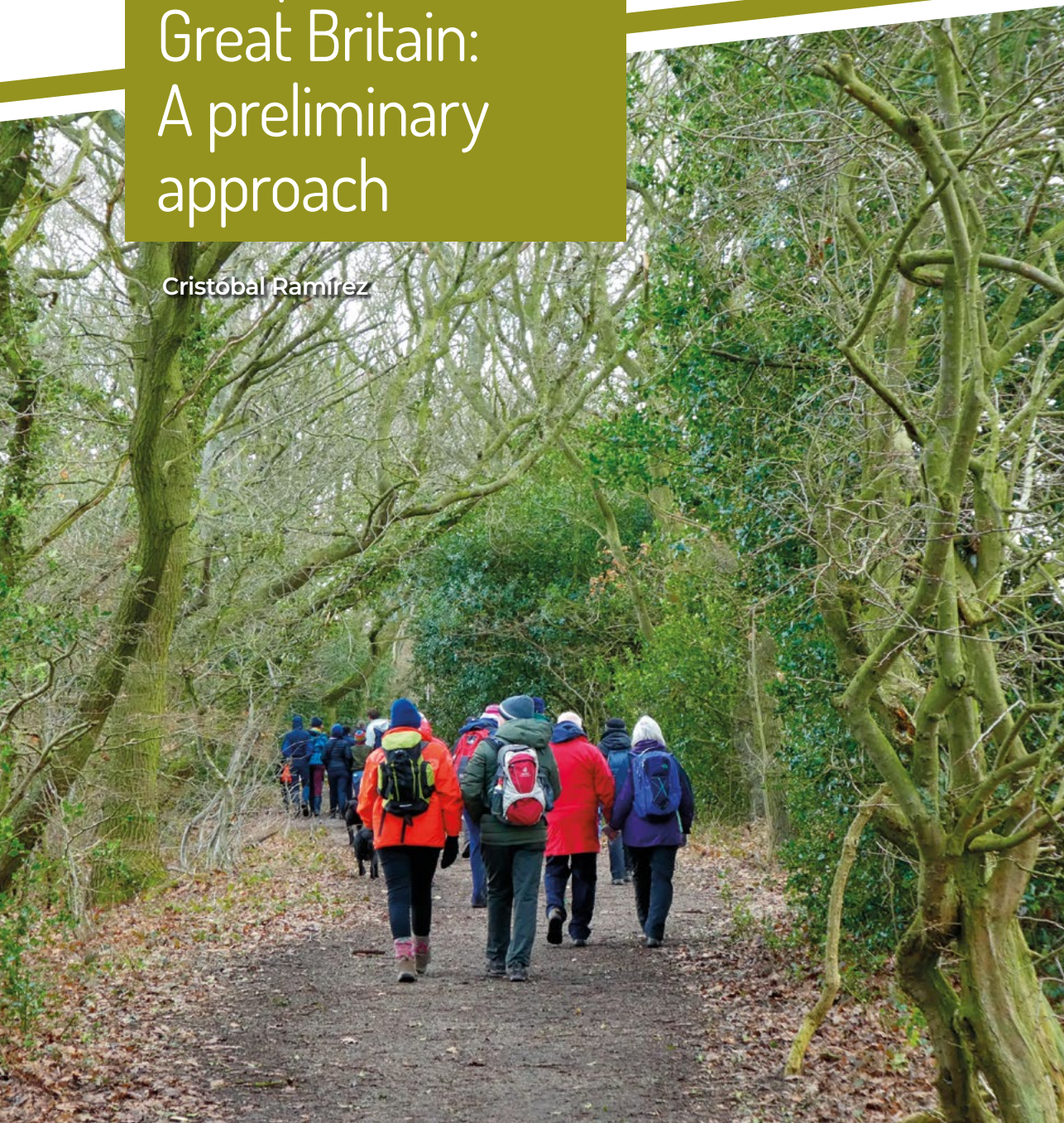


The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela from Great Britain: A preliminary approach

Cristóbal Ramírez





Cristóbal Ramírez (Ferrol, Spain, 1952) is a journalist and former professor at the University of A Coruña (Spain). For 20 years he presided over the International Association of Journalists of the Camino de Santiago. He has lectured on the English Way (Camino Inglés) in the UK, France, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Germany. National Prize for Journalism in 1989 for his work promoting the Jacobean routes. He presided over eight international conferences on the same subject and has published five books on the Caminos de Santiago.



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The English Way, an international Camino

As president of the Association of Local Councils of the Camino Inglés and promoter of this Jacobean route, I would like to thank the University of Newcastle for its invaluable collaboration in the translation work of this research paper carried out by the journalist Cristóbal Ramírez Gómez, a scholar of the Caminos de Santiago and especially of the Camino Inglés. It is the first time to my knowledge that we have a complete list of English pilgrims to Santiago and that such a compilation is made.

The purpose of the Association is not only to promote the English Way (Camino Inglés) but also knowledge of the Caminos de Santiago as an essential tool to highlight the importance of the territory and pilgrimages. That knowledge together with the work of Cristóbal Ramírez demonstrates how important the Camino Inglés was for pilgrimages from Northern Europe, essentially from England.

More and more pilgrims are travelling the Camino Inglés, the most important route to Santiago de Compostela in the Middle Ages and which was gradually losing popularity. But thanks to the support of institutions such as Xunta de Galicia (Galician Government), Diputación Provincial de A Coruña (A Coruña Provincial Government) and Local Councils, Camino Inglés is being placed again among the most popular routes. In this endeavour, I would also like to emphasise the support of our Camino Friends in Durham County -where this historic itinerary begins- and of course, a fact that has meant a turning point in this route: the founding of the Association of Local Councils of the Camino Inglés, in which the Local Councils where this route runs take part providing financial and human resources for its promotion and dissemination.

Among other actions, Association has created the RED STELLAR working group, which main objective is to raise awareness among the hospitality and tourism facilities located along the Camino Inglés of achieving high standards through a quality and affordable service that includes local products in their culinary offer, so pilgrims can savour their journey to Compostela.

