Cover: Maria Vladimirovna Ender (1897-1942), *Attempt at a New Spatial Dimension*, 1920, painting (detail), Russian State Museum, St. Petersburg.
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Enduring Borderlands: the Marches of Ireland and Wales in the Early Modern Period

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Abstract

This joint chapter explores similarities and differences between two borderlands within the early modern 'British' state – the marches of Ireland and Wales. In some respects, the two regions were very different, most fundamentally because the Irish march remained militarised throughout the Tudor period, while Welsh society was markedly more peaceful. However, there was also much in common. In the later middle ages both marches were frontiers between the expanding Anglo-Normans and native Celtic society. The notion that the march separated 'civility' from 'savagery' was an enduring one: despite the efforts of the Tudors to impose centralisation and uniformity throughout its territories, there remained institutions, structures of power, and mentalities which ensured that both sets of marches were still in existence by the end of the 16th century. This chapter explores the reasons for the endurance of these borderlands, and indicates how political reforms of the 16th century caused the perception – and sometimes the very location – of the marches to alter.

Mae'r bennod hon yn archwilio'r tebygrwydd a'r gwahaniaethau rhwng dau dir ffiniol o fewn y wladwriaeth 'Brydeinig' yn y cyfnod modern cynnar - gororau Iwerddon a Chymru. Mewn rhai agweddau, roedd y ddau ranbarth yn wahanol iawn i'w gilydd, yn fwyaf sylfaenol oherwydd bod gororau Iwerddon wedi parhau dan reolaeth filwrol drwy gydol cyfnod y Tuduriaid, tra bod y gymdeithas Gymreig yn amlwg yn fwy heddychlon. Er hyn, roedd ganddynt lawer yn gyffredin. Yn y canol oesoedd diweddar roedd y ddau ranbarth yn ffiniau rhwng ehangiad yr Eingl-normaniaid â chymdeithas Geltaidd frodorol. Roedd y dybiaeth fod y gororau yn gwahanu 'gwarineb' oddi wrth yr 'anwar' yn un arhosol: serch ymdrechion y Tuduriaid i arddodi canoli ac undod ledled eu tiroedd, roedd sefydliadau, strwythurau pŵer a dulliau o feddwl yn goroesi ac yn galluogi gororau Iwerddon a Chymru i barhau i fodoli

erbyn diwedd cyfnod y Tuduriaid. Mae'r bennod hon yn archwilio'r rhesymau dros barhad
y tiroedd ffiniol, ac yn dangos sut yr achosodd diwygiadau gwleidyddol yr unfed ganrif ar
*bymtheg i ganfyddiad - ac weithiau lleoliad - y gororau i newid.*

In late 1577 the Irish peer Conor O'Brien, earl of Thomond, wrote to the Glamorgan gentleman Sir Edward Stradling of his situation. He was waiting in the town of Barry, near Cardiff, South Wales, for better weather, to return to Ireland and hoped to use the time to make Stradling's acquaintance. He told Stradling that he had heard good reports of him but that he wanted the meeting because, "you being of the borders of Wales, and I the said Earl of Thomond on the borders of Ireland, I do not doubt but we should talk more at large"[1]. Thomond seems to have believed that, despite obvious differences between the relatively peaceful early modern Anglo-Welsh borderland and its militarised counterpart in Ireland, a comparison between the two would yield interesting results. In this chapter we aim to emulate this 16th-century meeting of minds and discover what can be learned from comparing these two frontiers.

Despite the successes of the 'New British History' in encouraging a less Anglocentric view of the early modern period, there have been few direct comparisons between Wales and Ireland. Also, as Philip Schwyzer has noted, those studies that have been carried out are actually assessments of why Tudor political and religious reform policies succeeded in Wales and failed in Ireland[2]. In this chapter we aim to demonstrate that there are other possibilities for the comparative study of the societies of the so-called 'Celtic fringe' in the early modern period. Both Ireland and Wales experienced incomplete English colonisation in the medieval period that led to the creation of a march, a frontier zone between the English and native peoples that was characterised by the rule of many powerful and independent lords of English or Norman descent. By the mid-16th century the Irish and Welsh marches were supposedly obsolete and abolished by Tudor reforms. It will be argued here, however, that both marches had a long after-life that has largely been ignored by historians of the early modern period.

Before discussing the early modern marches we will first outline the history and character of the borderlands of medieval Wales and Ireland.

The Medieval march

The Welsh march was established to tame a particularly problematic frontier. Between 1067 and 1069, while the Normans were consolidating their conquest of England, the Welsh carried out a series of raids into English territory. In response the new English King, William I, created powerful earldoms in the English border counties. The earls were given strong powers and the right to pursue independent wars against the Welsh to their west[3]. By the 1090s these independent Norman lords had established them-
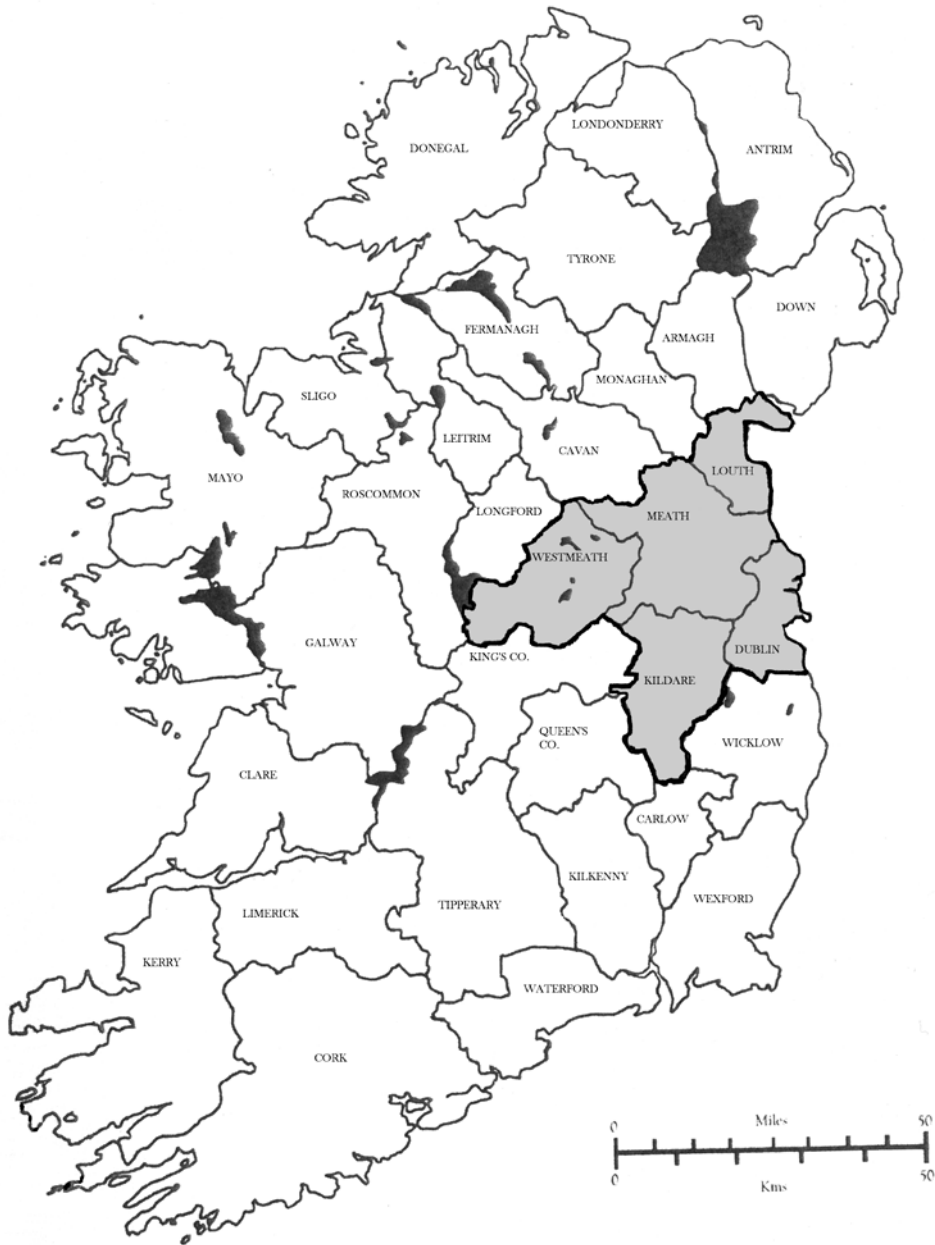
Map 3
Irish counties of the 17th century, with the area of the English Pale highlighted.

selves in the south from Monmouth to Pembrokeshire and in the north from Denbigh to Anglesey[4]. There followed a long period of instability during which the border of the march fluctuated according to the relative strengths of the Welsh and individual marcher lords. During this time, the collapse of certain marcher dynasties allowed the English crown to take control of some lordships and turn others into royal clients. In 1171-72, after the peace treaty brokered by the heirs of Owain Gwynedd with Henry II, the political geography of Wales stabilised into a more or less permanent division between the Anglo-Norman lordships and the native-controlled Principality[5].

