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ABSTRACT

Traditional narratives of the English Reformation contend that the religious innovations Henry VIII, and his son Edward VI, instituted were widely accepted by the English people. Evidence of widespread resistance to the Henrican and Edwardian reformations suggest a counter narrative that complicates the prevailing discourse. For example, The Lincolnshire Rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549, all demonstrate that Catholic sympathies persisted throughout the reigns of Henry and his son.

This study provides evidence that the primary motivations for resistance to the reformations were religious in nature. With regards specifically to the Lincolnshire Rebellion and the subsequent Pilgrimage of Grace, the Dissolution of the Monasteries was undeniably the cause of rebellion. This study also argues that economic and religious factors were not mutually exclusive categories in this period of history and that attempting to delineate such categories is anachronistic.

Catholic sympathies continued far after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the subjugation of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the death of Henry VIII. The Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549 in Cornwall is further complicates the hegemonic view that the Reformations were unopposed and inevitable.
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DEDICATION

To my mother, Jeannie Schum Moreland Layton, my father Robert Lee Moreland, my stepfather Dr. Kenneth Earl Layton and to the memory of my grandmother Doris Schum.
INTRODUCTION

October 26, 1536

Two armies stood on opposite sides of the river Don, awaiting a conflict that seemed inevitable. On the north side, an army of nearly fifty-thousand men, under the command of a one-eyed lawyer named Robert Aske, seemed unperturbed by the driving rain and miserable weather.¹ Fully decked in the panoply of war underneath the banner of St. Cuthburt and the Five Wounds of Christ, and certain of their cause, the army of the Pilgrimage of Grace stood ready to remove any resistance in their path and march on London to present their grievances to Henry VIII.

On the other side of the Don, the only substantial force that stood between the king and the Pilgrims was a paltry army of five to eight thousand soldiers.² Led by the Duke of Norfolk, who was sympathetic to the religious grievances of the pilgrims, the Royal forces lodged complaints about disease spreading through their ranks and considered desertion.³ Their loyalty was

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questionable, their morale poor, and their general was no supporter of religious innovations.

Henry was facing the single greatest threat to his reign, and if he had not employed his trademark duplicity and cunning, the history of his rule would have been significantly altered. A decade later, the people of Cornwall rose against the religious innovations of Edward IV and his regent, Protector Somerset. Changes in the liturgy, the dissolution of the chantries, and attacks on popular religious devotions drove Cornwall into open rebellion. The men of Cornwall murdered the king’s commissioners, forced their priests to conduct Mass in the traditional fashion and eventually laid siege to Exeter. The disturbance sent shock waves throughout the country, and panic spread all the way to London.⁴

For most of the historiography of the Reformation, these events have been downplayed as minor insurrections with little impact on England’s history.⁵ The existence of the rebellions suggests that the English Reformations were not easily accepted and were met with local resistance, particularly in the north and in Cornwall. In this study, I argue that the Catholic Church that Henry VIII and his son, Edward VI, suppressed was an

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⁵ Dodds, Pilgrimage, 332; Burke, Hubert, Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty and the Reformation Period, (John Hodges: Charing Cross, 1879),483.
imperfect, but thriving institution that held sway over the
spiritual, economic, and social lives of the English people. The
suppression of the church and the spoliation of the monasteries
resulted in the largest uprising in English history, the
Pilgrimage of Grace, which confronted Henry with his greatest
domestic crisis.6 Resistance to the Reformation continued after
the death of Henry, resulting in the Prayer Book Rebellion of
1549.

This thesis contends that significant Catholic sympathies
persisted throughout the reigns of Henry VIII and his son,
Edward as evidenced by the Lincolnshire Rebellion, the
Pilgrimage of Grace and the Prayer Book Rebellion. This work
will also demonstrate how resistance to the Reformation was
primarily motivated by a network of relationships between
economic factors, livelihood, and linguistic policy that were
all inextricable from religious concerns. Using a theoretical
framework that attends to the connections between religion and
economic factors helps show how religious motivations were
central to the rebellions.7

6 J.J. Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People (New York:
Blackwell, 1984), 82; A.F. Pollard, Henry VIII (New York: Harper and Row,
1966), 281.
7 In particular, Max Weber paved a way of defining religion as a network of
mutually informing social forces, including economic factors in his work, The
Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Robert Orsi, a
contemporary historian of religion also uses this framework in Between Heaven
Historiography and Methodology

Understanding the historiography of the Reformation, and this topic in particular, is crucial to an appreciation of the uprisings during the reigns of Henry and Edward. Popular historical discourse has essentially forgotten the events of the Pilgrimage and the Prayer Book Rebellion. The events barely merit a footnote in most textbooks or popular histories of the Reformation period. For the amateur historian, the Reformation was a fait accompli in which the English people were either apathetic about religious change, or embraced it wholeheartedly. This typical view is described by Norman Jones as “once upon a time the people of England were oppressed by corrupt churchmen...they yearned for the liberty of the Gospel. Then Good King Harry gave them the Protestant nation for which they longed.”

Such arguments have been supported by scholars of what can be described as the “Whig-Protestant” narrative of history. Whig history states that change is usually for the better, and that everything that has transpired in English history is one step closer toward the eventual creation of a free, prosperous, and democratic England. For the historians of the Whig school,

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Henry’s Reformation signified a break from the meddling superstitions of Popery and the dawn of an independent English nation. Enoch Powell, famous for his “Rivers of Blood” speech, succinctly described this train of thought in 1972:

The moment at which Henry VIII repeated this assertion was that of what is misleadingly called 'the reformation', misleadingly, because it was, and is, essentially a political and not a religious event. The whole subsequent history of Britain and the political character of the British people have taken their color and trace their unique quality from that moment and that assertion. It was the final decision that no authority, no law, no court outside the realm would be recognized within the realm. When Cardinal Wolsey fell, the last attempt had failed to bring or keep the English nation within the ambit of any external jurisdiction or political power.10

The most prominent modern historian of the Whig school, Arthur Geoffrey Dickens, argued in his exhaustive 1964 work, The English Reformation, that the Reformation was well underway before Henry broke with Rome. Dickens attempted to demonstrate the importance of Lollards and proto-Protestants prior to the Reformation and argued that those who resisted the Reformation were few and far between.11 When the Pilgrimage of Grace does appear in Whig narratives, such as that of Dickens, the entries are usually short and dismissive.12 In his English Reformation, Dickens described the rebellions as a "chaotic, ignominious and rather sordid affair which can scarcely be dignified as a

protest of a Catholic society against the Reformation."\textsuperscript{13} Dickens was supported in his claims by Joyce Youngings, who viewed the dissolution of the monasteries as a “minor cause” of the rebellion, which in her view was just another entry in England’s long history of agrarian revolts. Another historian of the Whig school, Rachel Reid, agreed by emphasizing agricultural factors while arguing that religious motivations were unimportant. She stated that “even if there had been no Reformation, there would have been a Pilgrimage of Grace.”\textsuperscript{14}

The hegemonic view was not unopposed, even prior to the rise of the revisionist historians. The reestablishment of Catholicism in the late nineteenth century and the emergence of traditionalism and ritualism in the Anglican Church helped create several works on the Reformation and uprisings against it. Catholic authors such as Cardinal Gasquet and Hilaire Belloc covered the subject in their respective works, but they were essentially written for a Catholic audience only. Thomas Wilkes has described these apologetic and colorful accounts as the romanticized view of Reformation history.\textsuperscript{15} Madeline and Ruth Dodds’ 1915 \textit{The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy}


\textsuperscript{14}Reid, Rachel, \textit{The King’s Council in the North} (New York: Longmans, 1921), 126.

\textsuperscript{15}Wilkes, \textit{Pilgrimage of Grace}, 20.
were less apologetic, although the authors were sympathetic to the motives of the Pilgrims and of traditional religion in general.

Dickens’s thesis on the Reformation was seriously challenged by the rise of a group of revisionist historians. Christopher Haigh, J.J. Scarisbrick, Dom David Knowles, Eamon Duffy, and C.S.L. Davies, among others, argued that the Reformation was imposed from above by a coercive government. Their research demonstrated that Catholicism and traditional belief were not moribund, as Dickens claimed, but thriving up until, and even past in some instances, Henry’s attack on the Church.

Haigh further argued that the Reformation should not be seen as one singular event. In his most famous work, *English Reformations*, he states that the Reformation did not come “in a swift and orderly sequence” and that there were in fact several reformations, including, but not limited to the Henrician, the Edwardian, and the Elizabethan.  

In 1983, Haigh stated that “the Dickens Reformation is in tatters” and discourse since then has generally followed the revisionist line. Nonetheless, many new historians, led by Ethan Shagan, along with Norman Jones, have cast themselves as

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“post-revisionists.” Shagan and these other historians generally support the findings of the revisionists over those of the Whigs, but have taken issue with some of the revisionists’ conclusions. While not denying the fact that both Henry and Edward used terror and coercive methods to achieve their goals, the new historians have argued for a “reformation by negotiation” or “reformation by compromise.”

This study generally follows the line of revisionist historians, but has been heavily influenced by the work of the “post-revisionists.” I particularly agree with Haigh’s arguments that the Reformation was not one singular event, but many. Although there were certainly links between the Pilgrimage of Grace and the Prayer Book Rebellion, the rebels were in fact fighting against two separate reformations, the Henrician, and the Edwardian.

The first Chapter, “There Shall Be Business Shortly in the North”, describes the historical background that led to the insurrections against Henry’s religious innovations. In the period prior to the Lincolnshire rebellion, the English people were dissatisfied with Henry’s divorce of Catherine of Aragon

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and his marriage to Ann Boleyn.\textsuperscript{20} The subsequent execution of Cardinal Fisher, Thomas More, and several Carthusian monks further alienated the populace, who began to engage in individual acts of disobedience. Such acts eventually resulted in localized disturbances and attacks on Henry’s commissioners prior to the outset of full-fledged rebellion.

The second chapter concerns what Henry called the “rude commons” of Lincolnshire and their outright rebellion against his religious innovations.\textsuperscript{21} Although the rebellion was short-lived, it gave impetus to other risings throughout the country, particularly that of the Pilgrimage of Grace, which started in Yorkshire. The meteoric rise and equally swift fall of the Pilgrimage of Grace is discussed in the third chapter. Additionally, the third chapter describes the various theories and motivations behind the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The fourth and final chapter, \textit{Popishly Affected Persons, Cornwall 1549} concerns itself with the Prayer Book Rebellion of and how it demonstrates that Catholic sympathies survived after the reign of Henry VIII.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{20} Dodds, \textit{Pilgrimage}, 69; Eric William Ives, \textit{The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn}, (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 200.
\textsuperscript{22} John Strype, \textit{Ecclesiastical Memorials} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822), 143.
CHAPTER 1: THERE SHALL BE BUSINESS SHORTLY IN THE NORTH

Henry’s Reformation was a radical departure from the traditional relationship between the Catholic Church and the English State. At the time of his reign, Catholicism had existed in England for almost a thousand years and was considered an intrinsic part of English identity.

