

Alexander Grant

The St Bees Lord and Lady, and their Lineage¹

I first heard John Todd talk about ‘St Bees Man’ in Copenhagen in 1987, and have associated them ever since. Consequently, this paper relates to the two fourteenth-century individuals whom he helped to bring to light – both literally and figuratively – in 1981 and thereafter. Initially, John believed the male was Anthony II Lord Lucy,² who died in 1368. But if the female was the male’s wife, as first seemed likely, that would have ruled Lucy out, because his widow remarried and died 35 years later in London; therefore other possibilities were suggested.³ However, analysis of the female body, combined with the discovery of a fragment of masonry showing Lucy and Percy arms, indicated (not long before John’s death) that it was actually that of Anthony II’s sister and eventual heiress Maud, whose second husband was a Percy.⁴ John’s initial identification was correct after all.

Unfortunately for the historian – though much less so than for himself – Anthony II had been Lord Lucy for fewer than three years when he was killed on crusade in Lithuania,⁵ and his short career did not generate many records – nowhere near enough for specific in-depth treatment. Nor, for different reasons, did Maud’s. But no man (or woman) is an island, and their main significance really lies in their place in Lucy family history: the male lineage ended with Anthony, and after Maud’s childless death its estates went to the Percys. Therefore, before presenting what *can* be said about them, they are contextualised within their lineage, by looking first at their twelfth- and thirteenth-century ancestors, and then in more depth at their grandfather Anthony I and father Thomas, the most prominent Cumbrian Lucies.

I

Anthony II’s death was certainly untimely, and both its place and its nature were unusual. Yet in the wider context the lineage’s extinction is hardly surprising: on average, over a quarter of late medieval England’s noble families died out in the direct male line during

¹ This paper is a tribute to the late John Todd, who was a colleague in the History Department at Lancaster University, and who had a prominent role in excavation and analysing the remarkable ‘St Bees Man’ in 1981 (for which see his 1991 paper, available online at <http://stbees.org.uk/history/stbeesman/stbees_man2_todd.html>). It will also appear, eventually, as chapter 6 of Keith J. Stringer (ed.), *North West England from the Romans to the Tudors: Essays in Memory of John McNair Todd*, which is to be published by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Extra Series.

² ‘Lord Lucy’ denotes a peerage style, and Anthony II was the second of that name (which is why my title has St Bees ‘Lord’ rather than ‘Man’). Note that for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries I include ‘de’ or ‘of’ (as appropriate) between first names and surnames, but I do not do so (except in quotations) for the fourteenth century – following common practice with respect to both periods.

³ C. J. Knüsel et al. [including J. Todd], ‘The identity of the St Bees Lady, Cumbria: an osteobiographical approach’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 54 (2010), pp. 296–7, 301–2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 302–5; and below, at note 185.

⁵ He succeeded his father on 5 December 1365, and died on 19 August or 16 September 1368: *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (London, 1904–) [hereafter *CIPM*], xii, pp. 15, 208–9, 213. When and where Anthony died is discussed below, pp. 16–18.

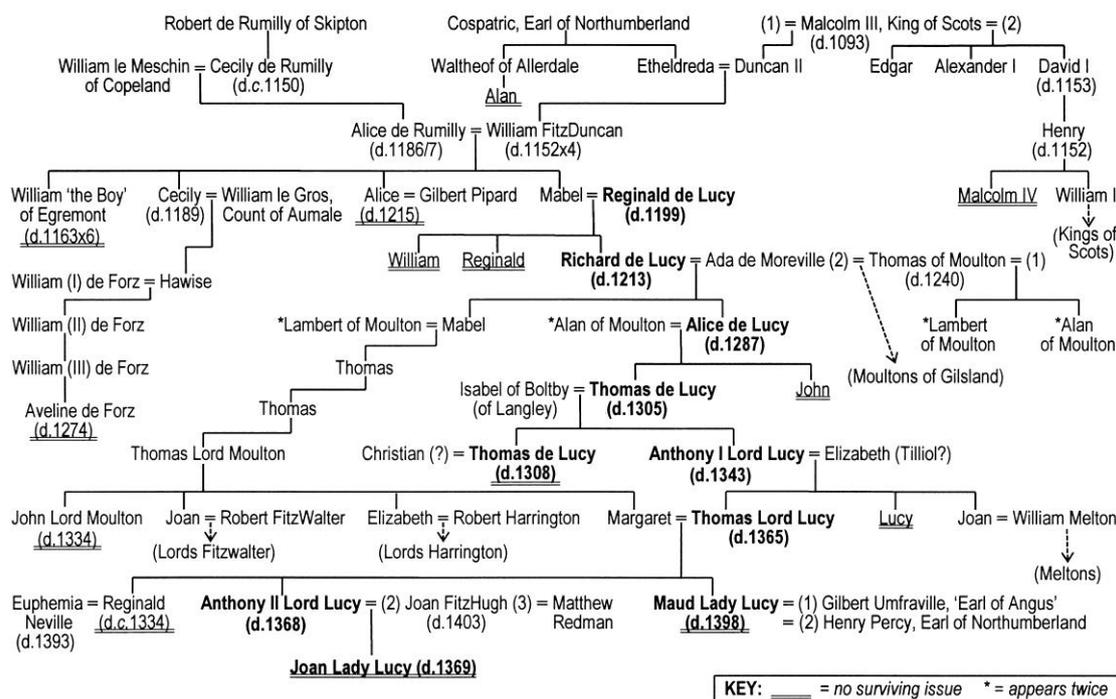


Figure 1: The Lucy Genealogy and Lineage

every 25-year generation.⁶ The Lucies fit that closely: there were seven generations of Lucy lords in Cumberland, but before Anthony II the lineage had already become extinct in 1213 when the second lord died without sons, and was reincarnated when his daughter's son took the surname Lucy.⁷ However, whereas in many families cadet male lines replaced senior ones, that did not happen with the Lucies: though several lords had more than one son, no cadet branch was ever established.⁸ Thus, the Lucy male lineage was always extremely fragile. On the other hand, male extinctions commonly meant that estates went to heiresses and thence to their husbands; marriage to an heiress, indeed, was the commonest way of expanding lands and territorial power in the Middle Ages (especially for those in royal favour, since crown approval was usually needed). That is another striking feature of Lucy history: no fewer than five of the eight lords married heiresses.⁹

The most important marriage was the first, which brought the family into Cumberland. Ironically, it resulted from an even more untimely death than Anthony II's: that of

⁶ K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 141–76.

⁷ See below, at notes 46, 52; I have counted the second lord's daughter and her husband together as constituting a Lucy lord.

⁸ For details, see G. E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, revised V. Gibbs (London, 1910–59) [hereafter GEC], viii, pp. 247–54; J. F. Curwen, 'Cockermouth Castle', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* [hereafter TCWAAS], New Series, 11 (1911), pedigree at pp. 258–9. Both should be corrected over Anthony II, who was the younger son; his elder brother Reginald died before his father: *CIPM*, xii, p. 16. They also miss the first Reginald's two elder sons, and Alice de Lucy's second son: see notes 44, 52, below, and figure 1.

⁹ That total includes the husband of the second lord's daughter. Of the three who did not, two were the only younger sons to head the family.

the under-age William ('the boy') of Egremont, who died, by drowning according to legend, in 1163×1166.¹⁰ That made his three sisters heirs to the great territorial complex – Allerdale (including Cockermouth), covering most of north-west Cumberland; Copeland (including Egremont), covering most of the south-west; and Skipton plus half of Craven in west Yorkshire – amassed by William of Egremont's father, William FitzDuncan, son of King Duncan II of Scotland and nephew of King David I.¹¹ One of them, Mabel, married Reginald de Lucy, a royal officer and almost certainly a close relative of King Henry II's justiciar Richard de Lucy (from a 'fairly modest' aristocratic family from Lucé in Normandy),¹² but there is no evidence that Reginald was a significant landowner before his marriage. Indeed, almost all the estates that the Lucies possessed in Cumberland were inherited at one time or another from William FitzDuncan, making him a vital figure in the Lucy pedigree – as the Lucies' own account, in a legal memorandum from the 1270s, indicates.¹³ Consequently, it is best to start with him rather than Reginald, especially given John Todd's cross-Border interests.

William's father Duncan, King Malcolm III's eldest son, was sent to England as a hostage in 1072, stayed there, and married Etheldreda, daughter of Earl Cospatic of Northumberland. After Malcolm's death in 1093, Duncan challenged the succession of his uncle Donald Bán, and was briefly king in 1094 before being defeated and killed. Then, in 1097, his half-brother Edgar (with Anglo-Norman help) overthrew Donald Bán permanently – taking the kingship to the sons of Malcolm III's second marriage.¹⁴ By the time the youngest, David I, had become king in 1124, William FitzDuncan was in his 30s; he was already close to David, and thereafter, as the king's nephew, was second only to David's son Henry.¹⁵ And, according to the Lucy memorandum, he was put in charge of the earldom of Moray after its confiscation in 1130.¹⁶ But when David used the English

¹⁰ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C. T. Clay (Edinburgh and Leeds, 1914–65) [hereafter *EYC*], vii, pp. 13–14. As Sir Charles Clay remarked: 'There is no reason, as assuredly there is no desire, to doubt the truth of the legend that the boy of Egremont was drowned in the Wharfe at the Strid at Bolton – a legend which has been enshrined in moving passages ... by Wordsworth, but charter evidence makes it impossible to believe the popular tradition that the foundation of Bolton Priory was due to his mother's sorrow at his death' (since he was alive when it was founded).

¹¹ A. A. M. Duncan, 'William fitz Duncan', within 'Duncan II, king of Scots', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004) [hereafter *ODNB*], xvii, p. 220.

¹² J. A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 345. For Reginald, see below, at note 31.

¹³ *The Register of the Priory of St Bees*, ed. J. Wilson (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Record Series, and Surtees Society, 1915) [hereafter *St Bees Reg.*], pp. 530–3; *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain et al. (Edinburgh, 1881–1986) [hereafter *CDS*], ii, no. 64 (full English summary). See *Victoria History of the Counties of England* [hereafter *VCH*], *Cumberland*, i, pp. 296–8, for the memorandum's purpose and later versions; and below, notes 34, 44, 54. It is similar, but preferable, to the so-called *Chronicon Cumbrie*.

¹⁴ A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp. 45–6, 53–65; R. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland, 1070–1230* (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 38–73.

¹⁵ As demonstrated by his appearances in charter witness-lists: *The Charters of King David I*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), nos. 14–15 (both before David became king), 52–4, 56, 68–70, 83, 120–1, 126, 130, 139, 147.

¹⁶ He is called *Willelmus filius Duncan, quondam Comes Murreve*: *St Bees Reg.*, p. 532; *CDS*, ii, p. 16. The memorandum exaggerates and garbles, but there is no reason to believe it simply invents; I therefore follow G. W. S. Barrow, 'Some problems in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish history – A genealogical approach', *The Scottish Genealogist*, 25 (1978), pp. 99–100, and Oram, *Domination and Lordship*, pp. 76–9.

civil war of Stephen's reign to annex the North West in 1136, FitzDuncan – one of David's main war-leaders and with maternal connections to the region – took a major role there,¹⁷ which he consolidated by marrying Alice de Rumilly, one of three daughters and heiresses of William le Meschin (d. 1130) and Cecily de Rumilly (d. c.1150): though Alice was the youngest, she got the largest share of the inheritance, namely her father's lordship of Copeland and (eventually) her mother's lordship of Skipton.¹⁸ Also, in the early 1150s William himself inherited Allerdale (plus Cockermouth)¹⁹ through his mother, aunt of the previous lord, despite the latter's having two sisters. David I was surely behind both the marriage and the inheritance: he had made FitzDuncan his viceroy in the North West.²⁰

Nevertheless, the Lucy memorandum twice mentions 'war moved between the king of Scotland and William FitzDuncan'.²¹ Only one Scottish historian has ever mentioned this – in terms of non-comprehension²² – and it could be ignored as serious garbling or an effort (for a lawsuit over inheritance) to portray FitzDuncan as essentially English. On the other hand, William's place in the Scottish royal line of descent was technically senior to David I's, and his Scots descendants, the MacWilliams, claimed the crown violently until the 1230s.²³ It is usually assumed that FitzDuncan would not have challenged David I, and that he predeceased the king, dying in 1147×1151.²⁴ This dating is wrong, however: one of his charters must be later than May 1152, and he perhaps survived well into 1154.²⁵

¹⁷ G. W. S. Barrow, 'King David, Earl Henry and Cumbria', *TCWAAS*, New Series, 99 (1999), pp. 120–1; P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066–1154* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 227–8.

¹⁸ Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 211–18; *EYC*, vii, pp. 4–11.

¹⁹ Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 207–8. In its usual, narrower, meaning Allerdale denotes the territory between the Wampool and the Derwent, while Cockermouth is the land between the Derwent and the Cocker, plus 'five vills' to the west; both had been held by Waltheof of Allerdale and his son Alan, FitzDuncan's cousin: T. H. B. Graham, 'Cockermouth', *TCWAAS*, New Series, 29 (1929), pp. 69–70; T. H. B. Graham, 'Allerdale', *TCWAAS*, New Series, 32 (1932), pp. 28–34.

²⁰ K. J. Stringer, 'State-building in twelfth-century Britain: David I, king of Scots, and northern England', in J. C. Appleby and P. Dalton (eds), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000–1700* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 50–1. With respect to Allerdale, the previous lord Alan son of Waltheof was still alive in 1150: *The Charters of King David I*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), no. 197; but he had presumably been in David's allegiance since 1139, since he witnessed some of David's charters: *ibid.*, nos. 68–9, 196 (though there he is accidentally omitted from the witness-list; see *St Bees Reg.*, no. 39); and note that the Lucy memorandum states that when he succeeded his father he 'was under age and in the ward of King David of Scotland, who had the lands of Cumbria' (*CDS*, ii, p. 16; *St Bees Reg.*, p. 531). Scottish ties are also evident in the marriages of Alan's sisters, one to a son of the lord of Galloway and the other to Ranulf de Lindsey, who witnessed for David, Earl Henry, William FitzDuncan and the earl of Dunbar: *The Scots Peerage*, ed. J. B. Paul (Edinburgh, 1904–14), iii, p. 245; *Charters of David I*, nos. 196–7; *EYC*, vii, nos. 12, 14; *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153*, ed. A. C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905), no. 117. Hence David would certainly have been able to control the succession to Alan's lands.

