NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH BORDERLANDS 1552–1652

JENNA M. SCHULTZ

STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURAL,
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Volume 32

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH BORDERLANDS, 1552–1652

Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History

ISSN: 1476–9107

Series editors

Tim Harris – Brown University
Stephen Taylor – Durham University
Andy Wood – Durham University

Previously published titles in the series
are listed at the back of this volume

NATIONAL IDENTITY
AND THE
ANGLO-SCOTTISH BORDERLANDS,
1552–1652

Jenna M. Schultz

THE BOYDELL PRESS

© Jenna M. Schultz 2019

All Rights Reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation
no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system,
published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast,
transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission of the copyright owner

The right of Jenna M. Schultz to be identified as the author of this work has been
asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents
Act 1988

First published 2019

The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978–1–78327–397–3

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620–2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs for
external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee
that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

To my husband, Nick, for his constant encouragement, love and patience.

Contents

List of Illustrations viii
Acknowledgements ix
List of Abbreviations x
Conventions xi
Chronology xii

Introduction 1

1 Administration 21
2 Borderers 89
3 Border Towns and Fortifications 152
4 Moments of Crisis 210

Conclusion 276

Appendix 1: List of Wardens, 1552–1603 285
Appendix 2: List of Lords Lieutenant 289

Bibliography 291
Index 313

Illustrations

Maps

1 The Anglo-Scottish Border Marches xiv
2 Population Centres in the Marches xv
3 March Landscape xvi
4 The Debatable Lands xvii

Figure

1 William Cecil, Rough sketch of Liddesdale showing families resident there (1561). The National Archives of the UK, ref SP59/5 f.44 116

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to those individuals who read draft versions, in whole or in part, and kindly provided helpful insight, comments and critiques. This is especially true for Johann Sommerville, who read many versions, but also includes Elizabeth Ewan, Robert Landrum, George Woytanowitz, Charles Cohen, Daniel Ussishkin, Karl Shoemaker, Karen Britland and anonymous readers. Many of these individuals also provided encouragement, enlightening conversation and advice.

There are many people to thank for their assistance during the research phase of this project, including the staff at the British Library, The National Archives, Lambeth Palace Library, National Records of Scotland, National Library of Scotland, Scottish Borders Archives, Berwick-upon-Tweed Record Office, Cumbria Archive Centre, Northumberland Archives and the Newberry Library. Your expertise and patience are greatly appreciated. Special thanks to the duke of Northumberland for access to the microfilm copy of his manuscript collection at the British Library. I also thank the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the duke of Montrose and the duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry for permission to photograph copies of their manuscript collections held in the National Records of Scotland.

Thank you to the staff at Boydell and Brewer, especially Peter Sowden, who took the initial interest in this work and encouraged my project. I also would like to thank William Rodner and *Scotia: Interdisciplinary Journal of Scottish Studies* for permission to reproduce modified versions of my articles on Mary, Queen of Scots and the Raids of Ruthven and Stirling. The National Archives provided authorization to reproduce the image of William Cecil's borderlands map. Timothy Barker, Jr. took the wonderful photographs within Northumberland National Park for the cover, and Alice Anne Ready created the Anglo-Scottish border maps.

Thank you to my husband, family and friends for their love and support during this venture.

Abbreviations

Add.	Additional MS (BL)
APC	John Roche Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (46 vols, London, 1890–1964)
BL	British Library, London
BRO	Berwick-upon-Tweed Record Office, Berwick-upon-Tweed
CAC	Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle
CBP	Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Border Papers, 1560–1603* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1894–96)
CSP Dom.	Mary Anne Everett Green *et al.* (eds), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547–1650* (London, 1857–1992)
CSP For.	Joseph Stevenson *et al.* (eds), *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1558–1577* (London, 1863–80)
CSP Ireland	C.W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (eds), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I, 1603–1625* (5 vols, London, 1872–80)
CSP Scot.	Markham John Thorpe (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland, 1509–1603* (2 vols, London, 1858)
CSP *Scot. and Mary*	Joseph Bain *et al.* (eds), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603* (13 vols in 14, Edinburgh, 1898–1969)
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
NA	Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn
NL	Newberry Library, Chicago
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NRS	National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–)
RPC	John Hill Burton *et al.* (eds), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545–1689* (31 vols, Edinburgh, 1877–1933)
RPS	Keith M. Brown *et al.* (eds), 'Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707' (2007) <www.rps.ac.uk>
SBA	Scottish Borders Archive, Hawick
Scots Peerage	James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage* (9 vols, Edinburgh, 1904–14)
SP	State Papers
TNA	The National Archives, London

Conventions

Dates: All dates have been modernized with the calendar year beginning on 1 January.

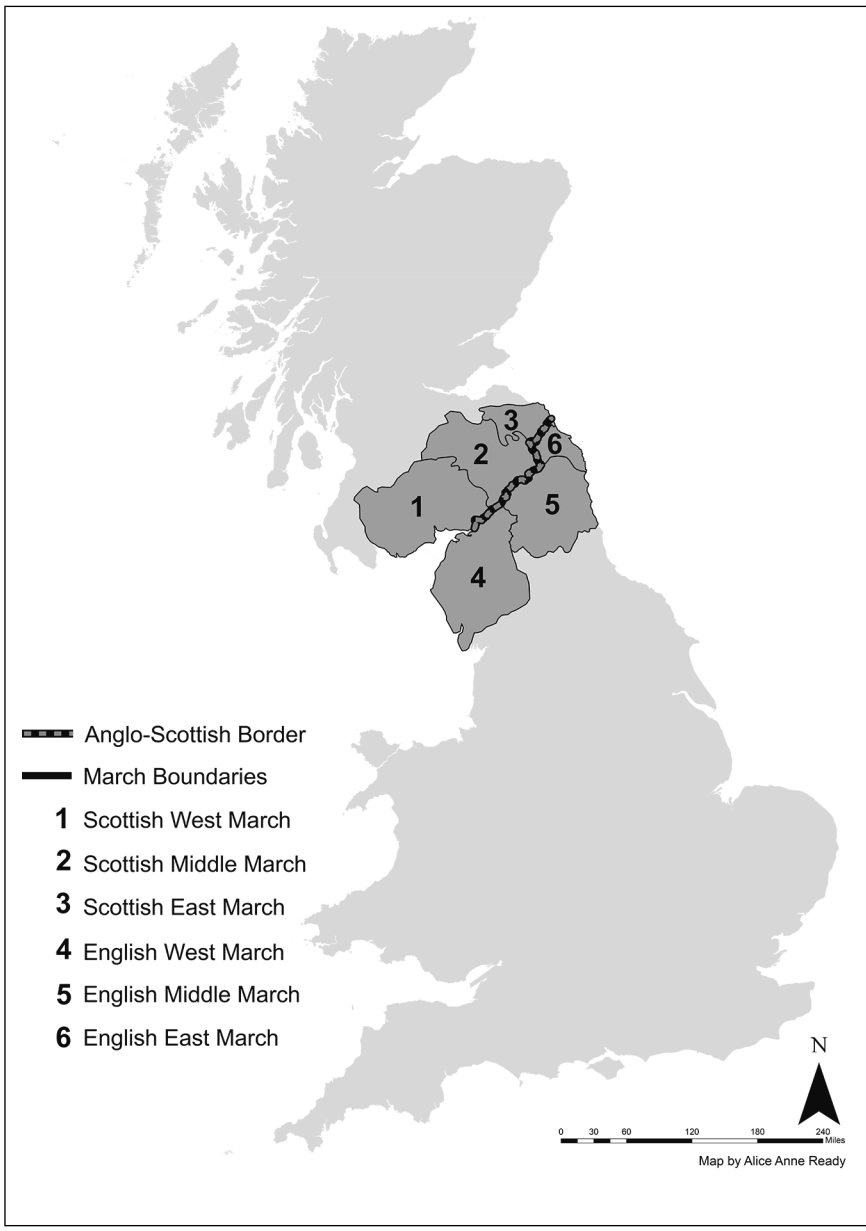
Spelling: The quotations from unpublished primary sources retain their original punctuation, capitalization and spelling. However, contractions are expanded and u/v and i/j are modernized. Where confusion caused by misspelled words may occur, I have inserted '[*sic*]'. Quotations from published primary sources and secondary sources remain as originally written.