The march, which covered almost two thirds of modern Wales, consisted of a shifting patchwork of lordships, which were officially independent of the English crown. In reality, many marcher lords owed personal allegiance to the king, but all exhibited a measure of independence. Each lord enforced his own law, could wage war and was exempt from royal taxation. Due to the variety of competing centres of power, the marches became notorious for disorder and harbouring criminals. The march was also a zone of intense ethnic interaction. Inter-marriage was common and many marcher lords and their tenants began to adopt Welsh culture. The perceived hybridity and disorder of the march led to its isolation; it came to be seen as neither Welsh nor English, but a distinctive and problematic borderland[6].

The actual border between the march and the English shires to the east was in a constant state of flux. Expansive marcher lords absorbed areas of English land into their lordships at times of royal weakness. These lands could then be lost again when the monarchy had regained its strength[7]. The inhabitants of some English areas, such as Archenfield in 1334, chose to join the neighbouring marcher lordship to avoid royal taxation. The process could also work the other way: parts of the Welsh county of Radnor, for example, were deemed to be part of Herefordshire during part of the 13th century[8]. There was, therefore, no real border between Wales and England in the medieval period. The March was an ill-defined and contested frontier zone.

The march survived the royal conquest of the Principality in 1282, but by the 15th century it was an anachronistic relic of the past. The marcher lords remained, as did the administrative problems that their existence entailed. By this time, however, the majority of the lordships were in the hands of the crown or royal appointees. By the late 15th century, therefore, the monarchy was able to extend its control over the march. In July 1471 Edward IV granted his infant son the Principality of Wales, the duchy of Cornwall and the county palatinate of Chester. To help administer the Prince's lands the "Council in the Marches of Wales" was established at Ludlow, in Shropshire[9]. Soon afterwards the Council was granted the powers to deal with legal and military matters in the Principality, march and the English border shires[10]. At the end of the 15th century, therefore, although their military purpose had long since lapsed and their remaining independence was being eroded by the newly established Council, the marcher lordships remained as the borderland between England and the Welsh Principality.
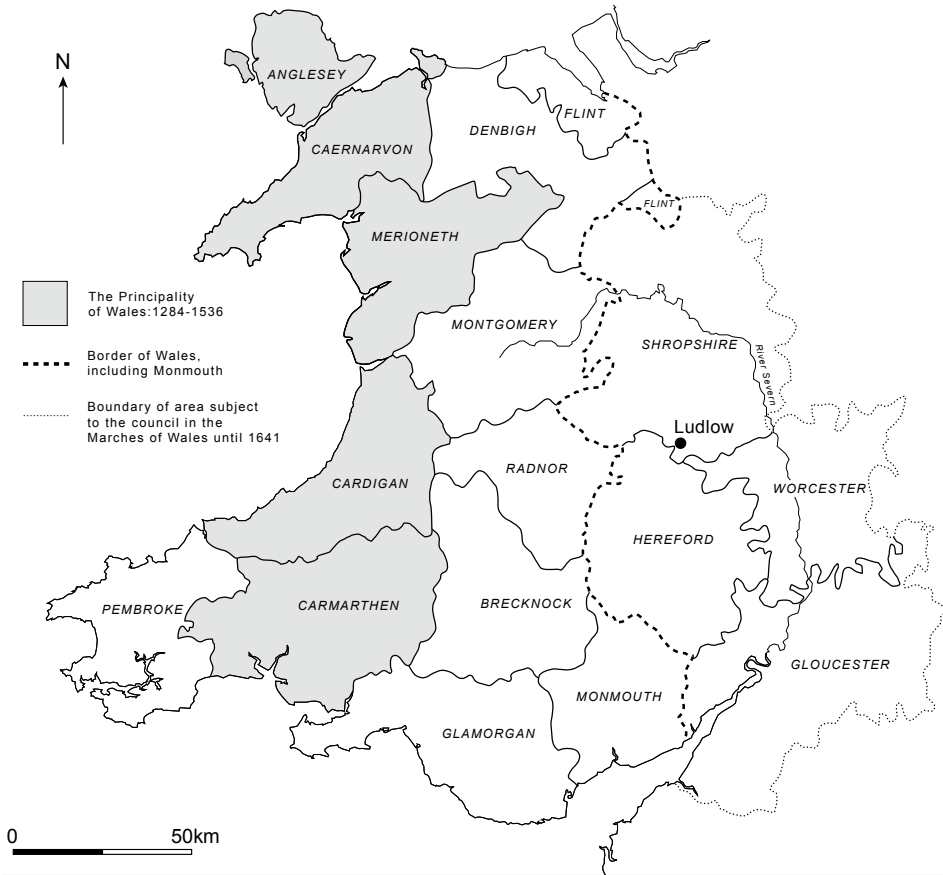
Map 4
The English and Welsh counties subject to the Council in the Marches of Wales after 1536. The counties formed largely from the medieval Principality highlighted.

The Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, from 1169 to around 1250, was piecemeal and incomplete. Though Englishmen established centres of power and extensive territories in every province in Ireland, most notably in the eastern part of the island, the Gaelic elite was not destroyed. In the east Gaelic lords tended to be reduced to local significance, and established themselves in upland areas, such as the Wicklow mountains, or the bogs of the midlands; a similar pattern is visible in Munster, the southern province. In the west many Gaelic clans remained powerful and coexisted alongside the new arrivals, while in the north, large swathes of territory in central and western Ulster did not experience invasion. Therefore, despite Anglo-Norman military superiority and confidence – both underlined by the construction of imposing stone castles and walled towns – the Gaelic aristocracy remained in the midst of the new elite. More-

Case Studies

over, because the English invasion and consolidation had been personal rather than state-driven, the new lordships were more like self-contained enterprises than elements within a cohesive and centralised state. Late medieval Ireland was politically divided, and there were also important local and regional variations[11].

Settlement patterns also encouraged the emergence of frontiers. In English areas the aftermath of military conquest saw a large-scale colonisation movement, as lands became subinfeudated and boroughs and manors created. These English communities were mostly concentrated in eastern lowland areas, close to the administrative centre in Dublin, navigable rivers and the sea. Thus frontiers were becoming established between English colonial society in the eastern lowlands and Gaelic society in the upland or boggy zones. This development bears the hallmarks of a classic European frontier society, with towns and manors encircled by castles representing the limits of the 'Norman' advance. Concurrently, frontiers *within* English Ireland were becoming visible, with a vibrant English presence in the east, and a far less developed colonial presence in the west[12]. Post-conquest political arrangements also reinforced frontiers in Ireland. There were strict legal and constitutional divisions between Gaelic and English Ireland. The Gaelic population of Ireland, including the landed elite, had little or no status under English law. There was a constitutional and legal border in Ireland, with English law for Englishmen and native Brehon law operating in the Gaelic world. From an official perspective, therefore, there was no separate march in Ireland, where the strictures of English common law gave way to a 'compromise' legal system[13].

Nonetheless, Robin Frame's contention that "from beginning to end the Irish lordship was a land of marches" is true. Every English shire was adjacent to or included Gaelic elements; English and Gaelic lordships coexisted in an intensely regional and fragmented political world where central authority was weak[14]. As central authority and royal interest in Ireland declined further in the 14th and 15th centuries, the march became more visible and more important in the official life of the lordship. The most important march in late medieval Ireland was that separating what was termed the "maghery", or 'land of peace' – meaning the settled area surrounding the capital, Dublin – from the Gaelic lordships to the north, south, and west. This frontier was located within the four eastern shires of Kildare, Dublin, Louth and Meath – a region designated the "four obedient shires" in contrast to the Gaelic and English lordships in outlying areas which operated beyond firm government control. In 1429 Henry VI's government offered subsidies to Englishmen who constructed rudimentary castles – tower houses – in the marches of the four shires, and the rest of the 15th century witnessed an intensification of efforts by English colonists to protect the 'land of peace' by erecting castles, digging ditches and organising local and regional armed forces[15]. By the early Tudor era, therefore, an outsider to Ireland like the government official, Sir Edward Poynings, could recognise in Ireland a frontier in operation not dissimilar to the circle of fortifications surrounding the English Pale in Calais. It is surely not coincidental therefore, that the first reference

to the existence in Ireland of an 'English Pale' was contemporary with Poynings' period as lord deputy of Ireland in the mid-1490s[16]. In early Tudor Ireland, the marches of the English Pale constituted a very relevant military and political frontier.