We will follow with great interest the development of the Camino marking works from Finchale Priory and Reading, while offering our full collaboration. It will transform the Camino Inglés into a land walking route in the United Kingdom, followed by a single sea section, to join again the land walking route at A Coruña or Ferrol ports towards Santiago de Compostela.

Manuel Mirás Franqueira

President of Association of Local Councils on the Camino Inglés

Something to learn in Galicia

We can say with certainty that there is something to learn in every corner of Galicia. Through the translation of Cristóbal Ramírez's book *The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela from Great Britain: a Preliminary Approach*, both students and staff discovered some forgotten secrets of The Camino.

This translation project brought together students of Spanish, Translation and Interpreting at the University of Newcastle and the History of The Camino, allowing knowledge to cross barriers across languages and cultures. Coordinating this project has been an honour and a privilege over the course of five months.

This was the first time Newcastle University and the School of Modern Languages collaborated with the Asociación de Concellos do Camiño Inglés, and I am sure it will not be the last. These last few months we built the foundation for a long term collaboration in the generation and dissemination of knowledge. In this project, students had the opportunity to work with an original text, and on a subject they were not too familiar with. Upon conclusion, they all celebrated their learning through this process.

In the School of Modern Languages at Newcastle University, we are all eager to continue to work with The Camino Association so that the hidden treasures of the Galician culture can be celebrated across borders, at the same time that we train future translators.

Noelia Cacheiro

Lecturer in Spanish, Translation and Interpreting Studies

The Pilgrimage
to Santiago de
Compostela
from Great Britain:
A preliminary
approach

CRISTÓBAL RAMÍREZ



The overseas relationship between what is now the United Kingdom and Ireland with the northern coast of Cantabrian Spain is widely known to have an extensive history, but it has been centuries since contact was first made between the two territories. Naturally, there are many gaps and uncertainties regarding the history, and there are even claims that tread into the territory of legends. One such claim was that on a clear day, it was possible to see the Irish coast from the Tower of Hercules in A Coruña.

This relationship is what brought pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela. Ever since the 9th century, people from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland have come together for this great journey despite the challenges they knew they would face.

We must acknowledge the seminal works on this topic, carried out by Constance Storrs, Francis Davey, Brian Tate, Wendy R. Childs, Lara Escudero-Baztán, Francisco Singul, Manuel F. Rodríguez, Violeta Miraz, Francis Davey, Patricia Quaife, David Pott, Óscar Pereira, Paula Cadaveira, and many more, not forgetting the indispensable work by Luis Vázquez de Parga, José-María Lacarra and Juan Uría Ríu.

Although many of these authors undoubtedly reference pilgrims coming from the United Kingdom to Santiago, there are no specific dates. Patrick, Earl of Salisbury and Abbott of Battle are among those referenced. Other pilgrimages are dated but little is known about the authors of such works. An example would be the short story *The Shipman of Weymouth*, which dates back to the 15th century.

How it all began and St. Godric of Finchale

It is well known that the nobleman **Ansgot of Burwell** (Lincoln County) almost certainly completed the pilgrimage to Santiago at the end of the 11th century. In a letter to his Bishop, Robert, and the Sauve-Majeure Abbey of St. Mary (Bordeaux, France), he declared his intention to found a priory in his hometown of Burwell that would be connected to the Bordeaux Abbey. This would serve as a token of gratitude for the warm welcome that he and his procession received on their return home, following their pilgrimage to Santiago. Some people have deduced that he handed over Burwell Priory along with other land and sacred buildings to the French, although the records are not clear. It is not known when exactly Ansgot travelled to Santiago, but it is unlikely to have been later than 1123 - some give 1093 as an approximate date.

Prior to 1104, and perhaps before the time of Ansgot of Burwell, **Richard Mauleverer** completed the pilgrimage. On his return home, he stopped at the monastery of Marmoutier, not far from the Gallic town of Tours. Following this, he gifted the monastery a chapel and a piece of land in the North Yorkshire village of Allerton Mauleverer.

A key figure who, without a doubt, played a major role in shaping the pilgrimage from Great Britain was **St. Godric**. He was an ancient merchant, and no stranger to pirate crime, as well as a hermit, musician, founder of Finchale Priory (now considered to be the start of The English Way), and pilgrim who journeyed to Santiago by sea according to some and by land to others, in the year 1120.

There were another four pilgrims to have completed this journey, who were known to be connected to St. Godric and the miracles he performed in the 12th century. The first of these

was a man from Chester, whose name remains unknown, who travelled to Santiago and did not return home. The man's father approached St. Godric who assured him that his son was alive and would soon return home, which he did.

The second was a clergyman from County Durham who left for Santiago during the last few days of St. Godric's life, and therefore it can be assumed that this took place in the year 1170. The saint predicted that the pilgrim would return home in no more than eight days, which was ultimately true since he was home in seven.



The name of the third has somehow survived into the 21st century: a woman (or perhaps a girl) named Eda, who suffered from high fevers for seven years. She pleaded for the Apostle's intercession and pilgrimaged to Santiago on two occasions but was not cured. Incidentally, this is one of the few references we have that contradicts the miraculous healing power of Santiago. Eventually, the woman went to pray at St. Godric's tomb and at last her fevers ceased. The understanding here is that the Apostle did indeed perform the miracle but through an intermediary, which was not uncommon.

The fourth and final pilgrim was a woman of unknown identity. It is known that she planned to leave for Galicia from the north of England with her son. However, she fell ill just before they departed. She promised to visit the tomb of St. Godric (location now unknown) and recovered. There is evidence that she fulfilled her promise, although whether she made it to Santiago or eventually gave up on the journey remains a mystery.

The Empress travels with a hand

In 1125, **Matilda** who was the daughter of King Henry I and widow of Holy Roman Emperor Henry V, went on the pilgrimage. She returned to England with the 'Hand of St. James', a relic gifted by the canons of Santiago de Compostela Cathedral. The King donated it to Reading Abbey, which he himself had funded and where it later underwent a series of vicissitudes – including its robbery, return to the Abbey in 1154, and transferal to the Church of St. Peter in Marlow, where it can be found today.