Money: Any references to currency are in pound sterling unless noted as pound Scots.

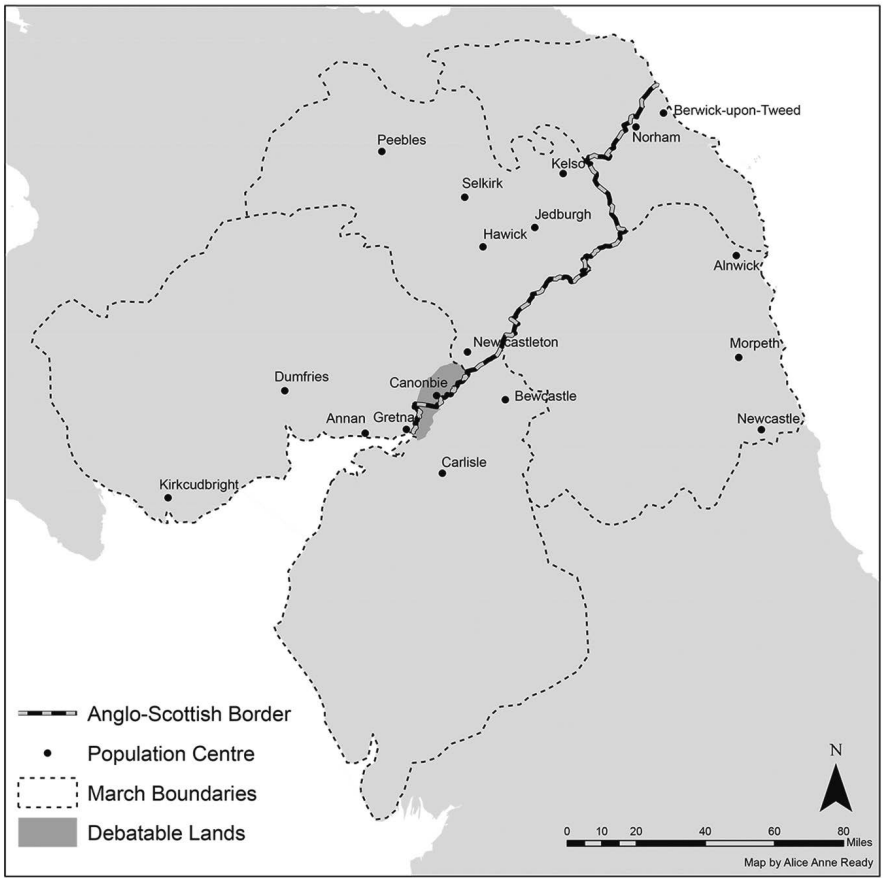
Chronology

1237 Treaty of York (Sept.)
1537 English Council of the North established (June)
1545 Battle of Ancrum Moor (Feb.)
1547 Battle of Pinkie (Sept.)
1550 Treaty of Boulogne (Mar.)
1551 Treaty of Norham (June)
1552 Scots Dike built
1553 Edward VI died (July); accession of Mary I (Aug.); Anglo-Scottish Border Treaty (Dec.)
1558 Mary, Queen of Scots married to dauphin, Francis (Apr.); Mary I died (Nov.); accession of Elizabeth I (Nov.)
1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (Apr.); Protestant rebellion in Scotland (May)
1560 Treaty of Berwick (Feb.); Mary of Guise died (June); Treaty of Edinburgh (July)
1561 Mary, Queen of Scots returned to Scotland (Aug.)
1563 Anglo-Scottish Border Treaty (Sept.)
1565 Mary, Queen of Scots married to Lord Darnley (July)
1567 Lord Darnley died (Feb.); Ainslie Tavern Bond (Apr.); Mary, Queen of Scots married the earl of Bothwell (May); Battle of Carberry Hill (June); Mary's abdication and James VI's coronation (July)
1568 Battle of Langside (May); Mary, Queen of Scots in Carlisle (May); Mary transported to Bolton Castle (July)
1569 Northern Rebellion (Nov.); rebels fled to Scotland (Dec.)
1570 Regent Moray of Scotland assassinated (Jan.); Leonard Dacre defeated and fled (Feb.); English attacks into Scotland (Apr., May, Aug.)
1571 Regent Lennox of Scotland assassinated (Sept.)
1572 Earl of Northumberland executed (Aug.); Regent Mar of Scotland died (Oct.)
1575 Raid of the Redeswire (July)
1581 Regent Morton of Scotland executed (June)
1582 Raid of Ruthven (Aug.); Lennox faction failed raid on Edinburgh Castle (Nov.)
1584 Ruthven faction failed raid on Stirling Castle (Apr.)
1585 Murder of Francis Russell (July); Ruthven faction raid of Stirling Castle (Nov.)
1586 Treaty of Berwick (July)
1587 Mary, Queen of Scots executed (Feb.)
1593 Battle of Dryfe Sands (Dec.)
1596 Kinmont Willie Armstrong rescued (Apr.)

