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TIM THORNTON

Scotland and the Isle of Man, c.1400–1625: Noble Power and Royal Presumption in the Northern Irish Sea Province

One of the major trends in Western European historiography in the last twenty years has been a fascination with territorial expansion and with the consolidation of the nascent national states of the late medieval and early modern period. Writers have attempted to examine the methods by which autonomous territories were progressively brought under central control and integrated with core territories, and by which conquered territories were divorced from their old allegiance and brought under the control of the conquering power. Interest in this process has grown in step with the realisation that it was far from the straightforward absorption once imagined. This has stemmed in large part from the general realisation of the 1960s and 1970s that local political society was more independent and less responsive to central direction than high-political history had previously assumed. The consequence of such work has been to emphasise that the processes of conquest, coalescence and integration were slow ones, cautiously entered upon and enacted by both central and local elites. An important example of this approach is the volume *Conquest and Coalescence*, edited by Mark Greengrass and published in 1991.¹ In his introduction, Greengrass emphasised 'how cautious and prudent Europe's state-makers often were, how dominated by the historical logic of the state tradition of the past in their own regions, even when faced with fortuitous and manifestly opportune circumstances in which to increase their authority and impose their will.'² Christian Desplat, for example, described how in the seventeenth century 'the [French] monarchy displayed considerable flexibility in its attitude towards the Estates of Béarn and, although it reduced its power, it did so without fuss ... it would be wrong to imagine that the relationships between

¹ M. Greengrass (ed.), *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1991).

² M. Greengrass, 'Introduction: conquest and coalescence', *ibid.*, 6.

local and central authority were always bound to conflict.³ Recent work on the late medieval and early modern kingdom of Scotland has played a part in this trend. Much work, for example, has been done on the increasing influence exercised by the Scottish crown over the Highland region and the Lordship of the Isles. A variety of models have emerged, from an interpretation which focuses on the slow erosion of social isolation and rebellious oppositionism, to Alexander Grant's argument that the Lordship was the subject of interacting but contradictory centripetal and centrifugal forces, until destroyed through the confiscation of privileges at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴

Such an appreciation of the continuing respect for the privileges of autonomous areas was long overdue. It has sowed the seeds of some of the most important developments in the political history of the period in the past fifteen years, most notably the understanding of the dynamics of the multiple kingdom and the composite monarchy. Yet there is an important element in the process of the consolidation of political systems in late medieval and early modern Europe which it leaves out of consideration. While the history of conquest and integration has received much attention, far less has been devoted to what might be considered its opposite: the process and implications of territorial loss.⁵ Historians of the British Isles have an important example of this to hand in the disappointment of the claims of the English king to the throne of France. Yet on the whole this has been studied as a case of military defeat, not as one of territorial loss.⁶ This is

³ C. Desplat, 'Louis XIII and the Union of Béarn to France', *ibid.*, 80. The most clearly theorised approach to these issues is that developed by Stein Rokkan and Derek Urwin, which describes alternate phases of centralisation and 'accommodation': see S. Rokkan and D. W. Urwin (eds.), *The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in European Regionalism* (London, Beverly Hills and New Delhi, 1982); S. Rokkan and D. W. Urwin, *Economy, Territory, Identity: Politics of West European Peripheries* (London, Beverly Hills, New Delhi, 1983); and S. Rokkan and D. W. Urwin, 'The price of a kingdom: territory, identity and the centre-periphery dimension in Western Europe', in Y. Meny and V. Wright (eds.), *Centre-Periphery Relations in Western Europe* (London, 1985). Michael Hechter's 'internal colonialism' thesis explained the willingness of central power to permit continued social, linguistic and cultural difference as being a mechanism to permit the exploitation of the 'colonized' area and its population: M. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (Berkeley, 1975).

⁴ Donald Gregory, *The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland* (2nd edn, 1881, repr. Edinburgh, 1975); A. Grant, 'Scotland's "Celtic Fringe" in the late Middle Ages: the Macdonald Lords of the Isles and the kingdom of Scotland', in R. R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles, 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections* (Edinburgh, 1988).

⁵ There is of course the literature devoted to the successful liberation struggles of what were to become independent monarchies in their own right, and the consequent impact on the monarchies of which they once formed part. The main example of this in early modern Europe is of course Portugal, as illustrated by J. H. Elliott, 'The Spanish monarchy and the kingdom of Portugal, 1580-1640', in Greengrass, *Conquest and Coalescence*.

⁶ Exceptions include studies by Anne Curry and Christopher Allmand of garrisoning and settlement in territories under English control, which pay due heed to the importance of English integration and local compliance and commitment, and to 'livelihood' as much as 'profit' as the matter at stake for those involved: A. Curry,

just one manifestation of the tendency to see the war as simply a struggle of nation against nation, ignoring the complexities of dynastic and territorial clashes which cut across 'national' divisions.⁷ The case study examined here is the relationship between Scotland and the Isle of Man. By focusing not on English power in Man but on the island's continuing association with Scotland, the significance of the processes of territorial loss in establishing patterns of territorial association, lordship and sovereignty will be established.

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The outlines of the story are simple.⁸ The Isle of Man, along with the Hebrides, passed to Alexander III in 1266 by agreement with the king of Norway. The authority of the Scottish king was imposed directly by means of royal bailies. Yet the dynastic hiatus of the 1290s enabled Edward I of England to assert his claim to overlordship over all the Scottish king's possessions, including Man.⁹ In the early fourteenth century, the revival of Scottish fortunes under Robert I allowed the return of Man to Scottish control, and it was granted to the king's nephew Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray and Lord of Annandale.¹⁰ But Scottish possession of the island proved short-lived. It was lost in 1333, and by the middle of the century English rule was well entrenched through the Montacute earls of Salisbury. Thereafter the relationship between Man and Scotland has been characterised by both Scottish and English historians as a separation resulting from military force and consisting of little more than 'intermittent violence'.¹¹ This characterisation appears simple,

'The first English standing army? Military organisation in Lancastrian Normandy, 1420-1450', in C. D. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979); C. T. Allmand, 'Local reaction to the French reconquest of Normandy: the case of Rouen', in J. R. L. Highfield and R. Jeffs (eds.), *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1981); C. T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford, 1983) (although the latter's subtitle indicates its continuing main interest in military occupation).

⁷ The dominant interpretation of the claim to the French throne remains that it was a cover for the conquest of pieces of French territory, countering the belief in the reality of the dynastic claim expressed in J. Le Patourel, 'Edward III and the kingdom of France', *History*, xliii (1958): e.g., A. Curry, *The Hundred Years War* (Basingstoke, 1993), esp. 26-73 (including her survey of the recent historiography).

⁸ The most accessible general histories of Man in the period c. 1266-1660 remain A. W. Moore, *A History of the Isle of Man* (1900, repr. Douglas, 1992), i, 181-280; and R. H. Kinvig, *The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural and Political History* (first published as *History of the Isle of Man*, Oxford, 1944; 3rd edn, Liverpool, 1978), 86-108.

⁹ Indeed Edward took over Man as early as Jun. 1290, before the death of the 'Maid of Norway', and well before his claim to overlordship over Scotland: G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (3rd edn, Edinburgh, 1988), 28-9.

¹⁰ *Registrum Magni Sigillii Regum Scotorum [RMS]*, i, App. I, no. 32. One of the obligations which Randolph owed for Man was personal attendance at the Scottish Parliament, which indicates Man's institutional integration into the Scottish realm.

¹¹ E.g., J. Hill Burton, *The History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection* (new edn, Edinburgh, 1873), ii, 318 ('a light and fluctuating

and it fits with the historiographical tradition expounded at the beginning of the century by A. W. Moore. Moore saw Man's closer relationship with the English as both beneficial and inevitable: the accession of the first Stanley lord in 1405 represented for him the end of 'a dismal period of Manx history'.¹² Yet, simple as it may appear, the relationship between Man and Scotland was in fact complex.

The most obvious paradox is that there are repeated signs that English kings and lords of Man continued to view the island they now dominated as Scottish. To an extent, the experience of Man is an indication of the usefulness of the 'British' perspective expounded by Robin Frame and Rees Davies. The activity of Richard de Mandeville, like that of John de Courcy,¹³ suggests the futility of categorising according to rigid and coherent national identities. Mandeville raided the island at least twice, first in 1316 with a force described as Irish, and then later with a group of 'Scots'.¹⁴ It can, however, be argued that during the Anglo-Scottish warfare of Edward II's reign English crown policy emphasised that Man was to be captured and defended as part of the realm or land of Scotland. Scotsmen fought over the island on behalf of both English and Scottish kings. Dungal MacDowell, who had earned Robert I's lasting hatred when he handed over Thomas and Alexander Bruce to the English, held Rushen against the Scottish king in the spring of 1313 after retreating from Dumfries.¹⁵ John of Argyll, the chief ally of the English in the Scottish west, fled to Ireland in 1309 and pressed the English for more active intervention on the west coast. He was rewarded by being made admiral of the western sea in 1315, in a campaign which saw the temporary recapture of Man shortly before the middle of February, the island being taken and held by Duncan MacGoffrey, one of John's Scottish dependants.¹⁶ Equally, during

allegiance'); A. I. Macinnes, 'Scotland and the Manx connection: relationships of intermittent violence, c.1266–1603', *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society [PIOMNHAS]*, new ser., viii (1972–4).

¹² Moore, *Isle of Man*, i, 198. Moore's views on the Scottish connection were set out in his article 'The connexion between Scotland and Man', *ante*, iii (1906).

¹³ R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100–1300* (Cambridge, 1990), 52.

¹⁴ J. Lydon, 'The Impact of the Bruce Invasion, 1315–1327', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, vol. II: *Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534* (Oxford, 1987), 286. Cf. the diverse contacts and activities of Mr Thomas of Man, one of Roger de Quincy's inner circle: G. G. Simpson, 'The *Familia* of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland', in K. J. Stringer (ed.), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), 108, 110–11.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland [CDS]*, iii, no. 84; *Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244–1326*, 379 (20 Oct. 1311; regarding appeal against Sir Simon de Montagu); *Chronica Regum Mannie & Insularum: Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles, BL Cotton Julius Avii*, translated and transcribed by George Broderick (Manx Museum and National Trust, Douglas, 1991), fo. 50^F [facsimile edn, Douglas (1924), 39]; C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306–1328* (East Linton, 1997), 58, 187.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Close Rolls [CCR]*, 1313–18, 153; *CCR*, 1307–13, 205; *CDS*, iii, nos. 95, 132, 157, 421; McNamee, *Wars of the Bruces*, 169, 187.

periods of weakness, the English unequivocally accepted not only that the Isle of Man was Scottish, but, as in 1328, that it was subject to the Scottish king.¹⁷

In the aftermath of his victories at Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill, of course, Edward III reverted to the policy pursued by Edward I from 1292 to 1296 of seeking suzerainty over a Scottish king. The peculiarity of Edward III's policy was, however, to combine subordination of a Scottish king with the seizure of the six Lowland shires of Scotland in full sovereignty. In the case of Man, Edward's grant of the island to William de Montacute, grandson of the heiress Auffricia de Connaught, and the terms in which it was made, seem in some ways to have resolved the question of Man's position in terms of a shift away from Scotland back to greater independence. On 30 May 1333 Edward took control of the island: stating that Edward I had been legitimately seized of Man, he implied that he did not recognise the sovereignty exercised there by either John Balliol or the Bruces.¹⁸ Then, on 9 August, he quitclaimed all Plantagenet rights over the island to William de Montacute.¹⁹ This was before the formal agreement with Balliol, discussed in the English and Scottish Parliaments in 1333, was completed with the surrender of the Lowland shires in 1334.