But even if stories of pilgrimage often have a positive tone, not all of them need to be included in this chapter. For example, in 1130 an unidentified Englishman was hanged under the order of Lope de Viguria, provost of Estella (Navarre), “because he gave herbs to the pilgrims to drink on their way, so they would fall asleep and he could rob them.”

Returning to the case of Matilda, she was met with opposition from her cousin, Stephen, as she tried to succeed her late father. Stephen managed to seize power, but not without the eruption of a long civil war. One participant in this conflict was William, Earl of Lincoln, who pilgrimaged to Santiago during a time of peace, although there is no record of exactly when.

Another contender that followed suit was **Robert**, Earl of Ferrers. In this case, it is known that he went to Galicia in 1138, leaving his heirs in charge of land donation to Burton Abbey in the event of his death en route.

Between 1131-1143, **Oliver de Merlimond** who was steward to Hugh de Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, also went on the pilgrimage. He decided to build a church in the small village of Shobdon and travelled to Santiago during its construction; according to records, he stopped in Paris along the way. Incidentally, this church has been restored in recent years. What is interesting about Oliver de Merlimond's journey is that all signs suggest he brought a sculptor with him, who took note of various artistic details and later reproduced them in north Herefordshire, where Shobdon is located.

Did the crusaders arrive?

There is one specific month that, due to its countless historical events, has acquired symbolic meaning: May 1147. This was when a fleet of English, Flemish, and German crusaders disembarked from Great Britain. After eight days of difficult navigation, they reached a Cantabrian port on Ascension Day (29th), documented as 'Cozín'. Vázquez de Parga, Uría, and Lacarra speculate that this place could be Gauzón Castle, close to modern day Gijón.

On 1st June, the fleet reached the mouth of the Tambre river, in the estuary of Muros and Noia. It is possible that on the Pentecost Day (8th), at least some of them assembled in Santiago to ask for support in their fight against the Muslims. Two people with written testimonies are **Arnolfo** and **Osborne**. Although neither of them mentioned their time in Santiago, they did leave record of their intention to make the pilgrimage. In short, it is not known whether they actually stepped foot in Compostela, but their accounts clearly assure us of the presence of ships in those waters, proving that they set off on the Camino de Santiago from the Muros and Noia estuary. This is something that, as far as we know, had historically never been done.

The next chronological milestone occurred in 1151, when **Henry** Bishop of Winchester (and brother of the aforementioned King Stephen) went on a pilgrimage to Rome. When it was time to return, he feared that the Tuscans, the Lombards, and the Burgundians would block his path with the intention of killing him. That is why he made the decision to go home by sea and stop at Galicia to make his pilgrimage to Santiago.

In either 1167 or 1168, **Patrick**, Lord of Manors, made a pilgrimage from Poole, the city where his whole family had resided for at least the past century. When he returned home after the pilgrimage, he was killed in an ambush.

Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury had made a pilgrimage around the same time in 1167, but three years later he was assassinated. It was never proved whether he stepped foot in Galicia but if he did, it would have been by following The Portuguese Way which starts in Tui, Portugal. Despite the ambiguity of the dates, the Archbishop Martín Herrera (acknowledged as “the first modern advocate for the pilgrimage to Compostela,” by researcher Manuel F. Rodríguez) ordered that they construct a church in Caldas de Reis in commemoration of Thomas Becket, who was declared a Saint among the Catholic church. It is by this tradition that Becket was put in his resting place. The construction of the temple started in 1890 and it took four years to build, with some of its stone deriving from the ruins of the medieval Dona Urraca Tower. This place of worship still stands to this day.

In 1173, King Henry II tried to stop the rebellion of his subjects who were previously supporters of the son of Henry, the Young King.

Hugo, Count of Chester, unified the rebels when he returned to his country after having made a pilgrimage to Santiago.

Three years later, **Henry the Young King** manifested his own desire to make a pilgrimage in person to the remains of the apostle. On the way he stopped at Poitou to help his brother, the notorious Richard the Lionheart, suppress another rebellion. Doubts remain as to whether he arrived in Compostela or not; he died in 1183 and historians are inclined to think that he never managed to set foot in Galicia.



The crusaders persevered. Naturally, they were not the same as they were in 1147, as some 70 years later they were mostly made up of the Dutch and Germans. They landed briefly in Brittany before going on to end their voyage at the same port where most other pilgrims left their boats: A Coruña. From the city that is home to the Tower of Hercules they walked to Santiago without stopping, which would have been a struggle considering the condition of the paths, equipment and footwear. After a day and a night, they stood before the walls of Compostela, an unbelievable achievement considering the challenges, which they cleared

successfully. Among them was **William Longespée** of Poole, who later died in combat in Africa while marching towards Cairo.

In the end, being in such a hurry was of no use to the crusaders, as when they returned to A Coruña they were forced to stay in the city for nine idle days as the wind blew in the wrong direction. From there they went to Lisbon, where they played an important role in the reconquest of the city which had been under Muslim control.



Licensed by the King

There is another reference from the start of the 13th century: in 1201 **Philip** Bishop of Durham made his pilgrimage, however the constant conflict between England and France almost entirely prevented the British from travelling to Compostela. The situation was extremely unstable, with Philip II retaking Normandy for the French and a rebellion taking place amongst the nobles against the English King John.

In order to discover another pilgrim, we must travel back to 1216. This refers to **Ralph de Normanville**, whose children assisted Henry III in pushing back the French invasion in return for 200 marks. At the time, after having come to an agreement, Ralph de Normanville requested and was granted permission to go to Santiago, on the condition that he went directly and without detour. The document he approved is considered to be the oldest kept in the Royal Chancery with reference to pilgrimages to Santiago.