The country had been home to great theologians such as St. Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, and Robert Grosseteste and crusader kings such as Richard the Lionheart and Edward Longshanks. Additionally, England supplied the church with one Pope, Adrian IV, and legions of saints and martyrs. 1

At the beginning of his reign Henry VIII followed in this orthodox trend by publishing A Defense of the Seven Sacraments which repudiated Lutheranism and upheld Papal Supremacy. 2 The king’s work was widely distributed throughout Europe and was well received by Pope Leo X, who in 1521 conferred upon Henry the title of “Defender of the Faith.” 3

The split from Rome was not a result of Henry’s religious preferences, but of his inability to receive a divorce from Pope Clement VII. The English king began contemplating divorce from

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his wife, Catherine of Aragon, around 1525. Henry was thirty-four at the time and deeply troubled by his lack of a male heir. Catherine had given birth to one daughter, Mary in 1516, but all her sons had died in infancy.\textsuperscript{4} Henry’s attempts to find a suitable husband for Mary were repeatedly met with failure. Originally she was promised to the son of the king of France, and then later to the future Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, but both marriage contracts were rescinded. By 1527, Henry had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, one of the queen’s ladies in waiting and began to press for a divorce from Catherine.\textsuperscript{5}

The legal proceedings of the divorce proved to be lengthy, complicated, and a subject of international discourse. The Pope’s unwillingness to grant the divorce stemmed not from religious prohibitions but from political realities in Rome. In the same year Henry argued for his divorce, Rome was sacked by the troops of Charles V. The Pope was at the mercy of the Emperor, who as nephew to Catherine, had a vested interest in impeding the divorce.\textsuperscript{6} Henry grew increasingly frustrated and decided to take matters into his own hands. He had his newly appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, declare the

\textsuperscript{5} Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, 152.
marriage with Catherine invalid and then proceeded to marry Anne in 1533.⁷

A month later, the Pope demanded that Henry renounce his marriage to Anne and return to Catherine under pain of excommunication. Henry, however, had no intention of obeying the Papacy and continued to further his break from Rome. By December of that year it was declared that the Pope no longer held any authority in England.⁸ A year later Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, which stated that Henry, not the Pope, was the Supreme Head of the English Church.⁹ The king’s subjects were administered an oath acknowledging this act and those who refused were threatened with treason. Henry’s former Chancellor Sir Thomas More, and Cardinal John Fisher, both of whom were later canonized, were executed for refusing to take the oath.¹⁰ Henry commuted his old friend and the Cardinal’s sentence from drawing and quartering to simple decapitation. Their executions shocked the people of England, who lamented the loss of “the most profound men of learning in the realm.”¹¹

The indignation was not limited to England and sent shockwaves throughout Europe. The Admiral of France, Philippe de Chabot, described the executions of Fisher and More as the “most

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¹⁰ Constant, *Reformation*, 129.
cowardly, infamous and grievous thing that had ever been done in
the world.”12 A foreign observer reported the “extreme crueltye”
of the act and that Venice was in “great murmuracion” over the
news.13

Around the same time, the Carthusians of the London
Charterhouse refused to acknowledge the king’s supremacy.
Several of them, including John Houghton, Robert Lawrence, and
Augustine Weber openly admitted to Thomas Cromwell that they did
not believe Henry had any right to head the English Church.14 For
their recalcitrance, the Carthusians were detained at Newgate
Prison, chained to posts and nearly starved to death.15 The first
batch of monks was dispatched on May 4th, 1535 in a particularly
grisly manner.16 Accused and convicted of treason, the monks were
sentenced to hanging, drawing, and quartering. After being hung
until half dead, the monks had their limbs ripped apart and
their hearts cut out and “rubbed into their mouths and faces.”17
As a final indignity the victim’s limbs and heads were dipped in
boiling tar and posted on spikes at the gates of the city.18

Even after the executions and tumult, the majority of the
English people were far from contemplating significant

12 Brewer, “Bishop of Faenza to M. Ambrosio”, 4 July 1535, Letters, viii, 974
13 Edmund Harvel, Venice, to Thomas Starkey, London, 15 June 1535, Original
Letters Illustrative of English History, ed. Henry Ellis, (New York: AMS
15 Ridley, Henry, 247; Knowles, Bare Ruined Choirs, 115.
16 Constant, Reformation, 134.
17 Gasquet, Monasteries, 225.
18 Constant, Reformation, 134.
resistance in response to the king’s actions. Although no monarch had gone quite so far, England had experienced its fair share of conflict between the church and the monarchy in years past. This led some individuals to believe that the conflict between Henry and Rome was transitory, similar to the quarrels that John Lackland, Henry II, and other monarchs had experienced with the Papacy. A priest named Thomas Mallarde believed that the dispute with Rome was “no more than a passing cloud...when the king is dead all these fashions will be laid down.” A London friar named George Rowlands predicted that “these things will not last long” and urged his congregation to pray for the pope. Other clerics merely covered over the prayers for the pope in their books rather than removing them.

The divorce of Catherine and Henry was greatly unpopular and fed popular discontent. His new Queen, Anne was commonly known as “Nan Boleyn the Whore.” Others insulted her as “goggle-eyed” or “more stinking than a sow.” By contrast, Catherine was respected for her piety, called a “righteous queen” and was cheered in public. On the day of Anne and Henry’s wedding, the crowds were subdued and did not cry out

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19 Haigh, Reformations, 142.
21 Haigh, Reformations, 142.
22 Maynard, Henry, 200; Haigh, English Reformations, 141.
24 Constant, Reformation, 68; Brewer, Letters, viii, 196.
“God save the Queen.” The mayor of London attempted to rouse the crowds but reported “that he could not command people’s hearts...even the King cannot do so.”\textsuperscript{25} Even though it was considered treasonous to call Catherine “Queen” the people of England were said to be ready to “die for the love of her.”\textsuperscript{26}

Catherine inspired such love and affection that it is not difficult to speculate that if she had the will, she could have raised an army and driven the country into civil war. Catherine had the support of the papacy, disaffected nobles, and most importantly, the backing of Charles V, her nephew and Holy Roman Emperor. A rebellious queen would not have been unusual in English history, even at that time. After all, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Isabella of France had raised armies against their husbands in the not so distant past. Catherine neither raised an army nor fostered a rebellion. Instead, she lived the rest of her life in dignified suffering, hoping to the end that Henry would grow tired of Anne and return to her. Her hopes were mistaken, and she died on January, 7\textsuperscript{th}, 1536.\textsuperscript{27} Although there was no truth to the rumor, it was commonly believed that Catherine had been poisoned by her husband or Anne Boleyn.

\textsuperscript{26} Wilkes, Pilgrimage, 26.
\textsuperscript{27} Elton, Reform and Reformation, 250.
The king was not immune to public criticism and the Letters and Patents are full of such examples. Their very existence in the Letters signifies that those who were caught speaking ill of the king or his new wife were subject to questioning, fines, and imprisonment. Henry and Thomas Cromwell had established a climate of fear in England, and according to Erasmus, “friends send neither letters nor gifts, nor receive from any one.”

Despite this climate of fear, people continued to express their opinions critical of Henry’s conduct. In Buckinghamshire Richard Tydder, a tailor, described the monarch as “a knave and heretic” and claimed he would “play football” with the King’s crown. Yeoman Adam Fermour told his friends that he wished the king would break his neck and die to save the country from his evil laws. One cleric questioned Henry’s decisions from another angle. According to the Vicar of Eastbourne, Henry’s ministers took advantage of his gluttony and gave him “great banquets and sweet wines and make him drunk.” The Vicar believed that once Henry was intoxicated, Cromwell and his other ministers could convince the king to sign whatever heretical acts they placed before him.

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30 Dodds, Pilgrimage, 69.
31 Brewer, “Sir John Gage to the King’s Council”, 14 August 1536, Letters, xi, 300.
The English people were obviously displeased with their king's recent behavior. They were indignant over the treatment of Catherine and the removal of her daughter, Mary, from the line of succession. They loathed Anne Boleyn and recoiled at the executions of Thomas More, the Carthusians, and Cardinal Fisher. All of this was not enough to bring to English people to outright rebellion. The average person saw "royal marriage cases and their canonical complications above his head." Religious innovations had not yet taken hold at the local parish level, and the divorce had no immediate effect on everyday belief. Obedience to the person and office of the monarch was considered the "first and ultimate principle of political and national life" but this conflicted with deeply held religious beliefs. This "crisis of obedience" was mirrored in concurrent theological debates concerning whether the fourth commandment included honoring and obeying secular authorities. Although Catholic theologians did not place as much emphasis on obedience to secular powers as did Tyndale and Luther, it was commonly believed that treason was inherently sinful. Nonetheless, rumors

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spread throughout the kingdom that “there shall be business shortly in the north.”

The actions of Thomas Cromwell, who was named Henry’s vicegerent in spiritual matters in 1535, began to drive the populace toward rebellion. Cromwell was given authority to implement reforms and ensure that the king’s supremacy in religious matters was upheld. He was also given the task of dissolving England’s monasteries, nunneries, and abbeys. Cromwell’s powers were vast, and he was given the right of visitation, or monastic oversight, that was formerly reserved to bishops and prelates. In his time as vicegerent, Cromwell and his commissioners destroyed “in five short years what a thousand years had built.”

The king’s viceregent was assisted in his task by the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, a taxation record of all church revenues and landholdings. Henry commissioned this survey, the largest taken in England since the Domesday Book, as a result of the Parliamentary Act of 1534 that granted the King a tenth of all church income. Although the Valor was originally intended for taxation purposes, under Cromwell it became the “database of the

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38 Wilkes, Reformation, 4.
dissolution.”\textsuperscript{40} The Act of Suppression in March of 1536 stated that all monasteries, nunneries, and religious houses with less than a net income of £200 were to be closed.\textsuperscript{41} The Valor indicated that about half of the monasteries fell into this category.

Cromwell had to maintain some pretense of integrity regarding the dissolution the monasteries. He portrayed his visitations as an honest inquest into monastic reform, but he openly admitted to the Imperial ambassador, Chapuys, that his goal was to dissolve the monasteries and make his master the “richest king in Christendom.”\textsuperscript{42} Cromwell’s commissioners argued that the monasteries were full of “abominable living.”\textsuperscript{43} Not every monastery was free of corruption and abuses, and most of the accusations against the monks and nuns were invented by the commissioners.\textsuperscript{44} This information gave Henry the pretext he needed to seize the wealth of the church and destroy the remnants of its influence in his realm.

The suppression of the monasteries entailed the destruction and looting of numerous religious houses. The buildings were torn down, or left unusable by dismantling the roofs. Church valuables such as Eucharistic vessels and vestments were dispatched to London. The roofs and bells were also melted down for other construction or for cannonballs. Lesser items of value, such as candles, furniture, and the doors and windows were put up for local auction. Some of the former monasteries and abbeys were converted to secular use rather than destroyed, but this was not a common occurrence. Additionally, Henry was able to undercut any potential opposition from the nobility by granting them use of former church properties. Several of the monasteries and religious houses at the centre of the rebellion were granted or sold to the King’s favorites. Dugdale states that Hexham Abbey was given to Sir Reginald Carnaby and Norton Abbey was purchased by Richard Broke.

