, 2, 40–4, 340–1  
 'centre', 'periphery' and 'locality'  
     agglomeration, England as an, 42  
     centre–locality model, 42  
     centre–periphery model, 42–3, 51, 105, 340–1  
 cereal agriculture, 102–3  
 ceremonial reconciliations. *See* reconciliation ceremonies  
 Chancery, court of, 44, 174–5, 213, 219, 235, 274, 282  
*chevauchées*, 243–4, 267  
 chivalry, 46, 188, 272, 288  
     duels of chivalry, 184–5, 193–4  
     international codes of chivalry, 38  
     law of arms, 184–5, 193–4, 267, 322, 335  
     shaping normative conduct, 272  
 Clifford family, 112–13, 122, 173–4, 176, 194–5, 212, 216, 220, 239  
*cognomina*, 131–4, 139, 145, 251; *see also* kinship; naming customs and practices  
     kinship solidarity, 160–1  
 Coldingham, 115–16  
     Coldingham Priory, 60, 116, 280  
 collaboration between the nobility and the gentry, 2, 10. *See also* cooperation between King and nobility  
 common law, 37, 39, 167, 344  
     common law norms, 37  
     'monothemism', 37  
     royal justice, 172–81  
     universal authority, 44  
 common pleas, court of, 139, 174, 195, 202, 231  
 communing or trying, 254–5, 265  
 compensation for injury; *see also* arbitration; assythement; peace-makers and peacemaking; redress; reparation  
     cross-border homicide, 191–3  
     restitution of plundered goods, 188  
 compromise, peace by, 45, 181, 297, 308  
 supporters and peacemakers, role of, 308  
 conflict, 105, 339–40; *see also* arbitration; border violence; conflict management; cross-border conflict; vengeance culture  
 accustomed practices, 45, 163, 185, 188, 193, 196–7, 241, 306–7, 317, 334–5, 339  
 concept of, 25–6

## Index

- crime, 29  
 informal dispute resolution, 2, 45  
 negotiation, 26  
 socially constructive nature, 25–7  
 violence, 27–9  
 war, 29–30  
 conflict management, 26–7, 308–9; *see also*  
     adjudication of conflict; arbitration;  
     peace-makers and peacemaking  
 contractual arrangements  
     indenture of marriage, 332–4  
     lordship, 296–7, 331–2  
     support groups, 162  
 continuity and stability, 10–13  
 cooperation between King and nobility, 2,  
     6–11. *See also* collaboration between the  
     nobility and the gentry; conflict  
     management; peace-makers and  
     peacemaking  
*coram rege* pleas, 199, 212, 215–16  
 council in the north, 175, 223–4, 239–40  
 courts. *See* Chancery, court of; common pleas,  
     court of; gaol delivery, courts and rolls;  
     King's bench, court of; manorial courts;  
     warden courts  
 crime, 29  
 criminal law, 29  
 cross-border conflict; *see also* conflict  
     abettors and receivers, 253–4  
     communing or trysting, 254–5  
     cooperation in illicit deeds, 252–4  
     cross-border dwellers, 248–52  
     cross-border kidnapping, 255–7  
     homicide, 257–9  
     identity and allegiance, 247–9, 251–2  
     lesser illicit activity, 246–7  
     siege warfare, 244–6  
     truce violations, 242–4  
         legitimising truce-breaking, 244  
     violent offences, 249–50  
 cross-border homicide, 257–9  
     administration of justice, 191–3  
     compensation for injury, 191–3  
 cross-border kidnapping, 255–7  
 cross-border relations and diplomacy, 17–19, 59,  
     63, 187, 196, 243, 266, 279  
 crown charges of felony, 199  
 crown charges of trespass, 199  
  
