

ART. XVIII.—*Aske's Rebellion, 1536-7.* BY GEORGE WATSON, Penrith.

Communicated at Coniston, Sept. 16th, 1896.

THE purpose of this paper is to gather from the State Records the story of the part Westmorland and Cumberland took in the great rising in 1536-7, in the reign of Henry VIII, variously styled "The Northern Rebellion," "Aske's Rebellion," and "The Pilgrimage of Grace."

It is, however, desirable to review, briefly, the origin of the rising, to understand fully the part which Westmorland and Cumberland took.

King Henry, in his zeal for the subversion of papal authority in England, obtained despotic power from Parliament for the suppression of monasteries, and for the levying of money upon all classes of his subjects; these severities, added to his vexatious prohibition of popular holidays, aroused a storm of indignation which burst into open revolt on the 3rd day of October, 1636, as detailed in the following extracts.

The records are extracted from the Calendars of State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII, for the years 1536-7, edited by Gardner; references are made in connection with each article, stating dates (when given), and the Calendar number.

The public records, however, give only fragmentary accounts of the rising in Westmorland and Cumberland, and it is not until peace was restored and the three prominent leaders in these counties were on their trial in the Tower of London, that we get from their depositions anything like a consecutive history of the rebellion in the two counties.

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The account of the first rising in Lincolnshire is from Calendars of State Papers, vol. XI, 1536.

THOMAS LORD BURGH TO HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 533. 3rd Oct.]

Sir William Askew, and other your Grace's commissioners of your subsidy appointed to sit at Caster this Tuesday requiring me, Sir Robert Tyrwytt, and others to be with them; suddenly came thereby a great multitude of people from Loweth, and was within a mile of us. Thereupon the inhabitants made us a direct answer that they would pay no more silver, and caused the bells to be rung "a larome". There was no remedy but to return to our houses, and the people so fast pursued that they have taken Sir Robt. Tyrwytt, Sir William Askew, Thomas Portyngton, Sir Thomas Mes-sendyn, Thomas Mowne, with other gentlemen. I hear the commonalty increase to them "and I fear will do more, because they have taken the gentlemen who have the governance in those parts under your Highness." I have sent to my lord Steward, the lord Darssy, and others to be in readiness "to make them a breakfast." Sanby, Tuesday night, 3 Oct.

SIR ROBT TYRWHYT AND THREE OTHERS TO
HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 534.]

This 3rd October we, by your commission for levying your second payment of your subsidy, were assembled in Caster, Linc. There were at our coming within a mile of the town 20,000 of your "true and faithful subjects" assembled because the report went that all jewels and goods of the churches were to be taken away to your Grace's Council, and people put to new charges. They swore us to be true to your Grace and to take their parts and then conveyed us from Caster to Louth, 12 miles distant, where we remain till they know further of your gracious pleasure. Desire a general pardon, "or else we be in such danger that we be never like to see your Grace nor our own houses," as the bearer can show, for whom we beg credence. Your said subjects have desired us to write that they are at your command "for the defence of your person or your realm." Signed: Robt. Tyrwhytt, William Ayscugh, Edward Madeson, Thomas Portyngton.

G. EARL

G. EARL OF SHREWSBYRY TO HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 536.]

This morning one Meryng of Sonbye, Notts., came to me from lord Burrowe to show me that your commons about Horne Castle were assembled to the number of 3,000. The assembly began on Saturday last, and yesterday they sent to my lord Burrowe to be their captain or else they would pull him out of his house at Gaynysburrowe this day, whereupon he came by night to Meryng's house. They had taken your commissioners of subsidy, viz., Sir Wm. Askewe, Tyrwytt, and Skypwyth, knights, and Turney and Portyngton, esquires, and sworn them to be true to Horne Castle and them. Also they had taken your Grace's surveyors at the priory of Lowth park, Linc., and burnt their books before their faces. I had no notice in writing, but he that brought me the message is a substantial gentleman. Begs to know what to do. At my poor lodge in Shefeld Park, 4 Oct. Signed: "G. Shrouesbury."

CHR. ASCUGH, GENTLEMAN USHER TO THE KING,
TO CROMWELL.

[1536, 6 Oct. Cal. No. 567]

Has been as far as he could without being taken by the insurgents. They number 10,000 or 12,000 spears, well harnessed and 30,000 others, some harnessed and some not. They are this night at Lincoln, "and there prepared for." The country rises wholly as they go before them. Thinks lord Hosey will be taken to-night or to-morrow by noon, for he dare not stir, and none of his tenants will rise for him. The journeymen will not abide with their masters, and no one is left in the towns who can bear harness,

About Stamforthe, Spalldyng, and Peterborough they are very faint in rising against the rebels. Advises that the gentlemen should have commissions to charge the people to rise and certify them that the King would come down. Hears that they murmur among themselves that if they hold not together they will be undone, for it is reported that they shall pay the third part of their goods to the King and be sworn what they are worth, and if they swear untruly other men will have their goods. Some of them have gone to Gainsborough, and say they will burn lord Borugh's house and all the town unless he comes in again, for he escaped by reason of a good horse, and his man was slain. They have hanged Mellesent, Cromwell's servant, baited Bellowe to death with dogs, with bull skin upon his back, with many rigorous words against Cromwell.

ARTICLES

ARTICLES ADDRESSED BY THE REBELS "TO THE KING, OUR SOVEREIGN LORD."

[1536. Cal. No. 705.]

1. By the suppression of so many religious houses the service of God is not well performed and the people unrelieved. 2. They desire the repeal of the Act of Uses, which restrains the liberty of the people in the declaration of their wills concerning their lands, as well in payment of their debts, doing the King service, and helping their children. 3. The tax or "quindezine" payable next year is leviabie of sheep and cattle, which are now in manner utterly destroyed "in the said shire." The people will therefore be obliged to pay 4d. for a beast and 12d. for 20 sheep, which will be an "important" charge considering their poverty and losses these two years past. 4. The King takes of his Council, and has about him, persons of low birth and small reputation, who have procured these things for their own advantage, whom we suspect to be lord Cromwell and Sir Ric. Riche, Chancellor of the Augmentations. 5. Are grieved that there are bishops of the King's late promotion, who have subverted the faith of Christ, viz., the bishops of Canterbury, Rochester, Worcester, Salisbury, St. Davids, and Dublin. Think the beginning of all this trouble was the bishop of Lincoln.

Proclamation by Robert Aske, denying that they have assembled on account of imposition laid on them, but because evil disposed persons in the King's Council intend to destroy the Church and rob the whole body of the realm. Whether this be true we put it to your conscience; and if you fight against us and win, you put both us and you and your heirs and ours in bondage for ever. Therefore if you will not come with us we will fight against you and all who stop us. "Per me Robertum Askeum, in the name of all the baronage and commonalty of the same."

OATH TAKEN BY THE INSURGENTS:—

"Ye shall not enter to this our pilgrimage of Grace for the common wealth, but only" for the maintenance of God's Faith and Church militant, preservation of the King's person and issue, and purifying the nobility of all villains' blood and evil counsellors; so to the restitution of Christ's Church and suppression of heretics' opinions, "by the holy contents of this book."

Headed: Oath of all men sworn unto them.

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“A REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS COMMITTED TO SIR ARTHUR DARCY, KT., TO BE DECLARED TO THE KING'S HIGHNESS.”

[1536, 17 Oct. Cal. No. 760.]

(1) Where the commons before arose in the Marshland, Holdenshire, Holderness, Yorkswold, and the East Riding; they are now up in the West and North Ridings, Wenssedale, Coverdale, Swaldale, Mydderdale, Kyrkebieshire, Messhamshire, Langestorth, Craven, Cleveland, Dent, Sedbare, and all Richmondshire and Yorkshire. They are 60,000—40,000 harnessed—and march forward so that they were expected before this castle this day; 20,000 entered York yesterday, while great numbers were before Hull and Scarborough Castle. (2) They have surprised many gentlemen in their own houses and taken Sir Chr. Danbię, Sir William Malorie, John Norton, Richard Norton his heir, Roger Lassells, (Robert Bowes and Richard Bowes), Sir Ralph Ellerker, jun., Sir Oswald Willesforth, Sir Thos. Metham his son and heir, and Sir Piers Vavasor, (Sir John and Sir William Constable, of Holderness), and also lord Latymer. My lord of Cumberland, on his way to Hexham, returned for safety to Skipton Castle with lord Scrope. (3) The commons swear every man, priest and other, and charge them, on pain of death, to come to musters, where they pick out the best men. (4) They cannot be resisted, for no man can trust his tenants, and few their own servants. (5) They spare no man's goods (and say they will have the King's money wherever they find it). ((6) Many would gladly leave them but dare not). (7) The castle is wholly unfurnished and the town of Pounfreet and towns about will not aid us. The Commons stop the passages for victual. (8) We in the castle must in a few days either yield or lose our lives. Pomfret Castle 17 Oct.

“THE [FALSE] REPORT MADE IN THE NORTH COUNTRY.”

[1536, 18 Oct. Cal. No. 768-2.]

1. That every man shall bring in all the gold they have, and that it shall have the touch of the Tower. 2. “That there shall be no church within five miles, and that all the rest shall be put down,” and all the chalices, jewels, &c. taken. 3. That every man shall be sworn what substance he is of, and if he is worth more all his goods shall be taken. 4. No man shall eat white bread, goose, or capon without paying “a certain” to the King; 5, and a noble shall be paid for every wedding, burying, and christening. 6. No cloth shall

shall be made, but it shall be brought to a place assigned and sealed with two seals, and "his" name set upon it, and if it go in or shrink the goods of all those shall be forfeit. These things slanderously reported through the country make every man think they shall be undone for ever.

The answer of the King to this petition was not conciliatory, and matters became daily worse. The King appointed the Duke of Norfolk his lieutenant, with very large powers, which he could with difficulty carry out, as proved by the records printed in the Calendars.

