

are not mere changes of spelling.¹ Passages from the narrative have been printed in Mr. Froude's 'History of England,' and in Father Gasquet's 'Henry VIII and the English Monasteries.' On p. 132 of his second volume, Father Gasquet says in a note: 'It is significant that whilst the filthy scribbles of Layton and his compeers have been printed and reprinted, and their reports dinned into people's ears for the last two centuries, such a weighty document as Aske's "expostulatory narrative to the king," drawn up at Henry's express request to Aske in person, has never yet seen the light.' The information on the question of the dissolution that can be derived from it is, however, much less considerable than that offered by Aske in his examination, from which Father Gasquet quotes important passages. The narratives are not in Aske's handwriting, but from the frequent corrections from the first to the third person it appears probable that the two are copies of his version. The original has a running marginal analysis not inserted here. (I.)

The eighth document in the same volume contains some suggestions for the pacification of the northern insurrection which throw light on the nature of the demands of the rebels. It is in the same handwriting as the preceding paper, and is mutilated. (II.)

The ballad in favour of the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' is taken from the Treasury of Receipt, Miscellanea, 65/6, No. 7. The first and last verses are quoted in the eleventh volume of the calendar of Henry VIII's State Papers. It covers a sheet of paper written in four parallel columns of five verses each. (III.) MARY BATESON.

I.

The maner of the taking of Robert Aske in Lincolnshir and the vsse² of the same Robert vnto his passaige from Yorke.

Furst, the same Robert Aske sayth, that he, being accompaned with his two bretheryn John and Cristofer Aske, in the hous of his brother in law William Ellerker(e)r in Yorkyswold, had appoynted to mete on hunting with Sir Ralf Ellerker, the yonger, knight, at the fox. And the same day and tyme, the same Sir Ralf, to his knowlaige, had receyued the King, our most drad soueryng lord is comission, toching the subsydie; by occasion wherof, the same Sir Ralf attended vpon the same busenes at Hull or Beuerley; the knowlaige wherof came to the same Robert, by occasion wherof he, intending to applie his great busenesses at the law the same terme, intended to be at London, two dais befor the begynnnyng of the terme; and so departed frome the same place of Ellerker, and came to the water syd of Hunber, to haue passaig ouer the same in to Lincolnshir, then being his next way to London. And aboutes v myles from the said town of Ellerker, at wich tyme, when the said Robert was entred in to the ferybote of Barton, it was reconted to him by the ferymen ther, how the comyns wer assembled at Castre in Lincolnshir, and had

¹ These variants are distinguished by parentheses.

² Jamieson's dictionary gives 'To use, *v.a.*, to frequent . . . to resort to. Possibly from the phrase *via uti*, to travel on a certain road.'

takin the kinges comissioners ther, and also the bischop ordinary or commissary, and how the voice wais, that ther churches, and in ornaments³ of the same, should be takyn from them, with othere such lyke maters. And the same Robert then cold not conveniently retorne, nor the tyd of the watre wold not conveniently so serue him for that purpos. And the same Robert, after he was landyd at Barton, refussed the highway to Lincoln, because of suspect or taking, and intended to loge him that night with his brotheryn in law (*sic*), Thomas Portington, at Sauclyf, viii myles from Barton, and two myles from Burton Statur⁴ fery. And, goyng thether wardes, at Feryby, two myles from Barton, came to him, to his knowlaig, on Mr. Hudiswell, hauyng a blake cote and a grey berd, and accompanied (by) aboutes the nombre of xvi or xiiii person(es) on horse, and stoped the said Robert, and demandyd his na(me); To whom the said Robert it recotend, and then the said Hundiswell recotend how they wer assembled, and how (no) man shuld have passaig thro(wh) that contrey, but tha(t) they should be sworn to them. To whom the said Aske answered, tha(t) he was ons sworn to the Kinges highnes and issue, and that he wold not be sworn agayn to any other intent, onles he was inforced to the same, and demandyd the maner of ther oth. To whom the said Hudswell it declared, wich was to this intent:—

Ye shalbe trew to God and the king and the comyn welth.

To whom the said Aske answered and said, in this oth is ther no treson, but standing with his⁵ first oth. To whom he said, 'ye shall take this oth or els not pas vndangered.' And so the said Aske, as inforced, was contented to be sworn, and so repared vnto Sauclyf, his said brother in law hous, he then being taken with the comyns and with them remayninge, and the same Aske, perceyuyng the comyns ther assembled on euery syde, intending allon to haue takin a bote at Wintringham, iii myles distans from Sauclyf; and in goyng thether wardes, diuersse of the comyns met with him, and so intreat him, that he was glad to repare agayn to Sauclyf, and loged ther the same night. And mor then an hour befor day, the comyns ther aboutes came to the bed of the said Aske, he then being accompanied with thre of his neves, wherof two was studentes at the law, and ther toke them all, and at thespeciall dissier of the said Aske, the comyns was content to licens them to haue recours into Yorkshir, becaus two of them was hier apparentes. And so t(o)ke the said Aske with them from Sauclyf vnto a town south thens and iii myles distans, called (blank), wher then wer assembled nigh on hors and fote xx.co men, with out capitan or great gentilman, and the most of them with out hernes. And wich way as the said Aske went, the rest folowed. And when he perceiued the same, demandyd ther intent, and to what place they purposed to go. And they said, to Kirton of Lindisay, v miles distans, and how the lord Borow had warned the soke of Kirton to rise aganst them, and that they wold raise the same soke. And then they deuydyd the soke men to take the direct way to Kirton, and the said Aske went with horsmen⁶ nigh Humber syd, and rased the same soke, and came

³ See below (p. 885), and p. 209 of A/2/29, the 'in' is scratched out before 'ornaments.' Does 'in' here mean *inside* ornaments?

⁴ Burton Stather in Lincolnshire.

⁵ Corr. from *my*.

