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Region and Frontier in the English State: the English Far North, 1296-1603

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ABSTRACT

This chapter assesses the far north of England as a frontier region and its relationship with the realm of England in the period between the beginning of the Scottish wars of independence and the Union of the Crowns. The thrust of much recent research on the far north has been to suggest that the region was far being from an impoverished and militarized borderland but a relatively peaceful and prosperous region which was fairly well integrated into the kingdom of England. This argument is here reviewed by means of a survey of the region's social and administrative structures, agricultural practices, and patterns of landholding so as to determine how far these were influenced by the proximity of a frontier. The final section takes the form of a case study of the career of a Northumberland border baron, Lord Ogle. The chapter concludes that, while the region was recognizably English and while its military importance as a frontier declined in the later 16th century, for most of this period it lived up to its reputation as a violent and impoverished borderland.

Déanann an chaibidil seo anailís ar chiantuaisceart Shasana mar imeall-chríoch, chomh maith lena chaidreamh le ríocht Shasana i rith na tréimhse idir tús chogaí saoirse na hAlban i 1296 agus Aontas na gCorónach i 1603. De réir roinnt mhaith taighde ar an chiantuaisceart a rinneadh le gairid, níorbh imeall-chríoch bhocht mhíleata é an chiantuaisceart ar chor ar bith ach limistéar a bhí réasúnta síochánta saibhir taobh istigh de ríocht Shasana. Ardaítear ceist, ag an am chéanna, faoi stádas an limistéir mar theorainn idirnáisiúnta. Déantar léirmheas anseo ar an argóint seo fríd scrúdú ar an limistéar maidir lena struchtúir shóisialta agus a struchtúir riaracháin, a chleachtais talmhaíochta agus na pátrúin a bhain le húinéireacht na talún, le go bhfeicfead caidé mar a chuaigh riaradh agus cosaint na teorann in aice láimhe i gcion ar shaintréithe an limistéir ar fad. Déanann an chuid deireannach den chaibidil mionstaidéar ar shaol an Tiarna Ogle, a bhí in a bharrán imeall-chríche i Northumberland. Is í breith na caibidle seo go raibh clú an bhochtánais agus an shoréigin tuillte ag an imeallchríoch seo sa chuid is mó den tréimhse atá i

gceist, cé gur léir gur limistéar Sasanach é agus go dtáinig meath ar a thábhacht mhíleata mar theorainn sa dara leath den 16ú haois.

INTRODUCTION

The frontier dividing the kingdom of England from the kingdom of the Scots was remarkable for its stability over five centuries – from the integration of Northumbria and Cumbria into the respective kingdoms around 1100 to the frontier’s final demise following the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603. Much has been written about it, but addressing only a limited range of questions. There are studies which look at social conditions along the frontier and its political development over a particular timeframe, and there are studies which, working within a national context, seek to compare the English or Scottish marches with developments elsewhere in the respective kingdoms. More recently, the question of frontier regions has been raised, but regions (as opposed to counties) are not an established unit of study in British historiography. Above all, there have been relatively few attempts to break out from the largely self-referential national contexts so as to study the Anglo-Scottish frontier in the context of frontiers elsewhere; and among those working along more traditional lines there has also been criticism of this type of comparative history. The purpose of this chapter is to address one line of argument which cuts across attempts to view the Anglo-Scottish frontier in wider perspective by marginalizing the frontier’s very character as a frontier.

What was the relationship between the English far north and England as a whole in the late middle ages? Was the far north a violent and impoverished borderland, with a turbulent marcher society which successive kings vainly attempted to reduce to the peace, good rule, and civility of southern parts? On the whole, historians have in recent years tended to underplay the region’s exceptional character as a militarized border zone, stressing instead its civility and its integration into national politics¹. There is also the question of whether the far north may fairly be described as *one* region. After all, its southern boundary in particular was fluctuating and indistinct; within the far north, conditions varied considerably between east and west marches; and even the border itself was much less than a *Trennungsgrenze* [frontier of separation]². Summarizing the conclusions of nearly 40 years of historical research on the topic, Professor Tony Pollard has suggested that “north-eastern England was not the lawless, ungovernable, backward, impoverished, dark corner of the land of received wisdom”. He also queried whether the “borders as a whole” were “such a marked international frontier during the period of *the* Anglo-Scottish wars”; he wondered “how deep national antagonisms really were for those who rubbed shoulders”; and he suggested that in “the thirteenth century and the later sixteenth, when there was peace between the kingdoms, the Border was not a barrier”³. About the same time, Dr. Maureen Meikle reinforced Pollard’s conclusions in regard to the later Tudor



Map 1
The Anglo-Scottish border region in the 16th century.

period, querying the alleged differences between lowland England and the Anglo-Scottish borders, suggesting that the “frontier was only recognised by Eastern borderers when it suited them”, and contrasting “the much written about endemic cross-border violence that more properly belongs in the Western Anglo-Scottish borders” with the “relative peace and sophistication” of “landed families in the Eastern Borders”⁴.

Arguments about distinctiveness or normality bear a suspicious resemblance to questions about the length of the proverbial piece of string. These issues are relative, because all societies are unique. It should be remembered, too, that the nation-centred paradigm which has underpinned most historical writing since the 19th century also presupposes that each nation has intrinsic qualities distinguishing it from other nations: it organizes events around a grand narrative focusing on the rise of the nation. In the circumstances, it is a fairly safe bet that arguments conducted within the parameters of this relationship between region and nation will tend to expose commonalities rather than differences.

This chapter reviews the evidence for the argument that, on the whole, politics, society, and government in the far north were little more than a northern extension of the national pattern. In other circumstances, an effective means of breaking out of these rather circular arguments about distinctiveness would be to adopt a comparative approach. In regard to continental Europe, the various chapters of this volume supply some sort of comparative context. The so-called New British history also suggests a way forward, shifting the focus from nation-building to state formation, and comparing, for instance, the impact of English expansion or Tudor centralization in one part of the British Isles, as against another⁵. A more closely-drawn comparison can also be offered, in terms of border societies, between the English of Ireland and the English of the far north, particularly if the separate ‘national agendas’ of English and Irish historiography are discounted. For the Tudor period, for instance, the far north can be compared as a region with the four shires of the English Pale. Indeed, a more limited comparison along these lines has in fact been attempted⁶.

The assumption here is that comparisons between the two frontier regions of the English state in the same chronological period are a valid historical exercise and that it is fruitful to apply the insights developed in the one context to the elucidation of another. Not everyone has found these comparative arguments convincing. Comparisons between a magnate in the English west marches and in the English Pale, it has been suggested, offer too narrow a basis on which to draw conclusions. In any case, the endemic violence of Cumberland society supposedly contrasted with the relative peace and prosperity of the Northumberland gentry⁷. It would clearly be far too ambitious to try to develop here a more sustained comparison by way of response. Strictly, of course, the Anglo-Scottish frontier approximated more closely to the political geographer’s definition of a border than a frontier, whereas the marches of the English Pale in Ireland, the product of medieval English colonization, were a frontier located on the margins of a settled or developed territory. Yet both were variously described in English official documents of

the period as a “march”, a “frontier”, or a “border”⁸. In what follows, many of the insights developed concerning the rule and defence of the English far north are drawn from Irish historiography, and the comparison with the English Pale in Ireland is at least implied, if not explicitly stated. The scope of previous work on the west marches is here extended by examining more closely the case of the allegedly more prosperous shire of Northumberland. And in the final section a short case study of the Northumberland peer, Lord Ogle, permits conditions there to be viewed in microcosm.

