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*A crisis of lordship: Robert Ogle, 5<sup>th</sup> lord Ogle, and the rule of early Tudor*

*Northumberland<sup>1</sup>*

Steven G. Ellis

*National University of Ireland, Galway*

ABSTRACT Henry Tudor's diffusion of power in the English far north, and his savage pruning of resources for his wardens there to maintain good rule and defence was perhaps a necessary step initially to prevent further challenges from overmighty subjects. Twenty years later, this was no longer an issue; and once peace with Scotland collapsed, the absence of the region's traditional ruling magnates was keenly felt. Under Henry VIII, an obscure border baron, Lord Ogle of Bothal, was often Northumberland's only resident lord, precipitating a crisis of lordship described as 'the decay of the borders'. Unable to recruit as warden a reliable magnate on acceptable terms, Henry VIII then decided that, as a matter of principle, he would 'not be bound, of a necessity, to be served there with lords'. The king appointed himself as warden general, delegating the real work to gentlemen deputy-wardens whose *manraed* was enhanced by feeing other leading local landowners, including Lord Ogle. Ogle's kin and connexion thus supplied successive wardens with an adequate following in peacetime; but in the ensuing war Ogle was overwhelmed with his warden on Ancrum Moor, becoming the only nobleman in England under Henry VIII to die in battle.

KEYWORDS *manraed*, border decay, warden, lordship

During his one and only progress through northern England, Henry VIII lingered at York for nine days in September 1541 in hopes of a meeting with King James V. Disappointed of the meeting, the king then commissioned six of the leading Northumberland gentry to view the state of the borders as he turned for home. Cuthbert Radcliffe, Ralph Ellerker, Robert Bowes, John Heron, Robert Collingwood, and John Horsley were to view the east and middle marches towards Scotland and the waste grounds there, and to report on the condition of the fortifications. The commissioners' survey, submitted in December, offered an alarming

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<sup>1</sup> A short outline of this paper was presented at a conference on 'Lords and Lordship in the British Isles: the dimensions of aristocratic power, 1300-1600' at the University of St Andrews, September 2015: I should like to thank Professor Michael Brown and Dr. Alison Cathcart for the invitation to speak. The paper was mostly written and the research completed during my stay at Merton College, Oxford, in Michaelmas term 2016, and I am very grateful to the Warden and Fellows for electing me as Visiting Research Fellow.

report about ‘the great decay’ of the borders, highlighting the failure of leading landowners to reside there or to ensure that their townships near the border line were fully ‘plenished’ and fortified for its defence. They noted the ‘extreme ruine and decaye’ of towers and castles, and in particular the failure to rebuild or repair those fortifications destroyed by the Scots in the wars of 1496-7, 1513, or 1523.<sup>2</sup> Later reports in 1550 and under Elizabeth painted a similar picture of ‘the decay of the borders’.<sup>3</sup>

Ultimate responsibility, under the crown, for this state of affairs rested with the wardens of the marches, the officers charged with the rule and defence of the northern border against the Scots. Elsewhere in early modern Europe, large standing border garrisons and elaborate fortifications were maintained for frontier defence; but for a minor theatre of warfare like the English far north, the Tudors could not afford the costs of this. A formal declaration of war, however, or the threat of invasion by a large Scottish army, were usually met by laying a large garrison and appointing a lieutenant-general (very often Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, or his son), with powers of array throughout the north to raise an army. At other times, the region’s leading landowners were expected to encourage their tenants to have horse and harness to keep the border and counteract the small-scale raiding, reiving, and robbery which were the common coin of border warfare. Traditionally, too, the wardens charged with this medieval system of ruling the borders had also received a generous salary to enable them to fee the local gentry. In practice, the last of these traditional wardens had been Henry

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<sup>2</sup> British Library, Cotton MSS, Caligula B. VIII, fols 64v-94v, esp. fols 67v-68, 70v, 73, 73v, quotations, fols 74-4v (printed in John Hodgson, *A history of Northumberland* (3 parts in 7 vols., Newcastle, 1820-25), III, ii, 171-242); *Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic, Henry VIII*, eds. J.S. Brewer, R.H. Brodie, and J. Gairdner, 21 vols (London, 1862-1932) [*L. & P. Hen. VIII*], xvi, nos. 1205-6, 1263, 1399; J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1997), pp 427-8. Concerning the aims of the York visit, see R.W. Hoyle and J.B. Ramsdale, ‘The royal progress of 1541, the north of England, and Anglo-Scottish relations, 1434-1542’ in *Northern History* xli (2004), pp 239-65.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Bowes’ 1550 survey of the English marches is printed in Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 171-242. On the problem of decay more generally, see Robert Newton, ‘The decay of the borders: Tudor Northumberland in transition’ in C.W. Chalklin and M.A. Havinden (eds.), *Rural change and urban growth 1500-1800: essays in English regional history in honour of W.G. Hoskins* (London, 1974), pp 2-31.

Percy, 4<sup>th</sup> earl of Northumberland. On his death in 1489, the earl had been much the largest landowner in the shire from which he took his title, with an annual landed income there of £900 from 2,000 tenants on thirty-eight manors; and from his ample fee of £3,000 a year as warden of the east and middle marches he had retained eighty-four lords, knights and squires at a cost of £1,700 a year.<sup>4</sup> Henry Tudor, however, was less concerned about the rule and defence of this remote frontier against the Scots than about the wider implications of the great accumulation of power in the hands of a great regional magnate like Northumberland – a private army controlled by an overmighty subject. In the years following, his son and successor, the 5<sup>th</sup> earl of Northumberland, was consistently denied the wardenship; the salary of each of the wardens of the east and middle marches was now reduced to a token £114 a year; and the wardens also lost control of key officers needed for defence, such as the sheriff of Northumberland and the captain of Berwick and its garrison.<sup>5</sup> The result was that the wardenships suddenly became much less attractive to the shire's leading landowners who were best able to discharge the office. Without the incentive of the wardenships to encourage them to reside there and organize defence, the magnates increasingly lived elsewhere, leaving the burden of defence to lesser landowners who lacked the *manraed* to discharge the wardenships effectively.