Unlike other regions, the north often met Cromwell’s commissioners and the dissolution of the monasteries with violence. The northern counties had a tradition of Catholic orthodoxy and their geographic distance from London hampered

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45 Scarisbrick, Reformation, 85.
47 Knowles, Bare Ruined Choirs, 266.
48 Knowles, Bare Ruined Choirs, 270.
49 Grimm, Reformation Era, 301.
50 Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, vi, 313; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, vi, 184.
royal authority. Many of the northern religious houses had incomes of less than £200 and were more likely to be suppressed. The northern periphery of the country was subject to constant border raids from Scotland, and most individuals, even monks, had some skill with weapons. In his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Strype describes the northern clergy as “backward” and “great friends to the Pope.” The economy of the region was primarily agrarian and thus more dependent on monastic landholdings. The number of monasteries in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire was particularly high, even for England.

In 1536, several monasteries in the north refused to submit to the commissioners. In Cheshire, Cromwell’s emissaries dissolved Norton Abbey and expelled Abbot Robert Hall and his Augustinian canons. Norton had been assessed by the Valor as having a gross income of £258 11s 8d, and a net income of £180 7s 7d after expenses. This meant that the house could legally be suppressed since its income was less than £200. When they finished emptying the abbey of its valuables, they were attacked

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51 Constant, Reformation, 171.
52 Knowles, Bare Ruined Choirs, 125.
53 Bateman, “Pilgrimage”, 76.
54 Strype, Memorials, 296.
by three hundred local peasants and monks.\textsuperscript{58} Led by the former abbot, the band barricaded the commissioners in the abbey tower.\textsuperscript{59} While the group celebrated their victory by roasting an ox and building bonfires, the commissioners managed to alert the local sheriff.\textsuperscript{60} Sheriff Piers Dutton later wrote to Lord Chancellor Thomas Audley that the commissioners were “in great fear of their lives” and that when he reached the abbey the crowd dispersed.\textsuperscript{61} The abbot and three of his canons were apprehended by the sheriff, and the king instructed that the “arrant traitors” were to be hanged.\textsuperscript{62} The sheriff subsequently interceded for the abbot and his canons, who were pardoned a year later and even given a pension.\textsuperscript{63}

A more successful resistance took place at the Augustinian Abbey of Hexham, in Northumberland, on November 28\textsuperscript{th}.\textsuperscript{64} The Valor had indicated that the abbey’s revenue was £122 11s 1d and could be legally suppressed.\textsuperscript{65} Upon approaching the town, the commissioners learned that the monks had armed themselves and

\textsuperscript{58} Knowles, Bare Ruined Choirs, 143; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, vi, 313
\textsuperscript{59} Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, vi, 313.
\textsuperscript{60} Haigh, Reformation, 209.
\textsuperscript{63} Beaumont, History of the Castle of Halton, 199.
\textsuperscript{64} Midmer, English Medieval Monasteries, 164; Knowles, Medieval Religious Houses, 160; Caley, Valor Ecclesiasticus, v, 328.
\textsuperscript{65} Caley, Valor Ecclesiasticus, v, 328; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, vi, 184.
the townspeople with halberds, bows, and cannon. The commissioners sent out a smaller party to gauge the situation and found that the townspeople and the monks had fortified the abbey and taken up defensive positions. As the investigative party arrived at the abbey gates, they noticed a monk called the Master of Ovingham, dressed in armor and carrying a bow. He called out to them, “We be twenty brethren in this house, and we shall die all or that shall ye have this house.” The monks refused to accept the royal authority of the commissioners and expelled them from the town. When Henry was given news of Hexham’s resistance, he ordered that the abbey should be taken by force and its monks hanged from the steeple.

It took Henry until February 1537 to deal with Hexham Abbey, as he had more pressing concerns. Further south, in Lincolnshire, the commons, gentry, and clergy of the region had

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66 Haigh, Reformations, 144; Knowles writes in Medieval Religious Houses, 160, that Hexham had been burnt by the Scots in 1296, and was raided again in 1297 and 1346. This helps to explain why the Hexham monks were well armed and willing to defend themselves. Also see Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, vi, 180.
68 Knowles, Medieval Religious Houses, 169.
70 Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, 37.
72 Hexham held out until the 26th of February, 1537 after Henry dispatched one-hundred horsemen to deal with the recalcitrant monks. Out of the twenty monks of Hexham, six were hanged by the Duke of Norfolk. Knowles, Medieval Religious Houses, 160.
formulated their grievances and broken into outright rebellion.\textsuperscript{73} Resistance to Henry’s religious innovation and the suppression was transformed from isolated incidents into a regional uprising that threatened to engulf the entire realm.

\textsuperscript{73} Brewer, “Sir M. Constable and Robert Tyrwhyt to Cromwell”, 5 October, 1536, Letters, xi, 221.
CHAPTER II: THE RUDE COMMONS OF LINCOLN

The men of Lincoln were considered by many Englishmen to be an unruly lot, although not as barbaric as their northern brethren in the border regions.\(^1\) When Henry later described the Lincolnshire rebels as “the most brute and beastly of the whole realm” he was not alone in his opinion.\(^2\) It is not surprising then, that if widespread armed resistance to the reformation would take place, it would happen in a northern county like Lincolnshire.

Throughout the region, rumors began to spread that the king’s commissioners had plans to seize golden vessels from churches and replace them with ones made of tin.\(^3\) Taxes were to be levied on all horned cattle, and on christenings, marriage, and burials. Furthermore, the common people would have their diets restricted, as the king was planning to tax white bread, goose and capons.\(^4\) Even more incendiary was the rumor that all churches within a six mile radius, save one, were to be destroyed.

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The arrival of three commissioners in Lincolnshire seemed to give credence to the rumors. The commissioners were ordered to suppress the lesser monasteries, collect subsidies, and carry out inquests into the condition of the clergy.5

The initial outbreak of violence occurred in the town of Louth in Lincolnshire. In the previous decade, the people of Louth had donated generously to the local parish, providing it with a three-hundred foot steeple, four silver crosses, and an organ.6 On Sunday, October 1st, Thomas Kendale, the town vicar, preached a rousing sermon in which he upheld Catholic orthodoxy and attacked the religious innovations spread by Henry and Cromwell.7 He also warned his parishioners about the visitation of the commissioners and urged them to “look well upon such things that shall be required of them.”8 His parishioners understood what he meant, and locked up all the church plate, jewels, and other precious items. The keys were given to a shoemaker, Nicholas Melton, known as “Captain Cobbler.”9

On October 2nd, John Hennage, an emissary from the Bishop of London, arrived in Louth. He was seized by the crowd and nearly killed. A former Cistercian monk of the Abbey of Louth Park,

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5 Dodds, Pilgrimage, 91.
8 Dodds, Pilgrimage, 92.
William Morland, came to his aid and found refuge for him in the church.\textsuperscript{10} Hennage was spared death when he pledged to take an oath to be true to “God, the King, and the Commonality.”\textsuperscript{11}

John Frankishe, Cromwell’s commissioner and the Bishop of Lincoln’s registrar, could not have arrived at a worse time.\textsuperscript{12} Upon his entrance into Louth, his possessions were seized and he was locked up in a local house. Among his possessions was a copy of the English New Testament and his official papers.\textsuperscript{13} This outraged the townspeople, who viewed Frankishe’s possession of this book as an outright admission of heresy. The people of Louth burned his books and attempted to hang him along with Hennage at the village cross.\textsuperscript{14} Frankishe cried out to William Morland in the crowd and begged, “For the Passion of Christ, priest, if you can, save my life.”\textsuperscript{15} Morland rescued Frankishe and was accused by the crowd as “a false perjured harlot” for helping the commissioner.\textsuperscript{16} Morland and the two commissioners then fled Louth.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{10} Barbara Anne Bennett, “Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and the Pilgrimage of Grace 1536,” M.A. Thesis, Arizona State University, 1981, 41; Dodds, Pilgrimage, 93; Midmer, English Medieval Monasteries, 210; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, v, 413.

\textsuperscript{11} Dodds, Pilgrimage, 93; Morehouse, Pilgrimage, 44.

\textsuperscript{12} Brewer, “The Lincolnshire Rebellion”, 21 October 1536, Letters, xi, 321

\textsuperscript{13} Bennett, Thomas, 41.

\textsuperscript{14} Dodds, Pilgrimage, 94.

\textsuperscript{15} Brewer, “The Lincolnshire Rebellion: The Examination of the Monk Late of Louth Park”, 9 February 1537, Letters, xiii, 174.


\textsuperscript{17} Morland’s rescue of Frankishe did not save him from being executed in 1537 for his participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Knowles, Medieval Religious Houses, 122.
The mob marched to Legbourne where it surprised Cromwell’s commissioners, who were at work dissolving the Cistercian nunnery.\textsuperscript{18} The small nunnery had been valued at £38 8s 4d by the Valor and was far beneath the £200 threshold.\textsuperscript{19} The officials were seized and brought back to Louth where some were imprisoned and others put into the stocks. Henry was told later that the commissioners had been blinded, hanged, or wrapped in cowskins and fed to the dogs.\textsuperscript{20} This was not true, but the commissioners were treated poorly and the false report demonstrated the hatred the commoners felt toward the men.\textsuperscript{21}

The rebellion quickly spread to other towns such as Caistor, where the commissioners met similar fates. At Horncastle the chancellor of the Bishop of Lincoln, who was loyal to Henry, was unhorsed and beaten with staves.\textsuperscript{22} The local sheriff did not intervene and then proceeded to distribute the chancellor’s clothes and money to his murderers.\textsuperscript{23} The various towns amalgamated their forces at Horncastle and formed an army of forty thousand, including eight hundred clergymen.\textsuperscript{24} Resistance to the reformation had shifted from isolated incidents to a full-fledged rebellion.

\textsuperscript{18} Dugdale, \textit{Monasticon Anglicanum}, v, 634; The name of this nunnery is alternatively spelled Lekeburn or Legborn.  
\textsuperscript{19} Caley, \textit{Valor}, iv, 52.  
\textsuperscript{21} Dodds, \textit{Pilgrimage}, 95.  
\textsuperscript{22} Gasquet, \textit{Henry and the Monasteries}, 62.  
\textsuperscript{23} Bennett, \textit{Norfolk}, 42.  
\textsuperscript{24} Constant, \textit{Reformation}, 173.
At Horncastle, the rebels articulated their first set of grievances. They demanded that the abbeys no longer be suppressed and also attacked the Statute of Uses, which required that “all persons must be restrained to make their wills upon their lands, for now the eldest son must have all his father’s lands...nor give their youngest sons any lands.” The section regarding the Statute of Uses had little relevance to the common people of the uprising, but the gentry had taken leadership of the movement and were determined to have their own grievances heard.

The rebels marched on the county seat of Lincoln under banners displaying the five wounds of Christ, Eucharistic vessels, a horn, and a plough. At Lincoln they drew up a series of articles to present to the king. The articles read:

The suppression of so many religious houses as are at the instant time suppressed, whereby the service of our God is not well maintained...many sisters [nuns] be put from their livings and left at large. We beseech your grace that the act of uses may be suppressed...We your true subjects think that your grace takes of your council and being about you such persons as be of low birth and small reputation...which we suspect to be the Lord Cromwell and Sir Richard Rich.