That did not, however, mean the end of the Scottish connection. Montacute was present as ruler of Man in the Scottish Parliament which ratified the Roxburgh agreement with Balliol. In the immediate circumstances of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, Scottish attacks remained an important threat. It was Montacute's long-standing role in naval affairs in the Irish Sea that made him particularly suitable for a role in an area where the murder of the earl of Ulster in June 1333 appeared about to revive the possibility of Scottish intervention in Ireland.²⁰ In 1337, Richard de Mandeville led a force against the island – this was a sign of the co-operation that had existed between the Scots under the Bruces and Irish elements, even in this case Anglo-Irish.²¹ The island was permitted an unusual and specific relationship with the Scots, for example in the permission given by William de Montacute and confirmed by the king in 1342 for the men of Man to pay an indemnity of 300 marks to the Scots for a one-year

¹⁷ The Scots were therefore free to exploit the island: in 1329, a tenth penny on Manx farm rents, amounting to £150, was paid into the Scottish exchequer; and in 1331 the clergy of Sodor diocese contributed £60: *Exchequer Rolls* [ER], i, 151, 396.

¹⁸ *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1327–37*, 362; *Foedera*, ed. T. Rymer (Hague edn, 1739–45) [*Foedera* (H)], ii (3), 93; *Monumenta de Insula Manniae*, vol. II, ed. J. R. Oliver (Manx Soc., 1861) [*Monumenta*, ii], 180–1 (incorrect dating).

¹⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* [CPR], 1330–4, 64; *Foedera* (H), ii (3), 99; *Monumenta*, ii, 182–4 (incorrect dating).

²⁰ R. Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland, 1318–1361* (Oxford, 1982), 132, 142–8, 196–202. Richard de Mandeville's wife, Gyle, was the instigator of this act of revenge: J. Lydon, 'The impact of the Bruce invasion, 1315–1327', in *New History of Ireland*, ii, 300.

²¹ Frame, *English Lordship*, 145; A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (London, 1968), 257. Richard de Mandeville had previously raided the island with a force of Irishmen in 1316: *Chron. Mannie & Insularum*, fo. 50^r.

truce.²² The confused legacy of claims to lordship springing from Edward II's policy towards Man meant that incentives existed for other claimants to seek Scottish backing. This even extended to Henry Beaumont, who had received grants of the island in 1310 and 1312. Otherwise an enthusiastic supporter of Edward III's Scottish policy, in 1334 he assumed the title of earl of Moray, probably through the grant of the then Scottish king Edward Balliol, and staked a claim to the possessions of the recently deceased Earl Thomas Randolph of Moray, who was lord of Man by Robert I's creation.²³

It has often been said that a new phase in the history of Scottish relations with Man opened in 1346 with the capture of David II at Neville's Cross. The battle did indeed usher in a period in which raids across the Border and in the Irish Sea came temporarily to an end. Neville's Cross also saw the death of John Randolph, Earl of Moray and Lord of Man in the Scottish obedience. He had no male heirs, and so his earldom of Moray and lordship of Annandale, which were held by male tailzie, went into abeyance. So, perhaps, did the lordship of Man; in the 1350s negotiators on both sides tended to accept Man as parcel of the English crown.²⁴ But pressures in Scotland rendered this an unstable situation. Unlike Moray and Annandale, the lordship of Man had been granted to the Randolph heirs-general, and so the Scottish heirs to it were John Randolph's two sisters Agnes and Isabella. Agnes, the elder, was married to Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, and by 1358 he had been recognised as earl of Moray.²⁵ And while that was not entirely regular, he certainly had an unquestioned right under Scots law to the Isle of Man. Once again, therefore, an active Scottish peer assumed the role of the 'disinherited' lord of Man. Yet further complexity was generated in 1359, however, by David II's grant of the earldom of Moray to Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, with the probable intention of it passing to John of Gaunt and thereby doing down both the Stewart contenders for the royal succession and their allies. In negotiations over the acceptance of Gaunt as heir to the childless David II in 1365, it was suggested in the great council at Perth that Gaunt should be offered a landed endowment including the Isle of Man.²⁶

²² *CCR, 1341-3*, 654-5; *Foedera* (H), ii (4), 135; *Monumenta*, ii, 192-7 (incorrect dating); *CDS*, iii, no. 1396; A. K., 'A sidelight on an old story', *Journal of the Manx Museum*, xxxviii (1934), 162-3.

²³ Historical Manuscripts Commission [HMC], *13th Report*, App. VI, 205; R. G. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots* (Oxford, 1965), 160.

²⁴ In 1353 the proposed English withdrawal from the Lowlands does not seem to have extended to Man: A. A. M. Duncan, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense: David II and Edward III, 1346-52', *ante*, lxxvii (1988). In 1357, the treaty of Berwick classified Man as a dominion of the English crown and did not give the earl of Salisbury any special status: *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 803; *Monumenta*, ii, 199-202. The picture is complicated by Edward Balliol's surrender of his rights in Scotland in Jan. 1356.

²⁵ *The Scots Peerage*, ed. J. B. Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14), iii, 266-9.

²⁶ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland [APS]*, i, 137; *ER*, ii, p. lxvi; 'A question about the succession, 1364', ed. A. A. M. Duncan, *Scot. Hist. Soc. Miscellany XII* (1994), 15; C. Johnson, 'Proposals for an agreement with Scotland, c.1363', *English Hist. Rev.*, xxx (1915), 476. In 1359, it was recorded that no rent was received from Man: *ER*, i, 570.

The Scottishness of Man was thereby re-emphasised, but asserted through an English nobleman. This of course conflicted with an English claim, that of the Montacutes, but, significantly, it was proposed that Gaunt's Scottish claim should take precedence, albeit with 1,000 marks a year compensation.²⁷

Discontent at these negotiations, and at royal policy in general, resulted in the revolt of Robert the Steward in 1363; his chief allies were the earls of Douglas and March. The grant of the earldom of Moray to Grosmont in 1359 had helped to alienate March, and the treatment of Man in subsequent negotiations may have completed the process. By then, however, Earl Patrick was in his eighties, and he died in 1368. He was succeeded by his great-nephew George Dunbar, whose mother was Isabella Randolph, the other Randolph heiress to Man.²⁸ He was certainly very conscious of his right to the island, as is graphically demonstrated in the first Scottish page of the *Armorial of Gelres*, compiled in the mid-1380s: here the arms of the 'kin caman' that is the 'King' of Man, come two after those of the earl of March and immediately before those of the earl of Moray (who was then March's younger brother).²⁹ The claim to Man, indeed, may help to explain his support for the Steward's accession to the Scottish throne in 1371: he would have hoped for a more aggressive approach to the English, which might have brought the recovery of his island lordship. Almost immediately Robert took the throne, Earl George adopted the title of lord of Annandale and Man, with the undoubted approval of the king.³⁰ Moreover, in the agreement he made in 1372 for the marriage of his sister Agnes to Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, part of Agnes's marriage portion was to be one hundred librates in the Isle of Man, whenever he or they became possessed of it.³¹ James Douglas was an influential and very wealthy cadet of the great house of Douglas, who was presumably being offered a direct stake in the potential rewards of renewed war with England.³² Thus the politics of the period did not so much see both the Stewart and the Plantagenet dynasties pandering to the separatist tendencies of the lords of the West, as revolve centrally around the resolution of the Scottish claim to the Isle of Man. Thereafter, George Dunbar persisted in using the title lord of Man, refused to

²⁷ *APS*, i, 137, 495–6; *ER*, ii, p. lxvi.

²⁸ *Scots Peerage*, iii, 270–3.

²⁹ Conveniently illustrated in S. I. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371–1406* (East Linton, 1996), facing p. 143.

³⁰ *RMS*, i, nos. 521–2, 553; 'Miscellaneous charters, 1315–1401, from transcripts in the collection of the late Sir William Fraser', ed. W. Angus, in *Scot. Hist. Soc. Miscellany* (1933), no. 17; Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 51–2.

³¹ *RMS*, i, nos. 521 (royal confirmation, 6 Dec. 1372, of the marriage agreement, 21 Nov. 1372), 553 (undated grant regarding Man); *Monumenta*, ii, 203–4; Moore, 'Connexion', 408; Macinnes, 'Scotland and the Manx Connection', 376, note 45. Moore, *Isle of Man*, i, 195–6, erroneously makes her Dunbar's daughter.

³² Sir James was retained by the 1st earl of Douglas in 1372, and was probably worth around £1,000 per annum in rents in 1377–8: *Morton Registrum*, i, pp. xlvii–lxxvi; ii, no. 129; A. Grant, 'The Higher Nobility in Scotland and their Estates, c.1371–1424' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1975), 251, 271.

bind himself to the Anglo-Scottish truce in c.1390, and was included, as lord of Man, on the Valois side in the Anglo-French diplomatic agreements of the period.³³

The importance of Man in the politics of the period had wider consequences. In summer 1388 the attack on Man by Sir William Douglas, natural son of Archibald Douglas, demonstrated that persistent Scottish claims might become reality. This renewed assertiveness generated a major change in English policy in the Isle of Man and the Irish Sea world in general. It was clear that the earl of Salisbury could not prevent the growth of Scottish power in the region. The build-up of the position of William le Scrope as a major power in the areas boarding the Irish Sea may well have sprung from his own ambition,³⁴ but it is significant that the process commenced with the purchase of the Isle of Man, a transaction initiated in 1389, almost immediately after Douglas's raid.³⁵ This represented a major reorientation of his interests: during the 1380s, Scrope had been entrusted with the strategically important posts of seneschal of Aquitaine, and captain of Cherbourg and then Brest.³⁶ By the end of the reign, he was chamberlain and justiciar in Ireland, justice of Chester, North Wales and Flint, and keeper of the lordship of Denbigh. This chimed with Richard II's own interest in the region, and from 1393 Scrope was one of Richard's closest associates as vice-chamberlain of the royal household.³⁷ Richard clearly intended that his royal power in the British Isles might be mediated through autonomous lordships; but this policy was also propelled by the dynamic Scottish interest in the Irish Sea.³⁸

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³³ HMC, *14th Report*, App. 3, 63 (1377); *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon, 1378–1394*, ed. C. Burns (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1976) [CPL *Clement VII*], 90–1 (1383); Scottish Record Office [SRO], GD298/227, s.d. 16 Mar. 1421; *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*, ed. E. Perroy (Camden Soc., 1933), no. 125; A. Grant, 'The Otterburn war from the Scottish point of view', in A. Goodman and A. Tuck (eds.), *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), 38; *Monumenta*, ii, 203–4.

³⁴ As suggested by M. Ormrod, 'Man under the Montacutes', in S. Duffy, *A New History of the Isle of Man*, vol. III: *The Medieval Period* (Liverpool, forthcoming).

³⁵ CCR, 1389–92, 559; CPR, 1391–6, 516; *Calendar of Papal Letters* [CPL], iv, 432.

³⁶ N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, 1997), 247; G. E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 2nd edn, ed. V. Gibbs et al. (London, 1910–59), xii (2), 730–4.

³⁷ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics, and Finance in England, 1360–1413* (London, 1986), 166, 168, 186; R. R. Davies, 'Richard II and the principality of Chester, 1397–9', in F. R. H. du Boulay and C. M. Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971), 273–5. Ormrod, 'Man under the Montacutes', stresses the importance of William de Montacute as the key figure in the military and political administration of the Irish Sea before his death in 1344.

³⁸ Something of the potential power of the Manx lordship can be gathered from the choice of the island as a prison for Thomas Beauchamp, one of the Lords Appellant, in 1397: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ed. J. Strachey et al. (1767–77), III, 380; *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. E. M. Thompson (1904), 17; *Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III–Henry VI*, ed. F. Devon (1847), 271.