The epitome of this growing crisis of lordship in Northumberland and the decay of the borders was the career and demise of Robert Ogle, 5<sup>th</sup> lord Ogle of Bothal, an obscure nobleman killed at Ancrum Moor in February 1545. Lord Ogle's main claim to fame was probably his death in battle – supposedly the only nobleman in Henry VIII's reign to die in

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<sup>4</sup> A.J. Pollard, *North-eastern England during the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford, 1990), p. 125; S.G. Ellis, *Defending English ground: war and peace in Meath and Northumberland* (Oxford, 2015), pp 79, 81, 136-8, 141-2, 151-2.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis, *Defending English ground*, pp 136-9.

battle.<sup>6</sup> Helen Miller, who offered this comment, also noted that of the four Lords Ogle active under Henry VIII, none of them participated in any of the great state occasions at his court, nor sat on a trial panel of peers, nor appeared in the house of lords during the reign. The 5<sup>th</sup> Lord Ogle was not summoned to the parliaments of 1536, 1542 and 1545; and in 1539, when he did receive a writ, he ignored it.<sup>7</sup> He was indeed something of an oddity among the English nobility, at a time when – according to some modern verdicts, at least – the nobles’ *raison d’être* was increasingly being reshaped to emphasize the Tudors’ expectations of them as a service nobility, their time divided between regular visits to court and the enforcement of Tudor policy and the supervision of local government in the provinces.<sup>8</sup> In this context, the political and military power of a border baron like Ogle, resting on the willingness of his kin and tenantry to turn out and fight for their lord, was increasingly seen as a feudal anachronism.<sup>9</sup>

Across the Tudor state, however, Ogle’s brand of lordship was far from anachronistic. The primary role of a dozen peerage families in the English Pale was the defence from the wild Irish of the state’s other military frontier: this also cost the lives of Gerald FitzGerald, 8<sup>th</sup> earl of Kildare – shot while watering his horse in the River Barrow, and carried away to die at Athy – and Edmund Plunkett, 4<sup>th</sup> Lord Dunsany, also killed while fighting for Henry VIII.<sup>10</sup> These Tudor peers, while not accounted among the peerage of England, most certainly

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<sup>6</sup> Helen Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility* (Oxford, 1986), p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility*, pp 10, 44, 92, 99, 126.

<sup>8</sup> A useful survey of the different modern interpretations of the nobles’ role is G.W. Bernard, ‘The Tudor nobility in perspective’ in idem (ed.), *The Tudor nobility* (Manchester, 1992), pp 1-48; later revised as ‘The continuing power of the Tudor nobility’ in G.W. Bernard, *Power and politics in Tudor England: essays by G.W. Bernard* (Aldershot, 2000), pp 20-50. For an earlier view, see Mervyn James, *Society, politics and culture: studies in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), esp. chs. 2-4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. John Guy’s characterization of another border lord, Thomas, 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord Dacre, as a ‘medieval robber baron’: *The Cardinal’s court: the impact of Thomas Wolsey in Star Chamber* (Hassocks, 1977), p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> S.G. Ellis, ‘The Great Earl of Kildare (1456-1513) and the creation of the English Pale’ in Peter Crooks and Sean Duffy (eds.), *The Geraldines and medieval Ireland: the making of a myth* (Dublin, 2016), p. 325; idem,

accounted themselves English; and the reasons they failed to conform to the emerging model of a Tudor service nobility were perhaps much the same as those underpinning Ogle's reluctance to undertake the long journey to court. Life at court was expensive, more than a poor baron could afford; and for the defence of the frontier regions in which they lived, resident lordship was at a premium. The best way these marcher lords could serve the king was by staying at home and organizing the defence of their border estates.

For much of the early Tudor period, however, Lord Ogle of Bothal was the only peer normally resident in Northumberland. This was despite the fact that, in this period and for reasons which are explained below, no less than seven peers held land in the east and middle marches, in effect Northumberland.<sup>11</sup> Half of the shire's geographical area consisted of liberties in the hands of absentee lords. The archbishop of York held Hexham regality; the bishop of Durham held North Durham (Norhamshire, Islandshire, and Bedlington); and the king himself held the liberty of Tynedale. Sir Robert Tailboys who resided mainly in Lincolnshire was lord of Redesdale, although he did once serve as sheriff of Northumberland, in 1497-98.<sup>12</sup> As for the temporal peers, the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> earls of Northumberland were often resident in Northumberland when warden, particularly at times of tension with Scotland, but the 5<sup>th</sup> earl never served as warden and so rarely resided in Northumberland. The 5<sup>th</sup> earl's usual replacement as warden was the Cumberland baron, Thomas Lord Dacre of Gilsland, With an annual income exceeding £1,500 a year, almost half from landed estates in Cumberland, Dacre was well suited to his regular duties as warden of the west march; but he

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*Defending English ground*, p. 118. Professor Bernard ('The continuing power of the Tudor nobility', pp 32-3) marginalizes the importance of the marcher lords, but he can hardly deny that they constituted a significant proportion of the Tudor nobility. For the early Tudor peerage in Ireland, see now Gerald Power, *A European frontier elite: the nobility of the English Pale in Tudor Ireland, 1496-1566* (Hannover, 2012).

<sup>11</sup> The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland; Lords Dacre, Roos, and Ogle; the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham.

<sup>12</sup> C.H. Hunter-Blair, 'The sheriffs of Northumberland, part I, 1076-1602' in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., xx (1942), p. 73.

also served as warden general of the west and middle marches for two years from 1504. And for fourteen years from 1511 he was warden general of all three marches, when he normally resided at Harbottle. He struggled to defend the east and middle marches from his modest Northumberland landed base around Morpeth (worth £180 a year), however, and his equally modest salary as warden of £280 a year. The Northumberland gentry regarded his rule as no more than a stop-gap, pending the reappointment as warden of the shire's traditional ruling magnate.<sup>13</sup> Even less successful as wardens were Lord Roos and the earl of Westmorland. Their Northumberland estates were too small or remote from their main spheres of influence to persuade them to reside there without the inducement of the warden's traditional salary and perquisites. Thomas Manners, Lord Roos served briefly as warden of the east and middle marches in 1522 when war with Scotland broke out, but he soon found the Northumberland gentry reluctant to serve under him. Roos held Etal castle and some other lands in the east marches – mostly unfortified and partly waste, because he was not normally resident.<sup>14</sup> According to Dacre, 'he lakes nothing but experience of the countrie'; but despite Dacre's active support, advice, and encouragement to Roos, Sir William Percy, Sir William Lisle, and Lord Ogle had not appeared for the warden rode in late July. Dacre later reported that against the duke of Albany 'he was not serued with the gentilmen of this countrie as he shuld haue bene'.<sup>15</sup> This hardly differed from Dacre's own experience as warden of the east and middle marches: he had attracted some following among the poorer upland gentry near his barony of Morpeth or closer to his barony of Gilsland across the shire boundary, but the traditional

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<sup>13</sup> S.G. Ellis, *Tudor frontiers and noble power: the making of the British state* (Oxford, 1995), chs. 3, 5.

<sup>14</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. VIII, fols 69v, 70, 70v, 71, 73, 73v (Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 183, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191).

<sup>15</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig. B. I, fol. 23 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii (ii), no. 2598); National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 49/1, f. 139 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii (ii), no. 2363); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii (ii), no. 2402. On the inadequacies of Roos as warden, see also, Greg Walker, "'And never a Scot slayne": John Skelton and the border crisis of 1522' in *NH*, xxiv (1988), pp 63-4, 72-3 and notes 21 and 45.