MILITARIZATION AND THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH WARS

The Anglo-Scottish wars from 1296 onwards transformed the identity of the English far north, reinforcing its marcher character and sense of distinctness from lowland England. The wars ended a period of generally good relations between the English and Scottish monarchies, forcing lords to declare their allegiance, and breaking up cross-border landholdings with estates held of both English and Scottish kings. There followed almost three centuries of intermittent war, interspersed with fragile truces and temporary abstinences from war, lasting until 1560. The far north now became a more militarized society, as the fortunes of war swung back and forth. Initial English successes against the Scots were soon reversed, and in the early 14th century successive Scottish invasions prompted the maintenance of a defensive line in north Yorkshire, in the form of a chain of castles stretching from Scarborough on the east coast to Castle Bolton in Wensleydale, which marked the southerly limits of Scottish penetration at that time. Conversely, in the mid-14th century the English occupation of southern Scotland briefly restored some of the landowning links across the national frontier, but from the 1370s the English hold on the Scottish borders began to crumble. By 1409, when Jedburgh fell to the Scots, the old border line as agreed by the treaty of York in 1237 again marked the northern boundary of the English far north. The border line now formed a relatively stable frontier with Scotland, but constant war and unfavourable economic conditions saw cultivation of marginal land give way to pastoralism and also saw farms abandoned. As settlement receded, the reality of the frontier was in many parts a wilderness. Despite later English attempts to expand into what was now southern Scotland, in the event the border line was only altered in respect of two small parcels of land, the port-town of Berwick-on-Tweed in the east and the parish of Kirkandrews in the west⁹.

Exceptionally, the region was divided into marches, ruled by wardens who administered a special code of march law, alongside English common law, within the limits of their marches¹⁰. The English west marches comprised the area between Solway and Stainmore to the west of the Pennines, viz. the county of Cumberland north of the River Derwent, plus the barony of Westmorland (northern Westmorland). The east march, later the east and middle marches, comprised the area between the Tweed and the Tyne which formed the county of Northumberland, plus the surrounding liber-

ties¹¹. Within the marches, too, the population was liable to do military service as required by the warden: smallholders there generally held their land by a form of tenure known as tenant right which included the obligation to maintain weapon, horse and harness for military service¹². The needs of defence also ensured that the typical gentry residence of the border region was the towerhouse: towerhouses were erected in great numbers from the late 14th century onwards as the region was transformed into a heavily defended march. For instance, already by 1415 57 towerhouses had been built in Northumberland alone to extend the protection afforded by the existing 37 castles there; and later lists show new towerhouses being erected there on some scale well into the 16th century. Most of these castles and towerhouses were also guarded and kept in good repair whereas, by contrast, towerhouses in the English lowlands were unknown and castles there were, by the 16th century, mostly falling into ruin¹³. Even in the late 16th century, when they were much reduced in line with the diminishing threat from the Scots, the principal English garrisons at Berwick-on-Tweed and Carlisle defending the borders still cost Elizabeth over £15,000 a year. Earlier, she had spent over £250,000 in seven years on strengthening Berwick. Elizabeth was hardly likely to spend that kind of money on defences for a non-existent frontier¹⁴. In this context, arguments that acculturation and improving cross-border relations were undermining the frontier are misplaced. It has been shown, with reference to other societies, that geographical and social isolation are not the critical factors in sustaining cultural diversity, and also that boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them¹⁵.

The advent of war in the far north thus reinforced pre-existing differences of geography, land use, and settlement patterns. This was a very different landscape from the English lowlands. The far north was a predominantly upland and pastoral region of dispersed settlement, compact lordships, few gentry, and few large towns, where the terrain itself was often bleak, wild and inhospitable. In some parts, too, large stretches of land were held in common, in Gilsland in north Cumberland for instance; transhumance was practised in parts of the Northumberland uplands; and elsewhere, in the liberty of Redesdale for example, partible inheritance among a tenant's sons (and non-forfeiture of the estate for treason or felony) contrasted with the normal English custom of primogeniture¹⁶. These features all marked the region out from the mixed farming, nucleated villages, numerous market towns, the rich gentry, and more dispersed patterns of landholding which characterized the English lowlands. Yet, whereas the Anglo-Scottish border line provided a clear-cut northern boundary to the region, more typically the southern boundary of the English far north was fluid and shifting, reflecting in part the fortunes of war, as well as the influence of geography. After 1388 Scottish armies did not penetrate beyond the River Tyne¹⁷, and socio-economic developments in north Yorkshire and the south Durham lowlands began to mirror more closely the pattern further south. Geographically, the Pennine uplands gradually gave place to the Tees lowlands and the plains of York, with their very different settlement

patterns¹⁸. Militarily, the ubiquitous towerhouses of the region gradually petered out in Durham, Westmorland, and north Yorkshire, while the jurisdiction of the wardens of the marches ended more abruptly at the northern boundary of the Durham palatinate in the east, and in the west at the River Derwent and the boundary between the baronies of Westmorland and Kendale¹⁹.

In the upland zone nearer the border line, the endemic insecurity of the marches also prompted the development of the border surnames. These were kinship groups organized under a headsman or captain who acted together in all things, collectively seeking vengeance when one of their number was harmed, and often accepting joint responsibility when an individual was in trouble. The first specific reference to surnames does not occur until 1498²⁰, but the surnames had clearly developed over the previous two centuries in response to local conditions. They were a formidable force in the Northumberland uplands, extending west into Gilsland and Bewcastledale, and south into Weardale and Teesdale. The Tynedale surnames alone could muster over 400 horsemen, with almost 200 horsemen and 250 footmen mustered by the Redesdale surnames²¹. The government classified the surnames as English or Scots, depending on which side of the border line they resided, and it relied heavily on the services of the English surnames in wartime. Yet, the surnames were unreliable: they had to be reminded to be “at all times ready to resist and persecute the rebels and enemies of the king’s highness and this his realm of England as true subjects ought to do unto their natural sovereign lord”²². And particularly during long truces, their activities were much less acceptable, since poverty and lack of alternative employment soon drove the surnames to prey on the wealthier English lowlanders. In a bad year, such as 1525, bands of up to 400 thieves raided south into the Palatinate and to within eight miles of Newcastle, and the surnames had to be reduced by a military campaign²³. In practice, cattle rustling and robbery by the border surnames, often in collaboration with Scottish surnames, reinforced the sense of insecurity among the marcher population at large: border raiding took on a momentum of its own, notwithstanding occasional efforts by the two governments to discipline their border subjects²⁴.

In other respects, too, the region’s earlier history exercised a continuing influence on the far north, reinforcing its sense of distinctness. The English far north was typical of distinct regions elsewhere in Europe not only by reason of its peripheral location, but also in that it was a later addition to the English realm²⁵. The area between Solway and Stainmore in the English west marches had been annexed to England in 1092; and Scottish claims over the area between the Tweed and the Tees had only finally been relinquished in 1157²⁶. Earlier defensive arrangements meant that society in the region was dominated by marcher lords, with relatively compact lordships. The magnates held great accumulations of land in the form of feudal baronies which had been created in the aftermath of conquest²⁷. The Percy earl of Northumberland, for instance, was by far the largest landowner in Northumberland, with almost 2,000 tenants and estates there worth around £900 a year under the early Tudors; while in the 1520s Lord Dacre was able to bring

4,000 tenants on a raid into Scotland and his estates in Cumberland, centred on the strategically important northern baronies of Burgh and Gilsland, plus Greystoke in the south, were worth about £650 a year²⁸. Throughout the region, too, there were extensive private jurisdictions from which the normal officials of English local government were excluded. The most important of these lay nominally within Northumberland. Durham was held by its bishop as a county palatine, with three detached members to the north (collectively known as North Durham), and two more in Yorkshire. Northamptonshire in North Durham separated the disputed military outpost of Berwick-on-Tweed (which changed hands several times in this period) from Northumberland proper, while to the south-west, also on the border, lay the liberties of Tynedale and Redesdale. Tynedale had once belonged to the king of Scots, while the Tailboys lords of Redesdale held the liberty by the service of guarding the valley from wolves and robbers²⁹. South of Tynedale lay the archbishop of York's regality of Hexham, and the prior of Tynemouth held a small liberty east of Newcastle. From each of these liberties, the king's sheriff and other officials were excluded and the lord enjoyed regal powers. West of the Pennines, the territorial lords enjoyed less extensive legal privileges, but the Clifford family were hereditary sheriffs of Westmorland, and the sheriff of Cumberland was excluded from the honour of Cockermouth³⁰. Overall, however, the ubiquity of these feudal franchises – altogether, “the king's writ did not run” in almost half the region – introduced an element which set the far north apart from southern and central England.