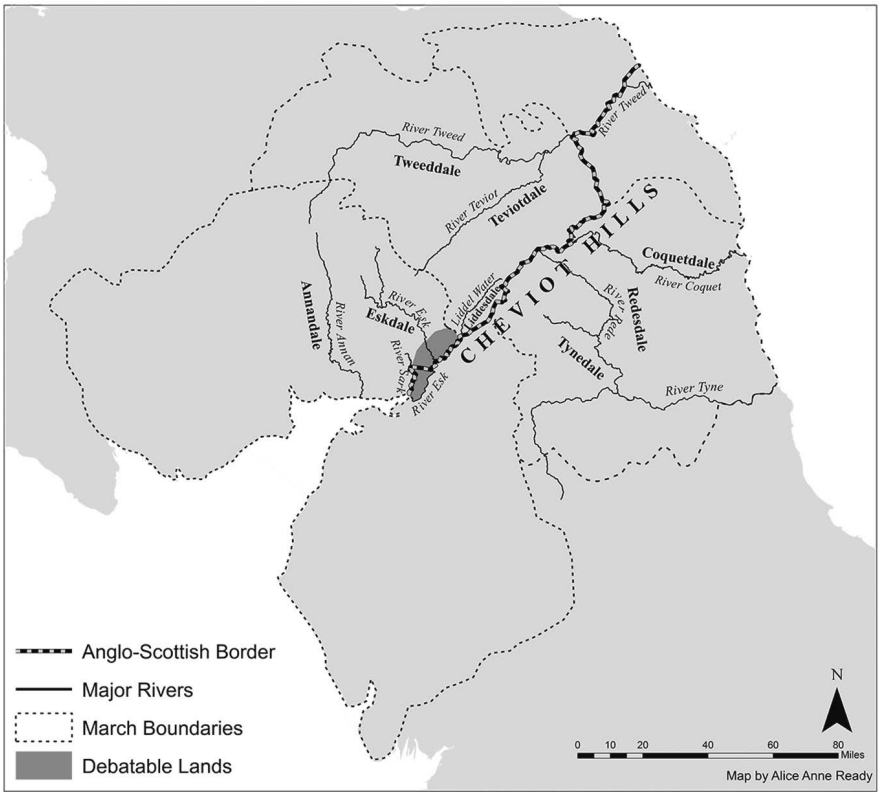
1597 Anglo-Scottish Border Treaty (May)
1603 Queen Elizabeth I died (Mar.); Union of the Crowns (Mar.); end of wardens (Mar.); Busy Week (Mar.); James VI/I coronation (July)
1605 Start of Anglo-Scottish border commission (Mar.)
1606 Start of third session of James VI/I's parliament (Nov.)
1607 March law ended
1608 Calvin's Case (June)
1610 Scottish Justices of the Peace enacted (May)
1617 James VI/I's royal progress in Northumberland (May) and Cumberland (Aug.)
1625 James VI/I died and Charles I acceded to throne (Mar.)
1638 National Covenant (Feb.)
1639 Outbreak of First Bishops' War (Mar.); Pacification of Berwick (June)
1640 Short Parliament (Apr.–May); outbreak of Second Bishops' War (Aug.);
Battle of Newburn (Aug.); Treaty of Ripon (Oct.); Long Parliament began (Nov.)
1641 Council of the North dissolved (Aug.)
1642 Parliament replaced Lords Lieutenant (March); start of First Civil War (Aug.)
1643 Parliamentarian forces failed to take Carlisle (Spring); Solemn League and Covenant (Aug.–Sept.); Berwick garrisoned temporarily by Covenanters (Sept.)
1644 Covenanter occupation of Berwick (Jan.); beginning of the siege of Newcastle (Feb.); Battle of Marston Moor (July); siege of Carlisle began (Oct.)
1645 Parliamentarians and Covenanters took Carlisle (June); Barwis Affair (June); Battle of Philiphaugh (Sept.)
1646 Parliamentarians and Covenanters left Carlisle (Dec.)
1647 The Engagement (Dec.)
1648 Royalists captured Berwick and Carlisle (Apr.); Battle of Preston (Aug.); Cromwell's forces captured Berwick (Sept.) and Carlisle (Oct.); Pride's Purge and Rump Parliament (Dec.)
1649 Charles I executed (Jan.)
1650 Treaty of Breda (May); Battle of Dunbar (Sept.)
1651 Battle of Worcester (Sept.); English parliament passed the Tender of Union (Oct.)
1652 Tender of Union declared in Scotland (Feb.)



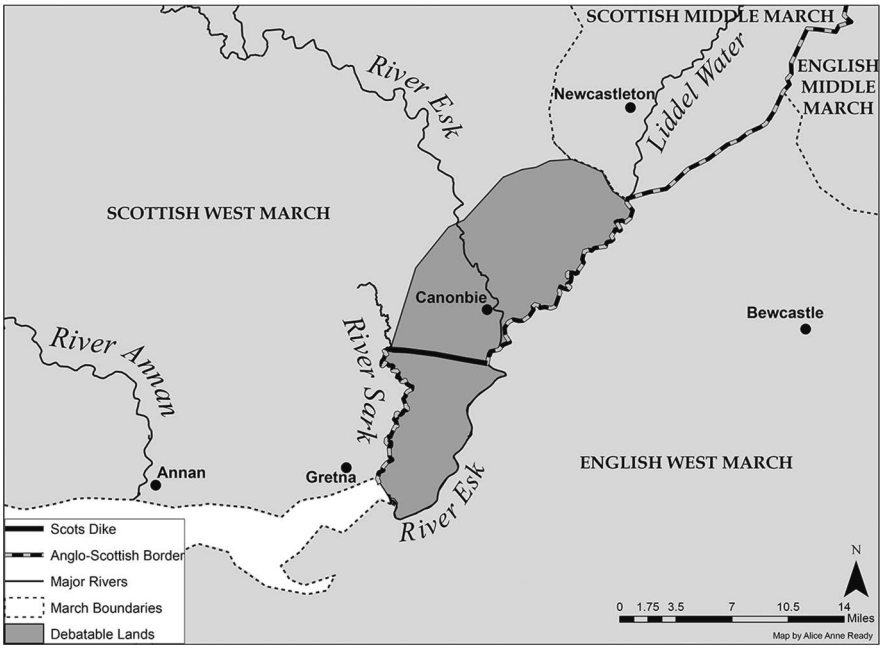
Map 1 The Anglo-Scottish Border Marches



Map 2 Population Centres in the Marches



Map 3 March Landscape



Map 4 The Debatable Lands

Introduction

On 24 March 1603, Robert Carey, warden of the English Middle March, rode to Scotland to inform James VI that he was now the king of England. Elizabeth I had died without issue, leaving her cousin to succeed her. Though initially a dynastic and monarchical union, the newly crowned King James VI/I hoped to create a single kingdom that was united by more than just his person, and this would involve fundamental changes to the ecclesiastical, legal, economic and other institutions of both England and Scotland.[1] As part of this plan, he sought to eliminate the Anglo-Scottish borderline that had divided the kingdoms for centuries. The Borders had been the centre of many conflicts between rival monarchs, most recently at the 1545 Battle of Ancrum Moor near Jedburgh, Scotland during the Rough Wooing. Such battles were part of the living historical memory within the borderlands as well as throughout both kingdoms. In his 1604 speech to the English parliament, the king emphasized his quest to eliminate this animosity, asking, 'Yea, hath God not made us all in one Island, compassed with one Sea, and of it selfe by nature so indivisible, as almost those that were borderers themselves on the late Borders, cannot distinguish, nor know, or discerne their owne limits?'[2] King James sought to usher in a new era of peaceful relations by instituting measures to bridge the Anglo-Scottish divide and serve as a possible means to create stronger unity. Yet accomplishing such measures was not easily achieved.

National Identity and the Anglo-Scottish Borderlands, 1552–1652 contends that the legislative programmes, changes to the local administration, cross-border relations and numerous regional commissions highlight the challenges facing King James VI/I as he attempted to transform the borderlands into the 'Middle Shires' of a united Great Britain. Part of this process included the elimination of the borderline. Yet there was no rapid transformation; the two kingdoms

[1] In this study, 'James VI' is used to refer to his reign prior to the Union of the Crowns and 'James VI/I' for the period after union.

[2] James VI/I, 'Speech to Parliament of 19 March 1604', in *King James VI and I: Political Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge, 1994), p. 35.

remained relatively independent of one another well into the seventeenth century. This was due in part to the strength of already-existing national identities that were reinforced by the continuation of the Anglo-Scottish border as a line of division. Regardless of its actual political existence, the border persisted in the hearts and minds of the king's subjects and continued to serve as a reminder of the centuries of separation between the two kingdoms. With a Scottish king on the English throne, national identities remained a powerful force, possibly even more so as a reaction to monarchical change. As a consequence, local people living in the border region were unwilling to end their ancient traditions and enmities.