*manraed* of the Percy earl had offered him little support, and he had accused Lord Ogle, in particular, of backwardness in the king's service.<sup>16</sup>

Ralph Neville, 4<sup>th</sup> earl of Westmorland had initially agreed to serve as warden in 1525, having been tempted by the slightly more generous salary of £1,000 a year now offered, plus the captaincy of Berwick. Apart from the barony of Bywell just north of the Durham border, worth £100 a year, however, he had little land in the county and not much following among the gentry there. He quickly regretted his decision and soon handed over responsibility to two gentlemen lieutenants.<sup>17</sup> Of these, Sir Christopher Dacre, lieutenant of the east marches, was Lord Dacre's brother; but critically, the lieutenant of the middle marches was a Durham gentleman, Sir William Eure. Some attempt was made to build up Eure's authority as lieutenant by concentrating offices in his hands: he was appointed vice-warden with a fee of £33 a year, lieutenant with a fee of 100 marks, keeper of Tynedale with a fee of £40, and keeper of Redesdale with a fee of 40 marks. Soon after, he was appointed sheriff of Northumberland as well; but the further requirement that he give 'the substance of the said fees to the gentillmen of the contrey to thentent the Kingges said Highnes may be better served in those partes' proved something of a *pis aller*.<sup>18</sup> Following the conclusion of peace with Scotland, the king's officers initially praised the good rule now kept in the marches. Worryingly, however, the council in the north which oversaw the government of the region also added that this was 'the worst peace observed that ever was seen in our time'. Then, in July 1527, a feud among the gentry saw Sir William Lisle, his son, and William Shaftoe

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<sup>16</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), nos. 2383, 2423, 2443, 2913; Ellis, *Tudor frontiers*, pp. 88, 104-5.

<sup>17</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (ii), nos. 1727, 1821, 2441, 2729, 2801; 'The Rental for the earl of Westmerland's [sic] lordship of Bywell in 1526' in AA, ed. John Hinde Hodgson, new ser., i (1857), pp 133-8; Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility*, pp 190-91; Mervyn James, *Family, lineage, and civil society: a study of society, politics, and mentality in the Durham region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974), pp 44-5.

<sup>18</sup> *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 11 vols (London: HMSO, 1830-52) [*S.P. Hen. VIII*], iv, 472 (quotation); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, nos. 2176, 2672; Hunter-Blair, 'Sheriffs of Northumberland', p. 77.

breaking gaol at Newcastle, releasing the prisoners, and escaping to Scotland. Helped by thieves from Tynedale and Redesdale and from over the border, Lisle kept the marches in uproar. Eure proved powerless to deal with him, and the Northumberland gentry refused to assist. After three months, the council felt obliged to report that ‘albe it the said Sir William Eure is Shiref of the countie ... Vicewardeyne and Lieutenaunte ... and Kepar of Tynedale and Riddisdale, yet we doo not see that he can or maye serve the Kinges Highnes soo substauncially as he ought to doo in that cuntry’.<sup>19</sup> Reluctantly, Eure agreed that ‘w<sup>t</sup> all thies ffees he couth not nor mought not rule the said myddle marches and soe confessed by his writing’.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, the king accepted the inevitable, and the young Henry Percy, 6<sup>th</sup> earl of Northumberland, was appointed warden of the east and middle marches. The earl received the enhanced salary of £1,000 a year; he was also allowed an impressive following costing the king £486 a year; and in 1532 he was also appointed sheriff of Northumberland for life without account. To assist the warden, the leading Northumberland gentry were again retained – Lord Ogle and five knights, thirteen esquires, and thirty-one gentlemen, plus nineteen gentry in Northamptonshire, 69 in all, although the gentry were now fee’d by the king, not the warden.<sup>21</sup> These arrangements did nonetheless restore order in Northumberland. With Northumberland’s appointment, the traditional Percy *manraed* was once again at the service of the crown, and the earl also spearheaded the English military effort in the undeclared border war of 1532-33. It soon became clear, however, that the 6<sup>th</sup> earl was little more than a figurehead, controlled by a ‘council in household’ provided by the king to boost his

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<sup>19</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, nos. 3230, 3340, 3383, 3421, 3501; *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 481 (quotation); James, *Society, politics and culture*, pp 56-62.

<sup>20</sup> NA: PRO, SP 1/45, fol. 103 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 3629 (3)).

<sup>21</sup> NA: PRO, SP 1/45, fols 101-7 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (ii), no. 3629); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (ii), nos. 3689, 5085, v, no. 1008, Add., i, nos. 618, 828.

performance as warden.<sup>22</sup> By the mid-1530s he was also increasingly ill: he was away in London when the Pilgrimage of Grace broke out in Northumberland, and by then he had also fallen out with his two brothers and had dismissed Sir Ingram Percy as his vice-warden. On returning from London, he was caught up in the Yorkshire rebellion. He appointed Lord Ogle as vice-warden with Sir John Widdrington as lieutenant, but in Northumberland his two brothers simply seized control of the wardenships, thwarting Ogle's attempt to hold a warden court at Morpeth. His death in June once again highlighted the crisis of lordship in the shire, and the appointment of a new warden to organize good rule and defence became an urgent priority.<sup>23</sup>

Since none of the great regional magnates could be found to serve, the king, in a futile gesture, appointed himself as warden general, delegating the real work to three gentlemen deputy-wardens for each of the three marches and prompting the duke of Norfolk's exasperated response that in the marches the king's authority could only be maintained by those 'of good estimacion' and 'nobilitie', not by 'a meaner man'. This criticism of the king's decision to entrust the wardenship to mere gentlemen earned the duke a weighty rebuke: 'for surely', the king replied, 'we woll not be bounde, of a necessitie, to be served there with lordes, but we wolbe served with suche men, what degree soever they be of, as we shall appointe to the same'.<sup>24</sup> The king's decision at this point thus pointedly ruled out the

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<sup>22</sup> R.W. Hoyle, 'Henry Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland, and the fall of the house of Percy' in G.W. Bernard (ed.), *The Tudor nobility* (Manchester, 1992), pp 186-7, 190-92, 210-11; Claire Eddy, 'A Tudor solution to the "Problem of the North"? Government and the marches towards Scotland, 1509-1529' in *NH*, xxxix (2002), pp 220-24; Steven Gunn, David Grummitt, and Hans Cools, *War, state, and society in England and the Netherlands, 1477-1559* (Oxford, 2007), pp 164-5, 191, 202.