ENDURANCE AND TRANSFORMATION: DEFINING THE EARLY MODERN MARCH

In many histories of Wales the story of the march ends with the 'Acts of Union' of 1536 and 1543. Under these acts the marcher lordships were merged into counties and disappeared from the map of Wales. It would be wrong, however, to assume that Tudor reformers abolished the march. The counties that had previously been part of the marches retained certain characteristics that set them apart from other parts of Wales and played a significant role in their politics and society. Also, the reforms did not remove the idea of the 'march': the Welsh marches came to be redefined. Government officials, in Ludlow and London, began to use the term "marches" not to mean the old marcher lordships, but the English counties along the Welsh border.

Although by 1536 much of the march was in the hands of the crown, several marcher lords continued to hold land and influence in the region. Marcher dynasties, such as the Somersets of Raglan, were severely weakened by the union and lost their remaining independence, but they survived the reforms with their land and some of their powers. The 1543 act allowed them to continue to hold courts baron and leet, maintain their ancient rents and allowed them rights of waifs and strays, wreck de mare, wharfage, and treasure trove as if granted by royal charter[17]. The Tudor government seems to have continued to perceive the ex-marcher shires as different. For example, when the earl of Leicester was granted Denbigh in 1564 he was allowed to insert military service clauses on his leases like a latter day marcher lord[18]. The continued strength of the landowners in the old march had a significant impact on the politics and society of the area. Catholic lords, such as the earls of Worcester, could use their power to protect recusants (those Catholics who disobeyed the legal requirement to attend Church of England services) throughout the marches. Recusancy, therefore, remained common in the old march counties and the English border shires[19]. The lords of the old march were also not averse to using their powers to raise armies from their lands. The earl of Leicester and the earl of Essex levied from amongst their own Welsh tenants for their campaigns in the Netherlands and Ireland respectively[20]. It has been estimated that, during the late 16th century, eleven south Wales justices were liveried servants of the earl of Essex[21]. The military nature of the relationship between ex-marcher lords and their tenants culminated in the large Welsh contingent in the disastrous Essex rebellion of 1601[22]. The lords of the old marches, therefore, continued to exert an influence that contributed to the endurance of the march as a relevant political and social classification.

The march also remained a strikingly militarised region. The history of the march had left a visual legacy in the form of numerous castles that once formed the centre of the

lordships. The commonplace book of the Pembrokeshire antiquarian, George Owen of Henllys (1552-1613), lists ninety-four Welsh castles, forty-six of which were in Glamorgan alone, while Herefordshire held twenty-three, Shropshire twenty-two, Pembrokeshire and Monmouth nineteen each and Brecknock sixteen. The old Principality counties lacked these relics: Anglesey had one castle, Merioneth and Cardigan had two and Caernarvon had five[23]. Visual clues, therefore, continued to mark out the march to early modern travellers. There also seems to have been a sense that the castles were still useful, perhaps to quell any future Welsh uprisings or to protect England should Wales fall to foreign invaders. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, for example, wrote to the Committee for both Kingdoms in 1647 to request help rebuilding Powys Castle, which had been damaged during the civil war. Herbert argued that the castle was of utmost importance it "being frontier between England and Wales"[24]. Such views seem to indicate that the march continued to be seen as a defensive borderland well into the 17th century.

The early modern march thus retained significant elements of its pre-union character. Although progress towards uniformity had been made, the march remained an area of unusually powerful lords and a militarised landscape. However, the early 16th-century reforms also transformed the way in which the march was defined by contemporaries, which had a significant effect on how the Anglo-Welsh border was imagined. As Owen's list of castles indicates, some march characteristics extended well into the English border shires. It is to these counties that we shall now turn to demonstrate that increasingly during the 16th century they came to be seen as part of the march.

The history of the march in the early modern period is intrinsically linked to the history of the Council in the Marches of Wales. In its title and through its work the Council kept the idea of the march alive. It was also to transform contemporary understanding of the Welsh borderland and alter the meaning of the Welsh marches permanently. Jason A. Nice has demonstrated, drawing on the work of Peter Sahlins, that early modern territorial boundaries were less important than jurisdictional boundaries in helping contemporaries imagine borderlands. Political, legal, fiscal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, rather than territorial borders, governed and ordered the lives of both officials and the populace. Such jurisdictions created zones of interaction, and conflict over jurisdictional boundaries helped to create identity[25]. As part of the union legislation, under which it was given statutory recognition, the Council in the Marches was given wide ranging and vaguely defined powers that were periodically confirmed by royal instructions. It could hear all cases presented by those too poor to sue at common law, as well as cases of riot, perjury, incest, adultery and capital offences. The Council also had a strong influence on local government appointments and authority over county officials[26]. These powers could be exercised throughout Wales and the English border shires of Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, as well as Bristol and the county of Chester until their respective exemptions in 1562 and 1569.

Before the union the semi-independent lordships in Wales were evidently the march, they were a hybrid Anglo-Welsh zone, distinct from the Principality. The Union, however, absorbed these shires into Wales. After the Union it was the border shires that were the distinct zone, an area of England in a Welsh jurisdictional province. The status of the border counties was further complicated by the border that the union legislation drew between England and Wales. Large areas of the old marches, which contained significant Welsh communities, were assigned to the English border shires. Thus the connection between the border counties and the march was strengthened. The ambiguous situation of the border shires led to a long running legal battle that clearly demonstrates that, in the minds of the Tudor government, the definition of the 'march' had changed and now more accurately applied to the counties of the English border.

Towards the end of the 16th century the major landowners in the border counties began to complain of excessive Council interference in their affairs[27]. The border gentry's dislike of the Council's jurisdiction led to a campaign to exempt themselves from its control. The movement against the Council began well, with Bristol and Chester being released from its jurisdiction in the 1560s[28]. The success of the movement was, however, short lived. A 1574 attempt to exempt Worcestershire was rejected by the attorney general who believed that the county was historically part of the Council's jurisdiction[29]. From this time the campaigners changed their tactics and began to demand the exemption of all four of the remaining English shires. In February 1606 the Council's opponents tried, but failed to pass an act of exemption. Infuriated, they began to encourage officials in the English shires to ignore the Council's orders. In response, the Lord President of the Council, Ralph Eure, arranged for the case of the four shires to be tried before the king on 3 November 1608[30].

The case put forward by the opponents of the Council was multi-faceted. They complained of corruption, interference in local affairs, unnecessary legal cases, confusion of jurisdiction, cost and that the arbitrary nature of the court infringed their ancient rights as Englishmen[31]. Their main argument, however, focused on the wording of the Union statute: "There shall be, and remain a president and Council in the said dominion and Principality of Wales, and the marches of the same"[32]. The argument of the border gentry was that the English shires had never been either part of the Principality or marches and therefore could not be under the Council's jurisdiction. It is the response to their argument that is of most interest for this study, as it demonstrates that the supporters of the Council in the Marches, in defence of its jurisdiction, began to define the marches in a new way. In his speech to the court Sir Francis Bacon, the king's solicitor, argued that although the case was of great magnitude, "it is contracted into a smale roome, for it is but the true construction of a monasilable, the word marches"[33]. Bacon accepted that the anti-Council group was correct in claiming that the marcher lordships were the ancient marches of Wales but, he claimed, this did not negate the possibility that the statute could "signifie some other place". To Bacon the word 'march' was flexible and could be applied to the old lordships, the "marches inward", or the four shires, the

"marches outwarde". The Union, however, had changed the situation. The lordships had been absorbed into English and Welsh shires and thus, Bacon argued, "drowned in the names of Wales and England, and lost the nature of marches, and were also in reason to loose the name". So for Bacon when the statute ruled that the Council will be "in the sayde Principality and dominion of Wales and the marches of the same", this could only mean the border shires as the old lordships had been absorbed into the Principality[34]. To Bacon, and the central government he represented, the march had moved. Wales had absorbed the old marcher lordships and the four shires were now the march.