⁶ Corr. from *them*.

agane to (the) other company to Kirton, aboutes on or ii of the cloke, at after non. At wich tyme the said Aske demandyd of them, what was ther purpos to do. And they said, to met the host of Castre (which) wold (be) at a place called Hamyldon How. Of whom the said Aske demandyd, how they knew if ther wer any such host ther or no. To whom they aunswered, they though(t) it was so and so the comyn fame was, but they know not it of troth. And then the said Aske demandyd who wold go and vew that company, and then non wold go. And at the last, the said Aske said to them, if ye will kep your ground to he came agayn, he wold ryd to the other company, and know ther intent, wich was xii myles distans at lest; and so dyd, and when he came on Mr. (?) Moyne, was by the comons inforced to be ther capitane. To whom the said Aske declared the maner of the other company, and required to know ther intent and purpos, albeit the comons wold not suffer him to speke nor her but oppynly, that they might here the same. And then he recounted how the appoyntment was, that night they wold loge at Basingwoo(de), *dim'* (*sic*) a myle of that ground, and that the morow after, they wold loge at a place called Downholme mede, v myles now beyond Lyncoln, wher they willed the other company to mete them. And at that tyme they passed not xii.c men, and fewe hernessed. And so the said Aske recompted the purpos to his companey, and that night repared bake to Sauclyf agayn, and eyrly in the mornynge passed ouer Trent at Burton Statur, in to Marshland in Yorkshir, wher the comyns was in a great rumour, and redy to ryse; and asson as they perceyued the said Aske, haunyng knowlaige that he was takyn in Lincolnshir and a leder ther they wer purposed to haue rang the belles in thos partes. So when the said Aske said, 'stei your selves to you her Houden belles ring, so that ye be not the furst that doth aryse,' and so w(ent) ouer the water of Ouse to Houden, wh(er) the peple ther (wer) of lyke mynd, and floughter.⁷ To whom the said Aske sai(d), ring not your belles, except ye her the belles of Marsland. And so, that after non, passing by two or iii townes to-wardes his⁸ brother hous, being v myles distant, wich then was not at home. By occasion wherof the said Aske retorned again to Houden, and that night loged ther. And on the morow, because it was said that the Kinges grace plesour toching the peticcions of Lincolnshir should be then known by Mr. Henaige, the said Aske repayred agayn to Lincoln, wher the same night it was showed vnto him, that if he taried he should be slayn, eyther with the gentlemen or by the comyns, because he had departed from them. By occasion wherof, the same Aske left that night his own loging, at the signe of the Angill in Lincoln, and loged with a prest, being a brother of his said host; and eyrly in the mornynge repayred homewardes.⁹ Albeit he cold not passe the water of Trent two dais after, and during that tyme, ther was a letter forged in the name of the said Aske to the town of Beuerley, wich letter the said Aske vtterly denyeth to be his ded or consent; and then the contrey ther aboutes ros, and then aboutes the hour of mydnight, the said Aske came ouer the water of

⁷ Floughter, to frighten. *North* (Halliwell's dictionary). Jamieson gives 'Flought, s. a flutter.'

⁸ Corr. from *my*.

⁹ See Froude's *History of England*, ii. 535.

Trent. At wich tyme vpon Yorkyswold the bekyns wer set on fier, and the comyns ther rased; and on the morow a letter came from Sir Brian Hastynges to the gentilmen of Marshland to assemble a certayn nombre of men, and to come to him. Wich gentilmen repared to ther *parich* church, and ther called the comyns befor them for the same intent. And what occacion the said comyns had, the said Aske knowyth not, but sudenly the belles ther wer rounge, aunsward, and so in euery *parich* church ther aboutes, and in Houdenshir also; and the said Aske then being in a pourman hous, secretly, to thentent not to haue been known. Albeit the comyns had gotyn then knowlaige of him, and sent for him, and so on the night, passed the water to the comyns in H(ou)-denshir. Then being aboutes the hous of Sir Thomas Methun, knight, and in danger to haue burnt the same, and for the intent to saue the same (hous) the said Aske repared vnto them, and saued the said hous and so pacified the said comyns, that they repared that nyght home to ther houses. And on the morow thos of Houdenshir assembled them selves at a place called Ringstanhirst, and ther mostered. And the comyns of Marshland sent for the said Aske, wher they wer assembled on Houke mor, and had atteigned the artacles of Lincolnshir, the wich wer to this bref affect or lyke.

Furst, to haue redres of the abbays suppressed; the second, the statut of vsses, the punysment of diuersse bischops and specially the bischop of Lincoln, the releas of the *quinden* or tax to be paid, and other now not in the remembrance of the said Aske, wich wir sent, vnder the handes of diuersse worshipfull men of Lincolnshir, in to Yorkshir. And then the said Aske departed from them, ouer the water of Ousse vnto the comyns of Houdenshir, wher on the morow they toke the crose of the chirch with them; and the said comyns then had inforced certayn gentilmen and hier apparentes to come into them, and so proceded forwardes that night to Wighton, viii myles distance from Houden, and ther loged that night. And on the morow, the host of Houdernes and Yorkiswold, being on horsse and fote nighe or aboue the nombre of ix thousand men, mustered aboue Wighton. And that company repared to haue takyn the town of Hull, and the worshipfull men ther, wich wold not then be giffyn vp, nor the gentilmen¹⁰ yeld them selves. And the said Aske toke thother company and proceded to the cetie of Yorke wardes, sending a letter to the mayre ther, to suffer him¹¹ to haue fre passaig throw the said cetie of Yorke or els at ther danger, promissing them that in so doying they should not fynd them selves greved, but that they should trewly be payd for all such thinges as they toke ther; and for so much as the same cetie was nether fortified with artelary, nor gonpoudre, the same cetie was contented to receiue them, and befor thentre, ther prices of vetall and hors met was puplissed to the comyns; and the said As(ke) maid proclamacion, that no man should spoll nor shed blod for no occacion, nor displeour, but trewly pay for such (v)etal as should be takyn by them. And the same Aske wold not suffer no fott man to entre into the walles of the said cetie. And the said Aske remayned in the said cetie two dais, and maid orders for spolles, and conveyd the offenders to the sege of Hull, and toke this

¹⁰ Froude says Ellerker the elder and Sir John Constable, p. 543.