Additionally, the articles condemned heretical bishops who did not maintain “the faith of Christ.” The articles were primarily concerned with religious orthodoxy, as seen in their

26 Constant, Reformation, 173; Hall, Chronicle, 823; Dodds, Gasquet, Monasteries, 64.
27 Brewer, “The Northern Rebellion: To Our King the Sovereign Lord”, 14 October 1536, Letters, xi, 272; Fletcher, Rebellions, 131; Hoyle, Pilgrimage, 456.
denunciation of the suppression and heretical bishops. The influence of the gentry can be seen in the mentioning of the Statute of Uses and, to a lesser extent, the comments about “low born” men that Henry employed as councilors. In all the various articles, the rebels composed, the Lincoln articles are the only ones that explicitly mention religious sisters. The sight of so many nuns who had been turned out of their houses, wandering through Lincolnshire, must have had an impact on the rebels. The mention of nuns in the article possibly suggests that the rebels had family members who had been dispossessed.

Meanwhile, the uprising spread beyond Louth, Caistor, Horncastle, and Lincoln. Messengers arrived at Horncastle from Beverly and Halifax reporting that their towns were armed and ready to assist the men of Lincoln.28 Around seventy parishes were in open rebellion, including towns as far South as Stamford. Henry received news of the Lincolnshire Uprising around the 4th of October.29 The king originally planned to lead a force against the uprising in person, but instead decided to dispatch the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and the earl of Derby.30 He was also concerned that the king of Scotland would intervene in the rebellion, but was relieved to hear that the Scottish monarch was currently abroad in France.

29 Altazin, Pilgrimage, 33.
The king’s new wife, Jane Seymour, was greatly distressed about the news of rebellion. Even after witnessing how Henry dealt with his wives who interfered in his affairs, Seymour felt bold enough to approach her husband. According to Chapuys, she “threw herself on her knees before the King and begged him to restore the abbeys.”\(^{31}\) The king was unmoved and “told her not to meddle with his affairs” and mentioned the fate of his last queen. Chapuys wrote that this admonition was enough “to frighten a woman who is not very secure.”\(^{32}\)

Henry decided to recall Norfolk, whose loyalties were uncertain, and charged Suffolk with containing the rebellion. The duke arrived at Huntington on the 9\(^{th}\) of October with an army of around five thousand men.\(^{33}\) Suffolk then dispatched the king’s response to the Lincolnshire Rebels. Henry’s letter contained a mixture of threats and self-praise. He berated the “rude commons” of Lincolnshire, accusing them of being “presumptuous...brute and beastly.”\(^{34}\) With regard to the monasteries, the king said they were full of vice and abomination and that he had been more generous to the people

\(^{34}\) Brewer, “Answer to the Petitions of the Traitors and Rebels in Lincolnshire”, 19 October 1536, \textit{Letters}, xi, 780; Dodds, \textit{Pilgrimage}, 136.
than all the monasteries put together.\textsuperscript{35} As for his councilors and prelates, the king maintained that it was his right to choose whomever he saw fit, without the input of the “ignorant common people.”\textsuperscript{36} Henry then threatened that if they did not disperse he would destroy their “wives, children, lands, goods and cattle...by force and violence of the sword.”\textsuperscript{37} The king’s message and the presence of the duke of Suffolk’s army began to weaken the resolve of the Lincolnshire rebels. The gentry were especially concerned and, since they were at the most risk, decided to negotiate.\textsuperscript{38} The rebels may have been disturbed by the king’s missive, but they still outnumbered the royal armies. Without leadership, however, the movement was doomed to failure. By October 15\textsuperscript{th}, the rebels quietly dispersed to their homes, while the gentry planned negotiations and pardons with the king’s messengers. Henry triumphed over the Lincolnshire rebels, but dissent continued to spread throughout the kingdom. An unnamed foreign agent, in a letter to Cardinal Du Bellay, described the situation: “the people are thoroughly poisoned by sedition, and one head lost will produce two, like the hydra.”\textsuperscript{39}

Further to the north, in Yorkshire and other counties, an even greater uprising awaited Henry. Within weeks, the whole of

\textsuperscript{35} Hall, Chronicle, 821.
\textsuperscript{36} Brewer, “Answer to the Petitions of the Traitors and Rebels in Lincolnshire”, 19 October 1536, Letters, xi, 780.
\textsuperscript{37} Hall, Chronicle, 822.
\textsuperscript{38} Altazin, Pilgrimage, 35.
the north rose against him, led by a one-eyed lawyer named Robert Aske, who for a time was the most powerful man in England.
While Henry had successfully quelled the Lincolnshire uprising, he was soon faced with a much greater threat. The rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace was led by an unassuming figure named Robert Aske. The third son of Robert Aske of Aughton, he descended from minor nobility and studied as a lawyer at Grey’s Inn.\(^1\) Aske became involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace on the 4\(^{th}\) of October due to a chance encounter. On his way to London from York with three of his nephews, he encountered sixteen men who informed him of the Lincolnshire Rebellion. Aske took the oath to be loyal to God, the King, and the commonwealth.\(^2\) He then returned to Yorkshire to spread the news of the insurrection.

By this time the revolt had spread through several counties, including Howdenshire, Mashamshire, and the North, East, and West Ridings.\(^3\) The whole north of England was in open revolt, and the rebel hosts outnumbered anything Henry could

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\(^1\) Bush, Pilgrimage, 121.
\(^3\) Ridley, Henry, 287; Constant, Reformation, 177; Knowles, Religious Orders, 321.
The revolt began to spread even further to the counties of Lancastershire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland.\(^4\)

Aske amalgamated the various risings throughout the north into one large force and gave the uprising the title “Pilgrimage of Grace.” The members of the Pilgrimage took the following pledge, known as the Oath of the Honorable Men:

Ye shall not enter into our Pilgrimage of Grace for the commonwealth, but only for the love that ye do bear unto Almighty God his faith, and the Holy Church militant and the maintenance thereof, to the preservation of the king’s person and his issue, to the purifying of the nobility, and to the expulse of villain blood and evil councilors...\(^6\)

The Oath of the Honorable Men, which was written by Aske, was undeniably religious in nature. Unlike the Lincolnshire Articles, which also concerned secular matters, Aske’s oath was primarily concerned with upholding orthodoxy and protecting the king from his evil councilors. The Pilgrims of Grace did not consider themselves traitors, but true subjects, who would rescue the king from heretics such as Cromwell and Cranmer. The trend of attacking the king’s councilors rather than the king himself was well-established in English history and had been especially prominent under the reign of Edward II.\(^7\)

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\(^4\) Pollard, Henry, 284.
\(^5\) Ridley, Henry, 289.
\(^6\) Fletcher, Rebellions, 132.
\(^7\) During his reign, monastic chroniclers blamed most of Edward’s poor decisions on the influence of “evil councilors” like Piers Gaveston and Hugh Dispenser.
Unlike previous rebellions, such as the Peasants Revolt of 1381, the Pilgrimage of Grace did not consist of one class. Aske brought his host of nearly twenty thousand men, which was constantly growing by the hour, to the gates of York, and proclaimed his cause to the city. There he announced that “this pilgrimage we have taken...for the preservation of our sovereign lord...for the preservation of Christ’s Church” and the removal of “evil disposed persons.” Aske then asked the citizens of York to open up the town and join the Pilgrimage. After reassuring the Yorkshiremen that their city would not be looted, Aske warned that the Pilgrims were willing to fight and die for their cause.

The Lord Mayor of York opened the city to the Pilgrims, sympathetic to their cause and frightened by their strength and dedication. Once inside York, Aske and the leaders of the Pilgrimage drew up another set of Articles, known as the Yorkshire Articles, that articulated their demands. In the new articles, secular concerns were mentioned along with religious issues. Aske’s article listed complaints about the “suppression

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8 Scarisbrick, Reformation, 82.
9 Dodds, Pilgrimage, 175.
10 Brewer, “The Northern Rebellion: Oath Taken by the Insurgents”, 14 October 1536, Letters, xi, 176.
of so many religious houses” but also included items about the Statute of Uses and taxation.\textsuperscript{12} The articles too criticized the men of low birth around the king and his heretical Bishops.\textsuperscript{13}

Aske marched his army to the royal castle of Pontefract, held by Lord Darcy, who surrendered the castle and joined the Pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{14} Darcy had begged Henry for reinforcements and gunpowder, but Henry was uncertain, and rightfully so, of Darcy’s loyalty. Darcy claimed that he had “not one gun in it ready to shoot” and that the local town around the castle was up for the rebels.\textsuperscript{15} The king saw no reason to give arms to a man who could potentially turn against him.

Henry was now facing the greatest domestic crisis of his reign. The only army he had at his disposal was seven thousand men under the command of the Duke of Norfolk, who was actually sympathetic to the Pilgrims of Grace.\textsuperscript{16} Furthermore, the Scots, the French, and the Holy Roman Emperor were all seriously considering invading England to assist the rebels.\textsuperscript{17} There were reports of people praying for the success of the revolt and other commoners stated that they were “of one mind” with the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} Dodds, \textit{Pilgrimage}, 177.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Appendix: (4)
\item \textsuperscript{14} Haigh, \textit{Reformations}, 147.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Brewer, “Darcy to Henry VIII”, 13 October 1536, \textit{Letters}, xi, 268; Fletcher, \textit{Rebellions}, 31.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ridley, \textit{Henry}, 289.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Dickens, \textit{Cromwell}, 97; Helen Miller, \textit{Henry VIII and the English Nobility} (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 60; Maynard; \textit{Henry}, 229.
\end{itemize}
northerners.\textsuperscript{18} In one incident a shopkeeper in London gave a discount to a northern visitor, expressing his hope that a similar uprising would occur in the south.\textsuperscript{19} A butcher and a priest were also hanged for similar sentiments in Windsor.\textsuperscript{20} Despite their distance from the north, individuals in Cornwall displayed banners with the five wounds of Christ.\textsuperscript{21} Almost a decade later, the people of Cornwall again raised this banner during the Prayer Book Rebellion. It was clear that a significant portion of the population maintained Catholic sympathies and opposed Henry and Cromwell’s reforms. Had the Pilgrims of Grace continued their march southward, they would have gained further support for their movement.

Henry was saved from certain disaster by Aske’s loyalty to the king. The goal of his pilgrimage was not to overthrow Henry or present an alternative candidate for the throne. The pilgrims were sworn to take an oath to the king, who they believed had been misled by evil counselors such as Cromwell.\textsuperscript{22} Aske’s forces marched on Doncaster where they encountered the royal army under the control of the Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk’s army was significantly smaller than that of Aske’s and some of the commanders wanted to join battle with Norfolk and march on

\textsuperscript{18} Gasquet, Henry and the Monasteries, 85.
\textsuperscript{19} Gasquet, Henry and the Monasteries, 85.
\textsuperscript{20} Hall, Chronicle, 823.
\textsuperscript{21} Julian Cornwall, Revolt of the Peasantry, 1549, (Boston: Routledge, 1977), 47.
\textsuperscript{22} Dickens, English Reformation, 148.
Aske, however, simply wanted to present the king with his petitions. These petitions, known as the Pontefract articles, were the most lengthy and articulate description of the Pilgrims’ aims. In addition to the usual complaints about men of low birth, the suppression, and heretical bishops, the Pilgrims’ complaints for the first time touched upon the Act of Supremecy. The Articles called for “the supreme head of the Church...to be reserved unto the see of Rome” and for the restoration of Princess Mary to the law of succession.