The explanation for the experience of the Isle of Man in the fourteenth century is to be found in the way that late medieval people conceptualised the political topography of the British Isles. During this period Man continued to be seen as associated with, if not actually part of, Scotland. By 1200 a clearly defined notion of a geographical kingdom of Scotland was generally accepted.³⁹ This was the area over which the king of Scots ruled; yet the ideal and the reality did not precisely accord, for the idea of 'Scotland' extended further than the actual power of the monarch. The topographical assumptions of the Middle Ages were based on the ideas of classical authors, most importantly Pliny;⁴⁰ he and others such as Orosius⁴¹ developed the concept of Man as an island placed between Ireland and Britain. This informed the work of Bede and Gildas. While the former restricted himself to formulae he found in Orosius,⁴² Gildas and Nennius began a tradition of listing three main islands in association with Britain – Wight, Anglesey, and Man – and then ascribing them to each of the three constituent elements of the island of Britain, respectively England, Wales, and Scotland.⁴³

This tradition continued to hold sway through the fourteenth century, and, therefore, in spite of the Scottish king's loss of control over the island, English opinion continued to see Man as Scottish. The influential Ranulph Higden, writing in Chester, a port with good contacts with Man, unequivocally associated Man and Scotland, and this was confirmed or even strengthened in English translations of his

³⁹ G. W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 152–6.

⁴⁰ Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. H. Rackham (London, 1942), vol. II, *Libri III–VII*, 196–9 ('sunt autem XL Orcades modicis inter se discretæ spatiis, VII Acmodæ, XXX Hebudæ, et inter Hiberniam ac Britanniam Mona, Monapia, Riginia, Vectis, Silumnus, Andros, infra vero Sambis et Axanthos, et ab adversa in Germanicum mare sparsæ Glaesariæ quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur.' 'There are 40 Orkneys separated by narrow channels from each other, the 7 Shetlands, the 30 Hebrides, and between Ireland and Britain the Islands of Anglesea, Man, Racklin [*sic*], White-horn, Dalkey, and Bardsey; south of Britain are Sian and Ushant, and opposite, scattered about in the direction of the German Sea, are the Glass Islands, which the Greeks in more modern times have called the Electrides, from the Greek word for amber, which is produced there').

⁴¹ Paulus Orosius, *Historiæ (Contre les Pâiens) Tome I, Livres I–III*, trans. (French) M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (Paris, 1990), 32–3: 'Huic etiam Meuania insula proxima est et ipsa spatio non parua, solo commoda; aequæ a Scottorum gentibus habitatur'. For an English translation, Paulus Orosius, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington DC, 1964), 16: 'Mevania also [i.e. as Ireland] is very close to Britain and is itself not small in extent and is rich in soil. It is, likewise, inhabited by the tribes of the Scotti'.

⁴² Bede referred to the 'Mevanian Islands', as being conquered by Edwin and lying 'inter Hiberniam et Britanniam': *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), 148, 162; he probably got the name Mevanian from Orosius. William of Malmesbury, although drawing on Bede, made this just Anglesey. The first passage of Bede's history gives an account of Britain which mentions only Orkney as a neighbouring island (p. 15).

⁴³ Nennius, *The Historia Brittonum: 3. The Vatican Recension*, ed. D. N. Dumville (Cambridge, 1985), 63.

work.⁴⁴ Higden referred to the island as lying between Irish Ulster and Scottish Galway, with no reference to England. He also recounted Gerald of Wales's story of the dispute as to whether Man was Irish or British, resolved by the survival of snakes brought there; this was an important strand in the transmission to later writers of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon mapping of territorial associations.⁴⁵ The survival of the snakes did not imply Englishness but Scottishness.⁴⁶ Acceptance of the Scottishness of the island was such that it was transmitted to foreign visitors, for example the Venetian Andrea Trevisano in about 1500, who referred to Man as Scottish, while reproving English writers for not explaining *de facto* English domination.⁴⁷

It was not simply that Man was referred to as Scottish, however. Man was an island depicted in a particular relationship with the mainland of Scotland. John Hardyng, who sought every possible incident from the history of Anglo-Scottish relations to indicate the subordination of the Scots to the English,⁴⁸ displayed an interest in the islands around Scotland: Hardyng's Arthur is unusual in that among his conquests is listed the Isle of Man.⁴⁹ This same concern for the

⁴⁴ 'Et præter insulas Orcadas, quas Claudius Cæsar ad Britanniam pertinere fecerat, habet Britannia tres insulas sibi propinquas, quasi tribus Britanniae partibus principalibus correspondentes. Nam Loegriæ ad austrum adjacet insula Vecta; Walliæ ad boream insula Monia, quæ Anglesey a dicitur; Scotiæ ad occasum insula Eubonia, quæ Mevania sive Man dicitur': Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. C. Babington and J. R. Lumby (Rolls Ser., 1865–86), ii, 36–7; 'and the ilond Eubonia ... longeth to Scotland' (Trevisa's translation: *ibid.*, 37).

⁴⁵ Gerald of Wales, *Topography of Ireland*, 2:48 (J. J. O'Meara, 'Giraldus Cambrensis in Topographia Hibernie: text of the first recension', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, lii, section C [1948–50], 142).

⁴⁶ Higden also recorded the custom, to him clearly not only superstitious but alien, that Manx women could capture the wind in knotted string for sea-farers. In Man spirits and the supernatural were present in a way that was never apparent in his perception of England, and inhabitants could see the dead and understand the means of their death, something which aliens (*alienigenæ et adventitii*) could share in by standing on their feet: Higden, *Polychronicon*, ii, 40–3.

⁴⁷ Andrea Trevisano, *A Relation, or Rather a True Account, of the Island of England*, ed. C. A. Sneyd (Camden Soc., 1847), 18–20; he also employed the triple association of the islands of Britain: 'e secondo che l'Isoletta Man appartiene alla Scotia, cosi Anglesia appartiene a Wallia'.

⁴⁸ *CPR, 1452–61*, 393: 18 Nov. 1457, reward for the delivery of letters patent relating to homage done by Kings David and Robert. The presentation volume for Henry VI (1457) is British Library [BL], Lansdowne MS 204; the later version is BL, Harleian MS 661 (printed as *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Henry Ellis [London, 1812]). See C. L. Kingsford, 'The first version of Hardyng's chronicle', and 'Extracts from the first version of Hardyng's chronicle', both in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxvii (1912); and A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, vol. II: *c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), 274–87, esp. 274–7.

⁴⁹ The somer nexte Arthure went to Ireland
With batayle sore forfoughten yt conquered,
And of the kyng had homage of that lande,
To hold of hym, so was he of hym feared,
And also gate, as chronycles haue ve lered,
Denmarke, Friselande, Gotelande, & Norway,
Iselande, Greneland, Thisle of Man, and Orkynay
He conquered these to hold of hym euermore ...

position of the Scottish islands as well as the Scots mainland was exhibited by John Leland in his *Itinerary*.⁵⁰ English writers considering Scotland, then, even when they repeated the claim to overlordship over its king, also emphasised the distinct position of the islands associated with Scotland. This was significant for two reasons. First, it meant that Man was always seen as part of the Scottish crown, and second, it meant that, as an island, relatively little attention was paid to resolving the dilemmas this raised.

On the Scottish side of the Border, views of Man's position were slightly clearer. Perhaps because of their dependence on Bede, the earliest Scottish chronicles conceived of the extent of 'Scotland' without much attention to Man. Much more concrete, in the Melrose and other Scottish chronicles, is an awareness of the Scottish claim to Man as successors to the Norwegians. Reference is made in the Melrose Chronicle to the adding of the Mevanian islands, Man and Anglesey, to the kingdom of Magnus, and the sale of the island to the Scots.⁵¹ Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* and Bower's *Scotichronicon* show a stronger identification of Man with Scotland. In his survey of Europe, Bower described how Scotland had possessed more than one hundred islands from ancient times. These, he said, included some which were known as royal islands (*insule regales*), and the third in this list was Man. Man was therefore listed, without differentiation, alongside Iona and Bute, Islay, Tiree, and Lewis.⁵² A subsequent listing of islands (this time following Fordun) described how the see of Sodor was placed in Man and how the Scots were entitled to ten war galleys from the island's sub-king.⁵³ Bower was scrupulous about the use of the latter term for the island's ruler, implying subjection to the Scottish monarchy. In the *Scotichronicon*, when Aedan sent his son Griffin to assist Maelgwyn, king of the Britons, he was accompanied by Aedan's

Chronicle of John Hardyng, 126. This is based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, who has Arthur conquer Ireland, Iceland, Gotland and the Orkneys. Arthur then moved to conquer Norway and Denmark, and forced all these territories to support him against Rome. Later, King Malgo is also described as conquering these six territories, described by Geoffrey as islands: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1966), 221–2, 227, 235, 263.

⁵⁰ 'It apperithe by the preface of the donation of Kynge Edgare unto the Priory of Worcester that ... [Edgar] had the whole homage of Scotland, and was taken for chefe Head and Governar of all the Isles about England even to Norwege': *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1536–1539*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (London, 1964), v, 232; in 'The Laboriouse Journey & Serche', p. Eii, Leland described adjacent islands under the king's subjection in six books, mentioning Vecta, Mona, and Menavia, 'somtime kingedomes': *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–47*, ed. J. S. Brewer et al. (London, 1862–1932) [LP *Henry VIII*], xxi (1), no. 1.

⁵¹ Melrose shows little interest in the location of the island, although the story is recounted of how the moon, transformed into a ship, sailed off to Ireland in the direction of the Isle of Man: *Chron. Melrose*, 30, 65, 128–9.

⁵² *Chron. Bower* (Watt), i, 14–15.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, i, 86–7; *Chron. Fordun*, i, 43.

sister's son, Brendin, 'Eubonie regulum'.⁵⁴ In reference to 1235, in less mythic times, Thomas, son of Alan, Lord of Galloway, was described by Bower as being betrothed to the daughter of the *sub-king* of Man.⁵⁵ Bower portrays Man as a Scottish royal island, whose rulers had been sub-kings subordinate to the Scottish monarch, but which had been brought into perpetual dependence in 1264. John Mair's *History of Greater Britain* followed suit. 'Between Scotland and Ireland are many more islands, and larger ones than the Orkneys, which likewise obey the Scottish king. The most southerly is Man, fifteenth leagues in length, which we ourselves caught sight of at St Ninian. In it is the episcopal see of Sodor, at the present day in the hands of the English.' The phrase clearly implied a natural Scottish obedience and an English possession that was temporary.⁵⁶

The implications of the topographical ideas of late medieval writers, Scottish and English, do not square with most historical writing about the formation of the Scottish realm and the position of the Isle of Man in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The fall of Scrope, along with Richard II, ushered in a new century during which, it has been argued, Man achieved stability through a stronger tie with the English crown and the virtual end of Scottish involvement. Yet from the start, there are clear signs that we should not assimilate the fate of Man entirely with that of England. In 1399, the grant of the Isle of Man made by Henry IV to the earl of Northumberland was notable for basing royal possession not vaguely upon inheritance or parliamentary title, but explicitly on conquest.⁵⁷ The grant emphasised the close relationship between the king and the earl, for the island was to be held by service of carrying the sword with which Henry had been belted on his first landing in England in 1399.⁵⁸ Combined, the grants to the earl and to Hotspur amounted to an even more potent influence on the northern Irish Sea than that possessed by Scrope, and there are signs that the Percies intended to extend this in the Scottish south west, in particular through the grant of the greater part of the Douglas lands made on 2 March 1402.⁵⁹ The rebellion and defeat of the earl in 1405 soon revealed the complexity of the position of Man in the English king's mind.⁶⁰ On 4 October William Stanley was ordered to

⁵⁴ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), ii, 74–5.