²¹ *CDS*, ii, p. 16; *St Bees Reg.*, pp. 532–3: *propter guerram motam inter Regem Scocie et ipsum Willelmum filium Duncan; and tempore quo guerra mota fuit inter regem Scocie et Willelmum filium Duncan*. The second passage seems particularly credible, since its purpose was simply to provide a chronological context for a land transaction.

²² Sir Archibald Lawrie, in *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 272: 'I do not profess to understand ... this passage.'

²³ Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, pp. 102–4, 117–18; Oram, *Domination and Lordship*, pp. 140–3, 155–8, 174–6, 190–1.

²⁴ For example, Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, pp. 59–60, 65, 70; Oram, *Domination and Lordship*, pp. 103–13.

²⁵ *EYC*, vii, pp. 10, 62–3. The crucial point is that one of FitzDuncan's charters (*ibid.*, no. 15) was witnessed by the abbot of Kirkstall Abbey, which was not founded until May 1152. Duncan, 'Duncan II', p. 220, gives the latest possible year of William's death as 1154, but does not consider the implications. It should be added that many years ago John Todd noticed the redating: he wrote 'd. 1152×4' above FitzDuncan's name in the entry for Egremont on p. 115 of his copy of I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their*

Therefore, though his death may have occurred before David I's (May 1153), he presumably outlived David's son Henry (d. June 1152). That is significant, because while there is no reason to believe FitzDuncan opposed the adult Henry's designation as David's heir,²⁶ he would surely have objected to Henry's young son Malcolm becoming the successor: FitzDuncan was Malcolm III's only surviving grandson, and Scotland had never had under-age kings.²⁷ A serious quarrel between FitzDuncan and David I in 1152–3 is therefore highly probable, even if it did not produce the Lucy memorandum's open warfare (though that might have happened had FitzDuncan lived longer).

Be that as it may, after the death of his heir William of Egremont, FitzDuncan's daughters shared the estates. According to the Lucy memorandum:

The first of them, named Cecily, was married, with the honour of Skipton, to William le Gros, count of Aumale, by Henry [III], then king of England, being in the lord king's wardship in her minority; the second, named Mabel, was married to Reginald de Lucy, with the honour of Egremont [i.e., Copeland], by the said king in her minority; and the third, named Alice ... was married to Gilbert Pipard of the king's household, with the honour of Cockermouth [i.e., Allerdale], by the said king in her minority.²⁸

This illustrates the importance of heiresses, but misleadingly oversimplifies the estates' transmission: the neat three-way division is not found until the end of the century. Skipton and Copeland actually belonged to FitzDuncan's widow the elder Alice de Rumilly, and could not be inherited by any of her daughters until she died in 1186/7.²⁹ But while she retained possession of Skipton, she gave Copeland to William le Gros and Cecily – presumably as a marriage portion – and they styled themselves lord and lady of Copeland until their deaths in 1179 and c.1189 respectively.³⁰ That leaves Allerdale, FitzDuncan's own property and therefore inheritable by his daughters. Had it all gone to the younger Alice, as usually said, then his other daughter Mabel and her husband Reginald de Lucy would have had nothing. However, a 1212 inquest states that Torpenhow, which is in Allerdale, had been 'of the barony of Alice de Rumilly', but that 'Reginald de Lucy ... formerly held that land with the sister [Mabel] of the aforesaid Alice'.³¹ Also, there was an inquest in 1204–5 into whether the complainant's grandfather had been disseised by Reginald of part of Caldbeck in Allerdale;³² and the 1184–5 pipe roll records a case

Origin and Descent, 1086–1327 (Oxford, 1960), which Mary Todd has gifted to Lancaster University Library, along with many other of John's books.

²⁶ Cf. *Charters of David I*, nos. 126, 129.

²⁷ As it was, there were severe tensions: Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, pp. 70–1; Oram, *Domination and Lordship*, pp. 108–14.

²⁸ *CDS*, ii, p. 16; *St Bees Reg.*, p. 530.

²⁹ *EYC*, vii, pp. 9–13.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20. For Count William's grants as lord of Copeland, see *St Bees Reg.*, nos. 17–18, 20, 224, 382 (the last is addressed to *omnibus hominibus suis de Coupland*); and for Cecily's, *ibid.*, nos. 27–8, 225 (as 'countess of Aumale'), and Illustrative Documents, no. 31 (as 'countess of Aumale and lady of Copeland'). She is also, remarkably, described as 'countess of Copeland' in pipe rolls from the 1180s (*VCH, Cumberland*, i, pp. 353–5), though that might simply be conflating her personal status as countess and her lordship over Copeland.

³¹ *The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Neville* (London, 1920–31), i, p. 198; translation based on *VCH, Cumberland*, i, pp. 421–2 (where 'sisters' should be 'sister').

³² *VCH, Cumberland*, i, p. 396.

brought against Reginald concerning Eaglesfield, one of the ‘five villis’ attached to Cockermouth and hence Allerdale.³³ This evidence shows that the lordship of Allerdale must have been divided between FitzDuncan’s younger daughters:³⁴ they received less than their elder sister, but that was the norm for co-heiresses before the 1180s.³⁵

Now it has been argued that Henry II – ‘to cut out the cancer of Scottish influence in the north’ – married the daughters to ‘trusted administrators’, in a demonstration of royal power.³⁶ Perhaps: but FitzDuncan’s daughters were not heiresses until William of Egremont’s death in 1163×1166. Moreover, the aged and obese William le Gros, who had little or no interest in the far North West, was hardly a significant royal agent there;³⁷ while during the later 1160s and the 1170s both Pipard and Lucy were heavily employed elsewhere.³⁸ Therefore, though the marriages would have brought income, plus status for Pipard and Lucy, none of the husbands can be seen as particularly prominent in Cumberland; indeed, during the crucial first half of Henry’s reign his main agents are more likely to have been Robert son of Truita sheriff of Carlisle, Hubert de Vaux lord of Gilsland, and the king’s relative Alexander FitzGerold, who married FitzDuncan’s widow Alice de

³³ *Pipe Roll* (as published by the Pipe Roll Society, 1884–) [hereafter *PR*] 31 *Henry II*, p. 75: entered under Yorkshire, because Cockermouth with the ‘five villis’ had been granted by William le Meschin to Waltheof of Allerdale in the early twelfth century, to be held of the lordship of Copeland, which in the twelfth century was under the sheriff of York, not Carlisle/Cumberland. See Graham, ‘Allerdale’, pp. 32–3.

³⁴ The memorandum’s statement that Alice was the youngest should be questioned. Their names suggest otherwise: Cecily was called after her grandmother and Alice after her mother, which usually happened with the two eldest daughters. Also, Alice was given Radstone (Northamptonshire) as well, and her husband Gilbert Pipard was probably more important than Mabel’s husband Reginald de Lucy. That said, Alice is listed as the youngest in the account of a 1223 lawsuit over her lands between the heirs of Cecily and Mabel: *CDS*, i, no. 864. But the pleadings began with statements of the two parties’ descents from Cecily and Mabel, and then turned to Alice: she thus appears third in the document, but that does not necessarily denote order of birth. The same pattern would then have been copied for the later lawsuits: see below, at notes 54, 64.

³⁵ J. A. Green, ‘Aristocratic women in early twelfth-century England’, in C. W. Hollister (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 72–8; J. C. Holt, ‘Feudal society and the family in early medieval England: iv. The heiress and the alien’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 35 (1985), pp. 1–28.

³⁶ Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 229–30.

³⁷ He had been a staunch supporter of King Stephen, who made him earl of York; but under Henry II (who cancelled that title) he ‘played little part in national affairs’, spent much of his time in his *comté* in Normandy, and when in England focused on his east Yorkshire and Lincolnshire estates: B. English, *The Lords of Holderness, 1086–1260* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 22–9 (but the comments on p. 17 about his marriage to Cecily should be ignored, since it is misdated to Henry I’s reign); P. Dalton, ‘William le Gros, count of Aumale and earl of York’, in *ODNB*, lix, pp. 122–3. Only two of his five charters to St Bees Priory have place-dates; one is Bytham (Lincolnshire), the other Driffield (Yorkshire), both bases of his eastern lordship: *St Bees Reg.*, nos. 17, 20.

³⁸ Pipard was sheriff of Gloucester, Hereford and Lancaster in turn, and was also employed in the royal household; he is not recorded in Cumberland until 1191–2, shortly before he died in Brindisi, southern Italy, on royal business: *EYC*, vii, pp. 16–17. Lucy mostly worked in the north Midlands between 1167 and 1176, being in charge both of the Nottinghamshire royal forests and (by 1172) of the major lordship of Peveril (or The Peak, then in crown hands), plus Nottingham Castle; and he, too, was probably attached to the household: *PR 14–22 Henry II*, passim. The statement in *GEC*, viii, p. 247 that Lucy ‘was associated with the county of Cumberland as early as 1158’ is wrong: *EYC*, vii, p. 15, note 7. He did have a small amount of land in the Carlisle region in 1161–5, but only temporarily: *PR 8 Henry II*, p. 38; *PR 11 Henry II*, p. 54.

Rumilly as early as 1156.³⁹

By Richard I's reign, however – following the deaths of Alice de Rumilly and Cecily – the situation had changed significantly. Cecily and William le Gros left only a single daughter, Hawise, whose husband William de Forz, count of Aumale, possessed Skipton in 1201;⁴⁰ but they are not recorded as having Copeland. On the other hand, Mabel's husband Reginald de Lucy was fined for some form of concealment (non-reporting) in Copeland in 1189/90.⁴¹ A major territorial change must have occurred. Reginald may not have possessed the whole of Copeland, however, since shortly before he died in 1199 he was engaged in *novel disseisin* proceedings against both his sister-in-law Alice and his niece Hawise. His son Richard eventually won the case in 1200, after gaining King John's support by paying 300 marks (£200) to inherit his land in Copeland and Caldbeck, plus a 'reasonable share' of the lands he claimed against Alice and Hawise.⁴² By then, the concept of equal shares among co-heiresses (taken for granted in subsequent Lucy lawsuits) had been established; and the division was now along straightforward Copeland–Allerdale lines, as in the Lucy memorandum (with Caldbeck going to Alice in 1206, after she and her husband had also paid the king 300 marks).⁴³

The process, however, had not been straightforward. Also, it was perhaps not Reginald but Richard – apparently the youngest but sole survivor of three brothers⁴⁴ – who was the first major Lucy landowner in Cumberland: lord not only of Copeland but also, having married the local heiress Ada de Morville in c.1204, of half the barony of Burgh by Sands and royal forester of Cumberland (i.e., Inglewood).⁴⁵ That must have made him Cumberland's leading magnate – and he would have expected to inherit half the Allerdale/Cockermouth lordship, because his aunt Alice de Rumilly (junior) was childless and aged. But that expectation was not realised, because Richard died relatively young, before Alice, in 1213 (and was buried in St Bees Priory) – leaving two under-age daughters, Mabel and Alice, as his heirs.⁴⁶

Consequently, as noted above, the male line of Cumberland Lucies died out after just

³⁹ See respectively *VCH, Cumberland*, i, pp. 338–50 (translated pipe roll entries for Carlisle/Cumberland); R. H. C. Vaux, 'Who was Hubert de Vallibus?', *TCWAS*, Third Series, 7 (2007), pp. 50–1; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 229–30.

⁴⁰ *PR 2 Richard I*, p. 73.

⁴¹ *PR 1 Richard I*, pp. 88–9 (omitted from the *VCH, Cumberland* translation, but see p. 369 for a similar fine in 1191/2).

⁴² *EYC*, vii, p. 15; *Curia Regis Rolls, 1196–1216* (London, 1922–35), i, pp. 70, 265; *GEC*, viii, p. 248; *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835), p. 45; *VCH, Cumberland*, i, p. 386. The *VCH* gives Cambridge instead of Caldbeck: the original word is *Cautebigge*, and I prefer the suggestion that this represents *Caudebec*, because the Lucies are not known to have had land in Cambridge, but did have lordship over Caldbeck in Allerdale: *EYC*, vii, p. 15, note 2; and above, at note 32.

⁴³ *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, p. 396.

⁴⁴ The Lucy memorandum mentions only Richard, but the actual pleading before the king and council in 1276 (as later presented to the Lincoln parliament of 1316) states that Mabel, wife of Reginald de Lucy, had two elder sons, William and Reginald, who both died childless, as well as Richard, her eventual heir: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ed. J. Strachey et al. (London, 1767–77) [hereafter *Rot. Parl.*], i, pp. 348–9 (which in this case is preferable to *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504*, ed. C. Given-Wilson et al. [Woodbridge, 2005], iii, pp. 198–200, which omits the significant family tree included with the original pleading, and mistakenly dates the enrolled transcript to 1310 rather than 1276). See also below, at note 64.

⁴⁵ *GEC*, viii, p. 248; *Rotuli Chartarum*, ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1837), p. 132. For that inheritance he had to pay King John 1,000 marks and 15 palfreys: *VCH, Cumberland*, i, p. 396.