Despite his doubts, Henry had made a wise decision in choosing Norfolk to deal with the Pilgrims of Grace. The Pilgrims viewed Norfolk as an honest broker, a man sympathetic to their cause, and respected him for his military prowess. Norfolk returned their respect by telling the Pilgrims that “we deale like honest charitable men with youe.” The leaders of the Pilgrimage then held a peace conference, where Norfolk promised that the king would address the concerns of the North.

Henry reluctantly granted a pardon to the northerners on the advice of Norfolk. The king had wanted to execute Aske and the other rebels, but Norfolk insisted that this was

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23 Haigh, Reformations, 147.
24 Hoyle, Pilgrimage, 461.
25 Fletcher, Rebellions, 33.
26 Wilkes, Pilgrimage, 84.
27 Haigh, Reformations, 147.
inadvisable.  

Henry then decided to invite Aske to London for further talks. Aske agreed and spent that Christmas as Henry’s guest and was treated exceptionally well. Henry promised Aske that he would hold a parliament in York to address the concerns of the Pilgrims in the summer. Henry had no intention of actually doing so, feeling that he was under no compulsion to honor promises made to a traitor.

Aske returned to the north to share the good news with his followers. Nonetheless, he found that the Northerners were still suspicious of Henry. Aske wrote to the king that the insurgents were concerned that Henry would never hold a parliament and were angered that Cromwell was still in the king’s favor. Aske should have shared his follower’s suspicions but had been won over by Henry’s charm and several gifts.

Henry was quickly presented with an opportunity to rid himself of Aske. In 1537, Sir Francis Bigod instigated another rebellion in the town of Beverley in Yorkshire. The rebellion was uncharacteristic of the area, as Bigod was a Protestant. Bigod argued that the Archbishop of Canterbury, rather than the

28 Ridley, Henry, 290.
30 Hall, Chronicle, 824.
31 Ridley, Henry, 291.
32 Dickens, English Reformations, 149.
34 Hall, Chronicle, 824.
king, should be the head of the Church of England. Although Aske attempted to put down the rebellion on the king’s behalf, Henry felt that even this unconnected uprising was enough of an excuse to have him executed. Henry spared Aske the usual death for traitors, which would have entailed hanging, burning, and disemboweling. Aske was instead subjected to an arguably less barbaric execution. He was dragged through York on a hurdle and then hung in chains to die of exposure and starvation. Aske’s loyalty to his king proved to be not his salvation but his undoing.

With the death of Aske, the Pilgrimage of Grace came to an end. It was not the final revolt against the Reformation, but it was certainly the most significant. Henry’s quashing of the Pilgrimage did nothing to halt sympathy for the rebellion throughout the country. There were abortive attempts to form pilgrimages in Norfolk, Walsingham, and Cornwall, but they came to nothing. Priests urged their congregations to sell off church valuables so that the king could not seize them. In Kent

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38 Brewer, “Cromwell to Sir Thomas Wyatt”, 8 July 1537, Letters, xii, 97
39 Haigh, Reformations, 150.
and the Isle of Wright, Henry was criticized as a new Nero and called a despoiler of the Church.\textsuperscript{40}

The relationship between religion and economics becomes increasingly apparent with regards to the dissolution of the monestaries. The dissolution of the monasteries had especially outraged the northerners; it was not only an assault on their faith, but an attack on their entire way of life. Aske, in his testimony to the king, stated that the dissolution of the monasteries was the greatest cause of the Pilgrimage of Grace.\textsuperscript{41}

In addition to their almsgiving, Aske mentioned the aesthetic qualities of the monasteries, describing them as “one of the great beauties of the realm.”\textsuperscript{42} He also testified that the monasteries were centers of learning and that they undertook repairs of bridges and seawalls.\textsuperscript{43}

Aske’s support of the monasteries was unsurprising as they were an integral part of the economy and provided employment and numerous social services.\textsuperscript{44} The various religious houses were unable to function without lay help. Although monks and nuns did undertake manual labor, they were unable to do everything unaided, especially when so much of the day was taken up by

\textsuperscript{40} Haigh, Reformations, 150.
\textsuperscript{41} Mary Bateson, “Notes and Documents: Aske’s Examination” The English Historical Review 5, no. 19 (July 1890): 588.
\textsuperscript{42} Bateson, “Aske’s Examination”, 561.
\textsuperscript{43} Bateson, “Aske’s Examination”, 561; James Oxley, The Reformation in Essex to the Death of Mary, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965), 67
\textsuperscript{44} Knowles, Religious Orders, 260.
prayer and contemplation. Commoners worked in monastic fields, cooked meals and tended to the infirm.\textsuperscript{45} Others worked as cleaners or domestic servants to the abbots and abbesses.\textsuperscript{46} In an age in which most commoners were still laboring in the fields, monastic employment was desirable.

The monasteries were the only institution in England that consistently endeavored to help the poor and the sick. Almost all monasteries contained infirmaries where the ill could be tended to free of charge. Almsgiving was mandated by monastic law, and the monks and nuns gave food and clothing to the indigent.\textsuperscript{47} The war song, “Christ Crucified” of the Pilgrimage of Grace acknowledged the benefits of monastic charity and ran in part, “For they had both ale and bread, at time of need and succor great in all distress.”\textsuperscript{48} Additionally, the monasteries provided a form of insurance to pensioners known as corrodians. Corrodies provided food, lodging, and sometimes money to the elderly.\textsuperscript{49} The purchase of a corrody ensured that individuals would never be abandoned or go hungry in their old age.\textsuperscript{50}

Aske stated that the monasteries were not merely places of welfare, but a “spiritual refuge” where people were “well taught

\textsuperscript{45} Knowles, Religious Orders, 263.
\textsuperscript{46} Knowles, Bare Ruined Choirs, 148.
\textsuperscript{47} Knowles, Bare Ruined Choirs, 150.
\textsuperscript{48} Bateson, “The Pilgrimage of Grace”, 345.
\textsuperscript{50} Knowles, Bare Ruined Choirs, 152.
the law of God.” They were part of the intercessory system of prayer, in which the prayers of the living helped to free souls from purgatory. Monasteries were therefore the beneficiaries of wills well into the sixteenth century. These wills not only conferred material benefits to the monasteries but also requested that prayers and masses be said for departed souls.

It was not uncommon for entire generations of families to bury their ancestors on monastic grounds. These family tombs were destroyed during the dissolution and in his testimony Aske lamented that the “sepulchers of honorable and noble men had been pulled down and sold.” The members of the Pilgrimage were also disturbed by the profanation of relics, statues, and paintings.

The Pilgrims understood that the dissolution of the monasteries was a physical attack on their intangible beliefs. Stained glass, relics, statuary, and family tombs all were physical manifestations of popular belief in the intercession of saints, the existence of purgatory, and the real presence of the Eucharist. The destruction of the abbeys and monasteries was not motivated solely by Henry’s avarice. The Pilgrims understood
that the destruction of the monasteries signified the end of their way of life as they knew it.

The Pilgrims, clergy, commons, and nobility, were also united by their hatred of Thomas Cromwell. The war song of the Pilgrims explicitly mentioned him along with Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury.\(^57\) Another war song, composed by Friar John Pickaring, called “naughty” Cromwell a “Southern Turk” and equated him with Haman from the Book of Esther.\(^58\) He was a useful scapegoat for the rebels, who would not conceive of Henry as a heretic. They despised Cromwell’s lowborn background and demanded his execution or banishment.\(^59\) During the peace negotiations between Aske and Norfolk, the first question the Pilgrims asked was whether Cromwell had been expelled.\(^60\) On another occasion during the uprising a parish priest declared that he would use his club to “beat out” Cromwell’s intestines.\(^61\) Lord Darcy, who had joined the insurgents, accused Cromwell of being the “original and chief causer of all this rebellion and mischief” and then prophesied that Cromwell would soon lose his own head.\(^62\) Aske reported to the king that the common people of

\(^{57}\) Bateson, “Pilgrimage of Grace”, 344.
\(^{59}\) Constant, Reformation, 173; Merriman, Letters, 182.
\(^{60}\) Maynard, Cromwell, 173.
\(^{61}\) Davies, “Pilgrimage of Grace”, 69.
\(^{62}\) Merriman, Letters, 195.
the north held a “great grudge” against Cromwell and considered him the most evil man in the world. On another occasion, Aske remarked that the commoners were filled with horror and hatred toward Cromwell and would “eat” him. Even Francis Bigod, who was a Protestant, called for the death of Cromwell during his failed uprising. Clearly, hatred for the king’s vicegerent transcended class and religion.

In addition to his heretical beliefs and low birth, the Pilgrims despised Cromwell for his attempts to centralize Henry’s control “over each square centimeter of a legally demarcated territory.” Henry’s rule over England was decentralized and marked by great variations in local law and custom. The widespread fear that Cromwell would destroy the “ancient rights and liberties” of local communities helps to explain why concerns about agriculture, inheritance and law found their way into the Articles of Pontefract.

63 Gasquet, Henry and the Monasteries, 93; Bateson, Pilgrimage, 342.
64 Dickens, Cromwell, 96.
65 Ridley, Henry, 291.
67 Richard Morison, “A Remedy for Sedition Wherein are Contained many many Things Concerning the True and Loyal Obeisance that Commons owe unto their Prince and Sovereign Lord the King”, in Humanist Scholarship and Public Order: Two Tracts Against the Pilgrimage of Grace, ed. David Sandler Berkowitz, (Washington: Folger Books, 1984), 168; Thomas Denton, “How they First Usurped the Name of Tenantrights and how they Would have Justified the Same, but were Opposed in both” in “A Lost Source for the Rising of 1536 in north-west England” English Historical Review 118, No. 475 (February 2003), 125; Bush, “Tudor Polity”, 56.
Hearsay also fueled the Pilgrimage of Grace. It was widely reported that new taxes were planned on white bread, pigs, and cattle. The same rumor stated that baptisms, weddings, and funerals would also become subject to taxation. It was also said that golden and silver vessels from churches would be replaced with those made of tin.

The Pilgrims had also heard of the prophecy of the Maid of Kent, a nun who predicted that Henry would die after marrying Anne Boleyn. There were also the so-called “Prophecies of Merlin” that supposedly predicted the rise of Robert Aske and the fall of Henry. Even Henry took such prophecies seriously and had one of his followers, Richard Morison, create a counter-prophecy based on The Book of Esdras to disprove those of Merlin. Furthermore, most of Henry’s ministers viewed rumors as the principal cause of the Pilgrimage and were intent on punishing the individuals responsible for spreading them.

