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**ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC GENTRY OF
YORKSHIRE FROM THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE TO THE FIRST
CIVIL WAR**

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**A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

The University of Huddersfield

September 2002

Aspects of the History of the Catholic Gentry of Yorkshire from the Pilgrimage of Grace to the First Civil War

Abstract

This study looks at the responses of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry to the immense changes to their religious landscape in the early modern period, between 1536 and 1642. It examines how they continued to adhere to the Catholic religion, despite all attempts first to induce and then compel conformity and highlights the ways in which they managed to survive and prosper throughout the period, demonstrating that previously neglected groups such as women and younger sons had a crucial role to play in this process. The overwhelming theme to their actions was one of pragmatism, rather than the heroic and self-destructive behaviour that was much admired by earlier historians who wanted to identify martyrs to the Catholic cause.

The areas that are to be examined reflect both public and private gentry activities. In the public sphere the Yorkshire gentry's part in the rebellions of the Tudor and Stuart eras are studied along with their rejection of plots. The importance of marriage as an early modern tool for building alliances and social advancement is acknowledged and the impact that a continuing adherence to Catholicism had on this is considered. The gentry and the church are examined through a study of the Catholic gentry's involvement with their local parishes, their reaction to the dissolution and their continuing adherence to monasticism, as shown through their devotion to English orders on the continent. To reflect the changes that were occurring in this period Catholic involvement in education, the law and medicine are also explored showing that the Catholic community was not isolated from the wider society. Lastly the role of Catholic women is given specific consideration in order both to redress the imbalance in previous studies and due to the crucial role that women played in the continuation of the Catholic community within Yorkshire.

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Acknowledgements

During the course of studying for my Ph.D. I have been grateful to a number of people who have at various times offered their assistance, advice and support. I would like to thank Bertrand Taithe, Philip Woodfine and Roy Fisher for their help in establishing the MPhil/PGCE programme which led on to the PhD study. I am grateful to Janet Conneely, Rob Ellis and Tom Rowley who provided support and friendship during this time and to Paul Ward who has been a friend and colleague throughout the latter stages of the thesis.

My thanks also go to the staff of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, the West Yorkshire Record Office, Wakefield Reference Library, the PRO and the North Allerton Record Office, especially Judith Smeaton who put me in touch with the Catholic Record Society who have proved to be an important source of information and repository of knowledge. Thanks is also due to Sister Gregory Kirkus at the Bar Convent and the staff of the archive and library at the West Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

I would like to thank Pat Cullum and Bill Stafford for reading the text and providing guidance and the examiners, Christopher Haigh, Bill Sheils and Katherine Lewis for their constructive comments. Special thanks are also due to Tim Thornton for his supervision and support throughout my research and to my family without whom this thesis would not have been possible.

Abbreviations

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers' | J.C.H. Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers of the Meynell Family', <i>Miscellanea</i> (Catholic Record Society, Record Series, 56, 1964), 1-112. |
| Aveling, <i>East Yorkshire</i> | J.C.H. Aveling, <i>Post Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire, 1558-1790</i> (York, East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1960). |
| Aveling, <i>West Riding</i> | J.C.H. Aveling, <i>The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1558-1790</i> (Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 10, 1963). |
| Aveling, <i>City of York</i> | J.C.H. Aveling, <i>Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791</i> (Catholic Record Society, Monograph Series, 2, 1970). |
| Aveling, <i>Northern Catholics</i> | J.C.H. Aveling, <i>Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790</i> (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1966). |
| CRS MS | Catholic Record Society, Monograph Series |
| CRS RS | Catholic Record Society, Record Series |
| CSPD | <i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i> , ed. R. Lemon <i>et al</i> (London, HMSO, 1856-72) |
| HMC | Historical Manuscripts Commission |
| LP | <i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, for the Reign of King Henry VIII</i> , ed. J.S. Brewer <i>et al</i> (London, HMSO, 1862-1932) |
| HMC <i>Salisbury</i> | Historical Manuscripts Commission, <i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House</i> , 24 vols. (London, HMC, 1883-1976) |
| VCH | <i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England</i> |
| YAS RS | Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series |

Aspects of the History of the Catholic Gentry of Yorkshire from the Pilgrimage of Grace to the First Civil War

Introduction

When tyme enlarged vilonie to Commit all profane and sinister actes, no thinge was spared how holy soever it was. All was turned up side downe, and the bodyes of Saintes and other heriocall persons being wrapped in lead were turned out thereof, and lead sould to plummers, bookes and pictures were burned, Evidences not Regarded: all was subject to violence and Rapine.¹

Thomas Meynell, writing in the early seventeenth century, opened his commonplace book with this remembrance of the dramatic religious changes that had swept through England. His distress at the attack on Catholicism is clear, and his memories were clearly focused upon the removal of the monasteries, the attempts to obliterate the role of saints and how this was symbolised by the removal of statues and images; equally clear to Thomas was that this ungracious and villainous attack was upon both his religion and his heritage, for the 'evidences' he refers to are the three chests containing his family's pedigree and papers and which thus defined his status, heritage and place in society. Thomas Meynell reflects the concerns of many northern gentlemen in the early modern period; their concept of 'self' was defined by their land holdings, their social position and crucially their religion. For Thomas the old Catholic order, attacked in the Reformation, was gracious, secure and stable even in times of political and social upheaval. Catholicism was therefore not just a religion, but was integral to Thomas' concept of stability,

¹ Ampleforth Abbey Library, Meynell MSS, Thomas Meynell's Book, f.1 (summary referenced as SS289A) now on microfilm in Northallerton, North Yorkshire Record Office, ZIQ/MIC 2050.

essential to his definition of social class, grace and gentility, and represented traditions upon which he and his ancestors relied to define their place in the world.

This study looks at the responses of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry to the immense changes to their religious landscape in the early modern period, between 1536 and 1642. It examines how they continued to adhere to the Catholic religion, despite all attempts first to induce and then compel conformity, and to highlight the ways in which they managed to survive and prosper throughout the period, which will demonstrate that previously neglected groups such as women and younger sons had a crucial role to play in this process. The overwhelming theme to their actions was one of pragmatism, rather than the heroic and often self-destructive behaviour much admired by earlier historians who appeared to be focused upon identifying martyrs to the Catholic cause.

The chosen start and end dates for the main focus of this study are important in that they define a period between the commencement of the dramatic dissolution process and the protest this provoked, in the form of the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace, and the first Civil War in 1642 which saw the country as a whole plunged into the chaos of military conflict. Whilst these dates do provide a definable period of study they are not rigidly observed cut-off points throughout, but rather guiding parameters for the study, with much of the focus being placed on the period prior to the reign of Charles I as the intention is not to discuss religion in relation to the approach to Civil War. Thomas Meynell evokes for us the importance of continuity and tradition in the life of the early modern gentleman and therefore references are frequently made to the years before the Reformation to illustrate

that continuities were visible and that this was particularly evident in relation to religious practice.

Just as the dates of the study are not absolutes as a frame of reference, neither are the geographical boundaries of Yorkshire to be seen as excluding the rest of the country from reference, although Yorkshire is a significant and deliberate choice as an area to be studied in relation to an examination of the Catholic gentry. David Hey began his study of the area by stating that 'Yorkshire was by far the largest county in England until it was broken down into five parts in 1974. It had over 3.75 million acres within its bounds and covered about an eighth of the whole country.'² The geographical size of Yorkshire is not the only aspect that makes it vital to the history of England; there is also the role that the county and its people played in shaping the north. In reference to the history and historiography of Catholicism, Lancashire has been and to a great extent still remains the focal county for studies of Catholic and recusant history, with far less attention being paid to the other counties of the north, despite the fact that they too retained large numbers of Catholics in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart eras. Christopher Haigh's work on Lancashire established it as the centre of northern recusancy, yet the Catholic communities in Lancashire were focused only in certain areas.³ Whilst in Yorkshire Catholics were not as numerically concentrated, they still played a vital role in the history of the north and represented a significant proportion of the Catholic population of England. The existing studies of Yorkshire Catholicism were made by J.C.H. Aveling in

² D. Hey, *Yorkshire From AD 1000* (London, 1986), p.1.

³ C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 316-32.

the late 1960s and early 1970s; they examine the city of York and the North, West and East Ridings of Yorkshire as isolated communities.⁴ Aveling conceded that this division was a somewhat false one and certainly there were regional variations; the purpose of this study is, however, to show that although regional variations existed, Catholic effectiveness in the north and in particular in the Yorkshire area lay with the communities' ability to take advantage of these differences and to build upon their strengths. Thus no attempt is made to study the individual Ridings or the City of York as separate or contained, nor are the geographical, ecclesiastical or administrative boundaries of the county regarded as absolute or restrictive points for the study, with acknowledgement being made of family activities in the north-east and in other counties where kinship or religious ties led them.

The definition of recusancy has also been debated, as has the denotation 'Catholic', especially during the period between the Reformation and the Civil War. Many did not wholly reject the 'new faith' introduced in the Reformation, or at least did not make this rejection public.⁵ Some of the family members being studied here appear to have many of

⁴ Aveling, *East Yorkshire; West Riding; Northern Catholics; City of York*.

⁵ M. Questier, 'What Happened to English Catholicism after the English Reformation?', *History*, 85 (2000), 28-47; A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (London, 1993). Walsham provides the seminal discussion of 'Church Papistry', defining it as one of the approaches taken by individuals which allowed them to confront 'the task of preserving and proving their Catholic identity' (p. 118). This acknowledged them as Catholic despite the appearance of occasional conformity. Questier, in contrast sees this non-committal religious stance as more problematic in defining 'Catholic' in this period.

the characteristics of a conformist member of Tudor society.⁶ Prior to the Reformation, or even in the period before 1569, there is little to distinguish any of the Yorkshire gentry families who later went on to become active and determined recusants as significantly different from those who conformed. This is, however, unsurprising, as the period 1536-69 was an era when conformity covered a wide range of religious beliefs and practices, containing as it did the earliest stages of Reformation, the Edwardian and Marian shifts in religion and the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Peter Marshall's recent work on the reign of Henry VIII has emphasised the problem with trying to impose clear religious labels in an era where definitions were being made.⁷ After 1558-9 what denoted most Catholic families as different from their conformist neighbours was their actions and commitment to Catholicism in the period after the rebellion of the Northern Earls. Yet what many of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry did have in common in the earlier period, 1536-69, was their conservatism; although this is not an automatic indication of post-1570 recusancy, it does demonstrate that religious continuity rather than conversion was a determining factor in denoting which Yorkshire gentry families were Catholic in the period after 1569-70. Thus conservatism, which encompasses a desire to maintain old practices and traditions integral to the Yorkshire gentry's view of themselves and their

⁶ A. Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism', in A. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (London, 1999), pp. 85-115. Milton stresses that Catholics were integrated in northern society and were involved in similar activities to their conformist neighbours.

⁷ P. Marshall, 'Is the Pope a Catholic? Henry VIII and the Semantics of Schism', CRS Conference, 24 July 2001 forthcoming in E. Shagan and M. Sena (eds), *Catholics and the Protestant Nation: English Catholicism in Context 1534-1640* (Manchester University Press). My thanks to Peter Marshall for a copy

status and heritage, is what often unites both the families examined here and other members of the Catholic gentry community. The terms Catholic and recusant are frequently used as interchangeable in many studies, particularly of Elizabethan England. Some attempt has been made to differentiate here; the term 'recusant' is used only to refer to family members when they are being prosecuted or cited by the authorities. The term was, after all, imposed upon Catholics as an indication of their failure to conform and therefore has the associated negative overtones. Far more frequently the term Catholic is used to refer to family members; this decision has been made based upon the fact that it is the way in which these family members refer to themselves on the rare occasions they put their religious beliefs down on paper.⁸ Fewer attempts have been made to differentiate between the times where they appear to fall into the definition of 'church-papist' as opposed to openly 'recusant'. Although this is acknowledged where relevant to the tactics being employed to evade persecution, for the most part they are referred to as Catholic - as their activities and actions indicate, as far as it is possible to tell, that they were Catholic families and within this study are acknowledged as such.

of his text prior to publication; R. Radford Ruether, 'Only Catholics can really be Protestant', *National Catholic Reporter*, Dec. 1999.

⁸ W.J. Shiels, 'Catholics in their Communities' (paper given at Lollards, Quakers and Catholics Conference, Roehampton Institute, 1999); Shiels, 'Household, Age and Gender Among Jacobean Yorkshire Recusants', in M. Rowlands (ed.), *Catholics of Parish and Town 1558-1778* (Catholic Record Society, Monograph Series, 5, 1999), pp. 131-52.

J.T. Cliffe's study of the Yorkshire gentry stated that in 1570 there were 1,567 gentry families in the county and that 368 of these were Catholic.⁹ The sheer size of the Catholic population of Yorkshire would therefore make it impossible to produce an in-depth study of all the Catholic gentry families which was fully able to acknowledge the rôle of all the family members. A deliberately diverse group of Yorkshire Catholic gentry families, who represent a wide cross-section of the Yorkshire gentry community of the period, has therefore been chosen to illustrate the trends and common experiences of the Catholic gentry of Yorkshire as a whole. Whilst individuals and families do have unique experiences, the range of families chosen represent the greater gentry, the lesser gentry and 'new money', and all have committed Catholic as well as conformist members at some point in the period being studied. The subjects that are to be examined reflect both the public and private activities of a gentry family of the period and as such the range of families have been chosen to represent a range of local experience. Representing families who were already well established in Yorkshire by the start of the sixteenth century are the Cholmleys, Gascoignes, Vavasours, Wentworths and Fairfaxes. They demonstrate the experience of the wealthy and well-established Catholic gentry family. Their land holdings and wealth were significant; Richard Cholmley of Roxby was noted as having between fifty and sixty servants during the reign of Elizabeth, and in common with the Wentworths and Fairfaxes, the Cholmley family was worth at least £1000 in the period

⁹ Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969), pp. 5, 169, 186. He also cited figures for 1604 (254 Catholic families from of a total of 641 gentry families) and 1642 (163 Catholic families from of a total of 679 gentry families).

under examination.¹⁰ The Danbys, Stapletons, Wycliffes and Wyvills had established pedigrees within the country gentry, though they were not as prominent in county politics as families such as the Gascoignes. They too were significant and wealthy landowners, although some of them did have the misfortune to experience financial difficulties in the era. Even given their financial problems Cliffe estimates that Sir Thomas Danby of Farnley was worth £1000 in 1643 and retained twenty-two servants and that even though Sir Christopher Danby was declared bankrupt his estates were worth £2300. Richard Stapleton too was noted to be financial difficulties yet he was still worth £484 in 1612.¹¹ The Meynells were increasing their land holdings in the North Riding in the sixteenth century and showed themselves to be particularly dedicated to maintaining Catholicism even at the expense of imprisonment. The Meynell family spent large sums on acquiring property throughout the period under examination demonstrating their desire to establish themselves as a prominent gentry family, with Thomas Meynell spending £1000 on purchases in the period 1612-21.¹² The Nortons too were still establishing themselves as prominent gentry land-holders in the North Riding and the Lawsons moved into the county having made their money as Newcastle merchants during the Tudor era. The geographical range of the landholding of the families' estates also illustrates that the sample group is reflective of the experience of gentry families in all three Ridings. The areas in which these families held land and influence stretch from the west to the east and

¹⁰ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 380-6. Nicholas Fairfax's personal estate is cited as worth at least £1000 in 1554; William Fairfax is noted as worth £1072 in 1595; Richard Cholmley is cited as worth at least £1000 during the reign of Elizabeth and Sir Thomas Wentworth is noted as worth at least £1000 during James I's reign; Thomas Gascoigne is cited as being worth £455 in 1566 over and above his debts.

¹¹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 380-6.

the north to the south of the county of Yorkshire, as illustrated on maps 1-3 [appendix I], and so they also represent significant geographical coverage of Yorkshire, with some possessing land holdings that even extend beyond Yorkshire into the surrounding counties.

Cliffe's analysis of the gentry families in Yorkshire is composed of an analysis of the heads of families; Aveling's, whilst focusing on Catholic families, also places great emphasis on the male at the head of the family, and often centers on the activities of missionary priests. The structure of this study will allow younger sons, sub-branches of the main gentry families and the wives and daughters of the families to be given far greater prominence, which is crucial to re-assessing the continuation of the Catholic community within Yorkshire.

These families' rôle in the public activities of the era, in particular whether they chose to express their discontent at religious change in rebellions and public protests, will be examined. The discussion of rebellions throughout the Tudor and Stuart era will focus upon the reaction of the Catholic families and their involvement in both public mass rebellions and the plots which characterised the pre-Civil War Stuart era. The Pilgrimage of Grace, the starting point for this study, the 1569 Northern Rebellion, the plots surrounding the succession crisis and the Gunpowder Plot will form a framework for this discussion, with the emphasis being put as much on what was not done in each of these events as on the actual activities of the rebels themselves, to show the Yorkshire gentry's

¹² Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 375.

concerns throughout the period 1536-1642. The rebellions and the activities of the gentry in them up to and including 1569 tends to suggest that protest was viewed as a form of political communication. Both in 1536 and 1569 the Yorkshire gentry appear to have believed that communicating discontent would either lead to policy reversals or would give them a greater say in which religious policies were being followed. The Yorkshire gentry were an integral part of the political and social elite in the north and their desire to retain this role is clear. The Elizabethan regime's response to the 1569 Rising made it clear that rebellion was no longer a form of political communication that would be tolerated and that the Catholic population was to be viewed as an enemy to both the monarch and Protestant England. There was little or no direct involvement of the Yorkshire gentry in the Catholic plots that typified the latter years of Elizabeth's reign and that of the two successive Stuart monarchs. Plots were not a form of communication within the early modern system, but designed to destroy it; the Yorkshire Catholics' rejection of this indicated not a lack of commitment to Catholicism or resistance to religious change, but as will be seen, reflected their practical and adaptive approach to both resistance and change.

The gentry's concern with making profitable alliances, particularly via marriage, has been acknowledged by all historians of the social and economic history of the period; yet examinations of the activities of Catholic gentlemen of the period assume that religion was the only factor in their decisions and activities. This would appear to imply that Catholicism supplanted all other concerns in the life of the early modern gentleman. By examining the activities of these gentry families, it is possible to see that Catholic gentry

families were able to combine financial and social considerations, whilst also attempting to secure Catholic marriages for their sons and daughters, and that the large number of Catholic gentry families in Yorkshire was a positive advantage.

The frequent reforms and changes to the religion of the country are factors that require consideration with particular reference to how the Catholic gentry of Yorkshire reacted to them and whether they did have a significant impact on their lives. G.R. Elton's rapid Reformation from above has long since been seen as an exaggeration of events designed to fit with the idea of an administrative revolution orchestrated by Cromwell and does not fit with evidence found in the examinations of local communities.¹³ Nor is any kind of Reformation from below a suitable model to be applied to the community within Yorkshire. Neither the rapid Reformation from below, as advocated by A.G. Dickens, nor the gradual Reformation from below desired by those examining the more radical Protestant groups seem to fit the Yorkshire Catholic gentry. This group seemed to oppose change implemented from above, which they perceived as threatening their status and naturally conservative tendencies, as seen in the examination of the rebellions in the area. The Reformation for them was a gradual process in which some acquiesced, at least on the surface, not because of an apathy towards religion but simply because they recognised the practicalities of the situation. Two chapters therefore look at the ways in which individuals and gentry families as a whole reacted to these changes. The medieval Catholic Church was composed of both secular and monastic elements and the number of

¹³ G.R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (1955; London, 1965), pp. 164-5; *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972).

monastic institutions, their buildings, land and that fact that they housed a considerable number of Yorkshire men and women made them integral to the county. The first of these chapters therefore looks at how gentry families dealt with changes in religion on a parish level. The parish community and the role that the gentry played in local society were crucial aspects of early modern life. Their ownership of parish advowsons, their role in parish life and their relationship with local ministers will be examined in light of their continuing Catholicism to show that the Catholic gentry still remained important to the early modern community. The second focuses on individual members of the families who were monks, nuns or priests during the period. The removal of the monasteries impacted upon the county and the way in which families were affected and the role they played in establishing the new English monastic orders and institutions on the continent will be examined to show how they were able to maintain a role in Catholic monasticism.

The link between education and religion was intrinsic to medieval life and the concept of religious indoctrination via educational establishments remained important in the Tudor and Stuart eras. In the early modern period education became increasingly important in defining a gentleman; schools and universities were regulated by successive acts and statutes and thus the issue of religion became very relevant to those attempting to secure an education or career in the period, especially for Catholic gentle families who wanted to avoid a Protestant upbringing for their children. The type of education that was available varied depending on status and gender, but often what it was really dependent upon was the ability of a family to finance most commonly a son throughout the school, university and Inns system. Within this chapter emphasis will be placed upon gentry interaction with

and involvement in the law in order to show that the law and by implication the men who enforced the law were not always the enemy of the Catholic gentleman of the Tudor and Stuart era; and that the sons of the Catholic gentry were not automatically excluded from the professions by the nature of their family's and frequently their own non-conformist beliefs.

The role of women in maintaining and developing household Catholicism following the Reformation and throughout the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline period is also something that will be examined in order to re-dress the balance that has seen undue emphasis being placed on Catholic gentlemen. John Bossy and Marie Rowlands have emphasised the importance of the matriarchal community in Catholic history, although Bossy stressed that the matriarchal stage of Catholicism was a limited phenomenon, which was very much restricted to gentry Catholicism.¹⁴ An examination of the role played by the women of Yorkshire in maintaining the Catholic religion will take this theme further showing that both gentry women and those below the gentry were integral to Catholicism in the period and that they were frequently the dominant Catholic force within the county.

This study looks therefore at the experience of the Catholic gentry in Yorkshire, both in terms of their religion and their wider lives. The emphasis has consciously been moved away from the role played by the head of the family in order to provide a more balanced

picture and to emphasise the importance of other gentry family members in maintaining Catholicism in the period. Whilst it in no way wishes to denigrate the sacrifices that were made by individuals in their efforts to uphold their religious beliefs in the early modern period, this examination of the Catholic gentry will not solely concentrate on heroic acts and martyrdom as an indication of this religious belief; it will therefore allow the more pragmatic approach taken by the vast majority to be acknowledged as both valuable and instrumental in ensuring the survival of Catholicism beyond the seventeenth century.

¹⁴ J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975), pp. 150-68; M. Rowlands, 'Recusant Women 1560-1640', in M. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500-1800* (London, 1985), pp. 149-80.

Chapter 1

Rumours, Rebellions, Risings, Plots and Protests: Catholic Oposition in an Era of Change

Introduction

We must agree in religion, we must serve but one master, one body will have but one head. It is not possible, men to agree long that dissent in religion.¹

Sir Richard Morrison, writing in 1536, advocated that ensuring unity in religion was essential in order to remedy sedition and rebellion. Religious uniformity was frequently the aim of legislation in the period 1536-1640, with a multitude of statutes and acts designed to ensure religious compliance and conformity.² The image of the body politic, used here by Morrison, had been seized upon by the humanist scholars of the period and fitted perfectly with the Tudor construct of kingship and royal supremacy which was central to the Henrician administration and which remained vital to following monarchs.³ The Tudor and Stuart period has long been seen as a struggle for uniformity and

¹ R. Morrison, 'A Remedy for Sedition Wherein Are Contained Many Things Concerning the True and Loyal Obeisance That Commons Owe unto Their Prince and Sovereign Lord King, 1536', in D.S. Berkowitz (ed.), *Humanist Scholarship and Public Order: Two Tracts against the Pilgrimage of Grace by Sir Richard Morrison* (London, 1984), p. 130.

² G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (1960; Cambridge, 1975), pp. 392-404; J.P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary* (1966; Cambridge, 1980), p. 134. Numerous examples of legislation concerning religious obedience are referred to in both these texts; acts relating to uniformity included the First Act of Uniformity in 1549, the Second Act of Uniformity in 1552, the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity in 1559 and the Jacobean proclamation of 1604 'enjoining conformity to the form of the service of God established'.

³ C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), p. 121; M.E. James, 'The Concept of Order and the Northern Rising 1569', *Past and Present*, 60 (1973), 49-83.

enforcement of obedience to the monarch's wishes in politics and religion; the tradition of rebellion and riot as a means of political communication with the authorities had been studied in direct reference to the early modern period, though it had been in existence far longer.⁴ Anthony Fletcher noted that rebellion was abhorred by the Tudor authorities as it compromised the political and social order as a rejection of the idea of obligation.⁵ Indeed if the reforms to the administration system, designed to enhance the points of contact between the monarch and his subjects, had been sufficiently inclusive large-scale rebellions would no longer have been necessary.⁶ The increased use of the court of Star Chamber and the reforms to the administrative systems for redressing grievances in theory increased the opportunities for men of the localities to have contact with the king, or at least the king's ministers. The opportunity for contact may well have increased, but this did not necessarily mean that the monarch would listen to or agree with the views of

⁴ S.J. Gunn, 'Peers, Commons and Gentry in the Lincolnshire Revolt of 1536', *Past and Present*, 123 (1989), 52-79; M.E. James, 'Obedience and Dissent in Henrician England: The Lincolnshire Rebellion, 1536', *Past and Present*, 48 (1970), 3-78; A. Wall, *Power and Protest in England, 1525-1640* (London, 2000), pp. 146-80; P. Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (1979; Oxford, 1986), p. 313. James pointed out that the rebels believed the king to be on their side and that they also believed themselves to be on the side of the king. This surely indicated that the idea of 'loyal rebellion' was prevalent and that they saw protests of this nature as another tool of communication and not a force of chaos in a well ordered society (p. 6). Williams also emphasised that protests of this sort were designed to 'draw the attention of the monarch to grievances and to secure redress.'

⁵ A. Fletcher and D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (1968; London, 1997), pp. 1-5.

⁶ G.R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact, I. Parliament, II. The Council, III. The Court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 24-6 (1974-6). Elton discusses the inclusive and stabilising nature of these institutions in three articles. James, 'Obedience and Dissent', p. 7. James disputes the idea that the institutions of government were as developed as Elton would have us believe stating that, 'we may doubt whether Parliament had so developed its conventions and rules on non-violent political warfare as to function as the effective conflict-resolving mechanism of society'.

the localities, nor did it ultimately mean that more contact was welcome. Rebellion was not necessarily a destructive element in society; the aim of many of the Tudor uprisings was to communicate social, political or religious discontent and thus they were a means of communication rather than a force for revolution.

The rôle of rebellion in relation to the Catholic population and in particular in reference to the Yorkshire gentry will be explored here to assess Catholic reaction to and association with protests. By examining how involved they were with the risings and plots of the period it will be possible to see how public protest was viewed by the Catholic gentry of the period. Catholic historiography has devoted limited space to this form of political communication, as the apparent lack of Catholic protest against the changes to religion did not fit well with the idea of heroic Catholicism.⁷ The fact that few gentlemen desired the political martyrdom associated with religious protests of this kind did not mean that they were not committed to Catholicism, but as will be seen here that they were pragmatic in their approach to religion, survival and ever mindful of their status in society. An examination of Catholic involvement in key public events such as

⁷ Aveling, *East Yorkshire; West Riding; Northern Catholics; City of York*; J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London, 1976); Bossy, *English Catholic Community*. All four of Aveling's studies of Yorkshire begin in 1558, which means that the Pilgrimage of Grace is left unexamined, whilst the northern Rising receives a brief overview as does the Popish Plot. Only in *The Handle and the Axe* does protest receive some analysis, though looked at objectively this is restricted to a paragraph (p. 32). Bossy's study begins even later, in 1570, meaning that neither the Pilgrimage or the Northern Rising are looked at in detail, though the choice of 1570 as the date to begin the study surely indicates the significance of the results of the 1569 rebellion.

the Pilgrimage of Grace and the Northern Rising will demonstrate the families' approach to politics and religion.

The historiography of religious rebellions in Tudor England has generally remained quiet on the period between 1536 and 1569 and again between 1569 and 1605. These dates highlight the Pilgrimage of Grace, the Rebellion of the Northern Earls and the Gunpowder Plot. During these periods of relative calm, important changes were taking place, including the development of a Catholic opposition. The form that this opposition took will be examined, as will the movement from large-scale rebellion to plots, which lacked the element of 'loyal' subjects involved in public protest.

By the Stuart period large scale public protests had decreased in their frequency. The changes in politics, society and religion had altered the means of political communication, though it has been argued by David Underdown that rebellion was still an effective means of expressing discontent, as proved by the Civil War.⁸ Yet the political climate of the 1570s onwards dictated that uprisings were no longer an effective means for the religiously or politically disenfranchised to express discontent. Instead plots became a theme of the period as a more covert sign of discontent. Thus large-scale rebellions were replaced by covert plots that required smaller numbers and often incorporated only those who favoured more radical forms of expression. It also signified

⁸ D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Politics and Popular Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 9-43, 106-45. Chapter two discusses the concepts of order and disorder within society, with particular reference made to religious beliefs p. 41.

another change as those involved in assassination plots were by no means the loyal subjects that typified the Tudor protests. The large-scale rebellions that had occurred in the counties were replaced by plots focused on the centre of government and the court. This does not however prevent a study of the localities; the Gunpowder plotters of 1605, for example, had clear links with Yorkshire and Catholicism remained a central theme. By 1640 the political climate had changed and in the approach to the Civil War religion was a determinant in deciding loyalties.

The tradition of rebellion as a form of political debate came to a close with the increasing hostility of the Elizabethan government to any form of opposition; whilst protesters in 1536 were able to survive the experience, by the 1580s this was no longer possible. Prior to 1569 Catholic opposition could be and frequently was viewed as loyal opposition; but as the climate of late 1569 changed, so too did the Elizabethan regime's policy, for now Catholic rebellion was intrinsically linked to treason. The change from public protest to covert plotting was symbolic of the Catholic experience, from public activities to private, hidden worship; yet more than this it also represented a very real shift in the type of views being expressed. The public protests of the Henrician and Elizabethan period communicated wide-spread discontent, whereas the plots of the later periods were no longer designed to communicate but to kill, and they involved only a radical minority. In some ways the government forced this change; in the early Elizabethan era Catholicism was tolerated and even continued in a semi-public forum; after 1569 Catholicism became a covert religion, which in the eyes of successive regimes also made it dangerous and thus

ensured that as communication was no longer possible, plots had the means to fester and even come to fruition.

The nature of the period under examination means that not all the incidents of protests can be examined, for not all the public protests of the period were linked to Yorkshire or Catholicism.⁹ The focus will therefore be placed upon those that have some connection with the north of England, in particular Yorkshire, and the families which form a focus for this study.

The Pilgrimage of Grace: ‘The Yorkshire men rebell ... They call theyr Rebellion the Pilgrimage of Grace’¹⁰

Motivation

The year 1536 was notable for numerous reasons and is often cited as a starting date for the Reformation, if such an event can be given a date of commencement. An examination of political reform, changes in legislation, or of the reforms to monastic institutions illustrate that dates before or after this point could be chosen as significant to the reform of religion; 1536 did, however, see the death of Catherine of Aragon, the execution of Anne Boleyn, Henry’s remarriage to Jane Seymour, the promotion of Cromwell, and the largest rising of the Tudor period. The latter of these events surely establishes it as a

⁹ Fletcher and MacCullouch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp. 40-53 e.g. the Western Rebellion or ‘prayer book rising’ of 1547-9.

¹⁰ R.W. Hoyle, ‘Thomas Master’s Narrative of the Pilgrimage of Grace, *Northern History*, 21 (1985), 53-79.

significant year in which to begin an examination of public protests relating to religious change.

The 1536 rebellion of the north was acclaimed 'the Pilgrimage of Grace', a title which was used by Robert Aske the leader of the rebels and which in itself does much to support the argument that it was primarily a revolt concerned with religion.¹¹ The Rising centred upon Yorkshire, although areas of revolt were also to be found in Lancashire, Northumberland and Durham, and a pre-emptive rising occurred in Lincolnshire.¹² Penry Williams described the Pilgrimage of Grace as 'the archetypal protest movement of the

¹¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 718-21, 829. Pilgrimage is defined as 'a journey made by a pilgrim; a journey (usually of considerable duration) made to some sacred place, as an act of religious devotion'; Several definitions of grace are provided, the most relevant of which are: (i) favour/goodwill, (ii) with reference to God, (iii) the free and unmerited favour of God as manifested in the salvation of sinners and bestowing of blessings, (iv) the divine influence which operates in men to regenerate and impart strength to endure trial and resist temptation as imparted through the sacraments, also in Roman Catholic usage as proceeding from the Virgin Mary. The definition has religious implications and if seen in the light of religious change can be seen as appealing to Catholic ideology and imagery. Hoyle, 'Thomas Master's Narrative'. The primary material taken from Bodl. MS Jesus College 74 that is reprinted here states that 'The Yorkshire men rebell under Ask, cheef Captein. They call theyr Rebellion the Pilgrimage of Grace' (p. 64).

¹² E.g. M. Bowker, 'Lincolnshire 1536: Heresy, Schism or Religious Discontent?' in D. Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (Studies in Church History, 9, Cambridge, 1972), pp. 195-212; M.L. Bush, 'The Richmondshire Uprising of October 1536 and the Pilgrimage of Grace', *Northern History*, 29 (1993), 64-98; *The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Rebel Armies of October 1536* (Manchester, 1996); S.J. Gunn, 'Peers, Commons and Gentry', 52-79; James, 'Obedience and Dissent'; C. Haigh, *The Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace* (Chetham Society, Third Series, 27, 1969).

century'.¹³ The revolt raised the central questions of 'who' and 'why'. The complexities of the revolt allow these questions to refer to several issues, but amongst them are the questions of who was involved in the revolt, who were the leaders and were those involved willing or unwilling participants? Why did they revolt - were they motivated by economic, social, political or religious grievances?¹⁴

Looking to the latter of these questions the motivation of the pilgrims has been long debated. For Elton, Bush, James and Smith the revolt was essentially concerned with politics.¹⁵ Elton, the archetypal political historian of the Tudor regime, believed that the rebellion was 'at heart the work of a political faction which utilised the social, economic, and religious grievances to be found in the north'.¹⁶ He dismissed the 'holiness of the Pilgrimage and the saintliness of its leader' as a fabrication and asserted that the precept of 'conservatism in religion' had been far too readily accepted.¹⁷ Recent regional studies have, however, only gone to strengthen the image of religious conservatism in the north and the current study will further illustrate the conservative nature of the Yorkshire

¹³ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 317. He mentions only religious and economic reasons, specifically referring to the dissolution of the monasteries and the spread of heresy as motivating factors.

¹⁴ Questions outlined clearly in R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001), p. 12.

¹⁵ Bush, 'Richmondshire Uprising'; *Pilgrimage*; G.R. Elton, 'Politics and the Pilgrimage of Grace', in B. Malament (ed.), *After the Reformation: Essays in the honour of J.H. Hexter* (Manchester, 1980), 25-56; James, 'Obedience and Dissent'; R.B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire 1530-1546* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 165-212.

¹⁶ Elton, 'Politics and the Pilgrimage', p. 52.

¹⁷ Elton, 'Politics and the Pilgrimage', pp. 28, 43.

gentry.¹⁸ To deny that the revolt contained elements of political discontent would be incorrect, but to state that the political discontent was not connected to religious conservatism would also be untrue. The demands concerning royal supremacy, the dissolution of the monasteries and the spread of heresy were all connected with the religious changes. Thus to separate politics and religion was almost impossible, both for those involved in the protest and in subsequent analysis: tradition, Catholicism and the social order were inseparable and therefore to attempt the creation of a categorised set of clearly differentiated motivating factors is not only a distortion, but an impossibility.