⁴⁶ *GEC*, viii, pp. 248–9.

two generations. The Lucy heiresses, however, were highly valuable commodities: their wardship was quickly bought from King John for 1,000 marks by an upwardly mobile Lincolnshire knight, royal administrator and financial speculator, Sir Thomas of Moulton, who married them to his two sons (while by 1218 he himself had married Richard's widow Ada, so that her inheritance in Burgh by Sands eventually went to their son, progenitor of the Moultons of Gilsland).⁴⁷ Moreover, the two Lucy daughters inherited not just their father's lordship of Copeland or Egremont (as became the usual name, from the castle); there was also half of Allerdale/Cockermouth after Alice de Rumilly eventually died in early 1215.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, King John immediately gave all her estates to his protégé the current (now titular) count of Aumale, William II de Forz, who was Alice's great-nephew. His turbulent and unpleasant career was played out in eastern England, but he tried to keep possession of all Allerdale/Cockermouth, and indeed referred in charters to 'my fee of Allerdale and Copeland'.⁴⁹ He was ultimately unsuccessful, but it was not until 1225, following a major lawsuit, that Thomas of Moulton managed to win his daughters-in-law's half-share, roughly the more northerly part of Allerdale which came to be known as Aspatria (while Aumale got the more southerly lands of Cockermouth and Papcastle, plus Radstone in Northamptonshire).⁵⁰ But having achieved that, Moulton's own division of the Lucy inheritance between his daughters-in-law (and their husbands) seems uneven. The bulk of Egremont went to the elder son and his wife Mabel, and was in due course combined with the main Moulton estates; only Loweswater (a smallish part of Egremont) and Aspatria went to the younger couple, Alice de Lucy and Alan of Moulton.⁵¹

Egremont now had Moulton lords. But Alice, who lived until 1288, retained her Lucy surname – and both her sons Thomas and John took it too.⁵² Thus, in effect, the Lucy lineage was recreated, though it now possessed just half of Allerdale. It was entitled, however, to much more. The line of descent of FitzDuncan's daughter Cecily and William le Gros, count of Aumale, which included Skipton and the Cockermouth/Papcastle share of Allerdale among its possessions, ended with Aveline de Forz, who married Henry III's son Edmund earl of Lancaster in 1269 but died childless in 1274.⁵³ Alice de Lucy and Thomas of Moulton, descendants of Cecily's sister, jointly claimed both lordships in 1276; but a John Eshton asserted that he was heir to those, plus the lordship of Holderness (Yorkshire). His case was fraudulent, but Edward I manipulated the proceedings to make it

⁴⁷ GEC, ix, pp. 399–401, 405–6; C. L. Kingsford, revised by R. V. Turner, 'Sir Thomas of Moulton', in *ODNB*, xxxix, pp. 522–3; J. C. Holt, *The Northerners* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 57–9, 73; and, for the Moultons of Gilsland, see K. J. Stringer, 'Lordship and Society in Medieval Cumberland: Gilsland under the Moultons (c.1240–1313)', in Stringer (ed.), *North West England from the Romans to the Tudors* (forthcoming).

⁴⁸ *EYC*, vii, p. 19.

⁴⁹ B. English, 'William de Forz, count of Aumale', in *ODNB*, xx, pp. 481–3; English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp. 437–49; *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1837), p. 201; *St Bees Reg.*, nos. 19, 21. A Lucy family account of the 'Descent of Albemarle, Moulton and Lucy', down to the 1220s, states that Forz 'seized Cockermouth and Allerdale into his own hands': 'Lucy Cartulary', as calendared by the National Register of Archives, copy available in CAS (C), no. 133.

⁵⁰ *EYC*, vii, pp. 19–23; *CDS*, i, nos. 864, 889, 917–18, 936.

⁵¹ *CDS*, i, no. 1106.

⁵² *Calendar of the Fine Rolls, 1272–1509* (London, 1911–62) [hereafter *CFR*], i, p. 245. Alice was a widow in 1269 ('Lucy Cartulary', no. 61), and perhaps several years earlier, since Alan is not found in the 1260s; so she significantly outlived him, which might have helped to influence her sons' choice of surname. The John Lucy who was sheriff of Carlisle in the early fourteenth century was her second son: *ibid.*, no. 66.

⁵³ GEC, i, pp. 353–6.

appear superior – whereupon, in 1278, Eshton surrendered his whole claim to the king in return for land worth just £100 a year!⁵⁴

Nevertheless, Alice de Lucy and her son Thomas (d. 1305) were still quite substantial Cumberland landowners; and like his predecessors Thomas made a good marriage, to the co-heiress of a north-east landowner Adam of Boltby, which gained him Langley barony near Hexham.⁵⁵ Thus, he was certainly an important northern lord – at a time when the north of England had once again become very significant due to the outbreak of war with Scotland in 1296. However, as Iain Hall has shown, Thomas took little part in the war; and after he died in 1305, nor did his son, another Thomas.⁵⁶ The elder Thomas (in his 60s in 1296) was probably too old,⁵⁷ and the younger (the first Lucy to marry a non-heiress) might have been ill, since he died in 1308.⁵⁸ Instead, the most prominent Cumberland figure was Thomas Moulton, lord of Egremont (Lord Moulton after 1299), who was able to fund a considerable retinue from Egremont, plus his Lincolnshire estates.⁵⁹ The Lucies, by comparison, were second-rate.

II

That soon changed. After about 1310, Moulton's pre-eminence evaporated – partly because he supported Thomas earl of Lancaster against Edward II and would therefore have fallen out of royal favour,⁶⁰ but more significantly because Thomas de Lucy's brother and successor Anthony came to the fore. Whereas in 1309 Anthony was well down a list of 52 Cumbrian landowners ordered to serve the region's chief military leader Lord Clifford against the Scots, by 1311 he was one of the top eight, and he fought at Bannockburn in 1314.⁶¹ Conversely Moulton, having headed the 1309 list, was not in the 1311 one, and like Lancaster missed the Bannockburn campaign. Furthermore, Lord Clifford was killed in the battle, and his son, who succeeded, was another Lancaster supporter. The net result was a power vacuum in the far North West, which Anthony partly filled: he became one of two wardens for the west march and sole warden in 1318, and, being lord of Langley, was also employed in Northumberland.⁶² But he was not the only new leader: Andrew Harclay (from Westmorland and initially a Clifford follower) rose even more

⁵⁴ McFarlane, *Nobility of Later Medieval England*, pp. 256–7; *EYC*, vii, pp. 23–7, 222–8; *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I*, ed. G. O. Sayles (Selden Society, 1936–9), iii, pp. 191–2. This is the case for which the Lucy memorandum was produced.

⁵⁵ W. P. Hedley, *Northumberland Families* (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1968–70), i, pp. 231–2; 'Lucy Cartulary', no. 25. For Langley, see K. J. Stringer, 'Tynedale: power, society and identities, c.1200–1296', in M. L. Holford and K. J. Stringer, *Border Liberties and Loyalties: North-East England, c.1200–c.1400* (Edinburgh, 2010), pp. 232–3, 266–8.

⁵⁶ I. Hall, 'The Lords and Lordships of the English West March: Cumberland and Westmorland from circa 1250 to circa 1350' (Durham University Ph.D. thesis, 1986, available online at <<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/7479/>>), pp. 151–2, 256–7, 262, 265, 298.

⁵⁷ His mother had been married by 1219, and he was active in the 1250s: *GEC*, viii, p. 249.

⁵⁸ *GEC*, viii, pp. 249–50 (which notes that his wife's first name was Christian, but 'her parentage is unknown').

⁵⁹ For Moulton's military activity and contributions in this period, see Hall, 'English West March', pp. 246, 248, 250, 256, 261, 263–5; *GEC*, ix, p. 403.

⁶⁰ Hall, 'English West March', pp. 276, 280 – but more could have been made of this.

⁶¹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ed. D. Macpherson et al. (Record Commission, 1814–19), i, pp. 77, 106. Moulton did provide troops until 1315 (*ibid.*, pp. 89, 99, 104, 106, 136, 145), but that was all.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 166, 189, 196. He was made *custos* of Cumberland and Westmorland, which correspond to the subsequent institutionalised West March; therefore for clarity I have used the later term, but without capitals.

strikingly, especially after defending Carlisle in 1315. Thereafter their careers ran roughly in tandem – both were march wardens, both became parliamentary peers in 1321 – but Harclay was more prominent, especially in 1322 when he defeated the earl of Lancaster and Lord Clifford at Boroughbridge, and had them put to death. For that, Edward II made him earl of Carlisle, which perhaps went to his head. For instance, he encroached on Lucy's spheres of influence, accused him of supporting Lancaster, and threatened to seize his lands; but Lucy apparently pacified him. More seriously, despairing of peace Harclay made his own treaty with the Scots. That was treason, and Edward II turned to Lucy – who, though still Harclay's second-in-command, brought about his arrest, trial, and execution in early 1323.⁶³

One consequence of Harclay's fall involved Cockermouth. Fresh Lucy/Moulton claims to that had failed in 1304–6 and 1315–16;⁶⁴ and though Anthony was made its keeper in 1318, he was replaced by Harclay in the following year.⁶⁵ But after Harclay's execution, Edward II rewarded Lucy in 1323 with the whole lordship of Cockermouth (including Papcastle); once again the head of the Lucies possessed a third of the FitzDuncan inheritance – though it was now Allerdale.⁶⁶ Moreover, Lord Moulton had died in 1321 leaving a 13-year-old heir, John, whose lordship of Egremont was put into Anthony's custody, again in 1323.⁶⁷ And when John came of age, he seems to have operated mostly in Lincolnshire, where he died childless in 1334, leaving three sisters as heiresses. Anthony's son Thomas was married to the youngest, Margaret, by late 1329, and thus the Lucies gained a third not only of Egremont – making them dominant within the far North West – but also of the Moulton estates in Lincolnshire and elsewhere.⁶⁸ Thus, while Anthony I Lord Lucy's own wife (probably one of the Tilliols of Scaleby near Carlisle)⁶⁹ was not an heiress, he maintained the Lucies' heiress-marrying theme through his son.

More generally, Anthony was clearly an excellent administrator, warrior and politician, with a 'brilliant talent for political survival' – as demonstrated by his good relations with Edward II, Isabella and Mortimer, and Edward III in turn.⁷⁰ Under Edward III, he was in charge of Carlisle and the west march until the war ended in 1328; acted with 'energy and rigour' as royal justiciar (governor) in Ireland in 1331–2; returned to his posts on the

⁶³ Hall, 'English West March', pp. 283–362, provides by far the fullest account of Harclay's rise and fall, including his relations with Lucy; see also H. Summerson, 'Andrew Harclay, earl of Carlisle', in *ODNB*, xxv, pp. 115–17, and his 'Anthony de Lucy, first Lord Lucy', in *ODNB*, xxxiv, pp. 696–7.

⁶⁴ *EYC*, vii, p. 27; Graham, 'Cockermouth', pp. 76–7; *Rot. Parl.*, i, pp. 170, 191, 348–9; *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ii, p. 118; iii, pp. 198–200; *Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Abbreviatio*, ed. W. Illingworth (Record Commission, 1811), pp. 261, 323.

⁶⁵ *CFR*, ii, pp. 386, 396; Hall, 'English West March', p. 327.

⁶⁶ *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1226–1516* (London, 1903–27) [hereafter *CChR*], iii, p. 453. Lucy did not get Skipton, however; Edward II gave that to the first Lord Clifford in 1310, and though it was forfeited by the second Lord in 1322, Edward III restored it to his brother, the third Lord, in 1327: H. Summerson, 'Robert Clifford, first Lord Clifford', in *ODNB*, xii, pp. 108–9; *GEC*, iii, pp. 290–2.

⁶⁷ *CFR*, iii, p. 212.

⁶⁸ *GEC*, viii, p. 253; viii, p. 405. In November 1329 Anthony had a licence to alienate 100 marks' worth of land to Thomas and his wife Margaret: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* (London, 1891–) [hereafter *CPR*], 1327–30, p. 455. This presumably reflects a contract made with Margaret's father and was therefore soon after the marriage. The elder sisters' shares went to the Lords FitzWalter and Harrington.

⁶⁹ J. Nicholson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London, 1777) [hereafter Nicholson & Burn], ii, p. 458. If so, Anthony's marriage gave him a valuable connection with this important local family.

⁷⁰ Hall, 'English West March', pp. 362–80 (quotation at p. 376).

march after fresh warfare broke out in 1332; led several cross-Border raids and fought a small but serious battle in 1333;⁷¹ served as keeper of Berwick and justiciar of English-held Scotland in 1334–7 (being rewarded with the former Rumilly estate of Radstone); and, finally, took charge of the west march for five more years, until his death in 1343.⁷² It was a most impressive career, which established him as the predominant magnate in the far North West, superseding the Cliffords (whom Edward III had restored).⁷³

Thomas, second Lord Lucy, followed in his father's footsteps, but within wider horizons. As a youth he had been in Edward II's household in 1315–18;⁷⁴ while as an adult he was granted £20 a year by Edward III on 22 July 1333, 'for his good service' and 'his better maintenance in the order of knighthood, which he has taken out at the king's command': the date was three days after the battle of Halidon Hill, which suggests that he fought there, unlike his wounded father.⁷⁵ Thomas's experiences were broader, however: he was a knight of the royal household by 1334, and was one of the 134 lords and knights at the Dunstable tournament that year.⁷⁶ He was with Edward III at Antwerp in 1338;⁷⁷ he possessed southern estates through his first wife Margaret Moulton, and after her death in 1342/3 he married, at Edward's request, the latter's part-French relative Agnes Beaumont;⁷⁸ his elder son married the eldest daughter of the north-eastern magnate Lord Neville of Raby in 1347;⁷⁹ in the same year he took part in the siege of Calais;⁸⁰ and he died in London in December 1365, some six months after being granted 100 marks a year as one 'whom the king has thought good to retain with him'.⁸¹

That said, his most memorable activity outside the North West was surely in 1346, during the Scottish invasion that was crushed at Neville's Cross: 'The lord of Lucy, who

⁷¹ In which he was wounded, and consequently missed the English victory at Halidon Hill: GEC, viii, p. 251; G. Neilson, 'The battle of Dornock', *D. & G. Trans.*, new ser., 12 (1897), pp. 154–8.