THE TUDOR PROBLEM OF THE NORTH

As the reach of royal government expanded under the Tudors, and as the gentry looked increasingly to the court for patronage and protection, so this fragmentation of power was increasingly seen as an obstacle to law and order. The arbitrary power of private jurisdictions came to be contrasted with the “indifferent justice” of royal officials, and these liberties were castigated as sanctuaries for criminals fleeing from the sheriffs of surrounding counties³¹. At the same time, the great territorial magnates of the region – the Percies, Nevilles, and Dacres – came under suspicion as “overmighty subjects”, and on a number of occasions Tudor monarchs took the opportunity to reduce their power and authority³². In marcher conditions, however, this devolution of power and authority was very necessary: defence and good rule rested mainly on the resident magnates who alone had what in Tudor times was often called the *manraed* (the number of his kin, friends, tenants, and the gentry following a lord could call on) to raise an army to repel raiders and maintain order. But given the vast accumulations of land in magnate hands, the region generally had fewer and poorer gentry than the English lowlands; and the premium on armed might in border conditions also meant that the marcher gentry were generally more subservient to the magnates. In Northumberland, for instance, there were about 40 crown tenants under baronial rank in the county, but only 22 of them held land equivalent to half a knight's fee; and in Cumberland there

were only two in this latter category. Accordingly, the pool of county gentry available to operate the system of English local government, or to which the crown could turn as an alternative to the rule of the great magnates, was much smaller in the far north. And in Northumberland almost half the leading crown tenants were also ‘mesne’ [intermediate] tenants of the Percy earls³³. Lists drawn up in 1528 suggest that altogether only 118 gentry then lived in Northumberland and the adjoining liberties, of whom about 30 were worth £40 a year in land. This was a remarkably small number for so large a shire: few substantial gentry families of any sort lived in the highland zone, and none at all in Redesdale and Hexhamshire³⁴. Yet the county gentry were the key figures in English local government: they were normally appointed to peace commissions and expected to maintain order and to deal with petty crime in the shire through the system of quarter sessions. So the shortage of gentry had a serious impact on law and order³⁵. And at a higher level, the coordination of this work by the justices of assize was also less effective: the king’s justices of the northern circuit only visited the region once a year, holding sessions at Newcastle, Carlisle, and Appleby which lasted for no more than a week. The city of Carlisle, in particular, lay very close to the frontier, and in wartime the justices sometimes preferred to hold their sessions at Penrith on the Westmorland border: in 1449 and 1455-57 the visits to Carlisle and Appleby were abandoned altogether because the judges feared to visit the region³⁶. In the marches, however, *manraed* was more important than “indifferent [= impartial] justice”, and in Northumberland, which was especially vulnerable to raiding and robbery, most of the gentry kept horsemen for defence. A list of 55 Northumberland gentry compiled in 1528, “with a declaration of what ability they are of to do the king service”, noted in particular how many horsemen they kept, how far their chief residence lay from Scotland, and any other qualities they might have which would enhance the value of their military service, as well as (more typically) their landed income. Of these 55 gentry, eleven of them, or 20%, had a landed income of far less than £10, the accepted threshold for a gentleman at that time. So, for instance, Rauff Collingwod of Lytlynton lived nine miles from Scotland, kept eight horsemen, and was a “sharp young man”, but had only £4 a year; and ten others had only £5 or £6 a year. Yet the total *manraed* at the disposal of these 55 gentry, on lands worth £1,524 altogether, was 976 horsemen. This represented a significant charge on the land³⁷. No wonder that Northumberland was so poor.

Given the region’s militarized nature, its exceptional administrative structures, its different topography and settlement patterns, and its very remoteness, it is hardly surprising that the far north should attract adverse comment from royal officials about its disorderly character. As early as the 12th century English commentators were highlighting as the essence of civility what in reality were the normal features of economic activity in lowland England – a well-populated landscape with a settled society, wealthy towns and nucleated villages, a manorial economy, a cereal-based agriculture, and a well differentiated social structure with a numerous and vigorous gentry. By contrast, they denigrated the

peoples of the British upland zone as lazy, bestial and barbarous – a shifting population living in mean wooden huts and scattered settlements in remote regions of forest, mountain, and bog, eking out a miserable existence from cattle raising and rustling³⁸. As will be apparent from the foregoing analysis, many aspects of life in the far north appeared to resemble more the customs of the mere Welsh, the wild Irish, and the Scots than the best practices of English civility. The nucleated villages of the Northumberland coastal plain and the Durham lowlands certainly looked civil enough, and were more easily organized for defensive purposes; but inland from this narrow coastal strip the thinly populated Northumbrian uplands had a very different appearance, and the defence of scattered pastoral communities was much more difficult³⁹. These differences were less remarked on during the Hundred Years War with France (1337-1453), with its constant demands for military service in France as well as against Scotland; but following the Wars of the Roses (1455-87) and the revival of royal power under the Tudors, adverse comments about the disorderly character of the far north, in contrast with the more peaceful conditions further south, became more frequent. Broadly, Tudor opinion about the essential nature of the problem fell into two categories. Reports and complaints by local officials and gentry attributed the disorders to the malice of the Scots and the “misguided men” of the marches, the border surnames, and called for increased resources to police and defend the region. For instance, a complaint of the Northumberland gentry in 1525 against the rule of Thomas Lord Dacre, warden general of the marches, argued that “for lack of justice” the thieves of Gilsland, Bewcastledale, Tynedale and Redesdale had “so robbed, despoiled and impoverished the true inhabitants in the same country of Northumberland that diverse towns there are become almost desolate and barren of inhabitants”. Unless remedy were soon provided, they alleged, the “country is like shortly to be most inhabited with thieves English & Scottish and the king’s true subjects there ... expelled”⁴⁰. A decade later, in 1536, after Lord Dacre had in turn been ousted from the rule of the west marches, a proclamation of four rebel captains of Penrith in Cumberland presented their uprising as “for the maintenance of ... this country” and urged the people “to help one another” because the “rulers of this country do not defend us against the Scots”⁴¹. The weakness of border defence against the Scots was a more general grievance in the north at this time: the rebels recalled that “a prince should be made king to defend the realm”, and Robert Aske was particularly concerned that whereas, hitherto, the king’s revenues in the north “went to the finding of Berwyke” [Berwick-on-Tweed], the principal English military outpost in the east marches, now they would be sent up to London, “so that of necessity the said country should either patyssh [=make terms] with the Scots, or for of very poverty enforced to make commotions or rebellions”⁴². The Pontefract articles demanded that Princess Mary be restored to avoid the danger that the king of Scots might claim the English throne; that a parliament be summoned to Nottingham or York; and that the king’s subjects “from Trent north appear but at York” to answer summonses, unless it were a grave matter touching the king⁴³.