⁵⁵ The same phrase is used in discussion of the last phases of the kingship of Man in 1264: *ibid.*, v, 148–51, 346–9. The only exception comes later in the narrative, when the death of the king of Man is mentioned: *ibid.*, v, 368–9.

⁵⁶ Major, *History of Greater Britain*, 37.

⁵⁷ In particular conquest of the person of the former lord, William le Scrope: 'quem nuper in Vita sua Conquestatu fuimus': *Foedera* (H), iii (4), 165; *CPR, 1399–1401*, 27, 171. Cf. P. McNiven, 'Legitimacy and consent: Henry IV and the Lancastrian title, 1399–1406', *Mediaeval Studies*, xlv (1982), esp. 478–9, for the title by conquest.

⁵⁸ Saul, *Richard II*, 408, esp. n. 20.

⁵⁹ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 163–4; P. McNiven, 'The Scottish policy of the Percies and the strategy of the rebellion of 1402', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library [BJRL]*, lxii (1979–80).

⁶⁰ The order was given for the island's seizure into the king's hands on 3 Jun. 1405: *Foedera* (H), iv (1), 82.

surrender the island to his brother John,⁶¹ yet even then John was almost immediately required to agree to surrender his grant, and it was only on 6 April 1406 that Man was granted to him, on different terms.⁶² This period saw an alliance between Henry IV and George Dunbar, Earl of March.⁶³ One of the options open to Henry IV was therefore to develop the connection with Dunbar via the lordship of Man, and hesitations over Man are suggestive; in the end, of course, Henry opted for safety with the Stanleys, as the likelihood of Dunbar's return to the Scottish allegiance grew: the final grant to John Stanley came two days after the death of Robert III and, more importantly, just three weeks after the capture of his heir, James I. Even so, this was not the end of Man's position as an autonomous and potentially Scottish polity in the Irish Sea. Stanley's prominence in the service of the Lancastrian court should not lead us into assuming that events in Man were similarly dependent on the English king. The island served as prison in the subsequent two generations not just for Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester,⁶⁴ but also, in support of Stanley's role in Ireland, for Niall Garbh Ó Domhanail from 1434 to his death in 1439.⁶⁵ On the Scottish side, too, a major new force was emerging in the northern Irish Sea. George Dunbar's return to Scotland in 1409 was based upon his resignation to Archibald Douglas, fourth Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, of the lordship of Annandale (so often paired with that of Man).⁶⁶ The shift toward Douglas power in the region was now complete.

The first half of the fifteenth century also saw the working out of the implications of the Schism, which had the potential to clarify, in ecclesiastical matters at least, the separation of Man from Scotland.⁶⁷ Yet such clarification as did take place was not absolute. Although in

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, iv (1), 90; *CCR*, 1405–9, 2.

⁶² *CCR*, 1402–5, 525 (recognisance of 11 Aug. 1405 to surrender the grant before Michaelmas next); *CPR*, 1405–8, 201–2.

⁶³ Dunbar received a grant from Henry IV of the manors of Chipeston and Shirwode on 10 Jun. 1405 'considerantes bonum Servitium': *Foedera* (H), iv (1), 82. Cf. *CPR*, 1399–1401, 529, 549; *CPR*, 1401–5, 52–3, 247, 252; *CPR*, 1405–8, 32.

⁶⁴ 1446–9: R. A. Griffiths, 'The trial of Eleanor Cobham: an episode in the fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester', *BJRL*, 51 (1969), 381–99; R. A. Griffiths, 'Richard, Duke of York, and the royal household in Wales, 1449–50', *Welsh History Review*, viii (1976), 23–4.

⁶⁵ Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, 368; A. Cosgrove, 'Ireland beyond the Pale, 1399–1460', in *New History of Ireland*, ii, 573.

⁶⁶ *RMS*, i, no. 920.

⁶⁷ The election of the bishop had been granted to Furness Abbey by Olaf I (1134) and Godred (1194); at this point the metropolitan of Trondheim simply consecrated the candidate put forward. Under Innocent IV a situation had arisen whereby Furness could not find candidates who would go to Trondheim, and therefore the archbishop of York was given the right to consecrate the bishops of Sodor and Man. Interruptions to the succession of bishops allowed the pope to nominate. A. Ashley, 'Historic Relations of Church and State in the Isle of Man, considered as the background of Bishop Wilson's controversy', *PIOMNHAS*, new ser., v (1954–6), 516–9. Another confusion of the 'national' boundary was the subjection of Whithorn to York, through which an English consecration occurred in the 1350s: R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), 2.

the fourteenth century the diocese of Sodor and Man had continued to encompass both the Western Isles (still under the dominion of the Scottish crown) and the Isle of Man under an English lord,⁶⁸ a separation occurred during the Schism. Bishop John Donegan, a Manxman elected in 1374, remained in the Roman camp and was replaced in 1387 in the parts of the diocese still under Scottish control by Bishop Michael, loyal to Avignon, translated from Cashel.⁶⁹ It was possible that on the healing of the Schism, Richard Payl, bishop of the Romanist portion since 1410, might have achieved control of the whole of the diocese on the death of Michael, bishop in the Scottish portion of the diocese. Yet in 1422 Payl was referred to as bishop of Man alone, and on 22 April Michael Anchire became the first bishop of Sodor *in Scotia*.⁷⁰ In the same year Sir John Stanley's demand that the ecclesiastical barons of the island should come and do fealty resulted in the confiscation of the property there of the prior of Whithorn.⁷¹ The ability of the English lord to insist on Roman authority over Man, the appointment of a rival in the remainder of the isles, and the consequent separation of the diocese was a sign of the degree to which in some fields Scottish and English control might have transformed the status of the Isle of Man. Yet there was no immediate clarification of national authority in the Irish Sea. Metropolitan authority over the bishopric, which had been retained by Trondheim after the passage of the patronage of the bishopric to the Scottish crown, came after 1349 effectively to the curia.⁷² The new Scottish diocese of the Isles only formally passed under the metropolitan authority of St Andrews in 1472.⁷³ Neither did anyone expect that separation between 'English' Man and Scottish 'Isles' was other than an unfortunate temporary situation. Iona officially became the seat of the bishop of the Scottish see only under James IV, and then provisionally, in expectation of 'his

⁶⁸ Cf. the dispatch of letters confirming the election of William as bishop of Sodor in 1349 to the clergy and people of the diocese, the archbishop of Trondheim, William Montacute, Robert Stewart of Scotland, lord of the Isle of Bute, and John Macdonald, Lord of the Isles: *CPL*, iii, 279.

⁶⁹ *Chron. Mannie & Insularum*, fo. 51^v; *CPL Clement VII*, 130.

⁷⁰ H. C. Cradock, 'The pre-Reformation bishops of Sodor', *PIOMNHAS*, new ser., iii (1926–32), 336–7; J. F. Gill, *Statutes* (London, 1883), i, 20.

⁷¹ Moore, *Isle of Man*, i, 343–5; Gill, *Statutes*, i, 20–1. There does seem to have been an attempt to engineer a sharp break with any Scottish connection in 1422, for in this year the lord ordered the expulsion of all Scots from the island: Macinnes, 'Scotland and Manx Connection', 372; W. Mackenzie, *Legislation by Three of the Thirteen Stanleys, Kings of Man* (Manx Soc., 1860), 79–98.

⁷² D. E. R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae Medii Aevi*, 2nd draft (Scot. Record Soc., 1969), 200–1; C. R. Cheney, 'Manx Synodal Statutes, AD 1230(?)–1351. Part I: Introduction and Latin Texts', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, vii (1984), 65–6; *CCR*, 1339–41, 594; *CDS*, iii, no. 1344; *Monumenta*, ii, 190–1; J. K. Barratt, 'Bishop William Russell (1349 to 1374) and the Popes of Avignon', *PIOMNHAS*, new ser., vii (1964–72).

⁷³ *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336–1493*, ed. Jean and R. W. Munro (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1988), pp. lv–lvi; Watt, *Fasti*, 197, 202–3; R. G. Cant, 'Norse influence in the organisation of the medieval Church in the Western Isles', *Northern Studies*, xxi (1984).

principal kirk in the Ile of Man be[ing] recoverit from Inglismen'.⁷⁴ In 1451, James II confirmed a grant to Whithorn which included property in Man,⁷⁵ and in 1455 the appointment of an English bishop of Man, Thomas Burton, was taken as one of the grounds for the attack on the island launched by James II.⁷⁶ A century later, in 1549, Donald Monro, Archdeacon of the Isles, toured his diocese and still included Man as the first of the Western Isles.⁷⁷

On the English side, the island's ultimate dependence on York was asserted. In 1433 York was referred to as metropolitan with regard to Man when John Burgherssh was elected to the see,⁷⁸ and in 1459 a papal bull emphasised that the bishopric of Man lay within the province of the archbishop of York.⁷⁹ Polydore Vergil described the Isle of Man, if not the bishop of Sodor, as being subject to York.⁸⁰ Yet anomalies remained. First, there was enough uncertainty over York's position in relation to Man for it to be necessary to reaffirm its role in the 1540s.⁸¹ Second, the bishop of Man never achieved a position in the House of Lords of the English Parliament, and so the political incorporation consequent on ecclesiastical dominion, seen for example in Wales, did not occur with such force in Man. Third, the nomination to the bishopric remained in the hands of the lords of Man, whatever the system adopted in the sixteenth century for the approval of the appointment by the English monarch. Fourth, there were times when the Romanist bishop of Whithorn was under English obedience.⁸² One

⁷⁴ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, i, no. 184; A. I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1950), 191.

⁷⁵ *RMS*, ii, no. 461, confirming Thomas Randolph's grant including the church of St Bridget in the Ayre, 1326.

⁷⁶ C. McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), 100 (she mistakenly makes Henry VI give the island to the Stanleys); N. Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982), 42.

⁷⁷ *Monro's Description of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans, 1549*, ed. R. W. Munro (Edinburgh, 1961), 13–15, 46, 49, 62.

⁷⁸ *CPL*, viii, 463.

⁷⁹ Note of Bothe's registration of exhibition by Bishop Thomas [Kirkham], 18 Feb. 1459, of a bull calling for Bothe's support and making Kirkham suffragan of York (Thomas and William Stanley being present): *Monumenta de Insula Manniae*, vol. III, ed. J. R. Oliver (Manx Soc., 1862), 20–3 (from York, Register of William Bothe, fo. 369a.). This states that appointment had hitherto been reserved for apostolic appointment: A. W. Moore, *Sodor and Man* (London, 1893), 89.

⁸⁰ He noted that the bishop's see was placed in Man, 'which ys thought to be of the diocesse of York': *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, Comprising the Reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III.*, ed. H. Ellis (Camden Soc., 1844), 135–6; *Monumenta de Insula Manniae*, vol. I, ed. J. R. Oliver (Manx Soc., 1860), 78.

⁸¹ *The Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1810–28), iii, 870–1 (33 Henry VIII, c.31).