⁷² See, in general, Summerson, 'Anthony de Lucy', p. 697; and for details of his service in Scotland, *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi ... Asservati*, ed. D. Macpherson et al. (London, 1814–19) [hereafter *Rot. Scot.*], i, pp. 213–637, passim. For the grant of Radstone (which had gone with Skipton to Cecily de Rumilly's descendants and hence to Edward I in 1278), see *CPR, 1334–8*, pp. 233–4.

⁷³ H. Summerson, 'Roger Clifford, fifth Baron Clifford', in *ODNB*, xii, pp. 110–11.

⁷⁴ Hall, 'English West March', p. 304 (but not, as Hall says, as a knight).

⁷⁵ *CPR, 1330–4*, p. 493; *Calendar of the Close Rolls* (London, 1892–) [hereafter *CCR*], 1333–7, p. 266. The 'good service' was perhaps leading a Cumbrian contingent on his father's behalf. His taking knighthood was presumably a positive response to the (widely ignored) royal command in March 1333 that non-knights with land worth over £40 a year (Thomas had 100 marks' worth: above, note 68) must be knighted within ten weeks: *CCR, 1333–7*, pp. 93, 123, 144.

⁷⁶ R. Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England* (London, 2013), pp. 46, 73. As well as Edward III himself, the participants included 89 who were in the household in the 1330s and/or fought at Crécy in 1346.

⁷⁷ *CFR*, v, p. 104; W. M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven, 2011), pp. 200–5.

⁷⁸ Margaret was alive in 1341 and probably in July 1342 (*CPR, 1340–3*, pp. 288, 483), but dead by July 1343, when Edward made this request (*CPR, 1343–5*, p. 62). Agnes must have been connected with Sir Henry (Lord) Beaumont, who was a relative of Edward I's queen and a leading warrior and diplomat for all three Edwards until his death in 1340 (note his mother was called Agnes). She was probably his daughter, but that cannot be proved, and she does not feature in standard accounts of Beaumont's career (e.g., GEC, ii, pp. 59–60; J. R. Maddicott, 'Sir Henry de Beaumont', in *ODNB*, iv, p. 659). Was she perhaps illegitimate?

⁷⁹ Reginald married Euphemia Neville, whose first husband had been Robert third Lord Clifford (restored to the title 1327; d. 1344). Neville clearly wanted links with the main magnates of the far North West: GEC, iii, p. 292; viii, p. 253, note; ix, pp. 499–50; A. Tuck, 'Ralph Neville, fourth Lord Neville', in *ODNB*, xl, pp. 514–16; *CPR, 1345–8*, p. 248; 'Lucy Cartulary', nos. 36–7; and below, at note 94.

⁸⁰ G. Wrottesley, *Crecey and Calais from the Public Records* (London, 1898), pp. 6–7; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 290.

⁸¹ *CIPM*, xii, no. 17 (4 December 1365); *CPR, 1364–7*, p. 119 (26 May 1365).

came hurrying to the battle as fast as he could with a great number of men-at-arms and was not there on the day, encountered the fleeing enemy and pursued them relentlessly, and many of them were slain and captured'. Though hardly spectacular, that action gained him a letter of special thanks from Edward III, one of only 12 that were sent.⁸² He had hurried from Cumberland, where he had succeeded his father as truce conservator, negotiator and march warden, offices which he held until his death in 1365:⁸³ the invasion had started in the west, so that was where he had to be.

His main actions, indeed, were always on the west march – including cross-Border raiding that flouted truces, according to a detailed complaint by William Lord of Douglas in 1357 about attacks on Eskdale and Annandale by Lucy and his probable kinsman Robert Tilliol, in which they stole 2,000 livestock and extorted £5,000 from the locals.⁸⁴ But both aggressive and defensive Border warfare required local followings, which are a striking feature of the lordship of both Anthony and Thomas Lord Lucy – as demonstrated by John Marsh's analysis of the 24 leading members of the retinue that accompanied Anthony to Ireland in 1331.⁸⁵ At least 18 came from Cumbria: Lucy's likely brother-in-law Peter Tilliol of Scaleby, his kinsman-by-marriage Robert Harrington (husband of one of the Moulton heiresses) from Furness, 12 others from Allerdale and Copeland, and four more from Westmorland.⁸⁶ That contrasts sharply with the retinue Thomas Lord Moulton took to Ireland in 1305: of 15 known members, only three were from the region.⁸⁷ There is not the same detail with respect to Scotland,⁸⁸ but a sense of Thomas Lord Lucy's affinity can be gained from the witnesses to charters by and to him: they were predominantly from Cumbria.⁸⁹ And though only three instances of Lucy retaining fees can be found,⁹⁰ most of the gentry from Allerdale/Cockermouth and Copeland/Egremont

⁸² 'Illustrative documents: Thomas Samson's letter to his friends', ed. M. Arvanigian and A. Leopold, in D. Rollason and M. Prestwich (eds), *The Battle of Neville's Cross* (Stamford, 1998), p. 135; *Rot. Scot.*, i, p. 675.

⁸³ *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 598, 628, 670–896, *passim*.

⁸⁴ *CDS*, iii, no. 1664.

⁸⁵ J. P. Marsh, 'Landed Society in the far North-West of England, c.1332–1461' (Lancaster University Ph.D. thesis, 2000), pp. 129–31 (from *CPR*, 1330–4, pp. 104–5).

⁸⁶ Allerdale and Copeland: Sir Robert and John Bampton, Sir Adam Bassenthwaite, Sir John Derwentwater, Sir Hugh, Robert and Hugh Lowther, Sir Hugh Moresby, Sir John Pennington, John Daunay, Robert Rottington, Ralph Lamplugh. Westmorland: Sir Alexander Windsor, Matthew and Roger Redman, Thomas Strickland. Of the others, William Boyville was probably related to the John (son of William) Boyville who possessed Ireby in Cockermouth (*CIPM*, vi, no. 220); Thomas Featherstone was the major tenant in Langley barony; and Nigel Giggleswick or his ancestors presumably came from near Skipton, and so could have had north-west links initially via the Forz lords of Cockermouth or the Cliffords. That leaves only Sir John Walkingham and Robert Bery, for whom links cannot be established or suggested.

⁸⁷ John Lamplugh, Laurence Kirkby, and Richard Huddleston. Of the others, eight were from Lincolnshire, one from Norfolk, and three are unidentifiable: *CPR*, 1301–7, p. 337; Hall, 'English West March', p. 151(b) (I have added to the identifications).

⁸⁸ Except for a list of 39 (mostly minor) men from Westmorland with Anthony Lord Lucy in Scotland in 1336; men from Cumberland may have been left behind to protect the Border, or this might just reflect only part of his following: Marsh, 'Landed Society', pp. 131–2; *CDS*, v, nos. 3485, 3517.

⁸⁹ For example, Richard Denton, John Derwentwater, Hugh Lowther, Henry Malton, John Orton, Adam Bassenthwaite and John Harrington of Aldingham (all witnessing a charter for Fountains Abbey in 1350); plus Gilbert Curwen, Christopher Moresby, John Bampton, Gilbert Hothwaite, William Ireby, John Lamplugh, and Clement and John Skelton: Marsh, 'Landed Society', pp. 131–4; *Chartulary of Fountains Abbey*, ed. W. T. Lancaster (Leeds, 1915), no. 71; 'Lucy Cartulary', nos. 102, 135, 151, 153, 217.

⁹⁰ Thomas Lord Lucy gave ten marks a year to Gilbert Curwen, and £5 to William Lowther; Anthony II gave £10 to Richard Lowther: Marsh, 'Landed Society', p. 131; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (London,

would have had landholding ties of some sort with the fourteenth-century Lucy lords.

But the particular strength of the Lucies' local lordship derived from the post-1296 Anglo-Scottish warfare, which militarised both sides of the Border region.⁹¹ In times of war, absentee lordship was undesirable, as was imposing an external leader: local forces under local gentry were best mobilised and led by local magnates – who through the new offices of march warden and truce conservator managed and controlled both recruitment (in England, at royal expense) and service, especially the lucrative cross-Border raiding.⁹² Unsurprisingly, great Border magnates emerged, most famously the Percies, Nevilles, Douglasses and Dunbars – whose equivalent on the English west march from the 1320s to the 1360s was the Lucies. That was very different from the mostly peaceful thirteenth century, when lordship within the Border region was often diluted, divided and absentee. It was not so different, however, from the earlier twelfth century, which also saw extended Anglo-Scottish warfare involving regional warlords – especially, in the far North West, David I's nephew William FitzDuncan.

Consequently, it can be said, Anthony I and Thomas Lords Lucy were FitzDuncan's heirs not only by descent but also in their militarised regional lordship. That is not just a rhetorical concept: the Lucies were well aware of their lineage's past history, in which FitzDuncan was pivotal. And from the 1320s, when Anthony acquired Cockermouth and Thomas's first wife brought him a third of Egremont, they were recreating his regional predominance. But it was now Lucy predominance. Significantly, soon after his succession Thomas obtained a formal copy of King John's grant to Richard de Lucy and his wife Ada of her father's hereditary forestership of Cumberland;⁹³ though Thomas did not get the forestership, this shows awareness of his family's past. Also, strikingly, he named his first son Reginald, obviously after the twelfth-century founder of the Cumbrian Lucies. In due course Reginald would have possessed more of Cumberland in his own right than had any of his Lucy forebears,⁹⁴ cementing their new regional dominance – and also, with estates in Lincolnshire and elsewhere, plus the political links forged by his marriage to Ralph Lord Neville's eldest daughter in 1347, he ought to have figured prominently on the national stage. So, as his name indicates, he must have carried high paternal hopes.

1916–), iii, no. 692; 'Lucy Cartulary', no. 40.

⁹¹ Best described, for example, in A. King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, c.1296–c.1408' (Durham University Ph.D. thesis, 2001, available online at <<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1729>>), pp. 76–130; M. H. Brown, 'The development of Scottish border lordship, 1332–58', *Historical Research*, 70 (1997), pp. 1–22; A. J. Macdonald, 'Kings of the Wild Frontier? The earls of Dunbar or March, c.1070–1435', in S. Boardman and A. Ross (eds), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c.1200–1500* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 139–58.

⁹² Among which the great Lucy-led raids of 1357 and 1366 were the most spectacular: see above, at note 84; below, at note 109; and, in general, H. Summerson, 'Crime and society in medieval Cumberland', *TCWAS*, New Series, 82 (1982), pp. 111–24.

⁹³ *CPR*, 1343–5, p. 212: an exemplification of Henry III's confirmation of John's original charter, for which see, respectively, *CCbR*, i, p. 13; *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi*, p. 132. The forestership had gone to Ada's descendants, the Moultons of Gilsland, but had reverted into crown hands.

⁹⁴ *GEC*, viii, p. 253, is ambiguous about Reginald, and he is generally omitted from work on the Lucies. But Thomas's inquisition *post mortem* states unambiguously that Reginald, 'now deceased', was the elder son: *CIPM*, xii, p. 16. After his mother's death in 1342/3, the third of the Moulton estates in Egremont, Lincolnshire and elsewhere technically belonged to him, though they were in his father's hands as the widower.

Unfortunately, those were not fulfilled: Reginald died before his father, in *c.*1364.⁹⁵ His burial place is unknown – but had the St Bees bodies both been mere skeletons, the male might have been identified as him on the following grounds: the female body gives the Lucy connection; his mid-30s age-at-death fits; the skeleton’s broken neck could have been caused by falling from a horse; and the alternative, Anthony II, died and was presumably buried abroad (the lead covering does not necessarily indicate foreign death).⁹⁶ And the high-status burial at St Bees would have been attributed to his grieving father. Indeed, Reginald can be ruled out only because the body’s soft tissue shows death was caused by a punctured lung almost certainly resulting from inter-personal violence – which is not applicable to him.⁹⁷ So the St Bees Lord is not Reginald, but his brother Anthony II.

III

Anthony’s date of birth is not recorded, but the parameters for it are narrow. In November 1329 Anthony I Lord Lucy received permission to alienate 100 marks’ worth of land to his son Thomas and Thomas’s wife Margaret; this presumably related to their marriage contract, and the actual marriage is unlikely to have been much earlier.⁹⁸ Also, Reginald was born first – so Anthony was surely born sometime after 1330.⁹⁹ But analysis of his body gave 35–45 years as age-at-death, which appears to rule out a birth-date after the early 1330s; the best guess for it, therefore, would be 1332 or 1333.

Nothing is known about him until he reached his 30s;¹⁰⁰ but then three items bring his relationship with his father into question. First, in June 1363 his brother Reginald granted him the Lincolnshire manor of Fleet, part of their mother’s inheritance – but their father Lord Thomas possessed the life-tenancy, so Anthony would not have benefited until Thomas died.¹⁰¹ The intention was presumably to provide Anthony with land as soon as that happened, without his having to wait for Reginald’s inheritance process – which highlights the fact that Lord Thomas himself did not give Anthony any land.¹⁰² Second, in November 1365 Anthony borrowed 1,000 marks from Edward III’s mistress Alice Perrers, and his obligation to repay was cancelled on condition that once he inherited Radstone (Northamptonshire) he would convey it to Alice for life. His father died in London 16 days later – and in May 1366 Alice acknowledged receipt of Radstone.¹⁰³ As Laura

⁹⁵ That is, sometime between June 1363 (below, at note 101) and December 1365 (when his father died).

⁹⁶ These points all derive from Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, pp. 288 (age-at-death), 288–90 (fractured bones), 291 (lead covering used in delayed burial: Reginald could have died in Lincolnshire), 304 (female body’s identity); and with a skeleton, there would have been no indication that the corpse had been preserved for transport. But, strangely, Reginald was not included among the possible candidates.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 290–1. Anyone who accidentally or deliberately killed a major figure like Reginald would either have obtained a pardon or would have been prosecuted, but there is no indication of either process in the government records; nor were there any major or minor battles at the time.

⁹⁸ *CPR, 1327–30*, p. 455; *GEC*, viii, p. 253.

⁹⁹ The possibility that he was over 40 when he died (Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, p. 300) can be discounted.