I

This work explores the ways in which the Anglo-Scottish border region figured prominently as a reminder of the two kingdoms' differences between 1552 and 1652.[3] The borderlands serve as a case study for understanding why the union policies instituted during the reign of James VI/I were contested. It focuses on the challenges to union, reactions by the administration and borderers in both kingdoms to those challenges, and impacts on the region. The Borders may have been at the geographic limits of both kingdoms, but the region remained at the centre of Anglo-Scottish relations, crown attempts to strengthen control over its frontiers and the conscious (or subconscious) actions made by the local people to uphold the line of demarcation. Resistance to union came in a variety of forms. Borderers and administrators refused to recognize themselves as part of a single kingdom and instead continued to use national terms like 'English' and 'Scottish' when describing themselves and their neighbours. They also maintained previous allegiances with individuals and kinship groups that rarely crossed into the opposite realm.[4] The result was a social and administrative system that reflected many of the same customs and practices that had existed prior to 1603 and limited the regionally based union policies that could be initiated and accomplished. This allowed for the continuation of separate jurisdictions, divergent spheres of social interaction and distinct national identities.

The prevalence of national identity expression in the region before 1603 highlights the importance of the borderline in shaping understandings of belonging. In the early modern period, a key way to define a kingdom, and therefore its people, was through a recognition of the realm's territorial limits. The line of demarcation between the kingdoms reinforced a sense of national belonging. Michael Savage argues convincingly that places are 'not just passive backdrops to social processes'. Rather, they are 'actively involved

[3] In this work, I use the terms 'border', 'borderlands' and 'border region' interchangeably.

[4] This work will use the terms 'kinship groups', 'kindreds' and 'surnames' when discussing familial groups in the borderlands. This is done to distinguish between the familial groups in the borderlands and those in the Scottish Highlands that are generally referred to as 'clans'.

in the constitution and construction of social identities'.[5] Lud'a Klusáková supports this argument: 'we see identities as generating borders, just as every border, whether territorial or symbolic, generates identities'.[6] A boundary is a territorial marker of division that can be at once real and imagined. It can continue to exist even after its political necessity has faded.[7] The Anglo-Scottish border supposedly disappeared after the kingdoms united in 1603, yet this work argues that the line continued to be substantiated through the regional modes of government, local social and economic practices and physical structures that served to emphasize its existence. These three components allowed the border to persist, further solidifying Englishness and Scottishness. This, in turn, created challenges to implementing and enforcing a stronger union.

Evidence of strong national identities is clear in crown and regional documents as well as the ways in which local groups interacted with one another. While officials and borderers regularly designated individuals as either English or Scottish, they often cited their family name as well. This was such a common practice that the term 'surname' rather than 'clan' was often used by borderers and administrators when discussing kinship groups more generally. Thus, the word 'surname' did not simply refer to an individual's family name, but was used as a method of identifying an entire family group in the region.[8] Julian Goodare notes, 'The local exercise of political power through militarized kinship groups – the "surnames" – was quite like the Highland clan system; but it also bore more resemblance to the familiar pattern of Lowland lordship.'[9] While the terminology may have been different, the relationships among and between

[5] Michael Savage, as quoted in Neville Kirk, 'Introduction', in *Northern Identities: Historical Interpretations of 'The North' and 'Northernness'*, ed. Neville Kirk (Brookfield, 2000), p. ix. See also: Michael Savage, 'Space, Networks and Class Formation', in *Social Class and Marxism: Defences and Challenges*, ed. Neville Kirk (Aldershot, 1996), p. 69.

[6] Lud'a Klusáková, 'A European on the Road: In Pursuit of "Connecting Themes" for Frontiers, Borders and Cultural Identities', in *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusáková (Pisa, 2007), p. 4. See also: Lud'a Klusáková *et al.*, 'Within and Beyond: The Reciprocal Relations and Intersections of Identities and of Symbolic and Territorial Borders', in *Frontiers and Identities: Exploring the Research Area*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusáková (Pisa, 2006), p. 111.

[7] The inspiration for this study is Peter Sahlins's 1989 work *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. The author explores the consequences of the arbitrary border imposed from the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) until the Treaties of Basel (1795) that officially brought the border contestations to a close at the state level, even though local communities had resolved territorial divisions at an earlier date. See: Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, 1989). Benedict Anderson argues that the nation can exist before the state. The nation can be imagined, but it has 'finite boundaries'. See: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991), pp. 6–7.

[8] This study intends to use the term 'surname' as it was used in early modern documents.

[9] Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), p. 257.

kindreds was much the same as in other regions of the kingdoms.[10] The most prominent surnames were typically aligned with one kingdom or the other; thus, when an individual referred to a particular kinship group, it was simultaneously a reference to England or Scotland. For example, the Grahams on the English side of the border were notorious for their feuds with other surnames, especially those hailing from Scotland. Documents describing their actions referenced their kingdom of origin, the damage caused to their Scottish victims or their pleas for mercy from the English crown and local administration. As an English border surname, the Grahams represented Englishness and the difficulties the crown faced in attempting to alter the deeply embedded social practices and interactions.

It should be acknowledged that understandings of identity are often layered and convoluted; depending upon the situation, an individual could express more than one form of identity at the same time or transition easily between various affiliations.[11] This work focuses on Englishness and Scottishness, but regional and kin identities were also significant in the borderlands during this period. Kinship groups could form cross-border alliances during raids, or an administrator could align himself with borderers from the opposite kingdom to quell illicit activities. Some historians argue that national sentiments were weak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[12] Instead, these scholars note that

[10] Anna Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March, 1573–1625: Power, Kinship, Allegiance* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 71; Maureen Meikle, *A British Frontier? Lairds and Gentlemen in the Eastern Borders, 1540–1603* (East Linton, 2004), pp. 25–6.

[11] A selection of studies of early modern national identity expression via literature include chapters by Claire McEachern, 'Literature and National Identity', Johann P. Sommerville, 'Literature and National Identity', and Derek Hirst, 'Literature and National Identity', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 313–42, 459–86 and 633–63; Mark P. Bruce and Katherine H. Terrell (eds), *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300–1600* (New York, 2012). Via religion: Diana Newton, 'Borders and Bishopric: Regional Identities in the Pre-Modern North East, 1559–1620', in *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300–2000*, ed. Adrian Green and A.J. Pollard (Rochester, 2007), pp. 49–70; Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (New York, 1999). Via the kingdom's conflict with its neighbours: Bruce Lenman, *England's Colonial Wars 1550–1688: Conflicts, Empire and National Identity* (Harlow, 2001); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992); Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and* England, 1286–1815 (Edinburgh, 1987); Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994); K.J. Kesselring, '"Berwick is Our England": Local and National Identities in an Elizabethan Border Town', in *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Norman Jones and Daniel Woolf (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 92–112.

[12] For examples of authors who focused on regional identities, see: Robert Colls (ed.), *Northumbria: History and Identity 547–2000* (Chichester, 2007); Adrian Green and A.J. Pollard (eds), *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300–2000* (Rochester, 2007); Helen M. Jewell, *The North-South Divide: The Origins of Northern Conciousness in England* (Manchester, 1994); Newton, 'Borders and Bishopric', pp. 49–70; Diana Newton, *North-East England,*

borderers may have adopted regional identities, as is evidenced by their occasional alignment with individuals in the neighbouring kingdom. Additionally, they state that local identity was generally a stronger means of counteracting certain policies or actions by government agents or surname leaders. This work argues that a sense of Englishness or Scottishness permeated the region and created a strong marker of distinction. Extant documents show that borderers and administrators often expressed a national identity rather than one associated with a regional kinship group or locale, and this was reinforced by continuities in laws, administrative practices, regional governance and social life.