Bacon's argument in the 1608 case demonstrates that, due to the need to defend the jurisdiction of the Council, the English government redefined the Anglo-Welsh march. Although the march endured it was also transformed to suit contemporary political circumstances. This is not to say the old definition of the march had disappeared, the anti-Council arguments show that the memory of the old march remained. It was now more appropriate, however, to define the four English shires as the march.

The principal march in Ireland – that separating the English Pale from the Gaelic lordships to the north, west and south – survived Tudor reform though, like its Welsh counterpart, it also underwent important alterations. Tudor reforms towards a unitary Irish state eroded the importance of the march as an administrative frontier. The late medieval march was a militarised frontier zone, which reflected the partition in Irish society between territory that was recognisably English in social and political character, and the Gaelic lordships, where different social and legal conditions prevailed (and had little or no direct contact with the English crown). By contrast, Tudor reforms from the 1540s set about extending the crown's authority throughout the island: in principle, therefore, the concept of a march separating English and Gaelic people was made redundant. As part of a set of reforms strikingly similar to contemporaneous events in Wales, the "Act for Kingly Title", enacted by the Irish parliament in summer 1541, declared Henry VIII and his successors kings of Ireland, thus absorbing the island's English and Gaelic elites into a single polity. Of course, such an alteration would have been purely cosmetic unless more tangible expressions of Tudor sovereignty in Gaelic Ireland were advanced. To achieve this, a policy known to historians as "surrender and regrant" was spearheaded by the lord deputy of the 1540s, Sir Anthony St Leger. Essentially, this process involved Gaelic chiefs receiving royal recognition of their territorial rights – often accompanied by English noble titles – in return for acceptance of English sovereignty and the adoption of English legal, religious and social norms. The idea that Gaelic chiefs could be "accepted as subjects, where before they were taken as Irish enemies", had revolutionary and far-reaching consequences for the march in Ireland[35].

In the decades following the 1541 Act, progress – albeit erratic – was made by administrators and their native clients towards replacing Gaelic (and 'degenerate English') political and social structures with English norms. A verse published around 1562 in praise of the earl of Sussex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, declared, somewhat prematurely:

So marched they forth in good array,
through out the land of perdition,
that many years were gone astray,
he brought them unto good perfection,
and made them subjects unto law,
that as before no good did know[36].

Although it was not to be until the end of the Nine Years War in 1603 that the military threat posed by the indigenous lords was finally crushed, the above quotation – allowing for hyperbole – nonetheless serves as a succinct statement of the Tudor achievement in Ireland. There was an expansion of the reach of English government and law which served to undermine the special position of the Pale as a bastion of English influence. Unlike the Welsh case, where the Council in the Marches continued to operate within a prescribed border (Wales and the four English counties) the government of Tudor Ireland broadened its focus, from an almost exclusive concern with the English Pale and its defence in the later 15th century, to a pan-provincial competence by the later 16th. After its establishment in 1571 the Court of Castle Chamber – the Irish council sitting as a court – concerned itself with the spread of civil society by addressing social disorder and violence in the countryside[37]. The erection of provincial presidencies (the Irish version of regional councils in England) also facilitated the propagation of English common law in Munster and Connaught. In districts bordering the Pale constables and seneschals were placed to oversee local conformity. There is some evidence to suggest that Gaelic people were enthusiastic litigants, not just in local and regional courts, but also in the Dublin-based central courts[38]. Assize courts were systematically introduced throughout the kingdom from 1605 (also the year in which a proclamation abolished Gaelic forms of land tenure)[39]. Also of major social and administrative significance was the shiring process, spanning roughly 1550 to 1610, whereby successive Gaelic districts were transformed into English-style counties. Numerous Gaelic areas abutting the Pale was shired in the later 16th century, including, in the midlands, King's County and Queen's County (1557) and, to the north, Longford in 1570, and Cavan in 1579. Under these reforms, lands formerly controlled by the O'Mores, O'Connors, O'Farrells and O'Reillys – self-contained units largely immune to English law – became amenable to anglicization: quarter sessions could now take place, sheriffs could collect the subsidy and freeholders elect Members of Parliament. Political representation was also transformed over the 16th century. The composition of the Irish parliament grew from a body which at the start of the 16th century was largely representative of the Pale and some of the major provincial towns, to a far larger and more diverse assembly by the 17th century (even Gaelic nobles attended occasionally). The anglicization of Gaelic Ireland rendered the concept of a march redundant: the Pale shires became just one component – albeit an important one – of a greater whole.

Case Studies

In practical terms, however, the transformation of Irish society implicit in the reforms of the 1540s was not easily achieved[40]. The surrender and regrant policy was never comprehensive and in many cases the compacts between the crown and Gaelic lords fell into abeyance after a generation because of difficulties in reconciling differences between English and Gaelic legal and social norms. Moreover, the surrender and regrant agreements, by stipulating that lords be allowed to retain private armies, acknowledged the potential for political settlements to descend into anarchy as well as reinforcing the central dynamic of Gaelic society: warfare[41]. The notion of the crown seeking an accommodation with the Gaelic aristocracy never died completely (the bestowal of peerages was still used as a way of promoting uniformity long into Elizabeth's reign). But it was clear to administrators that, in the Irish case, there was a considerable gap between theory and practice. Declaring a former Gaelic lordship a county did not mean an end to violence and instability: it has been argued that it was not until the second decade of the 17th century that the county system became stabilized and primogeniture established as normal practice[42]. Instead, Tudor government adopted a range of more or less coercive approaches to supplement their persuasive attempts at introducing uniformity. The lord deputy and the garrison on occasion could prove ruthless in their treatment of Gaelic lords who were seen as disruptive to stability[43]. The plethora of Tudor officials placed in Gaelic areas – though ostensibly established to protect the common law – often had far more pronounced military dimensions than civil. English colonization attempts were also made in Gaelic areas, notably the midlands and Ulster in the 1550s and 1570s and Munster after 1583. The problem in many cases was that, due to a lack of consistent funding and political backing, these schemes foundered, and became foci for violent conflict between native and newcomer[44]. All in all, the variety of Tudor reform strategies failed to deliver a rapid solution, and instead territory beyond the English Pale remained deeply unsettled. As a result, the Pale marches remained an important borderland. Politically, those within its boundaries were loyal to the crown; socially and economically, it was well ordered and relatively prosperous. It was little wonder then, that when diagnosing the Irish problem in the late 1570s, the administrator Sir William Gerrard, argued that the government should abandon much of its costly and grandiose schemes, for the more modest target of "by little and little to stretch the Pale further"[45]. Reflecting the crisis in order and security beyond the Pale shires, proclamations forbade the export of grain from the Pale into Gaelic lordships[46]. The Pale march as a frontier was still very real to those who lived in and around it. In 1561 the baron of Slane (whose estates were situated on the northern border of County Meath) declared to the lord lieutenant that his lands "dothe march upon the very borders of the Irish pale, and stand always in great danger"[47]. When the rebel Hugh Earl of Tyrone was encamped with a formidable army on the borders of Co. Westmeath, it must have seemed to the local marcher

lords that Tudor reform had done little to alter their roles as defenders of the English state in Ireland.

In common with Wales, the march in Ireland remained under the influence of marcher lords, whose patterns of behaviour set them apart from the landed elites of lowland England. The prime magnate – after a hiatus – was the earl of Kildare. Following his restoration in the 1550s, the eleventh earl succeeded in reviving much of the military and political might of his predecessors. He cemented wide-ranging political alliances, and quartered an imposing private army on his dependents – many of whom were Gaelic chiefs. The earl's profile as an effective border magnate was central to his political success, and he preserved jealously his role as a prime regulator of Anglo-Gaelic relations from an increasingly interventionist state. Perpetuating the frontier was critical to men of Kildare's status, and this helps explain why he was covertly involved in sabotaging several of the government's attempts to resolve the threat of hostile Gaelic elements beyond the march[48]. Traditionally, the earl of Kildare had shared the burden of Pale defence with the host of fellow descendents of Norman settlers, most notably the Eustaces of Kildare, the Nugents of Westmeath and the Plunkets of Meath and Louth – men who held strategic frontier castles and retained their own troops[49]. These families remained important march defenders throughout the 16th century. Compared to the earl of Kildare, however, they were small fry, and may have been content to see the advent of more settled conditions. In common with Kildare, the marchers were suspect politically and religiously in the eyes of the government: undoubtedly, a great many were recusant from the 1570s, but instances of treason or rebellious activity from this group were extremely rare. Critics of the traditional marcher aristocracy pointed to their militaristic disposition and bastard feudal characteristics, as well as their contacts with Gaelic culture, as evidence of 'degeneracy' from English standards; but ironically, many of the English-born men who came to occupy lands beyond the march either as individual adventurers or as part of coordinated colonization efforts, adopted similar practices to those long-established marchers[50]. The so-called 'New English' began to establish themselves in Ireland after the 1534-35 Kildare rebellion, when lands and offices became available on a permanent basis. Although some families – like the Colleys in the west Kildare marches – quickly became established in border areas, it was not until the later 1540s and 1550s that English-born men became a significant feature of march society. Newcomers frequently conducted themselves in a fashion typical of a marcher lord or gentleman, including using Gaelic law, retaining private armies, and intermarrying with Gaelic families. The net result was that the introduction of new English settlers around and beyond the medieval march did not signal an end to march conditions by importing 'civility'. Rather, typical march conditions merely expanded in line with growing English settlement. Such a pattern would continue well into the 17th century, when evidence of long-awaited order and stability are reflected in the appearance of undefended houses in former frontier areas[51].