 Dacre family, 45, 111–13, 117, 122, 126,  
     146, 149, 157–8, 162, 190, 212,  
     216–17, 239  
 debatable land, 55–7, 59  
     mapmaking and cartography, 65–6  
     western debatable land, 60–3, 243  
  
 dispute/disputing. *See* conflict; conflict  
     management  
 double patronyms, 133–6, 163–4, 337–8, 340  
     kinship solidarity, 160–1  
 Douglas family, earls of Angus (Red Douglasses),  
     60, 152  
 Douglas family, earls of Douglas (Black  
     Douglasses), 60, 116  
 duels and tournaments, 193–4, 298. *See also*  
     judicial duels  
 Dunbar family, earls of March, 60, 125, 245, 281  
 Dunstanburgh, 69, 78  
 Durham, bishopric and palatinate of, 12, 58, 96,  
     104, 142, 145, 178, 237  
 Durham Priory, prior and monks of, 115–17,  
     168, 282, 314, 326, 329  
  
 ecclesiastical architecture, 87  
 ecclesiastical law, 38, 309  
     arbitration, 335  
     common law, relationship with, 41  
     homicide, 287  
         *actus reus* and *mens rea*, 286  
         spiritual and corporeal homicide, 286–8  
     peacemaking, 314  
     shaping normative conduct, 272  
 Edward III, 57, 180  
 Edward IV, 60, 113–14, 120, 180, 215, 220  
     rule by proxy, 220, 343  
     second reign, 224  
 Elias, N., 30  
 emotional language; *see also* language and  
     terminology  
     enmity, 278  
     enmity, 278  
         mortal enmity, 278–80  
     friendship, 278  
     legitimising relationships and behaviours,  
         278  
     lower social levels, 282–4  
     vengeance, 280–2  
 endowment of younger sons, 126  
 English crown land, 111  
 English Reformation, acts of supremacy and  
     uniformity, 41  
 entail. *See* settlements in tail male  
 equity, 174, 338  
 extra-judicial arbitration. *See* arbitration  
  
 Fast Castle, 78  
 Febvre, L., 19  
 feud, 3–4, 33, 45  
     assertion and defence of noble rights,  
         mechanism for, 32  
     concept of, 31–5, 270–1

## Index

- feud (cont.)  
 France, 170–1  
 French monarchism compared, 32  
 German-speaking lands, 170  
 negative connotations, 32  
 peaceful equilibrium in 'stateless' societies,  
   mechanism for, 32  
 Scotland, 171–2  
 various types, 33–4  
 feud-like disputes  
   direct involvement of magnates, 291  
   norms limiting and validating actions and  
     choices, 272  
   support groups, 271, 291  
   vengeance  
     principle of reciprocity, 271–2  
 fluidity of Anglo-Scottish frontier, 60–3  
 force, use of. *See* use of force  
*fortalicii*, 79–80  
 Fortescue, John (chief justice), 42, 124  
 France, 26, 30–1, 54  
   administration of justice, 170  
   classification of homicide, 285  
   feud, 170  
   royal grace, 33, 171  
 frontier rhetoric, 92–4, 116, 180  
 frontier society concept, 18–19, 50–1, 74  
 frontiers; *see also* Anglo-Scottish marches  
   defined  
     concept of, 53–4  
     ambiguity of frontiers, 52, 55–8, 247  
     linear frontiers, 50–1  
     zonal frontiers, 50–1  
 gaol delivery, courts and rolls, 201, 210–16  
 gentry lordships  
   Huddlestons of Millom, 113  
   Ogle family, 114  
   Parrs of Kendal, 113  
   Tailboys family, 114  
   Umfraville family, 113–14  
 Germany, 30–1  
   feud, 33  
 Gluckman, M., 32  
 'good lordship', 120  
 Goodman, A., 17, 19  
 governance, 6–13, 39–40, 105  
   common law, 37  
   cooperation between King and nobility, 2,  
     10, 25, 31  
   ecclesiastical law, 38  
   extra-judicial arbitration, 39  
   march law, 38  
   merchant laws and customs, 38  
   view from Westminster, 38, 343  
 governmental structures, strength of, 23–5,  
   31–5, 119, 240–1, 268  
 Greystoke family, 45, 112, 147, 224  
 habitation. *See* human settlement and  
   agriculture  
 Hardyng, John (chronicler), 6, 64, 181  
   feud, concept of, 276–8  
   identification of buildings, 78  
   inventory of marches, 71–2  
   maps and mapping, 72  
   surnames, 137, 161  
   vengeance, concept of, 280  
 Henry IV, 78, 111, 115, 211, 245, 247, 344  
 Henry V, 201  
 Henry VI, 216–17, 275, 279, 322  
 Henry VII, 138, 150, 173, 180, 223, 235, 240, 338  
 Heron, William. *See Causa de Heron* (1428–31)  
 Hexhamshire, 55, 115, 179, 236, 238, 246, 267  
 homicide, 233–6; *see also* language and  
   terminology  
   classification of homicide, 284–91  
     *actus reus* and *mens rea*, 286  
     England, 285–91  
     France, 285  
     malice aforethought, 285  
     murder, 285  
   cross-border homicide, 191–3, 257–9  
   ecclesiastical law, 286–8  
 Homildon Hill, Battle of (1402), 59  
 human settlement and agriculture, 45, 69, 74–5,  
   100  
   agriculture, 98–100  
     cereal agriculture, 101–3  
   castellated habitations, 81–2  
   diversity of, 103–5  
   habitation, 45, 69, 75, 106  
   human habitation, 100–2  
     castellated habitations, 81–2  
     nucleated villages, 101–3  
 Hundred Years War, 343  
 Hyams, P.R., 35  
 identity and allegiance, 247–8, 251–2  
   cross-border dwellers, 248–51  
 Imperial Diet (1495) (Germany), 31  
 indentures of marriage (and peacemaking  
   function), 279, 318, 332–4  
 indentures of retainer, 120  
   Crown control through licensing, 121, 124,  
     162, 296  
   exemption of certain kin relationships, 122–3  
   good lordship, 120–1  
   manrent, 123–4  
   military service, 121–2