A.G. Dickens, despite his acceptance of religious conservatism in the north, attributed the rising to economic difficulties.¹⁹ He asserted that ‘sixteenth-century rebels tended to think in terms of local needs and grievances’. This was indeed true of the Yorkshire gentry, but given this it is impossible to dismiss the fact that one of the main local grievances was the threat posed to religious institutions by changes in the religious policy of the centre. Despite this fact Dickens manages to conclude that the Pilgrimage was concerned with the agrarian crises of the period and ‘had little if anything in common with the revival of Catholicism of the next generation’.²⁰ This study will show that there were in fact continuities between the rebellions; this will be shown through an examination of the religious nature of the rebellions, the re-occurring family members involved in successive rebellions and the stance which they took up throughout the era. The spirit of the

¹⁸ Haigh, *Lancashire Monasteries; Reformation and Resistance*.

¹⁹ A.G. Dickens, ‘Secular and Religious Motivation in the Pilgrimage of Grace’, in J.J. Cuming (ed.), *The Province of York* (Studies in Church History, 4, Brill, 1967), pp. 39-64.

Pilgrimage was echoed in future years and encapsulated the position taken by the Catholic Yorkshire gentry throughout the post-Reformation era.

Amongst those who did see religion as a central or dominating factor in the Pilgrimage were the Dodds sisters, authors of a comprehensive if descriptive, as opposed to analytical, account of the Pilgrimage, and C.S.L. Davies and J.J. Scarisbrick.²¹ The two volume study of the Pilgrimage by Madeleine and Ruth Dodds, written in 1915, has been the subject of criticism for its lack of scepticism in accepting the rebels' demands and behaviour as an accurate representation of what they did and what they wanted.²² Certainly accounts of the rebellion written by officials and the demands presented to the King should not be accepted as an all-inclusive account, but neither should they be dismissed as irrelevant merely to prove that the event was a continuation of a Tudor revolution in government, a sign of premature socialism or a reaction to economic crisis.

Within the context of local studies Christopher Haigh made a detailed study of the Pilgrimage in Lancashire and clearly defined the motives and aims of the Pilgrims as linked to the dissolution of the monasteries, rather than to any more directly political or

²⁰ Dickens, 'Secular and Religious Motivation', pp. 42, 64.

²¹ C.S.L. Davies, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', *Past and Present*, 41 (1968), 54-76; Dickens, 'Secular and Religious Motivation', p. 39; M.H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-7 and the Exeter Conspiracy 1538* (London, 1971), [vol. 1] introduction and concluding comments; [vol. 2] p. 40; J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (London, 1984), pp. 72-4, 82.

²² Dickens, 'Secular and Religious', p. 39; Elton, 'Politics and the Pilgrimage', p. 28.

economic grievance.²³ Aveling's comments on the Pilgrimage are limited; writing of the 1536 rebellion he appeared to accept without doubt that the Pilgrimage was concerned with religion and more specifically that it was about restoring the monasteries. He, however, did not see this as a true expression of Catholicism as for him 'the majority could not see it as a matter of fundamental religious faith' but as an 'humanly established and long-proved bulwark of the traditional order'.²⁴ He seems willing to condemn the protesters, not because they failed to restore the monasteries, but because they were protesting in defence of the old order and to maintain the medieval Catholicism that was a fundamental part of their lives, and which was symbolised by the monastic institutions. Scarisbrick's interpretation of the motives of the Pilgrims seems to provide a more realistic account of their cause. He argued that 'religious grievances (in the widest sense of that adjective) would have sufficed to generate rebellion' and that the fact that 'they were not alone, that they mingled with a multiplicity of secular motives does not in itself impugn the essentially religious character of the core of the movement'.²⁵ To hold, as Aveling does, that the missionaries of the 1590s and 1600s were the saviours of Catholicism, it is necessary to downgrade the actions of the laity and monastic orders prior to the Jesuits' arrival, but it is clear that continuity in religion and belief was present in Yorkshire as the gentry of the county demonstrate.

²³ C. Haigh, *Lancashire Monasteries*, pp. 139-142.

²⁴ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 32.

²⁵ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1981), pp. 340-1.

The inescapable facts of the rebellion were that the rebels themselves chose a name that had a religious resonance; considering the Protestant objections to pilgrimages and pilgrims, this cannot have been a unimportant to them. The banners which they carried and the badge of the Pilgrimage displayed the Five Wounds of Christ which could only have been chosen 'as the emblem of their loyalty to the whole medieval Catholic system.'²⁶ The oath sworn by the rebels was firmly placed in a religious context with loyalty being promised not to the commonwealth but to 'Almightie God his faith, and the Holy Church militant and the maintenance therof'.²⁷ The demands made at Pontefract were also concerned with religion. They asked for an end to heresy; the restoration of the Pope; the legitimisation of Mary, a future Catholic monarch; the restoration of the abbeys and associated monastic practices; the removal of the orchestrators of these events, Cromwell, Rich, Leigh and Layton; and the restoration of the religious liberties of the county palatine of Durham and other franchises.²⁸ All the demands can be linked with an attempt to regain the pre-Reformation status quo, whether in religion, politics or society. The rebels' actions and demands were often focused on the restoration of the 'old order' of things and concern with maintaining what they believed to be 'tradition' was paramount.²⁹ This does not mean, as Aveling would have us believe, that the Pilgrimage was not a true reflection of religious feeling and belief, for tradition and religion were

²⁶ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (London, 1992), p. 248.

²⁷ *LP* 11. 705 (4).

²⁸ *LP* 11. 1246.

²⁹ *LP* 11. 1246. Other demands were related to the restoration of the old order and 'ancient custome'.

inseparable and a concern for the material symbols of medieval Catholicism does not by implication denote a lack of piety or deeply held belief.

Composition: The Gentry as Rebels?

The rôle of the gentry in the rebellion has also remained a controversial subject of debate. Initial studies saw the gentry as unwilling participants in the rebellion, whilst more recent studies have opposed this view. Michael Bush wrote that 'The gentlemen, for the most part, were not innocents swept against their will by the tide of common revolt', even though he did concede that neither were they 'the cunning instigators of revolt'.³⁰ Most recently R.W. Hoyle has again asserted the case for the rebellion as a popular and spontaneous event over that of a gentry conspiracy and has taken up the line of argument that 'the gentry were first coerced into offering leadership and then strove hard to establish their grip over the movement'.³¹ The evidence from the families within this study appears to support Hoyle's argument to some extent, as they do appear keen to gain a determining role in events once involved, although whether they were coerced to the extent that Hoyle believes is somewhat debatable as will be seen when individual cases are examined in detail.

Of the twelve families examined here as illustrative cases reflecting the response of the Yorkshire gentry to the Pilgrimage, nine had one or more members involved in the 1536

³⁰ Bush, *Pilgrimage*, p.177.

³¹ Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, p. 17.

rebellion. The level of involvement of individual family members varied greatly and the rôle of younger sons becomes clearly evident. Also, the peripheral but still significant way in which women were involved in this and other areas of public protest will be examined to show the ways in which discontent was expressed. Sir Christopher Danby, Sir Nicholas Fairfax, Sir Henry Gascoigne of Sedbury, Sir George Lawson, John and Richard Norton, William Stapleton, Sir Peter Vavasour and William Wycliffe were all captains of, or closely involved in, the rising prior to the meeting at Pontefract Castle. Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, Sir William Fairfax of Steeton and Sir John Wentworth of Elmsall, three of the more significant gentlemen of the West Riding, were present at the meeting in Pontefract Castle, having fled there to avoid the commons.

The Cholmleys, Meynells and Wyvills were not involved in the Pilgrimage, although John Wyvill was involved in Bigod's unsuccessful rising in the East Riding which followed the Pilgrimage.³² The Cholmley family placed themselves in opposition to the Pilgrims and their house was attacked as a result.³³ It appears the head of Sir Roger Cholmley was desired as punishment for his failure to join the commons, but he was saved by the protests of Sir Thomas Percy. Sir Roger's reluctance to join can be attributed to his position in the county and his desire to prove himself to be one of the King's men. The same reasons can partially explain the Meynells' neutrality although they also had other reasons for avoiding any involvement in the rebellion. Their lands were geographically distanced from the focal points of rebellion meaning they were less likely

³² Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. 2, p. 71.

³³ Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. 1, p. 231.

to find themselves at the centre of events and making it far easier for them to avoid the commons. The Meynell lands were another important issue to the family at this time as they were trying to construct and consolidate a power base in the North Riding. During the early years of the sixteenth century Robert Meynell had been attempting to unify land holdings surrounding Hilton under the Meynells' control, and his death in 1528 had left three sons who were all attempting to create their own land holding in the North Riding. Joining a rebellion would have seriously compromised the standing of the Meynells who, unlike some of the other gentry families being examined here, were still establishing their landed interests.³⁴ Combined with this was the fact that Robert Meynell, the eldest of the three sons, was ambitious and desired a career in the law; thus it is hardly surprising that he wished to remain loyal to the king. Robert eventually became a serjeant at law in 1547, and Aveling reaches the conclusion that Robert was 'a tough and acquisitive Tudor

³⁴ *LP* 12. 1. 306; Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers'. Much of Thomas Meynell's commonplace book is concerned with detailing the long process of acquiring land through inheritance and also via purchase. The Meynells were not the only family still to be establishing themselves at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Lawsons too were attempting to establish a landed presence in the county and to shed their status as merchants. At the time of the rebellion Sir George Lawson was still listed as an alderman in the city of York. He found himself in the midst of events, but also attempted to maintain an amiable, if uncommitted, stance towards both the rebels and the authorities. He was noted as having dined with and provided lodgings for Aske in his house on Thursday 16 October and was seen fraternising with both Sir Oswald Wilstrop and Sir Ralph Ellerker. Despite this he was also one of the three men who provided information for Audley on the events in Yorkshire. It would appear that if complete neutrality could not be maintained then at least an attempt could be made to keep both sides relatively happy. Loyalty to the king and agreement with the rebels' aims were not in fact entirely opposing stand points if rebellion is viewed as a means of communication or a method for airing grievances and not as outright opposition to the Tudor dynasty.

official', further suggesting that loyalty to the monarch had been and would always be one of his main priorities.³⁵

Looking to the men who were involved in the Pilgrimage, the general impression gained on first examination is that they fitted the established pattern of local gentlemen, forced into rebellion by an excitable and thus dangerous commons. Certainly much of the correspondence between Yorkshire and the centre of government portrays the county as chaotic with gentlemen being forced into action by the commons. Darcy's letter to Henry VIII stated that 'They [the commons] have surprised a great many gentlemen in their own houses and taken Sir Christopher Danbie, Sir William Mallorie, John Norton, Richard Norton his heir, Roger Lassells...and Sir Piers Vavasor....'³⁶ The same themes come through in confessions and accounts made by the rebels following their arrest in 1537. The confessions of men such as John Dakyn seem to indicate that gentlemen, such as Henry Gascoigne, were forced into joining the rebellion because both the commons and the other gentlemen who had already become a part of the movement would not suffer them to be absent.³⁷ Yet to see them as totally unwilling participants seems unrealistic;

³⁵ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. x.

³⁶ *LP* 11. 760.

³⁷ *LP* 12. 1. 789. Henry Gascoigne in fact had the perfect reason for excusing himself from the rebellion as his mother-in-law, Lady Isabella Boynton, had just died and the family were in the midst of making funeral arrangements. The rebels were fortunate to find Henry at home because of this very event and it would seem that only a very strong motive would have compelled him to leave Lady Isabel unburied whilst he left, with the Pilgrims, to go on to Pontefract Castle. Henry, much like his father, Sir William, was an important man in the county, as were his wife's family the Boyntons. To leave in the midst of this family crisis suggests that either the commons' use of force was far greater than has been suggested in any of the accounts of the event or that he was not only persuaded by the complaints of the commons, but held

they were all men of standing and even power, so to assume that they had no choice in their involvement seems mistaken. Their actions, once they were part of the movement, also seemed to indicate that they were active and lively members of the rebel grouping. The other factor that united many of the gentlemen named above was their status as younger sons of prominent gentlemen of the county, or members of a lesser branch of the family. The one exception in this pattern comes in the form of the Norton family, where both the head of the family and his son and heir were involved in the Pilgrimage.

Christopher Danby, John Norton and Richard Norton were all involved in the assault on Skipton Castle. Bush sees the involvement of the latter two men as a continuation of the feud that had been raging between the Nortons and the Cliffords over the ownership of Kirkby Malzeard.³⁸ This would certainly explain why the head of the family would have been involved, yet all the gentlemen active in the North Riding were described as having being taken by the commons. The land dispute, which Bush relies on as evidence for the Nortons' involvement, had also really occurred in 1528, with subsequent Star Chamber

enough sympathy with them himself to give the cause his immediate and undivided attention. Despite the pressing family matters and his activities with the Pilgrims, Henry was in Pontefract in time to join his father, Sir William Gascoigne, in the taking of the Pilgrim's oath and in the more prestigious negotiations with the crown.

³⁸ Bush, *Pilgrimage*, p. 155; Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. 1, p. 209. Bush appears to contradict himself in this discussion stating that 'The siege of Skipton Castle in October 1536 was for them [Cliffords and Nortons] a continuation of the struggle. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that the Nortons and their followers joined the rebellion to continue their feud with the Cliffords.' The Dodds sisters too acknowledge the feud, but place far more emphasis on religion stating, 'John Norton took up arms not only in defence of his religion, but also to avenge the private wrongs that he had suffered at the hands of the earl of Cumberland.'

cases occurring early in 1531, meaning that by 1536 at least some of the heat had surely left the dispute.³⁹ Another explanation for the involvement of both father and son can be found if we look to the rôle played by the Nortons in subsequent uprisings. This evidence suggests that they had protracted problems with the changes taking place in the north and that these changes were not connected to local and transitory feuds, but part of long-term shifts in social and political power in the region.⁴⁰ The presence of other gentlemen, such as Ralph Bulmer, Richard Bowes and Christopher Danby, also makes the assault on Skipton castle more than a private feud which saw the Nortons avenging themselves on one of the northern earls over a land dispute.

Younger sons of prominent gentlemen often appeared to be greatly concerned with the rôle of the monastic institutions of Yorkshire. Through their actions the anxieties felt by the leading gentry families were expressed, whilst also safeguarding land and inheritance, which could be seized by the crown if these activities were deemed treasonous. Sir Christopher Danby, second son of James Danby of Braworth, who formed part of the

³⁹ H.B. McCall, *Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings*, 2 (YAS RS, 45, 1911), p. 15, reference to PRO, STAC 2/236/135 and 2/18/164; R.W. Hoyle, 'The First Earl of Cumberland: A Reputation Reassessed', *Northern History*, 22 (1986), 63-94; M.E. James, 'The First Earl of Cumberland and the Decline of Northern Feudalism', *Northern History*, 1 (1966), 43-69. Hoyle described this dispute in an attempt to reassert the valuable rôle this earl played in answer to criticism by James. Hoyle lays the blame for this dispute firmly at the door of the Nortons and stresses that the dispute continued into the 1540's due to their persistence. Despite Hoyle's attempts to vindicate Cumberland of the charges that he was a harsh landlord and not altogether opposed to using dubious methods to achieve what he wanted we are still left with a picture of a man who had numerous enemies. The fact that few others took the opportunity to avenge themselves suggests that the Nortons were involved in the rebellion for other reasons.

northern force, illustrated the connection between the Pilgrimage and the monastic houses.⁴¹ The rebels who had taken up lodgings at Jervaulx abbey appear to have received letters from Sir Christopher, although the fact that they were unsigned must have signified that the gentlemen who had something to lose were unwilling to put their names to damning evidence which could later be used against them.⁴² A similar concern with the religious houses of the region was seen in the east of the Riding. Sir Nicholas Fairfax of Gilling was second in command of what both Bush and the Dodds sisters have characterised as ‘the Percy host’. Sir Nicholas too was a younger son and he also appeared to have seen the Pilgrimage as being motivated by religious grievances and fears that the Catholic traditions and practices of the region would be further eroded.⁴³ A.G. Dickens makes the point that the Pilgrims could not be protesting about the ‘actual economic or religious results of the monastic dissolutions ... because at the time the vast majority of the monasteries had not even been dissolved.’⁴⁴ This is not, however, a realistic assessment of the situation; whilst it was true that only legislation for the dissolution of the smaller houses had been implemented, this is not to say that the Pilgrims of Yorkshire could not be protesting about the consequences of dissolving the religious houses. The smaller religious houses had already been threatened, with the

⁴⁰ Richard Norton was also to be found as one of the leaders of the 1569 rebellion which suggests that his discontent was long standing and not provoked merely by one incident as Bush suggests.

⁴¹ See appendix III for details, pp. 479-504.

⁴² Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. 2, p. 211.

⁴³ *LP* 12, 1. 369.

⁴⁴ Dickens, ‘Secular and Religious Motivation’, p. 52.

purchases of exemptions being the only way they were able to save themselves.⁴⁵ This had set a precedent which must have been seen as a clear threat to the other institutions and this combined with the fears and rumours about other religious changes would surely have been sufficient to provoke dissent. The gentlemen of Yorkshire were sufficiently astute to be aware of the economic and spiritual consequences of dissolving the monasteries. Nicholas Fairfax certainly saw the threat to the monasteries as significant and was keen to involve more of the inhabitants of these institutions. Bush uses Nicholas Fairfax's urging of the clergy to join the revolt as evidence that the 'gentry leadership felt that the clergy were not doing enough.'⁴⁶ Yet it could just as easily be seen as a sign that the gentry were looking to the clergy, both monastic and secular, for support and validation for their actions, suggesting that the relationship between the two groups was interdependent and not as hostile or adversarial as Dickens implied.⁴⁷

Sir William Stapleton's involvement in the Pilgrimage could also be linked to the monastic institutions of Yorkshire: he was one of the few gentlemen who was involved in the rebellion and who was later called to account for his actions.⁴⁸ In his confession he noted the reasons for the rebellion as far as he was able to determine. In his view the rebellion was concerned with the religious changes that had taken place. He spoke of the

⁴⁵ D. Knowles, *Bare Ruined Choirs: The Dissolutions of the English Monasteries* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 201-4.

⁴⁶ Bush, *Pilgrimage*, p. 213.

⁴⁷ Dickens, 'Secular and Religious Motivation', pp. 56-7. Dickens stated that the fact that religious houses were the sparking point of the Pilgrimage did not mean that they were socially popular, yet he is forced to look to Europe for evidence of unpopular monastic landlords.

threat posed to church goods, the suppression of the religious houses, the end of certain holy days, and concerns regarding the ideas and precepts of the 'new faith'. He also stated that there were complaints concerning the 'raising of farmes, sore taking of gressomes' and enclosure which resulted in the 'greate decaye of the comonwealthe'.⁴⁹ William appears to have been drawn into the Pilgrimage by default; as a younger brother he was to represent the family due to the illness of Christopher Stapleton, the family's eldest son, and the fact that Brian, Christopher's son and heir, was still too young to represent the family alone. It is unsurprising that the Stapletons should have felt concern at the dissolution, as Christopher was being tended to in his illness at Grey Friars, Beverley, and presumably was in great need of their care as his death followed quickly in 1537.⁵⁰ The young son of Christopher Stapleton, Brian, also accompanied the rebels, though the overwhelming impression is that he followed the lead of his uncle throughout.⁵¹

Despite William Stapleton's preoccupation with portraying himself as the innocent party and unwilling participant in the rebellion, his actions and central rôle in events seem to suggest he was hardly passive or innocent. William was an educated man and was, like Aske, a lawyer, producing yet another connection between the two men. William was actively involved in controlling the conduct of the group which he headed and several

⁴⁸ LP 12. 1. 392 (pp.182-94).

⁴⁹ J.C. Cox, 'William Stapleton and the Pilgrimage of Grace', *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, 10 (1903), 80-106 especially p. 82.

⁵⁰ See appendix II, pp. 464-478.

times he prevented reckless behaviour and the unnecessary damage of property, though it should be noted that much of this evidence comes from his own confession.⁵² The Dodds' analysis of the Pilgrimage takes Stapleton's account very much at face value: Bush is slightly more sceptical of William's assertion that the only reason he agreed to lead the group was in order to restrain them, but also appears to accept that William did attempt to regulate the behaviour of rebels, however unsuccessfully.⁵³ Given William's background, as a younger son of a gentleman and a lawyer, his respect for property and his cautions on the value of moderation are unsurprising. His account of events does need to be read with the acceptance of the fact that he was attempting to save himself via his own testimony, but his reluctance to riot and his desire to maintain control over a lower social group were surely to be expected and fit well with the view that the gentry and the educated men involved saw this as a means of communication, not as disloyal rebellion. After all they were involved to preserve property and custom in the form of the monastic houses, not to destroy these symbols of power.

The involvement of younger sons or members of lesser branches of the family in contentious events was a frequent trend within Catholic families throughout the period; their role in 1536 has been partially illustrated here and this issue is also at the fore in the

⁵¹ See appendix III, pp. 479-504. Brian was married to Margaret Constable, who was also a member of a family who were to become one of the Catholic gentry of the later era. Brian died in 1537, the same year as his father, meaning that the Stapleton estates passed to Robert Stapleton, second son of Christopher.

⁵² Cox, 'William Stapleton', pp. 90, 94. William noted that he issued a proclamation stating that no one should take any goods at South Cave and also that they should 'pay honestly for that they did take' at Beverley.

1569 rebellion. Although this theme frequently re-occurs, being as it is a central theme to the study, it does require some separate consideration here. Given the vital role of the inheritance for the gentry it is hardly surprising that in the majority of cases the head of the family and the eldest son wished to avoid involvement in events which could lead to financial ruin.⁵⁴ These anxieties pervade both rebellions and were put to paper by Christopher Stapleton who was concerned that his brother might be ‘cast away and [his own] heires forever disherit.’⁵⁵ The appearance of younger sons in rebellion, to protect the elder who would inherit the bulk of the estate does seem to have developed as a tactic used far more frequently under the Tudors than in earlier periods of rebellion and civil unrest. A.J. Pollard’s analysis of Richmondshire during the War of the Roses indicated that between 1469 and 1471, numerous Richmondshire gentlemen were involved in rebellion. Whilst he argued that it was Sir William Conyers rather than his elder brother, Sir John, who was ‘Robin of Redesdale’, he still noted that a number of sons and heirs were involved in rebellion.⁵⁶ Further he concluded that loyalty to the local lord in

⁵³ Bush, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 30-1; Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. 1, p. 255.

⁵⁴ L. Pollock, ‘Younger Sons in Tudor and Stuart England’, *History Today*, 39 (1989), 23-29. This article questions the idea that younger sons were automatically ignored in favour of the eldest son and heir. In terms of inheritance younger sons of the Yorkshire gentry were certainly not ignored by their fathers. The fact that families were able to co-ordinate in rebellions in such a way as to preserve the family land shows if anything how integral younger sons were to the Catholic families and that they were not ‘impotent in the family pecking order’ (p. 23).

⁵⁵ Cox, ‘William Stapleton’, p. 84.

⁵⁶ A.J. Pollard, ‘The Richmondshire Community of Gentry During the War of the Roses’, in C. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 36-59. The sons and heirs, cited by Pollard, who participated in rebellion were John Conyers (son and heir of Sir John and nephew to William), Sir Henry Neville (son and heir of Lord Latimer) and Sir Richard Nicholson of Hornby (p. 41).

rebellions could pay handsome dividends and indicated that families were able to survive and prosper despite the rapid succession of dynasties.⁵⁷ The introduction of religion as an indication of loyalty to the regime did add a new element of risk and the Tudor tactic of ensuring that financial ruin and exclusion from office for an entire family followed disobedience was perhaps more of a deterrent to the gentry. The fact that younger sons had less to lose financially was applicable not only to their involvement in rebellion but, as will be illustrated subsequently, also to their non-conformity.

Not all of the family members involved in the Pilgrimage were younger sons of the main branches of the family. Men such as Henry Wycliffe and Peter Vavasour were members of 'cadet' branches of the main families.⁵⁸ The rôle of sub-branches of the family in public protests is a theme that is perhaps best illustrated by the Vavasours. Sir Peter Vavasour was clearly active within the rebellion whilst the head of the main branch of the

⁵⁷ Pollard, 'Richmondshire Community of Gentry', p. 56.

⁵⁸ Bush, *Pilgrimage*, p. 132. Active in the north of the county was Henry Wycliffe, who was a leader of the revolt in Richmondshire, and was a relation of William Wycliffe. Bush suggests the Richmondshire revolt was a direct result of a Star Chamber case that had occurred earlier in the year. The early months of 1536 had seen William Wycliffe accused of murder; he was acquitted by a jury of his peers, consisting of other local gentlemen who were his friends and neighbours. This was not, however, the end of the matter as the jurors from the trial were then called to Star Chamber to give an account of their decision and were heavily fined for finding William innocent. Bush described this as 'a cause celebre and certainly a pilgrim grievance'. This may certainly have been a motivating factor for individuals who were already discontented with the changes of 1536, but the fact that only four members of the supposedly aggrieved jury joined the rising and only then after they had been 'seized by the commons', perhaps suggests that it was not the overwhelming reason for the revolt in Richmondshire. The fact that William himself was not involved in the rebellion, but rather Henry Wycliffe, his cousin, also does not support the view that it was a reaction to the Star Chamber case.

family, represented by Sir William Vavasour of Haselwood, was seen in the aftermath of the rising to be one of the many jurors allocated to pass sentence on the participants following the reversal of Henry VIII's leniency in 1537.⁵⁹

Sir Peter presents an interesting case as he was one of the few men whose open involvement appeared to have been acknowledged by both sides. Peter Vavasour was evidently a trusted and respected member of the gentry community as he was one of the men appointed as a commissioner of the peace for the East Riding in April 1536.⁶⁰ Darcy's letters of October 1536 also indicated that Peter's initial participation was not voluntary; writing to Sir Brian Hastings he noted that the commons 'have taken Sir Peter Vavasour', though it should be acknowledged that he said this of many of the gentlemen involved.⁶¹ The image presented once again is that of an unwilling participant seized from his home and abducted by the commons, who were moving across country with the aim of seizing York. Thus we have another gentleman forced into accompanying the rebels, yet once again the actions of Peter once a member of this group were at odds with this scenario. It would appear that Peter was able to find some common ground with the rebels and sympathy with their cause. By 18 November, over a month after he was seized, Peter appeared to hold a position of trust amongst the rebel forces in York. The King's agents in the north were eager to discover what was happening amongst the rebel forces and so Sir Francis Bryan, an ally of Norfolk, sent one of his servants to spy on the forces

⁵⁹ *LP* 12. 1. 1159.

⁶⁰ *LP* 10. 777 (10).

⁶¹ *LP* 10. 664; *LP* 11. 760.

in York. The spy, a man named Knight, was 'near taken' at York when those around Aske became suspicious of this stranger. Knight was only able to escape by claiming that he was one of Peter Vavasour's servants.⁶² Thus Peter Vavasour's name was a ticket to safe passage amongst the rebels indicating that he was viewed as an ally and friend of the Pilgrims. A further correspondence, this time addressed to Sir Peter himself, from Norfolk and Fitzwilliam also showed that the King's representatives recognised Vavasour's standing in the rebel camp as a result of Knight's information.⁶³ This letter also suggested that the King's representative believed that Vavasour was a man of good sense who would persuade Aske to meet and speak with them. Vavasour himself seemed to have still maintained loyalty to Aske and the Pilgrim's cause, as Norfolk reported that Vavasour had asked that Sir Francis Bryan petition the King to secure a pardon for Aske. In further correspondence between Norfolk and the council, Sir Peter also emphasised that Aske was true and unwavering in his beliefs and that Knight's reports of a pilgrim leader who was willing to give up his cause to save his own neck were entirely false.⁶⁴ This letter is particularly significant as it was dated 29 November and the prevailing topic for discussion between the King and his commanders had been that of pardons. Peter Vavasour obviously had contact with Aske and was involved closely with the rebels. The fact that the authorities chose him as a means of contact also appears to indicate that they still saw him as one of the establishment.

⁶² *LP* 11. 1103.

⁶³ *LP* 11. 1196.

⁶⁴ *LP* 11. 1242.

Younger sons and members of cadet branches of families were not the only social grouping whose involvement in religious protest and rebellion, although not encouraged, was at least tolerated on the grounds that it posed a lesser threat to the standing and power of the gentry. Women too played a rôle in protests both in 1536 and in 1569. J.C. Cox published a copy of the full confession of William Stapleton accompanied by a brief introduction and conclusion. In this Cox condemned William for 'whining to the Council ... that he was led into it by the headstrong action of his sister-in-law, and by the fanaticism of Father Johnson'.⁶⁵ Emphasis on the rôle of monks in the Pilgrimage is nothing new: Haigh stresses the rôle of the clergy in Lancashire and the accounts of the Pilgrimage show that monks of many of the Yorkshire abbeys played a rôle in inciting and motivating rebellion. What is different about William's account is the rôle which his brother's wife played in encouraging the rebels to take the men of the Stapleton family with them in order to take up 'goddes quarrell'.⁶⁶ Bearing in mind that Christopher Stapleton's first wife was Alice Aske, daughter of William, it is unsurprising that the Stapleton family became involved in the rebellion. Alice had died in 1521, and Christopher remarried Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Neville, who was the woman who

⁶⁵ Cox, 'William Stapleton', p. 105; C. Cross and N. Vickers, *Monks, Nuns and Friars in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire* (YAS RS, 150, 1995), p. 447. Thomas Johnson, who is noted as having the alias Bonaventure, was an observant who was sent to the Franciscan Friary at Beverley by Dr. Vavasour the Warden of Grey Friars in York and a prominent member of the monastic community. Johnson was extremely active in the Pilgrimage and represented one of the more radical monks. The link between Johnson and Vavasour and Johnson's subsequent connection with the Stapletons further suggest that the gentry families of the period had contact with one another and that these connections were built upon in the later era.

⁶⁶ Cox, 'William Stapleton', p. 84. William's confession makes clear that there was a close link between Christopher's wife and the monk of the abbey.

had told the rebels to 'goo pull them oute by the heddes' when her husband and brother-in-law failed to join the rebellion.⁶⁷

The rôle of younger sons, the lesser gentlemen of the county and even women has been acknowledged as important in 1536 and in many ways connected to the religious changes of the era, but what of the men of significance in the county? It was perhaps inevitable that the prominent men of the county would in some way become involved in the rebellion in 1536, though the most logical rôle for them to have played would have been to help suppress the movement, especially if we are to see the rebellion as simply a revolt of the commons. Many of these gentlemen were local justices of the peace and were on the lists of those who had promised men for the monarch's use, yet it appears that even these men were persuaded with very little pressure to take the Pilgrims' oath.⁶⁸ Sir William Gascoigne's behaviour appears to be typical of the more prominent members of gentry society. He chose to leave his home at Gawthorpe Hall and make for Pontefract Castle; once there he found himself in the notable company of his peers, which included Sir William Fairfax, William Babthorpe and the Archbishop of York.⁶⁹ So did the flight of Sir William from his home to Pontefract indicate that he was trying to avoid becoming involved with the uprising and that he had no sympathy with the rebels' demands? The

⁶⁷ Cox, 'William Stapleton', p. 84; S. Jansen, *Dangerous Talk and Strange Behaviour: Women and Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII* (London, 1996), p. 27, 29, 34, 37. Jansen briefly discusses Elizabeth Stapleton's actions, in the context of a discussion of the treasonous behaviour of other women, specifically Margaret Cheyne. See n.82 (p.46) in reference to 1541 and the connection between the Stapleton family and further unrest.

⁶⁸ LP 12. 580.

evidence indicated that he left his home prior to 9 October, possibly because he heard of the coming of the commons and therefore headed to the nearest military stronghold for protection. Yet this was a prominent member of the local community who had previously promised one hundred men to the King should he have need of them, a commissioner of the peace and one of the two 'richest men in the West Riding'.⁷⁰ Why should such a man, who obviously had his own supporters for protection, need to flee? Why would a sixty-nine-year-old man of power and influence and who was not in the best of health, decide to make the journey across county in October to reside in a military stronghold, which was an obvious target for the rebels if he was truly wanting to avoid contact with the rebellion?⁷¹

Sir William's actions surely dictate that he did want to avoid an agitated commons and remain at least superficially loyal to a regime that had given him prestige and standing, but also that he recognised that the complaints of the commons would have to be addressed and that he wanted to be in a position to oversee this. Sir William's experiences of Tudor justice may well suggest that he too had both political and religious grievances to air. He was a man concerned with politics and had been on the receiving end of the

⁶⁹ *LP* 12. 1022.

⁷⁰ Bush, *Pilgrimage*, p. 130.

⁷¹ *LP* 7. 1325. Sir William was noted to be 66 years of age in October 1534 and as having 'a great defect of the emmerodes' meaning that he could not 'ride more than 12 or 16 miles a day'. The journey to Pontefract cannot then have been the easiest of tasks, nor have been undertaken lightly. The occasion of this letter from John St. John to Cromwell was to confirm that Sir William had been arrested and was being brought up, suggesting that Sir William was at odds with the government prior to 1536.

new regime's court of Star Chamber in past years.⁷² What is interesting to note is that he appears during the reign of Henry VII accused alongside Marmaduke, the abbot of Fountains, suggesting that the two men were connected and shared landed interests, indicating that the gentry and the monastic clergy were not always enemies, but allies.⁷³ If objections to the new political systems were the main motivating factor then William Gascoigne had more reason than most to object. C.S.L. Davies stressed that distrust was prevalent in the north and that there was a belief that 'the King was deliberately trying to undermine the power of the great northern families'.⁷⁴ Sir William may have felt this to be the case and his concern for upholding traditions which were linked to his own family's status and heritage were evident.⁷⁵ Sir William recognised the changes at court, and his petitions to Cromwell for favours suggest that he was willing to try to work with the new regime to achieve what he wanted.⁷⁶ In 1534 he had been commanded to 'inquire for all persons maintaining the bishop of Rome's authority against the statute' and

⁷² J.B.W. Chapman (ed.), *Lists of Proceedings in the Court of Star Chamber preserved in the Public Record Office, 1485-1558*, I [Lists and Indexes, 13] (London, 1901); W. Brown (ed.), *Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings* (YAS RS, 41, 1909), pp. 14-19, 50-4, 94-5. Sir William's appearances in Star Chamber are frequent and run from the reign of Henry VII. He appears almost always as the defendant and is most often accused of forcible entry, riotous behaviour and destruction of property. In 1530, for example, he was accused by John Sampool of various acts of violence, with regards to the manor of Carcroft. Sampool stated Gascoigne had sent forty men with a variety of weapons to break his doors and windows, had threatened him at Norton Priory and continued this campaign for many months.

⁷³ Brown, *Yorkshire Star Chamber*, pp. 15-19; Chapman, *Proceedings in the Court of Star Chamber*, 3, p. 69.

⁷⁴ Davies, 'Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', p. 61.

⁷⁵ LP 11. 1152. See chapter 4 for discussion of Nunmonkton, pp. 266-7.

⁷⁶ LP 7. 716, 778, 859.

reported that all had taken the oath 'like true subjects'.⁷⁷ The validity of this statement or his true feelings on the matter are of course virtually impossible to determine, though his subsequent fall from favour in the autumn of the year suggested that he had done something to displease Cromwell.⁷⁸ His appearance at Pontefract would also suggest that he would have preferred the old loyalties and that he would support the northern noble families when the choice had to be made. An attack on the ecclesiastical institutions of the north was an attack on tradition and therefore by association an attack on the ordered hierarchical system that the Gascoignes and other such families stood for.

The Pilgrimage of Grace saw the gentlemen of Yorkshire expressing their unease and unhappiness with the changes that were occurring in religion and society in the north of England, whilst still maintaining that they were loyal citizens of the crown.⁷⁹ The majority wanted a place in the events of the Pilgrimage which would allow them to both retain control and express their discontent; yet most were skilful at disassociating themselves from the 'rebellious' activities when the Henrician backlash arrived. 1536 established a precedent for the form that later Catholic opposition would take; it was pragmatic in nature, the risks taken were calculated ones and caution overrode heroism in the actions taken by most gentlemen.