The second document, which is kept in said chancery, dates from 1220 and allows us to identify the name **Roger La Zouche**, a royal officer who granted the license to venture upon a pilgrimage. They were described as licenses at the time because both Ralph de Normanville and Roger La Zouche were military soldiers and therefore had to be at the disposal of the monarchy at all times, in case their aid was needed.

The possibility of obtaining a license varied and was always referred to royal officials because they had no express ban on leaving the kingdom, for rich and poor alike. Permission was easiest to obtain in times of peace, or at least in absence of war, but in cases of upheaval it became virtually impossible. For example, during the Hundred Years' War (14th century) with France, the necessity to recruit soldiers to the army became more and more evident meaning that such permits were practically annulled.

Letters of Protection

In 1221, a letter of protection was sent in the name of **Peter des Roches**, Bishop of Winchester and pilgrim to Compostela. It is the first time that an act such as this was documented in this way but would become relatively commonplace in the years to come. This requires some explanation: the pilgrims who possessed assets feared that these would be looted during their absence, and they would return to find nothing. So, by signing a document with the Royal Chancery, it was established that their property would be protected during their absence for a period of 6-12 months, which seems somewhat exaggerated for those who journeyed by sea. In some circumstances,

this document determined that the protection was a commitment without a fixed term, until the pilgrimage was completed.

In February or perhaps March of the following year, **Walter Gray**, the Bishop of York, and his two companions obtained another letter of protection for the journey to Santiago, alongside **William London** and **Alexander** (the Archbishop's Marshal). In all three cases, the duration of their journey lasted until Christmas 1222.

Nevertheless, this was a prodigal year regarding documents of protection, and in relation to beneficiaries one must include the pilgrims to Compostela: **Elias Giffard**, **Warner de Sanford**, **Robert Marmion**, and **Richard de Burgh**. Not long after, the protection was extended to **Geoffrey Constantin** and **Hamo de Crevequer**. It was also extended to **William de Warenne** and the seven who accompanied him on his adventure: **Reinerus Dunton**, **Richard Branche**, **Richard Mesneres**, **Geoffrey Say**, **Eutacio de Apibus**, **Ralph Clere**, and **William Blund**.

In 1232, **Richard Gray** made a pilgrimage to Santiago without having written his will, and five years later he was imitated by the Earl of Hereford and Essex, **Humphrey V de Bohun**. There is no record of **Mary Duston**, the first female English pilgrim arriving by sea in 1235, as it is likely that she did so by land from France, not by ship like **Ermetruda Talbot** did that same year.

As an anecdote, it was sometimes the king himself who helped his most loyal subjects to finance the journey, as was the case with **Arnold Cotin** in 1246: Henry III gifted him 10 marks.

Pilgrimage by Delegation

In 1252, there was a case of pilgrimage delegation, which was not uncommon as time went on and which required the permission of the pope or Bishop. This was the famous "conmutatio voti", which was very common in the Baltic countries. This chapter featured the Bishop of Hereford who, in the same year, delegated the pilgrimage with the relevant permission

to **William de Ross**, who did go to Santiago. In 1251, another woman by the name of **Pernell Tony**, made the pilgrimage.

There were thousands of pilgrims of all nationalities who either couldn't complete the pilgrimage, or who did complete it and died before returning home. This is what happened to another man also named **Ralph de Normanville** in 1258 or 1259.

It is worth noting that future pilgrims had the right to collect their wages before departing for Galicia. This is evident in the cases of **Henry de Nivelles** in 1268 and the Royal Halberdier **John de Vaym** in 1269.

It is well known that walking the Camino de Santiago sometimes had a penitential purpose. The English were far from exempt as Robert, Parish Priest of Hamme (diocese of Chichester), saw for himself. It was the year 1283 when **Robert** was found to be having sexual relations with multiple women by his Bishop; he repented and relapsed into sin. Fed up with the situation, the Bishop sent him to Santiago for penance. This left another priest in charge of the parish with the task of giving Robert one hundred coins upon his return. It is unknown whether Robert continued his promiscuous lifestyle during the trip to Santiago and back.

Shortly after, in 1299, we find the declaration of **Gilbert de Hercyng** regarding the inheritance claim of a 21-year-old man (the minimum age at which it could be claimed). This is relevant because Gilberto de Hercyng reports the boy's date of birth based on when he returned from his pilgrimage.

There is incomplete documentation in the 14th century referring to the pilgrims **Matilda Bionie** and **Elizabeth de Burgh**.

The mystery of a man from Wales

If pilgrims were of a certain status, in addition to the ability to leave the country and to claim royal protection, they used to leave their property and businesses to someone they had complete trust in. This was the case for **Alan la Zouche**, the governor of the Welsh Castle of Caerphilly,

who left for Santiago following the king's instruction to entrust someone with the fortress while they were away. Today it stands in ruins. Although it appears in a recent text that this pilgrimage took place in 1308, this would not have been possible. Alan la Zouche, William's son (who after losing the Castle of Caerphilly was briefly the Tower of London's Clerk), was born in 1317 and died in 1346. Either the name is incorrect and the person who really travelled to Santiago was in fact **William la Zouche**, or the man who pilgrimaged there was **Alan la Zouche** of Ashby (Leicestershire), first cousin of William.

1308 is the year of **Richard Neve**'s pilgrimage, who died without being able to see his loved ones for a final time. In the following year, **Alice de Bello Campo** received a protection charter to go to England, and **Alice Bigod**, Countess of Norfolk, pilgrimaged to Santiago three years after the death of her husband. The same happened to **Launia Atwell** who, three years after being widowed, stepped on Welsh ground, although the documentation doesn't tell us the exact year in the 14th century. Nor is it known at what point in the century **Matilda**, the widow of Robert Holland, set foot on Galician soil.

Ralph de Monte Hermerii was an English forest steward who in 1315 was authorised by his king, Edward II, to go on a pilgrimage. This meant leaving Tomás de Neusom and John de Say in his place until the following feast of St. John the Baptist, when he was due to return. It was the following year that the **Abbot of Thorney** set out on his journey south.