Case Studies

Hybridity and history: Imagining the early modern march

In the first section of this chapter it was demonstrated that, during the early modern period, the Welsh march maintained elements of its independent and militarised character but, at the same time, the meaning of the term 'march' was transformed. This study will now move on to address the way in which the Anglo-Welsh borderland was perceived in the early modern period. It will be argued that contemporaries continued to see the march as an area of severe disorder and dangerous hybridity. Their geographical understanding of the march, however, was influenced by the definitional changes supported by the Council in the Marches and the central government. Thus, the border shires, not just the old marcher lordships, faced criticisms of disorder and hybridity.

The development of a common perception that the four shires had become part of the march has been explored most fully in the work of Jason A. Nice. Nice argues that the Council in the Marches actively encouraged and sponsored literature that supported its jurisdictions. In particular he focuses on works of ecclesiastical history that presented a Welsh 'sacred space' that extended into the English shires. In 1615 Francis Goodwin, the Bishop of Llandaff and a Council member, re-published his 1605 work, *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*. In this work he argued that the jurisdiction of the ancient Welsh cathedral of St David's had once included Bath, Hereford and Worcester, the cathedrals of the English border shires. Similarly Dr David Powell's 1585 version of *The Description of Wales* by Gerald of Wales, which was funded by Lord President Sir Henry Sidney, was adapted to have a St David's origin myth that included the four shires[52]. Through texts such as these, the Council was creating a literary propaganda for its own jurisdiction that in turn encouraged the perception of the four border shires as a frontier zone, part-Welsh and part-English.

Early modern Welsh writers and historians seem to have developed a very 'inclusive' perception of the Welsh borderland[53]. They rarely drew distinctions between the old march shires and the old Principality; Wales had absorbed its march. In fact, by the end of the 16th century, many Welshmen could no longer remember which Welsh counties were once marcher lordships[54]. Rather, Welsh writers were far more likely to make direct or indirect claims to land on the English side of the border. Specifically there was a sense that the river Severn, which begins in Wales and runs through Shropshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, was the natural border of Wales[55]. Such views were drawn from the 12th-century author, Geoffrey of Monmouth. Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which charted the largely mythical history of ancient Britain, told how the British founder figure, Brutus, split his Kingdom between his three sons creating Loegria, Albania and Cambria. Cambria, Wales, was divided from Loegria, England, by the Severn[56]. Geoffrey's history allowed Welsh writers to dispute the border drawn by the Union, which used the river Wye, rather than the Severn. The 16th-century Welsh writer, Humphrey Lhuyd, wrote that although the river Wye was said to mark the border, "this can be no fraud to us". He insisted that the Severn

was the only possible Welsh border and that all inhabitants west of the Severn were considered Welshmen[57]. Other writers made indirect claims to English land that suggest a well established belief in an 'inclusive' Welsh border. The many lists that form part of George Owen's commonplace book, such as "the names of all the Castles in Wales, and the Marches until the river Severn", treat the Severn as the boundary between the Welsh marches and England[58]. Owen, without any polemical intent, thus made an indirect Welsh claim to much of the four shires. Perhaps the most striking statement supporting the Welshness of the border shires was made by an Englishman, Thomas Churchyard. His *The Worthiness of Wales*, published in 1587, presents a journey through Wales in verse. Part of his text, however, concentrates on his native Shropshire and attempts to prove it "Wales in deed, or else at least, the marches of the same"[59]. Churchyard argues that Shropshire was once part of Wales and muses that the people are so similar that "perhaps some seed, of that same soil is here"[60]. The writings of men such as Lhuyd, Owen and Churchyard demonstrate that the perception that the English border shires were now the march had spread well beyond the Council and the courts. The political realities of the union had transformed the way in which the march was perceived by both English and Welsh.

Despite these changes, the social and cultural criticisms made against the early modern Welsh march remained very similar to those applied to the medieval march. Like its medieval counterpart, the early modern march was perceived to be a region of intense disorder and instability. The border gentleman Thomas Croft wrote to Henry VIII's minister, Thomas Cromwell, in 1533 that "there is no worse rule kept within England and Wales" than in the marches and that 100 men had been murdered there since 1525[61]. Early 16th-century evidence supports Croft's accusations about the pre-union march. A 1533-34 survey indicated that the march suffered from corrupt juries, livery (the practice of a lord giving his dependents uniforms often to act as a personal army), high levels of cattle theft and other crimes[62]. These problems extended far into the English border shires. Rowland Lee, Lord President between 1534 and 1543, complained that he could not empanel an honest jury in the whole of Gloucestershire and that the feud between the Mainwaring and Cholmondeley families in Cheshire caused more murders than were committed in Wales[63]. The union, by tightening royal control over the marches was supposed to stop this sort of disorder. Penry Williams has argued, however, that "it would be most unwise to draw too sharp a contrast between the Wales of the first half of the [16th] century and the Wales of the Elizabethan era"[64]. William Gerrard, the vice-president of the Council in the Marches under Sir Henry Sidney, complained that disorder and particularly cattle theft were still endemic in the Welsh borders "not withstanding they be civilly governed"[65]. Violence also continued at a high level, in 1581, for example, the retainers of the Herbert family were involved in serious riots in Abergavenny, while in Herefordshire the Crofts of Croft Castle and the Coningsbys of Hampton Court were involved in a violent feud[66]. The march, therefore, maintained its reputation for instability and disorder that marked it out as a dangerous frontier zone.

The medieval march had also been characterised as a region of dangerous hybridity and cultural degeneration. The medieval author and march inhabitant, Gerald of Wales, felt that he was neither English nor Welsh and that "both peoples regard me as a stranger"[67]. The image of the medieval march as a source of degeneracy continued into the early modern period. This is most clearly demonstrated by the marcher lord Mortimer's degeneration and emasculation at the hands of Glyndŵr's daughter in Shakespeare's *Henry IV part I*[68]. Worries about degeneracy and hybridity remained strong in the early modern period. These concerns, however, no longer applied to the old march counties of Wales; instead it was the English border shires that came to be seen as the region of dangerous interaction and degeneration.

The culture of the old marcher lordships had, by the 16th century, become thoroughly Welsh. The descendents of the English marcher lords embraced Welsh culture and language and saw themselves as Welsh gentlemen. Even the powerful earls of Essex, an English family who had inherited considerable march land, had absorbed some elements of Welsh culture. Walter, earl of Essex (1541-1576), was fond of ending his letters with the Welsh proverb '*Loira dial, dial dew*' (The most complete vengeance is the vengeance of God). The letters of his son, Robert, also demonstrate a sense of Welshness, for example in a letter of 1579 he referred to a Welsh ally as "my countryman"[69]. Neither Welsh nor English writers differentiated between men of the old march and men of the Principality, they had all become Welsh. The border shires, on the other hand, were criticised by both sides for their hybrid characteristics. Gruffydd Roberts, for example, criticised Welsh speakers in the border shires saying, "their Welsh will be of an English cut, and their English (God knows) too much after the Welsh fashion"[70]. For the English the problem of the four shires also had a linguistic element. According to one early 17th-century commentator "in many of them [the English border shires] the Welsh tongue, even to this day, is as frequent and usual as in other shires in Wales"[71]. English administrators complained that some people in the borders could undermine their authority by cursing or criticising them in Welsh[72]. The linguistic hybridity of the border population thus made them problematic for the English local government. One of the clearest representations of the four English border shires as a zone of cultural hybridity is John Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634*, now known as *Comus*. As the title suggests, the masque was first performed before the Lord President of the Council in the Marches, Lord Bridgewater, at the Council's headquarters, Ludlow in Shropshire. In *Comus* a Lady travelling to Ludlow is captured by the sorcerer Comus who attempts to rape her before she is saved by Sabrina, the spirit of the river Severn. Comus is presented as a civilised savage and agent of sexual licentiousness. He is also a source of hybridity as he uses his magic to transform local villagers into beast-headed monsters. Milton, therefore, presents the march as a region of degeneracy and sexual danger. In his 1997 article, Philip Schwyzer draws attention to Milton's use of Sabrina to save the Lady. He argues that Milton was contrasting the dangerous frontier of Comus's march against the

clean and chaste border of the Severn. Milton thus encourages the English to embrace the Severn as a clear boundary between Wales and England. The masque, however, ends with Comus fleeing rather than being defeated. Milton reminds the Earl of Bridgewater that he still governs a march with all the problems of hybridity that it brought[73].