¹¹ *Them* in second version.

order, that no man should spoll no man, onles he had the hand of two of the Councell at the same, and that furst the partie should haue reasonable warningne, to come in at the lest xxiii hours. Also toke order for religius houses suppressed, because the comyns wold nedes put them in, wich order was sette on the mynstre dore at York, to thentent al the houses suppressed should resort ther and know how they should vsse them selfes. Wich order was this:—

Furst, that the prior and covent should entre into ther monestarys suppressed, and by bill indented vew how much goodes wer ther remaynyng wich befor wer thers, and to kep the on parte and deliver the other parte to the Kinges fermer, and to have necessary *victum* and *vestitum*, of the delivery of the said fermer, during the tyme of our peticcion [to the kinges highnes, and to do devyn service of God ther, as the kinges bedmen or women. And in caise the fermer refused this to doo, then the said covent to take of the same goodes, by the deliuey of ii endeferent neghburs by bill indent, ther necessarys for ther liffig during the said tyme.]¹² And the said Aske sayth, that at that tyme, and [to his knowlaige] befor the comyns of Richmondshir was vp, and had takyn the Lord Latymer, the Lord Lumley and therle of Westmorland, and, after diuersse orders takin at Yorke [with the gentilmen ther,] the said Aske proceded forwardes to the comyns and gentilmen, wich wer assembled befor Pomfret Castell. And at his furst comyng thether, because he knew that the seruyng men within the said castell fauored him, and be cause the said castell was the Kinges castell, and a castell of honor and honorable men therin, the said Aske directed his letter to the Lordes within the said castell, for the delyuery of the same, or otherwise he¹³ woll gif assalt immediatly the same night. And in the same letter, the¹⁴ said Aske rehersed how the comyns wer gnawn in there conscience with spreding of herices, suppression of houses of religion, and other maters toching the comyn welthes, to ther impoverissment. Wherin they prayd the said lordes so to be measne¹⁵ to the Kinges highnes, by way of petition, so that ther greves the rather, might be declared to the Kinges said highnes. And for so much as the hand of the said Robert Aske was not at the said *lettre*, the said lordes and worshipfull men prayd vpon pleges to speke with the said Aske, and so dyd, wher the said Aske so declared to the said lordes, as well spirituall as temporall, the greves of the comyns. And how furst, that the lordes spirituall had not down ther dewtie, in that they had not been playn with the kinges highnes, for the spedie remyde and quenching of the said heraces, and the precheres therof, and for the suffering of the same, and for the in ornamentes of the churches, and abbeyes suppressed, and the violating of relekes by the suppressores, with the vnreuerent demenor of the dewers therof, withe abusse of the vesitores, and ther impposicions takin extra ordinary, and other ther necligensses in not dewing ther dewtie, as well to ther sifferan as to the comyns. And to the lordes temporall, the said Aske declared, they had misused them selfes, in that thay, semblable, had not so prouidently ordered and declared to his said highnes the pouertie of his realme, and that parte specially,¹⁶ and wherin

¹² The words in brackets are omitted in second version.

¹³ I corr. to *he*.

¹⁴ ? bemoan.

¹⁵ I corr. to *he*.

¹⁶ Inserted.

ther greves might in sew, wherby al dangers might haue been avoided; for insomuch as in the north *partes*, much of the relief of the comyns wais by sucour of abbeyes, and that befor this last estatut therof maid, the kinges highnes had no money out of that¹⁷ sheyr, in a maner yerly, for his graces renews, ther yerly went to the finding of Berwyke. And that now the profites of abbeyes suppressed, tentes and furst frutes, went out of thos *partes*. By occasion wherof, within short space or (*sic*) yeres, ther should be no money nor tresor in thos *partes*, nether the tenant to haue to pay his rentes to the lord, nor the lord to haue money to do the King service with all, for so much as in thos *partes* was nether the presence of his grace, execucion of his lawes, nor yet but little recours of merchaundisse, so that of necessity the said contrey should eyther patyssh¹⁸ with the Skotes, or for of vary pouertie, enforced to make comocions or rebellions; and that the lordes knew the same to be trew and had not down ther dewtie, for that they had not declared the said pouertie of the said contrey to the kinges highnes, and the dangers that otherwise to his grace wold in sew, alleging the holl blame to them the nobilite therin, with other lyke reasons. And after diuersse reasons, maid of both *partes*, the Lord Darcy required licens to kep the castell to Seterday after this, being on the Thursday. And the said Aske, knowing that therle of Shrewsbury had maid assemble against and intended to rescow the said castell, and perceyuing the fauor of the serving men within, wold not condescend ther vnto, nor no longer gif respect but to viii of cloke in the mornynge, with out assalt. And so, aganst the said hour, prepared for the same assalt, at wich hour the said Lord Darcy required longer tyme, wich the said Aske wold not gif him, and so the said castell was yelded, and the lordes spirituall and temporall and knightes and escuieres ther being swhorn. And after that tyme, the contrey daly assembled of all *partes*, and the said Aske tried out ther¹⁹ men. And then Aske came in, the lord Nevill, Latymer and Lumley and x.m. men with them and aboue, with the baner, and armys of saint Cuthbert; and the bend²⁰ of Blakamor and Peking lyth with the knightes and gentilmen ther aboutes v thousand men, and Yorkiswold and Houdernes and aboutes two or thre thousand with them, and then the west (and north) riding of Yorkishir so that in all they wer at a place called Stuxing Sysse (?) nigh Doncastre, aboutes xxxiiii or xxxv thousand men, well tried on horsbake [and the said Aske wold not suffer] the Herrold Lancaster²¹ at Pomfret to declare the perswacion to the peple, for two causis. On wais, evyn then newes wer comyn, that the comyns of Lincolnshir was down, and that by lyke perswacion by the same Herrald, and if he should haue declared to the peple the same, they wold haue killed him. An other was, ther was nothing contened in the same, nether of pardon, nor of no demand what was the²² causis of ther assemble. And so proceded the same assemble, returning from Pomfret, vnto the Harrold came to the host²³ (be)for Doncastre, then being in two wardis; that was in the van²⁴

¹⁷ *The changed to that.*

¹⁸ Halliwell: *Patyse*, v., 'to make a treaty.'