This work studies the Anglo-Scottish borderlands between 1552 and 1652. The period under investigation is much broader than most works of Anglo-Scottish border history that take King James's union efforts into consideration. Expanding the chronology provides a greater understanding of the broader forces at work in this time period. It helps to illuminate why certain practices and interactions remained impervious to change. In 1552, government officials finalized agreements as to the location of the official borderline. It had remained relatively constant since the 1237 Treaty of York, save for an area in the West Marches between the Rivers Esk and Sark. This area, known as the Debatable Lands, was cut diagonally in two after the kingdoms agreed to a 1549 indenture and the 1551 Treaty of Norham. Thereafter, both the governments divided the territory through official measures, with England gaining the western half and Scotland the eastern.[13] To prevent future disputes, officials raised an earthen embankment and dug ditches on either side to mark the border; this became known as the Scots Dike. There were some minor disputes after 1552, but it was finally a complete borderline and serves as the most logical starting point for a discussion of the border region. Having an extended timeframe helps to shed light on the challenges to the crown's actions in the Borders after James VI/I united the kingdoms dynastically in 1603.

Many scholars who focus on border pacification and governance end their studies in 1625, as they argue that the region no longer had a troublesome reputation or that succeeding rulers paid less attention to unification and implementing policies specific to the frontier.[14] While certain aspects of these assertions are correct, this work does not conclude simply because the

1529–1625: Governance, Culture and Identity (Woodbridge, 2006); Steven G. Ellis, 'Civilizing Northumberland: Representations of Englishness in the Tudor State', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12 (1999), 103–27.

[13] Sybil M. Jack, 'The "Debatable Lands", Terra Nullius, and Natural Law in the Sixteenth Century', *Northern History*, 41 (2004), 298; John M. Todd, 'The West March on the Anglo-Scottish Border in the Twelfth Century, and the Origins of the Western Debatable Land', *Northern History*, 43 (2006), 15.

[14] Groundwater, *Scottish Middle March*, p. 204; S.J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland 1586–1625* (Leicester, 1975), p. 201; Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch, 'The Scottish State and Its Borderlands, 1567–1625', in *The Reign of James VI*, ed. Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (East Linton, 2000), p. 207. Also mentioned in Keith Brown, 'A Blessed

locale became less of a concern. This study continues until 1652, after Oliver Cromwell and his forces crossed the River Tweed into Scotland during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. George Monck, Cromwell's commander in Scotland, ruthlessly subjugated the Scots. He fought alongside Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, attacked Scottish defences in several key locations, such as Edinburgh Castle, and captured members of Scotland's provisional government at Alyth.[15] Scotland had been weakened by the New Model Army and was in no position to reject the English government's push to reunite the kingdoms under a single ruler again. Thus, the English parliament passed the Tender of Union in 1651 to end the Scottish parliament, and their representatives travelled to Edinburgh the following year to declare the measure. The period from the reign of King Charles I to the mid-century wars provides additional opportunities to understand the continued attempts to reinforce the Anglo-Scottish union in the borderlands. This work takes the initial steps towards integrating the period from 1625 to 1652 into a broader examination of the sociopolitical trends in the region. The hurdles to achieving specific policies and actions, especially when viewed through the impact of national identity, are best examined within the context of a century-long study.

As the timeframe in this book is extended, so too is the geographic scope. This work studies the borderlands in its entirety. This is defined as the English counties of Northumberland, Westmorland and Cumberland; the Scottish counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles and Dumfries; and the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. This coincides almost completely with the pre-1603 border jurisdictions called the Marches. Scotland and England each had an East, Middle and West March that served as regional jurisdictions of border government. The boundaries of each march did not necessarily align with the counties; in northeast England, the county of Northumberland was divided between the East and Middle Marches. There is no presumption that the region acted as a single unit, that English and Scottish Marches had few differences or that there was a unified reaction to union. However, focusing on the entire region provides a better understanding of the developments that occurred before and after 1603. Examining a smaller territory within the region may provide the reader with a more in-depth understanding of the inner workings of that locale but does not necessarily account for the ways in which borderers and local officials interacted with one another beyond the scope of their particular town or march. Borderers, administrators and military troops traversed the borderline regularly. Wardens, sheriffs and commissioners communicated and collaborated with officials of the opposite realm for the purposes of establishing peace, reducing crime and

Union? Anglo-Scottish Relations before the Covenant', in *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900*, ed. T.C. Smout (Oxford, 2005), p. 49.

[15] Ian Gentles, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638–1652* (Harlow, 2007), p. 449.

enforcing local laws. Expanding the study to the borderlands as a whole allows for deeper analysis and understanding of broader forces and trends at work.

II

There are several histories of the early modern borderlands that incorporate an analysis of identity. Many of these works focus on a smaller region within the Borders and generally do not incorporate any wider borderlands examination. Diana Newton has written several accounts of regional identity in the northeastern English counties of Durham and Northumberland. She contends that both 'real' and 'imagined' identities co-existed, and these were formed by the relationship between space, sociopolitical institutions and the impact of the 1603 union. Newton focuses on the dominance of sub-national identities.[16] She argues that the strongest of these was confessional, more specifically Catholic, which had the ability to unite people locally but also transcended the region.[17] Maureen Meikle similarly emphasizes the importance of regional as well as familial links between borderers.[18] Her study focuses on landed kinship groups in the East Marches. Despite the presence of a political boundary, cross-border socioeconomic institutions remained strong and supported a borderlands community that seldom espoused English and Scottish identities. Both Meikle and Newton recognize that the borderline was simultaneously a means of shaping territorially-based understandings of identity as much as it was a politically-imposed construct that could be ignored when desired.

A border that is both real and imagined is central to identity construction. This work examines reactions and challenges to the king's push to eliminate the border and reframe the region as the Middle Shires. Regardless of the crown's recognition of the border, it remained in the form of administrative procedures and jurisdictions, socioeconomic interactions and the built landscape. Other studies of the borderlands have noted the importance of invisible boundaries to formulating strong identities. In his edited collection, Robert Colls argues that the people of northeast England believed themselves to have a distinct identity during the medieval and early modern periods.[19] He and the other contributors to the work, including Newton and Keith Wrightson, maintain that identity developed

[16] Diana Newton, '"Dolefull Dumpes": Northumberland and the Borders, 1580–1625', in *Northumbria: History and Identity 547–2000*, ed. Robert Colls (Chichester, 2007), p. 92; Newton, 'Borders and Bishopric', p. 59; Newton, *North-East England*, p. 21; Diana Newton, 'A Crisis of Regional Identity in North-Eastern England? Thomas Chaytor, 1554–1617', *Northern History*, 52 (2015), 200.

[17] Newton, *North-East England*, p. 19.

[18] Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, p. 3.

[19] Colls, *Northumbria*, p. xiii. For other works, see: Jewell, *The North-South Divide*; Newton, 'Borders and Bishopric', pp. 49–70; Newton, *North-East England*; Ellis, 'Civilizing Northumberland', pp. 103–27; Meikle, *A British Frontier?*

through its particular geography and history.[20] The people of Northumberland experienced various wars and other events but continued to recognize themselves as distinct due to their location within the kingdom. Wrightson remarks that with population growth and economic development, people became more interconnected and understood themselves to be different from the rest of England.[21] The Union of the Crowns only enhanced this insularity, as Northumberland was no longer focused on its long-time enemy, Scotland. Adrian Green and A.J. Pollard add to the connection between historical developments and identity construction.[22] They examine developments in northern England between the years 1300 and 2000. In part, a regional identity developed from a shared history and culture, and a 'sense of place lies, at the core'. From these studies, it is evident that a variety of factors at the local and national level influenced identity. The border itself did not need to be in a fixed location or exist politically for it to still affect sentiments in the region. An individual's proximity to the limits of the kingdom only refined understandings of difference with the opposing realm. Both before and after union, there remained an emphasis on the connection between the territory and its people. This study stresses the significance of the boundary as central to Englishness and Scottishness.