## Index

- peacemaking function, 331–6
  - wardens of the march, 120–2
- inheritance disputes, 80, 224, 291–2, 301–3
  - See also* conflict
- international codes of chivalry, 38, 193
- international frameworks of maritime and merchant laws and customs, 38
- international laws of war, 38
- inventories of sites in Northumberland
  - Hardyng, John (chronicler), 71–2
  - Nomina castrorum et fortalicionum infra comitatum Northumbriae* (1415), 68–71
  - Northumberland ‘holdis and towneshyppes’ (1509), 49–71
- Irish marches, 11, 51, 53, 185
- James III of Scotland, 187, 242
- James, M., 22, 31
- judicial duels, 139, 193–5
  - cross-border duelling, 185, 194–5
  - duel of chivalry compared, 193
  - march treason, 183–4, 306
- justices of the peace, 175–6
- Kendal, 36, 102, 110–11, 325
  - Parr family, 113–14
- King’s bench, court of, 2, 174, 199–201, 225, 264, 338; *see also* Westminster, view from
  - private litigation, 174, 199
- kinship, 17, 45, 124–5; *see also* surnames
  - Anglo-Scottish marches, 136
  - bonds between local families
    - Anglo-Scottish marches, 157–60
    - Northumberland, 156–7
    - Westmorland, 156
  - distant kinship ties, 128–30
    - affinity and alliance, 294–6
  - English kinship, 136, 156, 291–5
  - extended kinship, 125
    - participation in violent disputing, 291–4
  - horizontal kinship ties, 126–8
  - kinship among the gentry, 292–3
    - Fenwicks, 128–30
  - kinship solidarity, 160
    - cognomina*, 160–1
    - double patronyms, 160–1
  - Scottish kinship; *see* surnames
  - strength of sociopolitical structures, 23–5, 40, 119, 338
  - uplands and lowlands compared, 125–6, 130
  - vertical kinship ties, 125–6
  - wide kinship grouping, 136
    - bonds between local families, 157–60
- knightly feud, 33
- Lancaster, duchy of, 58
- Lancaster, family of Rydal, 127, 155, 293, 301
- Lancaster, Prince John (duke of Bedford), 78, 91, 111, 140
- landowners, 45, 163
  - absentee lordship, 117
  - Bourchier, Henry, Lord Bourchier (earl of Essex), 110–11
  - diversity, 117–18
  - English crown, 111
  - gentry families, 113–14
  - lesser nobility, 111–12
  - Nevilles of Raby, earls of Westmorland, 109–10
  - Percy earls of Northumberland, 109
  - religious houses, 114–16
  - sub-baronial landowners, 112–13
- landscape, 74–5, 93–105; *see also* human settlement and agriculture
  - perceived remoteness, 92–5
- language and terminology; *see also* emotional language
  - anger and felony, 275–6
  - borderland towers, 76–81, 105
  - borderlands conflict, 276–7
  - compensation, 329
  - compromise, 319–20
  - conflict and associated emotions and motivations, 273–91, 306
  - feud, 34
  - kinship and friendship, 294–6
  - legal records, 273–6
  - malice, 280–2
  - marches and borderlands, 55–7, 105
  - surname, 137–9, 146, 161, 163, 337
  - violence, crime and war, 28–31
- Lannoy, Ghillebert de, 65–6
- Lattimore, O., 19
- law of arms
  - attacks on women, 262
  - border raiding and defence, 339
  - chevauchées*, 243–4, 267
  - chivalry, 184–5, 322, 335
  - judicial duels, 193–4
  - plunder, 243
  - siege warfare, 244–6
  - ‘lawlessness’, 6–15, 25
  - Le Bel, Jean (chronicler), 93
  - Leges Marchiarum* (1249), 57, 67
  - Levyn rebels, 61–3
  - liberties and franchises, 3, 37, 43, 58
    - administration of justice, 178–80, 196
    - cross-border raiding, 266
  - franchise lordships
    - jurisdictional autonomy, 13