¹⁹ *Corr. from his.*

²⁰ A band of men, *Linc.* (Halliwell).

²¹ Thomas Miller (*State Papers*, 1830, ii. 487).

²² 'Our' in the second version.

²³ Second version: 'and so proceded the said army vnto the comynge of the herrold and the host.'

²⁴ 'Way' in the second version.

(w)ard, being with saint Cuthbert baner and accompanied with the lord Nevill, Lumley, lord Latymer, Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir Thomas Percy and all the bend of bischop reke, Cleueland, and *parte* of Richmondshir; and in the seconde ward, the lord Darcy, the said Aske, Sir Robert Constable, and all the knightes and escuers of thest riding Holdernes; and of the ayuste,²⁵ north and west riding of Yorkshir or the sonz of them or the most *parte* ther of; and the rearward, then comyng forward with the Lord Scrop, Sir Christofer Danby, Sir William Maloore, the Nortons, Markynfeldes, and al other the knightes and escueres and comynes of Richmondshir, Wensladall, Fendall, Netherdall, Kirkbeshir, Massamshir, and the *libertes* of Ripon, to the number of xii thousand men or mor on horsebake, well herynyssed, ouer and besydes the nombre afor said. And being at or nigh Pomfret, and the said Herrald, then being with the host, declared how the Deke of Northfolke wold that the causes of ther assemble should be declared by iiii of the discretyst men of the north *partes*, and that they should come to him to Doncastre, and that he wold lie in pleges for ther retorn, to thentent effucion of blood myght be avoided. Albeit, because such persons might not be well spared, they declared how that they wold send iiii, vi, viii, or xii to met with lyke nombre betwix the hostes, and ther to declare ther greves and peticcion. Wherwith all the said Doke was not contented, but by the Harrold sent word, if they wer not content so to do, he wold gif batall in place convenient, wich had lyke to haue been receyued by the lordes, albeit the said Aske declared to the lordes and knightes then, that it was no dishonor, but ther al holl dewties, to declare ther greves to ther soueryng lord, to thentent the villain²⁶ consellores aboutes his grace might be know, and haue lyke punysment, and how they wer in arror of the peple, and how they dangered the person of ther prince. And ferther declared what decay should in sew, if batell wer then. Wherupon they holly agreyd to send Sir Ralf Ellerker, knight, Sir Thomas Hilton, knyght, Robert Bowes, and Robert Chaloner to the said Doke and erles, and so it was done; and the said Aske receyued the pleges for them within night, wich wer Mr. Herington, Mr. Vellers, Mr. Litilton and on other knight now not known to the said Aske; and conveyd them that night to Hampall. And at the hour of non, the appoyntment was to deliuer both the said *partes*, then being Friday. And so the same was down accordingly, and the said Sir Ralf Ellerker and the other of that *parte* reconted how they had declared fyue pointes and artacles at larg to the said Doke and erles, and how the said Doke and erles wer dissierus to haue thentent therof declared or disceded²⁷ in to artacles, by the baronag and certayn worshipfull men of the north of ther own mouth. Wherupon ther was a certan nombre of both *partes* appoynted to enter, comyn togeder at Doncastre brig, wherof, of the north was appoynted the Lord Latymer, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, the said Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir Ralf Ellerker, Sir John Bulmer, Robert Bowes, Robert Chaloner, and other certayn knightes, the nombre certaigne now not in the memory of the said Robert Aske, nor ther names²⁸ certange wich met at the place appoynted. And the said Aske was not with them,

²⁵ 'Ayenst' in second, but query?

²⁶ Second version 'vill.'

²⁷ 'Descide,' to cleave in two.—Halliwell (see below).

²⁸ 'But aboutes xxx' scratched out.

but ordered the holl host standing in *perfit* array to within night, and to the retorn of the said lordes ; and what they spake or concludyd, the said Aske knowith not, other then the said v artacles to him reported. And this ferder order was takin, that the host at Pomfret should departe, and the other host repayr thether, and that the Doke of Northfolk should with hast procede to the kinges highnes, with our generall artacles, accompaned with Sir Ralf Ellerker and Robert Bowes ; and that on the morow the holl host should sperpill ²⁹ from Pomfret, and in lyke manere the erle of Shorisbury from Doncastre, wich promisse trewly was on both partes performyd and so sen and veiwed (*sic*) by the Harrold. And the said Aske sayth that he being then at Pomfret, word came to him from the partes of Cravyn, from the worshipfull men ther, and of the partes adyoyning, how therle of Darby was assemble with a great numbere of men, to thentent to put out the monkes of Salley abbay befor suppressed, being the charitable relief of thos partes, and standing in a montagne contrey and emonges thre forestes. And how the comyns of Cravyn, Dent, Setbaugh, ³⁰ Kentdall, Fornes, Bouland and parte of the Dyche of Lancascher intended to with stand his comyng, and prayd in ayd of mo nombre of men of the said Aske, if nede wer, and how they wold met him. And the said Aske, with all hast possible, sent forth postes to the said knyghtes and comyns ther assembled, declaring to them the order takyn at Doncastre, and how they should not medill in no conduction with the said erle, al though he invayded them, but to with draw them to the montanheads ³¹ and strates, except he rased fier, and then to send word to the said Aske with post ; and the said Aske caused the Lord Darcy to direct his *lettre* to therle of Shorisbury, for to stay the said erle of Darby, and so it was don. Albeit the comyns, befor the letter to them deliueryd from the said Aske, had atteigned Whallay abbey, wher as the said erle, by his letter, had the same night appoynted to loge. And mor ouer, the same tyme the said Aske directed on other letter to the said comyns, that in no condiccion, they should assalt or besege therle of Comberlond, vnto the Kinges grace aunswer were known ; and in lyke maner the said erle so to vsse him self towardses them, and that by lyke *lettre* to the said erle, comparing in the same the said order takin at Doncastre.