There are abundant source collections that can be used to study national identity in the Borders. Both regional and state records offer insight, though letters and official documents are more numerous for England. State papers, calendars and personal collections that include communications between administrators and with the crown delve into borderland activities. The multi-volume calendar of manuscripts of the marquess of Salisbury is an example of an invaluable resource for research into march procedures like days of truce and remanding, relationships between wardens and the impact of union legislation. As many of these records were written by the English, there is a potential bias to their discussions of raids, criminal activities and feuding. The Scottish borderers, as well as Scottish officials, were often blamed for causing such disturbances. Additionally, many peaceful interactions like attendance at markets in the opposite realm are absent from the record. The personal prejudices of these accounts should be recognized and taken into account when assessing national identity. Any descriptions of negative Scottish characteristics cannot be considered completely accurate. However, such accounts are necessary for understanding why the English considered themselves distinct from their Scottish counterparts.

[20] Newton, 'Dolefull Dumpes', pp. 88–9; Keith Wrightson, 'Elements of Identity: The Re-Making of the North East, 1500–1760', in *Northumbria: History and Identity 547–2000*, ed. Robert Colls (Chichester, 2007), p. 127.

[21] Wrightson, 'Elements of Identity', pp. 134–6.

[22] Adrian Green and A.J. Pollard, 'Identifying Regions', in *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300–2000*, ed. Adrian Green and A.J. Pollard (Rochester, 2007), p. 15.

Using only English sources can result in an inaccurate assessment of life in the Borders as well as perceptions of Englishness and Scottishness. To avoid such Anglocentricity in a study of the borderlands, attention is paid to documents written by Scottish officials within English collections, particularly in the State Papers. These sources help to provide some insight into their perception of borderland developments. However, examination into additional Scottish documents is also needed to correct the imbalance. Correspondence between officials is minimal compared to extant English records; Scottish monarchs did not require officials to send regular reports regarding frontier activities. Additionally, the shorter distance between the frontier and capital allowed for more frequent travel between the two regions. Therefore, other sources are more valuable for exploring the Scottish perspective. A key resource is the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, which covers the period between 1545 and 1689. While this includes all aspects of Scottish governance, there are frequent mentions of the Borders, including directions to wardens, concerns about crime, and appointments of men to commissions and other positions such as Justices of the Peace and sheriffs. This provides information on government priorities in the region, the web of connections between officials and their views of the English. Other collections like *The Douglas Book* and *The Book of Carlaverock* by William Fraser provide accounts and correspondence from specific individuals who were heavily involved in the borderlands, including the earl of Angus and the Maxwells of the West March. This affords a more personal view of Scottish experiences. Using such sources helps to counteract perceived biases while at the same time demonstrating how individuals in each kingdom defined the border and themselves.

A large portion of both English and Scottish documents mention border violence. Contemporary accounts tended to focus on bloodshed, theft and raids. This was due in part to the crowns' concerns for a peaceful borderland, positive relations with the opposite kingdom, as well as individual motivations both before and after union. Local officials frequently reported on notorious surnames and violent acts as a way to justify the need for their position, to secure crown funding and to deflect criticisms regarding their job performance. A letter from Henry, Lord Scrope to Sir Francis Walsingham epitomizes this type of account. As warden of the English West March, Scrope sent messages to the queen's principal secretary recording his ability to serve as one of the top border administrators. In 1582, he complained of feuding between the Grahams and Bells.[23] The Bells of Scotland had previously killed an English Graham, to which the surname responded by killing two Bells as well as one of their own kinsman who had defected to the opposing group. Rather than accepting responsibility for the increased bloodshed within his march, Scrope blamed the Scottish warden, William Ker of Cessford. Scrope noted that Cessford had not followed march procedure by dismissing regular days of truce and refusing to allow the

[23] *CBP, 1560–1594*, no. 123, p. 84.

remanding of criminals to England for punishment. By justifying his inability to quell the feuding, Scrope was simultaneously drawing attention to the supposed borderland chaos and the ineffectiveness of his Scottish counterpart. Accounts of a similar nature were common and helped to reinforce divisions between the kingdoms.

Feuding between surnames like the Grahams and Bells was not a daily occurrence, yet Scrope and other officials' emphasis on such events has resulted in skewed portrayals of the Borders as relentlessly violent and disruptive. Some of the earliest histories of the borderlands take this supposed chaos at face value, further perpetuating the stereotype. In the nineteenth century, Sir Walter Scott and Francis Child each compiled and published a series of border ballads: stories of raids and other events traditionally set to music. These accounts often exaggerated or romanticized the Borders and its people. Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* uses the ballads as a historical source that provides clues to the past.[24] In one account, Scott discusses the notorious strife between the Maxwells and Johnstones that culminated in the 1608 murder of Sir James Johnstone. To do so, he uses the ballad entitled 'Lord Maxwell's Goodnight' to remark that the 'foul debate' had ended in heartbreak for both surnames. Child seemed more interested in collecting and compiling the ballads rather than using the accounts as a way to illuminate history.[25] Yet both authors' contributions influenced scholarly research and opinions regarding the notion of the civilized borderer. As a result, many of the earliest studies of the frontier provide insular, negative depictions that have not been easily unravelled.

Thomas Hodgkin and D.L.W. Tough produced some of the first researched accounts of the supposed violent Borders in 1908 and 1928 respectively. Hodgkin's work focuses on the criminal activities that plagued the English marches in the sixteenth century. He places blame for the chaos squarely on the shoulders of the wardens, who he argues were responsible. The work highlights preconceived notions of barbarity that he understood to be a natural consequence of life in the Borders.[26] Reportedly, the nobility was 'feudal', borderers were 'primitive' and kinship-group feuds were the result of 'the wild anarchic condition of Border-life'.[27] The situation was only made worse by local officials who neglected their duties. Tough's history of the entire borderlands emphasizes the lack of civility, particularly on the Scottish side, citing a weak monarchy as

[24] Edward J. Cowan, 'Introduction: The Hunting of the Ballad', in *The Ballad in Scottish History*, ed. Edward J. Cowan (East Linton, 2000), pp. 4–6; Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 4th edn (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1810), I, 290–304.

[25] Francis James Child (ed.), *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (9 vols, Boston, 1882–98), VI.

[26] Thomas Hodgkin, *The Wardens of the Northern Marches* (London, 1908), p. 9; see also: Susan M. Keeling, 'The Reformation in the Anglo-Scottish Border Counties', *Northern History*, 15 (1979), 24–5.

[27] Hodgkin, *The Wardens*, pp. 15–16.

the primary cause.[28] The author seemed to use primary source descriptions of the uncivilized borderer as support for his argument without much analysis of their potential partiality. More recent histories written for a general audience, like *The Steel Bonnets* by George MacDonald Fraser, also perpetuate the notion of a violent borderlands. Fraser states that borderers caused disturbances in their own march as much as in the opposite kingdom, but his almost complete focus on such chaotic events distorts life in the region.[29] He provides accounts of surname feuds and violent acts in an almost story-like fashion, a method that has proven quite popular given the fact that his tome has been published in several editions over the past four decades. Yet, it decontextualizes such experiences in the Borders by providing little evidence of the region's connections to crown policies or influence, while simultaneously resurrecting the border ballads as proof of the supposed unrelenting disorder.