⁷⁷ *LP* 7. 26.

⁷⁸ *LP* 7. 1325.

⁷⁹ Wall, *Power and Protest*, pp. 169-72.

A Period of Tranquillity?

Following the 1536 rebellion there was a backlash by the king and his government. The rebels, promised pardons, were not allowed to forget the part they played. The Bigod Rising of January 1537 provided Henry with, as Fletcher stated, 'the excuse he needed to pursue a systematic policy of punishment'.⁸⁰ Bigod's Rising in the East Riding was short-lived and saw limited gentry involvement; Bigod himself is most commonly viewed as being in favour of a more radical Reformation and as merely taking advantage of the heightened state of the commons at this time to incite rebellion, which would explain the absence of the conservative gentlemen from this rebellion.⁸¹ The era between the Pilgrimage and the next rebellion in 1569 was one of relative peace in Yorkshire, despite the rapid changes in policy at the centre of government.⁸² In Henry VIII's reign the only other period of disruption occurred in 1541, when discontent in Yorkshire was visible,

⁸⁰ Fletcher and MacCullough, *Tudor Rebellions*, p. 37.

⁸¹ Dodd, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp. 71-7. Bigod's Rising took place in January 1537 and centred on the east coast. John Wyvell was chosen as captain at Scarborough and was deserted by both George Lumley and Bigod himself when it became clear that the Rising was a failure. John Wyvell's heritage is somewhat unclear, as he does not appear on the pedigree of the family. The fact that he was hanged at Scarborough following the Rising may account for his absence from the pedigree or he may have been so distant a relative as to be absent from the family's history regardless of his actions. Wyvell's motivation for joining the rebellion is unclear, though the fact that Bigod re-iterated the Pilgrim's complaints suggests that many of those who joined him were doing so for the old reasons of opposing religious change.

⁸² A.G. Dickens, 'Sedition and Conspiracy in Yorkshire During the Later Years of Henry VIII', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 34 (1939), 379-98. Dickens acknowledges that there was some unrest until 1541, but states that there were no cases of plotting or treasonous activities in Yorkshire as there were elsewhere between 1541 and 1546 (p. 398).

though on a far smaller scale than it had been in 1536.⁸³ In 1541 fifteen people were indicted following the revelation of a plan to assassinate Robert Holgate, President of the Council of the North, and hold Pontefract castle, possibly in the hope that Scotland would send re-enforcements.⁸⁴ The aims of those involved appeared to have been to show discontent at religious change and to remove the interference of the central powers, in the form of the council, from local affairs.⁸⁵ If this is to be seen as ‘a plot’ which was a serious threat to the Tudor dynasty then it would stand counter to the theory that it was not until after 1569 that protests were disbanded in favour of plots. This is not, however, the case. It is important to note two things about 1541. Firstly it was not an attempt to assassinate or replace the monarch as later plots were and in fact resulted in Henry making a progress into the north so that he was seen by his subjects, which would have made him an easy target had his removal been the main aim. Secondly the gentry were not involved, with the only gentleman indicted being John Neville of Liversedge; his crime was not involvement in the assassination plan, but failing to notify the authorities

⁸³ Dickens, ‘Sedition and Conspiracy’, 379; Fletcher and MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p. 47; Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 183. Dickens named this ‘The West Riding Plot’, whilst both Fletcher and MacCulloch and Smith refer to it as ‘The Wakefield Plot’.

⁸⁴ *LP 19*. 1. 140 [2]; Dickens, ‘Sedition and Conspiracy’, p. 398; Fletcher / MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p. 47. The connection with Scotland here is rather a strange one considering that Yorkshire was frequently opposed to Scottish interference being in a far more vulnerable position than many of the southern counties. In 1544 Yorkshire provided 7,400 of the 16,600 troops for the defence against Scotland suggesting that a Yorkshire-Scotland alliance was not a real possibility.

⁸⁵ Dickens, ‘Sedition and Conspiracy’, pp. 379-80. Dickens cites numerous events suggesting that there was immense discontent with religious changes; he also states that contemporary chroniclers were of the opinion that the root of the problems was religious reform. The list of those involved also included several priests from the Wakefield region who were unhappy with changes and fearful of more reform.

immediately of its existence when he was told of it.⁸⁶ Therefore, the fact remains that it was not until after 1569 that the gentry were willing to acknowledge that the monarchy's decisions in religion would not be swayed by protests and even then it was only a radical minority that engaged in any of the plots designed to change religious policy by force. The inherently conservative gentleman was unwilling in general to be drawn into such radical action.

The Marian regime once again saw the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism as the national religion if only for a five-year period, but prior to this came the equally brief reign of Edward VI. Between 1547-53 religious change progressed even further towards the establishment of a truly Protestant religion. In 1547 the Chantries Act was passed. A.G. Dickens described this as the most important legislation in so far as it repudiated the Catholic concept of purgatory and removed the facilities for providing masses for the dead.⁸⁷ The period is most often portrayed as one of changing regimes at the centre with little reference to resistance in the localities. There was, however, evidence of continuing religious dissent in the Edwardian era. The most notable was probably the western rebellion of 1549, which saw forcible objections being made in the south-west of England

⁸⁶ Dickens, 'Sedition and Conspiracy', p. 384. Sir John Neville was brother to the wife of Christopher Stapleton who had promoted the involvement of her husband's family in the Pilgrimage. John Neville's own wife was taken to London for questioning following the 1541 revolt which suggests that she was also suspected of involvement in or knowledge of events. This further supports that fact that women were greatly concerned about religious change and that their presence on the peripheries of rebellious activities is often more significant than has been previously credited.

⁸⁷ A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1967), pp. 284-5.

to the introduction of the Protestant prayer book in English.⁸⁸ There were also less well-documented uprisings in other areas of the country suggesting all was not well.⁸⁹ Riotous behaviour was documented in the Midlands, Lancashire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire during Edward's reign.⁹⁰ There was also a Rising in the east of Yorkshire in July 1549; W.K. Jordan and B.L. Beer cite a variety of reasons for the rebellion, but both agree that religious grievances were central to events.⁹¹ This rebellion again did not include gentlemen amongst its numbers suggesting that they were only willing to become involved in protests that stood a good chance of succeeding.

⁸⁸ Fletcher and MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp. 40-53. Fletcher and MacCulloch attributed the rising in Cornwall in 1547-8 to the fear of the loss of church goods and the unpopularity of the government agent, William Body, and the 1549 rebellion to the introduction of the new prayer book. This appears to support the idea of the rising as primarily concerned with religious issues. The rebel demands too show that they were essentially requesting the reinstatement of Catholic ceremonies and customs (p. 115).

⁸⁹ B.L. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England During the Reign of Edward VI* (Kent, Ohio, 1982), pp. 140 ff. Beer provides one of the few accounts of the reign which looks at discontent in the localities as well as the more usual examination of court politics at the centre of government which focuses upon Northumberland and Somerset.

⁹⁰ *CSPD 1547-53* (areas where religious rebellions were noted) pp. 249, 265, 282, 301, 327, 333, 338, 249, 340, 357, 536 (Lincolnshire); Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p. 140. Aside from Yorkshire, which does not feature prominently in the official records, areas where the authorities noted that rebellions occurred were Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, Devon, Essex, Hampshire, Ireland, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire.

⁹¹ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p. 140; W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King, The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London, 1968), pp. 452-3.

The 1569 Rebellion

In 1569 the Northern counties were once again the scene of revolt. The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland headed a rebellion that involved many members of the gentry in the north of Yorkshire and Richmondshire.⁹² The rebellion has been the subject of historiographic debate, though less extensively than that devoted to the Pilgrimage of Grace. Although some have attempted to portray it as merely an extension of court politics conducted by the aggrieved noblemen, Northumberland and Westmorland, it is most usually viewed as a Catholic revolt. The climate in 1569 was, however, very different from that under Henry VIII; at the centre progress in bureaucratic reform had occurred, slowly and by no means in the 'revolution' of bureaucracy described by Elton, but nevertheless Penry Williams is correct when he states that 'there was no longer any expectation that the monarch or the Council would be sympathetic to a major protest'.⁹³ The Elizabethan regime reacted strongly to threats or even perceived threats to the established order, and 1569-70 was a period of threats: Mary, Queen of Scots was present in England by 1568 and was a possible successor or even alternative to Elizabeth; Papal hostility was reaching a crescendo resulting in the Pope issuing *Regnans in Excelsis* which both excommunicated and theoretically deposed Elizabeth whilst also absolving all Catholics from their oath to her; and finally the northern counties which had long been

⁹² Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 81-3. Aveling lists those areas which were involved in the rising.

⁹³ Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (1953; Cambridge, 1966), pp. 3-9; Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 326. Williams is discussing rebellions and the political climate in the second half of the sixteenth century and refers to enclosure riots in particular, though this statement is equally as applicable to the 1569 rebellion.

ignored as 'backward in religion' rose in protest. The question has to be asked why the north once again rose in a large scale rebellion, when all were surely aware that the last large scale rebellion had not been seen by Henry or his ministers as an effective means of communication? Or maybe the northern counties did see the Pilgrimage as successful in conveying their discontent. The transformation of England from a Catholic to a Protestant country had realistically made little progress in northern regions and surviving Marian priests were still operating providing a Catholic service. The monasteries had gone, but Yorkshire was still very much a Catholic county.

Motivation

For Anthony Fletcher, 1569 was about the desperation of the earls and he believes that 'it is the secular rather than the religious tensions of northern society which now deserve serious consideration'.⁹⁴ Penry Williams stated that the earls themselves may have been unsure of their reasons for rebellion and emphasised that this rebellion could not maintain the appearance of 'loyal' rebellion; because of its desire to interfere with the succession and its communication with Spain it was 'rebellion proper'. He makes little comment on the true religious commitment of the earls, but does conclude that 'Catholics were prepared to defend their faith - or at any rate its trappings - by force, while Protestants before 1558 were not; and after 1558 they had no need to do so.'⁹⁵ The idea of 'rebellion proper' was touched upon at the beginning of the twentieth century in one of the few studies devoted to the rebellion. Rachel Reid examined the rebellion from a local level, to

⁹⁴ Fletcher and MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp. 92, 96.

determine the motivations of the rebels.⁹⁶ She concluded that they were motivated by religion and economics, but she stressed that men such as Westmorland were ever 'politique' in their motives and that the earls were concerned about citing religion as a cause for rebellion due to its connotations of foreign relationships and treasonous activities.

Haigh too believed that 'the earls' decision probably owed little to religion', though he does believe that the revolt and the majority of those involved in it were concerned at the religious changes that had occurred and that they were expressing their commitment to Catholicism.⁹⁷ Noting that less than one fifth of the 1569 force were tenants or relations of the earls, he concludes that they cannot have been compelled into revolt by loyalties to their lord and so therefore 'at least 80 per cent joined the rising for reasons of their own, and religious loyalty was one of the strongest'.⁹⁸ Aveling's comments on the rebellion and the motivations of those involved are again somewhat limited considering his detailed study of the North Riding. Writing in 1966, Aveling did, however, seem inclined to believe that the earls were Catholics, even if they failed to display the sort of religious zeal or commitment that would have increased their standing for him in relation to that shown by the later Catholic mission. For Aveling, both earls had 'emerged from a merely passive religious conservatism to make positive choices - but emerged into a complex

⁹⁵ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 346.

⁹⁶ R. Reid, 'The Rebellion of the Earls, 1569', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, First Series, 20 (1906), 171-203.

⁹⁷ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 257.

⁹⁸ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 257.

situation where political motives and real doubts about the morality of Catholic rebellion bedevilled their desire for action on their faith.⁹⁹ By 1976 Aveling appears to have revised his position and in the geographically wider study made in *The Handle and the Axe*, concluded that although 'Thomas Percy ... has been traditionally regarded by Catholics as the finest example of Catholic recusancy in the 1560s and as a pure martyr for his faith' he was in fact motivated by a more 'complex and confused situation'.¹⁰⁰ Aveling still suggests that the fact many of the rebels 'recanted' after the rising, suggested that they lacked the commitment to Catholicism that he so wished to see displayed.¹⁰¹

The overtly Catholic historiography of the period, produced by those who wanted 'martyrs to the cause', did see the earls and their companions as heroes fighting for the restoration of Catholicism; by no means can this view be reasserted, for Northumberland was not a religious philanthropist who thought nothing of his own position and the majority of the gentlemen involved displayed an instinct for survival, rather than a desire for martyrdom.¹⁰² Yet these Catholic biographers do make some valid points that have been de-emphasised in the more recent revisions of Elizabethan England. The north was still essentially Catholic and to a large extent 'unreformed', Elizabeth was unmarried and

⁹⁹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁰ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 45.

¹⁰¹ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 46. In Aveling's opinion the rebels return to 'their original and complete conformism' meant that 'a great many of the rank and file of the rebels had only a vague idea as to the purpose of what they were doing'.

¹⁰² M.M. Merrick, *Thomas Percy, Seventh Earl* (London, 1949), pp. 59-87.

without an heir and England was surrounded by Catholic Europe. In such a position the Catholics of the north cannot have felt that their position was entirely untenable.

Despite Aveling's doubt as to the commitment of the rebels and the fact that the 1569 rebellion lacked some of the overtly religious symbolism of 1536, the evidence would suggest that it was nevertheless a Catholic rebellion as the actions of the rebels and the men who became involved demonstrated. The rebels held mass at Durham where the image of the five wounds was again used as a symbol just as it had been in 1536. 'When the city of Durham fell into the possession of the rebels, they immediately restored the "oulde religion;" mass was said in the cathedral; and the ancient altars were dug up from their hiding places and set up in the churches.'¹⁰³ The North Riding saw localised attacks on Anglican service books.¹⁰⁴

Composition

The identities of the men and women who became in some way involved in the revolt also suggest that Catholicism was a major motivating factor in the revolt. The gentlemen involved were overwhelmingly from those families who displayed conservative religious and political tendencies and who appeared in the later Elizabethan period as recusants or

¹⁰³ C. Sharp, *The Rising in the North: The 1569 Rebellion, Being a Reprint of the Memorials of the Rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland* edited by Cuthbert Sharp (1840; Durham, 1975), p. 252.

¹⁰⁴ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 81.

as 'suspect in religion'.¹⁰⁵ Statistics on the numbers involved in the revolt have already been provided in previous studies of the rebellion, as have accounts of the geographical scope.¹⁰⁶ The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland can be seen as the two main members of the nobility who became involved in the rising. From the gentry the same pattern seen in 1536 reoccurs; it was the younger sons of the families who were most frequently to be found amongst the rebels, suggesting that once again prudence was applied by those men who had much to lose. It is this pragmatism that has led to criticism from Aveling and even Reid, and to their conclusion that those involved lacked true religious commitment because they exercised a modicum of common sense. Reid noted that 'if a gentleman sent ten men to aid the Lord Lieutenant he sent his son with twenty men to the Earls.'¹⁰⁷ This pragmatic approach to rebellion is not really all that unexpected; the men of the north were realistic in their aims and they had lived through a period of religious and social upheaval as the monarch made changes to official religious policy. An element of caution was surely sensible, after all Elizabeth had only been on the throne for ten years and her position was by no means secure; so why risk lands and life when it

¹⁰⁵ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 83-4. Families who had members who were active in 1569 are listed below, whilst those that were also amongst the Catholic families of the later Elizabethan and Stuart eras are indicated by Aveling's reference to them due to their prosecutions for recusancy: Bierleys (p. 265), Grants (p. 265), Fulthrops (p. 180), Digbys, Metcalfs (p. 265), Lascelles (p. 266), Crathornes (pp. 179-80), Dodsworths (p. 97 - 'doubtful' religion), Leptons, Frankes (p. 266), Greenes (pp. 179, 181), Laytons, Gowers (p. 180), Tankards (p. 265), Smithsons (p. 266), Vauxs (family which produced numerous seminary priests of the period), Cleasbys (p. 261), Talbots (p. 185), Methams (p.176), Withams (p. 260), Wrays (p. 172). (These are in addition to the families being examined within this study and the list cited here is indicate rather than comprehensive).

¹⁰⁶ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 81-2.

¹⁰⁷ Reid, 'Rebellion of the Earls', p. 198.

was still distinctly possible that the religious pendulum might still swing towards conservatism in religion and when Elizabeth's successor might well be a Catholic monarch?

Amongst the sample families being examined here an element of pragmatism was certainly visible in their actions, though the fact that many saw fit to send at least one member to the rebels surely demonstrated some commitment to the cause. Involved in the rebellion were the Nortons (nine members of the family in total), Benet Cholmley, Christopher Danby, Nicholas Fairfax, Richard Gascoigne, Roger, Richard and Wilfrid Meynell, Robert Tunstall and Henry Wycliffe. On the peripheries of the rebellion were the Vavasours who appear to have been privy to arrangements, even though they were absent from the rebellion proper. The 1569 revolt was largely centred in the north of Yorkshire and thus the absence of many of the other sample families can be explained through a combination of geographical distance from the revolt and applied pragmatism, as they waited to judge the viability of rebellion before committing resources and choosing sides.

The correspondence between the centre of government, most frequently represented by the council or more accurately Cecil, and its agents in the localities, represented most frequently by Sussex and Sadler, was most concerned with identifying and cataloguing the movements of those held responsible for the revolt. The names cited vary somewhat from letter to letter, but most frequently occurring are the names of the earl of Northumberland, the men of the Norton family, including a brother-in-law to the Norton

family Thomas Markenfeld, Christopher Neville, Robert Tempest and John Swinburn.¹⁰⁸ The rôle played by the nobility in the form of the earls of Northumberland, Westmorland and Shrewsbury, has already been the subject of discussion by those looking at political machinations at the centre of government and the rôle of court factions;¹⁰⁹ the focus of this study lies with the gentry and so it is the gentry families that will be examined. It is clear from all the correspondence that in 1569 the Nortons were once again involved in rebellion in the north, and were playing an even more significant rôle than they had in 1536. In the Pilgrimage Richard Norton had been merely a son following his father's lead, now, however, he was the father, and the rebellion was most definitely a family affair.¹¹⁰ Richard had a large family, nine sons and seven daughters; of these two are named as being directly involved in the rebellion, though the implication of much of the evidence is that the family as a whole were involved and certainly all nine sons were in some way to suffer for the rebellion.

By 1569 Richard Norton had gained the position of sheriff of Yorkshire, demonstrating that he was an important figure in the local community.¹¹¹ He was also frequently referred to as 'old Norton', presumably because he was sixty-nine years of age. Again we are faced with similar themes linking the 1536 and 1569 rebellions: Richard Norton was, much like William Gascoigne, a man of position and years, and yet both chose to put

¹⁰⁸ *CSPD, 1566-1579*, pp. 90-174.

¹⁰⁹ W. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1993), pp. 126-34; P. Williams, *The Later Tudors: England 1547-1603* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 255-8.

¹¹⁰ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 117, 'The gentlemen in the action are old Richard Norton, with most of his sons...'

¹¹¹ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 103.

themselves in a precarious position by joining a revolt taking place in the cold closing months of the year. The two men did, however, react very differently once involved: whilst in 1536 Gascoigne was part of the political manoeuvring in the relative safety and warmth of Pontefract Castle, Norton left his home in November and was active in the North Riding.¹¹² He is reported as riding with the earl of Northumberland ‘in corselets and other white armour’, and as having ‘committed divers offences, levied great numbers of horse and foot and put them in armour’.¹¹³ Richard Norton was therefore not a passive participant in events and was obviously committed to the cause. Francis Norton, eldest son of Richard, is also mentioned frequently and was noted as being one of the ‘great doers in these matters’ and as with the rest of the named men as being ‘evil of religion’. Christopher Norton, Richard’s seventh son, was also named as being ‘a principal worker of this rebellion’.¹¹⁴

The proposition that Richard was propelled into rebellion through his loyalty to Northumberland is also something that is in doubt. Reid described Norton as one of ‘the small minority of extreme Catholics whose later intrigues caused Elizabeth so much anxiety and entailed on their moderate co-religionists so much hardship’.¹¹⁵ Religion does seem to have been a motivating factor in propelling Richard into revolt, as in determining the reasons for the revolt Richard Norton was adamant that the cause was religion. Northumberland’s confession also indicated that ‘Old Norton and Markenfeyld, was

¹¹² *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 102, also to be found in Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion*, p. 22.

¹¹³ *CSPD, 1566-79*, pp. 103,113.

¹¹⁴ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 95.

earnest in opinion to proceed in the cause' whilst 'Francis Norton, John Swinborne, myself, and some other were of contrarie opinion'.¹¹⁶ Norton and Markenfield were of the same generation and would therefore surely have held the opinion that loyal rebellion was the best way of communicating dissatisfaction. The younger men and the politically aware Northumberland may well have been more cautious in their approach. It should also be noted that Francis Norton stood to lose his inheritance should he be condemned as a rebel and this was certainly at the forefront of his mind by 1572 when Northumberland's confession was made. Francis stood to lose much if condemned by Northumberland, whereas Richard had already fled to the continent removing him from the jurisdiction of the English authorities.

Francis Norton in fact went to great lengths to emphasise his innocence. In April 1570 he insisted to Sir Francis Jobson, the lieutenant of the Tower that the case made at his arraignment accusing him of being 'one of the most cruel men in the rebellion' was untrue and that rather than being the 'greatest offender' he was the 'saver of much harm'. He was emphatic that he was only involved in the rebellion due to the duty that he felt to his father and was 'neither moved by the Earls or [his] father to do anything'.¹¹⁷ The authorities did not seem convinced by Francis' protestations and in May 1570 the authorities surveyed his father's house for forfeiture to the crown.¹¹⁸ In 1571 Francis was still attempting to prove his innocence via John Lee who noted that Norton was unable to

¹¹⁵ Reid, 'Rebellion of the Earls', p. 187.

¹¹⁶ Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion*, p. 199.

¹¹⁷ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 276; Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion*, p. 199.

make the case to Elizabeth in person due to a 'want of language' and was living on ten crowns a month which he would have given up had it involved any process that had gone against the Queen.¹¹⁹ The issue of loyal Catholics is raised here: many were loyal to their country and their monarch, and in opposition to foreign Catholic powers, such as Spain. After 1569 the Elizabethan regime was keen to associate Catholicism with treason and the position of loyal English Catholics became increasingly untenable, which left Francis Norton and others like him in a dangerous position.

The Meynells too found themselves at the centre of events in 1569. The rebellion does not appear to have been looked upon favourably by Thomas Meynell, author of the commonplace book, but rather with antipathy. His sole comment on the matter concerned the marriage of one of the daughters of Roger Meynell 'to ffulthrope of Ilebecke. Esquier whoe lost all his landes in the rysing in the northe, by followinge his Neighbour Thomas the Earle of Northumberlande', again highlighting the gentry concern with landed inheritance over demonstrative acts of religious commitment.¹²⁰ Thomas' acknowledgement of the potential financial ruin that rebel activities could bring also appeared to be shared by his ancestors Roger and Richard Meynell. Northallerton and the surrounding areas where the men held their lands were focal points for rebellion and so it is unsurprising that they were unable to retain the passive neutrality that they had

¹¹⁸ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 289.

¹¹⁹ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 336.

¹²⁰ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 6. Thomas here appears to be associating involvement with loyalty to Northumberland, though the description of the earl merely as a neighbour and not a lord suggests a common aim and local grievance, rather than seigniorial or feudal loyalties.

maintained in 1536.¹²¹ Their precise rôle in the rebellion is masked as the authorities were less concerned to document the activities of the minor gentlemen. Nevertheless their anxiety to obtain a pardon for their activities, whilst not automatically implying they had been active and willing rebels, certainly suggested that they were unwilling to risk any further loss of money and status.

The greater gentlemen of the county were absent from the rebellion proper. In some cases their sons or nephews were instead involved. For example Richard Gascoigne of Cold Ingleby, Benet Cholmeley, Nicholas Fairfax, Robert Tunstall and Henry Wycliffe were all amongst the men involved in the rebellion, yet none were heads of families. In Aveling's discussion of the rebellion only Christopher Danby is highlighted as being a gentleman of significant status.¹²² The Danby family was a prominent force in the county, but Christopher still did not have the same status as men such as Sir William Gascoigne. The fact that lesser gentlemen were involved did not show that the issues of 1569 were not of concern to the greater gentlemen, but rather that this tactic allowed them to support the rebellion without risk of large fines or loss of land and power.

The one exception to this pattern appears to be the Vavasours, whose involvement was always suspected, but their presence on the peripheries of revolt ensured it was never proved. Susan Taylor in her exploration of the rebellion, which investigated the relationship between the monarch and her northern subjects, stressed that the Vavasours

¹²¹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 83.

¹²² Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 83.

were one of the families who along with Northumberland, Cumberland and the Methams had maintained contact with the Marian priests of the period, throughout the 1560s.¹²³ During Hudson's and Brown's interrogation of Northumberland it became clear that the matter of the Rising had been discussed with several local gentlemen including Sir William Vavasour of Haselwood, Richard and Francis Norton and Christopher Danby.¹²⁴ Sir William does not appear to have been involved any further in events, possibly being mindful of the precarious position this would place him in, or more probably simply because the rebellion was focused on the north of the Riding where the Danbys and Nortons held their seats and landed power, whereas Sir William was a man of the West Riding and as such was geographically isolated from the events of 1569. The branch of the Vavasour family that was settled in the north included the infamous Dr. Thomas Vavasour, who was later to be such a bane to the authorities of York. Although again there is little evidence that he played any rôle in the rebellion his disappearance from society did coincide with the aftermath of the rebellion. A letter sent to Cecil in the February of 1570 cataloguing the papist nature of Yorkshire and the punishment of papist rebels who had been involved in the 1569 rebellion provided information on 'two doctors of physic, worse papists than there are in Rome'.¹²⁵ Dr. Lee, who was cited as being an equally evil papist as Vavasour, was noted to have had direct involvement in the rebellion as he was 'with the Earls at Richmond, rode thither with the countess of Northumberland,

¹²³ S. Taylor, 'The Crown and the North of England 1559-1570', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester (1981), p. 49

¹²⁴ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 406. The other men were the Earl of Westmorland, Sir John Neville, Plumpton, Oglethorpe, Robert Tempest and his son, John Swinburne and Markenfeld.

¹²⁵ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 224; R. Rex 'Thomas Vavasour, M.D.', *Recusant History*, 20 (1990-1), 436-54.

and assisted her when she took the letters from the post which were said to have been from the Queen to the regent.¹²⁶ The implication of the letter is without doubt to stress to the authorities that these two men had the ability and contacts to stir up future discontent as it concludes that ‘unless there be sharp execution on the incentors, altogether spared hitherto, we shall shortly feel a greater smart; for whisperings and mutiny have begun again.’¹²⁷

Dr. Lee’s contact with Anne, countess of Northumberland is also significant considering the central rôle she and her female counterpart the countess of Westmorland were allocated by her husband and his confederates in encouraging rebellion. Much as with the Pilgrimage of Grace where Stapleton’s wife was portrayed as propelling male family members into a rebellion that they would never have entertained if it were not for her insistence, the two countesses are credited with goading their passive and innocent husbands into rebellion. Northumberland’s confession stated that ‘the Earl of Westmorland was cold and had never attempted it but through his wife’.¹²⁸ The authorities too seemed concerned that the countess of Northumberland may have played a significant rôle in events as they included references to her behaviour in the questions posed to the earl during his interrogations.¹²⁹ The Catholic countess of Northumberland certainly suffered as a result of the rebellion being forced to flee to the continent and showed similar concerns for her children as the gentlewomen in this study, with one of

¹²⁶ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 224.

¹²⁷ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 224.

¹²⁸ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 406.

her daughters going on to found a convent at Brussels. The rôle of women in these large scale public events remained limited, but they nevertheless had a part to play often as scapegoats for male behaviour as they were thought unlikely to suffer as harsh a punishment as their menfolk and could therefore be attributed a great deal of the blame. The rôle of women as inciters of aberrant behaviour was also consistent with Tudor notions of the excitable and fickle nature of the female spirit, lending credence to male explanations of events. The perception that women were more easily swayed in some ways masked the reality of the situation. The fact remained that it was the women who were attached to Catholicism and were concerned to uphold its traditions. This is consistent with other evidence explored here and does therefore support the fact that they did have a rôle to play in upholding the 'old religion'; the fact that open female disobedience, combined with male surface conformity, became a tactic of the later Tudor era suggests that this is exactly what was happening in these rebellions and supports the view that there was continuity in thought and action between Catholics in the years before and after 1569.

The Consequences: A Turning point?

1569 was a central point in the post-Reformation history of English Catholicism. It illustrated the frustrating position in which the Catholic population of England found itself; the fears of the Elizabethan regime and the rebellion's aftermath signalled a turning

¹²⁹ Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion*, pp. 191-2.

point in the relationship between the Catholic population and the monarch. For Questier 1569 is reflective of the political brutality of the north and confirmation that there was not and could never be any 'happy medium' established between the Catholic communities of the north and the Protestant authorities.¹³⁰ Yet all the other evidence would suggest that the two could live together without the relationship consisting of merely an anti-papist witch-hunt opposing dangerous Catholic laymen and priests. Questier's interpretation is reliant on seeing Catholics as a real and tangible threat to an Elizabethan regime that was genuinely composed of radical opponents to Catholics in the north, who did not share any commonalities with the gentlemen who were in revolt. The interaction of Catholics and Protestants explored in other areas of this study would however strongly suggest that a commonality of interests was often a determining factor in the north and the two groups were not in constant opposition, though this is not to say that 1569 was inconsequential or unthreatening to Elizabeth's regime.

The rebellion of the Northern earls has frequently been dismissed as doomed to failure before it even began; those who have advocated a strong Protestant regime under Elizabeth were able to portray it as an insignificant blip in the spread of Elizabethan Protestantism. But the rebellion was not automatically doomed to failure and considering the wider circumstances in 1569 those involved must have seen the rebellion as having great potential as a means by which they could achieve their aims. Wallace MacCaffrey quite rightly points out that whilst Elizabeth's regime triumphed 'they had also been

¹³⁰ M. Questier, 'Practical Antipapistry during the reign of Elizabeth I', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997), 371-96, esp. pp. 372, 375, 396.

favoured by fortune'.¹³¹ The Elizabethan regime was not the impenetrable and unified force of Whig history, but a regime composed of fragmented interest groups and which still contained Catholic courtiers, just as all the other Tudor and Stuart regimes did.¹³² Elizabeth was a Protestant monarch and her policy was overseen by Cecil who also advocated a Protestant religion, yet prior to 1569 open conflict with the Catholic population had been avoided.¹³³

The strength of Catholicism in the north was a potential threat to the regime. The numerous and frequent reports from the localities to the centre of government highlighted the fact that both lay government officials and the ecclesiastical authorities felt that the north was still at heart Catholic.¹³⁴ The populace as a whole was still more inclined towards conservatism in religion as opposed to the new and more radical Protestantism and in the north this was exacerbated. Marcombe in his study of Durham pointed out that 'Catholicism survived in virile pockets both amongst the gentry and the populace at large' and that Catholicism was still 'a credible alternative'.¹³⁵ Hoyle too concluded that 'only death and illness prevented the emergence of a coherent block of Catholic nobility

¹³¹ MacCaffery, *Elizabeth I*, p. 131.

¹³² C. Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London, 1984), pp. 1-25. The introduction to this volume provides a summary of the historiography of Elizabeth.

¹³³ N. Williams, *Elizabeth I: Queen of England* (1967; London, 1971), pp. 64-93.

¹³⁴ *CSPD, 1547-80*, pp. 321, 395; PRO, SP 74/27, 'Report of the bishop of Carlisle to Cecil stating that Yorkshire and Lancashire are turning back to "popery"'; D. Marcombe, 'A Rude and Heady People: The Local Community and the Rebellion of the Northern Earls', in D. Marcombe (ed.), *The Last Principality: Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham 1494-1660* (Nottingham, 1987), pp. 117-51.

¹³⁵ Marcombe, 'Rude and Heady People', p. 135.

by 1569'.¹³⁶ The same was true of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland and Westmorland. The situation was, then, ripe for rebellion as the erosion of Catholicism was only gradual and the spread of Protestantism was slow. The north was not the 'politically brutal' place portrayed by Questier and 1569 was not about the radical religious element, but the conservative, in politics and religion. 1569 was concerned with maintaining the traditions of the Catholic north, which included preventing the further erosion of the position of the Catholic noblemen and with expressing discontent relating to religious change. It was also a means of political communication and the key issue of the Elizabethan era that was under discussion was that of the succession.

The climate of 1569 was one where threats to Elizabeth were perceived as being present both at home and abroad and in some cases their presence was enough to spark a reaction. An alternative to the Protestant Queen was present in the form of Mary Queen of Scots and she had a far better claim to the throne than that of Lady Jane Grey during the Edwardian succession crisis of 1553.¹³⁷ Mary had come to England looking for support and had found it in the ambitious duke of Norfolk. Northumberland was accused of having contact with Mary and discussing her accession to the throne, which he was keen

¹³⁶ R.W. Hoyle, 'Faction, Feud and Reconciliation amongst the Northern English Nobility, 1525-1569', *History*, 84 (1999), 590-613 esp. p. 590.

¹³⁷ Mary Stuart was the daughter of Mary of Guise and James V of Scotland, making her the granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, Henry VII's eldest daughter. Elizabeth and Mary were therefore cousins. In comparison Lady Jane Grey was only the great grand-daughter of Henry VII and this was via a younger sister, yet she had made it to the throne if only for a very limited period. Thus there was precedent for an alternative line of descent and the eventual succession of James VI of Scotland demonstrated that the imposition of a Scottish monarch upon the throne of England was not entirely unfeasible.

to deny. Even if the earl did not have contact with Mary, then other Yorkshiremen did, including Christopher Norton who told her that he 'would be glad to do her any service' that was lawful.¹³⁸ Concerns about the meeting of the 1569 rebels and the Queen of Scots was a preoccupation of the crown's inquiries following the rebellion suggesting that this was perceived as a real threat to Elizabeth. Combined with this was the possible threat being posed by the machinations of the continental powers, perhaps best represented by the Florentine banker, Ridolfi.¹³⁹ The rebels' communication with foreign powers, in particular Spain, was suspected, even though there is little real evidence that the Spanish King had any concrete intentions to intervene in either the rebellion or the issue of the English succession.¹⁴⁰

The all-pervasive xenophobia that was prevalent in England is frequently used to explain the overwhelming lack of enthusiasm for foreign help in rebellion. Yorkshire and the far north were hardly favourable to foreigners and were opposed to any connection with Scotland due to the threat that the Scots had always posed. Yet it would seem that they were not entirely against an alliance with Mary Queen of Scots; after all she was a dispossessed female Catholic monarch who had been expelled from Scotland, making her not a threat but a possible ally. Yet at most it seemed they were holding out hope that she would succeed Elizabeth, not depose her. This hope was not all that forlorn considering

¹³⁸ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 272.

¹³⁹ MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, p. 116. MacCaffrey emphasises Ridolfi's rôle as pensioner of both France and Spain and his newly acquired status as an accredited agent of the Pope.

¹⁴⁰ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 272. The letter of Christopher Norton to the council suggests that Stirely was attempting to create conspiracies that were not in existence.

Elizabeth's previous illness, and lack of husband and heir.¹⁴¹ If 1569 was intended to communicate political concern then it is feasible that the Catholics of the north wished to communicate their choice of successors to Elizabeth. Unfortunately the climate of the times viewed discussion relating to the succession not as an expression of concern for the future of England's throne from loyal subjects, but as treasonous activity from the troublesome and dangerous Catholics of the north.¹⁴²

Yet it appears that to a great extent it was not the actual events of 1568-70 that created the problems for the Catholics of the north, but rather fears and rumours about what had or what might occur. Rumours abounded about plans made by Northumberland to put Mary on the throne prior to the rebellion and these concerns were certainly expressed through the interrogations of Northumberland.¹⁴³ After the rebellion there was still concern about possible connections between the rebels and Scotland, as Sir Thomas Gargrave writing to Cecil in January 1570 noted that he was not able to ascertain if Westmorland, the Nortons, Christopher Neville, Thomas Markenfeld or Christopher Danby were in Scotland.¹⁴⁴ Scotland was not the only possible source of an alliance as the Spanish connection proved.