<sup>23</sup> NA: PRO, SP 1/69, fols 51v-52 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, no. 727 (misdated to 1532)); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (i), no. 1090; Hoyle, 'Henry Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland' in Bernard (ed.), *The Tudor nobility*, pp 186-7, 190-92, 196-7, 200, 210-11; idem, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001), pp 306-7; Robson, *Rise and fall of the English highland clans*, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> NA: PRO, SP 1/116, fol. 215 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (i), no. 594); *S.P. Hen. VIII*, i, 547 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (i), no. 1118); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, no. 250; Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility*, pp 192-4. On all this, see M.L. Bush, 'The problem of the far north: a study of the crisis of 1537 and its consequences' in *Northern History* vi (1971), pp 40-63.

appointment of the one nobleman who was then normally resident in the shire. Lord Ogle was a far cry from the great northern magnates once employed as wardens. His reputation was purely local, and he never exercised a major command; but he was perhaps at least marginally better equipped to discharge the office than the king's choice of gentlemen deputy-wardens.

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Lord Ogle had owed his peerage title to the exceptional circumstances in which Sir Robert Ogle had found himself on Edward IV's accession to the throne in 1461. With the shire's ruling magnate, Henry Percy, 3<sup>rd</sup> earl of Northumberland, killed fighting for Henry VI at Towton, and two other leading Northumberland landowners, Sir John Heron and Sir William Tailboys, also attainted of treason, the border was virtually unprotected. The Scots occupied Berwick-on-Tweed and had recently razed Wark-on-Tweed and the English outpost of Roxburgh, leaving Norham as England's last remaining fortress on the Tweed.<sup>25</sup> So initially, King Edward relied on Sir Robert, Norham's captain for over thirty years, because there was simply no one else. He was advanced to the peerage, with a grant of lands worth £140 a year to support his new status and, very briefly, appointed warden.<sup>26</sup> By 1471, however, the ensuing kaleidoscopic changes in the Northumbrian land settlement had restored the old order, with Henry Percy, 4<sup>th</sup> earl of Northumberland reappointed as warden. Thus, in the

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<sup>25</sup> Pollard, *North-eastern England*, pp 150, 152, 227, 264, 270, 285, 288, 298; 'Robert Lord Ogle' in *ODNB*, xli, 604.

<sup>26</sup> *Calendar of patent rolls, 1461-67*, pp. 29, 44, 113-14, 466; 'Robert Lord Ogle' in *ODNB*, xli, 604; Pollard, *North-eastern England*, pp 270, 285, 288-9; R.L. Storey, 'The wardens of the marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489' in *English Historical Review*, lxxii (1957), p. 614.

longer term, all the Ogle family had to show for Lord Robert's brief ascendancy was the baronial title.<sup>27</sup>

The 5<sup>th</sup> Lord Ogle had emerged from wardship following his father's death just as Anglo-Scottish relations had plummeted into an undeclared border war. And during his lifetime, Northumberland stood never very far away from that crisis of lordship which had befallen the shire in the 1460s. In the previous twenty years, the earl of Westmorland, Lord Roos and Lord Dacre had all been tried as warden of the east and middle marches, but without significant royal support they were all found short of *manraed* to defend the shire. When the 6<sup>th</sup> earl of Northumberland was appointed in 1528, however, the leading Northumberland gentry had again been retained to support the warden, in a move which recalled arrangements of his grandfather's day. For this purpose, the king's officials compiled reports of the *manraed* of the shire's leading landowners, their military skills and other qualities, and the location of their chief residences in relation to Scotland and the border surnames of Redesdale. These arrangements were still in place when the 5<sup>th</sup> lord received livery of the Ogle estates. Lord Ogle's fee, originally 20 marks, had been increased to £20, and some of his kinsmen were also fee'd: his uncle, Sir William; Cuthbert Ogle of Choppington; Cuthbert's younger brother, John Ogle of Ogle castle; and the young John Widdrington whose sister, Dorothy, he had married in 1527. Also drawn up in 1528 was another list of gentlemen not being retained, 'with a declaracion of what habillitie thei ar of to doo the kinge service ... and of other theyr qualities', including two of the Ogle kin. The first of these was Christopher Ogle of Choppington, reassuringly described here as 'a true gentilman'. His father, Gawin, had recently erected a tower there, twenty miles from Scotland and ten miles from Redesdale. He had lands worth £20 a year, and kept ten horsemen, qualities which

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<sup>27</sup> *Calendar of patent rolls, 1461-67*, pp 113-14; Horrox (ed.), *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, xiv, 43-4; Ralph Robson, *The rise and fall of the English highland clans: Tudor responses to a mediaeval problem* (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 63; Pollard, *North-eastern England*, p. 305 n. 78.

earned him belated inclusion among the fee'd gentry. The other was George Ogle of Hepple, about whom the report was somewhat less reassuring: he was 'a redy sharpe borderer' who oversaw Lord Ogle's estates in Hepple barony, which lay seven miles from Scotland 'and within a myll of Riddesdail'. He 'may serue the kinge vnder the Lord Ogle of such landes of his as he haith in rewl w<sup>t</sup> x horsemen' and 'may dispend in fee for terme of lif of my Lord Ogle landes v markes'. This fee was later increased to £4 and was in 1543 excepted from the grant of 'the holl towne of Heppell' which the 5<sup>th</sup> lord then made for life to his bastard brother, Lewis Ogle. George Ogle received further grants – in 1530 from the 4<sup>th</sup> lord, for good and faithful service, of the water mill at Bothal for life; and in 1536 from the 5<sup>th</sup> lord of certain lands near Harbottle rent free.<sup>28</sup>

Of the 5<sup>th</sup> Lord Ogle himself, the king was informed that he was 'a true young man and a good housekeeper'.<sup>29</sup> For border warfare, however, what counted most was his *manraed*. Here, the young lord fitted very neatly into his father's shoes. In April 1533, under the warden's two brothers, Sir Ingram and Sir Thomas Percy, he had led the men of Redesdale on a raid to Kale Water just as hostilities began to subside.<sup>30</sup> During the last war, his father had in April 1523 appeared 'w<sup>t</sup> all his name and frends' for a warden rode and the marquis of Dorset had duly reported to the king Ogle's 'thankfull seruice', repeated for another raid in June.<sup>31</sup> By the autumn, with the duke of Albany threatening the east march, Lord Ogle was

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<sup>28</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. III, ff 65-67v (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 5085); NA: PRO, SP 1/45, fols 104-7 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 3629(4)), C 142/75, no. 16, SC 11/532; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, Add., i, no. 618; *Wills and inventories* (Surtees Soc., vol. 2; London, 1835), pp 119-21; Sir H.A. Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1902), pp 61, 175-6, p. xxxvii.

<sup>29</sup> Hodgson, *Northumberland*, I, i, 346-8.

<sup>30</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B VII, fols 274-4v (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vi, no. 322); C. Patrick Hotle, *Thorns and thistles: diplomacy between Henry VIII and James V 1528-1542* (Lanham, 1996), pp 51-64; Ralph Robson, *The rise and fall of the English highland clans: Tudor responses to a mediaeval problem* (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 182.

