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978-1-107-50203-1 - The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-1537 and the Exeter Conspiracy 1538: Volume I  
Madeleine Hope Dodds and Ruth Dodds  
Frontmatter  
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THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE  
1536–1537  
AND  
THE EXETER CONSPIRACY  
1538

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL. I

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BY  
MADELEINE HOPE DODDS  
(Historical Tripos, Cambridge)  
AND  
RUTH DODDS

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## NOTE

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The documents transcribed by the authors from the originals have been given in the original spelling; in those which have been taken from printed copies the spelling has been modernised.

The spelling of proper names of persons and places is that used in the Index to the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.

M. H. D.

R. D.

*July* 1915.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	THE TURNING-POINT . . . . .	1
II	PLOTS AND TOKENS . . . . .	14
III	AFFINITY AND CONFEDERACY . . . . .	28
IV	FACTS AND RUMOURS . . . . .	63
V	THE RISING IN LINCOLNSHIRE . . . . .	89
VI	THE FAILURE OF LINCOLNSHIRE . . . . .	117
VII	THE INSURRECTION IN THE EAST RIDING . . . . .	141
VIII	THE PILGRIMS' ADVANCE . . . . .	168
IX	THE EXTENT OF THE INSURRECTION . . . . .	192
X	THE MUSTERS AT PONTEFRACT . . . . .	227
XI	THE FIRST APPOINTMENT AT DONCASTER . . . . .	241
XII	THE FIRST WEEKS OF THE TRUCE . . . . .	273
XIII	THE COUNCIL AT YORK . . . . .	308
XIV	THE COUNCIL AT PONTEFRACT . . . . .	341

MAPS

I	MAP OF ENGLAND SHOWING THE AREAS OF DISAFFECTION . . . . .	<i>To face p. 1</i>
II	CENTRAL LINCOLNSHIRE . . . . .	” ”
III	THE MAIN ROADS FROM LONDON TO THE NORTH . . . . .	” ”
IV	THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE . . . . .	” ”
V	THE NORTHERN COUNTIES . . . . .	” ”