THE REBELLION IN WESTMORLAND AND CUMBERLAND.

The following letters and papers relate to the progress of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland up to the end of 1536, when the proclamation of a general pardon was made, which event appears to divide the rebellion into two parts, spoken of as "before the pardon," and "after the pardon."

HENRY [CLIFFORD] EARLL OF CUMBERLAND TO HENRY VIII.

[Oct. 1536. Cal. No. 927.]

Before my last letter to your Highness I had sent my son to Berwick because it was impossible to convey him to you by policy for fear of the commons who were then up everywhere. In going to Berwick he was espied and fled to Carlisle Castle, where he lay four days unknown. Then the commons of Westmoreland and Cumberland besieged Carlisle, and the townsmen would have surrendered, but my son came forth among them and said he "would stand as my deputy their captain and jeopardy his life with them;" so they promised not to give over the town. The commons passed by for that time, but it is said they will assault it again within eight days and you know there is there neither ordnance nor powder, and the walls are putrified and down. I have continually written to your Grace, but my servants have been taken by the commons, "and lastly my lord of Norfolk took my letters, not doubting but your
Grace

Grace had the same wherein I declared unto your Grace" how the commons had robbed my parks. Since then they have spoiled my houses at Bardon and Carleton, which were so strong as to take three days in breaking. They have stolen my money and destroyed my evidences, and yet threaten to slay me and my servants. At my castle of Skypton, 31 Oct.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1536, 2 Nov. Cal. No. 955.]

Proclamation of a general pardon to commons dwelling north of Doncaster, who have lately committed open rebellion, tending to the ruin of the country and advancement of our ancient enemies the Scots, who, his Highness is informed, do with great readiness watch upon the same. But as their offences proceeded from ignorance his Highness has caused certain books to be sent them, by which they may see and acknowledge their errors. Any of them shall have by suit in Chancery the King's pardon under his great seal free of charge for all offences committed before 1 Nov. last. Provided always that they apprehend and deliver to the King Robert Aske, Hutton of Snape, Kichen of Beverley, William Humbler the bailiff, Henry Coke of Durham, shoemaker, Maunsell vicar of Brayton, and four others to be hereafter named, of Tynedale, Ryddesdale, the borders of Lancashire, Kendal and elsewhere, who, as ringleaders are excepted from this pardon, together with all who hereafter incite insurrection. Provided also that they declare their submission before the duke of Norfolk, or his deputies, whom the King intends with diligence to send into these parts as his lieutenant-general. Charges them to be true subjects, and make no unlawful assemblies, and in case they refuse the King will come in person "with a mayne force and army" to repress their malice to their utter confusion. Windsor, 2 Nov. 28 Hen. VIII.

CUMBERLAND TO FITZWILLIAM.

[1536, 6 Nov. Cal. No. 993.]

Yesternight I received the King's letters, copy enclosed, The commons throughout Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and most of Lancashire are wilfully set and minded, and the gentlemen taken with them likewise, rather for war than peace and daily spoil those yet unsworn to them who are but a small company. The commons of Westmofeland sent unto Sir Wm. Musgrave and Jack, his deputy at Bewcastle, to be sworn; but they, together

together with Eske and Lune, as the Gramez &c., replied they would be sworn to no rebels, and if my son at Carlisle would give them licence they would have harried all Cumberland and Westmoreland. Sir Wm. Musgrave, seeing the town of Carlisle in danger came in and helped my son, wherein he has deserved thanks of the King. If the commons have not such answer from the King as will content them, they will congregate in greater numbers than ever. Give credence to bearer, my son Henry Clifford's servant. At my castle of Skip-ton, 6 Nov.

The following letter from the rebels at Kirkby Stephen shows clearly that Lord Darcy, while professing to act for the King and against the rebellion, was secretly the confidential adviser of the leaders of the rising, and confirms the Duke of Norfolk in his denunciation of Lord Darcy as "the most arrant traitor that was living." See Cal. No. 909, p. — .

THE COMMONS OF WESTMORLAND TO LORD DARCY.

[1536, 15 Nov. Cal. No. 1080.]

Ask him to show them some favour concerning the wealth of their country, by giving them advice, "concernynge the gyrsumes for power men to be laid a parte but only penny farm (?) penny gyrsum, with all the tythes to remayn to every man hys awne, doynge therfor accordynge to thair dewtye, also taxes casten emongst the benefest men, as well tham in abbett with in us as thai that is notte incumbent."

Wish to know Darcy's pleasure, what they do in these causes. Think that they may put in their room to serve God others that would be glad to keep hospitality, for some of them are no priests that have the benefice in hand, and some are lord Cromwell's chaplains. Accept no gentle men of thier counsel, because they are afraid of them as yet, "and to haffe nowte gyelt and sargeant corne layd downe, quyche we thynke war a great welthe for all the contrethe, and all the intakes yt noysum for power men to be layd down."

Ask for for answer in writing, for they have no more trust in him than any other. Kirkby Stephen, 15 Nov. *Subscribed in the same hand as the text*:—"By your servandes, Robert Pullen to dethe, Nycolles Musgrayffe, the caytaynes of Westmerland, and ye commaunallyte of ye saym."

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THE EARL OF DERBY TO THE GENTLEMEN OF
FURNESS.

[1536, 17 Nov. Cal. No. 1092.]

As it is thought that the commons of the barony of Kendall intend to come into Furness and Cartmell, and there take men sworn to them according to their unlawful appetite, and levy money, corn, and victuals, . . . he (Derby) has written to William Fitton, his deputy at Furness, desiring him in such case to assemble his strength, and call all Derby's servants and tenants, with the aid of all the gentleman of the country there, and that he endeavour to withstand the enterprise and take as many as possible by dint of sword and other politic means. If he can do this, let him keep his strength wholly together, . . . and if they invade the county, from Lancaster towards Preston, then he is to come after them and advance towards the earl of Derby, who God willing, will meet them ere they pass the county, to their displeasure. Asks the gentlemen to join the deputy, &c., &c. Lathom, Nov. 17.

THE DACRES.

[1536. Cal. No. 1331.]

Remembrance of the demeanor of the Dacres in Cumberland since the beginning of the insurrection of the commons.

Lord Dacre sent, 30 Oct., John Skelton, of Armynthwayt to Lord Clifford to offer that, if the commons besieged Carlisle Castle, he would come and aid Clifford if the latter would come to his aid in case he were besieged in Nayworth. Clifford answered he would do so. On Friday, 3 Nov., the commons mustered at Bradfeld, three miles from Carlisle, and there Sir Chr. Dacre stayed them for 10 days from besieging Carlisle. Meanwhile lord Dacre secretly left the country, his tenants of Burgh, Bonyes, and Gillesland being unsworn until after his departure. "[And] after the same appointment, the xv. [day of N]ovember, [a ge]neral muster w[as appointed] to be at a p[lace c]alled C . . . dbete, unto wh[ich place c]ome voluntarily Richard Dac[re] and took upon him [to be] grand captain of all Cumberland," and took as petty captains Chr. Lee, servant and kinsmen to lord Dacre, Wm. Porter, and Alex Appulby.

On Saturday, 9 Dec., when the duke of Norfolk was at Doncaster, Richard Dacre came to Carlisle with a company of Lord Dacre's tenants, and met lord Clifford in the church door; "and looked upon him with a haut and proud countenance, not moving his bonnet; and after going out of the churchyard chanced to meet Sir William

Musgrave

Musgrave, and without speaking any word plucked out his dagger and took him by the shoulder, and would have slain him in case he had not leaped back from him and plucked out his dagger, and that one of the sons of the lard Fetherstanhagh had not with his dagger drawn leapen betwixt them." Dacre and Fetherstanhagh drew their swords but were parted. Dacre then went into the Marketplace and cried "a Dacre, a Dacre", and gathered a great company. "And thereupon ends, as the lord [Clifford] had about Castle And the M[ayor] master Aglionby and other n of the town" commanded Richard Dacre to avoid the marketplace Dacre would not depart till the mayor and Edward Aglionby commanded the townsmen to harness, and then he went to his lodging and dined, and departed at his leisure, while the mayor sought protection of lord Clifford in the castle. Next Saturday* 17 Dec., Richard Dacre came Carlisle with some 20 men of Gillesland in harness for some unlawful purpose. Lord Clifford sent the mayor and Edward Aglionby to stay him, but he would not till he "perceived the lord Clifford, well accompanied, come to the market cross and make a proclamation for the k the tnes of th"

As the year 1536 neared its close the King thought, by proclaiming a pardon, to pacify the rebels, and induce them to return to their allegiance. Accordingly the royal herald went through the northern counties making his proclamation in all chief towns.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1536, 31 Dec. No. 1392.]

"This is the right and true copy,† word by word, of the high proclamation of pardon granted and given by the King our Sovereign Lord's highness Henry the VIII., King of England and of France, Defensor of the faith, lord of Ireland and in earth under God Supreme head of the Church of England, Monday the 12th of November [? Decmber] the 28th year of the said our Sovereign lord's reign published declared and proclaimed in Wakefield by me Thomas Hawley alias Clarensys King of Arms.

* The 17th was Sunday.

† No copy is to be found in the Records.

"The

"The said proclamation made in Halifax by me Clarensyus King of Arms, Wednesday the 14th [13th] of December, the reign of our Sovereign Lord above written; there was a son in law of Sir Richard Tempest.