<sup>31</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B VI (II), fols 325 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, no. 2955), 326 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, no. 2955ii); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, no. 2875 v; BL, Add. MS 24,965, ff 164-5 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, no. 3135); Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility*, pp 147-8.

captain of Wark-on-Tweed, with Sir William Lisle as his deputy. Ogle's retinue of 131 included a hundred Northumberland spears, no doubt mainly tenants of the captain and his deputy. They included the lord's brother, John, and five more kinsmen [Thomas, George, John, William, and Richard Ogle], plus eight of the Lisle kin. This was probably the same company as Lord Ogle and his brother led on a raid to Jedworth, although in late October the lord was with the earl of Surrey when the castle's successful defence was conducted by his deputy.<sup>32</sup> The years after 1533 saw a relative peace descend on the borders, although the Scots were not the only cause of political instability. In September 1538, the Northumberland gentry were alerted for a midnight raid into Tynedale where the border surnames were refusing to surrender more pledges for good behaviour to make good those recently escaped out of Newcastle. Lord Ogle, plus four of his kin, was to supply seventy men for this raid, but in the event, it was cancelled.<sup>33</sup>

The nature of Lord Ogle's lordship was shaped by the character and location of his estates, principally eighteen war-torn manors in the English middle marches in the baronies of Bothal, Ogle, and Hepple. He was among the crown's most prominent knight service tenants in the county, where he also held lands of the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland and Lord Dacre. Inquisitions taken after his death in 1545 suggest that the 5<sup>th</sup> lord's income from the Ogle estates in Northumberland had only been around £225 per annum. Their overall value, however, may have been rather more than this, according to a valor of Ogle's Northumberland estates taken in 1531 on the 4<sup>th</sup> lord's death. This listed lands worth £289 16s. 4d. a year in possession and reversion: but over £49 of this had been set aside for his widow's jointure, and lands worth over £161 annually had also been granted for life to

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<sup>32</sup> NA: PRO, SP 1/28, fols 300v-301 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, no. 3410); BL, Add. MS 24,965, fols 164-5 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, no. 3135); R.G. Eaves, *Henry VIII's Scottish diplomacy 1513-1524: England's relations with the regency government of James V* (New York, 1971), pp 149-51; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, p. 58; Ellis, *Defending English ground*, pp 151-2.

<sup>33</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (ii), no. 355 (2); Robson, *The rise and fall of the English highland clans*, pp 90-91.

various members of the extended Ogle family, so that the value of lands then immediately available to the 5<sup>th</sup> lord was a little under £53 a year. Elsewhere, Lord Ogle had very little land – only the manor of Thursby and lands in Crofton in Cumberland; a few messuages worth just over £14 a year in the duchy of Lancaster and in Westmorland; and some North Durham estates which he held of the bishop and which were worth just over £21 a year – mainly in Bedlingtonshire, where he held the manor of Netherton, plus lands in Choppington and three more townships.<sup>34</sup> For a peer of the realm, a patrimony of around £350 a year was poverty indeed, barely sufficient to support the lord's dignity. Ogle's income was indeed far smaller than that of other northern baronial families like Lord Scrope of Masham. His estates were, in fact, not much more extensive than those of leading Northumberland gentry such as Grey of Chillingham, Radcliffe of Cartington, or Widdrington of Widdrington.<sup>35</sup>

Lord Ogle's compact holding in the middle march nonetheless reflected the reality of conditions in Northumberland, where vigorous marcher lordship was the key to good rule and defence. The lord needed to be personally present in the shire to supervise the rule of his estates. Indeed, given that he held very little land elsewhere, he had little choice in the matter. And while Lord Ogle was blessed with an extended family, for which he was expected to provide, their leading members were also an important military resource on which he could rely for the rule and defence of these estates. Thus, the close relatives of successive lords were entrusted with the custody of strategic outposts, towers and castles, thereby also ensuring that when the lord appeared for a warden rode 'w<sup>t</sup> all his name and friends', he was accompanied by an impressive following. In the Northumberland lowlands,

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<sup>34</sup> NA: PRO, C 142/19, no. 4, C 142/27, no. 126, C 142/75, no. 16, SC 11/532, Ward 9/129, fol. 162v; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/6/1/1/35; *Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids ... 1284-1431*, 4 vols., London 1899-1906, iv, 76-90; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, pp 55, 57, pp xxii-iii (citing inquisitions post mortem taken in Durham, 1436 and 1513); *Cal. inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, no. 157, ii, no. 547, iii, nos. 10, 16-18, 28, 359, 470; Hodgson, *Northumberland*, I, i, 346-8.

<sup>35</sup> Pollard, *North-eastern England*, p. 94; Meikle, *A British frontier?*, pp. 142-3; Ellis, *Defending English ground*, p. 97 .

Ogle's extensive lordship of Bothal near Morpeth, valued at almost £100 a year by 1545, offered him a relatively secure base. His manor and castle of Ogle nearby was also fairly secure, and was valued at over £30 a year in 1545. Here, in 1525 the 4<sup>th</sup> lord had appointed John Ogle, grandson of the 1<sup>st</sup> lord, as constable of his castle with a grant of lands there, giving John in 1527 a forty-one-year lease of the whole manor for £14 a year and, together with John's son and heir, Lancelot, a similar lease for £5 annually of the manor of Saltwick, worth £7 13s. 4d. a year.<sup>36</sup> In North Durham, too, Lord Ogle's lands in Bedlingtonshire (Choppington and the manor of Netherton) were relatively immune from border violence; but his lands and tenements on Holy Island were 'decaied by the Scots' and must have been difficult to defend.<sup>37</sup> Near Bedlingtonshire, the 3<sup>rd</sup> lord had established his younger son, Sir William, on the manor of Hirst near Woodhorn. And in exchanges of lands from 1517 onwards which were apparently aimed at facilitating arrangements for defence between the two brothers, the 4<sup>th</sup> lord had received from Sir William – in return for the tower and lands of Cockle Park and other parcels of land in the southern lowlands around Hebburn – Horsley, Newham, Tritlington, Dissington, and North Middleton, plus the tower and township of Great Tossen and lands in Wharton and Flotterton, which were all closer to the border, and also Twizell which in 1528 he granted to John Ogle of Kyrkley for thirty-one years at £10 a year.<sup>38</sup> Sir William's son, James Ogle, had a grant for life of the 4<sup>th</sup> lord's lands in Earsden, a township on the south Northumberland coast, plus Earsden Forest, worth £6 a year; and Sir William's bastard son, Robert Ogle, was established by his father and uncle with an annuity

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<sup>36</sup> NA: PRO, C 142/75, no. 16, SC 11/532.

<sup>37</sup> NA: PRO, Ward 9/129, f. 162v. The value of Netherton is unknown, but a tenement there was demised by the 4<sup>th</sup> lord to Agnes Ogle, widow, for £4 13s. 4d. a year: Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dodswell MS 49, fol. 68. The relief of £8 paid in 1525 by Cuthbert Ogle of Choppington to Cardinal Wolsey as bishop of Durham suggests that the Choppington estate was worth £16 a year: Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, p. 176.