While earlier works may have overstated border violence, such events were regularly mentioned in contemporary communications between officials and with the local people. This work argues that these accounts were important, not for their accurate portrayal of life in the borderlands, but for their impact on the ways in which the borderers were characterized. This in turn impacted policies, actions and understandings of Englishness and Scottishness. A Scottish warden could easily blame Englishmen for disturbances in his march, thereby perpetuating an 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy that emphasized the border as a line of division between the two groups. At times, such depictions were used purposely to gain a specific advantage, such as increased control over the borderlands, additional monetary support for regional administrators or sympathy from borderers accused of criminal actions. Wardens, local individuals and monarchs frequently complained about border raids and thefts. The repetition of such accounts demonstrates its effectiveness. This work is not a history of violence, but these incidents serve to highlight the significance of such negative portrayals. It is not whether or not these claims were factual, but that the remarks happened at all. Through these assertions of violence and injustice, we can understand how the border remained a means of separation and how national identities remained powerful. This work avoids the pitfalls of assuming and appropriating an adverse view of the borderlands, and instead acknowledges the existence of these perceptions in order to explore the ways in which such accounts impacted social and administrative developments.

National Identity and the Anglo-Scottish Borderlands, 1552–1652 follows the trajectory of scholarly work that has attempted to dismantle long-held negative assumptions of the Borders. B.W. Beckingsale's 1969 study of northern England during the Tudor period notes that the common perception of the north was

[28] D.L.W. Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier: A History of the Borders during the Reign of Edlizabeth I* (Oxford, 1928), p. 28.

[29] George MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets: The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers* (New York, 2008), p. 8.

'that it was feudal, that it was Catholic and that it was the home of a violent and backward society'.[30] Though not a complete refutation of Tough's characterizations of the Scottish Borders, his work dismisses the region's supposed violent character. S.J. Watts similarly rejects the notion of backward frontier, suggesting the negative accounts were driven by personal and political motivations.[31] By providing information on the economic, social and political developments in the region, he aimed to have the readers 'judge for themselves how far the poverty and misery of the majority of Northumbrians was the result of Scottish raids, poor harvests and plagues, or of the political mismanagement and chicanery of private gentlemen and government officials'. Others scholars like Newton and Keith Brown attempt to quantify the violence as a means of disproving earlier studies. Brown examines the frequency, duration and location of bloodfeuds in Scotland between 1573 and 1625. His account demonstrates that feuding was not contained to the Borders and Highlands but existed in the Lowlands as well.[32] As the state gained a stronger hold over its territory, feuding declined in favour of legal means to resolve disputes. Newton assesses the presentments and indictments within the Northumberland quarter sessions records in order to determine actual levels of crime.[33] Compared with other regions in England, her evaluation makes clear that northeast England experienced similar crime rates, including for murders.

More recent studies have dismissed negative characterizations of the borderlands based on the power and influence of local landed families. Meikle rejects the idea that the eastern side of the frontier was a 'backwater' or a 'constant

[30] B.W. Beckingsale, 'The Characteristics of the Tudor North', *Northern History*, 4 (1969), 67. See also: A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509–1558* (Oxford, 1959); Mervyn James, 'The Concept of Order and the Northern Rising 1569', *Past & Present*, 60 (1973), 49–83; David Marcombe, '"A Rude and Heady People": The Local Community and the Rebellion of the Northern Earls', in *The Last Principality: Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham, 1494–1660*, ed. David Marcombe (Nottingham, 1987), pp. 117–51. Examples in medieval studies include: R.B. Dobson, 'Politics and the Church in the Fifteenth-Century North', in *The North of England in the Age of Richard III*, ed. A.J. Pollard (New York, 1996), pp. 1–17; Christine M. Newman, 'Order and Community in the North: The Liberty of Allertonshire in the Later Fifteenth Century', in *The North of England in the Age of Richard III*, ed. A.J. Pollard (New York, 1996), pp. 47–66; Anthony Goodman, 'The Impact of Warfare on the Scottish Marches, c.1481–c.1513', in *The Fifteenth Century VII: Conflicts, Consequences and the Crown in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 195–211; Henry Summerson, 'Responses to War: Carlisle and the West March in the Later 14th Century', in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Tuck and Anthony Goodman (London, 1992), pp. 155–77; Richard Lomas, 'The Impact of Border Warfare: The Scots and South Tweedside, c.1290–c.1520', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 75 (1996), 143–67.

[31] Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 13–14.

[32] Keith Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573–1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 7.

[33] Newton, 'Dolefull Dumpes', pp. 93–4.

war zone'.[34] In fact, the region was still part of civilized society, even though it was distant from larger population centres. In an attempt to disprove negative portrayals of the East Marches, she even creates a marked distinction with the Middle and West Marches of both kingdoms. Meikle states that reiving and feuding were far more significant farther west along the border, and hindered social, economic and cultural developments. Due to their reasonable wealth and cross-border friendships, the East Marches should not even be considered within the same framework as the rest of the region. Anna Groundwater disagrees with this notion. She notes that Meikle overemphasizes the similarities between borderers in the East Marches to the potential detriment of the remaining frontier lands.[35] Through a re-examination of the Scottish Middle March, Groundwater disregards assertions that there existed a 'barbarian borderer' in any of the marches. She acknowledges that the Scottish Middle March, which included the well-known troubled areas of Liddesdale, Teviotdale and Tweeddale, did experience bouts of reiving and feuding, but avoids using these events to stereotype or create the image of an isolated region. She notes that kinship-group leaders and local lairds directly involved themselves in the Scottish government's increase in control over the borderlands.[36] Crown reactions to violence actually created stronger ties between the centre and periphery.

This work does not set out to quantify or compare the level of violence in the Borders to other regions in England and Scotland. Extant documents decrying the supposed chaos are useful as examples of the animosity between the two kingdoms and the entrenched bureaucratic and social institutions. The assumed differences between the English and Scots provided a means to justify the territorial limits of each realm, further cementing national identity. Of course, periods of peace existed between the surnames and across the Borders as well. Silence in the record on peaceful interactions does not indicate its non-existence. In order to overcome this one-sidedness, it is necessary to understand how the crown, administrators and borderers used these claims of violence, whether or not they were false or exaggerated, to shape policy and behaviour. Goodare and Michael Lynch's study demonstrates that the Scottish Highlands and Borders were not

[34] Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, pp. 3–4.

[35] Groundwater, *Scottish Middle March*, pp. 8–9.