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

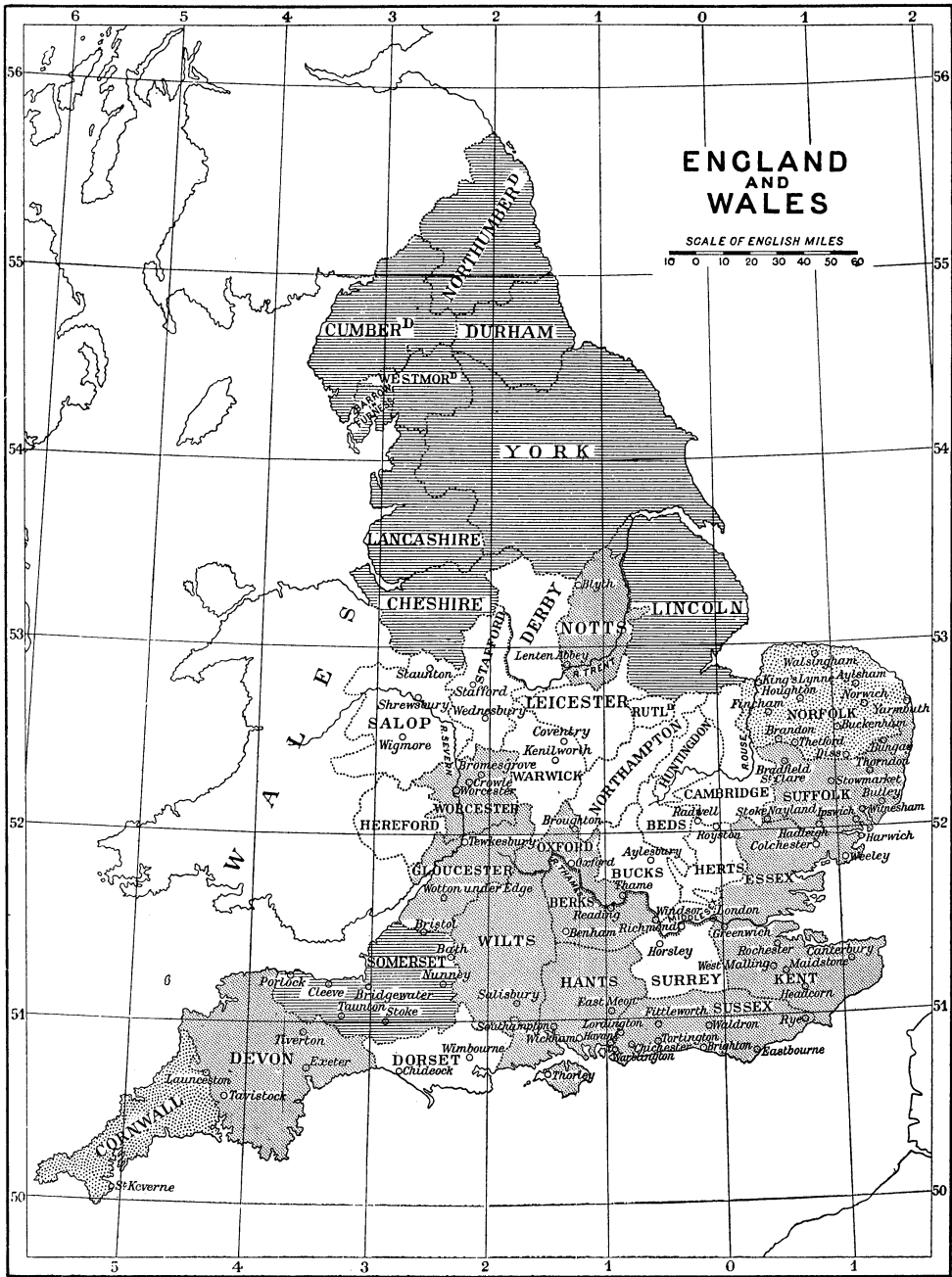
PAGE	
3	For influence on elections in the King's favour, see "History," October 1914, A. F. Hattersley, "The Real Position of the Duke of Norfolk in 1529-30."
50	For Thomas Monkton read William Monkton.
79	The church plate of Hull. This method of securing the value of the church plate to the parish became fairly common in the later part of Henry VIII's reign and during the reign of Edward VI. See Cox, "Churchwardens' Accounts" (the Antiquary's Books), pp. 133, 140-1.
91	For the commission to the clergy see Usher, "The Rise and Fall of the High Commission," pp. 15-21.
116	Note E. The Sir Marmaduke Constable mentioned was Sir Robert's brother, not his cousin.
123	Composition of the royal and the rebel forces. See Cox, "Churchwardens' Accounts" (the Antiquary's Books), pp. 325-7, for the parish soldier and the parish armour.
145	"Four docepyers." Not "deceivers," as suggested, but "douzepers," great men. See New English Dictionary, and Lydgate, "Minor Poems" (Percy Society), p. 25:— "Where been of Fraunce all the dozepiere, Which in Gaule had the governaunce?"
149	The commons of Howdenshire attacked the house of Sir Marmaduke Tunstall, the Bishop of Durham's nephew, but "some more sober than the residue" prevented any serious damage. See "Richmondshire Wills" (Surtees Society), p. 288 n.
184	Spoiling of Blytheman's house. Colins was afterwards accused of being the chief plunderer. See L. and P. xii (1), 1264.
203	Oxneyfield is close to Darlington, where it seems that the townspeople rose and joined the rebels. The dean of the collegiate church commended one of his servants who "was the safeguard of my life, for else I had been betrayed by the commons ere I had known." "Richmondshire Wills" (Surtees Society), p. 40 n. Cf. below, vol. II, p. 94.
208	The lordship of Middleham, which had belonged to Warwick the Kingmaker, on his death and attainder was granted by Edward IV to Richard Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. (Gairdner, "Richard III," p. 22.) It is well known that Richard married Warwick's daughter Anne, co-heiress with her sister Isabel, and thus obtained a claim to the lordship not only by grant but also by inheritance. He and his wife were very popular at Middleham, which he called his home (ibid. pp. 28, 259). When Richard in his turn was killed and attainted, Middleham escheated to the crown, but, Anne and her only child being dead, Warwick's line was now represented by the Countess of Salisbury, the daughter of Anne's sister Isabel, who was married to the Duke of Clarence. This expression of affection for the old line may therefore be a reference to the Poles.