<sup>38</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dodsworth MS 49, fols 64, 69v; NA: PRO, C 142/75, no. 16, SC 11/532; 'The Brumell collection of charters' in AA 2, xxiv (1903), pp 118-19; *Wills and inventories* (Surtees Soc., vol. 2; London, 1835), p. 120.

for life of £20 from the 4<sup>th</sup> lord, and an eighty-year lease of his lands in Hebburn, worth 20 marks a year.<sup>39</sup>

Further west, away from this nucleus of estates in the coastal lowlands, however, Ogle held a number of manors closer to the highland line, in districts which were much more exposed, and offered tempting targets for the border surnames. Many of these estates also lay within striking distance for Scottish raiders. At Ingram, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord Ogle had built a tower in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century to protect this northern outpost of his estates close to the Cheviot. Although left unmanned during the decade of peace with Scotland, it was large enough to house the garrison of forty horsemen which the young Henry VIII had proposed to lay there in 1509. Nearby was the manor of Lourbottle, worth £11 13s. 4d. a year, of which in 1543 the 5<sup>th</sup> lord's kinsman, Thomas Ogle, had charge.<sup>40</sup> In upper Coquetdale, Lord Ogle held the barony of Hepple, chiefly a cluster of the seven manors of Hepple, Bickerton, Great and Little Tossen, Flotterton, half of Trewhit, and Wharton in Rothbury parish, which together were worth just over £50 a year at this time.<sup>41</sup> In the case of Bickerton and Wharton, the nearby castle of Harbottle offered some protection. Hepple had a tower which, in 1541, was 'scarcely in good reparacions'. It had also been unmanned in 1509 when Henry VIII had proposed to lay a garrison of twenty horsemen there; but seventy years earlier, the entire manor had been 'worth nothing by the year', because 'totally wasted by the king's enemies, the Scots'. Great Tossen nearby was also defended by a tower which in 1541 was likewise

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<sup>39</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dodsworth MSS 45, fol. 129v, MS 49, fol. 68v; NA: PRO, C 142/ 75, no. 16, SC 11/532; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/42/21; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, p. 59.

<sup>40</sup> NA: PRO, C 142/27, no. 126, C 142/75, no. 16, SC 11/532; AA 1, iv (1855), pp 164, 167-8 (1538 musters for Northumberland); BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. VIII, fols 79v, 80v (Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 212, 214); list of border holds, c.1509, printed in Bates, 'Border holds of Northumberland', esp. pp. 23-4; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dodsworth MS 49, fol. 65v.

<sup>41</sup> NA: PRO, C 142/19, no. 4; C 142/75, no. 16, SC 11/532.

‘not in good reparacions’.<sup>42</sup> A little further south, the southernmost point of Ogle’s lordship along the highland line was the manor of North Middleton near Kirkwhelpington.<sup>43</sup>

Together, these estates along the highland line supplied about a third of Ogle’s landed income, but their value was more strategic than financial and they also provided a significant proportion of the Ogle *manraed*. They were part of the ‘plenished ring of the border’, the chain of defended settlements five to ten miles wide which followed the eastern fringe of the highland line, running south-east initially from Wark-on-Tweed, then south to Harbottle castle, east to the tower at Tossen, south to Fallowlees, and south-west to Kirkwhelpington. The needs of defence were indeed a critical aspect of marcher lordship. Lord Ogle not only led his tenants in following the warden on border raids; he also maintained castles and erected towerhouses to protect his tenants and estates; and he ensured that his tenants maintained watch and ward, and kept horse, harness, and weapon according to their degree. In this context, Lord Ogle was particularly careful to ensure that his estates along the highland line were well-defended. His tenants at the 1538 musters for Hepple barony were mostly returned as able-bodied men, half of whom also had horse and harness. The lord’s kinsman, George Ogle, headed the muster for the manor of Hepple, of which he had a life grant, with seven able-bodied men, three with horse and harness; Great and Little Tossen mustered eighteen able-bodied men, eight with horse and harness, ten without; at Bickerton there were ten able-bodied men, seven with horse and harness; at Wharton there were six tenants, three able, and three ‘not hable’; and at Flotterton five tenants, two able, three ‘not

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<sup>42</sup> *Northumberland and Durham deeds from the Dodsworth MSS* (Newcastle, 1929), p. 184 (97); *Inquisitions and assessments relating to Feudal Aids ... 1284-1431* (4 vols., London, 1899-1906), iv, 89; Bates, ‘Border holds of Northumberland’, p. 24; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, pp xxii, 359.

<sup>43</sup> John Ogle of Ogle castle, uncle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> lord, had earlier had a life interest in the manor (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dodsworth MS 49, fol. 69) which, in 1542, the 5<sup>th</sup> lord granted to his brother, Gawin Ogle, for the use of his younger son, Cuthbert, for life: Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/21/59; *Wills and inventories* (Surtees Soc., vol. 2; London, 1835), pp 119-21.

hable'. At Ingram, he had twenty-four able-bodied men, nine with horse and harness; and North Middleton mustered eighteen able-bodied men, thirteen with horse and harness.<sup>44</sup> As these musters indicate, Lord Ogle's tenants thus provided him with a significant force of Northumberland spears with which to defend the border.

West of this 'plenished ring of the border', in the districts inhabited by the border surnames, there were almost no towers or castles; and in other parts lay a string of long-abandoned townships extending up to the border line. Stretching south-west for fourteen miles from Hepple and Tossen, for instance, was an uninhabited wasteland. At its northern end Lord Ogle held 'a parcell of grounde called Falloly burnes which ys measurable good for pasture'. It was let to John Hall of Otterburn, but it was otherwise uninhabited both because of its location near Redesdale and 'because there ys no stone house buylded thereupon'. The townships and villages adjoining this waste were obliged to keep watch nightly to guard against thefts and spoils by the thieves of Tynedale and Redesdale and also Scots thieves.<sup>45</sup> A little to the south, the 4<sup>th</sup> Lord Ogle had also maintained a tower at Fallowlees; but the defence of this tower had proved so troublesome that in 1530 he had sold the property to Hall of Otterburn.<sup>46</sup> In the marches, tenants for undefended estates were hard to come by: in wartime, they might rapidly be reduced to a worthless wasteland, but equally the costs of their defence might exceed their value.

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As it turned out, the king's choice of his deputy wardens in 1537 was not perhaps as pigheaded as might at first sight appear. His deputy warden of the east march was the same

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<sup>44</sup> AA I, iv (1855), p. 200 (1538 musters for Northumberland); NA, PRO, SC 11/532.

<sup>45</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. VIII, fol. 86v (Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 226-8).

<sup>46</sup> NA: PRO, C 142/27, no. 126, C 142/75, no. 16; AA I, 1<sup>st</sup> ser., iv (1855), p. 175 (1538 musters for Northumberland); Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II, i, 289n.