¹⁰⁰ Though I have not gone through the numerous unpublished account rolls for payment of troops in The National Archives, I am most grateful to Dr Andrew Ayton and Dr Andy King, who have studied many of these, for searching for Anthony’s name in their research material, with negative results.

¹⁰¹ *Lucy Cartulary*, no. 112.

¹⁰² If Thomas had, it would have been recorded in his inquisition *post mortem*: *CIPM*, xii, no. 17.

¹⁰³ *CCR, 1364–8*, pp. 198, 200; *CFR*, ix, p. 55; L. Tompkins, ‘The Uncrowned Queen: Alice Perrers, Edward III and Political Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England, 1360–1377’ (St Andrews University Ph.D. thesis, 2013), pp. 56, 172.

Tompkins has argued, the attraction for Alice was presumably its location near Moor End, Edward III's castle-cum-hunting-lodge.¹⁰⁴ But though it was an original Rumilly possession granted by Edward to Anthony I, for the younger Anthony it was used as a source of cash while waiting for the death of his father (who had given it in jointure to Anthony's step-mother Agnes Beaumont,¹⁰⁵ so perhaps it had unhappy connotations). Third, in April 1366, five months after Lord Thomas died, Anthony and Joan FitzHugh, widow of William Lord Greystoke, were pardoned for marrying without royal consent.¹⁰⁶ If Thomas, who was close to Edward III, had arranged this marriage the pardon would have been unnecessary; therefore, it probably happened shortly after his death. But Anthony's elder brother Reginald had been childless, so while Anthony was unmarried the Lucy lineage was extremely vulnerable. That no doubt explains why Anthony married a widow who already had four children – yet why wait until after his father's death? Consequently, it is difficult to envisage Anthony's being on good terms with Lord Thomas – who perhaps focused solely on Reginald.

Once Anthony II had succeeded his father, he naturally took over as warden of the west march, though he was not so prominent, being listed after Roger Lord Clifford.¹⁰⁷ He would, of course, have wanted to make a name for himself – and Alice Perrers's 1,000 marks no doubt provided initial finance for his following. But there had been less military activity on the Borders since 1357, and the wardens' main tasks were now just to uphold the truce and suppress small-scale raiding.¹⁰⁸ In late 1366, however, 'Anthony de Lucy's people ... plundered the people of Annandale of a great number of cattle and prisoners and [took] them into England; which the said Anthony countenances'. That was not upholding the truce – and it happened during negotiations for sharing Annandale between the earl of Hereford and the king of Scots. The complainant, indeed, was an English negotiator, who also reported a subsequent raid in which Cumberland marchers 'beat and wounded the earl of Hereford's servants and carried off their horses and harness', and urged 'that these marauders be speedily chastised in their persons, to deter others, or the lordship will be utterly ruined by these English marchers, who pay no respect to protections or the king's letters'.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Lord Lucy's great raid in 1357 had infuriated the Scots; Anthony II's in 1366 infuriated the English as well.

Unsurprisingly, tension rose: in February 1367 the English-controlled Borders (especially Lochmaben Castle in Annandale) were put on war footing, with the wardens being ordered both to array defensive forces and to maintain the truce absolutely.¹¹⁰ Then in July

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–7.

¹⁰⁵ 'Lucy Cartulary', nos. 55–8 (1348).

¹⁰⁶ *CPR, 1364–7*, p. 241. For Lord Greystoke, who died in 1359, see *GEC*, vi, pp. 192–4. Joan was a sister of the Yorkshire magnate Henry, third Lord FitzHugh: *GEC*, ix, pp. 420–1; and see below, at 151.

¹⁰⁷ *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 903–15, *passim*. Roger Lord Clifford, who gradually rebuilt his family's position through military service to Edward III, is first recorded on the west march in 1356, listed after Thomas Lord Lucy, and that continued to be the case (with one exception) until Thomas's death: *ibid.*, pp. 670–96, *passim* (p. 856 for the exception); Summerson, 'Roger Clifford', pp. 110–11.

¹⁰⁸ That is, since David II had returned from his post-Neville's Cross captivity: see especially A. J. Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed: Scotland, England and France at War, 1369–1403* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 9–19.

¹⁰⁹ *CDS*, iv, no. 128.

¹¹⁰ *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 908–12; and for the west march in particular, see R. K. Rose, 'The Bishops and Diocese of Carlisle: Church and Society on the Anglo-Scottish Border, 1292–1395' (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1984, available online at <<http://hdl.handle.net/1842/6783>>), pp. 99–101.

Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was added to the wardens, with a clear supervisory role.¹¹¹ Warwick, a veteran of Crécy and Poitiers, was a major military leader,¹¹² and his appointment surely resulted from complaints about the regular wardens. But on the east march Henry Lord Percy and Ralph Lord Neville were highly experienced and reliable, while on the west Roger Lord Clifford was Warwick's son-in-law. So Lucy looks like the problem. If so, a neat solution appears to have been found. Warwick had spent 1365 on the Prussian crusade against Lithuania,¹¹³ for which the Teutonic Knights had created 'a knightly package tour, complete with banqueting, hunting, military action, and even a system of prizes' – all for the glory of God and salvation of the participants, plus the huge enhancement of their reputations.¹¹⁴ Now in November 1367 Warwick's three sons set out for Prussia, and so did Anthony Lord Lucy.¹¹⁵ That was surely no coincidence: if Lucy wanted a warrior image, Prussia and Lithuania were the best places to create it – as Warwick no doubt suggested.

Anthony's licence to leave England, dated 20 November, was for himself, 15 horse-men and £500: one of the largest retinues and cash amounts recorded in the 1367–8 licences for travel to Prussia.¹¹⁶ And he was accompanied by the Lincolnshire landowners Sir John Moulton of Frampton and Sir Richard Welby, who had their own licence.¹¹⁷

Dear wife [wrote Moulton on 23 November] know that Anthony de Lucy and I and all our company make our way towards the parts of *Spruz* [Prussia] the day of the making of these letters and that Richard de Welby my companion and I will be at *bouche a court* with the said Anthony ... and that when ... we have anything to do with our enemies it is my wish to be with him, which will be much to my profit and honour.¹¹⁸

Sir John, from a cadet branch of the original Moultons, had been Thomas Lord Lucy's ward, and both he and Welby had tenurial ties with Anthony. They were a close-knit trio who shared attorneys, while Welby was a feoffee for both Lucy and Moulton.¹¹⁹ Also,

¹¹¹ *Rot. Scot.*, i, p. 913.

¹¹² A. Tuck, 'Thomas Beauchamp, eleventh earl of Warwick', in *ODNB*, iv, pp. 597–9.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 598; Wigand von Marburg, *Chronik*, in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, ed. T. Hirsch et al. (Leipzig, 1861–74), ii, pp. 549, 551.

¹¹⁴ C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 266–76 (quotation at p. 267); E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn (London, 1997), pp. 154–62; T. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 72–97.

¹¹⁵ *CPR, 1367–70*, pp. 56–7.

¹¹⁶ 1367–8 was a peak period for lords, knights and esquires going to Prussia: see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 268; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 217–40. To the 14 mentioned by Tyerman as having licences for Prussia, Guard adds others with more general licences, who certainly (like Lucy) or probably went there; I am doubtful about some on Guard's list, but the total comes to at least 24.

¹¹⁷ *CPR, 1367–70*, p. 58.

¹¹⁸ P. Coss, *The Foundations of Gentry Life: The Moultons of Frampton and their World, 1270–1370* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 199–200. *Bouche a court* meant free provision of food and drink.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 201; *CPR, 1367–70*, p. 34; *CIPM*, xii, p. 207; xiii, pp. 90–1. Their links are stressed in Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 78–9. However, while Guard's analysis is in general impressive, it discusses Lucy purely from a Lincolnshire perspective, as a wealthy local knight, and shows no awareness that he was a peer and the greatest landowner in Cumbria; nor should he be called 'a linchpin of recruitment [for the Prussian crusade] on the Norfolk/Lincolnshire border', since his only significant links were with Moulton and Welby. Also, it misunderstands the partition of the main Moulton estate between FitzWalters, Harringtons and Lucies, which leads to slips: Lord Lucy, far from being a 'client of

when Anthony turned again for finance to Alice Perrers – borrowing 600 marks from her on 21 November – Moulton borrowed £20 at the same time.¹²⁰

Lucy's and Moulton's closeness lasted unto death. Their inquisitions *post mortem* state simply that they died 'in parts beyond seas' in 1368, and are confusing about the actual dates: for Lucy, both 19 August and 16 September are given, for Moulton 18 August or 'around Michaelmas' (29 September).¹²¹ A place of death is indicated, however, in Werner Paravicini's magisterial study of the Prussian crusades: in his tabulated list of foreign crusaders' deaths, entry 8a is '1368 Sept? Sir Anthony de Lucy? †vor Neu-Kauen?';¹²² while entries 8b–c say the same for Sir John Moulton and for a Sir Roger Felbrigg.¹²³ Thus, Paravicini suggests that all three died at Kaunas (now Lithuania's second city). Readers will be delighted to learn that the reference for these entries is to his subsequent two-and-a-half page discussion of an 'erstaunlich gut erhaltener Leichnam eines etwa 40jähriger Mannes in der Prioratskirche zu St. Bees in West Cumbria an der Nordwestküste Englands ausbegaben'¹²⁴ – which mostly summarises material on 'St Bees Man' supplied by John Todd!¹²⁵ But it also explains the 'Neu-Kauen' suggestion, citing the contemporary *Chronicon Livoniae's* mention of the deaths there in September 1368 of 'three of our men', whom Paravicini cautiously identifies as the three Englishmen.¹²⁶

Examination of the Teutonic Knights' war against the Lithuanians in the 1360s shows that he is almost certainly correct. The background is that there were no battles; instead, campaigns consisted mostly of *reysen* (raids) aimed at terrorising and depopulating local areas and departing before an enemy force could appear. However, because of the problematic terrain and weather, *reysen* were usually feasible for only a month or so during February–March and August–September (which explains the Knights' 'package-tour' policy at other times). They were generally based on river routes, especially that of the River Neman,¹²⁷ which flowed northwards to Kaunas and then eastwards to the Baltic,

Lord Fitzwalter', was his significantly older social equal and kinsman; and Moulton's estate of Frampton did not belong to FitzWalter and Lucy 'in jointure', because while they were two of the three coparceners (a different concept) of the main Moulton estates, it was the third, Lord Harrington, who was actual overlord of Frampton: *CIPM*, xii, no. 300.

¹²⁰ *CCR*, 1364–8, p. 396.

¹²¹ *CIPM*, xii, nos. 233, 300; xiii, no. 269; xiv, no. 169.

¹²² W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des Europäischen Adels* (Sigmaringen, 1989–95: available online at <http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/bdf/paravicini_preussenreisen_1>, and <...preussenreisen_2>), ii, p. 117 (Table 56). Kauen is the German name for Kaunas.

¹²³ Felbrigg was a Norfolk knight, who had a royal licence in October 1367 to travel overseas, and cannot be found in subsequent sources; but a memorial brass erected by his son in St Mary's Church, Felbrigg, states that 'he died in Prussia and there his corpse is buried': illustrated in N. Housley, 'The crusading movement, 1274–1700', in J. Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 1995), p. 274. He must therefore have died in 1368.

¹²⁴ Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen*, ii, pp. 118–20 (quotation at p. 118: an 'amazingly well-preserved body of an around 40-years-old man excavated in the priory church of St Bees in West Cumbria, North-West England').

¹²⁵ 'St Bees Man' was drawn to Paravicini's attention while he was working on his second volume, and having contacted John he then added Lucy to his list of crusaders. John is fully referenced, acknowledged and thanked, and his 1991 paper (above, note 1) is cited: *ibid.*, pp. 12, 118.

¹²⁶ Hermann von Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, ii, p. 92; Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen*, ii, p. 120.

¹²⁷ This is now the commonest English form (replacing the older Nieman/Niemen) for the river called Nemunas in Lithuanian and Memmel in German.

roughly forming the Prussia–Lithuania frontier. The strategic importance of Kaunas is clear, and it was a major Lithuanian stronghold safeguarding the local population from *reysen* – until the Knights besieged, captured and destroyed it in April 1362.¹²⁸ They could not stay there, however, and a year later found that a new Lithuanian fort, which they called ‘Neu-Kauen’ or New Kaunas, had been built (presumably in wood) a few miles downstream on an island where the River Nevešis then joined the Neman. This they burned – facilitating subsequent *reysen* in the region – but by 1367 it had been rebuilt, so they burned it again.¹²⁹ Then in summer 1368, after an army led by the Knight’s Grand Master had constructed a fort of their own on the south (Prussian) side of the Neman not far from Kaunas, a *reyse* was dispatched to ravage the north side, then east across the Nevešis, and finally south to New Kaunas – which was found to have been ‘unexpectedly repaired for a second time’. Therefore, ‘the following day they stormed and captured it’, killing 600 of the enemy; but ‘three of our men were killed from the walls’.¹³⁰

Anthony Lord Lucy and Sir John Moulton would have arrived in Prussia around the end of 1367; but in early 1368 no *reysen* could be launched. However, the summer’s fort-building army contained many ‘pilgrims’, among whom Lords FitzWalter and Beaumont, two of Lucy’s relatives, were highlighted; so Lucy, Moulton and their men were surely there too. Nor is there any reason to believe they were not on the subsequent *reyse* to New Kaunas – on which they must have died, since they were certainly dead by the end of September (as, presumably, was Felbrigg). And the *Chronicon Livoniae* notes only elite fatalities, so the three who died at New Kaunas must have been at least knights. Moreover, consider the wounds found by the autopsy on Anthony’s body: a punctured lung, probably the immediate cause of death, plus a fractured neck and jaw. They surely indicate that he was struck by a weapon and then fell from a height – which is consistent with being ‘killed from the walls’. I propose, therefore, that Anthony was hit by a missile fired or thrown by one of the defenders of the New Kaunas fort, which fatally pierced his chest and also made him fall heavily, most probably from a ladder during an assault.¹³¹ Moulton and Felbrigg may have died in a similar fashion; but without their bodies there is no way of knowing.¹³²

But when was Anthony II killed? As already noted, his inquisitions *post mortem* give conflicting dates: 19 August (Cumberland and Northumberland), and 16 September (Lincolnshire). Now, because of their devotion to the Virgin Mary, the Teutonic Knights linked their campaigns to her feast days, so summer *reysen* usually began on either 15 August (Assumption) or 8 September (Nativity).¹³³ For 1368, the *Chronicon Livoniae* dates

¹²⁸ My brief overview is based on Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, pp. 160–74; and for the destruction of Kaunas, see Wartberge, *Chronicon*, pp. 81–2; Marburg, *Chronik*, pp. 531–8.