"Item, also proclaimed by me Clarensyus in Bradford Thursday the 14th of the same month, Sir Richard Tempest. Item, also proclaimed by me Clarensyus at Leeds the 15th of the same month, the under-bailiff of the town. Saturday. Item, at Skiktoune [qr Skipton] the 16th of the same month, one Mr Clifton with other gentlemen. Item, at Kendal the 19th the bailiff of the town, four lords of Cumberland. Item, at Appleby, the Wednesday the 20th, Sir T. Wartonne with other. Item, Peryth, Thursday the 21st, Mr Dorley [? Dudley] and the Hi baylyfe. Item, at Carlisle on Saturday, the 23th of the same month, the mayor, the pryor, Eglyte. Item, at Cokermothe on Tuesday the 26th to Sir Thomas Warton Sir Thomas Crowmer (?)

"Item, the xxxjth of the same month at Lancaster, Sir Marmaduke Tonstall."

The proclamation of royal pardon which closed the year 1536, so far from pacifying the people, only increased their bitterness; they would not acknowledge their need for any pardon, and saw in the conditions of the pardon only a trap to make them inculcate themselves. The conditions attached to the pardon proclaimed through Westmorland and Cumberland the last few days of 1536 appear to have been lost, but may be inferred from the proclamation of general pardon Nov. 2nd, 1536, No. 955, which requires all persons desirous of obtaining pardon to sue for it in Chancery, and that they apprehend and give up to the King a number of the ringleaders named, and a certain other number yet to be named.

Only a few days after the pardon was proclaimed at Cockermouth, West Cumberland was in a state of anarchy, as described in the following letter.

THOMAS LAMPLIEWGH OF DOVENBY TO PETER
MEDLETON.

[1537, 4 Jany. Cal. No. 18.]

My wife, Elizabeth my daughter, and my other children send
recommendations

recommendations. The tenants of Broughton, on Saturday last, put the threshers of Sir Thomas Wharton out of "teyth laythe" (the tithe lathe or barn), of Broughton, and set a lock on the door, and yesterday your tenants did the same to your threshers at Talentire. Whereupon I sent for the bailiff and four sworn men, i.e., Robert Dogeson, Wheylwright, Wyte, and Nicolson, who came to me to-day and agreed to take off the lock and allow 14 days to see how the country ruled; but meantime your other tenants had gone to the barn and divided the corn amongst them. Remedy must needs be had at the law or by the law as you think best. I hear they will do the same to-day or to-morrow at Broughton, Eglisfield, and Ceton, "but your tenants are the first that I hear of contrary their promise unto you and me to suffer eight days after other occupied in the country." If I would have meddled for you they uttered me plainly that 2,000 would take their part against me. I intended to have written by Wm. Lambert. There is like to be as ill a world in this country as ever was. Dovenby, Thursday, 4 January.

Signed in same hand as the text.

In his own hand.

I learn that John Dogeson has broken his son William's head for meddling at the barn on his behalf, and has, together with one Wm. Watson, refused to take any part in their acts. I shall send word to my lord Warden and his deputies at Carlisle and to my cousin Aglanby whom the commons here dread most of all this country. This Friday at night. "All on this side of the Pawper [Paper] by me, the said Thomas Lampliewgh."

HENRY EARL OF CUMBERLAND TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 12 Jan. Cal. No. 71.]

Since the proclamation of your pardon by the herald there have been musters in Cumberland about Cockermouth, and some attempted in Westmoreland, "for the punishment of such as were there captains for such money as they had gathered among them." Also bills are set upon church doors about Harwood and other places in Yorkshire. Sends copy. The people are so wild that there is danger of further rebellion. As to the officers of the West Marches, there is good quiet with Scotland; but if the commons break again, Carlisle will be in great jeopardy both from them and the Scots. The walls of the town and castle are much decayed, as he has declared by sundry bills of petition, and could not stand the siege without aid. Desires credence for his son the bearer, and also for Sir Thomas
Wharton

Wharton, and Sir William Musgrave, who, with Sir Thomas Curwen, have been in jeopardy sundry times, and whom he thinks it right to send up. Skipton Castle, 12 January.

The method of the rebels was, by the show of numbers and bluster, to overawe the gentry, and under threats of death and spoliation, to compel them to swear allegiance to the rebel cause; and, by making them assume the position of captains, to use them as buffers between themselves and an enraged king; in this way a veritable reign of terror was created. The following records bear upon this state of things.

HENRY EARL OF CUMBERLAND TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 12 Jan. Cal. No. 72.]

Heretofore during this troublous time I durst not write to you because the commons were so minded against you that if any man had been taken therewith he should have died without help. The country are not minded to continue quiet, as you shall see by the copy of the King's letter and of a schedule enclosed, which was set on church doors in Yorkshire. If Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Cocker-mouth break again, they intend to have Carlill sworn to them, and in that case, I fear the Scots would be doing. As the walls and castle are weak a garrison of 300 men should be appointed there. When the country is grown to any stay I intend to come to see the King. Give credence to my son this bearer. Skipton Castle, 12 January.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1537, 19 Jan. Cal. No. 163.]

The articles of a bill that was sent to the town of Richmond, 19 Jan. that the commons in every township should rise on pain of death and make all lords and gentlemen swear on the mass book to these articles. (1) "To maintain the profit of Holy Church, which was the upholding of the Christian faith." (2) That no lord nor gentleman take anything of their tenants but their rents. (3) "To put down the lord Cromwell, that heretic and all his sect, the which made the King put down praying and fasting." (4) That no lord nor gentleman go to London.

If any lord of gentleman refuse this oath, put him to death, and put the next of his blood in his place, and if he deny it, put him to death likewise, and so on.

Truly

Truly a blood-thirsty "so on". The next proclamation, however, from "Kendal-land", breathes in poetical language, a much sweeter strain.

2 PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMONS:

[Cal. No. 163.]

"All commons stick ye together, rise with no great man to ye know his intent, keep your harness in your hands, and ye shall obtain your purpose in all this north land. Claim ye old customs and tenant right to take your farms by a God's penny, all gressums* and heightenings† to be laid down, then may we serve our sovereign lord King Henry the Eight, God save his noble Grace, we shall serve our land's lords in every righteous cause with horse and harness as custom will demand. Gentle commons have this in your minds; every man take his land's lord and ye have need, as we did in Kendilland, then ye shall speed, make your writing command them to seal to grant you your petitions at your desire. Lords spiritual and temporal, have it in your mind the world as it waveth, and to your tenants ye be kind, then may ye go a pilgrimage nothing you withstand and commons to you be true, through all Christian lands to maintain the faith of Holy Church as ye have take on hand. Adieu! gentle commons, thus I make an end, maker of this letter, pray Jesu be his speed, he shall be your captain when that ye have need."

SIR THOS. CURWEN TO SIR THOMAS WHARTON.

[1537, 21 Jan. Cal. No. 185.]

Asks him to show the King or Council the state of these West parts of Cumberland. From Plomlonde to Mongcaster "ys all on fowghter," and more rebellious than ever, both in words and deeds, nothing regarding the pardon. On Saturday 13 Jan., a servant of Dr. Lee's, called Robt. Wetlay came to Mongcaster and lodged at Roger Fylbeces house, and parson Wodall with him. Next day the country rose on him and took him to Agremonde, and on Monday to Cokkarmouth. All the people were assembled in the market place. Some said "Strike off his head," some said "Stick him." He was searched for letters from the King, and there were some found on him from Dr. Lee, but nothing in them concerning the King nor the

* Fines on a change of lords.

† Raising of rents.

commons.

commons. They all concluded to put him to death, but his life was saved for that day by young John Swenburne, by promising to bring him the next Monday to be tried in open market by 24 men whether he brought any other letters, as to the earl of Cumberland, Curwen or Whartton. If they can prove any letters from the King or his Council, they will put him to death. They have sent to all the places he came by as far as Skypton, to inquire. On Thursday, 18th inst., the commons spoiled all the tithe barns on the west side of Derwent.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 14 Feb. Cal. No. 419.]

The bearers of the following news came to York expecting to find Norfolk there, and it is feared that they have been reported worse than need be. On Monday last, when Cumberland's bastard son, [Thomas Clifford] deputy captain of Carlisle, came to take two traitors at Kirkby Stephen, they keeping the steeple, his horseman, in great part strong thieves of the West lands, began to spoil the town, and the inhabitants rose to defend both their goods and the traitors. A skirmish ensued, in which one or two rebels were slain, and Thomas my lord's bastard son, was forced to retire to Browham castle. The country has since risen, some say 4,000 or 5,000 together, and are sending for others to aid them. Hopes to look on them by Saturday night. Thinks no such thing would have occurred if this enterprise had been handled "as it was promised me." Fountains, 14 Feb.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 16 Feb. Cal. No. 439.]

As I have written to the King of this ungracious business, I forbear to write to you, save that if Thomas Clifford had not brought with him the thieves of Ask and Levon, and that they had not spoiled, this had not happened. I shall this night have with me most of the nobles and gentleman, not daring to assemble the people, for I cannot trust them. This journey will "pluck out the bottom of my purse," but, this pageant well played, this realm shall be the quieter. I shall not risk anything. If lord Dacre's company come to our aid we shall beat them easily; if not we will keep them in play with our horsemen. Of my letter to Sir Chr. Dacre I, for surer conveying, sent two copies for diverse men. I have sent into Westmoreland Sir Thomas Wharton, who is come from London, and Sir Thomas Curwen, and four gentlemen of Westmorland that have been
serving

servng with Thomas Clifford, whose names are in a bill, enclosed, to raise men. This night I will send 200 or 300 light horses to them, and have commanded them to fire the rebels' dwellings, to make them "scale,"* and, "if the traitors so sparcle," † not to spare the shedding of blood. As they are countrymen, I will send such as I can rely on. I will make haste, and on Sunday or Monday at latest we shall be busy with them. "Now shall appear whether for favour of these countrymen I forbare to fight with them at Doncaster," as the King showed me had been said. Richmond, 16 Feb.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 17 Feb. Cal. No. 448.]