## Index

- liberties and franchises (cont.)
  - patterns of conflict, 236–9
    - Anglo-Scottish war and truce, 239–40
    - violent offences, 240
    - privileged jurisdictions, 14
  - Liddesdale, 149, 151
  - linear frontiers, 50–1
  - livery. *See* indentures of retainer
  - livestock rustling, 144, 159, 170, 231, 251, 256, 262–3, 267, 280, 339
  - long peace, 15
  - lord–man bonds, 121, 162; *see also* indentures of retainer
    - legislation and proclamations, 120
  - lordship, role of, 45, 163
    - continuity and stability, 11–13
    - Ireland, 14
    - liberties and franchises, 13–15
    - ‘overmighty subject’, 8–11
    - support groups
      - written contracts, 296–7
  - lovedays; *see also* arbitration
    - reconciliation ceremonies compared, 321
- Macdonald, A.J., 15, 194, 236
- malice, 34, 36, 54, 275, 279nn 52 and 53, 280–3, 285–6, 288–90, 293, 306, 317, 319, 333
- Malory, Thomas (writer), 5, 54, 277
- manorial courts, 38
- manrent, 123–4
- mapmaking and cartography, 65–73
  - renaissance cartography, 65–8
- march days, 182–3, 185–7, 242, 246, 256, 258, 266
  - judicial duels, 193
- march law, 38, 45, 167
  - border justice, 181–97
  - days of march, 185–6
  - days of truce, 185–6
  - Leges Marchiarum* (1249), 57, 67
  - wardens, 9, 16
- marches. *See* Anglo-Scottish marches
  - defined
- marriage. *See* indentures of marriage
- McFarlane, K.B., 1, 4, 9, 82
- mediation, 26, 316
- Melrose Abbey, 116
- naming customs and practices, 130–1; *see also*
  - kinship; patronymic naming patterns; surnames
- hereditary surnames
  - by-names, 131
  - cognomina*, 131–2
- national politics and local conflict, relationship
  - between, 45
- Neville, C.J., 16
- Nevilles of Middleham, 9–11, 110, 112
- Nevilles of Raby, earls of Westmorland, 8–11, 110
  - indentures of retainer, 121
- Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 59, 88, 177
  - trade, 64
- Nomina castrorum et fortaliciorum infra comitatum Northumbriae* (1415), 68–71, 80
- north, concept of, 3, 9, 49–57
- Oswald, saint, 168, 195
- oyer and terminer* commissions, 175, 210–11, 213, 230, 238
- palatinates, 14, 43
  - governance, 341–3
- patronymic naming patterns, 132, 134–6; *see also* surnames
  - by-names, 131, 133, 136
  - double patronyms, 133–6, 160–1, 163–4, 337–8, 340
- patterns of conflict, 199–201
  - Anglo-Scottish war and truce, 224–32
    - liberties and franchises, 239–40
  - Brisco–Denton affair, 217–19
  - court records
    - gaol delivery rolls, 201, 210–16
    - King’s bench records, 201–10, 216–24
  - Cumberland, 218–19
  - French campaigns, 212–13
  - Henry IV, 211–12
  - impact of national political struggles, 214–16
  - liberties and franchises, 236–41
  - Northumberland, 219–20
  - Redeption of Henry VI, 217
  - Richard II, 210–11
  - violent offences, 232–3
    - homicides, 233–6
    - landed elite, 234
    - liberties and franchises, 240
  - Westmorland, 220–2
- peace-makers and peacemaking
  - de-escalation from violence, 316–17
  - gentry, 311
  - lords, 314
  - objectives
    - maintaining equilibrium, 315
    - re-establishing the peace, 315
  - prelates, 314
  - religious members of local families, 311
  - transformation of the social fabric, 316–19
    - ceremonial reconciliations, 320–8