By contrast, officials drafted in from more 'civil' parts ("inlandmen") were more likely to blame the borderers themselves for the violence and disorders there. Commissioned in 1550 to inquire into the decay of the borders, Sir Robert Bowes reported of Northumberland that "the whole country is much given to wildness" and also "much given to riot, specially the young gentlemen or headsmen and diverse of them also to thefts and other greater offences"⁴⁴. As the Tudors became more concerned about the continuing high levels of violence and the apparent 'decay' of the borders, the problem was increasingly conceived in terms of a struggle for the defence of English civility against the wild men of the marches. Concerned at the apparent resemblances between conditions in the north and Gaelic Ireland, Archbishop Parker warned in 1560 that if bishops were not soon appointed to the northern sees, the region would become "too much Irish and savage"⁴⁵. Later on, William Camden depicted the borderers as nomads; and it was reported in 1586 of the preaching of Bernard Gilpin among the inhabitants of Tynedale and Redesdale that "their former savage behaviour is very much abated, and their barbarous wildness and fierceness so much qualified" that there was now hope "of their reduction unto civility"⁴⁶.

NORTHERN IDENTITY

Although the far north was unmistakably English, contemporaries wrote of the northerners in terms which clearly recognized their distinct identity. When, for instance, Henry VIII assembled an army royal for the invasion of France in 1513, he found it necessary to order that "no man give no reproach to none other by cause of the country that he is of; that is to say, be he French, English, Northern, Welsh or Irish"⁴⁷. Inured to the more disturbed conditions of the region, northern levies enjoyed a high reputation as near-professional soldiers: when garrisons were laid in border holds to counter Scottish raids, the exact proportions of 'southern' and 'northern' troops were occasionally specified, as in 1524, so as to ensure an adequate defence⁴⁸. Northern troops were also regularly deployed in the similar conditions of the Anglo-Gaelic marches of Ireland: in English Ireland, they were referred to quite simply as "the northern men", it being readily understood that "northern" referred here not to Ulster but to the English mainland⁴⁹. The northerners themselves celebrated their martial qualities and prowess in ballads, both those such as "the battle of Otterburn", which recalled the exploits of the nobility, and the 'riding ballads' which commemorated the feuds and frays of the border surnames⁵⁰. At an earlier date, civil strife in the form of the Wars of the Roses was cast by some in terms of North versus South. The campaigns of 1460-61, in particular, were seen by Abbot Whethamstede of St Albans as a northern revolt against the south, while a London chronicler berated "the malice of the northernmen"⁵¹. Not surprisingly, the south's defence against Queen Margaret's northern army attracted eager support, the local lords having much ado "to keep down all this country more than four or five shires, for they would be up on the men in north, for it is for the weal of all the south"⁵².

Whether or not the English far north was in reality a militarized border zone, it is very revealing that it was the exceptional features of the frontier district which supplied the popular image of the north and its inhabitants. During the Wars of the Roses, southerners regularly drew on cultural stereotypes of the warlike, penurious and plundering northerners as the 'other' to stiffen local resistance. The northern men, wrote the prior of Crowland of Queen Margaret's northern army, "swept onwards like a whirlwind from the north, and in the impulse of their fury attempted to overrun the whole of England". A "plague of locusts" was another comment, while "the city of London dread for to be robbed and despoiled if they should come". Another commentator elaborated on how "the people in the north rob and steal and been appointed to pill all this country, and give away men's goods and lifelodes in all the south country"⁵³. Shortly after his accession, Henry VII set out for York "in order to keep in obedience the folk of the north, savage and more eager for upheavals"; and when in 1489 there was another rebellion in Yorkshire, the king responded with a proclamation that the rebels intended to "rob, despoil, and destroy all the south parts of this his realm and to bring to captivity all the people of the same"⁵⁴. Yet, by no stretch of the imagination were these Yorkshire rebels hard-bitten marchers bent on plunder: it is very revealing that the north as a whole could credibly be described in these terms. During another rebellion in 1536-7, Henry VIII memorably described Lincolnshire as "one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm", while Archbishop Cranmer castigated the northerners more generally as "a certain sort of barbarous and savage people, who ... could not bear to hear anything of culture"⁵⁵.

It would, of course, be very unwise to take these comments at face value. The north was indeed very much part of England, was recognized as such by Englishmen elsewhere, and the northerners themselves were also very conscious of their English identity. Moreover, if the focus of this sketch were shifted to the Tees lowlands in Durham or the barony of Kendale in Westmorland, the resultant picture would be of a much more evidently "civil society", with fewer particularisms, a society which was more closely integrated into the national community. But then, as Professor Miroslav Hroch has argued in the introductory chapter of this volume, it was the essence of a region that it was also a part of the wider whole, and that the boundaries of the region were often less than clear cut⁵⁶. In the final part of this chapter, I have chosen to offer a brief sketch of a northern baronial family and its estates in early Tudor times. In many ways, the fortunes of this Northumberland family epitomize the features which, as is here argued, marked out the far north as a distinct region of the English state.

LORD OGLE OF BOTHAL

The Ogles of Bothal were an obscure northern peerage family whose heads, for most of Henry VIII's reign, were Robert, 4th Lord Ogle (1513-1530/32), and Robert, 5th Lord Ogle (1530/2-45). Successive barons, father and son, spent their whole careers in

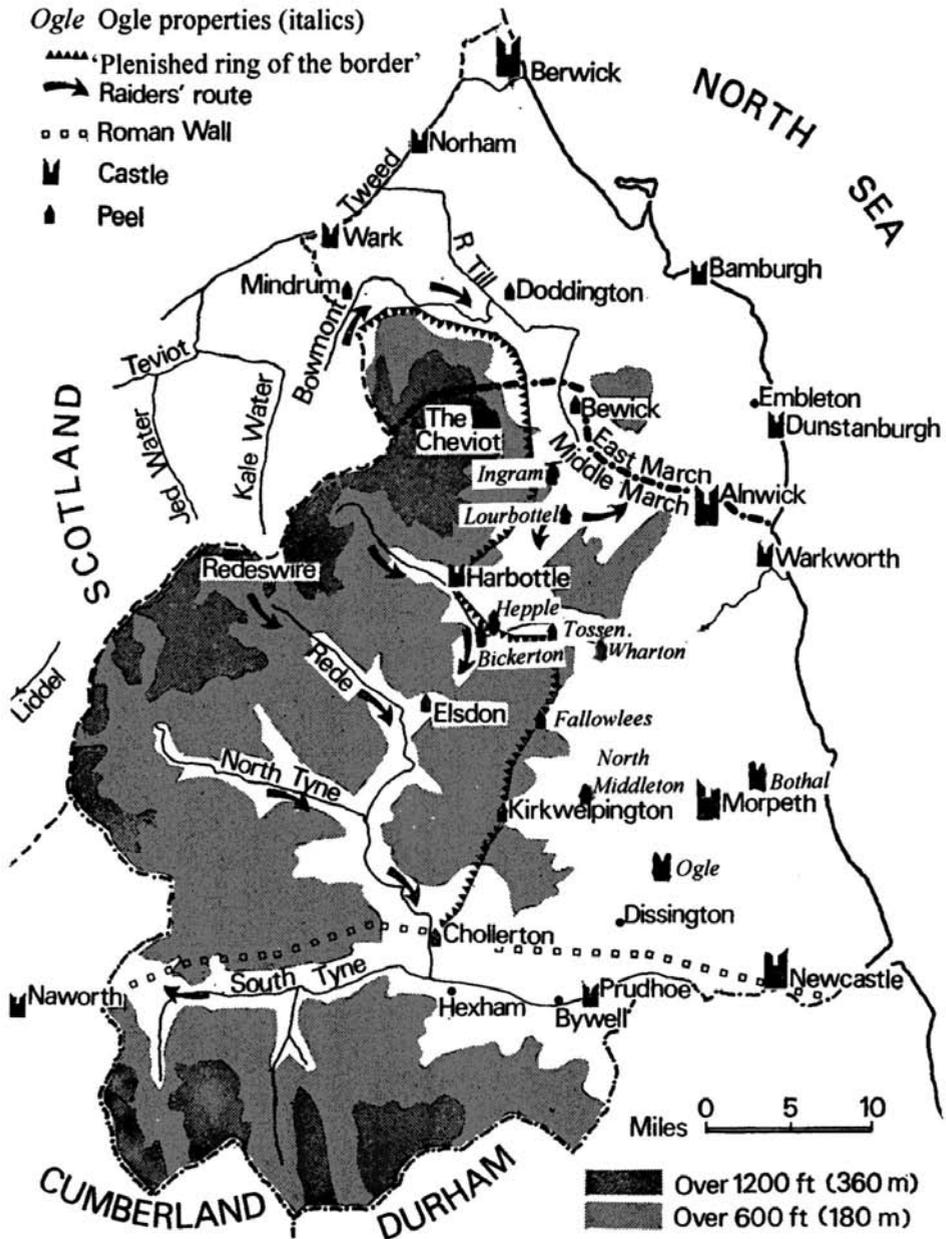
the rule and defence of the English marches towards Scotland. The 4th lord succeeded his father in the months before the battle of Flodden, with Scottish invasion looming, and he was knighted by the English commander, the earl of Surrey, after the battle⁵⁷. The 5th lord fared less well, being killed by the Scots in skirmishing which surrounded the battle of Ancrum Moor (27 February 1545)⁵⁸. Though known locally as “a true young man and a good housekeeper”, Ogle’s one claim to fame was that he was the only English peer throughout the reign of Henry VIII to die in battle⁵⁹. Neither lord, however, showed any great interest in affairs of state. They never attended parliament: very often, the chancery clerks failed even to send the Lords Ogle a writ of summons to parliament. They never went to court, not even for major state occasions. The 5th lord was, however, an unwilling visitor to London on one occasion, being committed to the Fleet prison in May 1534 for disobeying the king’s process⁶⁰. He was also briefly deputy-warden of the middle marches in 1536-37, but even in frontier defence, neither lord ever exercised a major command. In practice, the influence of the Lords Ogle was purely local. Not surprisingly, the standard surveys of the reign largely ignore Ogle of Bothal, although there are occasional references to aspects of the careers of the two lords in regional histories⁶¹.