¹²⁹ Wartberge, *Chronicon*, pp. 84, 88–9; Marburg, *Chronik*, pp. 540–2, 545–6, 559–60.

¹³⁰ Wartberge, *Chronicon*, p. 92: *de nostris tres de menibus occisi sunt*. See also Marburg, *Chronik*, pp. 558, 560 (but with slightly confused chronology).

¹³¹ Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, pp. 288–90. Since the New Kaunas fort was on a small island, the Knights were unlikely to have been on horseback; but an assault on the walls would have needed ladders.

¹³² Wartberge, *Chronicon*, p. 92, adds that it was hoped the wounded would recover (*de vulneratis vita sperabatur*), but some may not have – so it is not certain that Moulton and Felbrigg died with Lucy. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 80, gives a different scenario – Lucy, Felbrigg and Moulton ‘were killed while fighting alongside one another in defence of a stockade on the river Nieman’ – but all he cites is Paravicini’s Table 56 (above, note 122), and though he presumably did use Wartberge’s chronicle, he has misunderstood what was going on (also, Lucy was not a young knight, as said on p. 94).

¹³³ Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, pp. 221–2.

two (into Livonia) to the Nativity, then states that the New Kaunas *reyse* was around the same time. But the attack on the fort was at the end of this *reyse*, which would put Anthony's death in mid-September – matching the 16 September of the Lincolnshire inquisition *post mortem*. That, therefore, is preferable to 19 August, which (since both dates are on the same day of the week) was perhaps just a slip.¹³⁴

As a rule, according to Paravicini, those who died on *reysen* were not left in heathen territory, but buried in Königsberg Cathedral¹³⁵ – meaning that they were brought back from where they fell. Now, before the bodies were transported (probably by river where possible) they would have to have been wrapped. Thus, the tight 'pine-pitch impregnated shroud'¹³⁶ that preserved Anthony's corpse must have been applied shortly after his death, at or near New Kaunas. But if Moulton and Felbrigg were also killed there, the same would have happened to their bodies, which were buried in Prussia.¹³⁷ Consequently, the treatment of Anthony's corpse should not be related to its return to England (though the lead covering might be) – and, indeed, such a return was most unusual.¹³⁸ It might be, of course, that Anthony left instructions for burial in Cumberland, though we shall never know. However, his kinsman Lord FitzWalter, lord of the honour of Egremont and thus the major patron of St Bees,¹³⁹ was with him in Prussia; so FitzWalter was most probably the person responsible for sending Anthony's corpse home.

Strikingly, a cord running from round the neck to the penis and a wreath of female hair had been added to the corpse before it was wrapped. The cord perhaps denoted humility and self-abasement, fitting for a crusading pilgrim.¹⁴⁰ As for the wreath, it has been suggested that it was from 'an admiring woman, perhaps ... without the knowledge of officiating clergy'.¹⁴¹ Admiring women were unlikely to have been on the New Kaunas

¹³⁴ Wartberge, *Chronicon*, p. 92; and note 121, above, for the inquisitions. The Lincolnshire inquest was not held until January 1369, by which time Sir Richard Welby, who had been with Lucy and Moulton, would have returned; so he may well have provided the 16 September date: 'Saturday after the Exaltation of the Cross'. 19 August 1368 was 'Saturday after the Assumption', so it might be that the two dates were confused in the other inquisitions; or those entries might have mistakenly condensed a report that Anthony had died on a Saturday during the campaigning season following the Assumption.

¹³⁵ Paravicini, *Preussenreisen*, ii, pp. 120–1 ('In der Regel ...').

¹³⁶ Knüsel et al., 'St Bees Lady', p. 291. It was made from a form of cerecloth, i.e. linen impregnated with wax or a similar substance, commonly used in the Middle Ages: R. Gilchrist and B. Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London, 2005), pp. 108–9.

¹³⁷ That is known for Felbrigg, and can be assumed for Moulton, since there is no indication in Coss, *Foundations of Gentry Life*, and hence in the Moulton Hall archives (below, note 170), that his corpse was brought back.

¹³⁸ Returning bodies to their homelands was much less common than is implied in Knüsel et al., 'St Bees Lady', p. 301 – as the cited authority, T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 113, actually indicates.

¹³⁹ Though he himself showed little interest in the far North West, and indeed mortgaged all his estates there to Alice Perrers in 1375 for £1,000, apparently to pay for a ransom: GEC, v, pp. 477–8; CCR, 1374–7, pp. 274–7; Tompkins, 'Uncrowned Queen', pp. 113, 158.

¹⁴⁰ I cannot, however, find any references to such an emblem – but normally such a cord would have rotted along with the body. Perhaps, therefore, Anthony's corpse provides a unique example of it.

¹⁴¹ Knüsel et al., 'St Bees Lady', p. 291, citing Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, p. 227. Note, however, that Gilchrist and Sloane's context is not the same, and that on p. 228 they remark that the wreath has been 'interpreted as a long tress of hair placed by a sister or wife, who mourned the passing example of "the St Bees man"', citing D. O'Sullivan, 'St Bees Man: the discovery of a preserved medieval body in Cumbria', in G. T. Haneveld and W. R. K. Perizonius (eds), *Proceedings: Palaeopathology Association 4th European Meeting* (Utrecht, 1982) – though actually the suggestion is in the next paper, E. Tapp and D. O'Sullivan, 'St Bees

repose, however, and so the probability is that Anthony had brought it from England. In that case, whose was the hair? Analysis shows it was not from his sister Maud (the St Bees Lady).¹⁴² But the female closest to Anthony was his wife Joan, and giving their daughter the same name presumably indicates an affectionate marriage¹⁴³ – so was the hair Joan’s?

At first sight, scientific analysis suggests not: the carbon ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$) and nitrogen ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$) isotopic data from the wreath ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$ -20.0% ; $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ 13.0%) points to a relatively ordinary diet and hence social status, very different from the ‘privileged diet’ and high social standing indicated by the data from Maud’s bones ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$ -18.6% ; $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ 14.5%).¹⁴⁴ However, bone and hair from the same person produce isotopic results differing by around $+1.4\%$ in $\delta^{13}\text{C}$, and $+0.65\%$ in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$.¹⁴⁵ And if the hair wreath data is modified by those amounts, the bone data equivalent comes to $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ -18.6% ; $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ 13.65% : the same carbon level as Maud’s, and a closer nitrogen level. Also, when that modified data is compared with the bone data from 201 other late medieval skeletons, it denotes a higher status diet than in all but 30 cases, which were all males, who tended to eat ‘better’ than females.¹⁴⁶ Admittedly, the nitrogen figure, which reflects the amount of fish protein (the main high-status indicator) in the diet, is still lower than for Maud: but Maud had a dislocated jaw,¹⁴⁷ so no doubt preferred fish to meat. Moreover, she spent her later years in a very high-status household in which fish would have been plentiful; whereas Joan was a widow during 1359–66 and presumably lived in a more gentry-style household with a rather less high-status diet.¹⁴⁸ On balance, therefore – since the scientific evidence does *not* prove otherwise – I would argue that the hair wreath is more likely than not a keepsake from Joan to Anthony; but, again, it is impossible to be sure.

IV

The hair wreath brings us to the women left behind, both literally and metaphorically, after Anthony II’s death extinguished the male Lucy lineage: his wife Joan (d. 1 September 1403), their daughter Joan (d. 30 September 1369), and his sister Maud (d. 18 December

Man: the autopsy’, p. 178, and only a wife is proposed. My thanks to Deirdre O’Sullivan for providing copies of both papers.

¹⁴² Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, pp. 282–5.

¹⁴³ Cf. Coss, *Foundations of Gentry Life*, pp. 207–8, for the strong impression of John Moulton’s love for his wife that emerges from the letter he sent just before leaving for Prussia: it was addressed to ‘my very dear and very well-loved companion’, and concluded (in English), ‘Have here my heart and keppe it well’. Anthony Lord Lucy may well have had similar emotions. See, in general, P. Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England, 1000–1500* (Stroud, 1998), chapter 4.

¹⁴⁴ Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, pp. 284–5.

¹⁴⁵ T. C. O’Connell and R. E. M. Hodges, ‘Isotopic comparison of hair, nail and bone: modern analyses’, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 28 (2001), pp. 1247–55. Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, p. 285, cites this, but states that the hair–bone discrepancy does not affect the result, and so the hair-based data was not modified; that is surely wrong.

¹⁴⁶ G. Müldner and M. P. Richards, ‘Fast or feast: reconstructing diet in later medieval England by stable isotope analysis’, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 32 (2005), p. 43; and their ‘Diet and diversity in late medieval Fishergate: the isotopic evidence’, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 134 (2007), pp. 164–6.

¹⁴⁷ Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, pp. 280–1.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. C. Woolgar, ‘Diet and consumption in gentry and noble households: a case study from around the Wash’, in R. E. Archer and S. Walker (eds), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England* (London, 1995), pp. 17–31.

1398).¹⁴⁹ Had the younger Joan lived, she would have been a very significant heiress; but, sadly, she died aged between 2½ and 3 years.¹⁵⁰ That transformed the family situation: Joan was no longer the mother of the infant lady of Cockermouth, but merely the last Lord Lucy's widow; Maud was now Lady Lucy. Nevertheless, Joan needs consideration in her own right; but since her history overlaps with Maud's, they are best discussed in parallel.

Joan had probably been born by the mid-1330s,¹⁵¹ and before marrying Anthony she had already been on the fringe of the Lucy lineage. Her first husband, Lord Greystoke, had previously been married to Thomas Lord Lucy's sister, who was 'justifiably spurned' by her husband (perhaps for childlessness), and after her death he married Joan in 1351, 'by the advice of Alice Lady Neville, his mother'¹⁵² – whose second husband was Ralph Lord Neville, and whose daughter Euphemia had married Reginald Lucy in 1347.¹⁵³ Thus Joan not only replaced Reginald's aunt as Greystoke's wife, but also became his sister-in-law. However, after Greystoke's death in 1359 Joan was in no hurry to remarry, apparently being content to live off her dower lands, especially Morpeth (Northumberland) and Butterwick (Yorkshire). Her widowhood was not without incident: in 1363 she 'hired John Redman to beat Thomas Beaucole of Butterwick', and after the beating proved fatal, 'still maintain[ed] him in her service';¹⁵⁴ while in 1364 and 1365 (perhaps as a consequence) numerous malcontents disrupted her courts, damaged her property, and freed 'many servants and labourers' whom she had put in the stocks for breaking the Statute of Labourers.¹⁵⁵ Joan was clearly forceful, indeed ruthless – and perhaps therefore was a good match for Anthony II.¹⁵⁶ She certainly fulfilled one function quickly, becoming pregnant in 1366; though the child was a daughter, a son would have been anticipated in due course.

But then Anthony II went to Prussia. Following normal practice, he nominated attorneys to look after his affairs – one of whom also acted for his companion Sir John Moulton. The result, for Moulton, is stated in his letter to his wife: on his attorneys' advice he transferred his estates to feoffees-to-use, who, if he died (as happened), were to 'do towards you and my heirs ... according to that which I promised you' – which would have concerned her dower (normally a third of the estate) and the inheritance – 'and that which is contained in a bill containing my last will ... which will be sent to you enclosed under my seal'.¹⁵⁷ Now, Anthony II transferred all *his* Lincolnshire lands to his feoffees on the same

¹⁴⁹ GEC, viii, pp. 253–4.

¹⁵⁰ Her father's inquisitions *post mortem* (above, note 121) give two conflicting ages: one, from November 1368, says 1½, while the other, from January 1369, says 2¼. If we assume the first gave her age at the time of her father's death (said to be mid-August), then splitting the difference would have her being born at the beginning of January 1367 and dying aged just over 2¾ in September 1369.

¹⁵¹ She married her first husband in about October 1351, and her eldest son was baptised in October 1353: GEC, vi, pp. 193, 195.

¹⁵² *Chartularium Abbatiae de Novo Monasterio*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Society, 1878), Appendix, 'Portion of an Ancient Roll', p. 294. Newminster Abbey is in Morpeth (Northumberland), and the document deals largely with its lords, who were Greystokes in the fourteenth century. Thomas Lord Lucy's sister was, confusingly, called Lucy.

¹⁵³ GEC, vi, pp. 500–1; ix, pp. 190–1; and note 79, above. Alice's first husband, Ralph Lord Greystoke (William's father) died in 1323, and she married Lord Neville in 1327.

¹⁵⁴ *CPR, 1367–70*, p. 454 (names modernised); also p. 447. Beaucole was a fairly significant tenant in Butterwick: *CIPM*, x, pp. 426–7.

¹⁵⁵ *CPR, 1361–4*, p. 541; *CPR, 1364–7*, pp. 137–8 (Margaret Beaucole was one of the 1365 malcontents).

¹⁵⁶ Though what had happened to Thomas Lord Lucy's sister may have prejudiced Thomas against her.

¹⁵⁷ Coss, *Foundations of Gentry Life*, pp. 200–1; though a serious dispute subsequently broke out between

day, 11 November 1367 – no doubt following similar legal advice.¹⁵⁸ Presumably, therefore, he wrote a similar letter to *his* wife, Joan, telling her (or confirming a previous agreement) about her dower, which consisted of the Allerdale manor of Aspatria, the Northumberland barony of Langley, and, in particular, the entire Lucy third of the lordship of Egremont¹⁵⁹ – and quite possibly expressing a wish that, if he died, he should be buried in Egremont’s main religious house, St Bees Priory (which he may also have later expressed to Lord FitzWalter).