Sir William Eure who had failed so abysmally as lieutenant of the middle march in 1527. The smaller east march was a much easier proposition, however. Sir William was captain of Berwick and probably also controlled the *manraed* of Northumberland after his previous service as the bishop of Durham's sheriff. The earls of Westmorland and Rutland had refused the wardenship of the east and middle marches in 1537; but despite their excuses, the real reason may well have been the terms offered. Certainly, if they had been offered the wardenship of the east march alone, and on reasonable terms, it is hard to see that they would have refused. The middle march was a much more difficult assignment. Its new deputy warden and keeper of Redesdale was Lord Ogle's brother-in-law, Sir John Widdrington. Reputedly, his lands were worth £200 a year and he could raise 150 horsemen, but the report on his character was less than reassuring: he 'kepyth a good house and ys a trewe man and off good wyll' but he 'lakyth experience and will lyeghtly be councelled'. In fact, when he had succeeded his father in 1528, Sir John's estates were valued at £149 4s., mainly in the lowlands, but his manors of Haughton and Swinburn gave him some kind of base closer to Tynedale and Redesdale.<sup>47</sup> And to bolster the *manraed* available to the deputy wardens revised lists of fee'd gentry were also drawn up, with a report of the numbers of men they kept for defence, the location of their estates, and their disposition to justice. The fee'd gentry in the middle marches were reduced to ten (as opposed to sixteen in the small east march), but their fees were significantly increased.

Of the five Ogle kin fee'd in the middle marches, the report was very positive. Lord Ogle himself was given the significantly enhanced fee of £50; his uncle, Sir William, was fee'd at £20; and three more of the lord's kin were also fee'd at twenty marks each. Lord Ogle's

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<sup>47</sup> Lists of the king's retainers in Northumberland, 1537, BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. II, ff 270-71v (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, no. 250 (3)); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, no. 250; Hodgson, *Northumberland*, I, i, 346-8, and II, i, 67-8; NA: PRO, C 54/397, m. 58; James, *Family, lineage, and civil society*, p. 45; Bush, 'Problem of the far north', pp 44, 49.

lands, it was estimated, were worth £200 a year in possession and reversion, and he ‘may serve the king with 100 horsemen’: he lived fourteen miles from Scotland and four miles from Redesdale. Sir William Ogle of Cockle Park had five or six household servants, resided thirteen miles from Scotland and four miles from Redesdale and was ‘a true man’, with lands worth 40 marks a year for life. John Ogle of Ogle castle lived twelve miles from Scotland and four miles from Redesdale, kept ten horsemen, and was ‘a sharp forward man’ worth £20 a year. John Ogle of Kirkley was ‘a sharp forward man’, worth £10 per annum, who lived close by, twelve miles from Scotland and four miles from Redesdale, and kept eight men; but he also had a thirty-one year lease at £10 a year from the 4<sup>th</sup> lord of Twizell in the barony of Morpeth. Finally, George Ogle, ‘a true sharp forward man’, had previously been entrusted with the rule of the lord’s estates in Hepple barony with ten horsemen, but he had since married Lord Ogle’s mother and was now ‘in house with the said Lord Ogle at Bothal, and what he hath in right of his said wife we know not’.<sup>48</sup> Thus, these arrangements for the middle march did at least ensure that this time the *manraed* of a border baron was available to support the deputy warden.<sup>49</sup> All five, so the report added, were also ‘well minded to justice’. Sir William was included on the Northumberland peace commission, to which were added in 1538 Lord Ogle himself and also the energetic Parson Ogle, described below. Between ‘themselfe and freendes’, the report concluded, the five fee’d Ogle kin could also serve the king with 120 or 140 horsemen.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Lists of the king’s retainers in Northumberland, 1537, BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. II, fols 270-71v (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (ii), no. 250 (3)); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (ii), no. 250; NA: PRO, SP 1/45, fols 104-7 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 3629(4)), SC 11/532; Hodgson, *Northumberland*, I, i, 346-8, and II, i, 67-8; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, pp. xxiv, xxxvii-viii, lxxv-vi, 61, app. 98 (p. xiv), 204.

<sup>49</sup> *S.P. Hen. VIII*, i, 547 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (i), no. 1118).

<sup>50</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, no. 1417 (3), xiii (i), no. 646 (27); Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II, i, 68.

This, however, was certainly a conservative estimate. A few years earlier, Christopher Ogle of Choppington in Bedlingtonshire, who kept ten horsemen, had also been fee'd.<sup>51</sup> And in 1538 the members of the Ogle kin who were to provide men for the aborted midnight raid into Tynedale included both John Ogle of Kirkley and Twizell and also Cuthbert Ogle ('Parson Ogle'), who was parson of Ford (from 1497), and rector of Ford (from 1516) and Bothal. Respectively, they were asked to provide twenty men and ten men, while Sir William Ogle was to provide ten more men. Lord Ogle later granted the Twizell estates for life to his younger brother, Oswin, while Parson Ogle kept eight household servants at Ford in the Till valley, all with horse and harness. By 1541, Parson Ogle had partly restored the 'lytle tower which was the mansion of the parsonage' and which had been cast down by the king of Scots just before Flodden. A little to the west, moreover, he had also purchased the township of Downham which lay closer to the Cheviot and was waste after the recent war: he now worked part of the land there with two ploughs, pasturing his cattle on the remainder, and he had recently built a new tower which was 'as yet ... not fully fenysched by one house heighte and imbattlements' and without barmkin.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, Lord Ogle's appearance for a warden rode 'w<sup>t</sup> all his name and frends' would have included at least half a dozen close kinsmen, plus around 170 horsemen, and probably also the *manraed* of his brothers-in-law, Sir John Widdrington and Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, whose daughter Jane Lord Ogle had recently married – in all over 400 men. Radcliffe had in 1540 replaced Widdrington as deputy warden of the middle march: he had been fee'd at £20, had lands worth £200 a year, could raise a hundred horsemen, and was 'a wyes man, well learnyd

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<sup>51</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. III, fols 65-67v (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 5085); NA: PRO, SP 1/45, fols 104-7 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 3629(4)); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, Add., i, no. 618.