¹⁴¹ C. Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1988), p. 182; Williams, *Elizabeth I*, p. 178. In 1562 Elizabeth came close to death in a bout of small-pox. Few other authors on Elizabeth make mention of this event; it does not occur in MacCaffrey's account of Elizabeth, nor is it cited by Penry Williams. Neville Williams does, however, stress the problems Elizabeth was facing and concluded that 'had Elizabeth died in 1572 she would have gone down in history as an unremarkable failure.'

¹⁴² M. Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question, 1558-1568* (Stanford, 1966), pp. 200-6.

¹⁴³ *CSPD, 1566-79*, pp. 402-9.

¹⁴⁴ *CSPD, 1566-79*, pp. 179-80.

Aveling correctly identified rumour as a major tool for stirring discontent in the north. He stated in his analysis of York that;

Although the real influence of the rebels in York was tiny in reality, and magnified out of all proportion by rumour, rumour itself was then a very powerful aid to rebellion and justly feared in itself by authorities, even when they were pretty certain that it had little basis in fact.¹⁴⁵

Aveling is correct in that rumour could be as great a threat to the authority of the government as actual action, and this too was a theme in the Pilgrimage identified by Williams.¹⁴⁶ John Walter, in his examination of the 1596 Oxfordshire Rising, also emphasises that the rhetoric of discontent, the discussion of a rising and rumours of conspiracy were crucial in determining the reactions of authority. Walter's study in fact shows that the image of a serious rebellion could be created where no mass-movement existed.¹⁴⁷ Yet, Aveling fails to note that rumour could also be used by the authorities to create a climate of fear against Catholics and by association the foreign threat.¹⁴⁸ Aveling

¹⁴⁵ Aveling, *City of York*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁶ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, pp. 346-7.

¹⁴⁷ J. Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"? The Oxfordshire Rising of 1596', *Past and Present*, 107 (1985), 90-143.

¹⁴⁸ S. Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603* (London, 1994), p. 53; Walter, 'Rising of the People', pp. 130-7. Doran stated that the danger posed by English Catholics was exaggerated which supports the idea that rumour was being manipulated. Walter too discusses the manipulation of rumour, although he finds a far more positive outcome, concluding that Cecil and others used this as a way to restrict the progress of enclosure. Walter views this episode as illustrating one of the means of negotiating power in early modern society. Although this can be seen as valid, it is equally clear from the current study that rumour was also a means of alienating certain groups from the rest of society by creating a perception of them as dangerous.

is also wrong to de-emphasise the influence of the rebellion on society. He does not identify 1569 as a crucial point in the Catholic history of England, choosing instead other dates, such as 1578 or 1582/3, as significant.¹⁴⁹ In contrast Questier over-emphasises the rumour and its associations citing anti-Catholic polemic as a tangible force that was crucial in determining how Catholics were treated, thus missing the crucial point that northern society differentiated between 'Catholics' as a non-corporal, possibly foreign-allied threat and individual Catholic men and women; whilst the former was to be opposed and vilified the latter were friends, neighbours and often leading figures in society.

Others have identified 1569 as a turning point of another kind in the society of the north. In Mervyn James' analysis of the Durham region and the 1569 rebellion the consequences are a change from a lineage to a civil society.¹⁵⁰ For James the collapse of the rebellion was a symbolic as well as a physical collapse of the alliances that had held medieval and early Tudor society together. Old feudal/lineage alliances were replaced with a concern for civic responsibilities and new civic-based alliances. Yet this theory would imply that for the gentry familiar alliances no longer held the same attraction and were replaced by a desire to make their civic loyalties clear. The flaw in James' theory is

¹⁴⁹ Aveling, *West Riding; Northern Catholics; City of York*. The subdivisions used are 1558-82, 1583-1603, 1604-91 in his study of the West Riding, 1558-78, 1578-1603, 1603-88 in his study of York, 1558-82, 1583-1603, 1604-1642 in the North Riding; this denoted chapters and significant date divisions in Aveling's studies.

¹⁵⁰ M. James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 51, 146.

its reliance on seeing a distinct social change where none existed. In both 1536 and 1569 he cited a lack of violence, combined with the government's harsh reprisals, as evidence of a civil society, over the barbarity of an honour society; the rebels' increasing insistence that they were engaged in 'loyal rebellion' in 1536 is seen as evidence of the success of the Tudors' web of bureaucratisation, and the role of the lawyer, Aske, as both a triumph of the middling sort and a 'sharp contrast to the aggressiveness of the men of honour'; whilst in 1569 the dissident gentry and nobility's presentation of themselves as victims of the commons, for James, 'implied the abandonment of the traditional honour view as to the relationship between superior and subordinate.'¹⁵¹ Yet this cannot work. 'Loyal rebellion' was claimed in 1381, just as it was in 1536, meaning that this was not just an early modern phenomenon; within this study of the Catholic gentry the lack of violence both in 1536 and 1569 has been shown to be attributable to the role played by gentlemen and even noblemen, who were the living embodiment of tradition, concerned with the preservation of property, and who held authority even with the rebels due to their lineage and status as honourable men;¹⁵² Aske's status was very much in line with that of his fellow lawyer William Stapleton whose involvement has been studied, and whose actions illustrate that he was very much a gentleman. The classification of lawyers as the 'middling sort' who epitomised a civil society is in fact itself tenuous considering the number of gentlemen involved in the law. Rather than this demonstrating a

¹⁵¹ M.E. James, 'English Politics and the Concept of Honour 1485-1642', *Past and Present*, supplement 3 (1978), 1-92 also reprinted in *Society Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 308-415.

¹⁵² M.J. Braddick and J. Walter, *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 14-15.

transformation, with one model of social order being rejected in favour of another, it rather shows that the old and new were blending together. Even James' illustrative example of Durham mining families falls foul of this issue, as although they may have risen in society and status due to their business acumen and service to the state, the culmination of this was to join the ranks of the gentry and lineage was gained through marriage. The fact that many of these families were themselves Catholic further bolstered the ranks of the northern Catholic gentry; James states that 'the sense of antiquity of the Roman Church was one of the assets which helped to make Recusancy attractive' to the 'new' gentry as did the prospect of allying with old recusant families.¹⁵³ The new wished to be like the old, feudal values and blood ties still held appeal, and even a slightly more 'civil' society was not entirely incompatible with a continued commitment to Catholicism.

The significance of 1569 for the families being examined here and for the Catholic gentry as a whole lay not with a transformation from lineage to civil society, but with the change in the government's policy on religion, and in particular in the change in its actions towards the Catholic population. If anything the family alliances built up in the early years of the century became even more important in the later Elizabethan era.¹⁵⁴ Toleration had been possible as long as Catholics had been quietly practising their religion whilst maintaining loyalty to the crown; Elizabeth declared that she had no desire to gain 'a window into men's souls', but now Catholicism was associated with treasonous

¹⁵³ James, *Family, Linage and Civil Society*, p. 113.

¹⁵⁴ See chapter 2, pp. 100-81.

activities. Aveling argued that the pre-1569 situation was intolerable with divided loyalties dictating that true religious commitment was not possible. Yet for the majority this lack of clarity had been a 'saving grace'. It had allowed them to continue with their religious practices, which had changed very little at ground level despite the complex legislation passed at the centre of government, whilst also retaining their status and incomes. As a direct result of the events of 1569-79 all this changed. Whilst prior to 1569 'leniency was ... partly a matter of expediency', with the Elizabethan regime being happy to allow Protestantism to spread without having to enforce it, now enforcement and punishment were paramount.¹⁵⁵ The issuing of *Regnans in Excelsis* by Pope Pius V, resulting in the excommunication of Elizabeth and the exemption of Catholic subjects from loyalty to her, created a difficult situation and further fuelled suspicions that Catholicism posed a danger.

The Council of the North had been re-established following the Pilgrimage in 1536-7 as part of Cromwell's solution to the problem that the north had posed. It had remained a guard dog without teeth, but the events of 1569 determined that more force was required and in 1572 Huntingdon was instituted as the new president. His presidency saw a far more stringent application of the laws against Catholics, which was continued by his successors, until the institution of Emanuel Scrope in 1619. Control of the Council by Thomas Cecil was particularly lamented by Thomas Meynell who noted that 'When Thomas lorde Burleigh nowe Earle of Exceter was President here in the Northe, he

¹⁵⁵ L. Baynes, *From Reformation to Toleration, c. 1509-1689* (Cardiff, 1990), p. 83.

shewed him selfe forward in the prosecution of the Lawes established against us poore catholickes'.¹⁵⁶ This formed only one part of the government implemented 'crackdown' on the Catholic population, despite the fact that few showed any disloyalty to Elizabeth. Doran points out that even the writers of Catholic polemic encouraged the population as a whole to avoid taking action as a result of the papal bull.¹⁵⁷ Indeed even the men involved in the 1569 Rising appeared to have seen themselves as part of a protest movement and not a treasonous rebellion. The vast majority of northern Catholics did not see any contradiction in maintaining loyalty to Elizabeth and retaining Catholicism as their faith. It was only with the arrival of the mission that this appeared as part of the Catholic agenda, even if the issue had been first introduced in 1569; even then the majority of the gentry refused to see that they had any conflict of interests. They still held a position in society that had to be maintained, and, as recent studies of power, authority and the state in early modern England have illustrated, hierarchies were finely grained and cannot be drawn simply on the basis of elite/popular divisions, or on the basis of gender, age or religion.¹⁵⁸ Thus gentlemen could not be immediately removed from their dominant role on the grounds of religious dissent, as their power had been legitimised by the community in which they were living, with both the gentry themselves seeing their role to be that of leaders and local society expecting this of them.

¹⁵⁶ Northallerton, NYCRO, , Thomas Meynell's Commonplace Book, ZDV, f. 11; Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 16.

¹⁵⁷ Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion*, p. 53. Only John Leslie and Nicholas Saunders wrote books that expressed political opposition to the Elizabethan government.

¹⁵⁸ Braddick and Walter, *Negotiating Power*, pp. 1-42, particularly pp.1-4.

The actions of 1569 also allowed the rumours that had been in existence in the 1560s to take on a more sinister context. Now messianic and apocalyptic ideas had a focus in the form of the Catholic threat.¹⁵⁹ These ideas were seized upon more readily by the more radical Protestants and although they occur in some of the correspondences of the Protestant gentry they usually refer to some vague non-corporeal papist threat, rather than to the real Catholic gentlemen who were neighbours, business associates and even friends. The separation between 'Catholic threat' and 'Catholic neighbour' could, however, only be maintained as long as the Catholic population did not rebel, which would have fulfilled the rumours and validated the propaganda, and thus the option of rebellion was removed.

Catholic rebellion could no longer portray itself as loyal rebellion, nor could the Catholic population see it as a possible means of communication. 1569 saw the end of the large-scale public protest and its replacement by plots - which by their very nature appeared as secretive and threatening. Large numbers could no longer be involved in Catholic opposition, as plots, unlike protests, did not require the mobilisation of the population. This ensured that only a radical minority was now to be found in 'active' opposition to the religious policies of the crown and that the majority were left to oppose the religious regime as individuals or families working within the Catholic community by non-attendance at their parish churches or by harbouring priests, and not by forming public protest movements. In fact after 1569 it was not just Catholic public protest in the form

¹⁵⁹ C. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (1971; London, 1990), pp. 14-15.

of rebellion that disappeared, virtually all rebellions ceased, with of course the notable exception of the Civil War. Michael Braddick has argued, in reference to the seventeenth-century, for a continuing process of state formation and social change either via social processes that made 'existing institutions more effective or more active' or as local governors became 'more responsible' and 'identified themselves and their role in a way that favoured the state achieving its ends'.¹⁶⁰ If this model is applied to the sixteenth century then perhaps we see the Council of the North becoming a more effective institution for regulating the aberrant behaviour of what had become a rebellious north and that after 1570 this was to be run by men who were keen to enforce the laws and who saw their interests and beliefs as being at one with the state. Yet there are problems with applying the model to the issue of rebellion and in particular the concept of religious disobedience.¹⁶¹ In an expansion of the discussion of state formation Braddick acknowledges that religious pluralism was common in local communities and that therefore the failure to present people for nonconformity was another example of negotiations between 'concepts of order', which would fit well with the evidence of this study.¹⁶² Religious rebellion was made less necessary eventually by the way in which

¹⁶⁰ M. J. Braddick, 'State Formation and Social Change in Early Modern England: A Problem Stated and Approaches Suggested', *Social History*, 16 (1991), 1-17; A. Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (London, 1986), pp. 351-73, esp. 360.

¹⁶¹ Braddick, 'State Formation and Social Change', p. 12 Braddick's, and Fletcher's analyses, are orchestrated around economics and a discussion of centralisation as a state response to economic change. Braddick in fact deliberately does not address the ideological uses of religious identities aside from acknowledging that 'attempts to enforce religious identities dictated by the state do have a political function'.

¹⁶² M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 300-1

religious pluralism was accommodated in the developing relationships on a local level. Secondly, although the theories advanced by Braddick and Walter, which acknowledge the complexity of relationships at local levels, are certainly more plausible in explaining the cessation of rebellion than theories based upon a centralised bureaucratic revolution or the social rejection of feudal in favour of civil ties, there is still the issue of the Civil War. If the state had developed means for defusing problems due to the high levels of participation on a local level by all members of society (excluding the undeserving poor) in operating or legitimising the state then how is 1642 to be explained? Braddick addresses the issue by suggesting that what occurred was a 'long revolution' from 1610 to 1688, which was 'revolutionary in effect rather than inception'.¹⁶³ This theory of social integration at a complex and integral level may therefore have flaws, but it can in some ways explain why rebellion was rejected after the failure of 1569 and why some Catholic families wished to avoid involvement in the rebellion of the northern earls. As they were integrated into society and they themselves represented social order, they had no desire to rebel against it.

After 1569 : Rumours and Catholic Plots

At the beginning of the twentieth century Martin Hume wrote a text on the latter years of the Elizabethan regime emphasising that the Catholic threat to the Elizabethan government had been exaggerated in order to increase public hostility towards Scotland

¹⁶³ Braddick, 'State Formation and Social Change', p. 15.

and Spain.¹⁶⁴ The difference between perceived threats and actual attempts on the monarch's life often became blurred. The latter years of Elizabeth's reign did see several plots against the Queen's life, but not all of them were Catholic plots and many were little more than conspirators talking of their plans.¹⁶⁵ Yet, more significantly, they contributed to the climate of mistrust and fear that accompanied this growth in rumours and the use of spies who were often the agents of rumours.¹⁶⁶ The aftermath of 1569 was then the creation of a climate that fostered plots; with spies and agents working both for the government and the Catholic powers in Europe. Catholicism was an 'unseen evil' whose form was detected most clearly in the presence of the Jesuit priests who were operating within England under various pseudonyms and it was these men that became a focal point for the government's paranoia, despite the fact that there was no coherent plan to overthrow Elizabeth and that most of the missionaries were merely performing the function of a private chaplain which had long been the preferred choice for the wealthy gentleman.

¹⁶⁴ M. Hume, *Treason and Plot: Struggles for Catholic Supremacy in the Last Years of Queen Elizabeth (1593-1603)* (London, 1908), introduction and subsequent discussion of the centre of Catholic plots at p. 361.

¹⁶⁵ C. Durston, *James I* (London, 1993), p. xi; Haigh, *Elizabeth*, pp. 184-5; MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 552-8. Between 1571 and 1605 there were numerous plots; 1571 The Ridolfi Plot, 1583 The Throckmorton Plot, 1586 The Babington Plot, 1587 The Stafford Plot, 1594 The Lopez Plot, 1603 The Bye Plot/ The Main Plot, 1605 The Gunpowder Plot.

¹⁶⁶ A. Haynes, *Invisible Power: The Elizabethan Secret Service 1570-1603* (Stroud, 1992), pp. xi, 36-45. The starting point for this study is 1570, supporting the suggestion that the events of 1569 had created a changed climate in England. The opening line of the introduction is a quotation from Sir John Harrington stating that 'Treason begets spies and spies treason'; Alan Haynes focuses on the necessity of spies in this period, but by implication suggests that this network was able to sustain itself by the rumours and suspicions its very existence created.

The enforcement of the stringent recusancy laws had ensured that the Catholic population held out no hope of a resumption of the Catholic religion under Elizabeth, but that was not to suggest that they thought that Catholicism would never return. Elizabeth was after all an ageing monarch who had no Protestant heir to succeed her. The possibility of another dynasty ascending to the throne on her death had been alive since 1569 and by the 1590s it was more a reality than a possibility.¹⁶⁷ The Stuarts were still the obvious choice and the death of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587 did not mean that another member of the dynasty might not be able to restore Catholicism. The decision that James VI of Scotland should succeed was not made until the very latter part of Elizabeth's reign; dramatic tradition maintains that Elizabeth delayed the decision until her dying moments. The indecision over the heir must have allowed Catholic hopes to grow; Haigh suggests that Elizabeth's refusal to name an heir was not a sign of political strength, but rather a further example of her procrastination, which was successful in this case only because she had the good fortune to outlive alternative successors or have them disqualify themselves.¹⁶⁸ This policy did however provide an opening for debate. Aside from James there were other possibilities who would have been equally, if not more, attractive to the

¹⁶⁷ S. Alford, 'William Cecil and the Succession Crisis of the 1560s', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of St. Andrews (1996). The activities of the Elizabethan regime, with particular emphasis on William Cecil, in preparing for the possibilities of a disputed succession are discussed throughout.

¹⁶⁸ C. Haigh, *Elizabeth*, p. 18 and in addition the introduction and conclusion especially focus on this discussion.

Catholic population than James, including the Infanta, Clara Eugenia, the earl of Derby, and Arabella Stuart.¹⁶⁹

The last of these claimants is of particular interest, especially to the Catholics of the period. Lady Arabella Stuart's claim to the throne was descended via Margaret, sister to Henry VIII and daughter to Henry VII. Arabella was the great-granddaughter of Margaret, via her second marriage to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus and granddaughter to the Countess of Shrewsbury who was more frequently referred to as Elizabeth of Hardwick. Thus Lady Arabella Stuart was cousin to King James I and possible rival to the throne.¹⁷⁰ She had also been born in England, which made her a far more attractive choice than any of the foreign alternatives, especially to the English Catholic gentlemen whose loyalty to 'England', or at any rate its northern counties, was substantial. Henry VIII's will also excluded foreigners from the succession, which, if this precedent continued to hold, would have made Arabella the more obvious choice for the throne.¹⁷¹ Arabella appeared to be a conformist in religion although rumour suggested

¹⁶⁹ A.H. Dodd, 'The Spanish Treason, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Catholic Refugees', *English Historical Review*, 53 (1938), 627-50; A. Fraser, *King James VI of Scotland and I of England* (London, 1974), pp.77-80. Dodd suggested that there was a divide in opinion over the possible heirs to the throne once Mary Queen of Scots died, with 'regular' Catholics refugees or 'emigres' supporting a Spanish claim whilst a 'secular' faction supported James I. This article is mainly concerned with Catholics in Spain and Flanders, rather than those that faced the dilemma in England of a choice between loyalty to their monarch or loyalty to their religion and who regarded both Scottish and Spanish claimants as alien.

¹⁷⁰ C.R.N. Routh, *Who's Who in Tudor England* (1964; London 1990), p. 276. Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of Elizabeth of Hardwick had married Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox. Charles Stuart was the son of Lady Margaret Douglas (daughter of Margaret Tudor) and Mathew Stuart, fourth earl of Lennox.

¹⁷¹ G. Davies, *The Early Stuarts* (Oxford, 1959), p. 3; Fraser, *King James*, p. 78.

otherwise. Once again the problem with interpretations over the succession crisis is at the centre of the matter. If traditional interpretations are to be believed then Elizabeth was secure and unchallenged and her successor was to be James I; if, however, Elizabeth was insecure and the succession was one of the many areas of uncertainty and anxiety in her reign, then the possibilities opened up by the existence of Arabella would permit a challenge to her choice of successor. The suspicions aroused about Arabella's true religious feelings would also have made her a focus of hope for the Elizabethan Catholics. So was Arabella seen as a possible successor and how did high politics concerned with the nature of the succession relate to the county gentry of the period?

Yorkshire gentlemen in general seemed to have shown little interest in the plots and schemes of the period. The majority of these plots were focused upon men at court and not the men of the counties. Nor did the religious beliefs of these plotters appear to affect their interest in the matters. Morrill pointed out the provincial nature of the gentlemen of the Stuart period; 'when an Englishman in the early seventeenth century said "my country", he meant "my county"'.¹⁷² Morrill may be over-emphasising the insular nature of the gentry, for it is clear that the Yorkshiremen of the period were aware of the capital and other counties even if for most of the time events there did not concern them. The communications of the Yorkshire gentlemen of the period do not make any reference to

¹⁷² J.S. Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650* (London, 1976); this volume has been re-published as *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War 1630-1648* (London, 1999), pp. 1-10 discuss the historiography and debates concerning the 'court and country'. There is also a post-revisionist examination of the provincialism of the country in the approach to Civil War.

these intrigues, although this should not really surprise us as plots were by their nature secretive affairs and the majority of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry were not radicals. Nor do the continental seminaries, which were the sites of more radical ideas, appear to have been overly concerned with these plots. The Elizabethan government may have viewed them as training grounds for the Jesuit sources of these plots, but again rumour implied they were far more radical than they actually were. Treason was not the aim of the majority of the Catholics, nor did they want to dispose of their rightful monarch, but some were willing to debate just who the next monarch should be and therefore were not blind to the possibility of Arabella Stuart as a successor to Elizabeth.

In March 1602 the dowager countess of Shrewsbury wrote to Sir Henry Bronker, complaining of her granddaughter's activities and to ask that she be 'removed farther from the North, which way I fear she would go. She shall not of long time in the South be acquainted with so many to help her as she is hereabouts'.¹⁷³ In this letter she discussed a visit of her 'bad son', Henry Cavendish, and 'one Mr. Stapleton, son and heir to Stapleton of Carleton in Yorkshire'.¹⁷⁴ Her disapproval of Richard Stapleton is clear and it would appear that this was not his first visit to Hardwick Hall or Arabella, as she further comments that:

¹⁷³ HMC *Salisbury*, 12, p. 690; E. Eisenberg, *This Costly Countess: Bess of Hardwick* (Derbyshire Heritage Series, Derby, 1984), p. 36. This document suggests Arabella was essentially under house-arrest, a view supported by Eisenberg.

¹⁷⁴ HMC *Salisbury*, 12, p. 689.

I would not suffer Stapleton to come within my gates, for I have disliked him of long for many respects; it is about eight years since I saw him. He hath written to me many times to know if he might come, but I misliking him, would not suffer him...¹⁷⁵

Stapleton was a convicted recusant, which perhaps explained the Countess' immense dislike of him and her desire to avoid association with him. The reasons for Stapleton's desire to visit Arabella are not made clear by this letter. His persistence over a number of years perhaps suggests that he was aware that Arabella was a potential heir to the throne and therefore he was opening a dialogue. Arabella was also keen to secure a husband and thus escape the clutches of her overpowering grandmother. Richard himself was not an old man, but it is more likely that he was party to, rather than the object of, marriage discussions.¹⁷⁶ Despite the Countess' objections Arabella did manage to converse with Stapleton, but through the gates, due to the fact he was refused permission to enter the premises.

By 19 March 1602 both Cavendish and Stapleton were reported as being in London, and much to Bronker's relief far enough from Derbyshire to make the Elizabethan authorities rest easier.¹⁷⁷ Bronker's subsequent letters further support the idea that Stapleton may

¹⁷⁵ HMC *Salisbury*, 12, p. 689.

¹⁷⁶ Eisenberg, *This Costly Countess*, p. 37. Eisenberg suggests that the 16-year-old Edward Seymour was the object of marriage negotiation, though it is unlikely that Stapleton would have advocated this. Arabella's subsequent denial of this and refusal to name any possible suitors also suggests that someone else may have been the subject under discussion.

¹⁷⁷ HMC *Salisbury*, 12, pp. 692-3

have been involved in plans involving Arabella's ascent to the throne. Despite Stapleton's departure from the north of England Bronker still felt the need to remind Cecil;

...that this Stapleton is a very wilful Papist, and had long since sithens practiced to convey my Lady Arabella into Norfolk, and there to keep her amongst seminaries and priests, and to defend her by a strong party if need required, as Arabella herself told me, though after she would have denied it and entreated me to conceal his name. Every man's mouth is full of the Queen's danger, and Arabella receives daily advertisements to that purpose.¹⁷⁸

If Stapleton was, in 1602, harbouring hopes that Arabella might succeed by 1603 they had faded, and James was King of England, Scotland and Ireland. The issues surrounding Arabella Stuart fitted well with the other moderate Catholic activities of the gentry. Plans to restore the 'old religion' were often not associated with removal of Elizabeth, but rather concerned with who would succeed her. Even in these activities Richard Stapleton appears as an exception to the rule, as few Catholic gentlemen went as far as to converse with a possible successor to the throne. Stapleton was an active recusant within Yorkshire and is more akin to men such as Thomas Vavasour who were pro-active in the expression of their religion. Far more common were Catholic gentlemen who maintained a low profile on matters of national importance. It was, after all, the more radical schemes that attracted the attention of the government and which focused attention on radical groups that fitted with the image and rumours concerning the evils of popery. These were not movements that involved the majority of Catholics, but rather a select minority.

¹⁷⁸ HMC *Salisbury*, 12, p. 693.

The Gunpowder Plot

The decision that James should ascend to the throne, once made, was accepted by all with surprisingly little consternation considering that he was Scottish and not the 'English Protestant' successor that the court had envisaged. Catholic hopes had had only a little time to focus upon him as a possible saviour. M. Rowland in her summary of Catholics and King James stated that '[s]ome Catholics expected greater tolerance from James I, who was after all a legitimate king, who was not excommunicate and had a Catholic mother and a Catholic wife', and J.H. Pollen too expressed the view that Catholics were holding out great hope for James as a 'friend to the Catholic religion.'¹⁷⁹ James' reign did not, however, bring sweeping changes to religion; in fact some of Elizabeth's most prominent ministers survived the change in government as the retention of Robert Cecil as first minister demonstrated. Raleigh was not so fortunate and he lost his position as captain of the guard.¹⁸⁰ In terms of religious policy James showed himself to be no more pro-Catholic than his predecessor.

In 1605 a plot to assassinate James I was discovered; contemporaries referred to it as 'powder treason' and it has since been celebrated annually as 'Guy Fawkes' night', highlighting the name of a lesser member of the Yorkshire gentry who was at the time

¹⁷⁹ J.H. Pollen, 'The Accession of King James I', *The Month*, 103 (1903), 572-85; Rowlands, *Catholics of Parish and Town*, p. 24. Pollen examines communications from Persons, which indicated that the Catholic hierarchy felt that James would be a friend to the Catholic population and his dismay when it became clear that this was not to be the case.

¹⁸⁰ Davies, *Early Stuarts*, pp. 2-3.

one of the less well known men involved. The historiography of the Stuart period has tended to dismiss the plot as being unworthy of serious historical debate.¹⁸¹ Joel Hurstfield described the gunpowder plot as an ‘incident, minor in itself’ which he viewed as useful only as a historical tool for the exploration of the problems of liberty.¹⁸² The late-nineteenth-century debate between Gerard and Gardiner did go some way towards placing the plot within the sphere of historical polemic, but did not do much to place it within the history of post-Reformation Catholicism, with Gerard wanting to see only martyrs to the cause, whilst Gardiner refuted all Gerard’s claims, cast doubt on his abilities to construct an historical argument and displayed a low opinion of the Catholics and particularly the Jesuits of the era.¹⁸³ Subsequent accounts of the plot have varied in their historical value, but more recent assessments have attempted to place a different emphasis on the context of the plot and to allocate more importance to it than merely a fanciful conspiracy theory. Mark Nicholls’ 1991 investigation placed the plot in an historical context, by looking to the rôle played by the earl of Northumberland;¹⁸⁴ Antonia Fraser’s 1996 narrative of the plot tended to focus once again on personality as a

¹⁸¹ M.L. Carrafiello, ‘Robert Parsons’ Climate of Resistance and the Gunpowder Plot’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 3 (1988), 115-34. The opening line of this article clearly expresses this view and evidence is amply available by an examination of the minimal amount of space devoted to the topic in surveys of the history of the seventeenth century or the dismissive remarks the plot inspires.

¹⁸² J. Hurstfield, *Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England* (London, 1973), p. 327.

¹⁸³ S.R. Gardiner, *What the Gunpowder Plot Was* (London, 1897); J. Gerard, *What Was the Gunpowder Plot?* (London, 1897). Gerard’s book was published prior to Gardiner’s in 1897 and the introduction of the latter engages in sweeping criticism.

¹⁸⁴ M. Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester, 1991), part II, ‘The Traitor? The earl of Northumberland and the Gunpowder Plot’, pp. 81-210.

driving force of the plotters.¹⁸⁵ Catholic histories of the plot have most often centred on the Catholic martyrs created in legend and substantiated by Gerard (namesake of the contemporary Jesuit priest and often-cited missionary for the Catholic cause).¹⁸⁶ For Bossy the actions of Gerard (the English missionary) ‘probably did the Jesuits more good than harm’, thus validating the idea that the Jesuit mission was a positive force in post-Reformation history.¹⁸⁷ Aveling makes no mention of the Plot of 1605 in any of his main texts on Yorkshire, nor in the wider study of Catholic recusancy made in *The Handle and the Axe*, despite devoting half a chapter to James I and court Catholicism, and despite the fact that it offered a perfect opportunity to praise the rôle of the Jesuit martyrs.¹⁸⁸ Yet if Aveling’s creation of a dynamic Catholicism in Yorkshire inspired by the Jesuits was to be believed then the Yorkshire gentry should have been involved, if only in encouraging the success of the gentry-Jesuit conspiracy designed to rid them of a monarch who had ample opportunity to aid them and yet who had done nothing to restore the true religion. The contention that the plot was in fact a creation of the Protestant faction at court, designed to condemn the Catholic population may in some ways account for the absence of discussion of the plot in Aveling’s texts.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ A. Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605* (London, 1996).

¹⁸⁶ F. Edwards (S.J.), *Guy Fawkes: The Real Story of the Gunpowder Plot?* (London, 1969); J. Gerard, *The Condition of Catholics Under James I*, ed. J. Morris (London, 1872); J. Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* [translated by P. Caraman] (London, 1951).

¹⁸⁷ J. Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 50.

¹⁸⁸ Aveling, *East Yorkshire; West Riding; Northern Catholics; City of York; The Handle and the Axe*.

¹⁸⁹ Fraser, *Gunpowder Plot*, p. xv; Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot*, pp. 1-3. Both authors discuss this issue and conclude that there was a plot, even if they disagree as to its nature and aims.

The rôle of the Jesuit priests in the plot was something that was certainly of great concern to the authorities. The indictment of the plotters placed great emphasis on the rôle played by Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerard and other Jesuits.¹⁹⁰ The concern showed in tracking such men was justified on this occasion, but other Jesuits also suffered as a result of their actions, many of whom were not concerned with the high politics of regicide, but instead focused their attentions on the Catholic communities who required access to a priest. Another priest whom the authorities were keen to monitor due to his connection with the plotters of 1605 was one John Healey. This man was noted as a servant to Lancelot Carnaby in March 1611, and was noted by Philip Thirlewell of Northumberland as having made speeches ‘praying for Percy and his company, and on “another barrell yet to be broached”.’¹⁹¹ Richard Gibson further stated that he had been requested by ‘Healey’ to pray for the plotters and that ‘there was a barrell to broach which was not yet known’.¹⁹² John Healey is particularly significant to the exploration of just how aware the northern Catholic population were of events as not only was he present in the north making these speeches, but his alias ‘Healey’ masked his true identity, which was that he was John Vavasour, son of Walter Vavasour of Haselwood and brother to Thomas Vavasour.¹⁹³ Although many of the confessions and examinations

¹⁹⁰ ‘The Trials of Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, John Grant, Ambrose Rockwood, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, and Sir Edward Digby at Westminster for High-Treason, being Conspirators in the Gunpowder-Plot. 27 Jan. 1605. 3. Jac.I.’, at www.armistead.com/gunpowder/gunpowder_trial.html, consulted May 1999, last updated 5 February 2002.

¹⁹¹ *CSPD, 1603-10*, p. 299.

¹⁹² *CSPD, 1603-10*, p. 301.

¹⁹³ *CSPD, 1603-10*, p. 310. During the examinations of John Healey, it became clear that his real name was John Vavasour.

that took place following the plot did reveal information upon which doubt has since been cast, there is little reason to suspect that this was inaccurate or falsified as John Vavasour had been abroad as a lay brother at the Jesuit college and his presence at private houses in Northumberland and Lincolnshire further supported the fact that this was the same man, as both were areas where the Vavasours had friends, relations and influence.¹⁹⁴ John's presence in both the house of Lancelot Carnaby and the north of England suggests that there was communication between the Catholic networks that existed in the north and south of the country and also suggests that the non-existence or lack of survival of written evidence amongst the Yorkshire gentry may not suggest that they were unaware about events, but rather that they were concerned to avoid implication or involvement in them. The missionary priest did perform an important rôle in communicating information, especially news from abroad, in this period and suggests that these men were not the entirely ineffectual force of Haigh's interpretation, but nor were their presence and activities always a boon. They were not the centre of Catholicism in the north as Aveling would have us believe, as the conservative tendencies characteristic of medieval Catholicism were still strong, but were a part of the new adaptive approach taken by the gentry.

Marie Rowland's interpretation of the Gunpowder plot is in some ways the most accurate. She described it as;

¹⁹⁴ *CSPD, 1603-10*, p. 313.

‘The last Elizabethan plot’ being characterised by disaffected gentry conspiring in country houses for a political solution to their alienation and succeeding only in providing the ministers of the Crown with an opportunity to maximise anti-Catholic stereotypes in popular culture.¹⁹⁵

The idea that this was the last plot which showed the traditional characteristics of the Elizabethan reign, namely failure on the part of the limited number of Catholic conspirators and acute paranoia on the part of the government who used the plot to feed rumour still further, is something which can be disputed as the Jacobean agents of the crown were equally as desirous to create an image of evil and dangerous Catholicism as their Elizabethan predecessors (in some cases they were the same men). Yet the interpretation of plotters as isolated groups whose actions created increased hardships for moderate and loyal Catholic subjects of the monarch is an accurate one. In 1605 the ‘country houses’ in question were in the south of England which explained more accurately than any other reason why the northern Catholic gentry had such a minimal involvement and concern with what was happening. The only gentlemen to be involved that were connected with the sample families being examined here were William and George Vavasour, two sons of a sub-branch of the Vavasour family who had settled in the south of England.¹⁹⁶ Their connection to the Gunpowder plot came via the Tresham

¹⁹⁵ Rowlands, *Catholics of Parish and Town*, p. 24.