In the mid-15th century, the great grandfather of the 4th Lord Ogle, Sir Robert Ogle of Bothal, tenant of the bishop of Durham and later a Neville retainer, was for over thirty years captain of Norham, an important military outpost in the bishop of Durham’s liberty of North Durham⁶². In 1461, after the disturbances of the period had finally erupted in civil war, the political situation in the north-east was transformed, following the Yorkist victory at Towton, by the attainder of leading Northumberland landowners, Sir William Tailboys, John Heron of Ford, and most importantly, the earl of Northumberland himself. This left a dangerous power vacuum in the region at a time when the Scots, having captured and razed Roxburgh and recovered Berwick-on-Tweed, were looking to make further advances. Among the countermeasures taken by Edward IV was to advance two local knights, Sir Robert Ogle and Sir Thomas Lumley, to the peerage in 1461. In Ogle’s case, his new status was backed by a grant of lands worth around £140 a year, including the extensive Tailboys lordship of Redesdale and manor of Harbottle, together with certain Percy estates in Northumberland⁶³. The Percy lands were soon regranted to John Neville, earl of Northumberland, however, and then back to the Percy earl, when the latter was restored; and Ogle also lost Redesdale and Harbottle following the reversal of the Tailboys attainder in 1472⁶⁴. By then, Lord Robert himself was long dead; but the landed estates held by his son, Owen, 2nd Lord, as revealed by inquisitions taken after the death in 1486, were simply the family’s ancestral possessions as inherited by the 1st lord⁶⁵. In the longer term, therefore, all the Ogle family had to show for its loyalty and service to the Yorkist kings was the baronial title.

This in turn meant that Lord Ogle’s landed income was remarkably small. It was reported of the 5th lord in 1537 that he was worth 300 marks [=£200] a year “in pos-

session and reversion"⁶⁶. For a peer of the realm, this was poverty indeed, barely sufficient to support the family's new dignity, and far smaller than that of established baronial families like Lord Scrope of Masham⁶⁷. He was of course among the crown's most prominent knight-service tenants in Northumberland, with extensive possessions there: inquisitions taken after the death of the 5th lord in 1545 suggest that Ogle's Northumberland estates were actually worth around £225 per annum, but they were no more extensive than those of leading Northumberland gentry such as Grey of Chillingham, Radcliffe of Cartington, or Widdrington of Widdrington⁶⁸. They included some significant mesne tenancies held of the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland and Lord Dacre. Elsewhere, however, Ogle held only the manor of Netherton and some other lands in the bishopric of Durham. In Cumberland, his manor of Thoresby and lands in Crofton, worth £5 a year, had in 1517 been sold back to Lord Dacre, the chief lord⁶⁹. In a frontier society like Tudor Northumberland, the one major advantage which Ogle's comparatively modest holdings afforded him was their relative compactness. This meant that Ogle normally resided in the county – he was at times the only resident peer – and could personally supervise the rule and defence of his own estates. Indeed, the absence of estates elsewhere meant that he really had no choice. Concentrated landholdings were of course a natural response among marcher lords to the more turbulent conditions in which they operated, although great magnates like Northumberland or Kildare with their more extensive possessions were necessarily more reliant on an extended kin, a gentry following, and numerous estate officials to organize the good rule and defence of their country and to administer their estates⁷⁰.

Ogle was normally resident for a second reason, too: the particular location of his estates in the middle marches. Almost the first major challenge which the 4th lord faced, after he had succeeded his father in January 1513, was a Scottish invasion. King James IV crossed the Tweed in August and captured the border castles of Norham, Wark, Etal, and Ford⁷¹. Any deeper penetration and Lord Ogle would have faced enormous losses. In the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the king's intrusion as warden at this time of Lord Dacre, a relative stranger from the west marches, led to tensions with the Northumberland gentry. Dacre's barony of Morpeth in Northumberland was worth c.£180 per annum, and he had some following there, particularly among the poorer upland gentry; but he lacked the *manraed* of the Percy earl and the leading gentry distrusted him. Dacre in turn thought they offered little support, the county being so poor and wasted, but he accused Lord Ogle, in particular, of backwardness in the king's service⁷². Later on, though, Ogle served willingly enough, supporting Lord Dacre "with all his name and friends" on a "rode" into Scotland in 1523⁷³. In fact, Ogle's possessions in the Northumbrian lowlands, notably his chief manors and castles of Ogle and Bothal around Morpeth were relatively secure, but other estates lay in a much more exposed position. In upper Coquetdale, he held the manors of Great and Little Tossen, Happle, Bickerton, and Wharton in Rothbury parish near Harbottle, plus Lourbottle and



Map 2
Tudor Northumberland, with the border ring, towers, castles, and Ogle properties.

Ingram to the north, and to the south Fallowlees and the manor of North Middleton near Kirkwhelpington⁷⁴. Although supplying at least a quarter of Ogle's landed income, the value of these estates was more strategic than financial. They all lay on the fringes of the highland zone, along what Christopher Dacre was later to describe as the "plenished ring of the border", offering tempting targets for the border surnames and mostly also within striking distance of Scottish raiders. This border ring followed the highland line, cutting through Northumberland in a great arc, in a south-easterly direction from Wark-on-Tweed and then south to Harbottle, east to Tossen, south to Fallowlees, and south-west to Kirkwhelpington and Chollerton on the North Tyne.