An adulteress is freed from whipping

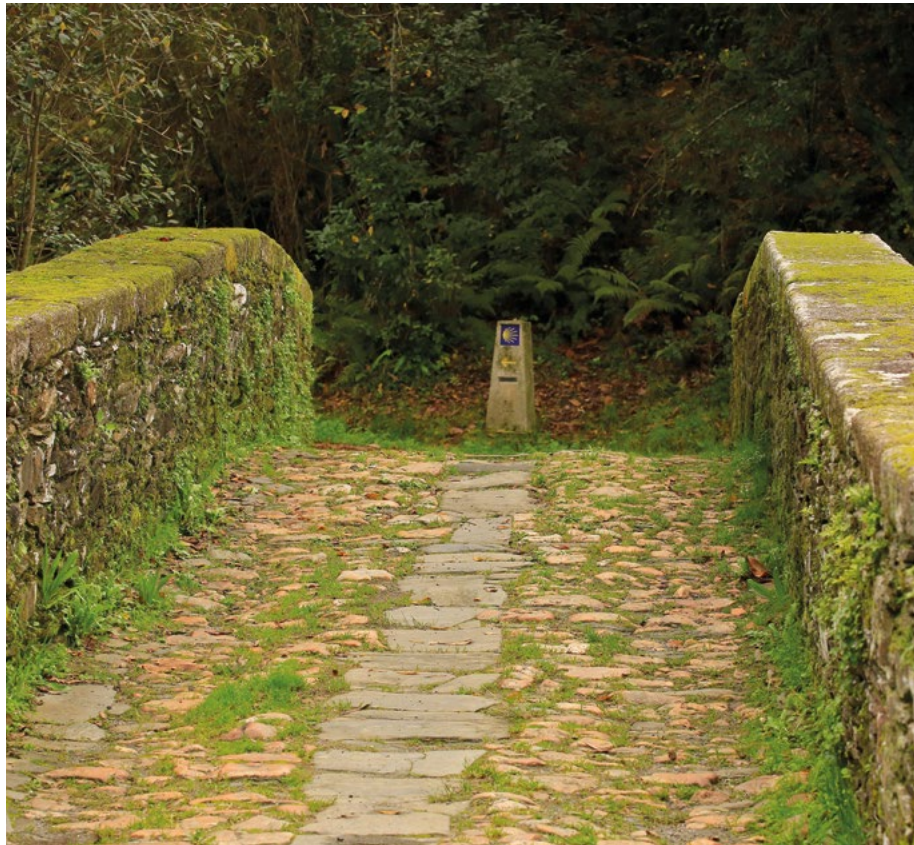
In 1317, a woman appears as a pilgrim. Her name was **Eleanor de la Mare**, widow of John de la Mare. Intriguing is the case of **Mabel de Boclonde**, an adulteress who was sentenced to public whipping on six occasions but was lucky enough to be released from her punishment for the pilgrimage to Santiago in 1326. It happened three years before Felicia, wife of Roger de Somerville, would join the already long list of English people who went to Santiago.

Some cases are very surprising. For example, in 1330 the Scottish Lord **James Douglas** came to Spain with the heart of his king, **Robert**

Bruce, one of the most prestigious and recognised people that this northern land has bestowed. He carried it in a container hanging from his neck - some think that he could have been in Santiago.

In the year 1330, only one pilgrim was found, **Isolda Belhous**, widow of merchant John Belhous (in 1314 there was another pilgrim with the same name, although this may also be him), and she carries two royal protection letters, although only one refers to Santiago. **Alina Burnell**, a rich widow with many houses and acres of land, also made a pilgrimage, although it is possible that she did so the year before.

Of course, married women also went to Compostela, like in the case of **Agnes**, wife of Reginald, in 1332. In that same year, the Vicar of Fowey (Cornwall) made a pilgrimage to Santiago; as did the married couple **John** and **Rose of Montgomery**, as well as **Matilda**, who was the wife of Robert Banyard.



An innocent man and a hanged man

Three years later, in 1335, an Englishman named **Richard**, from London, was accused on Spanish soil of giving potions to pilgrims and of having stolen thirteen florins from a German. He did not confess nor could the accusation be proven, so he remained free. It is very likely that the same Richard was a pilgrim to Santiago

It was worse two years later for **Thomas**, from London, who hung lifeless from a rope for robbing a pilgrim who was returning from Santiago: “at night as they slept in their bed, (he stole) six golden florins, which he unstitched from his petticoat sleeve and so thus manifested it”, states the documentation. In terms of sleeping together, it was normal: most hospital beds were for two people, and beds that welcomed three people were not uncommon.

In 1344, **Margaret**, Countess of Hereford and Essex, **Constance of Kyngeston**, and **Eleanor de Beaumont**, a relative of the King, made the pilgrimage to Compostela (it should be noted that they did not travel together, by all indications). The following year so too did **John Sheppey**, Prior of Rochester and an important administrator at the Court of Edward III. In 1350, it was the turn of **Blanche**, wife of Thomas Wake of Lidel.

A son of the Earl of Gloucester named James, took advantage of a diplomatic mission to make the pilgrimage to Santiago in the year 1358.

In 1361, an affluent man made the pilgrimage: **Andrew Luttrell**, who instructed his wife, along with 24 others, to prepare themselves and they all set off for Spain.

Although the Jacobean footprint is not particularly prominent in Scotland nowadays, despite the significant presence of Catholics in its population, it did send numerous pilgrims. Among them was **William Landel**, the then Bishop of St Andrews, who was also granted safe passage by King Edward III in 1361 to make the pilgrimage to Santiago.

Still in the realm of the unknown are the names of five pilgrims who, on their way home in 1365, found themselves in the middle of a storm and at serious risk of shipwreck. They made promises to the Apostle

and, having made it home safe and sound, built an altar to honour St. James in Burg, Lincolnshire, where they established a brotherhood.

In 1367, **John Colf**, the captain of Nicholas of Fowey, was authorised to go with his crew to Santiago, although there is doubt whether this was a ruse to transport more pilgrims or whether they were in fact the penitents. In the same year, **Constantius of Kinston** made the pilgrimage.