viii *The Pilgrimage of Grace*

PAGE	
209	“Merlione.” This is a misreading of “Meliore,” i.e. Mallory. The leader of the siege of Skipton was not a peasant with a feigned name, but a member of the family of Mallory.
213	<i>For Guisburn read</i> Guisborough, as on p. 71. It is not quite clear whether this incident happened at Guisburn or at Guisborough, but the latter seems the more probable.
233	“St Saviour’s of Newburgh.” The Priory of Newburgh was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but the canons possessed “the girdle Sancti Salvatoris, which, as it was said, was good for those in child birth.” (L. and P. x, p. 137.) This relic was kept in St Saviour’s chapel at the Priory, where many pilgrims resorted. (L. and P. xii (2), 1231.) Probably Newburgh was called St Saviour’s after the most famous relic which it possessed, though it was really St Mary’s, just as Durham was called St Cuthbert’s, though it also was dedicated to the Virgin.
233	The message to Darcy from Shrewsbury’s camp. After the rebellion was over, when even the executions were almost at an end, Christopher Lassels, who was imprisoned in the Tower with Aske, was heard to say that Aske had told him “very sure tokens” by which the man who sent the warning might be recognised. This remark of Lassels was reported to Cromwell on 22 July 1537, but there is no record to show whether any arrest was made on Lassels’ information. (L. and P. xii (2), 321.)
237	<i>For</i> “Sir Robert Bowes of Barnard Castle, and his sons” <i>read</i> “Robert Bowes and his brothers.”
266	The deposition against Hogon is printed in full, with illustrative notes by Furnivall, in “Ballads from MSS,” vol. i, pt 2, p. 310 (Ballad Society).
273	Hutton of Snape, probably a misreading of Snaith.
281	Pickering’s poem is printed by Furnivall in “Ballads from MSS,” vol. i, pt 2, p. 301 (Ballad Society). The editor states that it was published at Ripon in 1843, with a preface by J. R. W. I have not seen this last version, but it appears that neither Furnivall nor J. R. W. knew the author of the poem and its occasion, though they conjectured correctly that it referred to the Pilgrimage of Grace.
317	Henry VIII and the letter. Cf. Chapuys’ despatch of 3 November 1533:—“On 25 October Henry had received Gardiner’s letter of the 17th, in which the bishop reported that Clement had refused to dispose of the matrimonial cause in the offhand manner that had been suggested. Henry became pale with anger and crushed Gardiner’s letter in his hand, exclaiming that he was betrayed, and that the King of France was not the true friend he had thought. He continued for some time to swear at the pope, and could not regain his equanimity.” (L. and P. vi, 1392.)
364	As late as 1596 it was maintained that the long bow was superior to firearms (Sir H. Knyvet, “Defence of the Realme,” 1596), but on the other hand as early as 1515 in a paper relating to Ireland it was stated that “the wild Irish and English rebels of all the land doth dread more and feareth the sudden shot of guns much more than the shot of arrows or any other shot of kind of weapon in this world.” (L. and P. ii (1), 1366, printed in full Furnivall, “Ballads from MSS,” i, pt 1, p. 38 [Ballad Society].)