[36] Groundwater, *Scottish Middle March*, p. 20. See also: Anna Groundwater, 'The Obligations of Kinship and Alliance within Governance in the Scottish Borders, 1528–1625', *Canadian Journal of History*, 48 (2013), 3. Maureen Meikle has noted that in the Scottish Borders, the term 'laird' was an ambiguous term, thus estimating the number of nobility and gentry is quite difficult. A laird could be referred to by this Scottish term, or as a lord or gentleman. A surname leader could be a laird, as could a Scottish nobleman. In general, a laird was lord of his land, generally had at least two husbandlands, which is equal to fifty-two acres, and could hold positions in the local administration. See Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, pp. 11–12; and Maureen Meikle, 'The Invisible Divide: The Greater Lairds and the Nobility of Jacobean Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 71 (1992), 70–2.

more violent and feudal and did not pose greater threats to the realm.[37] However, negative perceptions of the frontiers meant that the government dealt with these regions through policing and raiding. Therefore, many of the interactions between the Borders or Highlands and the crown were fraught with tension and mistrust. This work notes that the attention paid to the Borders in each kingdom before and after the Union of the Crowns often focused on reducing crime levels and settling disputes. At times, these measures were taken to the extreme. In the wake of James VI/I's accession to the English throne, the 1605–07 Anglo-Scottish commission imprisoned, hanged or deported known criminals and members of notorious kinship groups to garrisons on the Continent and to plantations in Ireland: anything to achieve peace in the borderlands. A frontier free from conflict could represent a stronger union between the kingdoms. If the centre of that supposed hostility, now referred to as the Middle Shires, could be mollified, then there was hope for the rest of England and Scotland as well. Why such a policy was central during the reign of King James VI/I can only be understood through the narrative of violence.

The perception of a violent borderlands directly influenced the level of involvement by officials in London and Edinburgh. While some historians may question the reach of the Tudor and Stuart governments in the frontiers, they still acknowledge the attempts made to communicate, fund and promote allies to official positions in the region, signalling the fact that the borderlands did not exist in isolation.[38] Ignoring the influence of the two crowns simplifies the nature of sociopolitical developments in the borderlands and ignores the key ways in which both direct and indirect actions may have impacted the local people. Studies of the frontier necessitate an understanding of how the region was linked to outside forces. This work demonstrates the interconnectedness between the state, its people and its territory. Other accounts arguing in favour of the intimate links between the government and its frontiers are now widely accepted. T.I. Rae's 1966 account of Scottish wardens demonstrates the impact of political upheaval at court on the efficiency and effectiveness of borderland administration.[39] Meikle reasserts the eastern Anglo-Scottish border region within the context of state development.[40] She argues against Steven G. Ellis's attempts to 'demarginalize the Tudor borderlands' as it 'fails to be convincing for the Anglo-Scottish Borders – particularly during the period 1540–1603'. Her work follows analyses of the Scottish borderlands by several historians.

[37] Goodare and Lynch, 'The Scottish State', pp. 189–90 and 205.

[38] Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford, 1995), pp. x–xii; Steven G. Ellis, 'Civilizing the Natives: State Formation and the Tudor Monarchy, c.1400–1603', in *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusáková (Pisa, 2007), 84–5; Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, pp. 174–5.

[39] Thomas I. Rae, *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513–1603* (Edinburgh, 1966), pp. 193–216.

[40] Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, p. 2.

Goodare argues that the unique form of Scottish border government was a consequence of the monarch's attempts to control the region.[41] The key moment came in 1587 when a new statute linked the Borders and Highlands together, treating them with similar approaches despite the uniqueness of each region. His argument is reiterated in a joint chapter with Lynch in which they highlight increased monarchical involvement in the frontier during the sixteenth century, especially over concerns of violence and its spread beyond the region.[42] Each of these scholars recognizes the influence of violence, or the perception of violence, on government policy. This work aims to bridge these strategies of control over the frontier with expressions of national identity.

The Union of the Crowns directly impacted government involvement in the borderland administration and local social interactions. Earlier assessments often take as an assumption that James VI/I's accession marked the end of the frontier. Writing on the sixteenth-century Scottish border administration, Rae implies that many issues that distinguished the region from the rest of England and Scotland had been resolved by 1603.[43] R.T. Spence's study of Cumberland examined the impact of Stuart pacification policies, especially against the Grahams.[44] The relationships between kinship groups and border disturbances were transformed by the king, and 'within four years of James I's accession … [the government] brought an abrupt end to the old border way of life'. Watts presumes that, between the years 1586 and 1625, the county of Northumberland transitioned from 'a reputedly turbulent border shire into one of the tranquil Middle Shires of Great Britain'.[45] King James had succeeded in pacifying the frontiers by the end of his reign, and helped to shape a new understanding of the region. For both Watts and Spence, King James laid the foundation for stronger government centralization and pacification. They each consider the 1620s to be the conclusion of the push for a stronger union and efforts made to restrict violent behaviour. On the contrary, Catherine Mary Faith Ferguson and Brian Levack argue that it was a slow process that took over a century to achieve. Ferguson's study on legal changes notes that border pacification and administrative uniformity were only accomplished in 1707.[46] Levack's work differs from Ferguson's as he emphasizes hostility and restrictions to forming

[41] Goodare, *State and Society*, pp. 257 and 267.

[42] Goodare and Lynch, 'The Scottish State', pp. 186–7.

[43] Rae, *The Administration*, p. 233.

[44] R.T. Spence, 'The Pacification of the Cumberland Borders, 1593–1628', *Northern History*, 13 (1977), 154–60. For an alternative view of border pacification, see Jared R.M. Sizer, 'Law and Disorder in the "Middle Shires" of Great Britain, 1603–1625' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2001); G.P. Jones, 'King James I and the Western Border', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 69 (1969), 147–51.

[45] Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, p. 14.

[46] Catherine Mary Faith Ferguson, 'Law and Order on the Anglo-Scottish Border, 1603–1707' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, University of St Andrews, 1981), pp. ix–xi.

a British state rather than evidence of collaboration and support. He argues that, in many ways, there were more differences between England and Scotland at the end of the century than at the beginning.[47] This work also aims to go beyond the reign of James VI/I. It is evident that neither the year 1603 nor 1625 marked the end of the borderlands. Change took place slowly after 1603 and was only noticeably different after the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. By 1652, many of the older administrative practices and social institutions in the region had eroded. The borderline had remained a powerful influence on the strength and expression of Englishness and Scottishness well into the seventeenth century.

III

In order to understand government politics and developments in the borderlands, it is first necessary to understand the region's geography and demographics. The borderline was officially settled in 1237 with the Treaty of York, agreed to by Henry III of England and Alexander II of Scotland. Though it 'was only one of a number of lines prevailing from time to time', the two kings recognized one another's sovereignty over specific regions in the Borders.[48] Specifically, Alexander II renounced his claims to Cumberland and Westmorland. Only Berwick-upon-Tweed in the east and the Debatable Lands in the west continued to be contested after 1237. Berwick was repeatedly conquered by each kingdom during the medieval period until Richard, duke of Gloucester (later Richard III) captured it for the final time in 1482. The question of control over the Debatable Lands was resolved in 1552. Borderers and government officials often debated areas not marked physically upon the land, leading to their label as Debatable (or Bateable) Lands.[49] The largest and most controversial was an area approximately ten to fifteen miles long and four miles wide that spanned across the English and Scottish West Marches. The territory had been known by this term for at least a century prior to the 1552 agreement. Borderers used the area as common fields for grazing livestock, and some surnames like the Grahams attempted to create more permanent settlements. The lack of administrative control meant that it also served more nefarious purposes. The Debatable Lands in the West Marches functioned as a base for assembling men of allied kinship groups in order to launch raids, steal livestock and destroy properties. Other minor disputes over the exact location of the borderline occurred outside of this region, but this was infrequent compared to the activities in the Debatable Lands.

As a political line, the border's location was not easily identifiable outside of references in government documents. It was over 110 miles long but less than

[47] Brian Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union, 1603–1707* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 10 and 214.

[48] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Anglo-Scottish Border', *Northern History*, 1 (1966), 21 and 30.

[49] Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, pp. 27–8.