⁸² Swanson, *Church and Society*, 8–9; D. M. Smith, 'Suffragan bishops in the medieval diocese of Lincoln', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, xvii (1982) (Oswald of Whithorn, in Lincoln 1387, also Durham and York). Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham, left 'unam mitram, de levioribus, et unum Pontificale' to Oswald, bishop of Whithorn: *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Part I, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Soc., 1836), 310. Cf., on the revival of Whithorn and the foundation of Man and the Isles by Archbishop Thurstan of York in 1125, D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York (1114–1140)* (York, 1964), 137–40; and R. K. Rose, 'Cumbrian society and the Anglo-Norman Church', in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity* (Studies in Church History, 1982).

indication of this equivocal relationship is to be found in the terminology of a recognisance of 1506 restricting the inmates of St Michael's Hospital in York from collecting alms in places outside the city of York within the province of York *and the Isle of Man*.⁸³ Also, there is a danger in seeing the events of 1422 as concluding finally any Manx link with the Premonstratensians of St Ninian's Priory, Whithorn. This simply is not the case: the canons continued to hold the vicarage of Holy Trinity by Ramsey. In 1472, the Pope appointed Alan Hobuntar, a friar preacher, to the vicarage, which had allegedly been occupied for the previous nine or ten years by a Premonstratensian canon, Michael Magbrayar, without title and also without dispensation for his illegitimate birth as son of a Cistercian monk and an unmarried woman.⁸⁴ A continuing relationship with Whithorn is also implied by the appointment by the earl of Derby of Dr Bradshagh and Mr Watt, respectively chancellor and archdeacon, to hear and examine a dispute between the bishop of Man and the prior of Whithorn.⁸⁵ Whithorn continued to enjoy possessions, spiritual and temporal, in the Isle of Man, although the Stanley lord was in a position to dictate the choice of farmer and steward.⁸⁶

In non-ecclesiastical matters, the autonomy of Man and its continuing link with Scotland remained even clearer. Man continued to be referred to separately in the diplomatic agreements of the reigns of Henry V and VI.⁸⁷ Most obviously, the Stanleys had to take positive steps to secure their position not only against the possible claims of Scrope lordship,⁸⁸ but also the renewed assertion of Scottish lordship. The raid and counter-raid between Man and Kirkcudbright in the 1450s must be seen in the context of the continuing general belief in the Scottishness of Man and the independence of its English lord.⁸⁹ On

⁸³ *CCR, 1500-9*, no. 611 [my italics].

⁸⁴ *CPL*, xiii (1), 324. Alan was to be transferred to the priory of St Ninian immediately on getting possession.

⁸⁵ 'Unpublished Documents', *Journ. Manx Museum*, xxvii (1931), 21. Cf. 'The barony of Saint Trinian in Kirk Marown: a memorial to Saint Ninian of Galloway', *Journ. Manx Museum*, lxiii (1940), 175-7.

⁸⁶ *Correspondence of Edward, Third Earl of Derby*, ed. T. N. Toller (Chetham Soc., 1890), 120. Stanley's choice was John Gardiner, his comptroller in the island (he appears holding the post in the island's records in 1532-8): 'Bridge House collection: document no. 36', *Journ. Manx Museum*, ii (1932), 71-2.

⁸⁷ *Monumenta*, iii, 1-6; *CCR, 1413-19*, 108, 369. The truce of Tours associated with the king of England various confederates, who included the dukes of Gloucester, York, Exeter, Somerset and Norfolk, the earl of Stafford, and Thomas Stanley as lord of the Isle of Man; when a new truce was proclaimed in 1446 the list no longer included Somerset and Stafford, and by the time of the continuation of 1447, only York, Norfolk and Stanley remained from the original group of English confederates: *CCR, 1441-7*, 233, 366; *CCR, 1447-54*, 37.

⁸⁸ BL, Additional Charters 8,482, 18,267 (1408); cf. the order by Edward IV that John, Lord Scrope should not use the arms of Man until after the expedition to France of 1475, when a challenge to his doing so by Thomas, Lord Stanley would be considered: BL, Lansdowne MS 872, f. 16; *Foedera* (H), v (3), 60; *CPR, 1467-77*, 529; *Monumenta*, iii, 24 (misdated to 1476).

⁸⁹ Placed in 1507 by Moore, *Isle of Man*, i, 217-18, and Kinvig, *Isle of Man*, 97, due to an error in transcription in their source, the Traditionary Ballad: R. L. Thomason, 'The Manx Traditionary Ballad', *Études Celtiques*, x (1962-3) 76-8.

15 November 1455, on achieving his final majority, James II revoked his earlier grants. Specifically exempted from this revocation, however, was the investiture of his second son, Alexander, with the earldom of March and the lordships of Annandale and the Isle of Man.⁹⁰ Two things should be noted in this connection. First, the Scottish claim to Man, although now divorced from the aspirations of a noble dynasty,⁹¹ was not intended to be merged with the figure of the monarch, but to descend as part of the patrimony of the wider royal family. Second, although this has usually appeared in the Scottish historiography as an instance of the unbalanced foreign policy of James II,⁹² the king was clearly determined to make his son's claim effective. James's attacks on Berwick in 1455⁹³ and in February 1457⁹⁴ both failed, but the town and castle were eventually gained as a consequence of the dynastic revolution by which Edward IV superseded Henry VI on the English throne. In 1456, a raid was launched against the Isle of Man from Kirkcudbright; the Scottish forces were eventually repulsed, with some loss, by Thomas Stanley himself, heir to the lord.

The failure of the attack on Berwick led to a truce, signed on 20 June 1457, to last until 6 July 1459 on land and 28 July on sea.⁹⁵ In spite of this truce, the Stanleys responded to the attack on Man by destroying Kirkcudbright in 1457. This obvious refusal to be bound by an agreement between the Scottish and English kings emphasised the Stanleys' position as participants in the autonomous politics of the Irish Sea, a point underlined by the specific grant they received from the pope on 20 January 1459 of a threat of excommunication against

Both Kinvig and Moore also see Stanley's action as a response to a tumult among the people of Man. It seems more likely that the Traditionary Ballad refers to a 'troubling of the people', i.e. disturbance caused by the Scottish raid: p. 78. It is more accurately placed in the Stanley poem: *Palatine Anthology: A Collection of Poems and Ancient Ballads Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, ed. J. O. Halliwell-Phillips (London, 1850), 225. See B. R. S. Megaw, 'The Scottish invasion of Man in 1456', *Journ. Manx Museum*, vi (1957-65), 23-4; McGladdery, *James II*, 100; Macdougall, *James III*, 42; Dunlop, *Kennedy*, 176-7, 202; *ER*, vi, 204, 349.

⁹⁰ Dunlop, *Bishop Kennedy*, 176, citing SRO, RH6/342.

⁹¹ The claim to Man followed closely on the destruction of Douglas power in south-west Scotland in 1452-5. Kirkcudbright was constituted a royal burgh in 1455, and the king established a Franciscan friary in the town: HMC, *4th Report*, 539; *ER*, vi, p. cxi.

⁹² McGladdery, *James II*, 100; Macdougall, *James III*, 42; Dunlop, *Bishop Kennedy*, 176. The Manx raid is of course often cited alongside the claim to Saintonge, which also deserves less cavalier treatment in the Scottish historiography.

⁹³ Probably in June: Macdougall, *James III*, 42; Dunlop, *Bishop Kennedy*, 157, n. 4.

⁹⁴ After James renounced a truce in May 1456. York responded on 26 Jul. in Henry's name, recalling James to a proper allegiance to the English king; and sending another note in his own name criticising Scottish attacks. Henry later renounced this language: *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. N. Davis (Oxford, 1971-6), ii, 148; *Foedera* (H), v (2), 69. R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI* (London, 1981), 772-3. In Jan. 1457 Charles VII sent his congratulations to James on his invasion of England: *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Ser., 1861-4), i, 332.

⁹⁵ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 379-83.

anyone invading Man.⁹⁶ The Stanley lord was thereby drawing on defensive resources external to both England and Scotland. Also indicative of the way the Stanleys acted as players in the politics of the northern Irish Sea was the presence with Thomas Stanley during the raid on Kirkcudbright of the ninth earl of Douglas. The Stanleys' attack on the town was therefore in part a reassertion of Douglas influence in the area and a challenge to Stewart royal intervention there.⁹⁷ To an extent this can be seen as supportive of the ultimate aims of English royal policy, even if outside the strict terms of the truce, for the ninth earl, who came to England following his father's murder, had been well received by Henry VI.⁹⁸ On the other hand, this meant that, once again, the English king was in alliance with a Scottish nobleman with an interest in Man, and the possibility arises that in spite of their alliance in 1457, the Stanleys and the Douglases might eventually be at odds. If there was tension between the Stanleys and the party of Margaret of Anjou at the very end of the 1450s, it might have sprung partly from a fear that Douglas's possible aspirations to the island might be backed by the Lancastrian regime.⁹⁹

Stanley sensitivity to such a possibility became much clearer in the early 1480s. Alexander, duke of Albany, fled the kingdom in 1479 and, after a period in France, was contacted by Edward IV's agents late in 1481. The agreements he made with the English in June 1482 and the spring of 1483 provided for his surrender of Berwick within a fortnight of his attaining the Scottish capital, extended on the latter occasion to include a commitment to return to James, Earl of Douglas, the lands confiscated from his family. The absence of any direct reference to the Isle of Man in this treaty left open the possibility either of the return of the Douglases, or that Alexander's lordship of the island, originally granted by James II, might now be exercised by him with English rather than Scottish support.¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that Stanley tradition portrayed the Berwick campaign of 1482 as involving threats to Man from Scotland, directed against Thomas, lord Stanley, then fighting on the eastern marches.¹⁰¹ If Richard of Gloucester's relationship with the Stanley family worsened at this time,¹⁰² then their sensitivity over the lordship of Man might be to blame, not simply because the war in

⁹⁶ *CPL*, xi, 381–2.

⁹⁷ Cf. Barbara Crawford's suggestion that William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, felt James's attack on Man to be threatening, and that it played a part in the estrangement of the king from the earl, previously his important ally in the region: B. E. Crawford, 'William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and his family: a study in the politics of survival', in Stringer, *Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, 236.

⁹⁸ R. G. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 361–2.

⁹⁹ Such tension was most clearly seen at the battle of Blore Heath, when Lord Stanley stood back from assisting the royal forces, and his brother Sir William threw in his lot with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick: Griffiths, *Henry VI*, 820.

¹⁰⁰ Treaties with Albany: *Foedera* (H), v (3), 120–1 (10–11 Jun. 1482), 127–8 (11 Feb. 1483).

¹⁰¹ *Palatine Anthology*, 239.

¹⁰² M. K. Jones, 'Richard III and the Stanleys', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Richard III and the North of England* (Hull, 1986), esp. 39–41.

Scotland provoked direct Scottish threats of invasion but because Edward IV and his brother were indulging in diplomacy that might have jeopardised their lordship. Albany's loyalties proved unreliable,¹⁰³ but the grant to Gloucester of the royal land in Cumberland and permission to conquer his own palatinate in south-west Scotland, made in the Parliament of January 1483,¹⁰⁴ and the possibility of a pliant Scottish king suggested a completely new political scenario for the northern Irish Sea. The complex politics of this area may well have been one of the factors in the Stanleys' minds as they helped make and unmake Richard's kingship in the months from the spring of 1483 to August 1485.

In the fifteenth century, therefore, Man points up the danger of seeing the politics of the Irish Sea province in terms of two coherent completing national blocs. The truth of the matter was that each was a shifting coalition of noblemen whose loyalties or alliances might change regardless of the notional border. To understand the behaviour of a Douglas or a Stanley, we have to understand the possibility of loyalty to the English or Scottish king; and the position of the Isle of Man, as a piece of Scotland ruled by a lord autonomous of and yet dependent on the English king, was both a justification and incitement to their activity.