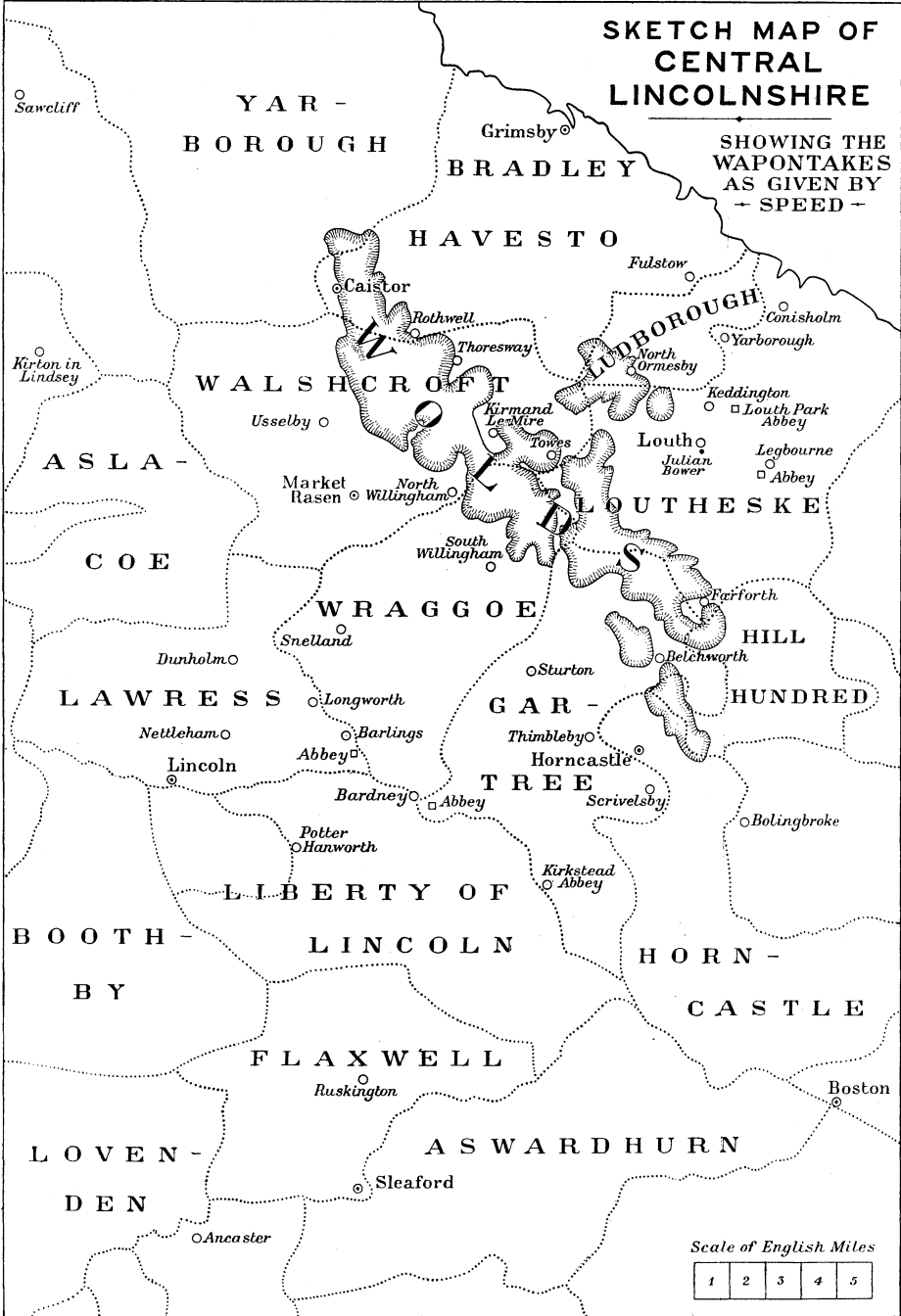


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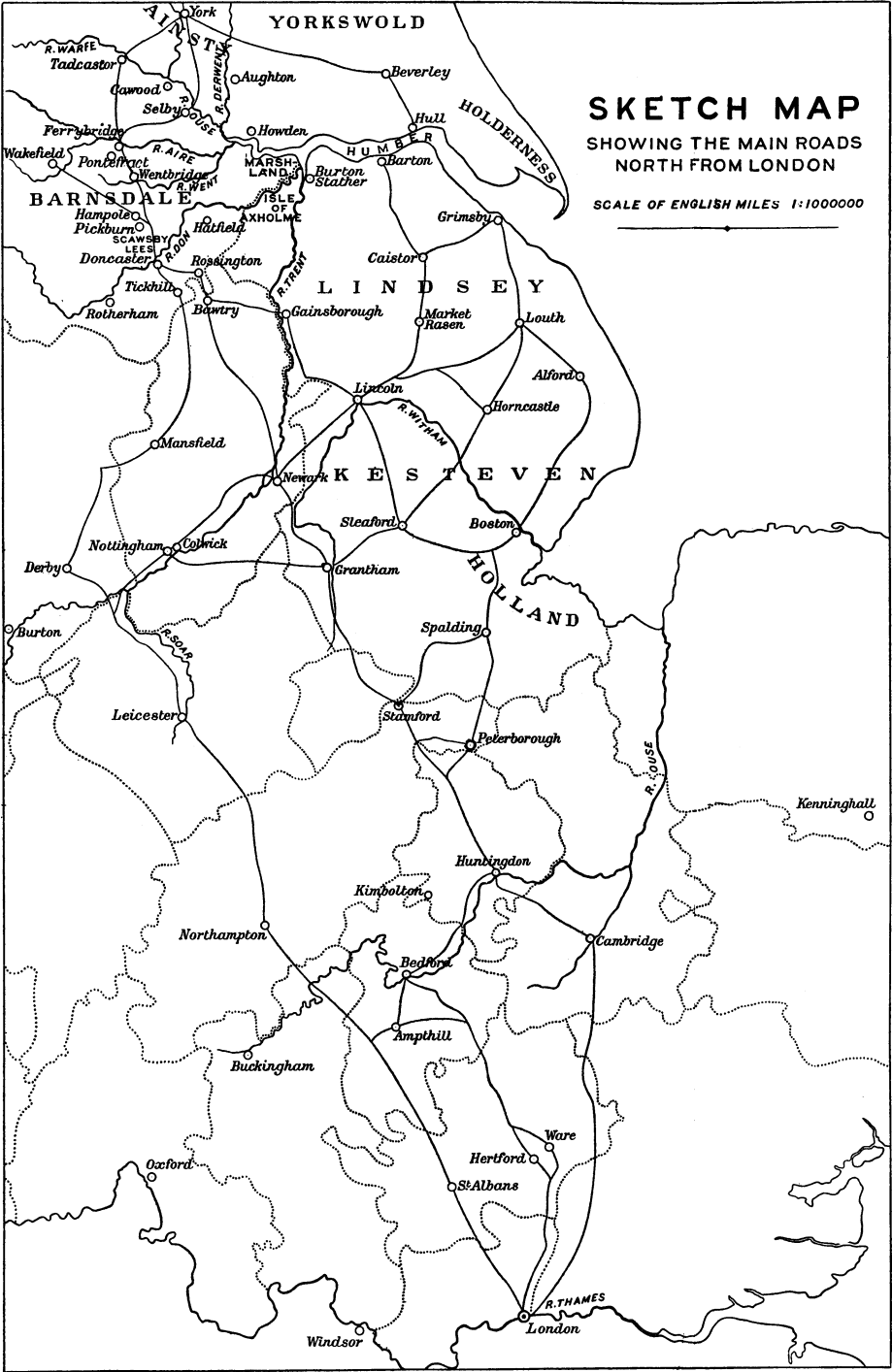
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III



Main Roads (Approximate) —————  
County Boundaries .....

IV