And the following year, John Coff, arrived at Compostela to thank the Apostle for saving him from a dangerous situation on board of the Nicholas of Fowey, where he was one of the crew.

Safe conduct

In October 1382, the Englishman **William D'Angla** received a pass of safe conduct. This document was necessary at certain times, which is confirmed by the fact that in July 1383 the knight **Galfrid of Poulglon** also obtained one. His, issued by Richard II of England, was valid for one year for the pilgrimage to Rocheamadour and Santiago, and also covered valets, servants, steeds, goods, and anything else he needed.

Richard II also signed another pass of safe conduct with the same characteristics, month, and year for the clerk master **Robert Brocherioul**, which suggests that it was a large expedition with a spiritual director. This was not unusual for those pilgrims from high society who could afford it.

In 1386, the Duke of Lancaster, **John of Gaunt**, disembarked in A Coruña. Of course, he wasn't a pilgrim by conviction since his aspiration was to be crowned King of Castile. But he did travel with his soldiers along The English Way, where he prayed before the remains of the Apostles, along with his wife **Constance** who offered gifts to the cathedral. His daughters **Philippa, Elizabeth,** and **Catherine** may have also been there, although some believe it was merely a cunning or ceremonial act to gain loyalty. Months later, he returned to pass through The English Way but had already been defeated and was travelling back to his country.

There are more examples of English people in Spain in the following two cases of the French Way. On 12th March 1389 and 3rd August 1398 (perhaps this could be a typographical error or a mix-up of numbers, when in reality it is the same year), the Royal Chancellery of Aragon issued a pass of safe conduct in the name of **John of Bighton** and the squire **Henry Tudesco**. Less information is available about **William of Arundel**, who on 20th November 1399 finished his pilgrimage, just like **Robert Stewart**, Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland, who seven years later travelled with a pass of safe conduct from **Edward IV**.

Purchas' route is very intriguing. Actually, Samuel Purchas was not a pilgrim but a geographer from Essex, who in 1625 published an anonymous pilgrim's route that may date from the late 14th century. The unknown pilgrim, the real protagonist, set off from Plymouth.

The footsteps of Margery Kempe

In the 15th century, it's only fair to highlight the pilgrimage of the **Earl of Wiltshire** with his whole family, but above all that of **Margery Kempe**, considered the second most relevant mystic



of Great Britain. In 1417, the woman travelled to Santiago from Bristol, but not without having to wait two weeks to find a ship: no one wanted to take her as she was a woman, and the Bishop had to intervene. The pilgrim wrote a book - *The book of Margery Kempe*, the first autobiography in the English language.

But **James**, the aforementioned Earl of Wiltshire, who went on a luxurious pilgrimage, made it to Santiago accompanied by his family and 30 servants in 1456. In the well-known case of **John Goodyear**, the Parish Priest of Cheil (now Chale), on the Isle of Wight (diocese of Winchester), he offered to the Apostle an alabaster altarpiece with scenes of his story, which is preserved in perfect condition in the cathedral museum. From sometime during the reign of Henry VI and thus from the 15th century, dates an anonymous poem – *The Pilgrims Sea Voyage and Seasickness*, whose author, no doubt, went on the pilgrimage.

In 1445, the Count of Oxford makes the pilgrimage in his double role of devout to St James and, at the same time owner of the boat “Jesus”.

On 21st May 1456, **William Wey**, from the prestigious Eton College, arrived on the Mary White in A Coruña. There were 82 boats, 32 of them English, as he specifies in his *Itinerarium peregrinationis* (Pilgrim's itinerary), a text which was located in the mid 19th Century and published in 1857.

William Wey's presence reminds us that robbery was commonplace. There were even those who dared to carry it out on board. Thus, the Eton student writes:

Another miracle! One of the people on our boat had his money bag cut from his belt. He lost his valuables and all the money he had. He immediately made a vow to Santiago that if he recovered his property, he would go to him. After having made this vow, the Briton who had cut his bag was caught red handed doing the same to another man. The pilgrim's bag was discovered in the thief's pocket, and so, with Santiago's help, he got it back. He left immediately towards Santiago naked, like he had promised.

It would take a dozen years – until 1472 - to locate the next well-documented English pilgrim. His name was Lord River (actually Sir

Anthony Woodville), a nobleman and litterateur. He was a collector of Spanish texts and he returned to his country with various examples; on his return he wrote a brief account of his impressions. His first wife **Elizabeth**, who died during the pilgrimage, travelled with him.

And in 1473, thanks to a letter, it is known that **John Paston** embarked towards Santiago from Yarmouth.

Charity for various Englishmen

It is clear that not all had a comfortable social and economic position, or the means to go on a pilgrimage without any major problems. It demonstrates the fact that the Catholic Kings, on their journey to Galicia in 1487, gave charity to “the Englishmen” between Sarria and Portomarín. Similarly, three other journeys appear in which they give charity to the English pilgrims. In two of the cases, it is said to have happened both in and between Portomarín and Melide, which suggests that it was the same person who, out of self-interest, would not lose sight of the royal retinue. The magnanimity expected of the monarchs at the time was not disappointed in the case of a valet to the King of England by the name of **William Marstan**. He was in no way a man without means, but he was unlucky: his horse died, apparently the last or only one he had, a fact that moved the Catholic Monarchs and made them take pity on him by giving him charity.

Less and less

And from there came the Reformation, Henry VIII, and the decline of pilgrimages. But even so, some accounts can still be found. For example, the pilgrimage of **Robert Langton** in the Early years of the 16th century, who made the journey via Orlans, Tours, Pons, and Blaye. We mustn't forget the devoted visit, perhaps in 1538, to Santiago by Ann Leigh, better known as Lady **Ann Worsley**. The question remains as to whether or not **John Dutton**, who arrived in Ferrol escaping religious persecution in his country and who brought with him several religious objects, made a pilgrimage to Santiago.