¹⁹⁶ J. Foster, ‘Pedigrees of Vavasour of Haselwood, Spaldington, Weston, Copmanthorpe, etc.’, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*. There are two possibilities for the descent of these brothers. Brothers William and George Vavasour are to be found descended from Marmaduke Vavasour of Acaster, but as William is noted as having settled in Durham, it is unlikely that these are the men in question. Two other brothers of the right age are also to be found in the Vavasour family of Willitoft and Bubwith. Peter Vavasour of Bubwith had three sons, George, Thomas and William. George is noted as the heir of Northamptonshire, whilst William married and settled in Devon.

family; William was a servant in the house of Thomas and Francis Tresham.¹⁹⁷ Sir Edward Coke even went as far as to suggest that William's connection went deeper than this and that he was in fact 'Sir Thomas Tresham's base son.'¹⁹⁸ This accusation fitted with the government's desire to emphasize the disreputable nature of the plotters and their associates, though there was no further mention of this fact in later correspondence concerning the Vavasours and Treshams. William was in no way directly implicated in events, but it was clear that he was trusted by the Tresham family was noted to have written down and been entrusted with the delivery of Francis' declaration to Salisbury. George, William's brother, was also noted as being a Catholic, as he was found at the Inns of Court to have been copying out 'illegal' Catholic texts and was also thought to be a servant of Tresham.¹⁹⁹ This branch of the family may have been geographically separated from their Yorkshire cousins but there were connections and contact between them.²⁰⁰

It was the Vavasour family alone then that appeared to have any connection with this plot and then it was only younger sons who played any rôle, which had become a trademark of Catholic opposition. The Vavasours were in a slightly better position to gain information on the more radical events as Dr. Thomas Vavasour had begun a more radical

¹⁹⁷ *CSPD, 1603-10*, pp. 269, 303.

¹⁹⁸ *HMC Salisbury*, 17, p. 528.

¹⁹⁹ *CSPD 1603-10*, pp. 269, 270(2), 283.

²⁰⁰ Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Archive, Vavasour Deeds, MD 175; between 1616 and 1633 there were numerous land transfers between George Vavasour of Willitoft and John Vavasour of Spaldington.

and pro-active resistance from the 1560s, that was taken up by some minor members of the family. In general, however, the Catholic gentry of the north and of Yorkshire remained quiet; despite this they suffered the reprisals which followed each of these major events. The connections Guy Fawkes held with Yorkshire were perhaps unfortunate in that they cast even more suspicion on the county, despite the fact that his more radical ideas must have developed during his time as a soldier on the continent, and through his contact with the rest of the group of conspirators.²⁰¹ Plotting, unlike rebellion, was not a form of protest or communication, but concerned with removing the monarch. Considering the fact that Catholicism and conservatism were the hallmarks of the Yorkshire gentry it is hardly surprising that they rejected this form of resistance, for it was at odds with their beliefs and values.

Popish Plotting

Rumours and propaganda which suggested Catholicism was a threat to the safety and prosperity of the kingdom and a corrupting force on the nation was for the opponents of Catholicism validated by 1605. Between 1605 and 1640 no further evidence of plots was needed to prove that 'popery' was an evil force and that Catholics, in particular Catholic priests, were agents of the anti-Christ. In the approach to Civil War opponents of the policies of James and Charles could almost continuously refer to Catholicism as one of

²⁰¹ Fraser, *Gunpowder Plot*, p. xxx. Fraser suggests Fawkes was typical of the ambitious and idealistic young English Catholic male. The fact that Guy Fawkes had joined the army in the Spanish-Netherlands,

the corrupting evils within government and the court. After all both monarchs had Catholic wives and therefore Catholic courtiers. Caroline Hibbard in her analysis of the Popish Plot emphasised the hysteria and agitation that often accompanied anti-Catholic sentiments and attempted to reassert 'the popish plot explanation of the war.'²⁰² Yet this interpretation is applicable to politics and debate at the centre of government, rather than to activities in the counties.

Religious agitation can by no means be seen as the sole cause of the Civil War; there was evidence of religious discontent in the counties prior to the war, but it was not until after 1642 and the commencement of hostilities that families split according to their religious and political loyalties. The fear of Catholicism appears to have been far greater at the centre of events, with few personal attacks or focused hostility against individuals occurring in the counties aside from the fines which had been in existence since the Elizabethan period. Even Hibbard's evidence in the appendix to her study which concluded that 'the belief in a Catholic conspiracy extended beyond the circle of parliamentary leaders and their contemporary defenders' is limited to an examination of those at the centre of events from 1637 and makes little mention of the gentlemen in the localities.²⁰³

taken a Spanish name 'Guido Fawkes' and had not been in England for 10 years prior to the events preceding 1605, however suggests he was rather atypical.

²⁰² C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983), p. 3.

²⁰³ Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot*, p. 239.

So what was the effect of this increased fear of ‘popish plotting’ on the gentlemen of Yorkshire? Did the large number of Catholics in the north produce an equally overwhelming hysterical reaction? The answer to this second question is negative, the over-reaction of those at the centre of government to a perceived threat was far greater than anything experienced in those areas where there was a large Catholic population.

Yet there is some evidence that there was an increased awareness of the non-conformist population and particularly Catholicism. The recusancy laws were upheld and implemented by James and in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot a statute for the disarming of recusants was put into place.²⁰⁴ The permits for the movement of Catholic recusants were also monitored closely and the surviving papers of many Catholic families contain applications for and certification granting permission for travel more than five miles from their homes.²⁰⁵ Yet these were essentially practical measures to monitor and control the behaviour of the Catholic population. It is not the rumour and hysteria described by Hibbert in her analysis of the contemporary reaction to Catholic plots, nor is it the rabid anti-papist response described by Questier.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ B.W. Quintrell, ‘The Practice and Problems of Recusant Disarming, 1585-1641’, *Recusant History*, 17 (1984-5), 208-22.

²⁰⁵ Ampleforth Abbey, Meynell MSS, 27, 28, 29; Aveling, ‘Recusancy Papers’, pp. 50-3. Various Licences to travel are to be found amongst the Meynell Papers edited by Aveling dating from 1598-1606. The original documents in the Ampleforth MSS contain a licence to travel for a period of six months granted in November 1609, a further more detailed licence granted to Thomas Meynell specifying distances and reason for travel and a further licence also granted to Thomas in March 1611, also for a period of six months.

²⁰⁶ Questier, ‘Practical Antipapistry’, p. 378; ‘The Politics of Religious Conformity and the Accession of James I’, *Historical Research*, 71 (1998), 14-30. In reference to the reign of James I Questier asserted that

There is only limited evidence of this ‘hysteria’ to be found amongst the conformist branches of the families being examined here. In 1621 Edward Fairfax of Fryston, third son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, produced a vividly detailed account of witchcraft.²⁰⁷ In the account he told of how his two daughters were possessed by the evil actions of various female members of the community. Edward was himself a well read and educated man, a poet, who was also an important member of the local community. His romantic notions and sense of drama must be taken into account when reading this text, but it does provide us with the sense of unease in the community. At no point does he definitely associate the women accused of witchcraft with Catholicism, but he was at pains to point out ‘that for myself I am in religion neither a fantastic Puritan nor superstitious Papist.’²⁰⁸ The account made of witchcraft by Fairfax has the common theme of accusing those who had little defence, namely women and in particular widows and their daughters, demonstrating a concern with morality and economics.²⁰⁹ This concern with opposing evil

Protestants were keen to enforce complete conformity and that the Gunpowder plot had ‘led him [James] into a polemical battle with English Romanists over allegiance issues’ (p. 24).

²⁰⁷ W. Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia: A discourse on Witchcraft as it was acted in the family of Mr. Edward Fairfax, of Fryston, in the County of York, in the year 1621; along with two eclogues of the same author known to be in existence* (Harrogate, 1882), pp. 31-153.

²⁰⁸ Grainge, *Daemonologia*, p. 32.

²⁰⁹ R. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours* (London, 1996), pp. 205-6; Grainge, *Daemonologia*, p. 32-5; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (1971; London 1991), pp. 559-98. Briggs suggested that witchcraft was non-gender specific in his examination of European witchcraft, though did conclude that the increased accusations of witchcraft in post-1628 England were connected to more general concerns over law and order. Thomas concluded that the Elizabethan settlement removed the ‘protective ecclesiastical magic’, but also that witchcraft prosecutions were not an exclusively Protestant phenomenon (pp. 594-8). The Fairfax

was not focused on Catholicism, but did demonstrate the concerns of Edward Fairfax which were far more social and economic than religious. The fact that his family was so closely associated with Catholicism and that he had many Catholic relations most probably gave him cause for concern. It is possible that his son was the James Fairfax who was an active Jesuit priest in the Restoration period, suggesting that Edward's fears concerning what he viewed as the moral corruption of his children were closely linked to a fear of Catholicism, but again this fear was expressed not in terms of an individual Catholic, but as a wider concern about threats to society.²¹⁰

The difference between the centre and the counties is again emphasised, again fear of Catholicism by those at the centre of power is dramatic and motivated by rumour and a fear of loss of control. In the counties practical measures were in operation to control Catholic behaviour, but there did not seem to be the hysteria focused on Catholicism any more than on radical Protestantism. The Catholic gentlemen themselves were still clearly respected members of society in 1640, social position still appeared to be the decisive factor in determining associations and conservatism was often deemed more acceptable than radicalism in religion.

accusations appear to have come to nothing. The York Assizes at which these women were tried found them to be guiltless of any crime (Grainge, *Daemonologia*, p. 32n.)

²¹⁰ Grainge, *Daemonologia*, pp. 32-5.

Conclusion

The aftermath of the rebellion of 1569 did then form a turning point in society, but it was not for these Catholic families the change from lineage to civil society, but rather from public to private. 1569 saw the last large-scale public protest as the Catholic population moved from open rebellion to secret activities. There was continuity, as the family alliances established between adherents of the old religion continued and were strengthened, but whilst the movement was away from protests and open political debate, there was little interest in plotting and secret plans.

Prior to 1569 the hope could be maintained that Catholicism would be restored, and even if this did not occur under Elizabeth then at least the discontent of the north with the erosion of old traditions and the implementation of new idea and people could be illustrated to the government and the monarch herself via loyal rebellion. The Pilgrimage of Grace had not produced the desired effect, but that did not in itself invalidate protest as a method of political communication. The growth of rumours in the Elizabethan period ensured, however, that the perceived danger of the 1569 protest was greater than the actual threat it posed.

Rumour as an agent of fear and mistrust played a rôle in the post-1569 world. Catholicism was equated with evil and intrigue, yet it is important to differentiate between the fear of Catholicism and the fear of individual Catholics. Whilst fear of a non-specific evil could be used by ministers of the crown, fear of individual gentlemen

simply because they were Catholic was not so easy to foster, as will be seen in examinations of the day-to-day lives of individual Catholic gentlemen, who remained a part of the local community.

An examination of the rôle of rebellion has illustrated some of the important themes to be examined here. The rôle of younger sons and lesser members of the greater gentry families has been highlighted in rebellions and to a lesser extent in the limited rôle the Catholic gentry of Yorkshire had to play in the plots of the later era. The part played by women, their rôle and commitment to upholding Catholicism, even when the commitment of the gentlemen wavered, was seen in the Stapleton family in 1536 and more prominently in the rôle played by the wives of the earls in 1569. The transformation of Catholicism from a majority to a minority religion is paralleled by the move from large-scale protests to small groups of secretive plotters. This move was also a practical necessity as Catholics were forced into secret worship and hidden communities. Lastly whilst 'Catholicism' or 'Catholics' in general terms could be represented as a threat, individual Catholics and their families remained respected and important in the local society of the North of England, and they also remained consistently conservative and keen to maintain a status-quo. Theories of state building and social change have illustrated how integral the gentry were to the running of local society and the fact that Catholic gentlemen still had a rôle to play can be seen as a justification for a rejection of the plotting which was divisive and dangerous to social order. Throughout the period they were the champions of localism and continuity and chose to act pragmatically in their rejection of plots.

Chapter 2

Suitable, Successful and Advantageous Marriages, 1536-1640: The Creation of a Catholic Marriage Market?

Introduction

Throughout the early modern era marriage remained a tool for the advancement of a gentry family, much as it had done throughout the medieval period. Yet marriage itself was an inherently religious act and the majority of religious debate relating to marriage, particularly within Catholic historiography, has focused on the role of clandestine marriage as an indication of religious belief in the period. Aveling in 'The Marriage of Catholic recusants, 1559-1642' chose to concentrate on the clandestine marriages made by the gentry in the York diocese. He was forced to conclude that there is a lack of clearly visible evidence showing Catholic marriages and that the picture showed only 'a hard core of Catholics who took it for granted that they must marry before a Catholic missionary.'¹ John Bossy, in his study of Catholicism, concluded that marriage was still viewed as a private ceremony well into the eighteenth century. He emphasised that both Anglican and Jesuit priests in the seventeenth century were still having difficulties in persuading the population as a whole that a priest was required to perform the ceremony.²

¹ J.C.H. Aveling, 'The Marriages of Catholic Recusants, 1559-1642', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 14 (1963), 68-82 esp. p. 71. Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p.137. Both cite evidence of marriages being performed by either Missionary or Marian priests. Bossy states that by the 1630s the situation had changed and that Catholic marriages were more frequent with Nicholas Postgate marrying '226 couples in 34 years'. The concern for legitimised and publicly recognised marriage amongst the gentry must have meant that marriage needed to be proved to be legal and thus that marriage in the parish church was more frequent.

² Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, pp. 136-7.

Given this and combined with the fact that the larger gentry houses had their own chapels it is unsurprising that there is a lack of evidence concerning Catholic marriages, or at least Catholic marriage ceremonies. Haigh also looked at marriage amongst the Catholic gentry in Lancashire, though only in the context of clandestine ceremonies and this within a discussion concerned with emphasising the availability of Jesuit priests to perform these ceremonies.³ Yet in focusing upon those who opted for the clandestine or private Catholic marriage a large number of recusants, crypto-Catholics, Church papists and Catholic allies are being ignored. This leaves an incomplete picture of gentry life, excluding from examination those who adhered to the 'old religion' whilst acknowledging the practical necessity of having a legally recognised marriage. For marriage was not just a religious, but also a legal ceremony and 'those with property or reputations at stake, also accepted the obligation of a public ceremony'.⁴ An examination of the marriage patterns and fortunes of these gentry families is then essential in forming a picture of their lives and to understanding how they maintained Catholicism through the generations: but given that clandestine marriage has already been shown to be somewhat sparse and unreliable evidence of the way in which the Catholic gentry married, the focus of this study will examine wider marriage patterns and thus attempt to determine if

³ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 258-9, 291. Haigh does acknowledge the fluidity of the numbers of recusant gentry and the practicalities of having a conformist head to the family, though he does not apply this need for occasional conformity specifically to the issues surrounding marriage.

⁴ D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), p. 316. Cressy acknowledges the necessity for conformist marriage ceremonies for all non-conformist groups, but particularly emphasises the Elizabethan and early Stuart eras as times when the ecclesiastical authorities were particularly opposed to accepting as legal any ceremony which was not performed by a parish priest.

Catholicism was detrimental to the Yorkshire gentry's marriage prospects in the period and by implication a barrier to Catholic families both surviving and progressing in the early modern era.

Marriage in the Early Modern Era

In the pre-Reformation era property, alliances and a desire to continue the family line were all paramount in the minds of parents when choosing prospective partners for their children. They were not the only concerns, however; social status as well as financial prosperity was crucial, as was the geographical location of the family, particularly in reference to a daughter's prospective husband. The debate as to the role of marriage in the life-cycle, the categorisation of families as nuclear or lineage and the role of kin, friends and individuals as instigators of matrimonial unions have all remained subjects of in-depth and focused discussions. Whilst much justifiable criticism has been made of Lawrence Stone's analysis of early modern marriage, his study quite accurately placed great emphasis on continuity and prosperity amongst the landed classes.⁵ He stated that:

⁵ M. Abbott, *Life Cycles in England 1560-1720: Cradle to Grave* (London, 1996), pp. 93-110; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, pp. 287-98; A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (London, 1995), pp. 126-53, for a discussion of the gentry, with particular emphasis upon the concept of honour; R.A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700* (London, 1984); Houlbrooke, 'The Making of Marriage in Mid-Tudor England: Evidence from the Records of Matrimonial Contract Litigation', *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), 339-52; R. Schofield, 'English Marriage Patterns Revisited', *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), 2-20; J.A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (London, 1997), pp. 56-76; L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500-1800* (London, 1977); J. Youings, *The Penguin Social History of Britain: Sixteenth-Century England* (London, 1991), pp. 361-84. These are just a sample of the studies now available which look at marriage and the family, within the context of an analysis of early modern social history. The main critique of Stone was made by

Among the landed classes in pre-Reformation England, nuptiality - the proportion of surviving children who married - was determined by family strategy. The three objectives of family planning were the continuity of the male line, the preservation intact of the inherited property, and the acquisition through marriage of further property or useful political alliances.⁶

Looking at the century prior to the Reformation in the north of England, Pollard too stressed the financial and familial pressures that determined the choice of marriage partners.⁷ The late medieval era saw all these aspects of gentry life considered in marriage negotiations, as well as the less well documented considerations of love, companionship and compatibility between the two people that were to marry. The Reformation added another consideration; the religious changes of the 1530s and beyond meant that the religion of the prospective bride or groom was also a factor in the choice of partner. For the Catholic gentry of England marriage continued to be a means of social and financial advancement, but gradually, throughout the reigns of successive Tudor and then Stuart monarchs, an extra dimension was added to the process of choosing marriage partners. Whilst securing a husband or wife of good social standing, with land, wealth and if possible political power, was important, it also became desirable that the prospective partner share similar religious views. At the very least it became necessary that they were tolerant towards, if not always complicit in, Catholic activities. The financial implications of recusancy made the choice of partner significant, as marrying into a Catholic family

Houlbrooke, who highlights the faults with a Whig interpretation of family and wider social history. Although much of this criticism is accepted, Stone's analysis does primarily focus upon the landed classes and their priorities which are applicable to this study.

⁶ Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 42.

⁷ A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England During the War of the Roses: Lay Society, War, and Politics 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 106-7.

could be costly, both financially and in terms of social and political advancement. There was, therefore, continuity as late-medieval concerns blended with new considerations in the Tudor period.

It is important when looking at the Catholic gentry community that marriage and marriage patterns are examined as they played such an important role in the concerns and fortunes of the Yorkshire gentry, much as they did for the gentry throughout the country. How important was religion in determining whom to marry? In the post-Reformation era could religious compatibility supersede the value of a financially advantageous marriage? Were Catholicism and prosperity mutually exclusive and how far did marriage patterns change from the pre-Reformation era to the time of the Civil War?

In examining Catholic gentry families in Yorkshire some patterns are clear: the religion of the families was an important factor in determining whom they married, but it was by no means the only factor affecting marriage patterns and nor was it as restrictive as might first be thought. The late medieval gentry concern with marriage and all the associated financial and legal arrangements has been well documented, from the numerous correspondences of late medieval gentry families such as the Pastons and Plumptons to the more recent historical debates on the topic.⁸ These concerns were no less important to

⁸ H.S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England* (Cambridge, 1922); K. Dockray, 'Why did Fifteenth-Century Gentry Marry?: The Pastons, Plumptons and Stonors Reconsidered', in M. Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 61-80; J. Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers* (Camden Society, Fifth Series, 8, 1996). The correspondence of the Plumpton family particularly highlights the Gascoignes and Fairfaxes in both marriage and business negotiations.

the Yorkshire gentry of this period. Pollard has emphasised that marriages were ‘clearly a matter of major concern to gentle families’ and that ‘much time, money and energy were expended on arranging them.’⁹ The efforts made in terms of securing good marriages were no less in the Elizabethan era than they had been in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; families still wished to make financially prosperous matches for their offspring and ensure that they were married to those of equal or higher social standing. They were still concerned to form alliances with other families, meaning that the geographical sphere of the families that were married into was important, but added to these concerns was the desire to make a match between Catholic families, thus ensuring that the religion was maintained. This became particularly significant in the years following the 1569 rebellion, which saw increased implementation of the laws which restricted Catholic activities and the increasingly severe punishments for recusancy.

Marriage and Prosperity: The Heiress and Widow

Families that were keen to secure the financial security of their sons and daughters would naturally look to the best match that they could possibly make for their children, and frequently the offspring themselves also were keen to secure their future by a good match in marriage. Sons looking for their would-be wives were often guided by their fathers; Sir William Wentworth writing to his son, Thomas, the future earl of Strafford, provided this guidance designed to secure the ideal bride.

⁹ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 106.

For your WYFE lett hir be well borne and brought up but not to highlie, of a helthfull bodye, of a good complexion, humbe and vertuouse, some few years younger then your self and nott of a simple witt. A good portion makes hir the better and manie tymes not the prouder.¹⁰

This advice could have been given at any time from the Medieval to early modern period. In the pre-Reformation era the Yorkshire gentry as a whole showed themselves to be ambitious and eager to gain land and power through marriage. For the male members of a family financial prosperity could be obtained via a good marriage settlement. Marriage to an heiress who stood to bring with her to the marriage all or part of her family's lands was the ideal; alternatively marriage to a widow who brought with her the land and property of her deceased husband was also desirable.¹¹ Pollard has argued that this was a particular hope for younger sons, but 'since there were never enough heiresses to satisfy demand, inevitably the wealthiest families were in the best position to secure those available.'¹² It was not just younger sons who aimed to marry heiresses and widows; elder sons also were married to women who could financially enhance the fortunes of the family. If marriage to an heiress or widow was only available to families who had something to offer in return, whether this be financially or in terms of social connections

¹⁰ J.P. Cooper (ed.), *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628* (Camden Society, Fourth Series, 12, 1973), p. 20.

¹¹ E. Spring, *Law, Land and Family: Aristocratic Inheritance in England 1300 to 1800* (London, 1993). Chapter one 'The Heiress-at-law' and chapter two 'The Widow' look at legal and financial implications of female inheritance. The desire of most families to avoid a female heiress is also stressed in this book, with most emphasis being placed on the later period of the history of inheritance.

¹² Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 106.

and status, did this mean that profitable marriages were no longer open to Catholic families in the post Reformation era?

The numbers marrying either heiresses or widows can be seen as a good indication of the ambition and socio-economic status of the family in the pre-Reformation era. In the period 1536-1569 the numbers doing so can be seen to indicate financial prosperity also, both in terms of being able to secure the marriage and also because the land and capital the marriage brought to the family enhanced future generations. In the period 1569-1640, however, these marriages took on a new significance as the passage of a Catholic gentry family's inheritance to a non-Catholic family, via marriage to a Catholic heiress, removed landed power from the Catholic community. The number of Catholic families descending to a female thus became crucial.

The table below illustrates the number of sons marrying heiresses and widows from the families examined; this is not intended to illustrate that Catholics made either a greater or lesser number of profitable marriages than Protestants or Puritans (which is why no table for marriage from these groups are shown), but rather to show that Catholic families were still able to make profitable marriages in the later Elizabethan era. Thus in the period after 1569 all the families studied, excepting the Wycliffes, were able to secure marriages to heiresses and/or widows despite the problems facing Catholic families at this period.

2.1 Number of Sons Marrying Heiresses and Widows, 1450-1700 ¹³

| FAMILY | ELDEST SONS | | | | YOUNGER SONS | | | | TOTAL | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------------|
| | Heiress | | Widow | | Heiress | | Widow | | Heiresses and Widows | |
| NAME | Pre-1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Total Pre 1569 | Total Post 1569 |
| Cholmley | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Danby | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Fairfax | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Gascoigne | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 11 | 7 |
| Lawson | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Meynell | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Norton | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Stapleton | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 4 |
| Vavasour | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 4 |
| Wentworth | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Wycliffe | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Wyvill | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 19 | 9 | 11 | 6 | 12 | 13 | 5 | 12 | 47 | 40 |

Before the Reformation

In the pre-Reformation period those who secured marriages to heiresses and widows most frequently were the well-established gentry families such as the Gascoignes, the Stapletons and the Vavasours. These families were all socially and politically ambitious as well as being firmly established in terms of land, property and pedigree. From the

¹³ See appendices II and III for details of these marriages pp. 464-78, 479-504. This count includes co-heiresses within the heiress category in order to demonstrate that the family had gained significantly by the marriage, even if the entire inheritance had not passed to them. The pre-1569 categorization includes any marriages taking place in that year, as the Northern rebellion is the key turning point and this occurred in the closing months of 1569.

other families cited above there are less frequent occurrences of marriages to heiresses and widows. The rarity of these marriages makes them easily visible as important events, vital to the family's fortunes and prosperity.

By the end of the fourteenth century the Gascoigne family had been able to secure a large number of profitable marriages to heiresses and widows. Sir William Gascoigne, who held the position of Lord Chief Justice until his death in 1419, and two of his brothers as well as a number of his descendants were able to marry women who brought wealth with them to the marriage via their inheritance.¹⁴ Sir William's eldest son married Margaret, the twice-widowed daughter of Thomas Clarell, c. 1425-6.¹⁵ Marriage proved to be a profitable exercise for the Gascoignes in the fifteenth century. William and Margaret's children were also found suitable partners with all four of their sons marrying heiresses. Sir William, as the eldest son, unsurprisingly was able to marry an heiress. He married Joan, daughter and heiress of John Neville of Oversley, Warwickshire and Althorpe, Lincolnshire. More surprisingly all his three brothers had the same profitable good

¹⁴ Foster, *Pedigrees*. These three volumes do not contain page numbers, but the family pedigrees are to be found in alphabetical order, listed at the front of each volume. 'Pedigrees of the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe and Parlinton', I. Sir William Gascoigne married Elizabeth, the daughter and co-heiress of Alexander Mobray in 1387. Following Elizabeth's death he married, secondly, Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering and the widow of Sir Ralph Greystock c.1400-13. His two brothers were Nicholas and Richard. Nicholas married Mary, the daughter and heiress of Hugh Robert (or possibly John Cilderow), in 1390. Richard Gascoigne (d. 1403/4) of Hunslet and Cat Beeston, married Beatrice, daughter and co-heiress of Henry Ellis of Hunslet.

¹⁵ This was a clandestine marriage, something that was rarely engaged in by gentry families who needed clear evidence of legitimacy, with even Catholic clandestine marriages after the Reformation being a rare event as was indicated in the introduction.

fortune and also married heiresses. Robert Gascoigne of Marton married Ellen, daughter and heiress of Henry Marston; John Gascoigne of Thorpe on the Hill married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir William Swillington of Thorpe;¹⁶ and Ralph Gascoigne of Burnby married Alice, daughter and heiress of John Routh.¹⁷

The same levels of success were visible in the marriages made by the Stapleton family in the medieval era. From the end of the fourteenth century through to the fifteenth century they secured heiresses to marry their sons. Five successive generations of eldest sons made profitable marriages to heiresses or co-heiresses. Sir Brian Stapleton (d. 1394) married Alice, daughter and heiress of Sir John Philibert and widow of Sir Stephen

¹⁶ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. This marriage produced a successful branch of the Gascoigne family who resided at Thorpe on the Hill. They survived throughout the Tudor and Stuart period and eventually descended to a female heiress Ellen/Ellinor who married Arthur Ingram, groom of the Privy Chamber to Charles II.

¹⁷Foster, *Pedigrees*, I; B.J. Todd, 'The Remarrying Widow', in M. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society*, pp. 54-92. This branch of the family established a presence at Burnby and survived via marriage into families below gentry status. For example William son of Ralph married Katherine daughter of William Nelson, alderman of York. Ralph, his second son also married, with his sons becoming vicars, John vicar of Fryston and Henry parson of Burghwallis. The longevity of the women marrying into the Gascoigne family is also visible as the wives of all three of William's brothers outlived their respective husbands and some went on to re-marry. Ellen went on to remarry Arthur Pilkington; Elizabeth (d.1528), remarried William Arthington; whilst Alice, in 1488, 'took the veil' following Ralph's death. The trend for widows to remarry is supported by these events and by the experience of William's sisters who all married twice: Joan married (1) Richard Goldesborough and (2) Sir Henry Vavasour (d.1460). Anne married (1) Sir Hugh Hastings of Renwick (High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1480, who died 1489) and (2) Sir William (or possibly Christopher / Robert) Dransfield. Margaret married (1) Sir William Scargill and (2) Hamon Sutton. All married twice showing the frequency of widowhood in the fifteenth century and that a profitable alternative to marrying an heiress for sons wishing to make their fortune was to marry a widow. The crucial point was to produce children by the heiress, to ensure that the inheritance was secured; in marrying

Waleys of Healaugh; Sir Brian Stapleton (d. 1391) married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir William Aldbrough of Harewood; Sir Brian Stapleton (d. 1417) married Agnes, daughter and heiress of Sir John Goddard; Sir Brian Stapleton (1412-67) married Isabel (c. 1451), daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Remston; and Sir Brian Stapleton (1452-96) married Jane, daughter of Viscount Lovell and co-heiress of her brother.¹⁸ This ensured that they entered the sixteenth century in a relatively strong economic position.

The Vavasour family were also a prominent Yorkshire gentry family by the end of the fifteenth century, though the main branch of the family who resided at Haselwood do not seem to have had the Gascoignes' good fortune in securing marriages to heiresses or widows in the fifteenth century. William Vavasour (d. 1452) married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Langton of Langton and Huddleston and they had four children, three sons and only one daughter, which was good fortune and enhanced their financial prosperity.¹⁹ Their eldest son Sir Henry married Joanne, daughter of William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe and widow of Richard Goldesborough. This was one of the few marriages made to widows by the Vavasour family, but only the first of many associations with the Gascoigne family. The links between these two Yorkshire gentry families became particularly important in the post Reformation era

widows it was advantageous if they had no children by their first marriage, or alternatively if they brought money or land to their second marriage.

¹⁸ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I; J.W. Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire* (3 vols., London, 1899-1917), I, 163-80. The last Sir Brian cited here went on to re-marry Alice the widow of Sir William Neville of Calthorpe, furthering profitable and political connections for the family.

¹⁹ Foster, *Pedigrees*, III. Their sons were Sir Henry Vavasour, John Vavasour and William Vavasour. Their daughter, Isabel, married Sir Richard Clervaux of Croft.

Stone may have considered heiresses to be the saviour of mainly younger sons, but both the Stapleton and Gascoigne families demonstrate that they were equally important to the eldest son in securing the family fortune. Families ensured marriage to heiresses and widows for their eldest sons and heirs, presumably mindful of the advantage these marriages brought to the main branch of the family. Simon Payling suggests that there was a considerable amount of land transferred via heiresses in the century before the Black Death and contrary to McFarlane's suggestion that from 1360 entailing estates to the male line was the preference, land continued to descend to female heiresses as their number was not reduced merely to perpetuate the male line and family name.²⁰ This aspect of the marriage patterns of the Yorkshire gentry was to become increasingly important after the Reformation when family fortunes needed to be secured by the successful and profitable marriage of the eldest son.

Certainly Stone was not wrong about these marriages making the fortunes of younger sons; many of them were exceedingly successful thanks to the marriages that they made. The two younger brothers of Sir William Gascoigne were both heads of their own branches of the Gascoigne family. Sir Nicholas founded the Lasingcroft branch of the family at Barwick in Elmet which was to become a stronghold for the recusant branch of the Gascoigne family. Nicholas married Mary, daughter and heiress of Hugh Cliderow of

²⁰ S.J. Payling, 'Social Mobility, Demographic Change, and Landed Society in Late Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, 45 (1992), 51-73.

Salesbury, Lancashire.²¹ This was a profitable marriage and established Nicholas in his own right. Their eldest surviving son, John, married Isabella (c. 1445), daughter and heiress of William Heton of Mirfield and via this marriage gained lands in Leicestershire.²² Their eldest surviving son, William, is noted to have married Jane / Joanetta, daughter of Sir William Beckworth of Clint (c. 1442), which was a respectable if not overly notable marriage.²³ It was certainly nowhere near as prestigious as the marriages being secured by the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe during this period, reflecting the fact that this was the lesser branch of the family.²⁴ Their grandson, John, was born c. 1490 and married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of John, third son of Henry Vavasour in 1508.

Many younger sons were able to make their own fortunes via marriage; Robert Gascoigne's marriage to Ellen in the 1430s secured him land in Marston, and John

²¹ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I; F.S. Coleman, 'History of Barwick in Elmet', *Thoresby Society*, 17 (1908), 134-6. Foster queries the name of Mary's father suggesting Robert and John as alternatives to Hugh. Coleman cites Mary as the widow of John, son of Richard Tempest, indicating that Mary brought with her not only the property from her father, but also some interests from her late husband.

²² West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, Gascoigne MSS, GC/F1/5; Coleman, 'History of Barwick in Elmet', p. 136. Foster cites his wife as Helen rather than Isabella. The marriage took place whilst John was young and the contract signed between the two families ensured a settlement that meant both parties were provided for. This marriage produced fifteen or possibly sixteen children, but only the marriage of the eldest son, William, is noted in *Pedigrees*.

²³ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. William and Jane had seven children: John (d. 1473 unmarried), Thomas (d. 1509), William (d. 1527), Mary, Margaret, wife to William Newby, Joan and Elizabeth who married a member of the Dyneley family.

²⁴ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. Their grandson, John was born c. 1490 and married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of John, third son of Henry Vavasour in 1508, proving that by the early sixteenth century the Parlington branch of the family had progressed enough to secure this reasonably profitable marriage.

Gascoigne's marriage to Elizabeth Swillington ensured that he held lands, not only at Gawthorpe, but also at Thorpe-on-the-Hill, which was to become one of the family seats of the Gascoigne family.

One of the descendants of a younger son of the main branch of the Vavasour family was also able to make his fortune via marriage. Although the exact descent of the Spaldington branch of the family is in doubt, it is clear that John Vavasour, who married Isabel (c.1440-50), daughter and heiress of Thomas de la Haye and Elizabeth Babthorpe, initiated the family interest in Spaldington and via this marriage acquired the Spaldington lands.²⁵ This marriage arrangement was incredibly auspicious and amply illustrates the way in which matrimony could make or break a family fortune. The rôle of arranging a good marriage was a crucial one in securing a financially and politically advantageous match and was something that appeared to occupy a good deal of gentry parents' time and thought. Sir John Vavasour's wife, Isabel, had inherited the Spaldington land from her grandfather, Sir Peter de la Haye.²⁶ The land had been in the hands of the de la Haye family since the Norman Conquest and the end of their family line in a female heiress secured the fortunes of one of the younger sons of the Vavasour family. This took place in the latter half of the fifteenth century, which was the high point of the Vavasour

²⁵ Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, II; Foster, *Pedigrees*, III. The difference of opinion occurs in the generation before this marriage. Whilst Dugdale's visitation shows that the parents of John of Spaldington were Henry Vavasour and Joan Langton (mentioned in the examination of the Vavasours of Haslewood), Foster in his *Pedigrees* shows that his parents were John Vavasour and Anne, daughter of Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton (the uncle and aunt of Henry Vavasour of Haslewood).

²⁶ Foster, *Pedigrees*, III.

family's expansion and prosperity, and was typical of many gentry families.²⁷ Only one other younger son from the Vavasour family made a possibly auspicious marriage. The pedigree of the Vavasour family states that William Vavasour, third son of William Vavasour of Haselwood and Elizabeth Langton, established himself at Badsworth, and married Isabel (c. 1440-50), daughter and heiress of Robert Urswick; Isabel had also previously been widowed.²⁸ Thus the marriages of younger sons to heiresses and widows were often secured because they had the support of their wealthy families and the accompanying prominent name that gave them standing in the county.

The more prosperous gentry families were able to secure prosperous marriages in the period, further enhancing their wealth; other families made slower progress, though when they did secure marriage to an heiress, or a widow who brought estates to the marriage, this became a significant factor in securing the family's landed interest in a particular

²⁷ R.H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry 1558-1640', *Economic History Review*, old series, 11 (1941), 1-38; H.R. Trevor Roper, 'The Gentry 1540-1640', *Economic History Review*, supplement I (1953); L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965). These discussions began the debate which has been continued in F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (London, 1994); L. Stone and J.C. Fawthier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1800* (Oxford, 1984).