And on the morow, wich was Sonday, the saide Aske repayred to Yorke, and remayned ther al that night, and declared the order and stayd the contrey ther. And on the morow repayred to the castell of Wresill, to therle of Northumberland, to thentent to haue agreyd him and his brother Sir Thomas Percy. And in goyng towardses the said castell, it was declared by the comyns to the said Aske, how Sir Marmaduke Constable was comyn to his own hous, and how they wold eyther haue him swhorn or els spoll him. Wherupon the said Aske directed his *lettre* to the said Sir Marmaduke to come to him to Wresill, to thentent, not only to saue his goodes, but also to haue shewed him how the comyns might in his fauor haue been perswaded. Vpon wich letter the said Sir Marmaduke departed that night into Lincolnshir. And on the morow the said Aske went to the abbay of Watton, xiiii myles distant, for to stay the comyns ther, wich wold haue chosyn an new prior ther, for so

²⁹ 'Disperse.'—Halliwell.

³⁰ 'Sedbere' in second version.

³¹ 'Montaignes,' second version.

much as the said prior was fled to the Lord Cromwell, and being one of his promociion, and had left behind bretheryn and sustren of the same hous nigh iii.xx or iiij.xx and not xl.s. to sucure them. And ther the said Aske stayd the same cause, and pacified the said comyns, and deputed the subprior for the tyme to order the same hous, wiche prior is yet absent. And from thens the said Aske, on the morow, went to the town of Hull, and Sir Robert Constable wiche by him was deputed ruler ther, to fortifie the town of Hull aganist the danger of Duke of Suffolke, wiche had his garison direct aganist the same, and so kep them still, contrary the appoyntment. By occasion wherof, and to auoyd his danger, the contrary ther was alway in arredines, and therby put the contrey to great charge in fynding two cc shougers in Hull. And the said garison was also the cause of the sege at Skarburgh, and the taking of Edward Walter and his shep, and had lyke to have been cause of new comociions and invasions daly. Albeit the said Aske saith, that he know not of the comons that went to Skarburgh to they wer ther, and had beseged the same castell. And from thens the said Aske repayred to the castell of Wresill, and remayned ther to the letter came from Mr. Bowes to the Lord Darcy, of the cause of the tarieng so long aparte, by comparing cause of new comociions, supposed to be maid by the said Aske, wiche was vntrew; and wherunto the said (Aske) by his letter made answer, and so repared home to the said castell. And then directed his *lettres* to the lordes, knightes and escuieres to come to Yorke, to consult vpon the letter of the said Mr. Bowes, and to be ther redy aganist his comyng with the Kinges grace is answer, wiche day was appoynted the xxist day of Nouembre; and vpon the comyng of the said Bowes, the said Aske repared vnto him, then being wiche lord Darcy, and ther debating parcell of the mater, repayred then to the counsell at York, wher it was then long debated, whether they should met with the Duke of Northfolke at Doncastre or not, by reason of a *lettre* sent by said Lord Cromwell to Sir Ralf Euers, the yonger, knight, wherin was theis threth or such lyke:— Except the comyns of thos partes son wold be pacified, ther should be such vengeance taken vpon them that the holl world should spek therof, and take insample by them. And also it was reasoned for an other cause, wiche was, the comyns in Lancashir and other places [much]³² fauoured our cause, wiche after [much] deceding into our artacles wold not so generally joyn in ther quarell. Albeit ther it was concludyd at the last, to met with the said Duke at Doncastre, with ccc persons. And so of euery parte and contrey came certayn, and so it was appoynted ther, and they to be of the most³³ wisest and discretest persons. And also, at the same tyme ther was takyn order for spolles, casting down of inclosers³⁴ of comyns, and *lettres* to be sent to the clergy to studie for the artacles profitable for the fayth of the church, and libertes of the same. And fether that all lernyd counsell and wisemen should bring in ther lernyng and mynde for remyde for evill lawes, (for the) comyn welth, for the comodite of ther contrey. (Albeit) at the same counsell at Yorke, the said Lord Cromwell by occasion of the same *lettres*, and also for

³² 'Much' not in second version.

³³ Second version has, 'came part appointed of the most.'

³⁴ 'Intakes' in second version.

thextreme punysment of the great jury of Yorkshir, for Wykelyf cause and for thextrem³⁵ assessment of ther fynes, was and yit is, in such errorr and hatred with the peple in thos partes,³⁶ that in maner they wold eat him, and extemys ther greves only to aryse by him and his counsell, as the said comyns therin declared ther mynd (toching him) to the Harrold Lancastre, nigh Hampall in Yorkshir, who cane recount ther wordes to your highnes.³⁷ And the said Aske sayth, that at the same tyme, it was ther concludyd that the lordes, knightes and escueres and the comyns ther appoynted, should met at Pomfret two dais (before) the meting at Doncaster, to thentent to disced to the particuleres (of the artacles) wher euery man as he was disposed brought in his bill and mynd toching the same. And vpon the same, the artacles now concludyd vpon at Doncastre wer drawn and furst red, arguyd and agreyd emonges the lordes, knightes, escueres.