A jump in time is needed to verify chapters in which the English pilgrims appear again. Indeed, we must go to 31st May 1611, when the Church awarded a donation of 30 reals to an English priest whose name cannot be traced. A larger donation of 50 reals was given to the Englishman **Simon de Ruxel** on 28th May 1650.

Of course, the opposite also occurred, whereby people made donations to the cathedral. That is the case of the British **Marquess of Baydes**, who in 1661 “when she was here in this city and disembarked with the navy in A Coruña” donated 1,428 reals to the church canons, of course requesting that in exchange they were to pray for her soul when she died.

On 4th December 1692, **Richard E. Conos**, the English nobleman, secured his arrival in Santiago, escaping from his compatriots. He expressed to the canons that he was catholic and that he wished to “live amongst Christianity in order to save his life and his Christian profession”. Such a declaration convinced the priests, who awarded him the sum of 50 reals so that he could settle on Spanish soil and remain safe from the Anglicans who, he suspected, wanted to murder him.



A King in Compostela

It is interesting that there is no collective memory of the visit to Santiago from no less than the British King, **Jacob III** in 1719. The corresponding proceedings of 23rd June recall:

With the news of his being in this city and staying in the Royal Monastery of St. Martin, The British King, Jacob III, comes to visit our sacred apostle and patron saint Santiago. He was appointed to represent the Canonry, and receive the king in the Church in a manner that he is accustomed to, subsequently giving his majesty a warm reception.

Furthermore, it appears in the records that on 3rd September 1765, 46 years later, the cathedral gave a generous donation of 100 reals to an Englishman who was converting to Catholicism. This donation increased on 7th April 1773 to 150 reals, intended on this occasion for an Englishman who converted to Catholicism from Anglicanism. It is noteworthy that the canons would offer such a donation without more than the belief that the conversion was sincere, as although religion then held enormous weight in people's lives, that is not to say that there weren't tricksters who used religion as a means of survival and who didn't care what happened after death. **Maria Juana Mordi** is the next named recipient who also received a donation, the exact amount of which is unknown, but around 40 reals on 29th April 1774.

The Camino de Santiago lost popularity over the years and was revived at the end of the 19th century. The first holy year of the 20th century was in 1909 and five different groups of 10 parishioners from the archdiocese of Westminster made the pilgrimage. They were led by the Cardinal **Francis Borune**, who had travelled from Liverpool to Vigo by boat, and then caught a train to Santiago, but not before passing through Baiona.

On 26th, the pilgrims arrived at Compostela, where they were received by the assistant Bishop, a committee from the local council, a multitude of fireworks and a downpour of heavy rain. Below is an extract taken from *La Voz de Galicia* which says:

Amongst the pilgrims, one can see many women and young ladies, with large straw hats and veils. 14 priests

*also arrive, out of uniform, some with frock coats and others with floor length clothing. In total there are 50, amongst which is the Lady **Neuville**, the wife of the British Navy Minister. Her husband is a Protestant and so she arrives without him, with a female companion.*

In the Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, the Archbishop writes:

Harbour of Vigo...tremendous reception...rockets exploding all around us...bells of the churches...a very paean of triumph...railway journey...boundless enthusiasm shown at each station and village..."God save the King"... Santiago station...streets lined with thousands of people...Cathedral... Cardinal Herrera received His Grace... Te Deum... Spanish Pilgrimage hymn ("Santo adalid"?) sung by our party, which greatly gratified the Spanish population...Cardinal... great pleasure...lapse of 350 years...making history.

Throughout these entries a link must be established, an immense task that Constance Storr will never be thanked enough for. It is this:

1153: Henry de Blois. 1168: Earl of Salisbury. 1193: Osmund of Ehelham.	Warners. 1223: Eustace Apibu, William Blundus, Richard Branche, Adam Cailly, Hamo Crevequor, Durand Greminston, Robert Vallibus, Earl of Varenne.
1199: Philip Durill. 1200: William Wolsey. 1201: Warin, son of Gerald, Walert Eenford, Simon Lidecot.	1224: Peter Cantilune.
1202: Walter, brother of Flambard. 1207: William, son of Robert. 1208: William Meisnill, Robert son of Philip, William Russel, William son of Terry. 1241: Simon Bekenfield. 1219: Roger Shoreham. 1220: Cokfield Adam. 1222: Robert Marmiun, Sanford	1227: Robert Savage. 1228: Hodding Ralph. 1232: John Newmarket, Peter Pontarch. 1234: Peter Bedington. 1235: Sylvester Everdon, Henry Wade.
	1236: William Cantilupe the Younger. 1238: John Talbot. 1248: Oliver Albiniaco, Warin Bassinburm, Thomas

Beauchamp, Prior of
Ipswich, Giles Muncipun.

1250: Thomas Ardern,
William Beauchamp,
Simon Beauchamp. **1252:**
Robert Payn, William Ros.

1253: Henry Newton. **1254:**
Peter Branch, Raymond
Brigaud, Guy Chineros,
Emery Redvers. **1257:**
Roger Lovel, Walter Wahull,
Ralph Waleschef. **1258:**
John Criogle, warden of
Protection the hospital of
Muntchancy, Hugh Neville.

1259: William Lacelles.

1260: William Albinaco,
John Estruz, Walter Lindsay.

1261: John Bosco, Gerald
Fanacurt, Nicholas Lenham.

1262: Robert Aclun, William
More, Robert Stoteville,
Marmaduke Tweng. **1267:**
Archbishop of Dublín.

1268: John Alditely, John
Mucegros. **1270:** Cankewell
Baldwin, Ralph Waldeschef.

1271: Richard Bereham,
William Frisholk, Richard
Waldeschef, Bishop of
Worcester, Jordan Wytacre.

1272: Thomas Ardern,
Richard Beauchamp,
Richard Bertramn, William
Bluet, John Meyne, Peter de
Montford, William Mortimer.

1274: Adam London.