Your Highness hath as much cause to thank God as ever had Prince. Sir Chr. Dacre has shown himself a noble knight. He set upon the rebels when they gave the assault to Carlisle, and has taken 700 or 800: how many more is not yet known for the chase was not finished when these men came away. Among others the friar of Knaresborough is taken. I have to go thither near 50 miles and shall make all the haste I can possible, and do such execution that others shall be afraid. Never saw so many well willing noblemen and gentlemen to atone for their former fault. Thinks there are above 4,000 tried men and the best geldings he ever saw, and if any rebellion should break out he should bring such a band out of these parts as would be fearful for enemies to look upon. Thomas Clifford has atoned for his first blunder, for when they were broken he issued out of Carlisle and followed chase at least 12 miles. Barna Castle, Saturday, 17 Feb.

NORFOLK TO THE COUNCIL.

[1537, 19 Feb. Cal. No. 468.]

Thanks for their last letter, with the King's approval of his proceedings. Thinks, if he suffered to follow his own mind for one month, he could give his Highness satisfaction. Has so many places to punish it will require some leisure, as he must be present at every punishment and proceed by martial law; for if he were to proceed by indictments many a great offender would be acquitted as having acted against his will. There is no lord or gentleman of these two shires but his servants have been at this new rebellion.

* † Both words signify "disperse."

"And

“ And, good Mr. Comptroller, provide you of a new bailey at Embleton, for John Jackson, your bailey will be hanged Thursday or Friday at the furthest, and I think some of your tenants will keep him company.” You will hardly believe the trouble I have to keep the prisoners, there are so many. Carlisle, 19 Feb.

HENRY VIII TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[1537, 22 Feb. Cal. No. 479.]

We have received your letters of the 16th, about the new assembly in Westmorland, and your others of the 17th by Sir Ralph Evers, touching the valiant and faithful courage of Sir Chr. Dacres in the overthrow of the traitors who made assault upon Carlisle, reporting also the good service done by Thomas Clifford, and the perfect readiness of all the noblemen and gentlemen in Yorkshire and those parts to have served in your company against them. We shall not forget your services, and are glad to hear also from sundry of our servants how you advance the truth, declaring the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, and how discreetly you paint those persons that call themselves religious in the colours of their hypocrisy, and we doubt not but the further you shall wade in the investigation of their behaviours the more you shall detest the great number of them and the less esteem the punishment of those culpable. 2. We desire you to thank those that were ready to have served us. We have thanked Sir Chr. Dacres in the letters which you shall receive herewith, and will shortly recompence him in a way to encourage others. 3. We approve of your proceedings in the displaying of our banner, which being now spread, till it is closed again, the close of our laws must give place to martial law; and before you close it up again you must cause such dreadful execution upon a good number of the inhabitants, hanging them on trees, quartering them, and setting their heads and quarters in every town, as shall be a fearful warning, whereby shall ensue the preservation of a great multitude. That done, ye shall close up our said banner both for the advancement of ordinary justice between parties and for the punishment of other malefactors, for which also we send you the commissions for Westmoreland and Cumberland. 4. You shall send up to us the traitors Bigod, the friar of Gnasborough, Leche, if he may be taken, the vicar of Penrith and Towneley, late chancellor to the bishop of Carlisle, who has been a great promoter of these rebellions, (the witch of York)* and one Dr. Pykering, a canon Birdlington. You are to see

* Erased.

to the lands and goods of such as shall be now attained, that we may have them in safety, to be given, if we be so disposed to those who have truly served us, for we hear there were among them divers freeholders and rich men. Finally, as these troubles have been promoted by the monks and canons of those parts, at your repair to Salleye, Hexam, Newminster, Leonarde Coste (Lanercost), St. Agathe, and such other places as have made resistance since the appointment at Doncaster, you shall without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause the monks to be tied up without further delay or ceremony.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, Feb. 24. Cal. No. 498.]

Since his coming to Carlisle on Sunday has put such order that besides rebels taken before he came, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday there came to him in effect all the offenders in this last insurrection from Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Cocker-mouth, who submitted as humbly as could be, and if ropes enough had been found would have come with the same about their necks. But they were no fewer than 6,000, out of whom, by the advice of the Council and gentleman of these parts, 74 were chosen as principal offenders and judged to suffer death by martial law, your banner being displayed. Appointed Sir Ralph Ellerker as mashall and Robert Bowys as your attorney to prosecute them. They shall be put to death in every town where they dwelt. Twelve of them here for the assault given to this city, and as many as chains of iron can be made for in this town and in the country shall be hanged in them; the rest in ropes. Iron is marvellous scarce. By no means that he could devise could he try out more that were stirrers of this rebellion except such as be fled. Did all he could with the help of Sir Chr. Dacre, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Thomas Curwen, Sir John Lawmpley, and other gentlemen of these parts. Had he proceeded by jury, thinks not the fifth man of them would have suffered; for they say I came out for fear of my life, or for fear of burning of my houses and destroying of my wife and children, &c.; "and a small excuse will be well believed here, where much affection and pity of neighbours doth reign. And, sir, though their number be nothing so great as their deserts did require to have suffered, yet I think the like number hath not be heard of put to execution at one time."

Has caused the vicar of Burgh to be taken, who at the first insurrection was a principal maintainer of the bishop of Rome. Can get no proof that he consented to the last rebellion, but he prayed

prayed for the Pope in the pulpit. If the King will have him "justified" it must be by *oyer determiner* under a commission to persons named in the enclosed schedule. Carlisle, 24 Feb.

NAMES OF PERSONS CONDEMNED TO DIE AT
CARLISLE, 24 Feb. anno 28.

Co. Westmld.:—Thos. Tibbee, Robt. Rowlandeson, Edm. Playce, Peter Johnson, and Thos. Syll, of Kirkeby Stephen parish; Wm. Shawe, of the ganlownd; Hugh Dent, Lancelot Shawe, Edw. Bowsfell, Ric. Wallor, John Bowsfell, Roger Gibson, Jenkyn Winton; Hen. Gibson, of Mallerstrang; Chr. Blenkinsoppe, of the parish of Burgh; Wm. Wylkyne and Thos. Taylour of Sorbye; Thos. Westale and Rynian Wallour, of Soreby; Robt. Patrick and Hen. Gibson, Staynmore; Ant. Wharton, of Nateby; Thos. Wrey and Hen. Bursy, of Sulby; Thos. Sutton and Ant. Amontson, of Little Musgrave; Edm. Sponer and Smyth, of Assheby; Wm. Nelson, Rowland Raysebeck, John Hall, Hugh Beyle, Robt. Hodgesson, Wm. Waterman, Launcelot Dragley, and Hugh Stedeman, of the parish of St. Michael's in Appleby; Hugh Nutt, Ric. Burrell, and Geo. Morland, of the parish of St. Lawrence in Appleby; Thos. Jackeson, of Bongate; John Bryan, of King's Meburne; John Dobson, of Dutton; Gilbert Denyson, of Smardale; Thos. Hall and Wm. Wallour, of Hurteley.

Co. Cumb. :—Thos. Burtbecke, Edw. Whitelocke, John Stephenson, Robt. Stephenson, Michael Grey, Wm. Stephenson, Sir Edw. Perith, chaplain, and Edw. Stephenson of Perith; Wm. Buntying, of Grastocke; Robt. Goodale and Launcelot Richardson, of Newton; Robt. Fyssher and Thos. Bell, of Cockermouth; John Wilson, of Brygham, jun.; John Jackeson, of Emelton; Ric. Cragge, of Eglesfyld; Percival Hudson, of Perdishewe; Chr. Smyth, of Branthwayte; John Bewley, of Dereham; John Peyrson, of Talentyre; Sander Banke, of Wedoppe.

SIR THOMAS WHARTON TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 12 Mar. No. 641.]

According to the King's commands repaired to Norfolk at York, and before him into Westmoreland and Cumberland, where he did all he could to serve the King. After Norfolk's departure from Carlisle, went with the Sheriff of Cumberland to the execution of the traitors in that shire, and remained at Cockermouth and thereabouts. That country stands in good obedience. Repaired to the poor country

country of Westmoreland which is also obedient. The goods forfeited of those traitors amount to a good sum. My Lord of Cumberland has seized all in Westmoreland, and the sheriff in Cumberland. Thinks the goods in Westmoreland worth 300 mks., in Cumberland the third part thereof or under. The West Borders are quiet. Cockermonth Castle, 12 March.

By a refinement of cruelty devised by the King, the persons condemned to death were hung in their own localities, and there left hanging in the sight of their families and neighbours, no man daring to give them burial. Out of this terrible state of things arose the gruesome episode forming the subject of the following letters.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

Sends a bill sent by Sir Thos. Wharton and Sir Thos. Curwen of examinations of those who have taken down part of your rebels where they were hanged. They are all women—not one man. “It is a small number concerning seventy-four that hath be taken down, wherein I think your Majesty hath not be well served.” Has not been well used himself, being kept ignorant of it so long, and that he can get no better knowledge of the illdoers in spite of quick messages. Desires to know how he shall punish offenders, both men and women. If my lord of Cumberland under whose rule all this was done be something spoken to, the offenders will be the sooner known. Sheriffhutton, 16 May.

SAYINGS OF CERTAIN WOMEN CONCERNING THE TAKING DOWN FROM THE GALLOWS AND BURIAL OF THEIR HUSBANDS.