The history of the Anglo-Welsh march in the early modern period is, therefore, one of survival but also transformation. Political realities and the expansive nature of early modern Welsh identity combined to move the march in the collective imagination. While the old march counties began their assimilation into Wales, the English border shires increasingly came to be perceived as the jurisdictional and ethnic frontier between the two peoples. The influence of the Council in the Marches and emerging Welsh claims to their land emphasised the Welsh characteristics of the border counties. This in turn concentrated minds on the ethnic hybridity of the borderland, encouraged by the use of the Welsh language in the counties. The idea of the march endured, as did the popular perception of political instability and ethnic hybridity in the region. Contemporaries, however, no longer simply imagined the march as the old marcher lordships. The early modern march was perceived as a large frontier zone that started in Wales but expanded well into the counties of England.

Perceptions of the march in Ireland also altered during the 16th century. Before the 1530s and the Kildare revolt, the march-maghery divide was still of immense significance. The gentry of the maghery were proud of inhabiting a region with a pronounced English character, and denigrated their compatriots in the marches for their links with Gaelic clansmen, their practising of Gaelic customs, and for taking on Gaelic tenants. The Drogheda-based Edmund Golding wrote a plea to the earl of Ormond in around 1509, which climaxed with the prediction that, unless these trends in marches abated, the maghery itself would lose its English identity and become subsumed into the Gaelic world: "I, my lord am an Englishman. I pray you to defend me . . . or then shall come a galloglass [i.e. a Gaelic mercenary] in my stead"[74]. Later commentators, like Sir William Darcy, Thomas Luttrell and David Sutton, presented detailed critiques of the behaviour of English marcher lords, and contrasted disreputable marchers with reliable maghery-based gentlemen[75]. Luttrell, one of the lordship's chief judicial officers, contrasted how local landowners in his home barony defended their localities by way of local musters using bows and arrows, with defensive arrangements in the marches, where 'Gaelic sodiers wewe maintained at the expense of the lords' tenants and dependets' were practiced along with other aristocratic excesses[76]. Popular frustration at the use of coign and livery (a Gaelic system of billeting troops) by marcher lords within the maghery led in 1524 to the government exacting bonds from over forty landowners to uphold the law regarding coign and livery, and not to impose it in the maghery without the consent of the locals[77].

But the march-maghery border declined in importance as the 16th century wore on. References to the division between the march and maghery are less common in the sources relating to second half of the 16th century. As the Dublin administration became concerned

with the extension of English rule throughout Gaelic Ireland, the frontier between English marchers and Gaelic chiefs became of paramount importance. The Anglo-Gaelic frontier – always unsettled – became even more contested and violent in the second half of the 16th century. References abound in the English state papers from the second half of the 16th century to disorder and war in "the borders"[78]. Colonisation efforts in the midlands and in parts of Ulster, the introduction of English legal officials with powers of martial law into Gaelic lordships, and conflict between the Dublin-based government and Gaelic chiefs (especially the O'Neills of central Ulster), all contributed to negating the constitutional implications of the Act for Kingly Title and perpetuating the march as a zone of violent conflict[79]. "The borders" were often ill-defined by officialdom, and in many cases came to refer to areas where violent conflict was liable to take place – in other words, most of Ireland beyond the environs of the principal towns and the most remote and inaccessible of Gaelic territory. Therefore, the quote by the earl of Thomond, which opens this chapter, is slightly misleading. In Wales, though definitions of where the march lay may have been contested, men were still agreed on what the border was supposed to separate: England and Wales. But Thomond's characterisation of his surroundings in the south-west of the island as "the borders of Ireland" is reflective of the militarisation of Irish society in the wake of controversial attempts by the state at enforcing centralisation and uniformity. It is testament to the endurance of borders in the early modern mind that an Irish noble could imagine himself to have so much in common with a Welsh gentleman.

Concurrently, the exaction of "cess" – a form of taxation – from the Pale landowners for the maintenance of the English garrison also helped to erode distinctions between the march and maghery[80]. Whereas legislation such as the 1488 Act of Marches and Maghery and the recognisances of 1524 had affirmed the divisions between the frontier zone and the inner "land of peace", cess was imposed in both areas[81]. When the cess began to be seen by Pale landowners as an intolerable burden they banded together in protest. Marchers combined with maghery dwellers to direct petitions to the Tudor court. Even marcher aristocrats like the earl of Kildare and Viscount Baltinglass, who had been castigated by commentators in the 1530s for embracing Gaelic customs, found themselves inspiring resistance to the cess in the 1560s and 1570s[82]. By the 1569 parliament, the maghery-based baron of Howth had even come to defend coign and livery. This was a *volte face* from the former perception common to dwellers of the "land of peace", which held that such Gaelic-style customs were intolerable in English districts[83]. In other settings, the Pale community deliberately maintained a traditional view of the Pale marches as a zone of conflict between 'civil' Englishmen and 'wild Irishmen'. The Dublin-born writer Richard Stanihurst composed a lament on the death of the marcher lord, the baron of Louth, who was killed by members of the MacMahon clan in 1575:

The nobles may not but a death so bloody remember,

The Plunketts will not from mind such butchery banish,
Thy Lady, thy kindred do miss thy friendship approved;
The city mourneth the lack of a counsellor wholesome,
And the country mourneth the want of a zealous upholder[84].

However, Tudor government in Elizabethan Ireland would not have associated Lord Louth's ilk in the marches with "wholesome counsel" and the "zealous upholding" of Englishness. 'Palesmen' – as they are often referred to by historians – were characterised as untrustworthy and 'un-English' by government officials during the Elizabethan period. Irish politics became deeply sectional, especially from the 1560s, as men of English birth began to supplant Irish-born Englishmen in the administration. The so-called New English were generally supportive of the cess tax, and so what was an economic issue acquired a sectional dimension, pitting Irish-born against English-born subjects. Contemporaries were aware of the emerging fissure in English identities. Natives of the Pale appealed that they be treated as ordinary Englishmen; but the New English developed arguments to defame the natives' English credentials. For instance, the members of the 1569 parliament who attempted to obstruct the lord deputy's programme were compared to "the unthankful Israelites against Moses, the unkind Romans against Camillus, Scipio and others, and the ungrateful Athenians against Socrates"[85]. The failure of Protestantism to flourish in the English Pale contributed greatly to the differences between Palesmen and newcomers, and hardened attitudes of the New English towards the established community. It became the view among the New English that men of English birth made better marchers. In 1575 Lord Deputy Sidney praised Nicholas Bagenal, one of the most important 'new marchers' thus:

> I found such good policy in the country where the marshal dwelleth, his lands so well manured, his tenants so well cherished and maintained, the town so well planted with inhabitants and increasing in beauty and building as he is much to be commended as well as he useth his tenants to live so wealthily under him, and his own bounty, and large hospitality and housekeeping, so able and willing to give entertainment to so many and chiefly to all those who have occasion to travel to and fro northwards, his house lying in the open highway to their passage[86].