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69 Constant, Reformation, 172.
71 Ridley, Henry, 286.
72 Solt, Church and State, 28.
74 Dickens, Reformation, 149.
Agrarian concerns among the Pilgrims of Grace, which were often emphasized by Whig historians as the primary motivation for the rebellion, cannot be segregated from religious factors.76 Harvests in the north had been particularly poor in the years before the uprising and wheat prices had increased by eighty-two percent in 1536, driving the poor to depend more on monastic charity.77 Increased taxation on the monasteries also frightened the northerners, who feared that the monasteries would then have to reduce lay staff.78 The economic concerns of the commoners were evident in the Pontefract Articles, which mentioned grievances against taxation, the enclosure movement, and the repeal of local laws and customs.79 Increased taxation also affected the gentry and nobility through the implementation of the Statute of Uses.80 This dissatisfaction was noted in Aske’s testimony, where he stated that the Statute was harmful to the common wealth of the people.81 The nobility particularly disliked the provision of the Statute that forbade mortgages.82 The

76 Dickens, The English Reformation 125; Dickens, "Secular and Religious Motivations in the Pilgrimage of Grace," 82; Reid, The King’s Council in the North, 126.
77 Davies, "Pilgrimage", 57.
78 Davies, "Pilgrimage", 60.
81 Bateson, "Aske’s Examination", 563.
82 Dickens, Cromwell, 96.
dissolution of the monasteries also led to unemployment, both for the ejected clergy and their former servants.\textsuperscript{83} The Pilgrimage of Grace had failed in almost every respect. The monasteries continued to be dissolved, further religious innovations were introduced and around one hundred thirty members of the commons and clergy were executed.\textsuperscript{84} Survivors of the Pilgrimage had the sole consolation of Cromwell’s decapitation in 1540. Furthermore, to later Protestant reformers such as John Foxe, England under Henry remained as Catholic as ever, and the king had only half-heartedly advocated the “New Learning” of reformed thought.\textsuperscript{85} The reformers eventually found their champion in Henry’s son, Edward VI.

\textsuperscript{83} Pollard, Henry, 282; Constant, Reformation, 170.
\textsuperscript{84} Benett, Norfolk, 127; Fletcher, Rebellions, 48.
\textsuperscript{85} Haigh, Reformations, 158; Parker, English Reformation, 116.
CHAPTER IV: POPISHLY AFFECTED PERSONS, CORNWALL 1549

In January 1547, at the age of 56, Henry VIII died of a combination of obesity, gout, and possibly congenital syphilis. He was succeeded by his nine-year old son, Edward VI, who never achieved his majority. During his brief reign, the young king was influenced by his two primary regents, Edward Seymour, the duke of Somerset, and later, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. Although Henry VIII’s will mentioned a council of sixteen regents, Seymour was able to seize power and proclaim himself Lord Protector of England.¹

Protector Somerset essentially became the ruler of England and set out to further reform the Church of England. Although England was separated from Rome and the monasteries had been suppressed, the English Church was still nominally Catholic in doctrine and form at the time of Henry’s death. The principal dogmas of the Henrician Church were established in the Ten Articles of 1536 and then reaffirmed in the Six Articles of 1539. The Articles were significantly more Catholic than Lutheran or Calvinist doctrine. The Articles upheld that the Eucharist was “present really, under the form of bread and wine,

¹ Dickens, Reformation, 226.
the natural body and blood” of Christ. The Articles also maintained belief in the sacrament of penance, the intercession of the saints, and the use of candles, holy water, and elaborate vestments. The penalties for denying the Six Articles were so harsh that reformers referred to it as “the whip with six bloody strings.”

For Somerset and other reformed individuals, Henry had not gone far enough in his reformation. Reformers such as Somerset mocked transubstantiation, “popish” vestments such as the chasuble and cope, and the “idolatrous” veneration of saints. Unlike Henry, Edward was fully committed to the reformist cause, having been brought up in a Protestant household, and was heavily influenced by the sermons of reformers such as Thomas Cranmer and Nicholas Ridley. Somerset could further the Reformation without any royal interference.

Somerset’s first attack on traditional English religion came in the form of the dissolution of chantries in 1547. The chantries were chapels dedicated to masses for the dead. Wills usually contained provisions for memorial masses and the saying

3 Dickens and Carr, Documents, 77, 110.
4 Spitz, Protestant Reformation, 267; Grimm, Reformation Era, 302.
7 Haigh, Reformations, 169.
of certain prayers every year on the date of the individual’s death.\textsuperscript{8} Traditional doctrine held that requiem masses would help free the departed souls from purgatory. Although the Henrician Reformation had railed against the abuses of purgatory in the Ten and Six Articles, the doctrine itself had not been condemned. Thus, the Protestant Somerset was in charge of a country where parishes continued to hold requiem masses, sing dirges, and read out the names of the departed.\textsuperscript{9}

Reformers such as Somerset were viewed Purgatory as “a doctrine of the devil...which is to be detested.”\textsuperscript{10} Since the existence of chantries was tied in with the doctrine of Purgatory, Somerset was eager to dissolve them. Furthermore, the Lord Protector desired to use chantry funds to finance his war with Scotland.\textsuperscript{11} The Chantry Act condemned the “vain opinions of purgatory” and the saying of masses and prayers for the dead.\textsuperscript{12} This act of dissolution also stated that the king would take possession of any precious goods held by the chantries, such as chalices, vestments, and ornaments. The Act falsely claimed that the funds from the dissolution would go toward the construction

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{8} Scarisbrick, Reformation, 8.
  \item \textsuperscript{10} Marshall, Beliefs, 98.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Dickens and Carr, Documents, 128.
\end{itemize}
of schools and the care of the poor.\textsuperscript{13} In total, about three thousand chantries were dissolved, at about a value of £650,000.\textsuperscript{14} With a few small exceptions, the vast majority of chantry funds were used for government expenditure rather than for charitable or educational purposes.\textsuperscript{15} The Protector pocketed some of the chantry funds for his own family and built his residence, Somerset House, with materials salvaged from the dissolution.\textsuperscript{16}

Edward and Somerset continued their attack on traditional religion following the dissolution of the chantries. Injunctions were promulgated against characteristic orthodox devotions such as pilgrimages, the recitation of the Rosary, the veneration of relics and other “such-like superstition.”\textsuperscript{17} The injunctions also forbade the lighting of memorial candles, Eucharistic processions, and the use of handbells.\textsuperscript{18} Furthermore, the reformers attacked the sacramentals of the church used for healing or exorcism, such as holy water, holy bread, and blessed candles.\textsuperscript{19} The commissioners sent out to enforce these

\textsuperscript{14} Solt, \textit{Church and State}, 49.
\textsuperscript{16} Spitz, \textit{Protestant Reformation}, 269.
\textsuperscript{17} Duffy, \textit{Altars}, 450.
\textsuperscript{18} Duffy, \textit{Altars}, 452.
\textsuperscript{19} Loach, \textit{Edward VI}, 50.
injunctions were also charged with the destruction of paintings, images, statues, and stained glass.

The bloody aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace had frightened the populace into submission and helps to explain why there was no immediate revolt against Somerset’s attack on traditional religion. At this time, Catholic sympathizers were willing to continue without the pope and the monasteries provided that their religion remained predominantly Catholic in appearance and dogma. In many places, the faithful continued to practice their faith in the orthodox manner, regardless of the new religious edicts. 20 There were numerous instances in which locals hid vestments and other church objects from the commissioners, which they later brought out during the Marian restoration of Catholicism in 1553. 21

Violent resistance to the Edwardian Reformation started in Cornwall, in the town of Helston. 22 The commissioner, William Body, had been charged with the implementation of religious reforms and the destruction of images in the area. 23 He arrived in Helston on the 5th of April 1548. Like their northern predecessors a decade earlier, the people of Cornwall were hostile to the royal commissioners. The locals saw royal agents such as Body as nothing more than thieves and despoilers of

20 Marshall, Beliefs and the Dead, 103; Spitz, Protestant Reformation, 271.
21 Scarisbrick, Reformation, 101; Tracy, Europe’s Reformations, 197.
22 Loach, Edward VI, 70.
23 Rose-Troup, Western Rebellion, 75.
their religion and way of life. The local townsmen and their ancestors had invested heavily in their faith, both materially and spiritually and were loath to see the commissioners take off with the chalices, vestments, and ornaments that they had helped acquire.

The news of Body’s arrival spread quickly, and people from the surrounding area began to arm themselves and march on Helston. They were led by Father Martin Geffery of St. Keverne and a yeoman by the name of William Kylter.24 They arrived in Helston while Body was carrying out his iconoclastic work. After receiving word of the mob he hid in a house near the church. The mob then seized the commissioner and he was stabbed to death by either Father Martin or William Kylter.25 Following Body’s death, the rebels proclaimed their desire for Catholicism, stating:

> Let us have again all such laws and ordinances touching the Christian religion as were appointed by our late sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth of blessed memory...and whosoever dare defend this (William) Body and follow such new fashions as he did, we will punish him likewise.26

The rebellion swelled to about three thousand men, but disintegrated soon afterward.27 The rebels were not strong enough to overcome the royal army sent against them, and were willing to accept a general pardon offered to them on the 19th of May.

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24 Cornwall, Revolt, 53.
26 Rose-Troup, Western Rebellion, 80.
27 Haigh, Reformations, 172; Jordan, Edward VI, 440.
Twenty-six men were arrested by the royal officials, ten of whom were found guilty, and five of whom were later pardoned.\(^{28}\) Among the executed were both William Kylter and Father Martin.

Attacks on commissioners were not limited to Cornwall. In Yorkshire, a crowd of nearly three thousand rose up in the town of Seamer in 1549.\(^{29}\) In a scene almost identical to that of Helston, a priest and a yeoman led a mob against the commissioners. The rebels protested against the “new inventions” of the reformers and the “laying aside” of the Mass.\(^{30}\) The insurgents dragged the commissioners, one of their wives, and one of their servants from their beds and dispatched them.\(^{31}\) A detachment from York was sent against the rebels, who were dispersed by a general pardon, although nine of the rebel leaders were put to death.

After the general pardon of May 1548, Cornwall remained quiet until 1549, when Edward VI passed the Act of Uniformity. The act was meant to replace the “diverse and sundry rites” of the Mass with “one uniform rite”, or the Book of Common Prayer.\(^{32}\) The Book required that all services in England be celebrated in English rather than in Latin. This demand surprisingly proved to be the most controversial aspect of the Act of Uniformity. Many

\(^{28}\) Jones, Reformation, 100; Loach, Edward VI, 70.
\(^{30}\) Duffy, Altars, 459.
\(^{31}\) Dickens, Reformation, 237.
\(^{32}\) Dickens and Carr, Documents, 133.
of Edward’s subjects were not fluent in English and even in the sixteenth century the Welsh and the Cornish maintained their own language. The people of Cornwall were actually more familiar with Latin than English and were unable to follow the Book of Common Prayer.

What became known as the Prayer Book Rebellion began on June 10 1549, in the town of Sampford Courtenay in Devonshire. The local priest, William Harper, was preparing to say the new rite from the Book of Common Prayer when he was approached by the townspeople who demanded, “we will have none of the new fashions...we will have the old religion of our fathers.” The priest complied and put on his “old popish attire” and proceeded to celebrate the Mass in Latin. The local magistrates heard of this disturbance and attempted to quell the discontent, but were unable to do so. Word of the resistance at Sampford began to spread throughout the region and the common people “clapped their hands for joy.” In the town of Bodmin, the people called for the death of the nobility and the return of the “Six Articles and ceremonies.”