1275: William Latimer,
Peter de Montford. **1276:**
Nicholas Alrelin, Robert
Haynes, Simon Insula,
Hugh Peverel, Lawrence
S. Maur, John Vesci.

1277: G. Hersing. **1278:**
Thomas Ardern, Robert
Berthram, Humphrey
Bohun, Humphrey Bohun
Earl of Hereford y Essex,
Walmer Essex, John Grey,
John Pabenham, James
Troys, William Walebrus.

1280: Godfrey Belmont,
Henry de Chalvedon,
Matthew Johnson, Rober
Keynes, William Leyburn.

1280: William Mohun,
Bartholomew Poitevin.

1281: Robert Berlay,
William Breus, Robert
Walter. **1283:** William
Acon, Robert Butler, Philp
Fox. **1284:** Ralph Bassett,
Simon Bassett, Henry Burg,
Madoc son of Jerworth.

1285: John Barry. **1287:**
Adam Lumbard. **1291:** John
Canterbury. **1292:** Roger
Ware. **1293:** Alan Arkeby.

1300: Richard Coleman,
Thomas Kemperly. **1303:**
Richard Wise. **1306:**
Reginald Lumbard. **1307:**
Ispania Rodrick. **1308:**
John Attegore, Thomas

Elis, Miles Neve, John
Tuddlesham, Roger Wyther.
1309: Nicholas Grey, Robert
Montalt. **1310:** Robert
Swotting. **1311:** Raymond
Cousin, Phillip Gayton,
Richard Jersey, Robert
Knowel, Michael Poneyn,
Isamber St. Blemund,
William Woodward. **1312:**
John Sutton, John Vernay.
1313: Nicholas Daunay,
William Insula Bona. **1314:**
William Archer, Edmund
Bacon, Baldwin Greenfield,
John Ruddleston, John
Uvedale. **1315:** Robert
Abbethorpe, James
Audley, Nicholas Beche,
William Beche, Geoffrey
Bellafago, Richard Boyland,
Ralph Cammays, Thomas
Cayley, Thomas Dakeney,
Richard Lughteburg,
Ralph Monthermer,
Thomas Shyrugge. **1316:**
John Briauzon, Oliver
Burdelaga, John Cave, John
Cromwell, John Ffhyde,
Richard Grey, Walter
Humphrey, Philip Kyme,
Simon Scott, Somerville
Edmund, Ralph Walecote.
1317: Guy Ferre, Geoffrey
Lee, John Radington,
William Zouche. **1318:**
Coppinus Caley, William

Cook, Richard Ispania,
John St. Philibert, Thomas
Tregoz, Reginald Wace.
1319: Ralph Cammays,
Philip Kyme, Thomas
Mountpiliers, Robert Spicer.
1320: Launia Atwell, Ralph
Cromwell, Oliver Ingham,
John Letham, Margaret
Norton, John Patemere,
Robert Rose. **1321:** William
Clement, John Glemyn,
Adam Hodelston, Donald
Mar, William Moyne,
Thomas St. Andrew, Thomas
Tregoz. **1322:** William
Boudon, John Uvedable.
1323: Adam Caley.
1324: Otto Bodrigan,
William Ithehall, William
Hinton. **1327:** Bouchard
Vernon, Thomas West,
Ralph Woodhall. **1328:**
John Badewe, Thomas
Carbonel, John Chapman,
Thomas Kinton, Geoffrey
Lee, William Molt, Thomas
Newport, Nicholas Walter,
Thomas West, William
Wright, John Wyard, John
Wytheston. **1329:** Hugh
Audley, James Audley,
Richard Croyke, John Fish,
Gerald Hurant, Gerard
Insula, William Skinner,
Felicia Somerville. **1330:**
Isolda Belhous, John Bohun,

Matilda Brionie, Alina Burnel, Alan Claxby, Richard Denton, Walter Kayn, Richard Lendemore, Ralph Marshall, Roger Rowand, Peter St. John. **1331:** James Audley, William Allen, Abad de Battle, John Beauchamp, John Cove, Stephen Horsale, Kedwick Llewellyn, master of the hospital of Ospringe, Thomas Stanton, Abbot of Strata Marcella, Walter Waldeschef, Thomas West, John Wyard. **1332:** John Ace, John Aisyck, John Amory. **1332:** John Barry, William Baud, Edward Beche, William Beche, Henry Bermingham, William Bermingham, John Canty, Henry Chaucombe, Robert Corbet, William Crocheman, Hugh Despenser, Hugh Fitzsimon, Richard Hackney, Thomas Hastings, Agnes Herbert, Reginald Herbert, Richard Hord, John Hothum, Edward Kendale, William Lodewick, Thomas Loreyne, John Mere, John Montgomery, Rose Montgomery, Richard Norton, Earl of Oxford John Vere. **1333:** Richard Boyland, Robert Brown, Thomas Gonshull, Thomas

Hastings, William Henley, Andrew Plaitour. **1334:** William Atgate, Matilda Banyard, John Fysele, William Harpenden, Thomas Hastings, John Ivot, William Shobeham, William Sweyn. **1334:** Robert Walgot, William Yarewell. **1335:** Peter Cook, Matilda Holland, Robert Morley, Thomas Weston. **1336:** Reymold Bokking, William Ede, John Fol, Richard Gonshull, Matilda Holland, William Hunt, John Rondolf, Richard Shepherd, John Verdon, John Weston. **1337:** Robert Swon. **1338:** Walter Deveroys, John Gonshull, Nicholas Styward, William Wright. **1339:** John Bishop. **1340:** John Athall, Thomas Bydon, John Drake, Robert Passemer, Henry Stanton, John Theodolf, Robert Westbech. **1341:** Roger Bernard, Edmund Butler, John Climping, Henry Corviser. **1342:** Simon Atfield, William Cosin, John Cotes, John Gamon, William Okynden. **1343:** Ralph Alford, Henry Bolle, Fairman Walter.





FERROL
SANTIAGO



DISTANCIA
113,4 Km

A CORUÑA
SANTIAGO



DISTANCIA
73,0 Km