[The gentilmen then assembled, the names of whom now cannot perfitly be in the remembrance of the said Aske, but ther was ther at Pomfret, the Lord Neuill, the Lord Scrop, the Lord Latymer, the Lord Conzeres, the Lord Lumley, and the Lord Darcy; Sir Robert Constable, Sir James Strangwace, Sir Christofer Danby, Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir William Constable, Sir John Constable, Sir Peter Vauasour, Sir Ralf Ellerker, Sir Christofer Hilyerd, Sir Robert Nevill, Sir Oswold Willis-thorp, Sir Edward Gower, Sir George Darcy, Sir William Fayrfax, Sir Nicolas Fayrfax, Sir William Maliore, Sir Ralf Bulmer, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Stevyn Hamerton, Sir John Daundy, Sir George Lauson, Sir Richard Tempest, Sir Thomas Johnson, Sir Henry Gasconye, and other now out of the remembrance of the said Aske. And of escueres, all or the most parte of the said shir, as John of Morton, Richard Morton, Roger Lassels, Mr. Place, Mr. Fulthing, Robert Bowes, Richerd Bowes, Dalewere, Barton of Whyaby, Richerd Lassels, Mr. Redman, Hamerton, Mr. Ralf Bulmer, Richard Methuen, Saltmarsh, Palmers, Acland, Rudston, Plimton, Myddilton, Malleuere of Weddesome and Allerton; and to the knowlaige of the said Aske, al or most parte of the escueres of the said shir, and gentilmen also, and the sonz and heirz of the knightes and escueres that ther wer absent. And the said Aske sayth, that after the said artacles red and agreyd vpon, emonges the lordes, knightes and gentilmen, on euery artacle] agreyd vpon, was³⁸ sett on the hed *fiat*. And after the said artacles wer red, and declared to the comyns, who holly condiscended to euery artacle. And in lyk maner, the said Aske receyued the oppinion of the clergie. And on the morow after, sent x knightes and escueres to the said Doke of Northfolke from euery parte of the contrey, and with euery on of them iii persons to the said Doke of Northfolke, to Doncastre, to receiue the Kinges soueryng lord is aunswer, after that the Kinges saue conduct was deliueryd³⁹ to them by the Harrold, to thentent to deliuer the said particulers, and to reason apartly the same, and so [the said knightes and

³⁵ 'The' in second version. ³⁶ 'In such hatred in all partes,' in second version.

³⁷ 'The Kinges grace' in the second version.

³⁸ The passage in brackets is not in the second version, which runs: 'And as they agreyd and euery artacle set on the hed *fiat*.'

³⁹ The second version has for 'was deliueryd' 'comyn to them and to deliuer.'

escueres dyd, and] repared again to Pomfret, and then the Lord Scrop, Latymer and Lord Darcy and the said Aske, accompaned with ccc knightes, escueres, gentilmen and comynes, appoynted of euery quarter, repared to Doncastre, to the said Doke [and erles], and on the morow, [at the Grey Frears in Doncastre,] the said Aske and lordes chosse forth xx knightes & escueres and as many comines, to go to the Whyt Freares [at Doncastre,] to the sayd Doke and erles. And at ther comyng, the said Aske, by the consent of the said lordes and knightes, and in the name of them all making ther thre low abbeysances, and then kneling on ther kneys, all dyd humbly requier of the said lordes to haue the Kinges most mercifull, liberall and fre pardone, for any ther offences comitted and down ayenst his highnes or lawes, with his gracys high and benigne fauor to them to be showed, any ther attemptes comitted or down ayenst his most royall maiestie notwithstanding and (*sic*) the circumstance therof. Most lowly down the said Aske and lordes disceded to the erguement of the particuleres of ther peticcions, and after order therin takin by the comandement of the said Doke and erles, the sayd Aske then went to the rest of the comynes, then being in the Gray Frears at Doncastre, and declared to them the said order and agrement. And, after, at the dissier of the said Doke, the said Aske the same night repared to Pomfret, to the holl residew of the lordes, knightes, escueres and comunes ther, wich lordes was, the Lord Neuill, the Lord Lumley, and the Lord Conzeres, wich wer then wer (*sic*) left for the stayng of the comyns. And the said Aske, ayrlly in the mornyng, caused the belman to com aboutes the town of Pomfret, to warn the said comines to come to the market crosse, to know the said order, and to receiue the knowlaige of the Kinges most liberull and fre pardon, and that they should haue the same under the great seall. And the said comynes wer then (vary) joyus therof, and gaf a great shout in reycyfyng of the same, and then the said Aske, with all hast, accompaned withe Lord Neuill, went to Doncastre to the said Doke and erles, declaring theeffect of the promisses, and incontinet (after) came a *lettre* (by post) from the Lord Lumley, how the said comyns wold not be contented, except the (*sic*) saw the kinges mest mercifull pardon [vnder seall, and that the abbot, new put in of houses suppressse, should not auoyd ther possession to the *parilment* tyme, and that also] ⁴⁰ the *parilment* should be at Yorke, or els they wold bren bekyns and raise the holl contrey, wich letter was displesent to all the lordes and worshipfull men of both *partes*; wich rumur proceded of [diuersse priuat comynes], ⁴¹ yit not certaynly known to the said Aske. Wherupon, after diuersse argumentes and debatinges emonges the said lordes, the said Aske required licens to go to the said comyns to Pomfret, they then beyng in all aboutes the nombre of thre thousand men or mor, and the same night the said Aske so perswaded the said comyns, that they wer all contented to abyd the said order at Doncastre, fauorable, with out any denyall. And therupon, the said Aske then sent for the kinges fre pardon, wich came the same night by the Harrald Lancastre, and on the morow al the lordes and knightes at Pomfret assembled them selves and company on Seint Thomas Hill, with

⁴⁰ The second version has 'nor to suffer the kinges frendes to occupie (?) to the *parilment* tyme wer and at.'

⁴¹ Second version has 'of few priuat persons.'

out Pomfret, and (most) lowly (and humble) receyued the kinges mest mercifull pardon, and so departed to ther houses (and contreys) and after, the said lordes and knightes; by the comandement of the said Aske, repayed agayn to him to Doncastre, wher, after declaracion to him of the order of the promisses, the said doke and erles demanded aunswer of theis artacles folowing:—

Furst, how the Kinges grace should be aunswered of his rentes [and fermes in Yorkyshir;] wher vnto it was aunswered, they wer redy for his grace.