²⁸ 'Pedigree of the Vavasour, of Haselwood, Spaldington, Weston, Copmanthorpe, etc' in Foster, *Pedigrees*, III. Foster states here that Isabel was the widow of an unknown member of the Presteman family. However in the 'Pedigree of the Vavasours of Spaldington' he also notes that William Vavasour of Spaldington married Isabel daughter and heiress of Robert Urswick of Badsworth. Dugdale's visitation supports the suggestion that this marriage took place in the Haselwood branch but does not cite the Spaldington branch and so comparisons cannot be made to ascertain the accuracy of the two pedigrees. Foster, as the later of the two, is an amalgamation of Dugdale's and other pedigrees. Due to this it is possible that this William Vavasour of Badsworth was actually descended from the Spaldington, rather than the Haselwood, side of the family.

area. Payling accurately summarised the significance of such marriages stating that ‘the marriages of heiresses ... not only augmented the estates of those families established among the landed elite who survived in the male line but also enabled new wealth to multiply itself rapidly and so force new families into the elite.’²⁹ This period saw the establishment of many of the Yorkshire families as central players on the among the gentry community who were later to be so vital to the survival of Catholicism. It was in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century that they built and enhanced their land holdings, often via marriage. Yet the Reformation did change the situation; as Catholicism became an increasingly important factor in the choice of future husbands and wives, more caution was required.

1536-1569

This process of acquiring land via profitable marriage continued throughout the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, though to a lesser degree than in the fifteenth century; it was only with the onset of the Elizabethan period that things began to change dramatically for the Catholic gentry. The patterns that were observable in the later Elizabethan era and which were to prove such a strength for the Catholic community, had their roots in this earlier Tudor era, setting the scene for the later gentry community. Those gentry families who continued to practice Catholicism looked to make marriages with other respectable, conservative families and the plentiful numbers of these in the north of England meant that they were able to avoid those that were Protestant.

²⁹ Payling, ‘Social Mobility’, p. 70.

The families that had been prominent in the gentry community in the fifteenth century remained so, at least until the mid-sixteenth century. This meant that the Gascoignes, Stapletons and Vavasours were still able to secure profitable marriages in the early sixteenth century, as the country had seen only minimal religious changes. They married their sons to heiresses and widows whenever they could and looked to profitable marriages. Other families that had been rising to prominence in the latter half of the fifteenth century had built up their incomes and land-holdings to levels that allowed them to move in the same, more prominent social circles of the Yorkshire gentry. By the 1500s families such as the Meynells in the North of the Riding, the Lawsons who had moved into Yorkshire from the North-East and the Nortons were also able to secure prominent and profitable marriages to heiresses and widows.

The Gascoigne family as a whole continued to make successful marriages in the post-Reformation period, but it was again the main Gawthorpe branch of the family who made the most profitable marriages. Sir Henry Gascoigne of Sedbury married Isabella, daughter and heiress of Sir Henry Boynton of Sedbury, which brought the lands at Sedbury and Ravensworth under Gascoigne ownership. Marmaduke Gascoigne of Caley Hall married Jane (b. 1520), daughter and heiress of Henry Redman [Redmayne] of Harewood Castle. William Gascoigne of Wheldale married Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Henry Everingham of Everingham. John Gascoigne of Lasincroft (d. 1557) married Anne, who was the daughter and heiress of John, the third son of Sir Henry Vavasour of

Haselwood.³⁰ This marriage combined the union of two well-established gentry families with the advantage of allowing money and land to be kept within the Catholic, traditional community of Yorkshire. All these marriages increased the prestige and wealth of the Gascoigne family in the mid-Tudor period and allowed them to survive more successfully the hardships of the Elizabethan era due to the resources that they had built up in this earlier period. Richard, a younger son of the Gascoigne family of Lasingcroft, achieved marriage to an heiress and widow in both his first and second marriages showing that profitable marriages could be secured even by younger sons in the era.³¹ This pattern is certainly illustrated by the large number of younger sons marrying heiresses as illustrated in table 2.1.

In terms of social advancement marriage to an heiress remained a significant tool in the period, as the Lawson family's experience demonstrated. Sir Ralph Lawson married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Roger Brough of Brough, Richmondshire and inherited the lands there that allowed the family to move into Yorkshire. This marriage was significant in introducing a determinedly recusant family into the county and in allowing the Lawsons to move from the merchant culture of the North-East into the gentry community of Yorkshire where they made a significant impact.³²

³⁰ Foster, *Pedigrees*, III.

³¹ See Appendix III, 'Gascoigne of Lasingcroft', pp. 478-9. Richard married twice, and his brides had connections with the Sohill, Saville, West and Scargill families.

³² Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, II; James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, pp.139-46.

The Meynell family of North Kilvington had built up their resources too, via purchases of property and successful land management, in the late fifteenth century. Although they were by no means able to secure the same kind of profitable marriages that the more influential Gascoigne family had made in the fifteenth century, by the sixteenth century they did find themselves in a position to increase their land holdings via marriage. Roger Meynell, father of Thomas, married Margery, daughter and co-heiress of Anthony Caterick of Stanwick in the mid-Tudor period.³³ Thomas certainly viewed this as a providential match and writes of his mother that:

I had by hir some lands in Thornton in the Streete and good prefermente: but wch I more esteeme, I had also by hir ffyve worthie Cote Armors and as many Crestes. viz twoo by Cathericke, twoo by Tempest, one by Umfrevill. in tyme perhaps I may informe my selfe of moe, for Umfreville sure had more than one.³⁴

The lands gained via marriage were valued by the children of the match and Thomas was certainly well aware that marriage could make or break a family's fortunes. Providential marriage may be something that Thomas admired, but he was more than willing to congratulate his uncles on not marrying.

...my uncle Richard Meynell, was an honest wise and valient gentleman. he followed the example of his uncle Henry aforesayd: he died unmarried, and did not onely much advance this house of North Kilvington, but also did principally raise my brother George Meynell his house of Dalton Ryall, wee may truely say the Chastitie of twoo worthie gentlemen did gods providence very much Increased our estates:³⁵

³³ Ampleforth Abbey Library, Thomas Meynell's Commonplace Book, Ampleforth MSS; Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, I; Foster, *Pedigrees*, III, pp. 443-4

³⁴ Thomas Meynell's Commonplace Book, Ampleforth MSS; Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 5.

³⁵ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 5.

It was their failure to marry which allowed him to inherit, and rather than view this as a disadvantage, which no doubt he would have done had it not been for the wealth they brought; Thomas continues that he felt 'bounde in all honestie, and Conscience faithfully to pray for their soules.'³⁶ This powerful incentive to pray for their souls is combined with one other element, namely that, 'They both died Catholikes.'³⁷ It was not always necessary to marry an heiress or widow in order to secure a family fortune as Thomas illustrated. This became particularly true within the Catholic families of the era who were able to maintain their status without looking to a profitable marriage to an heiress, though marriage to widows was still a viable and sometimes necessary choice especially when the number of Catholic families began to decrease.

Marriage to widows was also at a reasonably high level in this period; Sir William Gascoigne (d. 1551), eldest son of Sir William Gascoigne and Lady Margaret Percy married four times, the last three marriages being to widows.³⁸ Many families benefited from marrying widows, which seemed to be especially advantageous to younger sons, though also featured in the more infrequent second marriages of eldest sons. The number

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Thomas Meynell's *Commonplace Book*, Ampleforth MSS; Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 5. See, chapter 4, pp. 225-84.

³⁸ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. His first marriage was to Alicia, daughter of Sir Richard Frognall and produced seven children. He married secondly Margaret, daughter of Richard, Lord Latimer and widow of Edward Willoughby of Beckington. This marriage produced two children. Neither William's third marriage to widow Maud Linley, nor his fourth to Bridget, the widow of Robert Stokes produced any children. The last two marriages would appear to have been engaged not for the purpose of producing children, but for the purpose of ensuring financial gain.

of family members remarrying widows did decrease in the seventeenth century and the number of male family members who remarried seems low throughout, and is definitely far lower than the number of female family members who remarried. This could indicate that the longevity of the Yorkshire women studied outweighed that of their male counterparts, but is also likely to illustrate that male members of the lower status gentry were eager to re-marry for profit.³⁹ This appears to be supported by examining the marriage patterns of eldest and youngest sons; whilst the number of eldest sons marrying widows fell from eleven before 1569 to only six after 1569, the number of younger sons marrying widows increased from five before 1569 to twelve after 1569. This indicated that those who were not to inherit an estate were keen to acquire land via marriage as the same pattern is reflected in the numbers marrying heiresses (table 2.1). Marriages to widows were more easily achieved than marriages to heiresses during the period. Eileen Spring, drawing upon and agreeing with the findings of Lawrence Stone, concluded that 'in the sixteenth century landed estates had widows upon them more than half the time.'⁴⁰ This indicated that there was a considerable number of widows, certainly a far greater

³⁹ Spring, *Law, Land and Family*, pp. 39-65; Todd, 'The Remarrying Widow', pp. 56-7. Todd's chapter examines the marriage patterns in Berkshire, but does note that in the mid-sixteenth century around 30% of brides and grooms had been married before, which can be attributed to the high mortality rates. Spring also discusses mortality rates and indicates that women were frequently younger than men at marriage, which would explain the large number of wives who outlived their husbands. See table 2.1 and appendices II (pp. 464-78) and III (pp. 479-504), for records of the number of marriages made by sons and whether these were to widows.

⁴⁰ S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford, 1998), p. 174; Spring, *Law, Land and Family*, p. 65; Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 172. Crawford and Mendelson also indicate the high proportion of widows in the population, citing Gregory King's findings that 4.5 per cent of the population were widows by the end of the seventeenth century.

number than there was heiresses; many of these women were not in their dotage, but rather widowhood was a transitory stage, as they both expected to and were expected by society to remarry.⁴¹ Second husbands and their families were unlikely to gain as much in terms of land and property from the marriage, especially if the widow had children from her first marriage, yet changes in legislation in the Tudor era and the prospect of holding land and property, even if only temporarily, were frequently advantages enough for younger sons.⁴²

1569-1640

It is important to note that the majority of truly advantageous gentry marriages occurred in the last years of the fifteenth and early years of the sixteenth century. This fact has been observed by historians, such as J.T. Cliffe, writing on the Yorkshire gentry. Cliffe cited the increasing size of marriage portions in the early seventeenth century as one of four reasons why the country gentry, despite their relative economic advantages, were still in financial difficulties. He stated that another reason for financial hardship was recusancy fines.⁴³ The ability to provide large marriage portions and the ability to pay large recusancy fines were inversely linked. In order to pay one there would be no money

⁴¹ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 174.

⁴² Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 174-84; Spring, *Law, Land and Family*, pp. 39-65. The Statute of Uses made the situation of the early modern widow far worse than that of the medieval widow, by removing her right to one third of her husband's property and replacing it with individual negotiated settlements implemented prior to marriage.

⁴³ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 161. The other two reasons cited were high wardship charges and increased litigation.

available for the other, which in part explains why the number of profitable marriages, particularly for the eldest sons and heirs of Catholic families, decreased during this period (Table 2.1).

The numbers marrying heiresses had by this period declined quite rapidly for the recusant family members; conformists or those maintaining a surface conformity fared rather better.⁴⁴ The exception to this rule was of course when a Catholic family descended to a female heiress necessitating their marriage into another Catholic family who benefited from these unfortunate circumstances. The Norton family were able to secure some particularly profitable marriages, which allowed younger sons of the main branch of the family to establish their own family seats.⁴⁵ The Lawson family too secured the profitable marriage of their eldest son Sir Ralph Lawson to Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Roger Brough, bringing the lands of Brough in Richmondshire under the Lawsons' control. The Wentworth family was more successful in this period in obtaining marriages

⁴⁴ See Appendices II and III, pp. 457-96 and table 2.1, p. 106. Whilst table 2.1 does not attempt to differentiate between conformist and recusant family members' marriages to heiresses and widows, it does illustrate the overall trend, with the total number of marriages to heiresses and widows falling from 47 pre-1569 to 40 post-1569. The elder sons of the Cholmley and Meynell families secured no marriages to either heiresses or widows during this era. From the Danby family Thomas Danby of Leake married Anne, the daughter and co-heiress of Ralph Anger. Sir William Gascoigne of Sedbury married Barbara, the daughter and co-heiress of Henry Anderson of Haswell Grange and Newcastle. From the Stapleton family, only Sir Miles of Wighill was able to secure marriage to an heiress, and from the Vavasour family William of Weston was able to secure his second marriage to an heiress.

⁴⁵ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. Francis Norton of Norton Conyers married Albreda, sister and co-heir of Thomas Wimbish of Norton in Lincolnshire. Robert Norton of Swynton [Swinton] married Catherine, daughter and heiress of John Staveley of Swynton [Swinton]. Sir Myles Stapleton married Mary, daughter and heiress of Sir Ingram Hopton.

to heiresses than they had been in the previous eras. This was most probably attributable to the fact that the main branch of the family was conformist, and had significantly increased its own fortunes, both financial and political, as the rapid social advancement of Thomas Wentworth attested.⁴⁶ The sub-branch of the Wentworth family at Woolley also benefited from marriage to an heiress, as Michael Wentworth married Frances, daughter and heiress of George Downes of Paunton, despite Michael's public adherence to Catholicism. Many of these marriages appear to have been beneficial on financial and religious grounds; Frances Downes' marriage to Michael was a Catholic union as attested to by the fact that they were both prosecuted, her frequently more so than him, thus indicating religious commitment that would have made their marriage satisfactory to both families.⁴⁷

The number marrying widows was still at a respectable level in this period, with eighteen sons marrying women who had previously been married.⁴⁸ Amongst eldest sons, marriages to widows were often also their second marriages. Sir Thomas Fairfax, Viscount Emley of Tipperary made his second marriage to Mary, the widow of Sir

⁴⁶ See Appendix II, p. 469. Successive eldest sons in the Wentworth-Woodhouse branch of the family married heiresses.

⁴⁷ C. Talbot (ed.), *Miscellanea: Recusant Records* (CRS RS, 53, 1960), pp. 16, 179, 284, 301, 307, 383-4, 389, 395, 402-3.

⁴⁸ Even those families who were unable to secure marriage to heiresses were on occasion able to secure marriage to a widow for their sons, presumably because financially not as much was resting on the decision to marry a Catholic. The Danby family was unable to secure marriages to heiresses but a younger son of the Great Leake branch of the family, John of Borroughby, was able to marry Dorothy Davile, a widow of Ottringham.

William Bamborough of Howsham in Yorkshire.⁴⁹ Thomas Gascoigne of the Gascoignes of Parlington, second son of John Gascoigne and Maud Arthington, married Alice, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe and widow of Edmund Haselwood of Maidswell, Northamptonshire. No date for the marriage is given, but it is likely that it occurred at some point later than 1570.⁵⁰ Sir Henry Cholmley of West Newton Grange, a younger son of the Cholmley family of West Newton, married Catherine, the daughter of Henry Stapleton and widow of Sir George Twilston of Barley. This was one of the few marriages made to widows by sons of the Cholmley family. It was significant that this marriage was to the widow of another Catholic family, the Stapletons, which ensured that land and property remained within the Catholic community.

The changing patterns of marriages to widows and heiresses reflected the changing economic, social and religious circumstances of the period which impacted upon gentry marriages. The number of eldest sons marrying both widows and heiresses declined after 1569; much of the land acquisition of the main estates of the gentry in Yorkshire appeared to have already occurred by the 1560s and so it was less crucial for eldest sons to marry into land or money. The opposite was occurring with younger sons; a greater percentage of them married heiresses and widows to secure both their future and an estate for their successors. Those profitable marriages which did occur after 1569 were often to

⁴⁹ Nicholas Fairfax, a younger son of the Fairfaxes of Walton, made his second marriage to Catherine, the widow of Sir George Southcote of Bilborough.

⁵⁰ Coleman, 'History of Barwick in Elmet', pp. 147-8. Thomas' parents married c.1554 meaning that Thomas was unlikely to have married until around 1570; given that his elder brother did not marry until 1591-2, it was possible that Thomas' marriage could have in fact occurred after this date.

the daughters of other Catholic families. Payling suggested that land was often passed via heiresses in the pre-Reformation period and this study would suggest a continuity of this tradition throughout the sixteenth century.

A Female Heiress

The descent of a family line to a female heiress was particularly significant during the post-Reformation period, from 1569 to 1640. Whereas in the previous eras the Catholic families had been the beneficiaries of such events, in this era some branches of the families found themselves to be in the unfortunate position of having only daughters who survived them. The continuity of the family name and inheritance were as always of great concern, but by the late Elizabethan era, the continuity of the Catholic family line was also crucial to the survival of Catholicism in the county and in the country, and estates were not always entailed to the male line, but passed to other Catholic families.⁵¹

The main branch of the Gascoigne family at Gawthorpe descended to a female heir in the 1570s. William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe (d. 1566/7) and Beatrice faced the unfortunate circumstances that, of their six children, only their daughter Margaret survived them.⁵² Margaret had married to Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse prior to her parents' death. This was a marriage of equals and had ensured that their daughter was part

⁵¹ Payling, 'Social Mobility', pp. 56-7. Payling suggests that where some aspect of entailment to the male line did occur, daughters were not ignored, but rather that some provision was made, often in regards to marriage settlements. Although this refers to late-medieval patterns, it also ties in with the idea that land was transferred via female heiresses.

of a respectable Yorkshire family that was also noted as pro-Catholic at this period. The marriage was later to become of great importance, as Margaret's grandchild was Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford.⁵³ Margaret's son, writing of the event, stated;

William Gascoigne Esquyer had diuers sonnes borne, butt all dyed in ther minority and my mother came to be the sole daughter and hare to him of suche lands as weare left and not entailed to the heire males.⁵⁴

The marriage of Margaret Gascoigne was eventually to bring all the Haselwood lands to the Wentworths: Margaret had no surviving elder brothers by 1578 and also inherited the lands of Francis, her uncle, which benefited her heirs greatly.

For those lands Francis Gascoigne, brother to William and uncle to my mother, enjoyed. This Francis had two wives and only a sonne by the latter which liued butt about 3 years and so, for want of issue of Francis, his lands also came to my mother after his death.⁵⁵

The Gascoignes of Haselwood found that they too had descended to a female heir and so the Catholic branch of the family at Haselwood died out. The Gascoignes at Sedbury and Lasingcroft maintained the Gascoigne name and presence in the county, meaning that the family did not die out in the area. The Gascoignes of Sedbury too faced a similar problem, descending to a female heiress. The problem was once again circumvented by

⁵² Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. William, William, Richard, Thomas and Francis all died young.

⁵³ Cooper, *Wentworth Papers*; Foster, *Pedigrees*, I.

⁵⁴ Cooper, *Wentworth Papers*, p. 27.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

marrying their daughters into another Yorkshire Catholic gentry family, as Isabel was married to Sir Marmaduke Wyvill.⁵⁶

This was also to be the fate of another Catholic family, who were able to depend on a lesser branch of the family to maintain their name even though they were not as fortunate as the Gascoignes in already having this branch well established. The Wycliffe family descended to joint female heiresses; William Wycliffe and Muryell Blakestone had the misfortune to produce only one son who died before his father meaning that it was their daughters who were the only Wycliffes from the main branch of the family to survive their parents.⁵⁷ The co-heirs to the estate were Dorothy and Catherine Wycliffe, both of whom married.⁵⁸ It was via Dorothy that the ambitious Catholic family, the Withams of Cliffe, and through Catherine the Lancashire family, the Tunstalls, were able to secure a share of the Wycliffe inheritance.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ See appendix II, pp. 470-1, 'Wyvill' section and appendix IV, pp. 505-29 'Gascoigne' section.

⁵⁷ T.D. Whittaker, *A History of Richmondshire in the North Riding of the County of York*, [3 vols.] (London, 1823), I, 201-2. William made another will in 1606, presumably prompted by the death of his son and the knowledge that unless another male heir could be produced then his daughters would become co-heirs to the estate.

⁵⁸ Ibid. William and Muryell had three daughters, Mary, who died young sometime before 1596, Dorothy and Catherine. Dorothy was the eldest of the two surviving sisters and married John Wytham (Witham) of Cliffe, Yorkshire, sometime before 1606. John Wytham married twice more. His second marriage was to Mary Rudd and his third marriage to Jane, daughter of Anthony Radcliffe of Blanchland, Northumberland. Jane was also heir to her family estate, coming from her brother William Radclyffe. This new interest in Northumberland is perhaps one reason why John Wytham, despite his family's ambitions, did not play so significant a role as Marmaduke Tunstall in the future of the Wycliffe estates.

⁵⁹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 260.

Catherine Wycliffe married close to or more likely after her father's death; her husband was Marmaduke Tunstall of Skargill (pre-1612).⁶⁰ He was a politically active and conspicuous man whose family held land and position in Lancashire. Aveling views this particular land transfer as significant. It signaled the loss of one of the Catholic gentry families from the Gilling West area, yet this loss was canceled out by the gain of new families with Catholic tendencies. He writes that 'the net result was no loss of Catholic property... but the vanishing from the Riding of the Wycliffes and Giringtons and their replacement by the Tunstalls.'⁶¹ The arrival of the Tunstall family was significant as they represented a Catholic family who could replace the Wycliffes in Yorkshire Catholic gentry society. Their migration into Yorkshire was not necessarily a coincidence, which occurred merely due to the marriage and subsequent inheritance of Wycliffe land and property. The Tunstall family had displayed an interest in Yorkshire for a number of years and the acquisition of this land can be seen as the last piece in their move to the county.⁶² This marriage combined both of the main interests of Marmaduke and his father

⁶⁰Whittaker, *History of Richmondshire*, I, pp. 201-2; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 258. Whittaker notes that the marriage took place before 1612, but the dates surrounding this transfer of land are difficult to determine with any accuracy. Aveling noted the date of the estate descending to a female heir as 1611, but gave no specific date for the Tunstalls' acquisition of the Wycliffe estate.

⁶¹Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 259.

⁶² The Tunstall lands in Lancashire were very close to the Yorkshire border, and the marriage alliances that the family made were often with Yorkshire families. Brian Tunstall, Marmaduke's father, had married Isabel, daughter of Sir Henry Boynton, who held lands at Barmston, on the East Coast. Whilst the main branch of the Wycliffe family came to an end in the 1610s, the family name was maintained via a secondary branch of the family springing from William Wycliffe's second wife, once again emphasizing the important role younger sons played in the maintenance of Catholicism in the Yorkshire gentry families.

Francis, namely acquiring land in Yorkshire and marrying into established Yorkshire Catholic gentry families.⁶³

Many of these families cannot have known that their estates would ultimately have descended to a female line as they usually also had sons. This implies that their ultimate belief would have been that the male line would continue, thus making entailment unnecessary, yet this does not imply that it was merely a fortunate accident that their daughters were married into other Catholic families. Those families which descended to a female heiress frequently appear to have ensured that their daughters were married into other Catholic gentry families. This indicated a concern that their daughters should be married to men with the same or at the least sympathetic religious beliefs, suggested that the marriage did involve religious consideration and indicated that this was a deliberate policy regardless of the unknown financial implication. Whilst entailing estates to the nearest male relative may have meant risking the lands passing into the hands of a distant relative whose religion was unknown, potential husbands could be selected and therefore control could be retained even when daughters inherited. This can be seen even more clearly when female heirs were known to be the only beneficiaries, and although a certain amount of entailment to the male line did occur, in these cases marriage into a Catholic family was often the main priority.

⁶³ Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, II, pp. 295-6. Francis Tunstall had married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Gascoigne of Sedbury. See appendix IV, p. 514.

Status: A marriage of equals

Marriage to secure economic prosperity was not the only motivating factor in determining a suitable marriage in this period; closely connected to the acquisition of landed economic power was the issue of status. A family's prosperity was frequently a determinant of their status, but less profitable matches were sought if they brought with them marriage into a well-established noble or gentry family, whose name and patronage could ultimately be of greater benefit than a large marriage dowry. Lawrence Stone used the theory of a declining aristocracy and a rapidly expanding gentry class to explain increased social mobility in marriage amongst the elite in the period.⁶⁴ Social class cannot however be seen in isolation, as this would certainly be an over-simplification of the determinant factors in marriage patterns. Macfarlane noted that 'an individual's marriage "choice" is already largely determined on the day of his birth on the basis of the kinship relations of his parents.'⁶⁵ The role of gentry relationships within a certain locality was very important, though kinship as defined by blood relationships was less important than shared geographical, social and religious interests in the early modern era. The marriage patterns of the Catholic gentry in the sixteenth and seventeenth century indicated that kinship/local relationships remained a determinant in marriage choice and that this was more significant than social status, particularly by the late sixteenth century when marriages to families of lower social status occurred more frequently. Between 1500 and

⁶⁴ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp. 36-128.

1640 the Yorkshire Catholic gentry were subject to the same economic and social changes which impacted on society as a whole and some of these were beneficial; the increase in the 'gentry' class to include 'new men', professionals and merchants frequently meant that the number of Catholic families or at least families who were sympathetic to Catholicism in the north increased, providing a larger pool of gentry families for intermarriage. In terms of general trends long established gentry families such as the Cholmleys, Gascoignes, Vavasours and Wentworths were concerned to ensure that they married their sons and daughters into families of equal status or if possible into the ranks of the nobility; families such as the Danbys were eager to augment their status within the ranks of the gentry and nobility, whilst the Lawsons were in the midst of transforming themselves from the merchant class to the ranks of the landed gentry and therefore saw marriage as a way of enhancing their status.⁶⁶

Before the Reformation

The Gascoignes were not strangers to the process of 'bettering themselves'. Their status had always been of great concern and both of the two main families at Gawthorpe and Parlington managed to make prosperous and high status marriages in the fifteenth and

⁶⁵ A. Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England 1300-1840: Modes of Reproduction* (London, 1986), p. 245. Status is defined in chapter eleven as significant in terms of blood relationships of the two people that were to marry as well as in terms of their relative class status.

⁶⁶ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 63; Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love*, p. 254; Stone and Fawthier Stone, *An Open Elite*, pp. 18-9. Macfarlane points out that in England there was no legal barrier to prevent marriage between the different social classes, which meant that marriages between nobility and commoners were possible.

early sixteenth centuries.⁶⁷ In the 1460s the Gawthorpe branch of the family had made connections, via marriage, with the Plumptons, a younger son of the Neville family and more importantly the Percy earls of Northumberland.⁶⁸ During this early period the desire to have sons and daughters join the church was almost non-existent, as the prospect of profitable and socially beneficial marriages was more readily available than it was towards the end of the sixteenth century. Their fortunes and ability to make high-status marriages did decline somewhat in the mid-sixteenth century, though numerous male members of the family were able to find wives who brought with them land and property.

The Gascoignes of Gawthorpe's ambitions were not merely limited to financial acquisitions, they also wanted to advance their social standing in the county via marriage in the fifteenth century. William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe (d.1486/7) married Lady Margaret Percy, daughter of Henry Percy, third earl of Northumberland. It should also be noted that Sir William's father, also Sir William (died pre-1463/4) had married Joan daughter and heiress of John Neville of Oversley, Warwickshire and Althorpe,

⁶⁷ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I contains the 'Pedigree of Gascoigne, of Gawthorpe and Parlinton.' William Gascoigne of Harewood and his wife Agnes, daughter of William Franke had three sons, two of these form the heads of the two main branches of the Gascoigne family in Yorkshire. Their eldest son, William, headed the branch of the family that settled at Gawthorpe and Thorpe on the Hill and produced, via his first marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Alexander Mowbray, a line that continued at Gawthorpe and Harewood into the Elizabethan era. The children from his second marriage to Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering established a branch of the Gascoigne family at Cardington, Bedfordshire. This branch of the family will be referred to, but no detailed account of their progress will be made.

⁶⁸ Kirby, *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 228.

Lincolnshire.⁶⁹ Whilst the Gascoignes' connection with the Nevilles may have only stretched to the son of a younger son their connection to the Percys was far more secure. In the generation in which William of Gawthorpe married Lady Margaret Percy the links between the two families were clear. John Gascoigne, of Bughwallis, continued the direct link with the Percy family as he married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Percy of Egremont.⁷⁰ William's sisters also married, with Anne / Agnes marrying Sir Robert Plumpton of Plumpton c. 1477.⁷¹ The Plumptons had close links with the Percy family, due to their status in the county, and were perhaps less willing to accept the Gascoignes as their equals (or possible rivals, for Percy favour) at this period. The marriage of Anne Gascoigne and Robert Percy did, however, suggest that socially the two families were linked.

Other families too managed to arrange prestigious marriages for their children in the late medieval period, especially for their eldest sons. The Stapletons managed to secure a marriage for their eldest son, Brian, to the daughter of Viscount Lovell in the late fifteenth century, whilst his eldest son married Elizabeth the daughter of the seventh Lord Scrope of Bolton and John Vavasour had married Anne the daughter of the sixth Lord

⁶⁹ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. John Neville was the son and heir of Ralph Neville, the second son of Ralph Neville, the first earl of Westmorland. This meant that the Gascoignes had connections with the two main northern noble families.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Kirby, *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 49-50. A letter from Robert Plumpton to Sir William Plumpton in 1477 expressed some reservations about the match between Anne/Agnes Gascoigne and Robert Plumpton. It seems that the Percy family was not swayed by this and the match went ahead. Margaret Gascoigne married Sir Christopher Ward of Givendale.

Scrope.⁷² There was evidence of gentry-nobility marriages in this period, with sons of gentry marrying the daughters of nobility, but there seems to be little evidence of the relationship working in reverse with minimal evidence that daughters of the gentry married into noble families.⁷³

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was a time when the greater noble families of the north held land and power on both the local and national stage and were therefore families with which the gentry of Yorkshire wished to secure alliances and patronage. Marriage into the nobility was something to which the Yorkshire gentry aspired and was achieved more frequently in the pre-Reformation era than in the later Tudor or Stuart periods.⁷⁴ The numbers of gentry families in Yorkshire had increased by the late sixteenth century and the advantages to be gained by marrying into the northern noble families decreased as their hold on the north was weakened, which in part explains the decrease in the number of marriages into the nobility; consideration also needs to be given to the declining status and economic viability of the Catholic gentry families themselves during

⁷² Foster, *Pedigrees*, III. See appendix II, 'Stapleton', pp. 472-3, and 'Vavasour', pp. 474-6, for details.

⁷³ See appendix IV, pp. 505-529. The only occurrences appear to be Barbara Gascoigne who married the younger son of Thomas West, Lord de la War and Eleanor Stapleton who married Thomas, Lord Wharton.

⁷⁴ M.A. Hicks, 'The Changing Role of the Wydevilles in Yorkist Politics to 1481', in Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power*, pp. 60-86. Hicks discusses the marriages secured by Jacquette and Richard for their thirteen children (p. 63), indicating that by 1461 the marriages they had made were 'above themselves' even if they were not to the most prestigious noble families. Similar patterns are true of the Gascoignes, Vavasours and Stapletons, who were marrying 'above themselves' in the second half of the fifteenth century, even if they were not marrying into the most prestigious noble families in the country. They certainly did not achieve the dynastic connections or infamy of the Wydevilles.

this period which also accounted for their inability to marry above themselves and when this began to impact upon their marriage patterns.

Status and Religion After the Reformation

1536-1569

The patterns of inter-marriage between noble and gentry families appear to have been maintained prior to the 1570s, though again they occurred most frequently amongst the ranks of the more prominent gentry, thus lending credence to the idea that the period between the Reformation and the 1569 rebellion was one where economic differentials between the two groups narrowed.⁷⁵ Eldest sons of the gentry who married the daughters of noblemen included Sir Richard Cholmley of Roxby, Sir William Fairfax of Steeton and William Wycliffe.⁷⁶ Some younger sons too managed to marry into the lower branches of the nobility, whilst daughters did not fare quite so well, often having to marry below their own family's status.

Marriage between families of comparable gentry status was the most common occurrence within Catholic families prior to 1570. Younger sons who established themselves in areas away from the main family land-holdings created sub-branches of the family and these

⁷⁵ J.R. Gillis, *For Better, For Worse* (London, 1985), pp. 80-105. Chapter three states that status becomes less significant than wealth as time progresses and as the economic differences between classes decrease.

⁷⁶ See appendix II, pp. 464-78. Richard Cholmley married Margaret, the daughter of Lord Conyers, and then Catherine, daughter of the first earl of Cumberland and widow of the eighth Lord Scrope. Sir William

kinship ties were vital in the creation of a Catholic gentry culture in other areas. Many younger daughters and sons of the Catholic families found themselves being married into other lesser branches of well-established Yorkshire gentry families, including the Gascoignes, Vavasours, Stapletons and Wentworths. Marriages, in the majority, were arranged by the parents to secure a suitable match for their offspring, but there were occasions where love overcame status in marriage. Katherine Cholmley, daughter of Sir Richard Cholmley of Whitby was intended to marry Lord Lumley, a match arranged by her father. She however fell in love with, and was allowed to marry, Richard Dutton, a younger son of a minor gentleman, far below her own status and her music teacher.⁷⁷ The marriage of the daughters of gentlemen to men of lesser status was becoming more frequent in the sixteenth century. The daughters of those families who form a core-sample for this study began to marry lesser men from within Yorkshire; these men were often connected in some way to their own family, or alternatively to families outside the county who had a Catholic heritage.⁷⁸ Mary Danby and Helen Gascoigne both married into the Appleby family who were symbolic of all these categorisations, being a lesser gentry family and holding much of their land in county Durham. What recommended them to these two relatively prestigious families was their connections with the law and their

Fairfax married Elizabeth, the daughter of Robert Manners and William Wycliffe's second marriage was to the daughter of Lord Eure.

⁷⁷ H. Cholmley, *The Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley, Knt. and Bart. Addressed to his two sons in which he gives some account of his family and the distress they underwent in the Civil Wars* (London, 1787), pp. 8-9; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 13; Appendix IV, p. 497.

⁷⁸ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 59; Appendix IV, pp. 497-521. Examples of common interests uniting families can be seen with the marriage of Anne Gascoigne and John Mallet of Normanton. Mallet worked

Catholic background, which had been further enhanced by the Applebys' connections with the Lawsons.

Thus the Applebys' lesser status was overcome by religious, kin and professional alliances. These factors were to become of even greater importance in the period after 1569 although as is clear they can also be seen as uniting factors amongst the Catholic gentry focused upon here prior to 1569. These twelve Catholic gentry families interacted with so great a number of other gentry families that religious and kin connection can also be seen to be common factors in determining marriage alliances throughout the Yorkshire Catholic gentry of the period, indicating that the core group studied reflect wider trends.

1569-1640

Sir John Ferne, writing in 1586, firmly believed that a gentleman should never marry outside his own class as it caused 'an iniurie not onely done to the person of the yong Gentleman, but eeke a dishonor to the whole house from which he is descended'.⁷⁹ Yet many families did marry below their own status in this period. The decline of the prominent northern noble families that had dominated prior to 1569 ensured that marrying into noble families was increasingly unlikely even for the important gentry

coal on the Duchy of Lancaster property, and the Gascoignes had strong connections with the Duchy and with mining in the area.