(1) Of Janet late wife of John Jakson of Hemelton, traitor :—How she and Margaret Jakson her mother-in-law, Janet Symson, Isabel Adeson, widow, one Rodre's widow of Emellton, Janet Berkyd of Cockermonth and many other women, buried him in Cockermonth churchyard on a Monday at nightfall. (2) Of Chr. Smyth's wife:—She and John Hudson's wife, Necollson's widow and Newcom's widow of Brawnthat, and John Smyth's wife and Sander Buttermer's wife buried him in Brawntwhat churchyard on Shyer Thursday in the night. (3) Of Ric. Crage's wife:—She and Janet Harres and Janet Newcom of Egyllsfelde brought her husband's
body

body home, but the priest would not suffer it to be buried, so she buried it in a dyke. (4) Of John Wyllson's wife:—She and Thomas Bell's wife, one Besse dwelling with Ric. Atkynson, Nan Newcom and Janet Dyckson of Bregham buried Wyllson in Brygham churchyard, on a Wednesday. (5) Of Percival Hudson's wife:—Brought her husband to Torpeno churchyard, but the vicar would not suffer him to be buried, so she took him back to the place he had lain, and three days after she and a women she had hired buried him in Torpeno churchyard at night. (6) Of Thomas Byll's wife:—Cut down her husband with a "thorncroke" and, with Janet Jenkyns, Besse wife of one Blandeman and 2 of her own daughters, buried him at daybreak in Cokermouth churchyard. (7) Of John Fyssher's wife:—She and other women buried him in Cokermouth churchyard. (8) Of John Buele's wife:—Knows not who cut him down. After he had lain 9 days where he fell, she wound him in a sheet, and 8 days after, she and Annes Burton, (?) John Wylson's wife, Ellen Stevenson, Janet Carde, and Ellen Man buried him at night in Deram churchyard. (9) Of John Peyrson's wife:—Did not know of his "lowsying" from the chain. Gave a sheet to Besse Matson to wind him in and afterwards, with Dan Symson's wife, John Staysse's wife, and Ric. Brown's wife, buried him by daylight in Brydekycke churchyard. *Signed*, Thomas Curwen—Thomas Whartton.

SIR THOMAS CURWEN AND SIR THOMAS WHARTON TO NORFOLK.

Have received his letters dated Sheroffhevton, 11 May, commanding them to inquire into the taking down of the traitors executed for their late rebellion. Have taken examinations at Cokermouth, Penrith, and Carlisle, and send the result by bearer: the people are anxious to retain Norfolk's favour and have aided the examinations. In Westmorland divers persons under the earl of Cumberland have been investigating this. In that county eight traitors were hanged in chains and in Cumberland six. Norfolk seems to impute remissness to them; refer to their former letter for their services to the King and his Grace, and beg favour. Credence for bearer. Karliell, 19 May.

"A brief remembrance for the cutting down of those that was hanged in ropes and chains;" upon examinations taken before Sir Thos. Curwen and Sir Thos. Whartton, 18 May.

Cases of Percival Hudson, Thos. Bell, Alex. Bancke, John Wylson, John Jackeson, Robt. Fyscher, Chr. Smith, Rycc. Crag, one Bewly, and one Person. All these except Bancke were buried by their wives

wives, who in some cases confess also to cutting them down and burying them by night. John Dawson is suspected by John Richardson, clk., of cutting down Bancke. Crag's cousin and Bewley's brother afterwards died from the "corruption" of the bodies they cut down.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

Sends a letter from Sir Thomas Clifford, concerning the king of Scots, and one from Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir Thomas Curwen with the copy of their certificate touching the taking down of the rebels in those parts. Wharton and Curwen's letter, which came this afternoon, will show that Norfolk was not privy nor pleased with the taking down of the offenders. Begs him to show this to the King.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

Sends a certificate from Sir John Lowther of the offenders who took down and buried 74 traitors in Westmoreland and Cumberland. If the King is displeased at that matter not being sufficiently tried, will not be sorry that he should show it by his letters to those who have the rule there.

CROMWELL TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

The King is not satisfied with the depositions "taken of certain women anepst the cutting down and burial of the traitors in Westmoreland and Cumberland," which could not have come only of women's heads. If those depositions had been earnestly taken the truth might have been known. Norfolk must find out and punish the principal doers.

The following papers, dealing with the apprehension and trial, in the Tower of London, of the three principal leaders of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland, Robert Thompson, vicar of Brough, William Colyn, bailiff of Kendal, and Dr. Townley, chancellor to Bishop Carlisle, afford a tolerably complete story of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland.

The atrocious spelling of names in the depositions in the Tower, may doubtless be attributed to the London scribe, who took them down as best he could from the lips of men whose dialect he did not understand.

In

In No. 479 it has been seen that the King required the vicar of Penrith to be sent up, while in 594 and 609 Norfolk says he sends up the vicar of Brough, without explaining why the vicar of Brough instead of Penrith is sent, from which it would appear that a letter giving the reasons must have been lost from the State Records, and, singularly enough, just such a letter appears in Nicolson and Burns' *History of Westmorland*, in treating of Brough-under-Stainmore. Nicolson and Burn say:—"In the year 1537, 28 Hen. VIII, after Aske's rebellion in that year, we find a vicar of Brough, but his name is not mentioned in a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the King."

Aglianby I doubt not or now hath shewed your highness what was done at Carlisle. And though none were quartered because I knew not your pleasure therein before; yet all the threescore and fourteen be hanged in chains or ropes upon gallows or trees in all such towns as they did dwell in. And whereas your majesty would have sent the Vicar of Perith to you it is not of Perith but of Brughe that your grace doth mean for there is none such, for whom I have sent to my lord of Cumberland for I left him in his keeping. And also I have for Doctor Towneley and doubt not within three days to have them both with me and so shall send them up.

Clearly this, or some such letter of explanation, should have come in between No. 498, Feb. 14, and No. 594, March 7.

In the three following articles we have the depositions of the two Cumberland, and one Westmorland, leaders of the rebellion, when on their trial in the Tower, wherein we get fairly consecutive accounts of the origin and progress of the rebellion, and we now learn that the name of the famous vicar of Brough was Robert Thompson; he was probably a Penrith man, as his mother lived there, and his sister was wife of Gilbert Whelpdale, one of the captains of the Penrith rebels.

There is no mention of a vicar of Penrith during the rising;

rising; Norfolk's expression referring to the vicar of Penrith, "there is none such," may indicate that the living of Penrith was then vacant.

The Sir (priest) Edwd. Perith, who was chaplain to the Penrith rebels, and carried the cross before them, was probably the priest of Bishop Strickland's chantry in Penrith church. He was one of the seventy-four hung for taking part in the rebellion.

NORFOLK TO THE COUNCIL (extract).

[1537, 7 Mar. Cal. No. 594.]

I do n[ow send] by Rudstone Doctor Towneley, against whom I can [find nothing] sith the pardon, nor of no great effect before. I hu him in no such matter, the said Rudstone sh him the vicar of Burgh,* aga[in]st whom my [lord of [Cumber]londe hath advertised me he can find no mat[ter since the time] of the pardon other than praying [fo]r the bishop [of Rome on]ly. Before he was of all other one of the wors[t].

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL (extract).

[1537, 8 Mar. Cal. No. 609.]

Sends to the King, by Rudstone, the bearer Dr. Towneley and the [vic]ar of Burgh, and will send Dr. Pykeryng [as] soon as he can cause him to [be t]aken.

[1537. Cal. No. 687.]

Examintion taken 20 March, 28 Hen. VIII., before Mr. Tregonwell, Mr. Layton, and Mr. Legh, doctors of law, in the Tower of London in presence of me John Rice, notary public.

Sir, Robert Thompson, vicar of Burgh under Stanesmore, answers to the interrogatories as follows:—

On Sunday before St. Luke's day the curate of Kirkby Stephen left out, at bidding of the beads, St. Luke's day; whereupon the parishoners would have killed him, but he "took a sacring bell and rang it, and bade the said St. Luke's day as holyday." Next day they of Kirkby Stephen summoned the country to muster on Sandeforthe Moor, because they were up in Richmondshire, Yorkshire, and the bpric of Durham already. Examinee tarried till the men of Burgh and

* Robert Thompson, vicar of Brough-under-Stainmoor, in Westmorland. See No. 687. (Note in Calendars).

Kirkby were gone and then fled, by Warcopp and Sandefurth to avoid the mustering place, towards his mother's at Perith; but was arrested by five men with spears and bows and brought back to Standeforthe (*sic*) Moor to the captains of the assembly, Robert Pullayn, Nicholas Musgrave, Chr. Blenkinsopp, and Robt. Hilton, and sworn. He was then allowed to go [to] his mother, returning next day. That day, Tuesday, they went to Sir Thomas Wharton's house, but he was fled; so they took his eldest son and appointed to meet on the morrow at Kirkby Stephen. Which they did, and then went to Lamerside hall, thinking to find Sir Thomas of Wharton and other gentlemen with Mr. Warcopp there, but found only servants, so Pulleyn took the keys of the house and appointed a day for Sir Thomas and Mr. Warcopp to come in or else lose their goods. Then Pulleyn swore men to bring in the goods of those who would not come to them; and settled that Nich. Musgrave, with his side of the water of Eden, should go down the one side and Robt. Pullayn with his side, down the other, to Perith on the morrow. Pullayn did so, but Musgrave tarried that Thursday night about Lowther and sought for Sir John of Lowther. On Friday Pullayn and his company returned from Perith towards Westmoreland, and at Amonte Bridge swore Mr. Dudley and others and then sent examine to Perith to help the commons with his counsel at their desire, for Gilbert Whelton, [Whelpdale] his brother in law had the day before been proclaimed one of the captains there. They had gathered there, before Pullayn's coming, on a letter from beyond Stanesmore sent from the commons of Yorkshire, Richmondshire, and the Bishopric, commanding Westmoreland and Cumberland to assemble and take oath to be true to God, the Church, and the Commonwealth; and, that done, to restore suppressed abbeyes and see that there should be no war with the Scots; and then the substantial gentlemen to resort to the assembly of the commons in Yorkshire. Went that Friday to Perith where they were assembling on Perith fell. The four captains of Perith, Ant. Hutton, John Beck, Gilbert Whelpedale, and Thos. Burbeck known as Charity, Faith, Poverty, and Pity, sent the copy of the "said letters" to Sir Edward Musgrave, who was then sworn with all the parish of Edynell. All the country about Perith was sworn; examine ministered the oath, for he had been proclaimed Poverty's chaplain and their secretary; he also "instructed to the crier this proclamation at every meeting" which was devised by the captains and others and written by Sir George Corney, and other letters in the captain's and common's names. One Sir Edw. Perith bore the cross before them and was called the cross-bearer. The proclamation was to the effect* that, as the rulers did not defend them from thieves and Scots, they had chosen the four captains, who commanded all to live in peace and to say 5 aves, 5 paters, and a creed, &c. The captains appointed the next meeting, and at night all returned home and met on the fells in the day. Next day, Saturday the commons beyond Eden came and took the oath and were appointed to meet on Monday at Cartlogan Thornes; which they did; and thither came Dr. Townley, with townships about Caldebecke, and Dr. Townley, Richard Bewley and other gentlemen were sworn. Thither came Sir John Lowther and required certain men of Sowrebie to go with him to keep the "day of March." There they chose captains for Caldebecke, the barony of Greystock, the parts beyond Eden, and the Forest of Englewood, two for each. On Wednesday they met at Kylwatlyng

* Given in the original words.