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One factor in the process of territorial loss had, however, been resolved by the end of the fifteenth century. If the Scottish loss of Man was not so traumatic because it was still seen by all concerned as associated with their kingdom, it was viewed with apparent indifference on occasion by Scottish kings for external political reasons. Man was part of a kingdom which had already been lost, at a price, by another power. For a large part of the period under review, Scottish possession of Man implied a cost and a treaty relationship with the Norwegian monarchy. Under the treaty of 1266, Man and the Western Isles were granted to the Scots by the Norwegians in return for a payment of 100 marks per annum. This was renewed in 1312 by Robert I, at precisely the time he was first directly involved with the island.¹⁰⁵ It is striking that in March 1369 Hakon VII's request was met by a plea for a delay during the payment of the ransom, and the assertion that the islands

¹⁰³ Albany returned to the Scottish allegiance but may have made a secret accommodation with Gloucester; he was back in alliance with the English by Dec. 1482 (openly by 12 Jan. 1483), and once again came to terms with James III on 19 Mar. 1483: C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), 387–90, 393.

¹⁰⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, vi, 204–5. Richard may therefore have seriously considered a future for himself in a semi-autonomous duchy embracing Cumberland and South Western Scotland, for which he may well have conceived an ideological mission associated with St Ninian: A. J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War, and Politics, 1450–1500* (Oxford, 1990), 338; A. Grant, 'Richard III and Scotland', in A. J. Pollard (ed.), *The North of England in the Age of Richard III* (Stroud, 1996), 115–16. See also note 159, below.

¹⁰⁵ *APS*, i, 78, 101; B. E. Crawford, 'Scotland's foreign relations: Scandinavia', in J. M. Brown (ed.), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, 86–8.

had largely passed to the control of the English. This was true, of course, only of Man itself.¹⁰⁶ Although the absence of James I in England seems to have led to another hiatus in payments, in 1426 the treaties were confirmed.¹⁰⁷ That this was fruitless, and that the arrears continued to accumulate, did not remove the knowledge of the obligation involving Man and the Isles.¹⁰⁸ In 1457, after repeated attempts to remind James II of his obligations, Christian of Denmark requested the intervention of the French, recently acquired allies of Denmark, and an arbitration began in Paris. James's death in 1460 brought negotiations to an inconclusive end, however, and it was only in the marriage alliance of 1468 between Christian I's daughter Margaret and James III that the annual payment was finally remitted.¹⁰⁹ Only then did Man become truly the outright possession of the Scottish crown, rather than an island that carried with it the burden of an annual rent of one hundred marks sterling, an expensive price on land largely out of Scottish control. Norwegian pressure might once have meant that it sometimes seemed that the English were keener than the Scottish king to assert the Scottishness of Man, but this position had been resolved by the end of the fifteenth century.

The loss of Man was also viewed with apparent indifference on occasion by Scottish kings for internal political reasons. The first of these was the relationship between the Scottish monarchy and the magnates of the western seaboard and the islands. The assertion of Scottish rights in Man was potentially worrying and even provocative to noble allies of the crown in the region.¹¹⁰ There might be a case for arguing that the reassertion of Scottish rights in Man was not always in the interests of the crown because of a realisation that such an action might potentially benefit noble families which would be strengthened in their opposition to the crown, or whose ability to take offensive action against their noble rivals would be increased by the alteration to the balance of local power which would ensue. Local rivalries and divisions might provide the crown with an opportunity to extend central influence; they might even compel it in the interests of general stability, as has been shown in the case of the Lordship of the Isles. But they might also act in the opposite direction, encouraging caution against the over-extension of central interests.

One aspect of this problem had, however, been largely resolved by the early years of the sixteenth century. The claims which Scottish noblemen potentially held to lordship in Man had been extinguished or had died out and not been replaced. George Dunbar's son George never recovered the influence his father had possessed at the end of

¹⁰⁶ *APS*, i, 507.

¹⁰⁷ Crawford, 'foreign relations: Scandinavia', 87; Dunlop, *Bishop Kennedy*, 198.

¹⁰⁸ *ER*, iv, 411, 413; viii, p. xxxiv; Dunlop, *Bishop Kennedy*, 176.

¹⁰⁹ *ER*, viii, pp. xxxiv–xxxv; Dunlop, *Bishop Kennedy*, 198–9; Crawford, 'Foreign relations: Scandinavia', 88.

¹¹⁰ William Sinclair may have tried to wreck the negotiations over Man and the Western Isles between Scotland and Norway in 1457: Crawford, 'William Sinclair', 236.

the fourteenth century, and he suffered forfeiture in January 1435. As for the Douglasses, after the killing of the sixth earl in 1440, the lordship of Annandale, with which Man was probably associated, reverted to the crown, because it had been granted to the fourth earl and the heirs-male of his body. Yet William, the eighth earl, whose marriage to the sister of the sixth earl brought him the unentailed Douglas lands, did by 1445 have hopes of acquiring Annandale after all,¹¹¹ and, by implication, thoughts of gaining Man may also have been at the forefront of his mind (Earl William had little regard for legal niceties).¹¹² Although the fears that led James II to kill him on 22 February 1452 may have included financial concerns centred on Galloway and Wigtown,¹¹³ they almost certainly had more to do with the rebellion of the Lord of the Isles, who had his famous bond with Douglas,¹¹⁴ and with Douglas's general attitude to the crown, in which the gaining of Annandale and Man at royal expense may well have featured prominently. But Douglas power was crushed in 1452–5; William's heir, James, fled to England, was eventually captured during the abortive invasion of Scotland in 1484, and ended his life a prisoner in Lindores Abbey in 1491. In the later fifteenth century, therefore, the Douglas claim became defunct. Meanwhile James II's son Alexander, Duke of Albany was still using the title *Dominus Vallis Enandi et Mannie* as late as 1479.¹¹⁵ Thereafter, however, he quarrelled with James III and suffered forfeiture and exile. His son, John, did return to Scotland as regent during James V's minority; but he left the country again in 1523 and died in 1536 without heirs of his body, whereupon his honours, and claims, became extinct.¹¹⁶

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The resolution of these problems might suggest that the sixteenth century dawned with a political climate set fair for the achievement of clear Scottish or more likely English absorption of the Isle of Man. The historiographical tradition argues that this indeed happened; there is general consensus that the English 'New Monarchy' successfully suppressed the royal title of the Stanleys, and Moore even drew parallels between the legislation of the English Reformation Parliament and Manx legislation by Edward Stanley.¹¹⁷ This tightening English

¹¹¹ Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 338; *Scots Peerage*, iii, 172, citing SRO, RH6/321 (29 Oct. 1445).

¹¹² Cf. A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland, 1306–1469* (London, 1984), 193.

¹¹³ Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 355–8.

¹¹⁴ A. Grant, 'The revolt of the Lord of the Isles and the death of the earl of Douglas, 1451–1452', *ante*, lx (1981).

¹¹⁵ *Complete Peerage*, i, 81.

¹¹⁶ *Scots Peerage*, i, 151–4.

¹¹⁷ Moore, *Isle of Man*, i, 218–19, 350. The claim regarding the kingship relies on a claim made by James, 7th earl of Derby, in his family history written during the civil war: since the reign of Henry VII, 'of modesty or policy – I know not with which, – they have called themselves only lords of Man'. Yet the account contains many inaccuracies, notably the statement that Thomas Stanley was created earl by Edward IV: 'History and Antiquities of the Isle of Man', in *Legislation by Three of the Thirteen Stanleys, Kings of Man*, ed. W. Mackenzie (Manx Soc., 1860), 5–6.

stranglehold allegedly went hand-in-hand with an ever more despairing Scottish claim, exhibited now in only the most futile raiding and piracy.

Some support for these developments may be found when they are seen in the context of an intensifying awareness of Man's strategic importance. Efforts to tighten English control of Ireland highlighted the Isle of Man's utility for the English as a point of refuge in stormy seas crossing to Ireland.¹¹⁸ More positively, Man was useful as a base from which to deal with northern Ireland: early in 1599, a scheme to attack Tyrone's forces suggested sending 1,800 foot and 150 horse to Chester, shipping them thence to the Isle of Man, and there putting them into small boats for the voyage on to Belfast and other places.¹¹⁹ Supply from Man for troops in Ireland was convenient and sometimes necessary when north-western England or Wales could or would not provide material support. When forces were sent to Lough Foyle under Sir Henry Docwra in February 1600, a letter was sent to Sir Thomas Gerrard, the captain of the Isle of Man to be ready to provide him with victuals. Later in 1600, victual for Carlingford was ordered from the island.¹²⁰

The sixteenth century also saw a revival of English concern about the affairs of Scotland, and Man provided an important focus for English intervention in politics north of the Border. Scottish rebels looking to contact the English often worked through the Isles and through Man. In 1544, Glencarne and Bishhop, the earl of Lennox's secretary, attempted to come by sea to the Isle of Man and thence to Carlisle.¹²¹ Throughout the sixteenth century, the English felt Man was under threat from the Scots, and that if it fell it might provide an opening for a challenge to their position in Ireland and indeed to England itself. In June 1533 Edward, Earl of Derby, wrote to the abbot of Whalley asking him to supply twenty archers in the livery of the legs of Man for the defence of the island against the lord of the Outer Isles.¹²² In June 1540, Earl Edward had a licence to levy 100 men for the defence of the island.¹²³ Again in May 1547, the earl feared an invasion from the Scots of 'thout Yles', and the English Privy Council authorised him to levy the king's subjects in case of need; these fears were well placed, for a raid caused 'notable damage' later in the year.¹²⁴ In March 1548, Lord Wharton, writing from Carlisle, reported to Protector

¹¹⁸ The alternative was often a wreck or hostile reception in Scotland: *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland*, ed. H. C. Hamilton *et al.* (1860–1910), xiii, 117–18; xiv, 496–7.

¹¹⁹ HMC, *Cecil Papers*, ix, 100.

¹²⁰ *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. J. R. Dascent *et al.* (London, 1890–) [APC], 1599–1600, 88–9, 675–6, 681.

¹²¹ *LP Henry VIII*, xix(1), nos. 315, 343.

¹²² HMC, *6th Report*, App. VI, 444; *LP Henry VIII*, vi, no. 610.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, xv, no. 831(78).

¹²⁴ *APC*, 1547–50, 492; Macinnes, 'Scotland and Manx Connection', 372; *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots [CSP Scot.]*, i, nos. 37, 39; *Monumenta*, iii, 51.

Somerset news that ships had appeared between Ireland and Man, sailing for Scotland.¹²⁵ The Anglo-Scottish hostilities of the late 1550s also seem to have affected Man. The Ayr Burgh Accounts record a payment to Christopher Guidman 'quhen he raid to the Ile of Man' in 1559–60.¹²⁶ In 1571, a route via the Isle of Man to Scotland was being considered by opponents of Elizabeth's regime, not just for themselves but for the queen of Scots; those suggesting the route included the bishop of Ross.¹²⁷ By 1572, one of the plans being discussed among English exiles in Flanders, along with schemes to seize the queen of Scots, concerned the taking of the Isle of Man.¹²⁸ The Scottish threat to Man was very real as late as 1595. Had it not been for the warning provided by English agents which allowed the reinforcement of Manx defences, English influence on the earl of Argyll, chief of the clan Campbell, and a fortuitous spell of bad weather, a force of several thousand clansmen might have taken the island. As it was, a much smaller force was easily repulsed on 1 August that year.¹²⁹

It was not only the Scots who were believed to pose a threat to Man. The Irish Sea was open to Breton and French raiding: in 1514 John Kite, archbishop of Armagh, bemoaning his position in Ireland, reported that on his coming over he had hired a ship from Chester with ordnance and men of war which had kept the Irish Coast safe until the time of his writing. This had been necessitated by the presence of two Breton pirates near Dublin.¹³⁰ Possible attempts on Man from Spain caused concern in the 1590s,¹³¹ and, as late as 1601, a report on Spanish intentions stated that they had 'also had in question the Isles of Anglesey and Man, how fertile and tenable they are, and how that with their galleys and small ships of war, they will hinder all succour from her Majesty's force in Ireland'.¹³² This was quite apart from the depredations of pirates, from which both Scots and English suffered. In 1565 Elizabeth twice wrote to the Scottish queen complaining of the depredations of Andrew White, who operated from Whithorn and had seized the goods of merchants sailing to Carmarthen, Haverfordwest and Chester.¹³³ Late in 1603, Man was used as a base by Captain Daniel Tucker for his raids as far as the coast of France, and members of the English regime were expressing concern at his actions.¹³⁴

The interest in Man in the 1570s of English opponents of Elizabeth

¹²⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I and James I* (London, 1856–72) [CSPD 1547–1625], vol. VI: 1601–3, with Addenda 1547–65, 365.