## Index

- contracts of lordship and kinship, 331–4
- gift-exchange/compensation, 328–31
- wider kindred, 312–13
- perception of northerners, 5–6, 64–5
- Percy earls of Northumberland, 8–11, 109
- indentures of retainer, 121
- Percy, Henry (Hotspur), 56
- Percy rebellions in 1403, 1405 and 1408, 211
- Percy–Neville disputes (1453–4), 214
- petition by ‘poures liges’ of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland (1415), 91
- Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius (Pius II)
  - cross-border raiding, report on, 259–60
  - environmental and economic factors, 262–4
  - gender segregation, 260–2
- plundering, 5, 64, 141, 243, 253, 299–300, 339; *See also* border raiding and defence
- Pocock, J.G.A., 20
- Pollard, A.J., 12, 236
- population distribution, 8, 18, 100, 117, 233
- private power, 2, 24–5, 83, 169, 180, 315
  - and public power, 25
- private war, 30, 35, 37, 276
- public authority, 169
  - and private power, 2, 169–70, 180, 315
- ‘public order’, 29, 169
- receiving, 149, 253–4
- reciprocity, principle of
  - compensation, 328–9
  - king, nobility and gentry, relationship between, 39
  - vengeance, 271–2, 316
- reconciliation ceremonies
  - contrition and atonement, 322–3
  - England, 320–3
  - handholding, 324
  - lovedays compared, 321
  - oath-taking, 324–5
  - submission and humiliation, 321–2, 325–7
- Redesdale, 69, 113–14, 136, 138–9, 178–80, 236, 238, 266
- redress, 29, 63, 168, 187, 246, 265, 311; *see also* march days; reconciliation ceremonies; vengeance culture
  - breaches of the truce, 183
  - compensation, 172, 186, 188, 191, 270, 328–31
  - cross-border homicide, 191–3
  - injury, of, 170
  - trod, 189–91
- religious houses
  - cross-border links within landed society, 116–17
  - landowners, 114–16
  - towers and castles
    - status and aspirations, 86–7
- remoteness leading to ‘lawlessness’, 6–13
- reparation, 187–8, 192, 196, 270, 308, 326, 328–30. *See also* compensation for injury; reconciliation ceremonies; redress
- retaining. *See* indentures of retainer
- Richard III
  - council in the north, 175, 223, 240
  - usurpation, 111, 210, 222
- rights in land, 2, 24, 35, 39
- Roxburgh, 78
  - Roxburgh Castle, 112, 114, 248, 266
- royal council, 174–5, 182, 222–4, 239; *see also* council in the north
- arbitrations, 313
- royal justice, 37, 39–40, 45, 180–1, 270, 339, 344
  - administration of justice, 169
  - border justice compared, 45, 167, 196, 265, 270, 308, 335, 339, 341
  - courts, 174–5
  - justices of the peace, 175–6
  - liberties and franchises, 178–80
  - private appeal of felony, 177–8
  - sheriff’s tourn, 176–7
  - sheriffs, 172–4
- Sandford, family of Askham, 121, 123, 143, 156, 162–3, 217, 296, 300, 311–12, 318, 325, 330–1
- Sark, Battle of (1448), 59, 61
- self-policing, 39, 41, 169, 339
- settlements in tail male, 125–7
- shared cultural values, habits and pursuits, 18, 20. *See also* acculturation
- sheriffs’ powers and duties, 172–4
- sheriff’s tourn, 176–7
- siege warfare, 244–6
- social cohesion, 27, 328
- social militarisation, 19
- Storey, R.L., 2, 213, 240, 344
- structures of landed society, 8–11
- sub-baronial landowners, 112–13
- surnames, 22–3, 25, 96–7; *see also* kinship; patronymic naming patterns
- Anglo-Scottish marches, 161–3
- Charltons, 139–40
- English surnames with Scottish dimensions
  - Armstrongs, 151–2
  - Bells, 146–9
  - Elwalds, 149–51
  - Grahams, 152–5
  - Halls, 145–6