However, there is a significant difference between Moulton’s and Lucy’s transactions: Anthony’s Lincolnshire lands did not go via his feoffees to his widow or heir. Instead, they went to his sister Maud and her husband the Northumberland and Lincolnshire magnate Gilbert Umfraville of Prudhoe (titular earl of Angus):¹⁶⁰ not because Maud became Anthony’s heir after his young daughter died in 1369, but because Anthony himself had intended the transfer – with Umfraville’s likely encouragement, given that one of the feoffees was the parson of Ingram, a parish within Umfraville’s Northumberland estates.¹⁶¹ That brings Maud into the discussion.

Her date of birth, like her brothers’, is unknown – but analysis of her skeleton indicates that ‘the age-at-death of this individual was at least 36–45 years but perhaps in the 50s’.¹⁶² Her mother Margaret Moulton, however, was dead by mid-1343,¹⁶³ and therefore Maud must have been at least 55 when she herself died. Since that is at the high end of the suggested age-range, her birth date is unlikely to have been much before 1343; and either then or 1342 is suggested by a statement that she was aged ‘26 or more’ in late 1369 (perhaps her mother died in child-birth).¹⁶⁴ As for her early life, all that can be said about it is that during her youth she suffered an anterior dislocation of the lower jaw, which would have been extremely painful and somewhat disfiguring.¹⁶⁵ But that did not prevent her from marrying Umfraville before (or perhaps on) 13 June 1365.¹⁶⁶ By then Umfraville was 55, and had been widowed for 15 years; he had had three sons by his first wife, but none

Moulton’s widow and his crusading companion Sir Richard Welby, who was one of his feoffees, possibly because Moulton changed his instructions while in Prussia: *ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁵⁸ *CIPM*, xii, p. 207.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 357–61. Here, Aspatria refers just to the local manor, not to northern Allerdale, as in the thirteenth century (above, at note 50).

¹⁶⁰ For Umfraville, see F. Watson, ‘Gilbert Umfraville, ninth earl of Angus’, within ‘Gilbert Umfraville, seventh earl of Angus’, in *ODNB*, lv, pp. 881–2; and *GEC*, i, p. 150. The earldom was confiscated by the Scottish crown after 1314; therefore I avoid the misleading practice of calling him ‘earl of Angus’, which is no more valid than calling Edward III’s son John of Gaunt ‘king of Castile’, as English records consistently styled him after 1372 (though Umfraville did have the status of earl in England). The map in Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, p. 272, is doubly misleading, in that it shows the *sheriffdom* of Angus (or Forfar), not the lands of the earldom, which were very much smaller: A. Grant, ‘Franchises north of the Border: baronies and regalities in medieval Scotland’, in M. Prestwich (ed.), *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 170.

¹⁶¹ *CIPM*, xiii, p. 268; xiii, no. 304 (*Angryam* is now Ingram); K. J. Stringer, ‘Redesdale’, in Holford and Stringer, *Border Liberties*, pp. 363, 378.

¹⁶² Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, p. 279.

¹⁶³ Above, note 78.

¹⁶⁴ *CIPM*, xii, p. 358: from her niece Joan’s inquisition *post mortem*, dated 27 October 1369. The ‘or more’ adds vagueness, but ‘26 or 27’ might well have been meant.

¹⁶⁵ Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, pp. 280–2. The skeleton’s teeth show that she chewed only on the left side of her mouth.

¹⁶⁶ Coss, *Foundations of Gentry Life*, p. 199.

survived him. Since, in 1366/7, he transferred estates to Maud in jointure with reversion to his brothers but with no mention of his sons, they must have died by then¹⁶⁷ – and no doubt they were already dead when he married Maud, which would explain why he did so after a long widowhood.

The Umfraville heartland was in Northumberland, where the earl had been active against the Scots since the 1330s, and had been a march warden throughout the 1350s.¹⁶⁸ But he did not hold that office in the early and mid-1360s, probably because his interests had shifted southwards to the rich Lincolnshire lordship of Kyme (near Boston), which he had inherited from his mother,¹⁶⁹ and which lay less than 20 miles from the Lincolnshire estates held by another northerner – Thomas Lord Lucy. Significantly, the first reference to Maud's marriage is in an indenture between Thomas and his ward Sir John Moulton of Frampton, made on 26 September 1365 in the presence of 'the earl of Angus and Maud his wife' at Kyme – no doubt in Umfraville's 'favoured seat' of South Kyme castle.¹⁷⁰ Thus Umfraville's choice of Maud as his second wife had a significant Lincolnshire dimension, which was accentuated when he converted most of his estates there into a jointure for himself and Maud in 1366;¹⁷¹ while in late 1367, no doubt with his encouragement, Maud's brother Anthony Lord Lucy arranged for her to have the Lucies' Lincolnshire properties.¹⁷² The focus of Maud's married life was also shifting southwards. But those shifts were not absolute. In 1367, during the Border crisis following Anthony's raid on Annandale, Edward III made Umfraville return to the North, where he served as a march warden once again until 1373; and after his wife Maud inherited all the Lucy estates in September 1369 – making him in effect lord of Cockermouth – he did so on the west march as well as the east.¹⁷³ The change of focus is neatly illustrated by the other, specific, commissions that he was given in 1364–8: five were in Lincolnshire and three in Northumberland, whereas in 1369–73 seven were in Northumberland, two in Cumberland, and two in Lincolnshire.¹⁷⁴

Now, around the end of 1369 Maud and Umfraville are recorded as having 'issue', in other words a child. Sadly, it did not survive (the years 1368–70 were disastrous for the Lucy family), but presumably they would have hoped for another, who would have combined the Umfraville and Lucy estates into one of the greatest of northern lordships. That did not happen, however: Maud had no more children. And, perhaps because of that, Gilbert Umfraville's interest in the North waned once again. After 1373 he was never

¹⁶⁷ *CPR*, 1340–3, p. 59; *CIPM*, xvii, p. 464.

¹⁶⁸ Watson, 'Gilbert Umfraville', pp. 881–2; *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 751–843, *passim*.

¹⁶⁹ *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 896, 906; Stringer, 'Redesdale', pp. 401–2, and 406–7, for Kyme's high value, some £280 in 1421, compared to that of his Northumberland estates.

¹⁷⁰ Coss, *Foundations of Gentry Life*, p. 199 (I am indebted to Professor Peter Coss for the details; the document itself is Magdalen College, Oxford, Multon Hall Archives, no. 142). For South Kyme, Stringer, 'Redesdale', p. 401.

¹⁷¹ *CIPM*, xvii, pp. 464–5.

¹⁷² *CIPM*, xii, p. 207; xiii, p. 268; below, note 183. We do not know what the feoffees would have been told to do with the lands if Anthony had returned alive from Prussia: they might have transferred them to Maud, or, perhaps more likely, have continued to hold them 'to the use' of Anthony, while (at his instruction) letting Maud have them in practice.

¹⁷³ *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 910 (Edward's strict command to serve in the North), 939–53, *passim* (for his wardenships); and above, at notes 109–10, for the 1367 crisis. See also Stringer, 'Redesdale', p. 404.

¹⁷⁴ *CPR*, 1364–7, pp. 70, 204, 260, 371, 443; *CPR*, 1367–70, pp. 67, 141, 201, 421; *CPR*, 1370–4, pp. 108–11, 169, 177, 213–14, 239, 244, 307, 389.

appointed warden, and had only two specific commissions for Northumberland as opposed to six for Lincolnshire.¹⁷⁵ In the later 1370s, his focus had clearly moved back to his lordship of Kyme, this time permanently. Significantly, in 1375 he entailed his Northumberland barony of Prudhoe (the original Umfraville estate) to himself and Maud and the heirs of their bodies, with reversion to Henry Lord Percy (earl of Northumberland from 1377) and his heirs-male; and in 1378 he entailed his Border liberty of Redesdale to himself and the heirs of his body, with reversion to his half-brothers Robert and Thomas and their heirs-male.¹⁷⁶ Thus eventually, if he and Maud remained childless, his Northumberland estates were to be divided, and Prudhoe would leave the Umfravilles' possession. But there was probably a more immediate purpose. In 1380 Gilbert formally entrusted Redesdale's governance to Thomas (by then the expected heir); and he surely did the same, informally, with respect to Prudhoe and Henry Percy.¹⁷⁷ Consequently, the £40 annuity that Percy granted Umfraville a day after the Prudhoe entail can be seen as a *quid pro quo*.¹⁷⁸ In effect, therefore, Umfraville had delegated his northern lands – which Edward III had commanded him to defend in person – to men who would maintain them while he lived elsewhere. Meanwhile, in Cumberland the lordship of Cockermouth would have suffered from absenteeism – unless Maud stayed there to run it, for which there is no evidence.

Anthony II's widow Joan, in contrast, would have remained in the North, where both her sets of dower lands lay (which in Cumberland were close to the lands of her erstwhile sister-in-law Euphemia Neville, widow of Reginald Lucy),¹⁷⁹ and where she found a new husband in Sir Matthew Redman of Levens in Westmorland. Like Anthony, he was a warrior (but more successful), who served in France, Spain and, in the 1380s, on the Anglo-Scottish Border.¹⁸⁰ Joan had married him by the end of 1377, but they are first found together in 1370, when he got her the pardon for hiring John Redman (presumably his relative) to beat Thomas Beaucole fatally in 1363.¹⁸¹ The aggressive attitude Joan showed then was demonstrated again in 1376 – against her in-laws Maud Lucy and Gilbert Umfraville! She and Redman were accused of committing *novel disseisin* by trespassing with armed force in the manor of Moulton. However, although they had to pay 100 marks' compensation for damaging Lord FitzWalter's part of Moulton, no such settlement with Maud and Umfraville

¹⁷⁵ *Rot. Scot.*, i, p. 964 (his last mention in a Border context, in June 1374); *CPR, 1374–7*, pp. 50–2, 58, 143, 327; *CPR, 1377–81*, pp. 40, 419 (the last was in 1379, a year and a half before his death).

¹⁷⁶ *CPR, 1374–7*, p. 126; *CPR, 1377–81*, pp. 122, 134; *CIPM*, xv, pp. 176–7.

¹⁷⁷ Stringer, 'Redesdale', p. 402. Since it was a liberty the transfer of *de facto* authority would have needed formalisation; but that would not have been necessary with an ordinary estate like Prudhoe.

¹⁷⁸ *CPR, 1374–7*, p. 126: paid from Percy's Northumberland estate of Newburn. Umfraville also entailed the Lincolnshire estates of Burwell (1376) and Calceby (1379) to Percy, but with them the effective transfers were presumably to be delayed until after his and Maud's deaths: *ibid.*, p. 279 (Burwell); *CIPM*, xv, pp. 177–8 (both).

¹⁷⁹ For Euphemia, see above, at notes 79, 153. She was granted Caldbeck, Uldale and half the land of Aspatria when she married Reginald, and possessed that until her death in 1393: *CIPM*, xii, pp. 19, 212, 359–60; xvii, no. 137.

¹⁸⁰ W. Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood* (Kendal, 1905), pp. 57–69, gives a reasonable if flowery account of his career; also, J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, iii: *Divided Houses* (London, 2009), pp. 69, 237, 657–8; *The House of Commons, 1386–1421*, ed. J. S. Roskell et al. (Stroud, 1992), iv, pp. 134–5; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, pp. 21, 34–5, 69–96, *passim*.

¹⁸¹ *CFR*, ix, p. 69 (modifying the 'before May 1378' of GEC, vi, p. 194, which follows *Chartularium Abbatiae de Novo Monasterio*, p. 297); and above, at note 154.

is recorded, so they must have won the case.¹⁸² The issue was probably Joan's claim to dower from the Lucies' Lincolnshire lands: Anthony Lord Lucy's feoffees had transferred them all to Maud and Umfraville; but subsequently Joan held the manor of Fleet in dower, and so, presumably, she gained it in 1376 – after the recourse to 'force of arms'.¹⁸³

The records, therefore, depict both Joan and Redman as extremely tough characters¹⁸⁴ – unpleasantly so, we might think – which is not the case with Maud and Umfraville. Yet this does not necessarily mean that Maud was inherently passive. After Umfraville died in January 1381, she soon made a spectacular second marriage to another widower (though this time about her own age), Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland: certainly by June 1383, and very probably as early as 15 December 1381.¹⁸⁵ For Percy the attraction was obviously the lordship of Cockermouth, which 'gave him as strong a position in the west as in the east march' – particularly important in the early 1380s when he was competing with John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster and John Lord Neville for power in the marches.¹⁸⁶ Thus, a royal licence from October 1383 to resettle all Maud's northern lands on her and Northumberland jointly, with entail to his sons and brother, suggests a simple Percy takeover of the Lucy estates. However, that was not exactly the case: the transaction was significantly revised two months later, by adding the provision that it would be void if the Percy heirs did not quarter the Lucy emblem of three pikes with the Percy lion on their coat of arms.¹⁸⁷ Maud had clearly asserted her own family identity, and ensured the survival of at least the Lucy arms – indicating that her marriage to Percy produced (in modern terms) a merger rather than a takeover, which not only enhanced her new husband's wealth and power but also her own, and within which even her name was to survive, since her estates subsequently came to be known as 'the Lucylands'.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸² *CPR*, 1374–7, pp. 317–18; *CCR*, 1374–9, pp. 299–300, 337, 424.

¹⁸³ For Joan holding Fleet in dower, see *CIPM*, xvii, p. 466; and for the statement that 'after the death of Anthony, Maud and Gilbert [Umfraville] entered and afterwards assigned [Fleet] to Joan in dower', *CIPM*, xviii, p. 331. And note that in 1377, after Alice Perrers's lands were confiscated, the manor of Radstone was given to Umfraville and Maud, whereupon they made provision for Joan to gain dower from it: *CFR*, ix, p. 69.