The second, [when deliuey should be maid] of the ship, ordenaunce and artillere [and men therin] taken at Skarburgh (and of Edward Waters takin in the same); vnto the wich it was aunswered, they al wer redy to be deliueyrd [to his grace, onles the money wich was deuyded after to euery souger at the taking, iii.s.;] and such other [demandes aunswered reasonable vnto;] and after the aunswer to ther demandes maid, the said Aske, [making his obbesanse and] kneling on his knes, most humble required the said doke of Northfolke and all the erles and lordes of his parte, to dissur the lordes of the north partes to (relinquish and to) refus to nomynat the said Aske [frome thens forth] by the nam of Capitan at any tyme after; and that promissed and down, the said Aske, in the presens of all the said lordes, pulled of his bage and crosses [withe v wondes,] and in semblable maner dyd all the lordes ther, and al other ther present, saying all thies wordes:—We will all wer no bage [nor signe] but the bage of our soueryng lord. And after that down, the said Doke toke order for the putting in of the kinges fermers. And after that the said lordes departed, and the said Aske then repayed to his brother hous Aughton⁴³ the wich befor he came not at from the begynnyng of the promisses; and ther remayned still, all but on day, when he went to Sir Robert Constable to met Sir Ralf Ellerker, for the putting in of the Kinges fermers into the abbeys of Haltonprice and Feryby, and also to make an end betwix the said Sir Robert and on Hodlow, and so repared vnto his said brother hous, wher he remayned vnto the comyng of the kynges graces lettre.

And the said Aske saith, to trie to the deth nether (*sic*) he was of counsell with the said Lord Darcy, nor to his knowlaige he neuer spake with him befor he came to (Pomf)ret Castell, and mor ouer the said Aske sayth, that of lyke payne it shall not be prouyd that euer he [befor his furst taking,] patisshe(d) (with) any maner of person, for any such assemble or rebellion.⁴⁴ But the said Aske sayth, that in all partes of the realme⁴⁵ mens hertes much groges with the suppression of abbeys and the ferst frutes, by reason the same wold be the distruccion of the holl religeon in England.⁴⁶ And⁴⁶ ther especiall great groge is ayenst the Lord Cromwell, being reputed the distrewer of the comynwelth, as well emonges most

⁴³ Inserted.

⁴⁴ Second version, 'such cause or assemble.'

⁴⁵ Second version adds, 'or the most therof.' ⁴⁶ Second version 'relegion' only.

⁴⁶ Second version has 'and agaynst the visators, especially aganst Doctor Legh and Layton, wich Laton is the nigh kynsman of the said Aake; and most especially aganst the Lord Cromwell, as the great distroer of the comen welth of this realme. And also the most parte of the said realme inponnyngth aganst the new sort of preching and lernyng, reputing al the occasion of this great comocions to rysse by the occasion of them and ther abbetors.'

parte of the lordes, as all other the worshipfull and comyns; and surly if he conteneue in fauor and presence with your grace it wil danger the occacion of new comociions, wich wil be vary dangerous to your graces person, for as fare as the said Aske cane perceiue, ther is non erthly man so evill beleuyd as the said Lord Cromwell is with the comyns, albeit the said Aske sayth that the said Lord Cromwell neuer gaf him occasion thus to report of him, but he only doth declare the hertes of your graces peple, only for the preseruacion of your graces person and sed. And also the said Aske sayth, that the most parte of all this realme greatly impoungnyth aganst certayn bischops of the new lernyng, reputing them and ther sekt as herytykes, and the great causers of this layt comocion; and also aganst the Lord Chaunseler, for so generall graunting of inyouncionz, and for playing of *ambe dexter* in granting and disoluing of inyonccions.

And morouer the said Aske saith, that when he had taken the castell of Pomfret, and sworn the lordes ther, then he wold haue yelded vp his whit rod and name of capitan to the nobilite ther, wich refused, but willed him to conteneue as capitan, because otherwise emonges the nobilite ther wer parte to be disdean, if any of them wold haue takin this office vpon them. And thus, most drad soueryng lord, I haue declared to your grace the planes of the promisses, so fer as I cane now [call] to my remembrance, alwais willing [that] if I haue omitted any mater to declare the troth therof from tym to tyme, besuching your [grace of your] most (mercifull) pardon in the promisse (p. 64).

II.

A bref (shew)ing, wherby his grace may o(bt)eigne the hertes of his subiectes in the north partes, and that befor the comyng down of the Doke of Northfolke.

Item, (fir)st to direct with Aske a proclamacion, contenyng how the Kinges highnes is contented that his subiectes in thos partes shall haue fre eleccion of the knightes of the sheyr and burgusses, and also lyke libertie to the spiritualtie, that with out his grace displesor they shal and may speke and show ther lernyng and fre mynd in the conuycacion.

Item, that his grace is contented to al persons ther to confirme his gracios and liberall pardon, obseruyng the tenor therof, and that he doth reput them as his trew subiectes.

The third, that by the Doke of Northfolke to them shalbe declared when and wher the parilment shalbe.

The fourth, that his highnes is content because the shyr of Yorke is great and hath no burgusses, but only at Skarburgh, that his plesor is, ther shalbe burgusses in Beuerley, Rypon, Richmond, Pomfret, Wakfeld, Skipton and Kentdall, so that they declare how and what circuit will ber the cherges of the burgusses at the comyng of the Doke of Northfolke.

Item, a lettre to the Lord Darcy, that he shall stay the contrey and west riding aboutes him, affirmyng his graces pardon befor graunted, and wher it extendes not to offices and feez, that his graces plesor is it shall so do.

Item, a lyke lettre to Sir Robert Constable.

Item, a lettre to Sir Ralf Bulmer to stay Swadall to the Dokes comyng.