⁷⁹ J. Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentry* (London, 1586), pp. 9-10, cited in Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 12.

families such as the Gascoignes and Vavasours.⁸⁰ Cliffe writing on the Yorkshire gentry reached the conclusion that:

Occasionally a major landowner took as his bride, or married his eldest son to, the widow or heiress of a city merchant but this was still rare enough to merit comment. In contrast, the inferior gentry were far less exclusive in their marriage alliances, at least in social terms, and at this level there was frequent intermarriage with commercial and yeoman families.⁸¹

Peter Earle has pointed out in his study of the middling sort that the differentiation between the gentry and the genteel was often hard to define and in areas where both shared the same background, experiences and often kin connections then families might be 'happy for their sons and daughters to intermarry'.⁸² Although Earle's study was focused on London, where social boundaries were becoming blurred, similar trends are

⁸⁰ M. James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986); Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*. Both discuss the role of the aristocracy in England during the Tudor era. Stone advocates that the aristocracy was in decline for a variety of reasons including the shifting social/economic position and increasing influence of the gentry. This in turn led to the declining aristocratic/noble numbers and their relative influence. James makes case studies of individual noblemen and concludes that whilst Henry VIII had made significant attempts to break the power of the 'overmighty' nobility, they still remained important figures in the north of England, able to manipulate the monarchy. ('A Tudor Magnate and the Tudor State: Henry Fifth Earl of Northumberland', pp. 48-90.) James does concede, however that the role of the gentry had increased during the Tudor era, causing some insecurities amongst the northern aristocracy (p. 100). The fact that many gentry families ceased targeting the northern noble families for marriage appears to indicate that they had recognised a change in the political climate and their desire to intermarry with other gentry families surely indicates that they saw their future advancement to lie within their locality. See 'Rumours, Rebellions, Risings, Plots and Protests: Catholic Opposition in an Era of Change', for an expansion of this debate, pp. 16-95

⁸¹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 12-13.

⁸² P. Earle, 'The Middling Sort in London', in J. Barry and C. Brooks (ed.), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (London, 1994), p. 148.

observable in the north, though naturally to a lesser extent than were observable in the microcosmic study of urban society in the capital.

Priority was given, by families, to the marriages of eldest sons and they were most frequently married to daughters of families of equal or better status. Successive eldest sons of the Cholmley family of Brandsby in this period married into other Yorkshire gentry families of equal status and who had traditionalist religious beliefs.⁸³ For those wishing to maintain their family status and engage in marriages to other families with similar religious beliefs, marrying into other Yorkshire or North-Eastern families seems to have been the popular choice.⁸⁴

The arrival of the Lawson family, originally of county Durham, is one of the best examples of the increasing alliance between Yorkshire and the North-East. The Lawsons were a coal mining family who had ambitions to become landed gentry and were able to achieve this ambition via a combination of economic changes in the era and the fact that they chose to ally with the recusant gentry. They thus found acceptance and a supply of marriage partners who came from the ranks of the 'old' established gentry families and who brought with them social connections and a pedigree which ensured the acceptance

⁸³ See Appendix II, pp. 464-78; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 194, 205, 263. The Thorntons of Newton (East Newton) had remained sympathetic to Catholicism thorough the Elizabethan period, but were noted as a Puritan prior to 1641. The marriage between Ursula Thornton and Marmaduke Cholmley must have taken place around 1620-30. The Tunstalls were a well-known Catholic family who replaced the Wycliffes in Yorkshire during the early seventeenth century. The Plumptions were also a well-established Yorkshire Catholic gentry family.

⁸⁴ See Appendix II, 'Gascoignes of Sedbury', pp. 460-2, 'Meynell of North Kilvington', pp. 463-4.

of this 'new money'. M. James saw these new people as significant to the survival of Catholicism in the Durham area, stating that 'an interesting feature of Durham recusancy is the powerful reinforcement it received from the urban and mercantile background of Newcastle, and particularly from the great coal owning families.'⁸⁵ Certainly these families were important in Durham and to both the gentry of the North Riding and Richmondshire, but it should be remembered that these people did not attempt to form a new middle-class Catholicism, but rather desired the status of landed gentry. The Lawsons' rapid migration into Yorkshire along with their marriages to the Constables and the Hodgesons' alliances with the Nevilles and Inglebies demonstrated that these families had successfully moved into the Catholic gentry society of Yorkshire.⁸⁶ They also married into gentry families, such as the Wycliffes, whose finances were in need of a boost due to the misfortunes of descending to a female heiress, thus strengthening the ranks of the Catholic gentry with new financial assets.⁸⁷

Younger sons married more frequently into families of lesser status in this era, although they were most often members of the lesser gentry as opposed to daughters of city aldermen or yeoman farmers. For example the younger sons of the Cholmley family of

⁸⁵ James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 138.

⁸⁶ See Appendices II, III and IV, 'The Lawsons of Brough', pp. 462-3, 480-1, 506-7; James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, pp. 138-9. The Hodgesons were another Newcastle family who had made their money through the coal industry and who chose to ally with Catholic gentry and nobility. It should also be noted that the two families, the Lawsons and the Hodgesons, intermarried frequently. Henry Lawson, son and heir of the Lawsons of Brough married Anne Hodgeson and Mable/Elizabeth Lawson married Richard Hodgeson as her second husband. These two families were of equal status.

⁸⁷ Foster, *Pedigrees*. See Appendix III, 'Wycliffe of Wycliffe', pp. 494-5.

Brandsby married into the Babthorpe, Aslaby and Saxton families, all of whom were members of the Yorkshire gentry.⁸⁸ Daughters too were married more frequently to men of slightly lesser status in terms of being of the lower gentry, younger sons or 'new money'. The fact that the merchant classes and townfolk of York held within their ranks active recusants who also had sufficient incomes to support the lifestyle of a gentleman or gentlewoman meant that the Yorkshire gentry could look to them to find suitable husbands and wives for their sons and daughters. Many of these families had recusant members or were noted as being sympathetic to the Catholic cause, suggesting that as the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras progressed, religion rather than status was a decisive factor in arranging marriages for younger sons and daughters.⁸⁹

Geographical Patterns of Marriage

Before the Reformation

Heal and Holmes, referring to previous studies made concerning the geographical marriage patterns of gentry families in the Stuart era, concluded that the heads of gentry families were most likely to marry outside their own county, whilst 'lesser gentlemen tended to marry within their own neighborhoods.'⁹⁰ The distinction is therefore made by them that social position was the decisive factor in marriage arrangements with reference to the geographical area that partners are taken from. This distinction was not the only

⁸⁸ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 168. The Babthorpes were a prominent East Riding Catholic family.

⁸⁹ Appendices III and IV, pp. 479-504, 497-521, show those who were recusant or from sympathetic families.

⁹⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 61. They refer to studies of Lancashire, Cheshire, Kent and Warwickshire.

factor determining the geographical spread of families that married into the Yorkshire gentry as this period saw changing patterns for the Catholic families defined also in terms of religion.

The importance of the idea of 'county' as central in the mind of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century gentleman has been emphasised by many historians with the growth in local studies. The creation of an England composed of groups with insular identities has come to light in many recent studies, though more recent historical discussion of the subject has criticised the idea of a definitive 'county community'.⁹¹ The portrayal of county communities as isolated county groups who only associated with gentry families from their own county may not be entirely applicable to Yorkshire.⁹² Certainly there were local affiliations and these local structures and loyalties overrode

⁹¹ M.J. Bennett, 'A County Community: Social Cohesion among the Cheshire Gentry, 1400-25', *Northern History*, 8 (1973), 24-44; C. Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1995), 340-80; G. Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1980), 54-73; A.L. Hughes, 'Warwickshire on the Eve of the Civil War: a "County Community"?', *Midland History*, 7 (1982), 42-72; Stone and Fawthier Stone, *An Open Elite?*, pp. 32-3. Stones stated 'When a man in the sixteenth or seventeenth or even eighteenth century said "my country" he usually did not mean England, but his county. During this period there was an intensification of this local patriotism and a growth of a strong sense of county community'. In contrast Holmes and Hughes de-emphasise the idea of a county community.

⁹² Stone and Fawthier Stone, *An Open Elite?*, p. 34. Stone continues this discussion, apparently contradicting his earlier emphasis on the county community, stating that recent studies have over-emphasised the importance of the county community creating an imbalance in the opposite direction. '...the significance of a county community has been exaggerated in recent years. No county was an island unto itself, even in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and marriage, education, litigation, politics and pleasure all created wider connections amongst the elite of the nation.' This second point appears to incorporate a wider and more comprehensive historical analysis.

any idea of national affinities. What appeared to be the overriding concern of the Yorkshiremen of the time, however, were alliances with their neighbours, either geographical or spiritual, even if this meant crossing county boundaries in their search for brides, grooms and business allies.⁹³

The fifteenth century saw gentry families making the most advantageous marriages in terms of gaining from the geographical locations of their husbands and wives. Unsurprisingly, a great number of the marriages were centered on families from the same locality, though not always from the same county; indicating that there was no preference of county over locality. Those in the north of the region frequently looked to Northumberland and Cumberland and especially to the bishopric of Durham and the town of Newcastle. Those in the south of the county focused on Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire for potential partners for their children as well as marrying into local families from the Riding. Many of the families held land or had ancestral connections within other areas that they could play upon to ensure the best match possible. Local allegiance was strong in this period and many marriages were made to other members of the Yorkshire gentry, but usually it was the fact that the families were from the same geographical region or had kin connections which made them neighbours, even if they were not geographically from the same county. Thus these were the important factors in making a marriage alliance. In the fifteenth century John Meynell (b. 1432) married Joan,

⁹³ P. Maddern, 'In Will and Deed: 15th-Century Norfolk Gentry and Local Identity' (unpublished paper given at IMC Leeds, 1999) emphasised the idea of 'neighbour' and 'neighbourhood' over the idea of

daughter of Richard Hansard of county Durham.⁹⁴ The location of the family lands in the very north of the Riding made the connection with Durham a logical one, and Robert Meynell, John's son, was also found a partner in the north, this time from Westmorland. The advent of the sixteenth century saw the Meynell interest in the north decrease, with the family choosing partners for their children from the more immediate locality.⁹⁵

The importance of region is therefore vital and families under examination here were reliant on local and kin connections that transcended the legal and geographical boundaries of a wapentake, riding or county. This pattern appears to reflect the general trends of the gentry in the north and as religion became an increasingly important factor the significance of local and kin ties was further enhanced.

county in the late medieval consciousness as shown by the business transactions and communications of members of the Norfolk gentry.

⁹⁴Foster, *Pedigrees*, III.

⁹⁵ See appendices II, p. 477; III, pp. 502; and IV, pp. 527-8, 'Wycliffe'. The Meynell family failed to pursue their links with Durham unlike the Wycliffes who used these links in the post-Reformation period to their best advantage. The Meynells seemed to view their position as most sustainable if their links within Yorkshire were maintained. This was the area in which they held most land and a more significant place in society; yet at this early stage they did not play a large role in the Yorkshire Catholic marriage market, holding few connections with the Gascoignes, Vavasours, Wycliffes or Wyvills. The latter of these two families may have seemed an obvious choice for the Meynells considering their geographical proximity.

2. 2 Numbers marrying within Yorkshire before 1569 ⁹⁶

| PRE 1569 : NUMBERS MARRYING INTO FAMILIES FROM | | | |
|---|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | YORKSHIRE | ELSEWHERE | UNKNOWN |
| ELDEST SONS | 54/100 54% | 31/100 31% | 15/100 15% |
| YOUNGER SONS | 36/74 48% | 19/74 26% | 19/74 26% |
| DAUGHTERS | 68/136 50% | 28/136 21% | 40/136 29% |
| TOTAL | 158/310 51% | 78/310 25% | 74/310 24% |

2. 3 Numbers marrying within Yorkshire after 1569

| AFTER 1569: NUMBERS MARRYING INTO FAMILIES FROM | | | |
|--|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | YORKSHIRE | ELSEWHERE | UNKNOWN |
| ELDEST SONS | 42/83 51% | 35/83 42% | 6/83 7% |
| YOUNGER SONS | 42/95 44% | 31/95 33% | 22/95 23% |
| DAUGHTERS | 112/174 64% | 43/174 25% | 19/174 11% |
| TOTAL | 196/352 56% | 109/352 31% | 47/352 13% |

⁹⁶ Details of individual marriages cited in appendices II-IV, pp. 464-529. A break down of the families' marriage patterns cited in tables 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6.

Geographical Marriage Patterns

Tables 2.2 and 2.3 provide a summary of the marriage patterns of the eldest sons, younger sons and daughters of the sample families who provide a basis for this study and an indication of the wider practices of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry as a whole. Table 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 at the end of this chapter provide a more detailed breakdown of the individual families which allows a differentiation to be made between those families such as the Wycliffes, the Wyvills and the Meynells who held land in the north of the region and who were therefore more likely to marry outside the county boundaries of Yorkshire, being geographically closer to Newcastle and Durham than to Pontefract or Sheffield, and families such as the Vavasours, who were more firmly located within Yorkshire in terms of their land holding.

After the Reformation: Marriage within the County

On the issue of marriages that took place between families from the same county Heal and Holmes have argued that 'the lesser gentlemen tended to marry within their own neighbourhoods, while the magistracy and greater gentry were more variable in their preferences.'⁹⁷ This does not always prove true and in particular it does not appear to apply when studying the twelve sample families in the period 1569-1640. Rather, some of the main branches of families studied appeared to demonstrate a preference to marry within the immediate locality, due to their desire to retain a strong presence in their own

⁹⁷ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 61-2.

area. By marrying daughters of their neighbours they were able to consolidate their holdings of land and were frequently guaranteed a partner who shared their beliefs and concerns.

The marriage patterns of the eldest sons of the gentry families being studied also indicate that they were likely to marry within their immediate locality, with fifty-four percent of eldest sons marrying into other Yorkshire families before 1569 and fifty-one percent marrying women from families based within the county after 1569 (see table 2.4). If families were chosen who did not have any immediate geographical or kinship links with Yorkshire, other determining factors, such as prestige or common religious beliefs and concerns, seem to be immediately obvious; for example Sir Thomas Danby's marriage to Mary Neville was a matter of prestige and the marriage of Sir William Gascoigne of Sedbury to Barbara Anderson of Newcastle was designed to further the families' shared interests in the business opportunities available in the North-East.

In examining families keen to marry within Yorkshire, the main branches of the Gascoigne family at Gawthorpe and Lasincroft (which could certainly be described as one of the greater gentry families of Yorkshire) appeared to marry within the county, whilst the lesser branches of the family, such as the Gascoignes of Parlington and Sedbury, looked further afield for their sons' and daughters' partners. The eldest sons of the main branch of the Cholmley family at Brandsby married women from families whose main residence was within Yorkshire, whilst the eldest son of the Cholmleys of West Newton (a lesser branch of the family) married women from the area around

London.⁹⁸ The same occurs with the Vavasours; the main branch of the family married into the tight-knit Yorkshire Catholic community, whilst the lesser members of the Vavasour family, such as those at North Cave, looked to the South and London for their children's future partners. The son and heir of the family was most likely to be found a prestigious partner, sometimes from outside the county, although if a prestigious or profitable marriage could be secured within the county, this option was frequently chosen.⁹⁹

The pattern of marriage in terms of geographical preference appears not to be determined by status, as Heal and Holmes suggest, but rather by familiar connections and common bonds. The tendency to marry within the county is reflective of the fact that the geographical area covered by Yorkshire was great; meaning that the families most Yorkshire gentry had contact with were most likely also to be from Yorkshire. They were

⁹⁸ Appendices II, III and IV, 'Cholmley', pp. 457-8, 472-4, 497-9. The same pattern is discernible amongst the younger sons and daughters of the two branches of the family. The lesser branch of the family does marry both younger son and daughters into non-Yorkshire based families, but it is only in the eighteenth century that the Cholmley family of Brandsby looks as far as London for a partner for one of their children.

⁹⁹ Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, II; Foster, *Pedigrees*, III; Appendix II, pp. 464-78, showing the need for sons and heirs to make the best marriages possible. For example, the son and heir of Henry Vavasour of Haselwood, John Vavasour of Haselwood, married Anne, the daughter of Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton. By the next generation, the marriage pattern had progressed even further in this direction. From John and Anne's five children, four married. The five children were William, Christopher, Leonard, Margaret and Jane. William married outside the county. Leonard, who had settled at Addingham, married Mary, daughter of Sir John Hotham, who was the widow of William Greene of Barnby. His two sisters Margaret and Jane both married Yorkshiremen. Margaret became the wife of William Redman of Twisleton and Jane married William Percehay of Ryton, Yorkshire. Leonard and Mary had three children, William, Elizabeth and Eleanor. Elizabeth married William Warter of Cranswick-on-the-Wold, and Eleanor married into the Porter family. All married within the county of Yorkshire, though not always to members of the gentry.

their neighbours and shared common ideas, concerns and very often a common religious stance. Families who held land which bordered with other counties could make marriages outside the county boundaries without going outside their neighbourhood; the most frequent examples of this are those families who held connection with the North-East and Durham (see tables 2.4 and 2.5). The Lawsons were less likely to marry within Yorkshire as their lands and kin ties crossed the border into Northumberland, with many marriages taking place with North-Eastern families. Lesser branches of a family who were often involved in business outside the area, such as attending the Inns of Court, were able to make other contacts and so had a wider range of 'neighbours' and 'friends' with whom they could arrange marriages.¹⁰⁰

After the Reformation: The National Marriage Market

Another argument that has been advanced as significant in the late Tudor and early Stuart period was the growing importance of London.¹⁰¹ Heal and Holmes stated that increased connections with the capital meant that 'those who had previously depended on the locality or kin-connections' now had 'access to a national marriage market'.¹⁰² The Catholic gentry were not isolated from this 'national marriage market', but for them this took a slightly different form in the shape of a Catholic marriage network that spread beyond the locality and linked Catholic families throughout the country. From examining

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 5, 'Education, the Law and Careers: The Educated and Active Catholic Gentry', pp. 285-364.

¹⁰¹ Earle, 'The Middling Sort in London', pp. 141-58; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 61.

the marriages made by these Catholic families it is possible to see them venturing beyond their localities, most often into neighbouring counties such as Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and most frequently into the Palatinate of Durham.¹⁰³ Sometimes the families chose to exploit their connection in the southern counties of England, though this was limited, with younger sons making the most frequent forays outside the county. The only family who took advantage of London and the marriage opportunities it had to offer was the Cholmleys of West Newton. Successive eldest sons married the daughters of Londoners, whilst their younger sons married within the county.¹⁰⁴ This suggests that London and the strong Catholic communities that were established there in the seventeenth century were in fact of little use to the vast majority of Yorkshire Catholic gentlemen when searching for a Catholic bride or groom for themselves or their children.

THE CREATION OF A CATHOLIC MARRIAGE MARKET

‘To contract a marriage with a heretic or schismatic is to sin mortally.’¹⁰⁵ This was the opening sentence in the advice given to Catholics on marriage and used in the texts that formed part of the training of Catholic priests in the later Elizabethan era, following the

¹⁰² Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 61.

¹⁰³ See Appendices II, pp. 464-78; III, pp. 479-504; and IV, pp. 497-521, for Fairfax links with Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. The Gascoignes, Nortons and Vavasours had links with Lincolnshire and Durham. The Lawsons maintained links with their Durham connections as did the Meynells and Wyvills. The Wycliffes’ connection with Lancashire came via the Tunstalls whose move into Yorkshire established them as another prominent Catholic family in the north.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix II, ‘Cholmeley of West Newton’, p. 458.

¹⁰⁵ P.J. Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry* (CRS RS, 67, 1981), p. 29.

excommunication of Elizabeth and the establishment of the foreign seminaries. The text continues with the advice that:

Parents, therefore, sin in not prohibiting such marriages. Christ made the sacrament of matrimony and He wanted all husbands and wives to be reminded that marriage agreements should not be based on transitory goods, on large dowries and such things, which easily come to ruin, but on virtue alone which is the guardian of perpetual conjugal happiness and love. Parents sin, therefore, if they look principally for wealth when their children get married...

Given this instruction it would seem that the Catholic faith was in direct conflict with the concerns of a Tudor gentleman. It would also seem that the Catholic families of the post-Reformation era were risking their immortal souls and those of their children in engaging in any marriage negotiations with non-Catholic families. Between 1536 and 1569 the availability of Catholic families in the north, or for that matter throughout the country, was declining, but at so slow a rate as to make marrying a Catholic a relatively easy task. After 1569, and with the increased vigilance and enforcement of anti-Catholic laws which made Catholicism both an expensive and dangerous religion, the number of Catholics declined far more rapidly. Yet within Yorkshire and the surrounding regions the numbers were still sufficient to ensure that if marriage to a Catholic was the main priority, excluding all other considerations, then that task was achievable. This was not, however, the only consideration facing Catholic families. Money and power were still vital components in marriage, especially marriages for the eldest son and heir. Could a Catholic marriage combine with all the other considerations to allow the gentry families of Yorkshire to survive and prosper whilst still maintaining Catholicism?

Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, writing on the subject of gentry marriages in this period, stress that 'negotiations for the construction of a marriage frequently foundered on material, less often on ideological or social, grounds.'¹⁰⁶ This could be considered to be true in the case of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry until the mid-1560s. The changes in the social, political and religious climate that occurred during the sixteenth century are acknowledged by Heal and Holmes and for the Yorkshire Catholic gentry religious compatibility was a significant factor in the choice of prospective partners in the 1570s and beyond. The religion of prospective partners was important and by the 1570s and in the years that followed religious ideologies were important to many families to the extent that in some cases financial sacrifices were made, making Heal and Holmes' statement true only in part; for whilst marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics did occur, they did not often result in the conversion of the Catholic partner.

Many of the previous studies on Catholicism and recusancy have placed great emphasis on external factors as key components in determining Catholic activities; thus it is emphasised that the Catholic gentry were excluded and isolated both in terms of their public and more private activities, such as marriage negotiations. Whilst external factors did have a role to play in excluding Catholics, or more specifically determined recusants, from the growing institutions of national life, particularly at the highest levels of society, there appears to be little evidence of religious tensions significantly undermining the

¹⁰⁶ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 60.

social connections that existed in local society.¹⁰⁷ Even when examining the role that the gentry played in the more public institutions little evidence of restriction on religious grounds can be seen. It was not until 1606 that specific provision was made to exclude recusants from public employment, even though they were required to take the oath affirming the monarch's supremacy. Within his discussion of persecution Cliffe searched for evidence that gentlemen were being excluded from office on religious grounds and was forced to conclude that those who failed to gain office frequently had a multitude of undesirable attributes which were equally likely to ensure that they were overlooked.¹⁰⁸ Whilst it is not intended to suggest that Catholics were entirely in control of the local scene or marriage market it would appear that for most marriage was a positive choice, meaning that they did have a wide range of families with which to ally, and not a negative one, which would imply that they were forced to take whichever families would accept them. The fact that many were still engaging in marriages with partners who were not of the same religion as themselves illustrates that they were by no means religious lepers; twenty-five percent of the marriages made after 1569 by the eldest sons of the families under examination involved only one partner being recusant/ Catholic; fourteen percent of the marriages made by younger sons were also of mixed religion and of the marriages

¹⁰⁷ The removal of Catholics from position of power is usually prompted by specific events, which cast doubt on their loyalty, for example 1569, 1605, and in the 1630s.

¹⁰⁸ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 240-7. Cliffe states that both Sir John Vavasour and Sir Richard Hawkesworth were captains of the militia, but not commissioners of the Peace, and both had Catholic connections. Their Catholic connections may well have contributed to them being overlooked, but both men were also publicly separated from their wives, and the latter in particular may have been overlooked due to criticism of his 'moral conduct'. Cliffe also cited Sir George Resesby and discusses his lack of office

made by the daughters of the twelve families, an even greater proportion, twenty-six percent, involved only one recusant/ Catholic partner. In comparison the number of marriages involving known Catholics/recusants marrying other known Catholics/recusants was far lower with only seven percent of the female marriages and only three percent of the marriages of younger sons falling into this category.¹⁰⁹ Looking at the statistics for geographical and religious marriages in conjunction, it would seem that a daughter from a Catholic family (in comparison to a younger son), was far more likely to be found a partner who was of a similar religion, and that he was likely to be from the local area, ensuring that both families were aware of each other's religious beliefs.¹¹⁰ The highest percentage of marriages involving two partners who were from Catholic and /or recusant families and / or were themselves Catholic or recusant can be found amongst the marriages of the eldest sons of the families. Ironically this may be in some ways attributable to the fact that we have more detailed information on these men and their brides, but it also may illustrate that the more determinedly Catholic families were concerned to maintain religious continuity in the face of adversity, as is illustrated by the discussion of the marriages of Thomas Meynell.

on grounds of both his papist wife and the fact that he had received little education. This discussion will be taken up further in the discussion of women and the household in chapter 6.

¹⁰⁹ A more detailed breakdown of these figures can be seen in tables 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9 which occur at the end of this chapter.

¹¹⁰ See tables 2.6 and 2.9: fifty-eight percent of daughters married partners who were from within the county and seven percent of the marriages can be categorised as Catholic in terms of the religion of the bride and groom, not in terms of whether they were Catholic ceremonies.

Whilst these figures are naturally subject to the problems related to early modern statistical analysis which arise from a lack of detailed and comprehensive information of the religious persuasions of the less well documented members of local society, they do show certain broad trends; first that whilst the marriages of Catholic families may appear to be more geographically limited after 1569, this does not necessarily imply that external forces were at work; second that whilst marriages to Catholic partners may have been, in theory at least, preferable, the statistics indicate that there was still a great deal of religious inter-marriage occurring even in the period after 1570 when concern about marrying Catholics should have been at a peak considering the financial and social problems that recusancy could bring.

1536-1569

After the 1536 dissolutions and initial period of Reformation little impact was made on the Catholic community of Yorkshire. Most families were inherently conservative in outlook and it would appear that marriages, like other services that centred on the parish church, carried on as usual. Aveling notes, with much displeasure, that 'manifestly very many of the Catholic gentry were never persuaded that occasional conformity to Anglicanism was a grave sin.'¹¹¹ The priority given by Aveling to clandestine marriage not only ignores the marriages made by recusants and Catholic sympathisers in a more conventional manner during the period, but may also attribute clandestine marriages solely to Catholicism, when the circumstances surrounding clandestine marriages were

often more complicated.¹¹² During this period the overwhelming concerns of profitability, status and geography continued to dominate the priorities and marriage arrangements of the gentry. However, a discernible pattern does become noticeable, as the families being examined began to marry into an increasingly tight-knit gentry community, the members of which displayed conservative religious tendencies and which later became the firm basis for a recusant community.

In 1551 when Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe died he was succeeded by his son, also Sir William, who named his family seat as Cusworth; of his eight children seven made Catholic marriages. The links here between the Gascoignes and the developing network of Yorkshire Catholic families were clear with the Vavasours, Annes and Redmans all appearing in the choices for husbands and wives.¹¹³ The Redman family was

¹¹¹ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 70.

¹¹² Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 205. Henry Scroope of Danby repudiated his marriage to the daughter of Sir Edward Plumpton by pretending that he already had a wife. The fact that the marriage was performed in secret by an unnamed Catholic priest at midnight made this case, which reached the Star Chamber, even more complicated. No mention of this marriage is made in Aveling's article 'Marriage of Catholic Recusants', despite the fact that there were records of this as a clandestine marriage and his acknowledgement that few records of this type of marriage exist.

¹¹³ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. William Gascoigne and Margaret Fitzwillaim had seven children, four male (William, Francis, Thomas and Swythe) and three female (Barbara, Bridget and Dorothy). William (d. 1567) married Beatrice, daughter of Sir Richard Tempest of Bracewell Hall and Bowling. Francis of Garforth married twice: (1) Anne, daughter of Sir William Vavasour, maintaining the links between the two families, and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of Martin Anne of Frickley. She outlived Francis and was able to remarry Marmaduke, third son of Sir William Tyrwhite of Kettleby, Lincolnshire. The Vavasours were a strongly Catholic family as were the Annes of Frickley. (Aveling, *West Riding*). These marriages did produce offspring though they are not listed in Foster. Thomas of Burghwallis (d. 1554) married Jane, daughter of Thomas Reresby of Thirberg. The Reresby family was also to have Catholic connections by

religiously and geographically a good choice for the Gascoignes, as the Redmans were stewards of Harewood Castle, near Gawthorpe.

The majority of these marriages took place prior to 1569 and so the significance of marrying into a well-known and well-established recusant family should have been of less importance, yet the families targeted were from the Yorkshire Catholic gentry. The overriding aim of these marriages seems to have been to strengthen gentry alliances. It also illustrated the Gascoignes' involvement in county and, by association, country-level politics. Even in the early years of the sixteenth century there was the development of a group of like-minded, conservative gentry families who shared the same concerns and ideas. These marriages show a concern for status and yet the numbers of families that maintained the Catholic religion in Yorkshire meant that, at this time, the main branch of the family did not have to lower its standards in terms of seeking those of financial compatibility to be sure of religious security.

The same patterns are discernible in the other branches of the Gascoigne family. John Gascoigne of Lasingcroft married Anne, the daughter and heiress of John Vavasour during the reign of Henry VIII. This marriage produced thirteen children, and it was this generation of the family that began to demonstrate the trends that link into many of the

the turn of the century. Swythe, their youngest son, died young and without issue. Barbara married Leonard West of Burghwallis, the younger son of Thomas West, Lord de la Warr; Bridget married twice, firstly to Matthew Redman and secondly to William Gascoigne of Caley. [*Otley Parish Register 1562-1672*, Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 33 (1908)] 4 October 1586, she was buried June 1608; Dorothy married Richard Thimbleby of Horncastle, Lincolnshire.

other Catholic families in the choice of husbands and wives for their children. From their thirteen children five of their six sons married and all seven of their daughters were found suitable spouses.¹¹⁴ The families they married into were lesser branches of important

¹¹⁴ Leeds, West Yorkshire Record Office, Gascoigne MSS; Coleman, 'History of Barwick in Elmet', pp. 143-50; Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. Below is a list of the thirteen children and their respective spouses.

1. Thomas (b. 1509, d.1565/6) m. Joan daughter of William Ilson of Gunby (Foster) or William Eleson. (Coleman). John Vavasour, son and heir of Peter Vavasour, married Katherine daughter and heiress of William Ilson of Gunby. This would mean that the Gascoigne-Vavasour family connection was further strengthened via marriage into a third family, but would also mean that Katherine was co-heiress, with Joan. Foster also notes that Thomas and Joan had only one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Mr. Goodyear. In comparison Coleman states that Thomas married Joan, daughter of William Eleson and that this marriage was contracted 15 May 1520, when Thomas was not yet twelve years old and the marriage itself took place prior to 'the ensuing Michalmas'. Coleman also goes on to state that the marriage produced no children, but that Thomas did have an illegitimate daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Goodyear. Coleman's interpretation appears the more accurate, as it can be seen to be derived from the Gascoigne papers.

2. Richard married twice, and the exact order is in dispute. Foster states that he married (1) Elizabeth, widow of Henry Savile of Thornhill and daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Sothill of Sothill, and (2) Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert West of Millington and widow of William Scargill (or Warren Gargrave of Riche, near Kippax). Coleman states that these marriages occurred in the opposite order. It would appear that prior to the marriage of Richard to Elizabeth Scargill a license was applied for from the Archbishop of Canterbury to prove that the marriage was legitimate as concerns about the marriage being 'within the prescribed degrees of consanguinity' was expressed by the family, though the Archbishop could find no evidence of it. The license is dated 1539 indicating that this was perhaps the first marriage to have been made.

3. John m. Maud, daughter of William Arthington of Aldwick in the Street.

4. William - a Carthusian monk at Brussels.

5. Robert m. Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Calverlay, widow of William Vavasour of Haslewood.

6. George of Kirkby, Northamptonshire married Mary, daughter and heiress of John Stokesley of Essex. They had twelve children, including Nicholas Gascoigne of Oldenhurst and Richard the famous antiquary.

7. Frances m. Geoffrey Barnby, Derbyshire. They had one daughter, Elizabeth.

8. Elizabeth m. Michael Thompson of Brotherton (d. 1614)

Yorkshire gentry families, including the Wentworths. Many of their sons married the widows of Catholic gentlemen; Robert married Sir William Vavasour's widow, Elizabeth. Their daughters married lesser men from the county, who were often in some way connected to the Gascoignes, or members of families outside the county with a Catholic heritage.¹¹⁵ This generation lived through the religious changes of the mid-Tudor era and well into the era of Elizabethan persecution.

The connections with families that were to form the basis of the recusant community in the North Riding began as far back as the 1530s with the Meynell family. Anthony Meynell, grandfather of Thomas and seigner of much of the family land, married four times, and it can be seen that his choice of bride was fortuitous.¹¹⁶ All four marriages show links to families who were conservative and Catholic, the Eggesfields, the Greenes, the Rokebys and the Nortons, and provided useful networks of support within the county. Elizabeth, daughter of William Greene of Lanmouth was of most concern to Thomas, as

9. Joan m. Henry Ambler of Leeds

10. Grace m. Thomas Wentworth of Scoby, Nottinghamshire, fourth son of Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse.

11. Katherine m. Richard Beaumont of Lassells Hall, Almondbury.

12. Alice m. Mr John Newcome of Saltfleetby, Lincolnshire

13. Anne m. (1) William Mallet of Normanton, (2) Sir Henry Kiddal (d. 1568) and (3) Birdsall of Tadcaster. (Third marriage only cited in Coleman and not in the pedigree that Foster gives.)

¹¹⁵ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 59. John Mallet of Normanton worked coal on the Duchy of Lancaster property. The Gascoignes had strong connections with the Duchy and with mining in the area.

¹¹⁶ See Appendix II, pp. 463-4. Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. xiv; Foster, *Pedigrees*. Foster notes only the first three marriages, whilst Aveling notes all four.

she was his maternal grandmother.¹¹⁷ The Greenes were similar to the Meynells in the pattern that they followed in the post Reformation period; they too adopted a surface conformity to evade persecution. Anthony's third wife was Joan, daughter of Thomas Rokeby. He was one of sixteen justices noted by Archbishop Young in 1564 who were 'no favourers of religion.'¹¹⁸ Katherine, daughter of Richard Norton can also be seen to have had a Catholic upbringing. The Nortons were heavily involved in the 1569 Rising in the North and as a result the family lost much of its income in the years immediately after the revolt, though they did make an astoundingly quick recovery considering their actions and subsequent non-conformity.¹¹⁹ Margaret Meynell, Thomas' mother, also had a Catholic heritage. Her father Anthony was listed by Archbishop Young in his 1564 report on the justices.¹²⁰ Along with praising his 'wothie mother' for the inheritance that she brought, Thomas also noted that she 'died a Catholike.'¹²¹

The Vavasours too formed part of this network of families. The daughters of Sir William of Haselwood were found suitable husbands via the familiar links. Catherine married Richard Peck of Wakefield; Frances married John Ryther of the Ryther family which was also noted as predominately Catholic; Elizabeth made an out-of-county marriage to Thomas Hayland of Lincolnshire, which was still an area where the Vavasour family had contacts; whilst Anne and Mary both married into prominent local Yorkshire gentry

¹¹⁷ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 3.

¹¹⁸ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 78.

¹¹⁹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 82-3, 176; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 170-1.

¹²⁰ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 78; Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, I, p. 317

¹²¹ Ampleforth Abbey Library, Ampleforth, Meynell Papers MSS.

families, with Anne continuing the link with the Gascoigne family. In this generation the marriage patterns that dominated the Vavasour family from the 1560s/1570s were clearly established. Marriages took place between a fairly tight-knit group of gentry families. The Gascoignes and Fairfaxes were once again involved, and the Hothams joined them. Ralph Vavasour and Catherine Vavasour both married into the Peck family of Wakefield.

The choices made by the Catholic gentry families in this era therefore do seem to be decisions made on the same grounds as other conformist families, showing concern for both economic and social ties. Whilst close ties are established between certain families they do not appear to be constrained by religious elements and there is certainly no visible evidence that conformist families were rejecting them as suitable partners. The fact that many Yorkshire gentry families intermarried is unsurprising given the trend for men and women to marry into those families with whom they had contact and this trend appears consistent with other levels of county marriages in the north.¹²² Whilst this could be viewed as a forced decision, defined by external threats, it can more plausibly be viewed as a positive move which established close bonds between families grounded in lineage and developed over generations. Given the early modern obsession with pedigrees and genealogy this was not particularly unusual for the era and whilst these alliances could be insular in smaller communities, within Yorkshire there were still a large number of gentry families involved.¹²³ Yet external factors were to become more important: by

¹²² Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 61. In Lancashire 71% of gentry married within the county; in Cheshire 65% and in Westmorland and Cumberland 62.5%.