¹²⁶ *Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 30–3.

¹²⁷ HMC, *Cecil Papers*, i, 499–501, 503–7, 514–15, 541, 555.

¹²⁸ CSPD 1547–1625, Vol. VII: Addenda, 1566–79, 384.

¹²⁹ HMC, *Cecil Papers*, v, 199 (8 May 1595); *CSP Scot.*, x, no. 783; xi, nos. 85–6, 535, 546, 607, 609a, 610, 612, 614, 617, 618, 621, 633, 641.

¹³⁰ *LP Henry VIII*, i, no. 277 (7 Jun. 1514).

¹³¹ 1591–5, *Monumenta*, iii, 76–85; *APC*, 1592–3, 53 (8 Feb. 1593).

¹³² HMC, *Cecil Papers*, xi, 554.

¹³³ BL, Royal MS 18 B. 6, fos. 250v–251.

¹³⁴ BL, Additional MS 5664, fos. 331, 333.

indicates another possible source of tension over the island in the sixteenth century. Insecurity also affected Man through the dubious loyalty of the earl of Derby from the 1530s until his death in 1572. After their rising in 1569, the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland fled to exile in Scotland; a ship sent for intelligence of events in England and Scotland spent two days in the south of the Isle of Man.¹³⁵ In October 1571, Henry Simpson of Darlington was examined about a conversation he had had with one of Stanley's men who said that the earl was casting great guns in the Isle of Man and intended a rising, motivated by his Catholicism. The first part of the allegation, at least, seems to have been true.¹³⁶

The crucial strategic position of the island for the Scots was, of course, not to be practically applied until the Civil Wars of the mid-seventeenth century. Then, as Roger Dickinson has recently emphasised, possession of the island was considered vital by the royalist side when the prospect of the transfer of Scottish troops from the north of Ireland to assist the parliamentary cause in England was realised in 1643.¹³⁷ In particular, the island allowed an attempted landing in Ireland by the earl of Antrim, passing from York where he had concerted plans to bring the Irish into the war on the king's side.¹³⁸

It is interesting in this context to study the historiographical tradition of the island itself and the topographical ideas it enshrined. All the indications are that although the Manx came to view the Scots as the enemy, they did not see them as alien. Dating from some time in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the Manx 'Traditionary Ballad' refers briefly to Alexander III's possession of the island: the tone and implication of the passage is not of hatred for the Scots but disappointment that Alexander did not take on the royal responsibility of ruling the island.¹³⁹ On the other hand, the ballad does subsequently describe the Scots as the enemy, and states that they had destroyed the true heirs to the island.¹⁴⁰ Yet even the reference to the raid and counter-raid in 1456–7 does not bring any overt anti-Scottish feeling

¹³⁵ *CSPD 1547–1625*, vii, 392–3.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 361–3; HMC, *Cecil Papers*, i, 518 (confession of Sir Edward Stanley, Aug. 1571).

¹³⁷ J. R. Dickinson, 'The earl of Derby and the Isle of Man, 1643–1651', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire [THSLC]*, cxli (1991).

¹³⁸ John Spalding quoted from 'A Declaration of the House of Commons assembled in Parliament concerning the rise and progress of the Grand Rebellion in Ireland' of July 1643, which referred to his (abortive) arrival: *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England AD 1624–AD 1645*, ed. J. Stuart (Spalding Club, 1850–1), ii, 243. Cf. J. H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The Career of Randal MacDonnell, Marquis of Antrim, 1609–1683* (Cambridge, 1993), 117–25, esp. 121.

¹³⁹ 'O Scot if thou wert worthy in the course of thine embassy to come hither, why didst thou not remain and be a king as thou wert O king, and as the son of the king of Norway did?': Thomason, 'Manx Traditionary Ballad', 62–3.

¹⁴⁰ The conflation of events and personalities in the ballad then allows a move to discuss 'the fair maid ... who came of the seed of the king of Norway and who was daughter to king Orry': *ibid.*, 63–4. The transition to English lordship is handled in terms of continuity: '[the English king] married her as was fitting – she was [of] the lineage of Norway, Orry's daughter – to Sir William de Montague' (p.66).

from the ballad.¹⁴¹ More important, within Man itself a tradition remained alive which placed the island at the heart of another territorial association – the kingdom of Man and the Isles – cutting across unitary English and Scottish spheres of influence. In documentation produced by the Stanley lords of Man, the title lord of Man and the Isles was used, suggesting that they aspired to resurrect from Man the old unity of the lordship or even kingdom of Man and the Isles. For example, it appeared in the indenture of 1417 between Thurstan Tildesley and Roger Haysnap, the lord's commissioners, and the 'twenty-four keys' (jurors who increasingly formed part of the island's law-making body, the Tynwald court); and it was used in the confirmation in 1423 of Magnus's charter to the church of Sodor.¹⁴² The lords of Man used the more extensive title well into the sixteenth century,¹⁴³ and not just in connection with Manx business;¹⁴⁴ their bishops followed suit, not only in the form of 'Sodor and Man', but of the more explicit 'Man and the Out Isles'.¹⁴⁵ It is even debatable whether the royal title disappeared as suddenly and completely as has been argued.¹⁴⁶ Henry VIII showed a specific interest in ensuring Man's separate recognition in diplomatic agreements, for example the treaty of Utrecht in 1546.¹⁴⁷

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¹⁴¹ The two versions of the ballad give slightly different accounts: 'Upon Scotsmen he [Thomas Stanley] avenged a sudden attack and went across to Kirkcudbright and wrought such a destruction of houses that some of them there are still roofless'; 'When he came into the island to us he did not stay with us long [before he went and] burnt the seven farmsteads of Kirkcudbright, and some of them are still there roofless': *ibid.*, 76.

¹⁴² *Monumenta*, iii, 10–12; 13–18. Others used the title too: papal letters to William le Scrope had been addressed to the lord of the *kingdom* of Man and the Isles in 1392: *CPL*, iv, 432–3.

¹⁴³ On 12 Jun. 1531, perhaps to celebrate the return of the island's own lord, Thomas Shirburne was referred to in the records of the lord's court in Man as lieutenant 'illustrissimi domini Edwardi comitis Derby domini Stanley Mannie et Insularum de insula sua Mannie': Douglas, *Isle of Man, Manx National Heritage Museum and Library, Books of Pleas of the Manx Courts* ('Lib. Plit.'), 1531, unfoliated. The commissioners of Edward, the third earl, described him as 'Lord of Mann and the Isles' in a book of orders made at Castle Rushen, 16 Jul. 1561: G. Jefferson, *The Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man* (Douglas, 1819), 38–45.

¹⁴⁴ E.g., the grant of the stewardship of Northwich (Cheshire), to Richard Sneyde, 20 Aug. 1511: HMC, *10th Report*, App. IV, 60.

¹⁴⁵ E.g., an indenture made by Sir Thomas Langton with Thomas Stanley Lord Mounteagle, Bishop Thomas Stanley, and William Fleetwood, on 4 Aug. 1558: *The Stanley Papers*, vol. II, ed. F. R. Raine (Chetham Soc., 1853), 97.

¹⁴⁶ On 27 May 1539, the lord's attorney was described as the attorney *domini Regis* in the Manx court records: Manx National Heritage Museum and Library, Books of Pleas of the Manx Courts, in a book allocated to 1538. In the poetry of Robert Codrington, as late as 1637, the countess was referred to as queen: HMC, *Hastings Papers*, iv, 341–2 (I owe this reference to my student Katharine Walker).

¹⁴⁷ On 2 Jan. 1546, Gardiner, Thirlby and Carne wrote to Henry explaining that the imperial side to the negotiations argued that although the article did not mention Berwick, Guernsey, Jersey, and Man, they were to be 'taken as the same condition as the other be'. Otherwise the clause was as the king wished it, although, as in the treaty of Cambrai, Ireland was not referred to as a kingdom: *LP Henry VIII*, xxi(1), nos. 8, 71.

There were also practical links between England and Man which might have been expected to have strengthened exclusive ties between the two territories, but the evidence again proves complex. Economic factors potentially helped to intensify the connection between Man and England. A small-scale trade in leather and tallow was conducted between Man and Chester in the later sixteenth century. At its high point, in 1592–3, this trade represented 8,080 sheepskins, 50 goatskins, and 4½ dickers of hides. This was a commerce in which English influence predominated. The prominence of Chester merchants in this trade contrasted with their limited role in the Irish leather trade: one glover, Roger Darwell, who traded with Man in the 1580s and 1590s, spent time in the island supervising his business.¹⁴⁸ This and other trades resulted in many Manx people coming to Chester, and almost certainly to Liverpool, allowing them to experience English culture and society.¹⁴⁹

This was not, however, the only tie maintained through commerce. Although there is, by contrast, little direct sign of trade between Scottish ports and the Island until the sixteenth century, commercial connections were strong.¹⁵⁰ Paradoxically, we know most about contacts with the Isle of Man in the course of trade in the Irish Sea because of the problems caused in southern Scotland. This was particularly seen in tension between the town of Wigtown and Whithorn; the latter saw itself as part of an Irish Sea community unrestrained by the state of war that often existed between other territories and the Scottish king. In 1513–14 the crown and the burgh of Wigtown charged some inhabitants of Whithorn and the prior of buying ships in the haven of Wigtown and taking them to the isle of Whithorn where they sold them and furnished ‘our soveran lordis inimiys of Ingland, yle of Man and Yrland’ with wine, wax, iron and salt, ‘now in tym of derth’. The accused men of Whithorn were found guilty of selling to ‘Mansmen and Irlandmen’. The injunction was given out that only Scottish goods might be sold to strangers.¹⁵¹

There was still tension between Wigtown and Whithorn over trade in the Irish Sea involving Manxmen in February 1533. Then the burgh challenged James IV’s charter to Whithorn as an infringement

¹⁴⁸ D. M. Woodward, ‘The Chester leather industry, 1558–1625’, *THSLC*, cxix (1967), 71 (citing PRO, E190/1326/6), 72; a certain amount of tallow was also imported from Man (p.74). Wine was brought to Chester in the Michel of Man, master Edward Wyley, in Jul. 1541: PRO, E122/31/1A.

¹⁴⁹ R. H. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns* (Chester, 1894); J. A. Twemlow, ‘Manx Notes from Tudor Liverpool’, *PIOMNHAS*, new ser., ii (1923–6), 249–57.

¹⁵⁰ In 1512–13 the customs officer for Whithorn accounted for arrears including £3 18s. for ‘certarum cimbarum insule Mannie customarum apud Quhitherne’: *ER*, xiii, 576–7. A century later, the treasurer of Ayr accounted in 1607–8 for £3 from John Martene of the Isle of Man, for a licence to sell his *baff and hydis*: *Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 234.