In this way, English-born men in Ireland affirmed their superior credentials as trustworthy agents of the reform of Gaelic society. By the 1590s, on the other hand, it was possible for the English-born poet Edmund Spenser to aver that the 'English Irish' (as the established English community were commonly designated by the late Elizabethan period) "are much more stubborn and disobedient to law and government than the Irish be, and more malicious against the English that are daily sent over"[87]. Irish-born Englishmen were found guilty by Elizabethans of failing in their hereditary duties to uphold English social norms in Ireland. The attitude had become engrained in the New English that only they could be trusted with the task of bringing 'civility' to the Gaelic lordships beyond the border, and therefore the so-called 'Old English' found them-

selves displaced, as newcomers assumed more and more available border territory and responsibility for the administration of the Anglo-Gaelic frontier. By the end of the 16th century frontiers were still an important factor in Irish politics and society. Not only were the Gaelic clans still in existence (though with little or no independence), but English society was divided between Catholic Old English and Protestant New English – divisions which would make the task of bringing about uniformity and centralisation throughout the island all the more difficult.

Comparable borderlands?

As this study demonstrates, had the Earl of Thomond arranged his desired meeting with Sir Edward Stradling the two borderers would have found their respective frontiers to be quite different. The early modern Welsh march was a relatively peaceful land frontier between England and the long-conquered lands of Wales. In contrast the Irish march remained a true military frontier until at least 1603 and divided Gaelic Ireland not from England but the heartland of English settlement around Dublin. At the beginning of the 16th century, therefore, both borderlands may have been termed marches, but only the Irish borderland continued to serve the defensive purpose of a march. Despite these stark differences, it is possible to discern points of comparison between the two Celtic frontiers that have been the focus of this chapter.

In 1536 and 1541 respectively both the Welsh and Irish marches were declared by the English government to be obsolete. The regions that the marches had been established to defend against, the subdued Welsh Principality and independent Gaelic Ireland, were theoretically absorbed into the English state and, therefore, the marches should have ceased to exist. However, both marches continued to be relevant political, cultural and social regions within the expanded English state, and retained many of the characteristics of frontiers. In both cases marcher lords continued to exercise unusually great power and held unique privileges that set them apart from their peers outside the march long after the early 16th-century reforms. Marcher lords also continued to perform a defensive military function, theoretical in Wales and actual in Ireland, similar to that of their medieval ancestors. Both these march regions also continued to be perceived as areas of degeneracy, hybridity and disorder despite their loss of political frontier status. They remained ethnic frontiers even if their political function had been lessened by the Tudor reforms. The identification of the Anglo-Welsh and Anglo-Gaelic frontiers as marches by contemporaries also continued well into the 16th, and in the case of Wales the 17th century. In both examples, therefore, the march persisted long after it had been declared obsolete by the English state.

The marches did not, however, simply linger on during the 16th century and slowly fade away. The Welsh and Irish marches were transformed by the political and social changes of the 16th century and new forms of frontier emerged. Both case-studies

highlight the slow absorption of the old marches into other political units, while new marches emerged that demonstrated both differences and continuities with what had gone before. In Wales, peaceful conditions combined with the inclusive perception of the Welsh border, encouraged by the Council in the Marches and Welsh writers, allowed the integration of the old marcher lordships into the newly created Welsh counties. This process was accompanied by the emergence of what can be seen as, and was defined by contemporaries as, a new march in the four English shires bordering Wales. These four counties, joined to Wales by the jurisdiction of the Council, did not have the military and political characteristics of the medieval Welsh march, but they took on its role as a zone of interaction between two ethnic groups characterised by hybridity and disorder. A new march had emerged that suited the new reality, a border that no longer represented a political divide but remained an indicator of distinct cultural, social and ethnic difference. In Ireland the circumstances of the 16th century were quite different. The slide towards war between the state and the Gaelic elite hardened the border between the march and the Gaelic world but weakened that between the march and the Pale maghery. A standing army was stationed in both the marches and the maghery, and protests by Palesmen at this led to increasing friction with the English government in the later 16th century. As the Palesmen came to be seen by the government as untrustworthy, a new set of marchers – of English birth – became established along the expanding Anglo-Gaelic frontier. In Ireland, therefore, a new frontier arrangement had emerged, complicated by the alterations in definitions of 'Englishness' and 'civility' which took place in the wake of the Protestant Reformation.

As well as demonstrating that the histories of these two marches did not end with their supposed abolition at the beginning of the 16th century, we also hope that this chapter has demonstrated the usefulness of comparative study between Wales and Ireland in this period. Although many of the circumstances are different, both territories were facing absorption by the expansive Tudor state. Comparing their reactions to English reform can help us to draw new conclusions about both Ireland and Wales. We hope that this comparison of two enduring borderlands will encourage further early modern comparative studies that will enrich the historiography of both nations.

Notes

[1] Rev. J.M. Traherne (ed.), *Stradling Correspondence: a series of letters written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London 1840, pp. 337-338. For Thomond, see C. Maginn, *Conor O'Brien, third earl of Thomond (c.1535-1581)*, in H.C.G. Matthew, B. Harrison (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford - New York 2004, xli, pp. 356-8.

[2] P. Schwyzer, *British history and "The British History": the same old story?*, in D.J. Baker, W. Maley (eds.), *British identities and English renaissance literature*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 21-23; see also C. Brady, *Comparable histories?: Tudor reform in Wales and Ireland*, in S.G. Ellis, S. Barber (eds.), *Conquest and union: fashioning a British state, 1485-1725*, London - New York 1995, pp. 64-86; B. Bradshaw, *The Tudor reformation and revolution in Wales and Ireland: the origins of the British problem*, in Id., J. Morrill (eds.),

The British problem, c.1534-1707: state formation in the Atlantic Archipelago, London 1996, pp. 39-65; S.G. Ellis, *Frontiers and identities in the historiographies of the British Isles*, in Id., L. Klusáková (eds.), *Frontiers and identities: exploring the research field*, Pisa 2006, pp. 67-86.

3   R.R. Davies, *Conquest, coexistence, and change: Wales, 1063-1415*, Oxford 1987, pp. 27-28.

4   *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34; A.H. Dodd, *Borderers and highlanders*, in "History", 1956, 41, p. 54.

5   Davies, *Conquest* cit.*,* pp. 35-54.

6   *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103; Id., *Lordship and society in the March of Wales: 1282-1400*, Oxford 1978, pp. 3-9.

7   Id., *Conquest* cit.*,* p. 276.

8   Id., *Lordship* cit., p. 17.

9   P. Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I*, Cardiff 1958, p. 6.

10 J. Gwynfor Jones, *Early modern Wales, c.1525-1640*, Basingstoke 1994, p. 56.

11 R. Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369*, Dublin 1981, pp. 22-50.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 69-77; R. Bartlett, A. MacKay (eds.), *Medieval frontier societies*, Oxford 1989.

13 Whilst the Welsh march had arisen at a time when English common law was still developing, by the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, the common law had become a more important facet of Englishness, and there was consequently less tolerance of indigenous law in Ireland: Frame, *Ireland* cit., pp. 105-106.

14 Id., *Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272-1377*, in "Past and Present", 1976, 76, p. 7; see also C. Maginn, *English marcher lineages in south Dublin in the late middle ages,* in "Irish Historical Studies", 2004, 34, pp. 113-136.

15 H.G. Leask, *Irish castles and castellated houses*, Dundalk 1944, pp. 76-8; S.G. Ellis, *Reform and revival: English government in Ireland, 1470-1534*, Woodbridge 1986, p. 51; Id., *Ireland in the age of the Tudors: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule,* London 1998, p. 71.

16 Ellis, *Tudors* cit., pp. 74-75.

17 H. Owen, *The description of Pembrokeshire by George Owen of Henllys Lord of Kemes*, 4 vols., London 1892-1936, vol. 3, p. 180. These rights gave the marcher lords unusual power and financial opportunities. Courts baron and leet gave the lord legal jurisdiction over property matters and some crimes. The lord's right of waifs and strays allowed him to seize any property that was lost by a fleeing criminal and any tame animal found wandering without an owner. Wreck de Mare was the right to any goods that washed up on the shores of a lordship from a wrecked ship. Wharfage was the right to charge ship owners for the use of wharfs within the lordship. While Treasure trove gave the lords the rights over any valuable goods found buried on their land.

18 P. Roberts, *The English crown, the Principality of Wales and the Council in the Marches, 1534-1641*, in Bradshaw, Morrill (eds.), *British problem* cit., p. 132.

19 E.G. Jones, *Catholic recusancy in the counties of Denbigh, Flint and Montgomery, 1581-1625*, in "Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion", 1945, pp. 114-133; P. Williams, *The Welsh borderland under Queen Elizabeth*, in "Welsh History Review", 1960, 1, p. 29.

20 M. Grey, *Power, patronage and politics: office-holding and administration on the crown estates in Wales*, in R.W. Hoyle (ed.), *Estates of the English crown, 1558-1640*, Cambridge 1992, p. 147.