## Index

- surnames (cont.)  
   Fenwicks, 139  
   geographical clusters, 162  
   Hedleys, 142–3  
   mixed status, 293–4  
   Obilson/Oblisson/Olbison, 144  
   origins of, 22  
   Redes, 140–2  
   term, use of and meaning, 137–9, 161, 163, 337  
 symbolic acts of violence  
   duels and tournaments, 298  
   sporting violence, 298  
  
 towers and castles, 57–9, 87–93, 337  
   architecture, 75  
   classification, 76–7  
   contemporary usage, 77–82  
   defence, 81–2  
   Ireland, 89–90  
   military function, 75  
   status and aspiration, 75, 82–6  
     religious houses, 86–7  
   terminology, 75–89  
 trade  
   maritime trade, 64–5  
   overland, 63–4  
 treason  
   administration of justice, 196  
     high treason, 183  
     march treason, 183–5  
 Treasons, Great Statute of (1352), 31, 183, 253–4, 256, 264  
 Treaty of Edinburgh–Northampton (1328), 5  
 Treaty of York (1237), 51, 57, 59, 63, 67  
 trod, 189–91  
 truce indentures, 67, 189–91  
   Anglo-Scottish truces (1484, 1488 and 1497), 64–5, 224–32, 338  
   liberties and franchises, 239–40  
   debatable lands, 56–7, 243  
  
   truce violations, 242–4  
     legitimising truce violations, 244  
 Turner, F.J., 19, 52  
 Turpyn, Nicholas, 141, 147, 159, 213, 230, 246–7, 250–1, 265, 280, 289  
*turris*, 79, 81, 88  
 Tynedale, 13, 55, 57, 69, 109, 136, 138–9, 179, 236–8, 246, 267  
   petition for autonomy, 179  
  
 ‘unitary kingdom’ of England, 36–9  
   bureaucratic centralisation, 40–1  
   institutional uniformity, 40–1  
  
 vengeance culture, 23, 34–7, 45, 168, 196, 303–6  
   pardons, 298–9  
   premeditation, 299–300  
   principle of reciprocity, 271–2, 316  
 violence; *See also* border violence; conflict;  
   cross-border conflict; force, use of;  
   language and terminology; symbolic acts  
   of violence  
 violent offences. *See* border violence  
  
 warden courts, 59, 182–5, 187, 223, 246, 251, 256, 264  
 wardens of the march, 9–10, 53  
   authority, 58  
   indentures of retainer, 120–2  
 Wark, 111, 245–6  
   Wark Castle, 28  
 Wars of the Roses, 5, 344  
 wealth distribution, 8, 113, 118  
 Weber, M., 24–5  
 Welsh marches, 11, 51, 53, 185  
 Westminster, view from, 38, 343  
 Whethamstede, John (abbot), 5  
 Wilkinson family, 143–4, 149, 156  
  
 York, 12, 55, 59, 282–3, 288  
  
 zonal frontiers, 50–1