Howe and Cuthbert Hutton, with the gentlemen and commons there, took the oath. There proclamation was made for the parson of Melburbie to come in; for he, Dr. Towneley, the vicar of Sowrebie, and the vicar of Edynnall were appointed "Chaplains of Poverty," to instruct the commons in the Faith on pain of death. On the Wednesday and Thursday the four captains in the chapel of Pereth followed ext. in procession with their swords drawn, and then put up their swords and ext. said mass, which they called the captains mass and declared the Ten Commandments and showed that the breaking of these was the cause of that trouble. One of the priests thought they should not have naked swords in church, so it was discontinued. On Friday next they assembled on Sanderdale Hill, where messengers came from Carlisle showing that Carlisle would take no oath, but otherwise would be with them. The commons who dwelt thereabouts said they were undone unless Carlisle took their part, "for Aske and Levyn and the Black Quarters would rob and destroy them"; for word came that divers men's goods about Carlisle had been driven away that day. It was proclaimed no one should bring victuals to Carlisle. Examine lay at Cockermouth that night. On Saturday the meeting was at Mewtey Hill, three miles from Cockermouth, where the abbot of Holme, Thos. of Dalston and others were sworn, and the two captains appointed for the lordship of Holme. The council there ordered Sir John of Lowther "which was at Caerlill," the abbot of Holme, Dr. Townley, Richard Blenkow, and Thomas Dalston to go to Carlisle to know whether the mayor would meet the commons on Monday next "whether they would keep the commons' enemies, meaning the Scots thieves and robbers, from them," and that the mayor should take the oath of his brethren at Carlisle. The abbot, Dr. Townley, and Dalston, feared to go; so one Percy Simpson "said they would never be well till they had stricken off all the priests' heads," saying they would but deceive them." Then the crier, Thos. Berwick, commanded the honor of Cockermouth to meet the commons of Cumberland on Monday at Burford Oke, and all dispersed. Examine went to Caldbeck and on the morrow to Dalston; whence the Abbot of Holme and Dr. Townley went to Carlisle with their message, and the vicar of Dalston with them; but they were not suffered to enter the city, and returned saying proclamation was made that the King and commons were agreed. They sent examine to Perith: but no such proclamation had been made there. On Monday at Burford Oke, where the commons numbered 15,000, Dr. Townley gave the oath to Parson Melmurby and two brethren of Carlisle, and another message was sent to Carlisle, Parson Melmurby and Dr. Townley being two of the messengers. Examine returned to Perith and went no more to the commons. Heard afterwards that Sir Chr. Dacres made a stay concerning Carlisle. Robt. Pulleyn went from the commons of Westmoreland to Robert Aske and was at the first meeting at Doncaster; and, returning to Appleby, proclaimed that priests should bid holidays and beads as before; and, with the aid of Nich. Musgrave and 24 others, drew up articles concerning "there gressuns and not gylte* and serjeant foude (?)," and that every man should have his own tithes corn, which was sent to Aske at York against the consultation there before the last meeting at Doncaster by Pullen and Musgrave and six others, with the vicar of Moreland and this examine. Aske allowed most of the articles, and gave instructions to inquire into the visitation of Dr. Layton and Dr.

* The nout-geld, or cornage rent.

Legh and to get the opinion of the clergy of Westmoreland and Cumberland concerning the suppression of abbeys, supremacy, &c. The clergy would determine nothing, but wrote to the abp. of York referring all to him, which letter was stopped by Pulleyn. From Doncaster Pulleyn brought certain articles agreed upon at the meeting and to be determined at a Parliament to be held shortly. Humbly begs pardon of the King, for his foresaid offences, according to his petition in his own hand.

Also the "said captains and qwests" of Westmoreland confiscated the fruits of benefices of them that were absent, and "Sesses" the beneficed men present, for the maintenance of the commons. They also "compelled the gentlemen to seal to their demands concerning this and ingressions or fines." More he knoweth not touching the first insurrection.

Had nothing to do with the last insurrection. Heard that because Robt. Pulleyn had paid his "nowt guylt," and put divers men in possession of lands and taken bribes, the commons grudged thereat; so that some about Kirkby Stephen would have pulled him out of his house in the Xmas holidays. Thus the country was put out of order. Shortly afterwards one Mr. Rose was robbed "and the country was afraid of burning." On Twelfth day the captain of Carlisle came (as was supposed) to take Nich. Musgrave, who gat him to the steeple with one Thomas Tybie. Then they of Kirkby Stephen "plucked down the new intacks or inclosures," and sent to other parishes to do the like, which was done at Burgh 28 January. Then the captain of Carlisle came to take Musgrave and Tybie, and there was a fight. Was commanded by Thos. Taylor, Matthew Wharton, and Chr. Blenkinsopp, in the name of the parish, to pray for the Pope; and "for fear of his life," bade the beads 28 Jan., commanding all to pray for the King as head of the Church and for the Bp. of Rome and cardinals. Then he fled to Clyfton, 14 miles off, and was there when the captain of Carlisle came to take Musgrave and Tybie and the commons rose and went towards Carlisle.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1527. Cal. No. 687.]

Confession of Barnarde Towneley, clerk.

The commons of Calbeyke, 23 Oct. last, by command of Mownse, John Beyke, Gilbert Weldall and W. Burkbeyke, captains of Penrethe, assembled and took me and Ric. Bewley and Ric. Vachell, gent., with them and met the commons of Penreth, the barony of Greystoke, Hutton, Shewlton, Soreby, and others at Cartlogan. There the vicar of Bowrght* under Steynes More in the name of the whole commons made us take the oath. Sir John Lowther and other gentlemen were present. On Wednesday after they brought me to Kylwatlynhow, where the vicar of Burght caused the crier to proclaim that if the parson of Thurkyld and others would not attend them they should strike off our heads and set my head on the highest place in the diocese. On the Friday next the said vicar and commons came to Sanderdale; and there John Denton, Richard Blanderhorset and John Thowmson of Carlill came to them under safe conduct. After

* This and all other mentions of the vicar are marked with a cross in the margin.

they

they left the vicar caused the crier to cry that none should bring stuff to Carlisle market. From thence the said vicar and captains of Penrith went to Cocker-moath, and, on the Saturday after, came to Mutno (?)^{*} Hill where the abbot of Holm was brought in by the vicar and John Dalston and sworn. There were present John Leight, John Shelton of Bramwegth (?), John Lampley, gentlemen, and others. The said vicar and captain appointed the abbot of Holme, Thomas Dalston, Parson Thyrkyll Richard Blenkehew, and myself to go to Carlisle on Sunday next and desire the mayor and his brethren to come on Monday to Bramthewthe Oke and take the oath and then return and swear the commons of the town, after which all would return to their houses. On Sunday the abbot of Holm and I came to Dalston and sent Sir William Robyn to Carlisle to speak with Thomas Dalston and see whether Parson Thurkylde and Ric. Blenkhow were come. He brought word there was a proclamation that no man should make unlawful assembly,—so we desired the vicar of Burght, who was at Dalston, to stop Penrith from coming down; albeit when he came to Penrith he and the captains gave warning “against morning,” and said this stop was but craft and falsehood. On Monday next the honor of Cocker-moath came to Burnthewth Oke and the said captains and vicar sent Richard Bewley, Parson Thurkylde, Lancelot Schaldwylde, Richard Blenkhow, John Swynburne, jun., and myself to do the message to Carlisle, and we sent forward two canons of Carlisle, Sir Ric. Huttwythe, and Sir Wm. Florens, to cause the town to meet us. There met us Richard Blanderherst and John Towmson, who brought the copy of the king’s proclamation, which we immediately sent, with Bewnley, Salkylde, Blenkhow, and Swynburne, to the commons who thereupon dispersed—to meet there again on Friday next 3 Nov., all except the commons of Cocker-moath. Parson Thurkylde and I showed our message to the mayor, who desired respite till the morrow. We then went back and found what stay had been taken, and sent Edward Patenson to inform the mayor of it. On Friday 3 Nov. the captains and commons of Penrith and most of the country except Cocker-moath, came to Brunfelde Oke beside Carlisle, and thither came Christopher Dacre under safe conduct, and he and I, with Parson Thurkylde, Riche Bewnley, Cudbert Hutton, and others persuaded the commons, the vicar of Burght being absent, to disperse and make no further insurrection. Sir Christopher and I were to desire the mayor that the commons might be received in Carlisle as before, and I to desire the lord Clyfforth in the castle “that the soldiers should not ride on the commons.” We went and showed this to the mayor, and proclamation was made of it; and then I and Edward Eglanby went to the castle and showed it to lord Clyfforth, who was well content.

Never after this came amongst the commons. Begg he may be partaker of the king’s pardon to his subjects north of Trent, protesting he was with the commons against his will.