33 Jones, Religion and Cultural Adaptation, 100.
34 Haigh, Reformations, 174.
37 Cornwall, Revolt, 67; Holinshed, Holinshed’s Chronicle, 942.
38 Haigh, Reformations, 174; Jordan, Edward VI, 453.
The people of Cornwall were further incited to rebellion by the harassment of an old woman. The father of Sir Walter Raleigh, on his way to Exeter, encountered an elderly woman reciting the rosary on her way to mass.\textsuperscript{39} Raleigh accosted the woman, and upbraided her for saying the rosary. He then threatened her by stating that she could be executed for adhering to “popish” devotions.\textsuperscript{40} The frightened woman hurried to the church in the town of Clyst St. Mary and told the parishioners that unless they gave up their rosaries and holy water that they would all be “burned out of their houses and spoiled.”\textsuperscript{41} The villagers left the church, barricaded the town, and seized Sir Walter, who would have been lynched if not for the intervention of some local sailors.\textsuperscript{42}

This event further enraged the people of Cornwall, who began to erupt in open rebellion, marching under the banner of the Five Wounds like their predecessors in the north. The rebels articulated demands similar to those of the Pilgrims of Grace, with the addition of complaints against the Book of Common Prayer. They called for the return of the Six Articles, transubstantiation, and sacramentals such as holy water and holy

\textsuperscript{39} Chapman, \textit{Last Tudor King}, 155; Holinshed, \textit{Holinshed’s Chronicle}, 941; Sir Walter Raleigh and his father shared the same name. Neither Holinshed nor other sources supply the name of the old woman.
\textsuperscript{40} Jones, \textit{Religion and Cultural Adaptation}, 100.
\textsuperscript{41} Duffy, \textit{Altars}, 468.
\textsuperscript{42} Holinshed, \textit{Holinshed’s Chronicle}, 942.
bread.43 They mocked the new service as nothing more than a “Christmas Game”, attacking its perceived lack of sanctity and reverence.44 Naturally, the insurgents complained about the English Prayer Book, commenting that “certain of us understand no English.”45 Additionally, the Cornishmen called for the reestablishment of chantries and the allowance of prayers for the souls in purgatory.46

The Cornish rebels were strong enough to lay siege to Exeter on July 2nd and planned to march to London once the city fell.47 Although many of the citizens of Exeter sympathized with the rebels, the city did not fall. The fortifications of Exeter were extensive, and the rebels did not have any cannons to bombard the walls.48 The rebels should have continued onward to London rather than attempting to starve Exeter into submission. While the rebels camped outside Exeter, Protector Somerset dispatched Lord Russell to destroy the rebellion. Russell procured an army of Italian Arquebusiers and German Landsknechts, in addition to some native English contingents.49

43 Cornwall, Revolt, 115; Scarisbrick, Reformation, 83.
45 Dickens, Reformation, 246.
46 Cornwall, Revolt, 135.
47 Loach, Edward VI, 71.
48 Jordan, Edward VI, 466.
49 Rose-Troup, Western Rebellion, 234; Chapman, Last Tudor King, 156; Loach, Edward VI, 71.
Russell’s army was strong enough to overpower the rebels and crushed the insurgency on the August the 17th. Unlike the Pilgrims of Grace, the Cornish rebels could not be placated by general pardons, promises of councils, or threats. Therefore, the death toll was substantial, and the town of Clyst St. Mary was put to the torch with nearly nine hundred casualties.

In 1553, Mary Tudor succeeded to the throne of England. She was determined to restore England to Catholicism and reverse the reformations her father and brother imposed. Survivors of the Pilgrimage of Grace and the Prayer Book Rebellion would have been pleased to see the restoration of papal supremacy, the reinstitution of the mass, and the return of popular religious devotions. Yet the return to Catholicism was transient, and “Bloody Mary’s” reign would later be seen as nothing more than a minor distraction from England’s destiny as a Protestant nation. During Mary’s short reign of five years, she could not rebuild and recreate the physical structures necessary for the restoration of Catholicism. Henry and Cromwell, Edward and Somerset had destroyed the monasteries, abbeys and chantries that had taken a thousand years to create. The physical destruction of these structures also resulted in the destruction of intangible belief.

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50 G.R Elton, Reform and Reformation, 348.
51 Duffy, Altars, 468; Jones, Religion and Cultural Adaptation, 101.
52 Wilkes, “Pilgrimage”, 144.
CONCLUSION: FOR THE LOVE THAT YE DO BEAR UNTO ALMIGHTY GOD

The Lincolnshire Rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549 have been dismissed as nothing more than “picturesque episodes having no real bearing on national history.”¹ Historians of the Whig tradition attempted for centuries to mitigate these incidents, claiming that they were nothing more than minor local setbacks towards England’s destiny as a Protestant nation and that religious factors were unimportant. The significance of the rebellions against Henry and Edward suggest a different narrative that counters the traditional hegemonic discourse. The evidence suggests that instead of the Reformation being a fait accompli, Catholic sympathies were strong enough to motivate armed resistance.

The importance of these rebellions can be seen in both their size and their scope. The Pilgrimage of Grace was the largest single uprising in English history and unlike the Peasants Revolt of 1381, it and other uprisings against the reformations were composed of several socioeconomic groups. The shaky coalition of nobles, gentlemen, clergy, and commons articulated their sometimes disparate agendas all under the aegis of religion.

¹ Dodds, Pilgrimage, 332.
The role of religion in uniting the disparate interests of the commons and the nobility cannot be underestimated. Throughout the reign of Henry and Edward, the common people had frequently expressed their distrust and hatred of the nobility. A few years prior to the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the manorial lord of Long Sutton was killed by his 172 subjects. Other commoners expressed that they would gladly hang half of the nobles in England and that they would have no problem killing off their children.

The merging of religious and economic factors can be seen in the Pilgrimage Oath, also known as the Oath of the Honorable Men, that explicitly stated that the Pilgrims of Grace joined the cause not “for the Commonwealth” but for the love of God and the “maintenance of his holy church.” The other documents of the rebellion also combine the various concerns of the commons and gentry under the common cause of religion. The first four articles of Pontefract exclusively deal with religious issues, including the restoration of the monasteries, papal supremacy, the expulsion of heretics, and the reinstatement of the orthodox Princess Mary to the line of succession. Concerns about more temporal issues such as taxation, legal jurisdiction, and

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2 Dodds, Pilgrimage, 330.
5 Appendix: (6)
6 Appendix: (4)
enclosure come much later in the document. The articles of the Lincoln uprising also primarily concerned themselves with the abolition of heresy, the end of the suppression of the monasteries, and the restoration of the ancient liberties of the church.  

During the Prayer Book Rebellion, concerns over language policy were inextricably tied in with religious issues. When the Cornish rebels articulated their demands, and concerns about the English Missal they primarily discussed theological and liturgical issues. The articles of the Prayer Book Rebellion focus extensively on the restoration of the Latin Mass and the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory. Furthermore, Edward’s ministers blamed the rebellion on “seditious priests” who stirred up the common people for a “quarrel of religion.”

The events of the Lincolnshire Rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Prayer Book Rebellion are all evidence that substantial Catholic sympathies existed after Henry’s establishment of the Church of England, through the reign of his son, and during the early years of the reign of Mary I. These sympathies were the primary cause of the rebellions, and were

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7 Appendix: (5)
8 Nicholas Udall, “Udall’s Answer to the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall” in Nicholas Pocock, Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549, (Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1884), 151.
inextricably tied in with socioeconomic, linguistic, and cultural issues.

Ballad on the Pilgrimage of Grace.

I Crist crucyfyd!
For thy woundes wide
Vs commens guyde!
Which pilgrames be,
Thrughe godes grace,
For to purchasche
Olde welth and peax
Of the spiritualtie.

II Gret godes fame
Doith Church proclame
Now to be lame
And fast in boundes,
Robbyd, spoiled and shorne
From catell and corne,
And clone furth borne
Of housez and landes.

III Whiche thynge is cleere
Agaynst godes lere,49
As doith appere
In detronomio,
Godes law boke.
Open and loke,
As moysez spoke,
Decimo nono.49

IV Ther may be founde :
The lyuyng grounde
May not lay downyn
Sesare nor kyng,
Which olde fathers
And the right heires,
For ther wylues,
At theyr endynge

V Gaif to releif,
Whome for amice50 greve
Boith day and even,
And can no wirke;
Yet this thay may,
Boith night and day
Rusorte and pray
Vnto godes kyrke.

VI Thus interlie
Peax and petie,
Luf and mercie,
For to purchasche
For mannys mysdeyd,
And wrongfull crede
Most fer myslede,
Throught lack of grace.

VII Suche foly is fallen
And wise out blawen
That grace is gone
And all goodnes.
Then no marvell
Thoght it thus befell,
Commons to mell
To make redresse.

VIII Right well myndyng
The foresayng
And prophesiyng
Of Esayas:
That prynces shuld
Remeve fixt molde,
Which fathers colde
To sounde compas.
IX
Bot on thing, Kynges,
Esayas saynges
Like rayn down brynges
  Godes woful yre,
Harryng the subiect
Ther dewtis to forgett
And pryncez let
  Of suche disyre.

X
Alacke! Alacke!
For the church sake
Pore comons wake,
  And no marvell!
For clere it is
The decay of this
How the pore shall mys
  No tong can tell.

XI
For ther they hade
Boith ale and breyde
At tyme of nede,
  And succer grete
In alle distresse

And hevynes,
  And wel intrete

XII
In troubil and care,
Where that we were
In maner all bere
  Of our substance,
We founde good bate
At churche men gate,
Without checkmate
  Or varyaunce.

XIII
God that right all
Redresse now shall,
And that is thrall

Agayn make fre,
By this viage
And pylgramage
Of yong and sage

In this countre,

XIV
Whome god graunt grace!
And for this space
Of this ther trase
Sende theyn good spede,
  With welth, helth and spede,
Of synnys releys
And joy endleys,
  When they be deyd.

XV
Church men for euer
So you remember,
Boith fyrst and latter,
  In your memento
These pilgramez poore,
That take such cure
To stabilisshe sure,
  Wiche dyd vndoo

XVI
Crim, crame, and riche
With thre ell and the liche
As sum men teache.
God theym amend!
And that Aske may,
  Without delay,
Here make a stay
  And well to end!

An Exhortation to the Nobles and Commons of the North
Page 1 (fo. 292a)

O faithful people of the boreal region,
Chief bellicose champions by divine providence,
Of God his elect; to make reformation
Of great mischief and horrible offense.
Go ye forward valiantly in your peregrination.
It is Christ’s pleasure and to your salvation.
The northern people in time long past
Hath little been regarded of the austral nation;
But now I do trust even at the last,
Renown we shall win to our whole congregation
Of these Southern heretics, devoid of all virtue,
And them overthrow. Their faith is untrue.
Desist not of your purpose, both good and commendable.
Prosecute your intent with power and main.
Inspired of God; by motion celestial,
These heretics to suppress and tyranny restrain.
It is written in the Maccabees. Look well the story.
Acciungenini potentes quae estate fili.
For us it is better in battle for to die,
And of our mortal life to make a conclusion,
Than heresies extremely to reign with tyranny,
The nobility of the realm brought to confusion.
Christ’s church very like is spoiled to be,
And all abbeys suppressed. It is more pity;
Abbeys to suppress we have little need.
The which of charity good men did found;
To them it was thought it was great mead;
But boldly now down, straight to the ground,
Many are busy them to decay,
And them profaneth. None dare say nay.
If poverty had been chief cause of this,
Then God the less we should offend,
But these false heretics procureth this mischief.
They reign too long, God send and end
Of all the mischiefs. That we may see
These naughty heretics prevale of their dignity.
These enormities to recover now let us take pain.
Things amiss to redress we ourself must enforce.
Although in battle many should be slain,
Regard not the pleasures\textsuperscript{a} of our mortal corpse,\textsuperscript{b}
But call to our memory where God saith that:
Confortaminoi in bello; nam vobistum domino.