¹⁵¹ *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, p. lxxvii. Cf. the deposit of a hoard of English gold coins in c.1510: M. Dolley and A. M. Cubbon, ‘The 1846 find of English gold coins from Seneschal Lane, Douglas’, *Journ. Manx Museum*, lxxxv (1970).

of their charter, and on the grounds that Whithorn's trade with Englishmen, Irishmen and Manxmen had cost the burgh 3,000 merks and the king 2,000 since 1513. Two ships a year, three in 1516, had been involved, laden with Gascon wine, iron, salt and so on.¹⁵² It was not only Whithorn that traded with Man: in 1526 the dean of Glasgow suffered the loss of goods taken in the Isle of Man by 'Duchmen'.¹⁵³ The main problem with the study of Manx trading relations is the almost complete absence of customs books for Scottish ports.¹⁵⁴ Yet, as Roger Dickinson's exhaustive study of Manx exports demonstrates, in the late sixteenth century at least, large numbers of cattle and sheep, and large quantities of leather and wool, were leaving the island, only a small percentage of which can be accounted for in the port books of Chester and Liverpool.¹⁵⁵ The importance in Manx commerce of Scottish merchants and of Scots who had become naturalised in Man suggests a not implausible answer to the problem of the destination of many Manx exports: Scottish ports. Jeffrey Galloway, who settled in Castletown in about 1590, may be seen trading to Liverpool in the records of that port, but we can be fairly confident that it was in his eponymous homeland that he did much of his business; and John Martin, a Scot operating in Ramsey, definitely made frequent ventures to south-west Scotland in the period 1590–1620.¹⁵⁶

Trade was not the only practical day-to-day bond between the peoples and territories of the Irish Sea and northern Britain. Just as the cult of St Cuthbert continued to appeal to the people of north-eastern England

¹⁵² *Selected Cases from Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis, from 27 May 1532 ... to 5 July 1533*, ed. I. H. Shearer (Stair Soc., 1951), 17–20; *Acts of Council (Public Affairs)*, 398.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 254.

¹⁵⁴ Just about the only relevant exception is that of Dumfries for 1578: 'An Introduction to the History of Dumfries', ed. R. Edgar, in *Records of the Western Marches*, i (Dumfries, 1915), App. B, 261–8. Cf. A. L. Murray, 'The customs accounts of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, 1560–1660', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Soc.* [TDGNHAS], 3rd ser., xlii (1965).

¹⁵⁵ J. R. Dickinson, 'Aspects of the Isle of Man in the Seventeenth Century' (Liverpool University Ph.D. thesis, 1991), 232–57. A particularly clear example of the disparities between Manx exports and English imports is provided by the wool trade. In 1593–4 the island exported 1,655 stones of wool; but only 281 stones were imported through Chester in 1592–3, with lesser amounts passing through Liverpool and Beaumaris: *ibid.*, 249–51.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 300–2. After the Restoration, vessels departing from Manx ports accounted for about 10% of the heavy goods-carrying ships that traded into Dumfries and Kirkcudbright: figures from 1673–91 (where port of departure is known) given in T. C. Smout, 'The foreign trade of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, 1672–1696', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd ser., xxxvi (1958–9), 41. For a list of shipping in the Dumfries burgh records, Jun. 1750–Jun. 1762 (in which the earliest mention of a Manx ship is in 1758–9), see A. E. Trucknell, 'Early shipping references in the Dumfries burgh records', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd ser., xxxiii (1954–5), 153. Already by this stage there were strong suspicions that the goods traded – skins and fish, the customary exports of the south-western counties of Scotland – were a cover for contraband. The attraction of Manx contraband was as strong in Galloway as it was in Liverpool. For the importance to neighbouring regions of trade in the 18th-century Irish Sea, see L. E. Cohen, 'Scottish–Irish trade in the eighteenth century', in T. M. Devine and D. Dickson (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh, 1983), 151–9.

and of Scotland regardless of the Border and mutual hostilities,¹⁵⁷ so the cult of St Ninian, with its heart at the focus of the northern Irish Sea at Whithorn, did the same.¹⁵⁸ Ninian's devotees ranged from a king such as Richard III to the lesser Yorkshire gentry and townsmen who left money to his shrine and ordered pilgrimages there.¹⁵⁹ An awareness of the contacts binding the Irish Sea province is also to be found in the fear of the threat from Galloway in the English North-West. St Werburgh, patroness of Chester, was celebrated for having saved the city from attack by 'Harolde kyng of danes, the kyng of gotes and galwedy, / Maucolyn of Scotlande and all theyr company'.¹⁶⁰

Signs of the weakening of the Scottish link and a closer association with England, although present in the sixteenth century, should therefore not be overemphasised. The Scottish understanding of Man as part of their kingdom was undimmed: George Buchanan's catalogue of the Western Isles began as usual with Man, and although it confused 'Sodor' as the name of the island's chief town, it described the island as 'a principality ... almost equally distant from Ireland, from Galloway in Scotland, and from Cumberland in England', without any acknowledgement of the reality of English domination there.¹⁶¹ Even if there was a drift to accept territorial loss and gain, any such tendency was about to be dramatically reversed. When Elizabeth's regime took control of Man in 1594/5, it was motivated not simply by the need to protect the island against occupation by the Spanish, or its use as a base by English religious refugees; the coming succession crisis inevitably raised the issue of the fate of the lordship of Man. If and when the king of Scotland became the king of England, the title to the island, which through three hundred years of 'English' overlordship had so often been seen as Scottish, was likely to be in dispute once again. Not only that, but the

¹⁵⁷ Barrie Dobson, in the face of counter-arguments from Anthony Goodman, convincingly argues that Cuthbert remained a powerful force in negotiations over Coldingham Priory in the fifteenth century: see A. L. Brown, 'The Priory of Coldingham in the late fourteenth century', *Innes Review*, xxiii (1972), 91-4; B. Dobson, 'The church of Durham and the Scottish Borders', in Goodman and Tuck, *War and Border Societies*, 144-7; and A. Goodman, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches in the fifteenth century: a frontier society?', in R. A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), 28.

¹⁵⁸ In 1428 James I granted general protection to strangers entering Scotland on pilgrimage to St Ninian's church; in 1516 Regent Albany did the same for all those coming by land or water, from England, Wales, Ireland, and the Isle of Man: *RMS*, ii, no. 107; E. G. Bowen, *Britain and Western Seaways* (London, 1972), 108.

¹⁵⁹ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, 192-3; J. Hughes, *The Religion of Richard III* (Stroud, 1997), 6-7, 36-7, 106. For Richard's foundation at Middleham and Ninian, see 'The statutes ordained by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, for the college of Middleham', ed. J. Raine, *Archaeological Journal*, xiv (1857), 169. William Ecopp, rector of Heselton, in 1472 left money for pilgrimage to a string of 18 shrines, mainly in northern and eastern England; the only one outside England was that of St Ninian: *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. III (Surtees Soc., 1864), 201.

¹⁶⁰ *The Life of Saint Werburge of Chester*, ed. C. Horstmann (Early English Text Soc., old ser., 1887), 157 (ll. 761-2); cf. p. 166 (l. 1034): 'Galway-Scot'.

¹⁶¹ George Buchanan, *The History of Scotland*, trans. J. Aikman (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1827), 41-2.

marriage of Earl Henry to Margaret, daughter of Henry Clifford and Eleanor, herself the daughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary, raised the question of the Stanleys' potential claim to the English throne.¹⁶²

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It is no surprise, therefore, that the succession of James VI to the English throne was the beginning of a long period of revived debate about the position of Man. One of James's key objectives was to achieve union between his Scottish and English kingdoms, and English authors were aware of the implications for Man of this project for a new conceptualisation of royal authority. Sir Henry Savile, in his 'Historicall Collections', proposed three possible titles for the king, 'Rex Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae'; 'Rex Britaniarum (vel utriusque Britanniae) et Franciae'; and 'Rex Britanicarum insularum et Franciae'. The advantage of the last was that it was 'in truth the largest, for it containeth also Wight, Man, Garnesy and Jersey', although Savile felt that it was 'somewhat disgracefull for so great a prince to be stiled king of ilands in his first title'.¹⁶³ Robert Pont considered the inclusion of off-shore islands so important that he provided his tract 'Of the Union of Britayne', with the subtitle 'or conjunction of the kingdomes of England and Scotland, with the bordering Brittish Ilands into one monarchie, and the manifold commodities proceeding from that Union'.¹⁶⁴ On the Scottish side, the arguments were more determined in their assertion of Scottishness of the Isle of Man. This was largely determined by the way the debate over the origins of the Scots had developed in the sixteenth century. Sir Thomas Craig in his *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*, following Boece and criticising Leland and Llwyd, argued that the island of Mona, ancient abode of the druids, was to be identified with Man and not Anglesey. Craig preferred to rely on Caesar and Paulus Orosius to place Mona in the centre of the Irish sea and to inhabit it with Scots.¹⁶⁵

There were more practical consequences of the arrival of the Scottish king on the English throne. The accession of James to the English throne also allowed the resolution, in 1617, of the question of whether Rathlin Island was correctly associated with Ireland or with Scotland.¹⁶⁶ Yet in 1604, the provost of Whithorn put forward a claim to the barony in the Isle of Man which had been forfeited by the abbot

¹⁶² R. A. Curphey, 'The background to the disputed Derby succession, 1594–1612', *PIOMNHAS*, new ser., vii (1964–72), 602–17; J. R. Dickinson, 'Eliza endangered? Elizabeth I, the Isle of Man and the security of England', *PIOMNHAS*, new ser., x (1989–), 123–40.

¹⁶³ *The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604*, ed. B. R. Galloway and B. P. Levack (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1985), 209–10.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁶⁵ Sir Thomas Craig, *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*, ed. C. S. Terry (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1909), 364–8. The other element of Boece's argument was that the Brigantes and Silures were Scots.

¹⁶⁶ D. Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1980), 23.

of Whithorn in 1422.¹⁶⁷ The accession of James to the English throne cannot, therefore, be seen as resolving the question of whether Man was Scottish or English. If anything, the fact that the *de facto* lord of Man had received the island from and gave his allegiance to a monarch who was both king of Scotland and king of England meant that the ambiguities of the island's position remained without serious challenge.

This essay has suggested that in the late medieval and early modern period there were strong reasons why the Isle of Man retained a relatively autonomous position. The kings of Scotland and their subjects continued to believe the island was Scottish. The political power of the English monarchy over Man was tempered by considerations of historical narratives and topographical ideas, and by practical considerations, with the result that English kings continued to see the island as Scottish. In the period after the English Civil War these tendencies continued – the accession of a Scottish duke, Atholl, to the lordship of the island being the most striking. Anglo-Scottish relations were not an uncomplicated exchange along the Westminster–Edinburgh axis. Jane Dawson has made clear the importance of Ireland in the Anglo-Scottish relations of the sixteenth century, as English attempts to control Ulster depended vitally on the attitude of the Campbell earls of Argyll, who re-established, in effect, the power-base of the Lordship of the Isles.¹⁶⁸ Some years ago, a similar argument was advanced for the seventeenth century by David Stevenson.¹⁶⁹ Yet to consider a tri-polar model still does not fully explain the politics of the Irish Sea province in the late medieval and early modern period. The Isle of Man continued to stand as an object lesson to those among James VI's subjects (and to modern-day historians) who wanted to resolve the complexity of multiple kingdoms and composite monarchies into simple unilinear hierarchies.

¹⁶⁷ Moore, *Sodor and Man*, 85–6.

¹⁶⁸ J. E. A. Dawson, 'Two Kingdoms or Three?: Ireland in Anglo-Scottish relations in the middle of the sixteenth century', in Mason, *Scotland and England*; J. E. A. Dawson, 'The fifth earl of Argyle, Gaelic lordship and political power in sixteenth-century Scotland', *ante*, lxxvii (1988).

¹⁶⁹ Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla*; D. Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates* (Belfast, 1981); D. Stevenson, 'The century of the three kingdoms', *History Today*, xxxv (Mar. 1985).