The beginners of the insurrection in Cumberland were the four captains of Penrith; Faith, Poverty, Pity, and Charith, as the vicar of Burght proclaimed them at each meeting.

The cause of the insurrection was that the vicar of Burght read a letter from Richmondshire, as he said, to this tenor, “Well beloved brethren in God, we greet you well, signifying unto you that we your brethren in Christ have assembled us

^{*} Moota.

in readiness for the maintenance of the faith of God, His laws, and His Church, and where abbeys was suppressed we have restored them again and put the religious men into their houses, wherefore we exhort you to do the same." This he read, calling himself Poverty, chaplain and secretary." Knows not who brought it.

Conjectures that the intention was to destroy the gentlemen, that none should pay ingrossments to his landlord, and little or no rent or tithe.

The last insurrection by Westmorland, Penrith and Greystoke made a "sawtt" at Carlisle on Friday before the first Sunday of Lent. Heard of no captains but Nicholas Musgreve and Thomas Thebe, and never a gentleman among them. The commons of Cocker-mouth who came down the Saturday and Sunday after perceiving that Calbeyke would not rise, retired.

(ADDITION).—There were four captains in Cumberland—Thomas Byrkbek, Gilbert Whelpedale, John Beke, and Robert Mounsey—who went in procession in the parish church daily, when there with their 4 swords drawn, following the vicar of Browgh. After the Gospel the vicar gave them one of X commandments and this was called the captains' mass. The vicar was taken for a prophet.

ii. 20 March. Bernard Towneley, examined by John Tregunwell, Ric. Layton, and Thomas Leigh, Doctors of Law.

(1) Was in no way privy to the 2nd commotion. (2) Never sent but two letters to his master the Bp of Carlisle. The first was that he trusted, when the country was more pacified, to gather his revenues, the second was that after Norfolk was come, and the country quiet, he would "do his diligence for his discharge, meaning to gather the King's money." (3) Never had, at his last being here, any communication with the Bp of Carlisle concerning any intended insurrection or commotion.

WILLIAM COLYNS, BAILIFF OF KENDAL.

[1537. Cal. No. 914.]

Examination taken 12 April, 1537, in the Tower of London, before Dr. Legh, Dr. Peter, and Mr. Lieutenant, in the presence of me, John ap Rice, notary public, registrar, &c.

Wm. Colyns, bailiff of Kendal, examined, says that George Willan and Wm Garnet, of Dent, some 10 days before any insurrection in Kendal, came to Kendal town and showed Sir James Laborne of the commons of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Richmondshire, who were up and had warned Dent and Sedbery to come in to them or the would come and spoil the countries of Dent, Sedberg, and Kendal. They desired advice of Mr. Layborne as steward there under Mr. Parre to withstand the said rebels. He told them to be still and meddle not, as they afterwards said to examinat, who also advised them not to meddle and said, "If we may enjoy our old ancient (?) customs here, we have no cause to rise." The said two persons before leaving Kendal that night, Saturday, talked of the insurrection with divers light persons of the town, who next morning at daybreak assembled divers of the North Street of Kendal, and roused men from their beds
and

and swear them, in a croft by, to be true to God, the King, and their ancient laudable customs. The ringleaders were Tom Dockwray and Brian Jopson, as examinats afterwards heard. The person so conjurate decided to fetch in the honest men of the town, and fetched examinats from his dinner to a place called Tarney Banks, where the whole town was assembled without harness, and there examinats and the rest of the town were sworn. They all went thence to Mr. Laybornes and desired him to help them against their enemies, to be good to them concerning their laudable customs and to take their oath. He refused to swear them, but left his seal with his friends there, who promised him that he would do as other gentlemen did; and the same night Nicholas Layborne, in his brother's name, and Mr. Strikelande sealed to a book that was read concerning their customs. On Friday following six of the town went to Mr. Laybornes house, viz., Adam Warrenner, George Rowlandson, John Harryson, Robert Sledale, Chr. Sadler, and this examinats, to have desired his help and favour but he was not at home. Both before the insurrection and after, examinats and others petitioned Mr. Layborne to be good to them for their ancient customs, saying that their was no reason that where his father took 4 mks. for an "ingressum" he should take £40, "seeing they were bound there to the marches without wages upon the wardens procalmation, beacon, or letter." They asked him to use his lands as the King and Mr. Parre did theirs, else Sir Robert Belingham and ither freeholders would do the like. On Saturday after Dent and Sedbar were up, as Richard Walker showed at Kendal; whereupon they of Kendal, by the advice of Ric. Tucket and Mr. Knevet, wrote to them of Dent not to meddle with the barony of Kendal "for they had nought to do with them." They replied that they of Kendal town should meet them on Monday after by 10 o'clock at Ennesmore, or else they would spoil them with 10,000 men. The townsmen sent to Mr. Layborne's brother Nicholas (who advised examinats to raise the town for defence, "but he afterwards himself sticked not by it") and to Richard Duckett and Mr. Strikelande for help; who came to the town's ends, but did not join the townsmen. On the Monday the townsmen to the number of 500 at Ennesmore met with Dent's 10,000 men, who asked whether they were sworn, and they said yes. They said their gentlemen would not come with them, whereupon they of Dent said "If ye can not rule them, we shall rule them". The vicar of Clappam, James Cowper, John Middleton, John Hebyllthwayt of Sedbar, Wm. Garnet and George Willan of Dent, and James Buskell of Myddelton, being the ringleaders, took counsel with the Captain Atkynson, and then the vicar, in the name of Captain Poverty, made proclamation for all to meet next day at Kendal by 8 a.m. to know the lord Poverty's pleasure. "The vicar was the common swearer and counsellor in all that business, and persuaded the people that they should go to heaven if they died in that quarrel".

On the morrow, Tuesday, they came to Kendal town, and from thence had gone half way towards Mr. Layborne's house, when on his friend's promise that he would come in on the morrow by 5 o'clock, and by reason of the foul weather, they turned back. On Wednesday they went thither again and spoiled the house indeed, but on his friend's promise that he should come in they went not to extremity then. On Thursday they were appointed to spoil both his manors, but his brother, Parson Layborne, gave them of Dent and Sedburg £20 to respite him till Friday following; at which time he and all the other gentlemen came in to the rebels, and were sworn at Tolbothe in Kendal. And so on Saturday they went to Lancaster, mustering by the way at Kellet More. Of gentlemen, the

most

most notable there, were Sir James Layborne, Parson Layborne, William Lancaster, Ric. Ducket, and Walter Strikelande; Sir Robert Belingham came as far as Kelet More and then returned home as his leg was sore, as he said. Atkyson was captain, chosen by Dent and Sedber.

At Lancaster they sware the mayor and town, and heard that Sir Stephen Hamurton and Nicholas Tempest besides Salley had sworn the country about them. Young Strikeland, saying that Sir Stephen had written to him to come to him, examinat and his friends advised him not to do so, but to return home. They therefore made proclamation for all to meet on Bouton More the Tuesday after and dispersed. Within three days came a letter from Robert Aske, showing them of the first order taken at Lancaster and requiring them to "send of every parishen one gentleman and two yeomen of the tallest and wisest men, well horsed and harnessed, to Pomfret, that of them might be taken out a certain [number] to meet with the Duke of Norfolk at the next meeting at Doncastsr." Kendal town sent examinat and one Brown and the barony Mr. Ducket, Edward Manser, and Mr. Strikelande, Anthony Langhorne, John Eyrey, and Harry Bateman; and the morrow after Lady Day before Xmas they received the King's pardon at Pomfret, which they have to show in Kendal town under the king's broad seal at examinat's house, brought 14 days after Our Lady Day Clarencieux the herald, who made proclamation of it the said 14th day in Kendal. And because certain farmers of priories showed him how divers brethren took their corn from them "and therefore like to have been murder between them about the same," the herald openly commanded in the king's name that no man should be disturbed in the possession of lands or tithes, but all to continue as at the last meeting at Doncaster till the Duke of Norfolk came again to the country, which should be about 20 days after Xmas. As the herald was leaving, came two brethren of the late priory of Carpmell, and desired the herald to write that order for them; but as he could not tarry he begged examinat, his host, to write them a word or two of the effect of the order. And thereupon examinat wrote them the order to this effect—"Neighbours of Carpmell, so it is that the king's herald hath made proclamation here that every man, [under] pain of high treason, should suffer every thing as farms, tithes, and such other, to be in like stay and order concerning possessions as they were in time of the last meeting at Doncaster, except ye will of your charity help the brethren there somewhat toward their board, till my lord of Norfolk come again and take further order therein." This was written partly in presence of the said herald, Mr. Duckett, and others, and afterwards delivered by examinat to one of the said brethren. Four of the brethren of Carpmell and eight yeomen were executed for withstanding the king's farmer, Mr. Holcrofte, and stirring a new commotion 8 weeks after the premises, without the knowledge of the examinat or any other of Kendal. When he was at York on Saturday before Our Lady Day before Xmas he asked Dr. Dakyns if he would command him any service to the north. He said "Yes he would write to the abbot of Furness for money." Examinat answered "Seeing you were at Pomefrete and know what order was taken there, I pray you write also to the priors of Conyshedd and Carpmell, seeing ye be their visitors and give them your counsel what is best for them to do." So on the morrow examinat at his host's house, received Dakyn's letters to the priors of Conyshedd and Carpmell sealed which he forwarded, on coming home to Kendal, by a market man. It was eight weeks after the delivery of these letters ere they of Carpmell and Conyshedd made commotion and stayed the farmers from taking their corn. One Atkyson, a captain of the
rebels