What counted most in marcher society, however, was not so much the extent of a landowner's estates as his *manraed*. Like most of the Northumberland landowners, Lord Ogle was obliged to keep horsemen for defence. Lists of Northumberland landowners made by the authorities in 1537 (their military capacity, their "ability" to "do the king service", distance of their chief residence from Scotland, and any "other qualities" enhancing the value of their military service) included the leading members of the Ogle family: they noted that Lord Ogle himself "may serve the king with 100 horsemen", that he resided fourteen miles from Scotland and four miles from Redesdale, and that his lands were worth annually £100 in possession and £100 reversion; his uncle, Sir William Ogle of Cockle Park, with five or six household servants, resided thirteen miles from Scotland and four miles from Redesdale and was "a true man" with lands worth 40 marks [£26 13s. 4d.] a year for life; John Ogle of Ogle castle with ten horsemen, lived twelve miles from Scotland and four miles from Redesdale, and was "a sharp forward man" worth £20 a year; George Ogle, "a true sharp forward man", had married Lord Ogle's mother and was "in house with the said Lord Ogle"; and John Ogle of Kirklaw with eight men, lived twelve miles from Scotland, four miles from Redesdale, and was "a sharp forward man" worth £10 per annum: "which men be well minded to justice"⁷⁵.

Lords and gentry in lowland England did not keep horsemen for defence, nor did they need to fortify their properties, as Ogle did, by building towerhouses, the characteristic form of military architecture in the marches. The tower protecting Ogle's northern outpost at Ingram was erected sometime in the late 15th century and could accommodate a garrison of 40 horsemen, but in 1509 both Ingram and Hepple, which could take 20 horsemen, were unmanned⁷⁶. In 1542, the border commissioners noted that Ogle's tower at Great Tossen was "not in good reparations" and his tower at Hepple "scarcely in good reparations"⁷⁷. To the west of this "plenished ring" and stretching south-west for fourteen miles from Hepple and Tossen lay an uninhabited wasteland. At its northern end Lord Ogle held "a parcel of ground called Falloly burnes which is measurable good for pastures": though let to John Hall of Otterburn, it was otherwise uninhabited, both because of its location near Redesdale and "because there is no stone house builded thereupon"⁷⁸. Likewise, the defence of the key tower of Fallowlees proved so troublesome that in 1530 the 4th Lord Ogle sold the property to Hall of Otterburn⁷⁹. In the marches, tenants

could not be found for undefended estates, which were rapidly reduced to a worthless wasteland, but equally the costs of defending marchland might exceed its value.

THE DECAY OF THE BORDERS

As a military frontier, the Anglo-Scottish border finally disappeared in 1603, when the Union of the Crowns saw the Scottish king, James VI, accede to the English throne as James I. It now became a predominantly administrative boundary between two peoples who were both subjects of the one king. Long before this, however, the military importance of the frontier had declined: during the 16th century relations between England and Scotland improved, particularly during “the long peace” which followed the treaty of Edinburgh in 1560. The impact of the Reformation also disrupted traditional ties between Scotland and France at the same time as it forged a newfound sense of religious solidarity between two Protestant regimes in London and Edinburgh. In these circumstances, the military preparedness of the borderers declined. In 1538 a muster of the east and middle marches had produced a total of 6,375 able men, of whom 2,913 were equipped with horse and harness; but musters in 1580 produced only 1,468 equipped with horse and harness, and by 1584 there was a further decline to just 1,086 horsemen⁸⁰. The government now grew alarmed at the “great decay of horses” on the marches. Commissions were authorized by statute “to enquire what tenancies and houses of habitation [since 1536] be decayed and not occupied by men able to serve as horsemen or footmen, according to the ancient duty of these tenancies”, and a detailed report appeared in 1584 listing 1,354 decayed tenancies⁸¹. With the threat of Scottish invasion removed, the government expected that the defence of the marches would take care of itself. But by then, the great marcher lords who had traditionally had the rule of the region as wardens had either been eliminated altogether (Lord Dacre and the Neville earl of Westmorland), or banished from the region (the Percy earl of Northumberland), leaving the wardenries in the hands of local gentry such as Sir John Forster who lacked the *manraed* to organize its defence⁸². The result was that townships in the more exposed parts increasingly fell prey to raiding and robbery by Scottish reivers and whole districts near the border line were converted into an uninhabited wasteland⁸³. Only the Union of the Crowns in 1603 saved the situation: with the accession of King James VI of Scotland as King James I of England the military frontier between the two kingdoms finally disappeared, being replaced by an administrative boundary between the English and Scottish parts of what King James now relabelled the Middle Shires.

It will not do to exaggerate the poverty and levels of violence in the far north. This was, after all, a recognizably English society, a region of the English realm: it was not Gaelic Ireland. All the same, Northumberland was poor and violent by English standards: in so far as distinctions may be drawn between the English marches in this regard, they were not between East and West but between the central uplands and the narrow but

superficially more 'civil' coastal plains further removed from the border line. Poverty and violence are relative, but there is plenty of evidence to support the traditional view that throughout this period the far north, and especially Northumberland, remained poor and backward, hard to rule, and very much a frontier region. This is also how it was seen by contemporaries.

NOTES

- ¹ See, esp., A.J. Pollard, *North-eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: lay society, war, and politics 1450-1500*, Oxford 1990, pp. 18-23; Id., *Use and Ornament: late-twentieth-century historians on the late medieval north-east*, in "Northern History" [henceforth NH], 2005, 42, pp. 61-74.
- ² M.M. Meikle, *A British frontier? Lairds and gentlemen in the eastern borders, 1540-1603*, East Linton 2004, pp. 2-5; A. Goodman, *The Anglo-Scottish marches in the fifteenth century: a frontier society?*, in R.A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, Edinburgh 1987, pp. 18-33.
- ³ Pollard, *Use and Ornament* cit., pp. 61-74 (quotations, pp. 67, 68).
- ⁴ Meikle, *A British frontier?* cit., pp. 1-5, 278, 280 (quotations, pp. 1, 3).
- ⁵ There is now a fairly extensive literature from the New British perspective. More general surveys include R. Frame, *The political development of the British Isles 1100-1400*, Oxford 1990; R.R. Davies, *The first English empire: power and identities in the British Isles 1093-1343*, Oxford 2000; S.G. Ellis with C. Maginn, *The making of the British Isles: the state of Britain and Ireland 1450-1660*, London 2007.
- ⁶ S.G. Ellis, *Tudor frontiers and noble power: the making of the British state*, Oxford 1995.
- ⁷ Meikle, *A British frontier?* cit., pp. 2-3. Can an argument based on a comparison between two regions be confuted on the basis of an analysis of the evidence relating to only one of these two regions?
- ⁸ S.G. Ellis, *The English state and its frontiers in the British Isles, 1300-1600*, in D. Power, N. Standen (eds.), *Frontiers in question: Eurasian borderlands, 700-1700*, Basingstoke 1999, pp. 157-161.
- ⁹ This paragraph is based on J.A. Tuck, *Northumbrian society in the fourteenth century*, in NH, 1971, 6, pp. 22-39; Id., *Richard II and the border magnates*, in NH, 1968, 3, pp. 32-39; Id., *War and society in the medieval north*, in NH, 1985, 21, pp. 39-43; A.J. MacDonald, *Border bloodshed: Scotland and England at war 1369-1403*, East Linton 2000; J.M.W. Bean, *The Percies and their estates in Scotland*, in "Archaeologia Aeliana", 1957, 4th ser., 35, pp. 91-99; Goodman, *The Anglo-Scottish marches* cit., pp. 20-24; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 20-22, 25-27; Pollard, *North-eastern England* cit., pp. 18-19; R.L. Storey, *The north of England*, in S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross, R.A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth-century England 1399-1509: studies in politics and society*, Manchester 1972, p. 130.
- ¹⁰ Documents illustrating this legal code are collected in W. Nicolson (ed.), *Leges marchiarum*, London 1747. And see also, J. Nicolson, R. Burn, *The history and antiquities of the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols., London 1777.
- ¹¹ R.L. Storey, *The end of the house of Lancaster*, 2nd ed., Gloucester 1986, pp. 107-109; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 24-25. From c.1470 the north-eastern corner of Northumberland (Berwick-on-Tweed, Northamptonshire, and the area immediately to the south) were administered separately as the east march, with most of Northumberland and the other liberties forming the much larger middle march.
- ¹² Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 39-40, 98-100, 240.
- ¹³ P. Dixon, *Towerhouses, pelehouses and border society*, in "Archaeological Journal", 1979, 136, pp. 240-252; J. Hodgson, *A history of Northumberland*, 3 parts in 7 vols., Newcastle 1820-1825, III, i, pp. 26-30; C.J. Bates, *The border holds of Northumberland*, in "Archaeologia Aeliana", 1891, new ser., 14, at pp. 14, 23-24, 32 (a list of 1509, and maps of castles and towers in 1415 and 1541); S.J. Watts, *From border to*