<sup>52</sup> *AA I*, iv (1855), p. 200; BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. VIII, fols 68v, 73v (Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 183, 192); Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 247; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, no. 5085, xiii (i), no. 646 (27); Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, pp 62, 64: in 1564 Twizell was worth £10 a year. Parson Ogle was also chaplain to the king, with an annuity of £40 payable by the sheriff of Northumberland: *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vi, nos. 418 (7), 1232.

and well myndyd to justice, very meet for counsel but no adventurer to the ffeeld'.<sup>53</sup> A warden who was reluctant to fight was, however, less of a recommendation in wartime, and in 1543 Radcliffe was replaced by Sir Ralph Eure.<sup>54</sup>

Lord Ogle's *manraed* and military might were thus closely attuned to the political conditions prevailing in a marcher shire like Northumberland. During the interlude of peace with Scotland in the later 1530s the king's arrangements for border rule had proved just about adequate, but in late 1541 with war again threatening, the border commissioners observed that the landlords 'did w<sup>th</sup>drawe themselves in fermes ... w<sup>th</sup>in the cuntreye further distante from the sayd borders to the great decaye of the same', allowing their 'uttermost fortresses ... by lyttle & lyttle to fall in extreme ruyne & decaye'. Close to Parson Ogle's replenished township of Downham, for instance, lay the estates of Lord Roos, now earl of Rutland, who in 1542 agreed very reluctantly to serve as warden-general in place of the king. His township of Shotton had lain 'waste and unplenished' for over thirty years; and further along the border his townships of Homildon, Lanton, New Etal, and Berrington, although plenished, all lacked adequate fortifications for defence, while Etal castle itself was 'in very great decaye & many necessary houses within the same are become ruinous & fallen to the ground'.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the wretched condition of Rutland's estates hardly indicated any great appetite in the new warden actually to reside there, although his marriage alliance with Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, should in principle have raised his profile among the Northumberland gentry. Finding the county, after one short visit, 'so marvellously changed since his last being warden there', and with winter approaching, Rutland pleaded illness and infirmity to secure his

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<sup>53</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig., B. II, fols 270-71v (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, no. 250 (3)); Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II, i, 68; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, p. 62.

<sup>54</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (i), no. 432; Robson, *The rise and fall of the English highland clans*, p. 230.

<sup>55</sup> BL, Cotton MSS, Calig. B. VIII, fols 68v, 70, 70v, 71, 73-74 (Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 183, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 193); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, nos. 808, 1037.

discharge.<sup>56</sup> The king fell back instead on southern nobles to serve as warden-general – first the earl of Hertford, then Viscount Lisle – a clearly makeshift arrangement which also cost far more in paid troops stationed in the border garrisons.<sup>57</sup> Even then, the wardens were soon in difficulties in the ensuing war, short of men to defend the borders. In August 1542, Lord Ogle accompanied Sir Robert Bowes on the ill-fated raid into Teviotdale which led to Haddon Rig, but unlike Bowes he evaded capture.<sup>58</sup> And as fighting flared up again in summer 1543, Lord Ogle, ‘commaundet to inuade the realme of Scotland in the Kings Ma<sup>ties</sup> warres’, made his last will and testament on 5 May 1543 ‘if case be I be slayne by chance of warre’.<sup>59</sup> By then the deputy wardenship of the middle marches had passed to Sir Ralph Eure, Sir William’s son; but in the raids from October to March 1544 immediate command of the marchers was often delegated to Lord Ogle.

At this point, the king gave up on the attempt to find a suitable warden-general and created Sir William a baron and full warden of the east march. Sir Ralph also became full warden of the middle march, but Ogle remained closely associated. In autumn 1544 he had custody of Scottish pledges, and in December he and two kinsmen were on the jury panel at a warden court held by Sir Ralph Eure and his father.<sup>60</sup> Then in February 1545, Eure and Ogle with over 2,000 men led a raid on Melrose, but as they withdrew across Ancrum Moor they were intercepted and in the ensuing battle on Penielheugh eight hundred were killed, including Eure, Ogle, and many of the captains. The many prisoners taken included the veteran

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<sup>56</sup> *The Hamilton Papers: letters and papers illustrating the political relations of England and Scotland in the XVI century*, ed. Joseph Bain, i (Edinburgh, 1890), no. 237 (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, no. 1101); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, nos. 808, 1037; Bush, ‘Problem of the far north’, pp 44, 49, 51-2, 56; Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility*, pp 127, 158.

<sup>57</sup> Bush, ‘Problem of the far north’, pp 50-52, 56, 59-61.

<sup>58</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, nos. 662-3, 673; Robson, *Rise and fall of the English highland clans*, pp 182, 191.

<sup>59</sup> *Wills and inventories* (SS, vol. 2; London, 1835), pp 119-21.

<sup>60</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (ii), nos. 503 (3), 763; Robson, *Rise and fall of the English highland clans*, pp 182-3; Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility*, p. 196.

captain, Parson Ogle, now nearly seventy years old, and Oswin Ogle, the lord's brother: even the half of the English army which got back had lost their horses and weapons. Lord Ogle's body was also brought back and buried at Bothal in St Andrew's church.<sup>61</sup>

In conclusion, this analysis of the crisis of lordship in early Tudor Northumberland raises two points about the character of Tudor government. The first concerns relations between the crown and the nobles. The past half-century has seen the publication of many fine studies of individual members of the Tudor peerage, either as courtiers, as Tudor service nobles, or as overmighty subjects; but the career of a border baron like Lord Ogle seems to have been written out of the story. Lord Ogle was a hard-bitten marcher serving an absentee king all his life the best way he knew how. The character of his lordship reflected conditions in a turbulent march: he aimed to keep his estates plenshed, organizing his tenantry to defend English ground and keep the border. Beyond that, his *manraed* was deployed for border raids; he led his men into battle; and as a member of the county community, he was also active in local government, assisting the warden in ruling the borders. He was an obscure border baron who probably never even met Henry VIII and was unknown at court; but these shortcomings did not prevent Edward VI's government in 1551 from appointing his son, the young 6<sup>th</sup> lord, as deputy warden of the middle marches, just a few months after he had received livery of his estates.<sup>62</sup> His career, moreover, was replicated in many ways by that of the minor peers in Ireland. He was, in short, perhaps less untypical of the Tudor nobility than modern accounts would have us believe.

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<sup>61</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (i), nos. 332, 1046 (2); Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary queen of Scots 1542-1551* (East Linton, 2000), p. 359; Robson, *Rise and fall of the English highland clans*, pp 183-4, 191-2; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, p. 63.

<sup>62</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI (1550-53)*, pp 184-5 (23 Dec. 1551); *Acts of the Privy Council, 1550-52*, p. 449; Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal or a history of the baronies of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, pp xxix, 65-6.

More importantly, this study raises significant issues about the effectiveness of Tudor rule in the region. Henry Tudor's diffusion of power in the far north, and his savage pruning of the resources available to the warden may well have been a necessary step initially to prevent further challenges there from overmighty subjects. Two decades later, though, this was no longer an issue. Initially, the king saved the warden's traditional salary, but once peace with Scotland collapsed after 1509, more substantial provision had to be made for the rule and defence of the far north. Justice and defence were, after all, among the most basic duties of monarchy. Yet, without the warden's previously inflated salary used to augment their *manraed* – to reward their many tenants deployed for defence and to fee the border gentry – the northern magnates were increasingly reluctant to undertake the office, so prompting Henry VIII to declare in turn that he would not be bound of a necessity to be served there with lords. Nonetheless, some other means of providing for good rule and defence had somehow to be found, even if more costly and less effective. The king's refusal to do either was directly responsible for the crisis of lordship in Northumberland and the decay of the borders.