Page 2 (fo. 292b)

Our cause it is lawful, I dare well report.
More sorely our enemies we may assay;
Not doubting of them to make great mort,
Or else very soon to break their array,
Through help of him that lightly may
Give strength unto few. Ut fiat victoria.
The Maccabees being few in the comparison
Of their enemies, that in number were many more;
But trusting in God, they had corroboration,\textsuperscript{10}
And many of them they did overthrow;
Maintaining their law with rights manifold,
And fought right manly, as where\textsuperscript{11} ours most bold.
We being therefore in like distress,
These Southern Turks perverting our law,
Spoiling Christ[']s church to our great heaviness,
The wealth of the realm not regarding one\textsuperscript{12} straw.
Therefore to fight now my council it is.
Nam deus nom decrit pugnantibus nobis.
The authors of all ill to rehearse by name,
Me think it no need. Many doth them know
For their cursed council; God send them much shame,
Both naughty Cromwell and the Chancellors,\textsuperscript{13} too.
The heretical bishops causeth desolation;
Christ[']s curse on them light. Small\textsuperscript{14} having devotion,
Their properties to distrafe\textsuperscript{15} me think it right necessary.
For the truth once known of their generation
Will move us to abhor that cursed company
Of Cromwell the captain and all his subtle bosuns.
The art of a shearmen it was his beginning,
But late of honour\textsuperscript{16} promoted by our king.
Albeit\textsuperscript{17} Haman he is, as is made mention
In the Book of Esther, it doth there appear,
Whom Ahasuerus exalted to high promotion,
Making him chief ruler of all his empire;
This Haman in mind replete with vainglory,
Of every man did covet honored to be.
This for to do, none durst it recuse,
Better nor"t worse through all the country. 
Save only Murdoch, who did refuse
Him for to honor in any degree.

Page 3 (fo. 293a)

This known to Haman, replete with fury
In mind, did imagine how Murdoch should die;
And with it not content, his malice put in ure
Against the true Jews of his propagation,
Sent writing ahead abroad, and with his busy cure,
All his people to be brought to great desolation.
But zit notwithstanding, God did so provide,
He missed of his purpose. God was their guide.
The church fathers said so. This is no fable.
The gallows upon, prepared for Murdoch,
Hanged he was as a thief notable.
Ahasuerus commanding that so it should be,
And his rooms royal, no fardel delay,
Were given unto Murdoch in that same day.
This story for to mark who hath good affection.
Now truly verified in part may he see,
This cruel Haman by his false invention,
In the north doth pursueth faithful commony.
By his great expenses intending utterly
Us to destroy and bring in captivity;
But great God abuse. That honor doth procure
For this faithful people all that is necessary;
And honor provide I zone do assure,
His falseness to be known and revoked his policy.
No fair words we shall trust, after my opinion,
But boldly to go forward in our peregrination.
If this Haman were hanged, then dare I well say,
This realm then redressed full soon should be,
And the bishops reformed in a new array.
Then 'stablished should be our true Christianity.
But 'til this be done, we may be well sure
These gross offenses we cannot recure.
The intolerable exactions, that long he did use
The laity among, and also the spirituality,
Is all worth death who can this excuse.
[Innocent?] blood by him shed, [so that?] great cruelty
[To?] him a shameful death by right doth it claim,
With all confusion and extreme shame.
This cursed Cromwell by his great policy,
In the realm hath caused great exaction;
Them highly promoting that set on that heresy,
By the aid of the Chancellors, using exhortation.

Page 4 (fo. 293b)

Against them all for to fight, I think it convenient,
And not for to cease, 'til their lives be spent.
If longer they should reign in this noble region,
Christ's law to destroy, it is their intent.
Then shortly would they bring us to utter confusion.
Our nobles for their boldness shortly shall be shent;
Their heads to be lost — and that were great pity,
This country to be desolate of so noble progeny.
Chief faithful commoners be of good ch[er], 29
Your intention to puissance 30 now take upon hand;
Defer not your matters 'til a new year. 11
I fear aid will come out of a strange land. 12
The English commony may now zo be sure,
Your purpose will aid these wrongs to recure.
Now God in whose cause we take upon hand,
Not against our prince, this may he well spy;
But faith to maintain and right of this land,
The authors surprising of cursed heresy.
Valiantly to speed, he grant us by grace,
That finally we may see his joyful face,
In all our distress, let us not refrain
Diligently for to pray our king for to save,
And his undoubted wife queen Lady Jane;
And we do offend, pardon we do crave.
God send him long time to reign with equity,
That virtue may abound with gracious plenty.
God Save our King and hoc cupit auctor.
Finis

To the king our sovereign lord

[1] The suppression of so many religious houses as are at this instant time suppressed, whereby the service of our God is not well [maintained] but also the commons of your realm unrelieved, the which as we think is a great hurt to the commonwealth and many sisters be [put] from their livings and left at large.

[2] The second article is that we humbly beseech your grace that the act of use[s] may be suppressed because we think by the said act we your true subjects be clearly restrained of your [sic] liberties in the declaration of our wills concerning our lands, as well for payment of our debts, for doing of your grace service, as for helping and relieving of our children, the which we had by the [...] of your laws [...] the which as we think is a great hurt and [...] to the commonwealth.

[3] The third article is that where your grace hath a tax or a quindene [fifteenth] granted unto you by act of parliament payable the next year, the which is and hath been ever leviable of sheep and cattle, and the sheep and cattle of your subjects within the said shire are now at this instant time in manner utterly decayed, and [...] whereby your grace to take the said tax or quindene your said subjects shall be distrained to pay 4d. for every beast and 12d. for 20 sheep, the which would be an importunate charge to them considering the poverty that they be in already and loss which they have sustained these two years past.

[4] The fourth article is that we your true subjects think that your grace takes of your council and being about you such persons as be of low birth and small reputation which hath procured the profit [of the dissolution] most especially for their own advantage, the which we suspect to be the Lord Cromwell and Sir Richard Rich, Chancellor of Augmentations.

[5] The fifth article is that we your true subjects find us grieved that there be diverse bishops of England of your grace's late promotion that hath [...] the faith of Christ, as we think, which are the bishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Worcester, the bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of St Davids, and the bishop of Dublin, and in especial we think that the beginnings of all the trouble of that [...] and the vexation that hath been [...] of your subjects the bishop of Lincoln.

1. The first touching our faith to have the heresies of Luther, Wycliffe, Hus, Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Confessio Germaniae, Apologia Melanchtionis, the works of Tyndale, of Barnes, of Marshall, of Rastell, Saint German, and such other heresies of Anapatists therby within this realm to be annulled an destroyed.

2. The second to have the Supreme Head of the church touching cure animarum to be reserved unto the see of Rome as before it was accustomed to be, and to have the consecrations of bishops from him without any first fruits or pension to him to be paid out of this realm or else a pension reasonable for the outward defense of our faith.

3. Item, we humbly beseech our most dread sovereign lord that the Lady Mary may be made legitimate and the former statute therein annulled, for the danger of the title that might incur to the crown of Scotland, that to be by Parliament.

4. Item, to have abbeys supressed to be restored unto their houses, lands and goods.

5. Item, to have the tenths and first fruits clearly discharged of the same, unless the clergy will themselves grant a rent charge in generality to the augmentations of the crown.

6. Item, to have the Friars Observants restored unto their houses again.

7. Item, to have the heretics, bishops and temporal, and their sect to have condign punishment by fire or such other, or else try their quarrel with us and our partakers in battle.

8. Item, to have the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Chancellor, and Sir Richard Rich, knight, to have condign punishment as the subverters of the good laws of this realm and maintainers of the false sect of heretics and the first investors and bringers in of them.

9. Item, that the lands in Westmoreland, Cumberland, Kendal, Dent, Sedbergh, Fornes, and the abbeys lands in Mashamshire, Kyrkbyshire, Northerdale, may be by tenant right, and the lord to now have at every change two years rent from gressomm and no more according to the grant now
made by the lords to the commons there under their seal. And this is to be done by act of Parliament.

10. Item, the statutes of handguns and crossbows to be repealed, and the practice thereof unless it be in the King’s forest or parks for the killing of His Grace’s deer, red and fallow.

11. Item, that Doctor Legh and Doctor Layton must have condign punishment for their extortations in time of visitation, as in from religious houses £40, £20 and so many horses, chattel, leases, under...bribes by them taken, and of their abominable acts by them committed and done.

12. Item, reformation for the election of knights of shire and burgesses and for the use among the lords in the Parliament house after their ancient custom.

13. Item, statute for enclosures and intacks to put in execution, and that all intacks since 4 Henry VII be pulled down except mountains, forests, and parks.


15. Item, to have the Parliament in a convenient place in Nottingham or York and the same shortly summoned.

16. Item, the statute of the declaration of the crown by will, that the same thing may be annulled and repealed.

17. Item, that it be enacted by authority of Parliament that all recognizances, statutes, penalties new forfeit during the time of this commotion may be pardoned and discharges as well against the King as strangers.

18. Item, the privileges and rights of the church to be confirmed by act of Parliament, and priests no suffer by sword unless he be disgraced, a man saved by his book, sanctuary to save a man for all causes in extreme need, and the church for fourty days and further according to the laws as they were used in the beginning by this king’s days.

19. Item, the liberties of the church to have their old customs as the country palatine at Durham, Beverley, Ripon, St. Peter of York, and such other by act of Parliament.

20. Item, to have the statute that no man shall not will his lands to be repealed.

21. Item, that the statutes of treasons for words and suchlike made anno 21 of our sovereign lord that is to be in likewise repealed.

22. Item, that the common laws may have place as was used in the beginning of Your Grace’s reign and that all injunctions may be clearly denied and not to be granted unless the matter be heard and determined by chancery.
23. Item, that no man upon subpoena from Trent north to appear but at York or by attorney unless it be directed upon pain of allegiance and for like matters concerning the King.

24. Item, a remedy against escheators for finding false offices and extorting fees, taking which be not holden of the King and against promoters thereof.

1. That the King should demand no more taxes of the nation except in time of war.
2. That the Statute of Uses should be repealed.
3. That the Church should enjoy its ancient liberties and that tenths and first fruits should not be taken from the clergy by the government.
4. That no more abbeys should be suppressed.
5. That the realm should be purged of heresy, and the heretic bishops such as Cramner, Latimer, and Longland should be deprived and punished.
6. That the King should take noblemen for his councilors, and give up Cromwell, Riche, Legh, and Layton to the vengeance of the commons, or else banish them.
7. That all who had taken part in the insurrection be pardoned.

Ye shall not enter into this our Pilgrimage of Grace for the commonwealth, but only for the love that ye do bear unto Almighty God his faith, and to Holy Church militant and the maintenance thereof; to the preservation of the King's person and his issue, to the purifying of the nobility, and to expulse all villain blood and evil councilors against the commonwealth from his Grace and his Privy Council of the same. And that ye shall not enter into our said Pilgrimage for no particular profit to yourself, nor to do any displeasure to any private person, but by counsel of the commonwealth, nor slay nor murder for no envy, but in your hearts put away all fear and dread, and take afore you the Cross of Christ, and in your hearts His faith, the restitution of the Church, the suppression of these heretics and their opinions, by all the holy contents of this book.
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