- middle shire: Northumberland 1586-1625*, Leicester 1975, pp. 22-23. And see more generally, M.W. Thompson, *The decline of the castle*, Cambridge 1987, esp. the map illustrating the distribution of towerhouses on p. 23.
- ¹⁴ Watts, *From border* cit., p. 18; P.E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's wars*, Basingstoke 2003, pp. 67, 103.
- ¹⁵ See in particular, F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of cultural difference*, Bergen 1969, esp. pp. 9-10, 18-19, 32-33.
- ¹⁶ Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 67-68; J. McDonnell, *The role of transhumance in northern England*, in NH, 1988, 24, pp. 11-17.
- ¹⁷ Pollard, *North-eastern England* cit., p. 14; Storey, *North of England* cit., p. 130; M. Holford, A. King, C.D. Liddy, *North-east England in the late middle ages: rivers, boundaries and identities, 1296-1461*, in A. Green, A.J. Pollard (eds.), *Regional identities in north-east England, 1300-2000*, Woodbridge 2007, p. 40.
- ¹⁸ Cf. M. James, *Family, lineage and civil society: a study of society, politics, and mentality in the Durham region 1500-1640*, Oxford 1974, pp. 4-7; A. Green, A.J. Pollard, *Introduction: identifying regions*, in Green, Pollard (eds.), *Regional identities* cit., pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁹ Storey, *End of the house of Lancaster* cit., pp. 107-109; Pollard, *North-eastern England* cit., pp. 14, 19.
- ²⁰ J. Bain (ed.), *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland*, 4 vols., Edinburgh 1881-1888, iv, no. 1649.
- ²¹ The National Archives [henceforth TNA], SP 1/48, ff 117-34v (J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, R.H. Brodie (eds.), *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII* [henceforth *L. & P. Hen. VIII*], 36 vols., London 1862-1932, iv (ii), 4336 (2)); S.G. Ellis, *Civilizing Northumberland: representations of Englishness in the Tudor state*, in "Journal of Historical Sociology", 1999, 12, p. 114.
- ²² TNA, SP 1/46, f. 130 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 3816 (2)).
- ²³ Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 61-71, 165-167.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-68.
- ²⁵ Cf. M. Hroch, *Regional Memory: Reflections on the Role of History in (Re)constructing Regional Identity*, in this volume, pp. 4-6.
- ²⁶ Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 20-21.
- ²⁷ See esp. R. Lomas, *North-east England in the middle ages*, Edinburgh 1992, ch. 2; A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, Edinburgh 1987, pp. 14-22.
- ²⁸ J.M.W. Bean, *The estates of the Percy family, 1416-1537*, Oxford 1958, esp. pp. 128-132, 139; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 90, 101.
- ²⁹ Hodgson, *Northumberland* cit., II, i, p. 62 (reproducing an exchequer court case of 1438).
- ³⁰ Storey, *End of the house* cit., p. 106; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 34-35.
- ³¹ See, for instance, the complaints of the Northumberland gentry against franchises operated by Lord Dacre, 1525, in Hodgson, *Northumberland* cit., III, i, pp. 31-40; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 34-35.
- ³² See, for instance, M. James, *Society, politics and culture: studies in early modern England*, Cambridge 1986, chs. 2-4.
- ³³ *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids ... 1284-1431*, 4 vols., i, 244-5, London 1899-1906, iv, pp. 76-90.; James, *Society, politics and culture* cit., pp. 68-70.
- ³⁴ TNA, SP 1/45, ff 104-107 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 3629(4)); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 5085, Add. i, no. 618; E. Barrington de Fonblanque (ed.), *Annals of the House of Percy*, 2 vols., London 1887, I, app. XLVII. See also Hodgson, *Northumberland* cit., I, i, pp. 346-348, II, i, pp. 67-68; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, ix, no. 1078, xii (ii), nos. 249-250 for slightly later lists. By contrast, around 45 of the gentry in the North Riding of Yorkshire alone had a landed income of £40 a year: Pollard, *North-eastern England* cit., pp. 86-90.

- ³⁵ See the remarks on the difficulties in operating the traditional English system of local government in Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 52-56; Id., *Civilizing Northumberland* cit., pp. 109-112. By the late 16th century, however, both the operation of local government and law enforcement in the north-east would seem to have improved considerably: D. Newton, *Borders and bishopric: regional identities in the pre-modern north east, 1559-1620*, in Green, Pollard (eds.), *Regional identities* cit., pp. 60-61.
- ³⁶ C.J. Neville, *Gaol delivery in the border counties, 1439-1459: some preliminary observations*, in NH, 1983, 19, pp. 45-60; Storey, *End of the house* cit., pp. 116, 118; Ellis, *Civilizing Northumberland* cit., pp. 109-112.
- ³⁷ TNA, SP 1/45, ff 104-7 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 3629(4)). Cf. Hodgson, *Northumberland*, I, pp. 346-348, II, i, pp. 67-68, which prints slightly later lists of gentry, with a similar emphasis on their *manraed*; see also below, p. 92. Equivalents in modern money are of course problematic, but c.1500 a labourer commonly earned 4d. a day, or one-sixtieth of a pound (£1), and might get by on £2 or £3 a year. A priest was comfortably off if he had an income of £13 a year.
- ³⁸ S.G. Ellis, *Civilizing the natives: state formation and the Tudor monarchy, c.1400-1603*, in Id., L. Klusáková (eds.), *Imagining frontiers, contesting identities*, Pisa 2007, pp. 77-92, at p. 83.
- ³⁹ The different arrangements for the defence of arable lowland and pastoral upland communities are discussed in S.G. Ellis, *Integration, identities and frontiers in the British Isles: a European perspective*, in H. Gustafsson, H. Sanders (eds.), *Vid Gränsen: integration och identitet i det förnationella Norden*, Gothenburg 2006, pp. 19-45, esp. pp. 28-37.
- ⁴⁰ Hodgson, *Northumberland* cit., III, i, pp. 35-36.
- ⁴¹ Quoted, M.L. Bush, *Captain Poverty and the Pilgrimage of Grace*, in "Historical Research", 1992, 65, pp. 21-22.
- ⁴² TNA, SP 1/112, f. 138 v (*L. & P. Hen VIII*, xi, no. 1244); A. Fletcher, D. MacCulloch (eds.), *Tudor rebellions*, 5th ed., London 2004, (quotation, p. 144).
- ⁴³ Fletcher, MacCulloch (eds.), *Tudor rebellions* cit., pp. 147-149 (quotation, p. 149).
- ⁴⁴ *A book of the state of the frontiers and marches betwixt England and Scotland, written by Sir Robert Bowes*, in Hodgson, *Northumberland* cit., III, ii, pp. 171-248, at p. 244.
- ⁴⁵ J. Bruce, T.T. Perowne (eds.), *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury*, Cambridge 1853, p. 123.
- ⁴⁶ W. Camden, *Britannia, a chorographical description*, trans. P. Holland, 1610, p. 806; Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland* cit., II, i, 75.
- ⁴⁷ P.L. Hughes, J.F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols., New Haven 1964-1969, i, p. 114.
- ⁴⁸ *Sir John Bulmer. Bill of the lieng of soldeours*, in British Library, Additional MS 24965, f. 98 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 131).
- ⁴⁹ Dublin annals, *sub anno* 1520, 1531, Trinity College Dublin, MS 543/2; *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 11 vols., London 1830-1852, ii, 223, 225, 234; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 138, 186, 212-213, 223.
- ⁵⁰ J. Reed, *The ballad and the source: some literary reflections on the battle of Otterburne*, in A. Tuck, A. Goodman (eds.), *War and border societies in the middle ages*, London 1992, pp. 94-123. See more generally, D. Newton, *North-east England 1569-1625: governance, culture and identity*, ch. 7, Woodbridge 2006.
- ⁵¹ J. Whethamstede, *Register*, in H.T. Riley (ed.), *Registra quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, I, London 1872, pp. 171ff, 386ff; J.S. Davies (ed.), *An English chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI*, London 1856, p. 106; N. Pronay, J. Cox (eds.), *The Crowland chronicle continuations 1459-1486*, London 1986, pp. 109, 113.
- ⁵² J. Gairdner (ed.), *The Paston letters*, I, London 1872, no. 367.

- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, i, no. 541; Whethamstede, *Register* cit., in Riley (ed.), *Registra quorundam* cit., pp. 171ff, 386ff.; H.M. Jewell, *North and South: the antiquity of the great divide*, in NH, 1991, 27, pp. 13-16.
- ⁵⁴ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols., New Haven 1964-1969, i, 20-21; D. Hay (ed.), *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil AD 1485-1537*, Camden Soc., 1950, 3rd ser., 74, p. 11.
- ⁵⁵ Quotations, James, *Society, politics and culture* cit., p. 189; D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: a life*, New Haven 1996, p. 178 (quotation).
- ⁵⁶ Hroch, *Regional Memory* cit., pp. 3, 5-6, 10-11. And see also the perceptive comments in Newton, *Borders and bishopric* cit., pp. 68-70; Pollard, *North-eastern England* cit., pp. 13-14.
- ⁵⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i, 2nd ed., no. 2246ii.
- ⁵⁸ R. Robson, *The rise and fall of the English highland clans: Tudor responses to a mediaeval problem*, Edinburgh 1989, p. 192; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (i), nos. 280, 285, 301, 306, 339, 1046 (1, 2).
- ⁵⁹ The king's retainers in Northumberland, 1537, printed in Hodgson, *Northumberland* cit., I, i, p. 346; H. Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility*, Oxford 1986, p. 159; Ogle was not, of course, the first Tudor peer in Henry VIII's reign to die in battle. In 1513, Gerald Fitzgerald, 8th earl of Kildare, was shot while watering his horse in the River Barrow; and Edward Plunket, Lord Dunsany, 'a valiant man' was killed in a skirmish in 1521 when his horse broke a leg: *State Papers* cit., ii, 80; Ellis, Maginn, *The making of the British Isles* cit., p. 78.
- ⁶⁰ British Library, Lansdowne MS I, f. 43; Miller, *Henry VIII and* cit., pp. 10, 44, 92, 99, 126, 143, 148, 261. The Lords Ogle were indeed so obscure that it is not even clear when the father died or his son succeeded to the title (some time between 1530 and 1532).
- ⁶¹ On the 5th lord, see especially Robson, *English highland clans* cit., pp. 85, 87, 115, 117, 124, 158, 175, 182, 183, 192; Sir H.A. Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a History of the Baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hephple* [privately printed], Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1902 is an antiquarian, annalistic account of the family which collects and calendars much of the surviving source material.
- ⁶² Pollard, *North-eastern England* cit., pp. 150, 152, 227, 264, 270, 288, 298; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [Oxford DNB]*, xli, p. 604.
- ⁶³ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1461-1467*, pp. 29, 113-14, 466; *Oxford DNB*, xli, 604; Pollard, *North-eastern England* cit., pp. 270, 288-289.
- ⁶⁴ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* cit., pp. 340-341; Robson, *English highland clans* cit., pp. 60-64.
- ⁶⁵ TNA, C 142/19, no. 4 (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII*, 3 vols., London 1898-1955, iii, no. 14); *Calendar of Inquisitions* cit., iii, no. 28.
- ⁶⁶ The king's retainers in Northumberland, 1537, printed in Hodgson, *Northumberland* cit., I, i, 346.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Pollard, *North-eastern England* cit., p. 94.
- ⁶⁸ TNA, C 142/27, no. 126, C 142/75, no. 16; *Inquisitions and Assessments* cit., iv, 76-90. Cf. *Calendar of Inquisitions* cit., ii, no. 547, iii, nos. 10, 16-18, 359, 470; Meikle, *A British frontier?* cit., pp. 142-143.
- ⁶⁹ *Calendar of Inquisitions* cit., i, no. 157, iii, nos. 14, 28; *Inquisitions and Assessments* cit., iv, 76-90; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal* cit., p. xxiii (citing an inquisition post mortem taken in Durham, 1513); H. Warne (ed.), *The duke of Norfolk's deeds at Arundel castle. Catalogue I: Dacre estates in northern counties*, Chichester 2006, p. 75.
- ⁷⁰ Cf. Bean, *Estates of the Percy* cit., passim; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., chs. 3-4.
- ⁷¹ R.G. Eaves, *Henry VIII's Scottish diplomacy 1513-1524: England's relations with the regency government of James V*, New York 1971, p. 29.
- ⁷² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (2nd ed.), nos. 2383, 2423, 2443, 2913; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers* cit., pp. 88, 104-105.
- ⁷³ BL, Caligula, B VI (II), f. 326 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, no. 2955ii); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, no. 2875 v.

- ⁷⁴ TNA, C 142/27, no. 126, C 142/75, no. 16. See also the list of 1509 and the maps of castles and towers in 1415 and 1541 in C.J. Bates, *The border holds of Northumberland*, in "Archaeologia Aeliana", 1891, new ser., 14, pp. 14, 23-24, 32.
- ⁷⁵ The king's retainers in Northumberland, 1537, two lists printed in Hodgson, *Northumberland cit.*, I, i, pp. 346-8, II, i, pp. 67-68.
- ⁷⁶ See Bates, *The Border holds cit.*, esp. pp. 22-25 (prints a list of holds and their owners, 1509).
- ⁷⁷ Survey of the east and middle marches by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker, 1542, in Hodgson, *Northumberland cit.*, III, ii, pp. 212, 214.
- ⁷⁸ Survey of the east and middle marches, 1542, in Hodgson, *Northumberland cit.*, III, ii, pp. 226-7; The king's retainers in Northumberland, 1537; *ibid.*, I, i, pp. 346-8; Watts, *Border to middle shire cit.*, p. 22 (quotation).
- ⁷⁹ Hodgson, *Northumberland cit.*, II, i, p. 289n.
- ⁸⁰ J. Bain (ed.), *Calendar of letters and papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*, i, Edinburgh 1894, nos. 47, 50, 253, 255, 259. The 1538 musters for Northumberland were transcribed from the originals in the National Archives by John Hodgson and printed in "Archaeologia Aeliana", 1855, 1st ser., 4, pp. 124-135.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, I, nos. 41, 74-75; R. Newton, *The decay of the borders: Tudor Northumberland in transition*, in C.W. Chalklin, M.A. Havinden (eds.), *Rural change and urban growth 1500-1800: essays in English regional history in honour of W.G. Hoskins*, London 1974, pp. 12-18.
- ⁸² M.M. Meikle, *A godly rogue: the career of Sir John Forster, an Elizabethan border warden*, in NH, 1992, 28, pp. 126-163.
- ⁸³ Newton, *Decay of the borders cit.*, pp. 12-18.

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