¹⁸⁴ See also Redman's refusal, in 1378, to release Robert Butterwick, whom he claimed as 'his neif and chattel', into the custody of others, despite the threat of rapidly mounting financial penalties (*CCR*, 1377–81, p. 73): Butterwick was Joan's property.

¹⁸⁵ Henry Percy and Maud his wife are mentioned in 6 Richard III (22 June 1382–21 June 1383): TNA: PRO, C 143/401/23. But GEC, viii, p. 254, gives the earlier date, citing 'Deed in possession of W. L. Christie (*ex inform.* C. T. Clay)'. Clay was certainly reliable, and this is followed by most (but not all) recent scholars: e.g., J. M. W. Bean, 'Henry Percy, first earl of Northumberland', in *ODNB*, xliii, p. 696. According to Knüsel et al., 'St Bees Lady', p. 303: 'After the death of [Umfraville] ... Percy purchased the licence fee on Gilbert's lands and, therefore, the hand of Maud in 1381. This was *prior* to the death of his own wife, Margaret de Neville'. But Margaret died on 13 May 1372 (*CIPM*, xiii, no. 199); and no statement indicating a purchase of 'the licence fee' on Umfraville's lands exists in any of the standard sources.

¹⁸⁶ R. L. Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377–1489', *EHR*, 72 (1957), pp. 594–8 (quotation at p. 598).

¹⁸⁷ *CPR*, 1381–5, pp. 313–14, 383. It would also be void if there was any challenge to the settlement on her of four substantial Percy manors, Petworth (Sussex), Catton and Leafield (Yorkshire), and Corbridge (Northumberland), for which see J. M. W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416–1537* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 3, 12–13, 17, 33, etc.

¹⁸⁸ The 'merger', however, was at the expense of her wider kin, especially her cousin and heir-general Sir William Melton, son of Thomas Lord Lucy's sister, Joan, who was cut out almost entirely from the Lucy inheritance (GEC, viii, pp. 254–5); Maud had much more to gain from her powerful husband. For the 'Lucylands', see *CPR*, 1405–8, p. 50.

So, whereas Maud's first marriage pulled her towards Lincolnshire, her second returned her to the North – the regional world of her sister-in-law Joan (and also of her other sister-in-law Euphemia).¹⁸⁹ But while we might expect friction between the two, given what had happened in Moulton in 1376, that is unlikely to have occurred, since Joan's husband Sir Matthew Redman had become close to the earl of Northumberland, no doubt because of the earl's new interest in Cumberland. He was probably already associated with Percy in 1381, became an office-holder in Northumberland from then on, belonged to Percy's retinue in 1384, and was one of the main leaders under the younger Henry ('Hotspur') Percy at the battle of Otterburn in 1388.¹⁹⁰ Thus, thanks to their husbands' ties after 1381, we can perhaps envisage better relations between Maud and Joan.

Indeed we could perhaps think of three Lucy ladies – Maud, Joan and Euphemia – growing old together on their lands in the North West and North East. Be that as it may, Maud was of course head of what remained of the Lucy lineage, and was certainly conscious of that fact. We have already seen her insistence on subsequent Percies quartering the Lucy arms with their own if they wanted to inherit her lands; while her post-1381 seal depicted the Lucy emblem between those of Umfraville and Percy.¹⁹¹ Also, in 1395 she and Henry Percy founded a chantry in the chapel of Cockermouth castle on behalf of themselves and the souls of their ancestors, heirs and others, which, given its location, would have been chiefly for the Lucies, with Maud's brothers being the most obvious others.¹⁹² That said, her clearest statements of Lucy family consciousness were of course at St Bees: Maud must surely have been responsible for having a stone showing the quartered Lucy and Percy arms installed in the fabric of St Bees Priory; and her last wish must have been to be interred there within the vault where the body of her brother, Anthony II Lord Lucy, lay – and where they were both eventually excavated.¹⁹³

Maud's death brought the Lucy lineage to an end. But there is one other, 'post-death', matter to consider: the identity of the individuals memorialised in three effigies and one incised tomb-cover surviving at St Bees Priory Church. The tomb-cover is the most straightforward: it portrays, in outline, a teenage girl in a typical waisted later fourteenth-century dress, with a Latin inscription stating, 'Here lies Johanna Lucy – May God have mercy on her. Amen'. But its small size (132×61 cm) shows that the tomb was for a child, namely Anthony's infant daughter Joan, who died in September 1369, just over a year after her father.¹⁹⁴ This, therefore, is a very poignant portrayal of the baby Joan as she would have been expected to grow up – presumably commissioned by her grieving mother and namesake, Anthony's widow Joan.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ Above, at notes 79, 153, 179.

¹⁹⁰ A. Tuck, 'The Percies and the community of Northumberland in the later fourteenth century', in A. Goodman and A. Tuck (eds), *War and Border Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 181–2; also C. Tyson, 'The battle of Otterburn: when and where was it fought?', in *ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁹¹ GEC, viii, p. 254, note; C. H. Hunter Blair, 'Armorial on English seals from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries', *Archaeologia*, 89 (1943), p. 23 (though the statement that Maud's first husband was Richard FitzMarmaduke is mistaken).

¹⁹² R. L. Storey, 'Chantries of Cumberland and Westmorland, Part I', *TCWAS*, New Series, 60 (1960), pp. 79–80; *CPR, 1391–6*, p. 605; *CPR, 1399–1401*, p. 53. And note that, soon after her death, Percy significantly increased its endowment, specifically for the souls of his late wife Maud and Sir Gilbert Umfraville, earl of Angus.

¹⁹³ Knüsel et al., 'St Bees Lady', pp. 275–7.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 294–5 (with illustration).

¹⁹⁵ The alternative, that it was commissioned by Anthony's sister Maud, is much less likely, given that her

At first sight the effigies, of two knights and one lady, are more problematic, because they are badly damaged and weathered; but drawings made in 1665 by Gregory King, who was (*inter alia*) a highly competent draftsman, help us to envisage what they once looked like.¹⁹⁶ With respect to the lady, it has been said that her effigy ‘appears to date stylistically to the late Middle Ages’, and ‘may be the effigy that once adorned the burial’ of Maud Lucy. However, the same study also remarks that the tomb-cover depiction of an adolescent Joan Lucy (d. 1369) ‘is stylistically somewhat later in date’ than the other effigies.¹⁹⁷ That surely casts doubt on the identification of the lady as Maud, who died in 1398. Indeed, the flowing dynamic folds of the lady’s clothing, the way it is caught under her right arm, and the absence of any suggestion of a narrow waist, actually point to a much earlier date, the early fourteenth or the later thirteenth century.¹⁹⁸ In that case, the effigy would be contemporaneous with that of one of the knights, which must be dated, by its armour, to before 1320. Here, the shield and surcoat display a ‘fretty’ (interlaced fretwork) pattern, which was the heraldic device of, among others, the Harringtons of Harrington (near Workington) – one of whom, Sir Robert, is known to have been buried at St Bees Priory after his death in 1298. The pre-1320 knightly effigy, therefore, is surely his. Consequently, it makes sense to associate the lady’s effigy with him – and since his wife, Agnes Cansfield, died only a few years before him, in 1293, it is far more likely to represent her than Maud Lucy.¹⁹⁹ So, while Maud was buried beside her brother Anthony, her husband Henry Percy did not provide her with an appropriate monument.

Anthony Lord Lucy, on the other hand, *was* given one: the second of the knightly effigies at St Bees is datable (again from the armour) to 1360–80, and there is no reason to doubt that it represents Anthony. Furthermore, the dating parameters indicate that the effigy was commissioned soon after his death; so it is most likely that it was his widow Joan, mother of his only child, who not only had him buried at St Bees (probably on his own instructions) but also commissioned his effigy. There is a puzzle about this effigy, however. The knight ‘holds an object on his chest that Gregory King clearly saw as a chalice’ – which ‘is almost unheard of for a layman’,²⁰⁰ because chalices were reserved to

own baby died probably less than a year after the young Joan.

¹⁹⁶ Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, p. 293. King’s drawings were made for his then employer, the herald Sir William Dugdale, who accompanied him to St Bees and elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 292), and would, obviously, have checked their accuracy. A current view of the effigies is provided at p. 292, and larger images are available online at <<http://www.stbees.org.uk/history/effigies/stones.html>>. For King, see J. Hoppit, ‘Gregory King’, in *ODNB*, xxxi, pp. 622–4.

¹⁹⁷ Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, pp. 294–5.

¹⁹⁸ I am most grateful to Professor Peter Coss and Professor Meg Twycross, who both, independently, persuaded me of this conclusion. And see H. A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 53–9, and plates 133–6, 142–4, 146–51, 167, 169. The closest parallel to the effigy at St Bees is one of a lady in the church of Erwarton St Mary (Suffolk), which Tummers dates to the early fourteenth century (p. 51). A photograph is available online, under the heading ‘1346: possibly Isabella Davilliers d after 1346’, at <<http://www.themcs.org/costume/14th%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm>>. But there has presumably been confusion with a previous Isabella, wife and widow of John Davilliers of Erwarton (d. 1288); she had Erwarton and the advowson of the church in dower in 1288, but was dead by 1315, when her and John’s son Bartholomew possessed both: *CIPM*, ii, no. 676; *CPR*, 1313–17, p. 223.

¹⁹⁹ For the effigy, Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, p. 294. For Robert de Harrington, *St Bees Reg.*, pp. 116–19, and *GEC*, vi, p. 314; he acquired the more valuable estate of Aldington (near Barrow) through his wife Agnes Cansfield, and his descendants were Lords Harrington of Aldington.

²⁰⁰ Knüsel et al., ‘St Bees Lady’, p. 294, and p. 293 for King’s drawing; also Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*,

priests. In a fourteenth-century knightly context, however, there is one potential exception to that rule: the most famous chalice of all, the ‘Holy Grail’ sought by King Arthur’s knights.²⁰¹ Therefore, I suggest, the effigy’s message is that by dying on crusade Anthony had, metaphorically, found the Grail. Some support for this can be found in a statement from Newminster Abbey’s ‘Ancient Roll’: ‘Joan was afterwards married to Anthony Lord of Lucy, who within a short time died in the Holy Land’.²⁰² That could well be seen as reflecting Joan’s ‘spin’ about her husband: death on a Baltic crusade is developed into death in the Holy Land, which is much more impressive. And no matter how the effigy’s chalice is interpreted, it is clear that for her husband, even more so than for her daughter, Joan commissioned a strikingly enhanced post-death image.

* * *

‘Anthony Lucy and the Holy Grail’ is a fitting note on which to conclude this essay, given that, although he died, his remains did not decompose! More generally, it leads us into the world of the ‘absurd’, by contrasting the assumed safety of his soul with the ‘accident’ of his bodily death. That not only destroyed whatever earthly expectations he and Joan had, but also terminated the male Lucy lineage – while the further ‘accidents’ of the deaths of Joan’s and Maud’s babies plus Maud’s subsequent childlessness extinguished the close female lines. But none of that would have mattered if Anthony’s elder brother Reginald had not died childless at a relatively young age, despite having been married for at least 16 years: more ‘accidents’. And it was not just this particular generation that suffered; as we have seen, ever since the mid twelfth century, the history of the Cumberland Lucies had been essentially determined in one way or another by positive and negative ‘accidents’ relating to reproduction and death. Nor were the Lucies unique. Much the same can be said of every medieval lineage – so that no ‘grand narrative’ can be created for any of them.

On the other hand, the Lucy lineage plays a crucial part in the ‘grand narrative’ of Cumberland’s medieval history. In one incarnation or another, the Lucy lords were a major force there for almost 200 years, and indeed were predominant during much of the fourteenth century. Moreover, they were always resident within the county, unlike the rest of its greatest landowners, who were mostly or entirely absentees. That is particularly significant with respect to Lords Anthony I and Thomas in the fourteenth century; and had he survived, the same would have applied to Anthony II. But after he died in Lithuania, Cumberland no longer contained a resident magnate. Instead, for most of the time after 1381 the ‘Lucylands’ were held by the Percies,²⁰³ while the Nevilles also moved in during the fifteenth century, thanks to grants of crown lands and offices. With both,

pp. 160–5, for chalices in burials.

²⁰¹ As illustrated (though with a lid) in the early fourteenth-century French *Estoire del Saint Graal*, BL, MS Royal 14 E iii, f. 86r. The image, of Joseph of Arimathea handing over the grail on his death-bed, is available online at <<http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/.a/6a00d8341c464853ef016305fb0bbc970d-popup>>.

²⁰² *Chartularium Abbatiae De Novo Monasterio*, p. 296. Note also that, although Joan’s first husband Lord Greystoke died at Brancepeth, County Durham (ibid.), an inquest of 1374 into his lands stated, ‘date of death not known, because he died beyond seas’ (*CIPM*, xiv, p. 29). Clearly Joan’s two husbands had been mixed up: perhaps another, indirect, result of her image-creation.

²⁰³ Except for the period 1403–17, when they had been forfeited to the crown and were mostly in Neville hands.

however, their main priorities continued to be the North East and Yorkshire, where they developed a bitter rivalry – which spilled over, devastatingly, into Cumberland in the 1440s and 1450s.²⁰⁴ But that is another story – which would not have happened if the male Lucy lineage had continued after Anthony's death. Thus, although we do not know much about the events of their own lives, the St Bees Lord and Lady should be regarded as reflecting and symbolising what was probably the most pivotal change in the entire political history of late medieval Cumberland.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, 2nd edn (Stroud, 1986), chapters 7–8; P. Booth, 'Men behaving badly? The West March towards Scotland and the Percy–Neville feud', in L. Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century*, iii: *Authority and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 95–116.

²⁰⁵ I am most grateful to Andrew Ayton, Peter Coss, Alison Grant, Andy King, Andrew Jotischky, Deirdre O'Sullivan, Keith Stringer, Meg Twycross and Angus Winchester for their kind advice and assistance over various points.