Item, a lettre to Sir John Bulmer to stay Cleueland & Bulmer.

Item, a lyke lettre to therle of Westmorland and Sir Thomas Hilton.⁴⁷

Item, a like lettre to Mr. Richerd Duke of Kendall.

Item, a (like) lettre to Sir John Townley, Sir Stevyn Hamerton. . . .

III.

Ballad on the Pilgrimage of Grace.

I		V	
Crist crvcifyd!		Gaif to releif,	
For thy woundes wide		Whome for amice ⁵⁰ greve	
Vs commens guyde!		Boith day and even,	
Which pilgrames be,	4	And can no wirke;	36
Thrughe godes grace,		Yet this thay may,	
For to purchache		Boith night and day	
Olde welth and peax		Rusorte and pray	
Of the spiritualtie.	8	Vnto godes kyrke.	40
II		VI	
Gret godes fame		Thus interlie	
Doith Church proclame		Peax and petie,	
Now to be lame		Luf and mercie,	
And fast in boundes,	12	For to purchache	44
Robbyd, spoled and shorne		For mannys mysdeyd,	
From catell and corne,		And wrongfull crede	
And clene furth borne		Most fer myslede,	
Of housez and landes.	16	Throught lack of grace.	48
III		VII	
Whiche thynges is clere		Suche foly is fallen	
Agaynst godes lere, ⁴⁸		And wise out blawen	
As doith appere		That grace is gone	
In detronomio,	20	And all goodnes.	52
Godes law boke.		Then no marvell	
Open and loke,		Thoght it thus befell,	
As moysez spoke,		Commons to mell	
Decimo nono. ⁴⁹	24	To make redresse.	56
IV		VIII	
Ther may be founde:		Right well myndyng	
The lyuing grounde		The foresayng	
May not lay dowyn		And prophesiying	
Sesare nor kyng,	28	Of Esayas:	60
Which olde fathers		That prynces shuld	
And the right heires,		Remeve fixt molde,	
For ther welfares,		Which fathers colde	
At theyr endyng	32	To sounde compas.	64

⁴⁷ Corr. from Tempest.

⁴⁸ Precept (Halliwell).

⁴⁹ 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark.'—Deut. xix. 14. Tyndale has 'Thou shalt not remoue thy neighbours marke which they of olde tyme haue sett in thyne enheritaunce that thou enhirettest.'

⁵⁰ The first of the sacerdotal vestments (Halliwell).

IX		XIII	
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.	68 72	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,	100 104
X		XIV	
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.	76 80	Whome god graunt <i>grace</i> ! 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 deyð.	107 109 112
XI		XV	
For ther they hade Boith ale and breyde At tyme of nede, And succer grete In alle distresse And hevynes, And wel intrete	84 88	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	116 120
XII		XVI	
In troubil and care, Where that we were In maner all bere Of our substance, We founde good bate At churche men gate, Withoute checkmate Or varyaunce.	92 96	Crim, crame, and riche ⁶¹ With thre ell ⁶² and the liche As sum men teache. God theym amend ! And that Aske may, Without delay, Here make a stay And well to end !	124 128

TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR.

THE two papers which follow throw some additional light on the battle of Marston Moor. The first is an account of the battle drawn up by Sir Hugh Cholmley for the information of Clarendon when he was writing his 'History of the Rebellion.' Cholmley's relation is not endorsed, but it was probably written in 1648. Clarendon

⁶¹ Gairdner's note: 'Cromwell, Cranmer, and Rich.' *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xi.

⁶² Gairdner: 'Legh, Leighton, and Latimer' (?).

did not apply to Cholmley for information till the spring of 1648. 'Since you went from Rouen,' writes Hyde to Hopton on 30 April, 1648, 'I received a civil letter from Sir Hugh Chomely, so that upon that correspondence I shall draw what I can from him.' (Clarendon MS. No. 2770). He drew from him in the end three papers: (1) 'Observations concerning the Hothams,' which is Clarendon MS. No. 1809, and is printed in the Clarendon State Papers, ii. 181; (2) 'Memorials relating to Scarborough,' Clarendon MS. No. 1669; (3) 'Memorials touching the Battle of York,' Clarendon MS. No. 1764, printed here. All these are undated, but were probably written between April 1648 and Cholmley's return to England in 1649. Clarendon apparently refers to this narrative in his account of the battle of Marston Moor, though he does not seem to have had it actually before him at the time when he wrote. In book viii. § 75, he observes: 'Those who most exactly describe that unfortunate battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole country (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good army together) by Prince Rupert's hasty departure with all his troops, and the marquis of Newcastle's as hasty departure to the seaside, and taking ship and transporting himself out of the kingdom, and all the ill consequences there upon, give so ill an account of any conduct, courage, or discretion in the managery of that affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in the draught of it, so posterity would receive little pleasure or benefit in the most particular relation of it.' Cholmley's paper has been used by Mr. Gardiner ('History of the Great Civil War,' i. 442), but has never been printed; and accounts of the battle from the royalist side are so few that it well deserves publication. In the subjoined text the spelling has been modernised.

There is a brief description of the battle in Sir Philip Monckton's account of his services to the king's cause, which has been overlooked by writers on Marston Moor. It confirms the statement in Cholmley's narrative as to the impossibility of rallying the royalist horse. The original of Monckton's narrative is amongst the Lansdowne MS. 988, f. 320; it is printed in the 'Annual Register' for 1805, p. 888.

The second document is an extract from a rare pamphlet published in 1654, but written for the most part in 1647. It is attributed by Wood to Lord Saye. It is an answer to David Buchanan's 'Truth its Manifest; or a short and true relation of divers main passages of things in some whereof the Scots are particularly concerned,' 1645. Saye's answer is sometimes entitled 'The Scot's design discovered,' sometimes 'Vindiciae Veritatis.' On the controversy as to the relative shares of Cromwell and David Leslie in gaining the victory of Marston Moor the statements it contains are worthy of attention.

C. H. FIRTH.