21 Williams, *Borderland* cit., p. 24.

22 D. Mathew, *The Celtic peoples and renaissance Europe: a study of the Celtic and Spanish influences on Elizabethan history*, London - New York 1933, pp. 337-456; A.H. Dodd, *North Wales in the Essex revolt of 1601*, in "English Historical Review", 1944, 59, pp. 348-370.

23 E.M. Pritchard, *The Taylors Cussion by George Owen, Lord of Kemys*, London 1906, p. 99.

[24] W.J. Smith (ed.), *Herbert Correspondence: the sixteenth and seventeenth century letters of the Herberts of Chirbury, Powis Castle and Dolguog, formerly at Powis Castle in Montgomeryshire*, Cardiff 1968, pp. 129-130.

[25] J.A. Nice, *Sacred history and the identity of Wales and Brittany, c.1550-1650*, in "Welsh History Review", 2005, 22, pp. 619-620.

[26] L. Bowen, *Dismantling prerogative government: The Council in the Marches and the Long Parliament*, in "English History Review", 2007, 122, pp. 1260-1261; Williams, *Council* cit., pp. 27, 47-111.

[27] Id., *Borderland* cit., p. 21.

[28] Historical Manuscripts Commission, 77th Report, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley preserved at Penshurst place*, 6 vols., London 1925-1966, vol. 1, pp. 344-345.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 352-354.

[30] R.E. Ham, *The four shire controversy*, in "Welsh History Review", 1977, 8, pp. 389-95.

[31] Historical Manuscripts Commission, 9th Report, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most honorable the marquis of Salisbury*, 24 vols., London 1883-1976, vol. 20, pp. 37-8; Anon. *Arguments proving the jurisdiction used by the president and counsell in the Marches of Wales, over the counties of Glouc. Worcester, Hereford, and Salop to be illegall, and injurious, and a meere incroachment, beyond their appointed limits*, London 1641.

[32] E. Coke, *The fourth part of the institutes of the laws of England, concerning the jurisdiction of Courts*, London 1644, p. 242.

[33] British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius C I, fols. 151-7.

[34] *Ibid.*, fols. 132-3v.

[35] B. Bradshaw, *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century*, Cambridge 1979, part III; C. Maginn, *'Civilizing' Gaelic Leinster: the extension of Tudor rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole lordships*, Dublin 2005, chapter 3; Ellis, *Tudors* cit., p. 152 (quotation).

[36] Anon., *A book to Queen Elizabeth against Sussex and other governors*, June 1562, in *The National Archives of the United Kingdom* (T.N.A.), State Papers (S.P.) 63/6/37.

[37] J.G. Crawford, *A Star Chamber court in Ireland: the court of Castle Chamber, 1571-1641*, Dublin 2005.

[38] R. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of east Ulster, 1600-1641*, Belfast 1985, p. 111; Id., *Negotiating order in early seventeenth century Ireland*, in M.J. Braddick, J. Walter (eds.), *Negotiating power in early modern society: order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge 2001; B. Cunningham, R. Gillespie, *Englishmen in sixteenth-century Irish Annals*, in "Irish Economic and Social History", 1990, 17, p. 14; M. O'Dowd, *Women and the Irish chancery court in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries*, in "Irish Historical Studies", 1999, 31, pp. 470-487.

[39] J. McCavitt, *"Good planets in their several spheares": the establishment of the assize circuits in early seventeenth century Ireland*, in "The Irish Jurist", 1989, 24, pp. 248-278.

[40] C. Brady, *Court, Castle and country: the framework of government in Tudor Ireland*, in Id., R. Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and newcomers: the making of Irish colonial society, 1541-1641*, Dublin 1986, pp. 22-49, esp. pp. 27-30.

[41] Maginn, *Leinster* cit., p. 79; K. Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structure of Gaelic Ireland in the later middle ages*, Woodbridge 1987.

[42] M. O'Dowd, *Gaelic economy and society*, in Brady, Gillespie (eds.), *Natives* cit., p. 141.

[43] See for instance the earl of Sussex's feud with Shane O'Neill: C. Brady, *Shane O'Neill*, Dundalk 1996.

[44] Id., *Court* cit.

[45] *Calendar of the Carew manuscripts preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth*, 6 vols., London 1867-1877, vol. 2, p. 70.

[46] *Acts of the Privy Council in Ireland, 1556-1571*, ed. J.T. Gilbert, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *15th report*, *appendix III*, London 1897, p. 44.

[47] T.N.A., S. P., 63/4/5.

[48] V.P. Carey, *Surviving the Tudors: the 'wizard' earl of Kildare and English rule in Ireland, 1537-1586*, Dublin 2002.

[49] For the lesser aristocracy of the Pale see G. Power, *The nobility of the English Pale in Tudor Ireland, 1496-1566*, unpublished PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway 2008.

[50] N.P. Canny, *The permissive frontier: the problem of social control in English settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650*, in K.R. Andrews *et al* (eds.), *The Westward enterprise: English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650*, Liverpool 1979, pp. 17-44.

[51] Leask, *Castles* cit., pp. 146-150.

[52] Nice, *Sacred history*, passim.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 615.

[54] Owen, *Pembrokeshire* cit., vol. 3, p. 173.

[55] P. Schwyzer, *Purity and Danger on the West Bank of the Severn: the cultural geography of A masque presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634*, in "Representations", 1997, 60, p. 24.

[56] P. Schwyzer, *A map of Greater Cambria*, in A. Gordon, B. Klein (eds.), *Literature, Mapping, and the politics of space in early modern Britain*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 35-44.

[57] Schwyzer, *Purity* cit., p. 32.

[58] Owen, *Taylor's cussion* cit., p. 99.

[59] T. Churchyard, *The worthiness of Wales*, London 1776, p. 94.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-92.

[61] *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols., London 1862-1932, vol. 6, p. 411.

[62] Jones, *Wales* cit., p. 54.

[63] Williams, *Borderland* cit., p. 21.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

[67] Davies, *Conquest* cit., p. 103.

[68] A.R. Humphreys (ed.), *The first part of King Henry IV by William Shakespeare*, London 1960, pp. 96-100.

[69] H.E. Malden, *Devereux papers with Richard Broughton's memoranda (1575-1601)*, in "Camden Miscellany 13", 3rd series, 1924, 34, pp. 3-4, 20-21.

[70] Schwyzer, *Purity* cit., p. 34.

[71] G.D. Owen, *Wales in the reign of James I*, Woodbridge 1988, p. 49.

[72] Schwyzer, *Purity* cit., p. 36.

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-48.

[74] *Calendar of Ormond deeds*, ed. E. Curtis, 6 vols., Dublin 1932-43, vol. 5, app. no. 76.

[75] Power, *Nobility* cit., pp. 24-26, 44-46.

[76] *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 11 vols., London 1830-52, vol. 2, pp. 502-510.

[77] Ellis, *Tudors* cit., p. 127.

[78] H.C. Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1509-73*, London 1860, passim; *Privy Council in Ireland* cit., passim.

[79] H. O'Sullivan, *The march of south east Ulster in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, in Id., R. Gillespie (eds.), *The borderlands: essays on the history of the Ulster-Leinster border*, Belfast 1989, pp. 55-74; R. Loeber, *The geography and practice of English colonisation in Ireland*, Athlone 1991; Maginn, *Leinster* cit., chapter 4.

[80] Cess was a tax in kind. Farmers and tenants were required to feed and lodge soldiers at prices deliberately 'assessed' below the market price.

[81] C. Brady, *The chief governors: the rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland, 1536-1588*, Cambridge 1994, chapter 6.

[82] Power, *Nobility* cit., pp. 125-126; Brady, *Governors* cit., pp. 235-236.

[83] V. McGowan-Doyle, *The Book of Howth, the Old English and the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland*, unpublished PhD thesis, University College Cork 2006, pp. 153-154.

[84] Quoted, A. Carpenter (ed.), *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland*, Cork 2003, pp. 68-69.

[85] Quoted, McGowan-Doyle, Howth cit., p. 149; see also G. Power, *Migration and Identity in Early Modern Ireland: the New English and the Pale Community* in S.G. Ellis, L. Klusáková (eds.), *Imagining frontiers, contesting identities*, Pisa 2007, pp. 243-262.

[86] Quoted, O'Sullivan, *Ulster* cit., p. 67.

[87] E. Spenser, *A view of the present state of Ireland*, ed. A. Hadfield, W. Maley, Oxford 1997, p. 175.

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