rebels in those parts, and Gilpyn, his petty captain, came, twice between the meetings at Doncaster and once since the pardon was proclaimed, to stir Kendal, and the last time cried, "Commons," but the townsmen drave them out, and hurt some of them, the steward and lieutenant being absent in another shire. On Sunday after Xmas Day last certain lewd persons of Kendal town who were the most busy in the first insurrection, stirred up suddenly at bead's bidding, and would have the priest bid the beads the old way and pray for the Pope. Then ext. fetched the King's pardon from his house, and he and one Bricket, the King's servant, charged them, as they would enjoy that pardon, to be still, and showed them the pardon. And they cried "Down, carle, thou art false to the commons." And Wm. Harryson said he cared for no pardon. At last parson Layborne rose and persuaded them to let the beads be bid, as the priest would until the Duke of Norfolk's coming. The principals of that business were Thom. Armestronge, Thom. Dockraye, Oliver Ydell, Peter Warrenner, James Tailor, jun., shoemaker, and Wm. Harryson. Ext. the same night sent to one Ducket, a justice of peace, and to Mr. Layborne the steward to come and punish the said captains. Ducket came and did his best with words, but the steward was out of the country. On that day month following, Sir Walter Browne, second curate there, upon a tumult by divers lewd persons, said "Commons, I will bid the beads as ye will have me." And so did, and prayed for the Pope and Cardinals. One John Nycholson, of Kendal parish, woolman, brought a little bill, without signature, directed to the parishioners of Kendal, that two of them should be at Richmond for a council to be had there the next Monday; which bill he delivered to a maid of ext's, and bade her deliver it to ext. This she did, and thereupon ext. went to Nicholas Layborne, the steward's deputy, and asked what punishment he deserved who should spread about such letters. Layborne sent for Nycholson and asked where he had the letter. He said it was sent him from the captain of Westmoreland, Nicholas Musgrave, with commandment to deliver it to a constable or bailey of Kendal. "And Nich. Layborne said he was worthy to sit by the heels therefor in the dungeon, and cast him the bill again, and bade him deliver it again where he had it."

After this the ext. and five others of Kendal, having been with my lord of Norfolk and the council at York, and being licensed to go home, to put the country in stay, returned home and found all the country stirring by reason of letters sent abroad by Atkynson, Leche, Musgrave, and Staveley, captains of Westmoreland, to this effect, "that they should come and take their neighbours of Westmorelands part." Sir Michael Nutthed was one of those who carried the letter. Ext. and his neighbours who came from York stayed the country from going forward.

As to the ultimate fate of Towneley, Thompson, and Colyn, there is much uncertainty. In a list of prisoners in the Tower, and the charges for their maintenance, we find Dr. Towneley eight months at 5s., and Robert Thompson three months at 6s. 8d. per week. Colyn's name is not in the list, and no dates are given. Things looked black for Towneley; in an ominous list of persons

"to

“to be excepted from the King’s pardon,” stand the names of Nich. Musgrave and Towneley, late chancellor to the bishop of Carlisle. The only other notice of Towneley is in a letter dated 15th August, 1537, from Robert Aldridge,* almoner to the Queen, and bishop designate of Carlisle to Cromwell. He says:—

Received of the 14th inst., his (Cromwell’s) letter, stating it was the King’s wish that he should confer the Vicarage of St. Michael’s, Appleby, void by the resignation of Bernard Towneley, on Cuthbert Ogle. Knows not the man’s ability, but as the King and Cromwell take him for a meet man, cannot but think him so. Understands that he cannot cause him to be inducted before he is consecrated himself, &c., &c.

This would be written about the middle of Towneley’s time in the Tower.

For Wm. Colyn there appears much hope. In a list of Cromwell’s “remembrance” (matters to be attended to), is an item, “Pickering the priest’s pardon”—“for Colyn’s bailiff of Kendal.” [1537. No. 192. Vol. 12, pt. 2.]

Colyn, under popular pressure, took part in the rebellion, but evidently used his influence in preventing excesses and preserving order, hence his prospects of pardon. But dismal indeed was the look out for the poor vicar of Brough, as indicated by the following letter.

ROBERT THOMPSON, † CLK., TO CROMWELL.

[1537. No. 1339. Vol. 12, pt. 2, no date.]

Was brought before Cromwell in Lent last for praying for the bishop of Rome at the compulsion of his parishioners, whom he durst not contrary, and committed to the Tower, and thence to the King’s Bench. What with age, corrupt and stinking smells, cold and hunger, if not for the hope he had in Cromwell, he had not been alive now. Begs his intercession with the King.

* Otherwise *Robert Oldridge*, bishop of Carlisle, 1537 to 1556.

† Note in Calendars “The Vicar of Brough.”

APPENDIX.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS CONNECTED WITH ASKE'S
REBELLION.

The 1st following report gives a graphic sketch of the rebel camp, and of the sympathy and practical countenance of the landed gentry, as well as the commonalty.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

Report made by Henry Osberne, of Gloucester, and John Yngby, constable of Maydynhyth, on St. Andrew's Eve last, and after to Sulvester Pecke, gent.

[1536, 29 Nov. Cal. No. 1195.]

Went Northward with his father, as a soldier with Sir Chas. à Trowen. After being a space with the King's host, asked leave of his father to go among the Northern host to know the fashion of them. Was with them three or four days. They have meat and drink enough, many of them harness of deer skins. Their chief captain is a knight, but he does not know his name. Lord Stafford came to them with 1,000 men, and lady Rysse with 3,000. She brought half a cart-load of plate, which they are coining among themselves. He has a groat of the same coin, which the constable has to show, "and yt ys a feyne king Harry grote." The saying is among them that the lady Dowager is alive and not buried. At the Duke of Norfolk's last coming, many of his men went over to the other side, and then my lord was not content with them, "and then one of his men did start to him with a dagger and said if he would not return to them he should die for it". They have proclaimed to have a parliament among them.

The nearer the rebellion spread to the Scottish borders, the more King Henry became alarmed. The Scottish king had become connected by marriage with the French king, and was daily expected to arrive with his bride by sea, so that Henry might well think that his throne would be in danger if King James made common cause with the English rebels.

Hence the vigilance of the officers of the West Marches displayed in the following articles.

JOHN LOWTHER AND JAK MUSGRAVE TO [EARL OF]
CUMBERLAND.

Jak Musgraf's espial and Lowther's man agree that the council expect daily the [Scotch] King's arrival, that all the ships of the West coast have gone out to meet him, and that on his coming home they will have war. All the commons of Scotland are ordered to have "new jak, new spere, and knapskawde." Carlisle, 24 April.

JOHN

JOHN LOWTHER TO [EARL OF] (CUMBERLAND.)

Has received his lordship's letter this St. Mark's eve, expressing the King's pleasure for the fortification of Carlisle. If victual be sent there is no mill in the castle to grind it, and if your lordship had good ordnance there is none to shoot them. Therefore make provision in time "for either war of Scotland now when the King's purse is full of the French gold, or never," and the common voice of Scotland is war. Sent his man to Edinburgh to await the Scotch king's coming, which is expected on May Day at farthest. Despatched him the sooner as the wind is in his favour. Norfolk should be advertised of the defenceless state of Carlisle. Carlisle Castle, St. Mark's Day.

PACIFICATION OF THE BORDERS.

The rebellion having been finally extinguished, leading landowners and men of military proclivities were appointed as officers to assist the Lord Warden of the West Marches in maintaining the peace of the Borders, with fees or annuities allotted to them.

Various preliminary lists had been drawn up. One such list is thus criticised by the Duke of Norfolk.

[1537, 12 July. Cal. No. 248.]

In delivering the King's letters, missives, and those for annuities, retained six, by the advice of Sir Thos. Warton, for these reasons: 1 There is no such man as Thos. Redmayne. 2 Wm. and John Hutton are but freeholders and can do little service. 3 Wm. Lancaster cannot spend 40s. a year and can do nothing. 4 Richard Blanco* a man of small havour either of lands or goods and one the most busy [rebellious] men in these parts, better deserved a halter than his Highness' fee. There are omitted Sir Thomas Curwen the man of all others that can best serve in Cumberland. Walter Strickland who can serve with more men than any three in the book, a very toward young man and great friend of Whartons; Thomas Faloghfield belonging to my lord of Cumberland, John Skelton of Branthwaite and Chr. Wharton, brother to Sir Thomas. Writes at Sir Thomas' desire that these may have fees with the rest.

The Duke then proceeds to give Penrith a bad record. He says:—

Hearing that the 'sizes of Cumberland are to be at Penrith and not at Carlisle. begs they may be changed. Penrith was the worst town in all the country at the last rebellion and Norfolk caused nine persons to be hanged there whereas Cromwell knows how Carlisle served; it were better Mr. Spilman and Jenney † should ride 10 miles about that one true town be discouraged and a false one cherished.

* Blencoe.

† The Judges on circuit.

The

The following is the final list of Officers for the West Marches:—

[Cal. No. 250.]

Sir Wm. Musgrave, Sir John Lowther, Thomas Sandford, Esqr., Sir John Lamplough, Sir James Layburn, Sir Jeffray Myddelton, Sir Robt. Bellingham, Edward Aglionby, Esqr., Ric. Dokett, gent, Sir Thomas Curwen, John Musgrave and Walter Strykland each £10, Thomas Daker, gent, Chr. Crakenthorpe, 4 names lost by mutilation [apparently those of John Warcopp, Lancelot Lancaster, Gilbert Wharton and Hugh Machel, which appear in No. 249] John Lighe, John Skelton [of Branthwaite] Thomas Dykes, John Thwaytes, Cuthbert Hutton, Thomas Blanderhasset, Chr. Thyrcell, Mungo Musgrave, Ric. Englefield, Alex. Appulbye, Rob. Boyst, John Preston, gent, and Thomas Clyfford the bastard each 6l. 13s. 4d. Chr. Wharton, Thomas Dalston, John Skelton of Armathwaite each 6l. 13s. 4d. Sir Geo. Lawson 20l.