¹²³ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 89.

the early 1560s the Elizabethan regime was taking an active interest in the activities of groups of Catholics and important Catholic individuals, indicating the changing policy which was to bring a dramatically different environment in the 1570s and beyond. The need for a support network for the Catholic gentry had therefore by this period become a useful tool that would be viewed as a necessity in the period of increased vigilance by royally appointed councils and officials.

1569-1640

The patterns that have just been discussed were built upon in this era. The choice of husbands and wives for first marriage in the years 1569-90 was usually from within Yorkshire and preferably from within the same local area as the main branch of the family. This was especially true for the marriages of daughters who were frequently found Catholic husbands from the locality.¹²⁴ After 1569 fifty-eight percent of the recorded marriages of the daughters of the sample families were made to families from within the Yorkshire locality (see table 2.3 and 2.6). In second marriages Catholic women did seem more willing to look further afield or alternatively they merely married into other branches of the family. Two daughters of William Gascoigne of Cusworth married other members of the Gascoigne family; Alice married Thomas Gascoigne, the second son of John of Parlington and Bridget married William Gascoigne of Caley, thus passing

¹²⁴ Appendix IV, pp. 497-521. The vast majority of marriages after 1569 were made to Yorkshiremen who were Catholic or who had connections to Catholic families. The Cholmleys chose the Fairfaxes, Slavins/Salvins, Willoughbies and Mitchells, all of whom were recusants at some point in the period.

their inheritance back into the family. William's second son Francis's second marriage was to Elizabeth, daughter of Martin Anne of Frickley, a member of a well-established West Riding family who were actively recusant.¹²⁵ These marriages allowed land to be retained within the Catholic community and, importantly for the Gascoignes' ambitions, within the extended Gascoigne clan.

The Gascoigne family of Lasincroft illustrated this pattern clearly. The two eldest sons of John Gascoigne of Lasincroft and Anne Vavasour did not produce any heirs, and as with one of the previous generations it was the third son, also named John who inherited the lands and property.¹²⁶ John (d. 1602) had married Maud (d. 1611), daughter of William Arthington of Adwick-in-the-Street, who was part of a Catholic family.¹²⁷ They had seven children; four of these were married to suitable Catholic families, but only their eldest son married within the county, showing a pattern that was to be seen even more strongly within the lesser branches of the Vavasour and Wyvill families.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*.

¹²⁶ West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, Gascoigne MSS, 'Calendar of Richard Gascoigne's Book', entitled 'Records and Evidences belonging to the Descents of the Gascoignes', GC/F5/1; Foster, *Pedigrees*, I; Coleman, 'History of Barwick in Elmet', pp. 144-7. Thomas left only a daughter, the legitimacy of whom is doubted; Richard, who was at least 48 years at his inheritance, also died without issue. He spent his last twenty-one years a widower and made no attempt to remarry. This is attested to by his nephew, Richard Gascoigne, who wrote at length about the charitable nature of his uncle, following his inheritance. (Gascoigne MSS, GC/F1/5).

¹²⁷ Talbot, *Recusant Records*, p. 284. William Arthington (deceased) and his wife Katherine are listed in the 1597 presentment of recusants.

John Gascoigne of Lasingcroft married Anne, daughter of John Ingleby of Ripley and Lawland, c. 1591-2. This showed clear religious and county allegiance, as John Ingleby was a determined and constant recusant throughout the period. He only fully came to reside in the county after 1602, but the family had clear connections within the Riding.¹²⁹ The marriages made for the other two sons were outside the county, yet the connections were still clearly with Catholic families, preferably ones known to this branch of the Gascoigne family. Thomas' marriage to Alice, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe must then have been ideal. Not only were they of the same name (though distantly related enough for the families not to seek permission from the archbishop), but Alice was also the widow of Edmund Haslewood of Maidwell, Northamptonshire. Alverey Gascoigne (d. 1585) of Garforth, married Audrey/Andrea, daughter of William Wittell of Croydon, Surrey.¹³⁰ Mary married William Crofts of Cloughton, Lancashire. The Crofts were a strongly recusant Lancastrian family, and, although this was an out-of-county marriage, it was still one that was made in relative safety.¹³¹ The success of the inter-county Catholic marriage market was certainly evident here, although the families chosen often had connections with Yorkshire.

¹²⁸ West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, Gascoigne MSS; Coleman, 'History of Barwick', pp. 147-8; Foster, *Pedigrees*; see appendices II, pp. 467-9; III, pp. 484-8; and IV, pp. 511-4, 'Gascoigne'.

¹²⁹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 180.

¹³⁰ West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, Gascoigne MSS; Coleman, 'History of Barwick', p. 148; Foster, *Pedigrees*, I; see appendices II, pp. 467-9; III, pp. 484-8; and IV, pp. 511-4, 'Gascoigne'.

¹³¹ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 319.

John Gascoigne and his wife Anne saw the family's fortune rise, with the advent of the Stuart era. John Gascoigne was advanced to the status of baronet by Charles I. The fact that he was able to purchase this Nova Scotia baronetcy certainly indicates that the anti-Catholic laws were not working to their desired effect.¹³² Together they had ten children, who clearly expressed their own commitment to Catholicism, as well as their parents' desire to ensure that they made religiously sound marriages.¹³³ Five of their children, John, Michael, Francis, Catherine and Margaret, took up a religious life.¹³⁴ Their eldest son, Sir Thomas, married Anne, daughter of John Symonds of Brightwell, Oxfordshire.¹³⁵ Helen (b. 1595) married Gilbert Stapleton of Carlton (as his second wife). The Stapletons were also an active West Riding recusant family.¹³⁶ Mary (b. 1597) married William Houghton of Park Hall, Lancaster. The Houghton family were also a prominent Catholic family; Haigh cites them as 'one of the gentry families which became the backbone of local recusancy' in Lancashire.¹³⁷ Anne (b. 1599/1600) married George Thwenge of Kilton Castle, Cleveland. This was also a marriage in which a shared religion was clear. Amongst their children was Thomas, who became a Catholic priest and was

¹³² P. Roebuck, *Yorkshire Baronets 1640-1760: Families, Estates and Fortunes* (Oxford, 1980), p. 17.

¹³³ West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, Gascoigne MSS; Coleman, 'History of Barwick,' pp. 148-50; Foster, *Pedigrees*, I; see Appendix IV, pp. 507-9.

¹³⁴ See chapter 4, pp. 225-84.

¹³⁵ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. She was 'sister to Sir George Symonds of Watling Park, Oxfordshire.'

¹³⁶ Aveling, *West Riding*, p. 231. Gilbert Stapleton is noted as a prominent recusant who was prepared to take the oath in 1624.

¹³⁷ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 176, 258; Coleman, 'History of Barwick', p. 150.

executed at York, c. 1680, following the Barnbow Plot.¹³⁸ This family continued on into the Restoration period and remained active recusants until the time of the fifth baronet.¹³⁹

It appears that within the recusant branch of the Meynell family the patterns of marriage were determined by the religion of the would-be spouse. Roger and Margery Meynell had five children all of whom were found suitable Catholic partners who shared the Meynells' public approach to religious devotions.¹⁴⁰ It was often the Meynell women, however, who took the strongest line in terms of religion.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Coleman, 'History of Barwick', p. 150.

¹³⁹ Coleman, 'History of Barwick', p. 158; Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. Sir Thomas Gascoigne, the fifth baronet (b. 1744/5) left the church of Rome in 1780, prior to beginning his Parliamentary career. He appears to have spent much of his time abroad and had contact with the Pope following a duel where he killed a man. He gained absolution, but his commitment to Catholicism seemed to decline. Following his death the title passed to the husband of Sir Thomas' stepdaughter, so the Gascoigne bloodline was broken at this point.

¹⁴⁰ Foster, *Pedigrees*. Foster cites Thomas, George, Mary, Elizabeth and Margaret as the five children. Aveling in the pedigree he provides for the Meynell family cites an additional daughter, Jane (Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. xiv.).

¹⁴¹ Ampleforth Abbey Library, Ampleforth, Meynell MSS & Thomas Meynell's Commonplace Book; Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers'; Foster, *Pedigrees*, III. Thomas m. (1) Winifred, daughter of Thomas Pudsey and (2) Mary, daughter of Robert Gale. George m. Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Trotter of Skelton Castle. Aveling notes that her family were non-communicants in 1604, but not recusants. Elizabeth was recorded as recusant from 1614, as were their children from 1616. (p.xiv). Mary m. Oswald Metcalfe of Hornby Castle. They were registered as non-communicants in 1590. Elizabeth m. George Holtby of Hovington, near Malton. This family was one of the most notable Catholic that the Meynells married into, as they were relations of Father Richard Holtby the Jesuit priest. Aveling expresses great admiration for the mission work and the associated glory went to the Holtby family, though it should be noted that it was only Elizabeth who was convicted of recusancy in the period 1580-1614, not her husband. Margery m. Sampson Trollope of Eden Dene, Durham, one of the few marriages in this period made with a Durham family. Jane (cited by Aveling) is noted to have married Thomas Nandike of Golston, who Aveling also cites as a recusant (p. xiv).

Catholicism remained important to the Meynell family, and Thomas, though concerned for his family's economic well being, also placed great importance in securing Catholic partners for his children. The family was able to achieve good marriages without having to sacrifice their religious beliefs. Thomas himself was twice married, firstly to Winifrid, daughter of Thomas Pudsey, and secondly to Mary, daughter of Robert Gale of Acomb.¹⁴² Aveling states of Thomas Pudsey that he was 'a very obstinate papist recusant.'¹⁴³ His refusals to conform, evasion of the Northern Commission and eventual imprisonment in York Castle in 1573 certainly support this assessment. Given this there is no reason to suppose that Winifrid was any less committed to Catholicism than the members of the family she left or of that she joined upon her marriage. Mary also seemed to show that she was a committed Catholic. She demonstrated a remarkable forbearance during the periods of Thomas' imprisonment and her previous husband had also had a Catholic background.¹⁴⁴

Both of Thomas' marriages were Catholic ceremonies performed by Marian priests, which seemed to have been arranged without the difficulty that Haigh suggests existed in other areas of the country.¹⁴⁵ Thomas certainly expressed no dissatisfaction with the

¹⁴² Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, I; Foster, *Pedigree*, III.

¹⁴³ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 92.

¹⁴⁴ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', pp. 8, 16-17. Mary had previously been married to James Thwaites, who was a member of a family of non-communicants from the generally conformist Marston Ainsty.

¹⁴⁵ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 258-9, discusses the services provided by Catholic priests in Lancashire in contrast in 'Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism', *Journal*

ceremonies or noted any problems in arranging them. If anything he viewed his marriages as a triumph, as he was able to prove the ceremonies to be legal when challenged about them.¹⁴⁶

Of Thomas and Winifrid's twelve children only four survived to marry.¹⁴⁷ Haigh argues that a 'receding gentry class' which placed great emphasis on patronage and connections would encourage an early age of marriage and that could in turn lead to marriage instability. This does not appear to occur in the case of the Meynells, as the children seem to be marrying later rather than earlier despite the need for the gentry 'to use their children to forge alliances and bind settlements.'¹⁴⁸ This difference between Yorkshire and Lancashire can perhaps be explained by the larger numbers of Catholic gentry with eligible sons and daughters to choose from in the North Riding alone. The heir to the Meynell estates, Anthony, married Mary Thwaites, carrying the family connection into another generation.¹⁴⁹ Richard married Isabel, daughter of John Talbot.¹⁵⁰ This saw the

of Ecclesiastical History, 36 (1985), 394-406, especially p. 402. He emphasises the failure of the mission to focus their attention and provide Catholic services .

¹⁴⁶ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers'; Aveling, 'Marriages of Catholic Recusants', pp. 68-82. Aveling discusses in this article the difficulties of marriage in the period in terms of obtaining a Catholic marriage that was recognised by the authorities and discusses the numbers of clandestine marriages taking place in the period recorded in the Borthwick Institutes archives. Not all clandestine marriages can be seen to be Catholic marriages, and Aveling is forced to conclude that the number of cases brought before the High Commission that were Catholic marriages is relatively small.

¹⁴⁷ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁹ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', pp. 4-5; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 95; Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, I, p. 317.

¹⁵⁰ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers'; Isabel also noted as Elizabeth in Dugdale.

linking of two recusant families that were near neighbours and like the Meynells had been forced to maintain a relatively low profile following the 1569 rebellion in which they were both implicated. Thomas and Winifrid's two daughters, Marie and Anne, also made Catholic marriages. Thomas himself made the point that:

Marie Meynell ... was married in the year of our Lord 1613. the 25 of August ... to George Poole of Wakebridge and Spinkhill in the County of Derby Esquier. a gentleman of hir own Religion and years... ¹⁵¹

Marie was at this time twenty-four years old and by no means a child bride. Her sister Anne married Thomas Grange in 1615 when she was seventeen years of age and her husband was twenty-one. Though this is younger than her sister it is still by no means an exceptionally young marriage. The Grange family can also be seen as having Catholic connections with another member of the family, William, going on to become a chaplain at Kilvington as part of the Yorkshire mission.¹⁵²

Thomas makes no mention of the profitability of these matches and his reticence on the subject perhaps suggests that they were not so much financially beneficial as practical in terms of religious and county links. For the Meynells, who had rapidly increased their status and land holdings in the sixteenth century, marriages were both a means of continuing their Catholicism and obtaining social and financial advancement. This was a belief that many Catholic gentry families held. Religion and material gains were not

¹⁵¹ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 4.

¹⁵² Ibid.

mutually exclusive, but in fact were often seen to complement each other in the choice of a husband or wife for their sons and daughters. As the number of Catholic families decreased so the network became more tightly allied and the concern for keeping wealth and land amongst the faithful became more heightened. Some of the trends that Haigh noted as being characteristic of the Lancashire gentry are also observable in the marriage patterns of the Yorkshire gentry. Some level of intermarriage did occur, but Haigh's analysis acknowledges that 'the relatively small number of gentry families [in Lancashire] enforced intermarriage if social inferiors were not to be admitted, so that all the major county families were related'.¹⁵³ The far larger number of gentry families in Yorkshire ensured that a wider number of families were available to choose from and the large proportion of these who were conservative in their religious beliefs meant that parents within the Yorkshire gentry had far fewer problems in making a socially equal match which did not compromise their religious beliefs. Marriages took place into families who were often not clearly themselves Catholic, but who had either Catholic relatives or were sympathetic to the Catholic cause. Families such as the Cholmleys of Whitby may themselves be classified as one such family, for whilst Henry Cholmley and his sons were only recusant (or at least convicted recusants) for a relatively small number of years, they sheltered and aided their Catholic relations and tenants throughout their lives.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 89.

¹⁵⁴ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 182-3.

This is indicative of the marriages which took place to men and women that were not recusants, nor shown be determinedly Catholic in the records of prosecutions, although Catholic sympathies were usually present. The vast majority of marriages taking place after 1569, by the families under examination in this study, appear to fall into this category, with fifty four percent of the marriages of the eldest sons of involving at least one partner who was conformist/of unknown religion, and high percentages of the marriages of younger sons and daughters are also in this category (see tables 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9)

This is not to imply that Catholics never married men and women who were not just non-Catholic but known Protestants. The most extreme example of this can be seen in the case of Thomas Meynell's granddaughter-in-law, who upon the death of her husband (also named Thomas Meynell) re-married Edward Saltmarsh, a retired Parliamentary Captain from a Puritan family.¹⁵⁵ The fact that religious intermarriage occurred and Catholics were able to intermarry successfully with the Protestant families of the north is further illustration of the fact that they were not isolated from the gentry world by their religion. Whilst they had a Catholic marriage network which was instrumental in saving their religion, this network did not exist to exclude them from wider society, but rather it was a development and enhancement of networks that already existed, and was an asset not a hindrance in ensuring their survival.

¹⁵⁵ Appendix II, pp. 464-78; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 306, 314. It is, however, notable that following his marriage Saltmarsh went on to assist the Meynells in avoiding sequestration fines (despite the

The Yorkshire gentry also appear to have been far more willing than their Lancashire counterparts to look to other places and other levels of society for a suitable match. The range of near-by religiously conservative counties, such as Northumberland, Westmorland, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire and the towns of York, Newcastle and Durham also provided a source of marriage partners which the Yorkshire gentry seemed far more willing to exploit than their Lancashire neighbours.¹⁵⁶ The nearby county of Lancashire could have produced a viable source for both counties' Catholic gentry families and there do appear to have been some cross-county marriages, with the Tunstalls moving into Yorkshire; yet the process seems to occur little in reverse. Whilst Haigh finds the Lancashire gentry insular the Yorkshire gentry do seem willing to try to adapt to their situation by looking to other sources for a supply of Catholic spouses for their children; and even though they do often take the safe option of marrying into the families of their neighbours, about whose religion and lifestyle they were well informed, they demonstrate that both survival and prosperity were not unobtainable goals for Catholics in the period.¹⁵⁷

fact they were the family of his wife's first husband), converted to Catholicism and that two of their sons became priests.

¹⁵⁶ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 89. Haigh expresses the view that 'Lancashiremen appear to have had little interest in what went on outside their shire.... Only a handful of families looked to other counties for spouses for their children [T]hough occasionally a bride or groom was found in Cheshire, Yorkshire, Cumberland or Westmorland, this was extremely rare.'

¹⁵⁷ The noticeable decrease in the number of spouses about which there was no information recorded after 1569 (see tables 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6) could merely be attributable to better record keeping within the families and by the recorders of heraldic visitations, but could also indicate that Catholic families were marrying into other families which they knew well. The fact that many of them had no recorded convictions for

Conclusion

Even in the post-Reformation period marriage was still a viable and frequently used method of increasing wealth. The suspicion of recusancy did not prevent marriages taking place between the sons and the daughters of a number of the well-established families in the Yorkshire region. Many of those who joined these families were themselves known or suspected Catholics, or had Catholic kin. Marrying a husband or wife who shared the same religious beliefs must have made life far easier, but it would seem that religion was not an obstacle to a profitable marriage for many recusant families of the period, such as the Gascoignes. The fact that many of the heads of Catholic families adopted a church-papist approach gave the appearance of conformity even within the family itself at certain periods.

Religion was undeniably a significant factor in marriage arrangements, though it was by no means always the common denominator in the decision. In the period 1536-69 the importance of an economically sound marriage was still the predominating factor in many Catholic families' decisions, and it was only after 1569 that religion did appear to be a noticeable factor in the decision making process. When it came to marriage as a tool for economic advancement or financial survival Catholics certainly showed themselves to be exceptionally discriminating in their choice of husbands and wives. The social and geographical range of families that the Yorkshire gentry looked to was far greater than

recusancy and leave us with little to indicate their religious views accounts for the high number who fall into the conformist or of unknown religion category (tables 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9).

the range noted by Haigh in the marriages of the Lancashire gentry, indicating that circumstances in Yorkshire were different, as was the adaptive nature of many Yorkshire Catholic families.

In some ways the religious changes opened new possibilities for some of the families. The Meynell family had grown in prestige in the late fifteenth century, though not to the same lofty heights as the Gascoignes, as their income and position in the county did not see them at the same levels in society. By the mid-sixteenth century Aveling makes an accurate assessment of the situation of the Meynell family, stating that they 'were the leaders of recusant society in a locality unusually full of Catholics.'¹⁵⁸ The family was certainly active in their local region in the mid to late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, though they were less active on a national or even a county level than some of their recusant contemporaries such as the Vavasours or Gascoignes. The religious changes provided the Meynells with a chance to become leaders of society, albeit a restricted society, which they might otherwise never have had. The Meynells maintained a far more public defiance of the authorities than the Gascoignes and as such suffered for it, but found themselves marrying into the same social circle as these two more prominent families.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. ix.

¹⁵⁹ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers'. The introduction provides an account of those members who were prosecuted and imprisoned for their beliefs, including Thomas Meynell. The same change in circumstances can be seen in the Newcastle families who adhered to Catholicism, such as the Lawsons, Salvins and Redmans all of whom began as merchant families and found themselves frequent allies of the well established Catholic gentry families of North Yorkshire. Their religion and wealth overcame their social inferiority.

Aveling's view that the significance of marriage in the Catholic history of the period was limited to the exploration of clandestine ceremonies and the heroic endeavours of missionary priests is therefore incorrect. The role marriage played in the lives of the Tudor and Stuart gentry was significant, as the numerous contracts and debates over marriage arrangements show. The fact that many of the gentry opted for a legally recognised marriage in their local parish church did not mean that they did not consider the religious implications of their decision. Whilst conformity may have been necessary for the actual ceremony the long-term implications of marriage and the procreation of children ensured that Catholicism was kept alive into another generation. The creation of a 'Catholic community' did not mean that the gentry were isolated but rather that they created a community within a community. This fortified rather than divided the Catholics of Yorkshire: whilst they continued to operate within the gentry community of the north they also had a smaller community within this, composed of Catholic gentry families which proved a source of strength in the difficult times of persecution.

Geographical Marriage Patterns of the Yorkshire Gentry 1450-1700 ¹⁶⁰

2.4 Marriage Patterns of the Eldest Sons

| ELDEST SONS MARRYING INTO FAMILIES FROM | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---|------------|
| NAME | WITHIN YORKSHIRE | | ELSEWHERE | | UNKNOWN | | TOTAL MARRYING WITHIN THE COUNTY | |
| | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Number | % |
| Cholmley | 4 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 9/14 | 64% |
| Danby | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5/13 | 38% |
| Fairfax | 5 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9/13 | 69% |
| Gascoigne | 10 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 11/22 | 50% |
| Lawson | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2/9 | 22% |
| Meynell | 3 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 9/16 | 56% |
| Norton | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 6/10 | 60% |
| Stapleton | 6 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 9/23 | 39% |
| Vavasour | 11 | 8 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 19/35 | 54% |
| Wentworth | 5 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 6/11 | 55% |
| Wycliffe | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3/7 | 43% |
| Wyvill | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 8/10 | 80% |
| TOTAL | 54 | 42 | 31 | 35 | 15 | 6 | 96/183 | 53% |

¹⁶⁰ See appendix II for details of these marriages, pp. 464-78. The unknown category includes all those for whom no place of origin is stated as their family residence.

Geographical Marriage Patterns of the Yorkshire Gentry 1450-1700 ¹⁶¹

2.5 Marriage Patterns of the Youngest Sons

| YOUNGER SONS MARRYING INTO FAMILIES FROM | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---|------------|
| NAME | WITHIN YORKSHIRE | | ELSEWHERE | | UNKNOWN | | TOTAL MARRYING WITHIN THE COUNTY | |
| | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Number | % |
| Cholmley | 4 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 9/13 | 69% |
| Danby | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2/3 | 67% |
| Fairfax | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 6/20 | 30% |
| Gascoigne | 9 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 11/17 | 65% |
| Lawson | 2 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 2/13 | 15% |
| Meynell | 0 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6/7 | 86% |
| Norton | 4 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 10/16 | 63% |
| Stapleton | 1 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 8/26 | 31% |
| Vavasour | 8 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 14/24 | 58% |
| Wentworth | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4/8 | 50% |
| Wycliffe | 0 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1/9 | 11% |
| Wyvill | 1 | 4 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 5/13 | 39% |
| TOTAL | 36 | 42 | 19 | 31 | 19 | 22 | 77/169 | 46% |

¹⁶¹ See appendix III for details of these marriages, pp. 479-504. The unknown category includes all those for whom no place of origin is stated as their family residence.

Geographical Marriage Patterns of the Yorkshire Gentry 1450-1700 ¹⁶²

2.6 Marriage Patterns of the Daughters

| DAUGHTERS MARRYING INTO FAMILIES FROM | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---|------------|
| NAME | WITHIN YORKSHIRE | | ELSEWHERE | | UNKNOWN | | TOTAL MARRYING WITHIN THE COUNTY | |
| | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Pre 1569 | Post 1569 | Number | % |
| Cholmley | 1 | 14 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 15/26 | 58% |
| Danby | 1 | 10 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 11/19 | 58% |
| Fairfax | 17 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 28/41 | 68% |
| Gascoigne | 8 | 15 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 23/40 | 58% |
| Lawson | 0 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5/12 | 42% |
| Meynell | 0 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 5/14 | 36% |
| Norton | 6 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 15/18 | 83% |
| Stapleton | 5 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 14/26 | 54% |
| Vavasour | 16 | 14 | 4 | 4 | 14 | 0 | 30/52 | 58% |
| Wentworth | 8 | 9 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 17/26 | 65% |
| Wycliffe | 1 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4/13 | 31% |
| Wyvill | 5 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 13/23 | 57% |
| TOTAL | 68 | 112 | 28 | 44 | 40 | 19 | 180/311 | 58% |

¹⁶² See appendix IV for details of these marriages, pp. 505-529. The unknown category includes all those for whom no place of origin is stated as their family residence.

RELIGION AND MARRIAGE AFTER 1569

2. 7 The Marriages of Eldest Sons in relation to Religion after 1569

| FAMILY | Catholic Marriages¹⁶³ | Mixed Religion¹⁶⁴ | Conformists or Religion Unknown¹⁶⁵ | Total |
|---------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|--------------|
| Cholmley | 3 | 3 | 3 | 9 |
| Danby | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| Fairfax | 0 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Gascoigne | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Lawson | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| Meynell | 4 | 2 | 1 | 7 |
| Norton | 0 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Stapleton | 0 | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Vavasour | 2 | 1 | 17 | 20 |
| Wentworth | 1 | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| Wycliffe | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Wyvill | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 17 / 83 | 21 / 83 | 45 / 83 | 83 |
| % | 21% | 25% | 54% | |

¹⁶³ Includes Recusant/Recusant, Recusant/Catholic, Catholic/Recusant, and Catholic/Catholic.

¹⁶⁴ Includes Recusant/Conformist, Catholic/Conformist, Conformist/Recusant, and Conformist/Catholic.

¹⁶⁵ Includes Conformist/Conformist, Protestant or Puritan/Conformist, Conformist/Protestant or Puritan.

2.8 Marriages of Younger Sons in Relation to Religion after 1569

| FAMILY | Catholic Marriages | Mixed Religion | Conformists or Religion Unknown | Total |
|---------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|--------------|
| Cholmley | 2 | 1 | 5 | 8 |
| Danby | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Fairfax | 0 | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| Gascoigne | 0 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Lawson | 0 | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| Meynell | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| Norton | 0 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| Stapleton | 0 | 2 | 16 | 18 |
| Vavasour | 0 | 2 | 8 | 10 |
| Wentworth | 0 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Wycliffe | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Wyvill | 0 | 0 | 12 | 12 |
| TOTAL | 3 | 13 | 79 | 95 |
| % | 3% | 14% | 83% | |

2.9 The Marriages of Daughters in Relation to Religion after 1569

| FAMILY | Catholic Marriages | Mixed Religion | Conformists or Religion Unknown | Total |
|---------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|--------------|
| Cholmley | 2 | 8 | 13 | 23 |
| Danby | 2 | 4 | 11 | 17 |
| Fairfax | 0 | 4 | 13 | 17 |
| Gascoigne | 2 | 7 | 14 | 23 |
| Lawson | 0 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Meynell | 1 | 4 | 5 | 10 |
| Norton | 1 | 3 | 7 | 11 |
| Stapleton | 1 | 2 | 11 | 14 |
| Vavasour | 0 | 2 | 16 | 18 |
| Wentworth | 0 | 2 | 13 | 15 |
| Wycliffe | 1 | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| Wyvill | 3 | 7 | 6 | 16 |
| TOTAL | 12 | 45 | 118 | 175 |
| % | 7% | 26% | 67% | |

Chapter 3

Control and Compromise: Catholics and the Parish Community

Introduction

The church as an international body in pre-Reformation England referred almost exclusively to the Catholic church headed by the Pope. After the Reformation the 'Church' became a far wider term. The official Church, established by Henry VIII with the Act of Supremacy was an odd mixture of Catholicism and Protestant inspired reforms, yet by the end of Henry's reign it is argued by many revisionist historians that in many areas the 'church' and its services were still Catholic and unreformed. The Church had numerous different aspects at a local level incorporating the parish church both as a building and a community. At ground level the local priests and churchwardens were the people that determined the nature of the community's religious devotions. At a higher level a combination of ecclesiastical and secular authorities was responsible for determining changes in policy and, more importantly in reference to the Catholic communities of England, for enforcing religious conformity.

The parish within the community has been of recent concern in Reformation studies, particularly with the growth in revisionist history which has focused on local studies, looking at relatively small areas of the country in order to determine the impact of religious change. The parish community, within the context of recusant history, has most recently been examined in a study made by the Catholic Record Society and

Wolverhampton University.¹ This study has placed great emphasis on the rôle played by Catholics below gentry status and has focused on the rôle of parish and town in their lives. Yet the parish was also of importance to the gentry community of the period 1536-1640; thus an examination of the gentry and the parish is necessary if the effect of the ecclesiastical authorities on Catholicism at parish level is to be ascertained, to form a more complete picture of the relationship.

The Gentry and the Parish

Patronage made the early modern world turn round. He who possessed patronage possessed power - power to control people, politics and events; power to delegate; power to command respect.²

Rosemary O'Day's comment on the nature of early modern society places great emphasis on the importance of control. In looking at ecclesiastical patronage in the period following the Reformation, control is equally important in determining religious matters, at national and local levels, as it was in dictating political policy at the centre of government.³ Certainly control of ecclesiastical patronage, benefices and advowsons was all important in determining the religious nature of the community. Previous studies of the relationships of the gentry with the church authorities have placed great emphasis on

¹ Rowlands, *Catholics of Parish and Town*, p. 3.

² R. O'Day, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage: Who Controlled the Church?', in F. Heal and R. O'Day (eds.), *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I* (London, 1977), p. 137.

³ D. Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (1985; London, 1992), pp. 11-35. Starkey's discussion of Henry VIII's court places great emphasis on faction and by implication the importance of who had control in determining governmental policy.

the church's ability to punish non-conformist behaviour and highlight recusancy through reporting absenteeism. The relationship between the gentry and the parish was however a two-way process; certainly in pre-Reformation England the gentry were vital in determining the wealth of the parish and the church and often the number of clergy within a parish. The effect the Reformation had on who controlled the church is important; at a national level control of the church and religious policy has been discussed at length in most studies of the Tudor and Stuart era.⁴ The church and parish at local level has received less attention and is therefore something that needs to be considered in relation to the Catholic gentry and their interaction with the local clergy and community. Who controlled the church and therefore religion in the localities? This question will be addressed in reference to Yorkshire and with particular emphasis to the Catholic families being studied here in order to ascertain where possible what effect the parish church had on their lives as Catholics in an era of religious change.

⁴ Elton, *England under the Tudors*, p. 420; Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (London, 1977), pp. 174-99; Williams, *Tudor Regime*; Williams, *Later Tudors*, pp. 72-8, 113-19, 454-65. Elton discusses the royal supremacy of Henry VIII, implemented via Cromwell, which placed the monarch in control of ecclesiastical policy and takes this further in reference to the Elizabethan church stating that 'the Elizabethan church admitted even more completely to the primacy of temporal power' (p. 420). Williams, too, views the era as one where control of ecclesiastical matters were increasingly in the hands of the monarch, with even Mary giving back only limited goods, land and revenues, thus leaving the associated power in lay hands.

Yorkshire parishes and who controlled them

Introduction

The administration of Yorkshire in the early modern era was conducted on both secular and religious lines. These two administrative divisions did not always coincide, with parish boundaries crossing both those of Ridings and wapentakes. No detailed maps exist showing the parish divisions throughout the vast area which made up the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century archdiocese of York, making any accurate study of parishes and who controlled them difficult. Early nineteenth-century maps of Yorkshire demonstrate parish boundaries that appear to be in line with those of the early modern era, though these include areas that now fall within the modern geographical and ecclesiastical boundaries of Lancashire and Northumberland.⁵ According to this map there were over seven hundred parishes within the ecclesiastical boundaries of Yorkshire. Andrew Foster in his analysis of churchwardens' accounts in the period 1558-1660 stated that there were 581 parishes in Yorkshire in the period he examined.⁶ Regardless of which figures are used it is clear that the number of clergy was very large and that whoever had the right to appoint them could control the religion of the local area. It should perhaps be expected then that

⁵ *Map of Yorkshire: Ancient Parishes and Chapelries based on George Lawton's collections relative to York and Ripon (1842) and Henry Teesdale's map of Yorkshire (1817-28)* (YAS, Parish Register Section, Claremont, Leeds, 1973).

⁶ A. Foster, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of Early Modern England and Wales: Some Problems to Note, but Much to be Gained', in K.L. French, G.G. Gibb and B.A. Kumin (eds.), *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), p. 78.

this right would be a fiercely contested issue, yet this may not in fact have been the case. The parish churches and the attached land and property varied in size and value and the appointment of the local parish priest was not always an entirely ecclesiastical matter, even before the Reformation.⁷ Rosemary O'Day concluded that the right to the advowson of the benefice fell to the ordinary, who was most commonly the bishop of the diocese, when the patrons did not present 'most regularly', although she points out that by the fifteenth century lay patrons also held the right to appoint, sometimes without even having the obligation to consult the bishop for approval of the candidate.⁸ These rights of patronage held as 'advowsons presentative' in theory gave great powers to whom ever held them, whether this be the heads of monastic institutions or members of the local aristocracy or gentry.

The common preconception, established by Victorian historians and continued by A.G. Dickens, concerning the reforms to the medieval Catholic Church begun under Henry VIII, centred around the precept that an outdated, corrupted, inaccessible institution was replaced by an accessible Church of England. Further this interpretation advocated that this nation church under the leadership of the monarch, with an increased amount of lay control, provided what the English people wanted. Christopher Haigh, along with what is

⁷ C.W. Sloane, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/011169a.htm>> (February, 2000). This entry provides a definition under English law of advowsons, including a detailed history of the changes in definition and rights. 'The right of presentation constituted an advowson presentative.'

⁸ R. O'Day, 'The Law of Patronage in Early Modern England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 26 (1975), 247-60, with reference to p. 248.

now a fairly long list of revisionist and post-revisionist historians, disputed this.⁹ Writing in 1982 Haigh stated:

... [in making a] study of the church through the records of its work, a picture of a moribund, dispirited and repressive institution which failed to meet the needs of its people becomes more and more difficult to sustain. We know that the parish clergy were not negligent, immoral and inadequately educated clerics embroiled in regular conflicts with their parishioners over tithe and mortuaries; if their standards of spirituality and academic achievement would not satisfy the late-twentieth-century mind, they seem to have satisfied Tudor villagers...¹⁰

In looking at the parishes of Yorkshire two common precepts concerning the reform of the parishes following the Henrician, Edwardian and Elizabeth Reformations can be seen to be untrue. Firstly it becomes very clear that the Reformation and the subsequent religious reforms did not see the removal of ill-educated corrupt Catholic priests and their replacement with university educated, articulate, evangelical Protestant preachers who were devoted to the reform of the minds of their parishioners.¹¹ Secondly, and perhaps more importantly for this study, the reforms did not result in a nationalised church under the direct control of Protestant ecclesiastical officials, but in a greater number of parish

⁹ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*; Haigh, *English Reformations*; Scarisbrick, *Reformation and the English People*. Duffy and Scarisbrick are two of the most ardent defenders of the strength and health of the late medieval Catholic church though the list of those who also emphasize the fact that the Reformation did not occur to replace an outdated and corrupted church could be said to include the vast majority of historians writing from the 1970s onwards.

¹⁰ C. Haigh, 'Historiographical Review: The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', *The Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), 995-1007, in particular p. 998.

¹¹ A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558* (Oxford, 1959), p. 138. Dickens portrays the northern clergy as men of limited minds and describes their reluctance to reform religion as a sign of this.

advowsons falling into the hand of the laity. In reference to the latter of these conclusions, what is interesting is the fact that few (either at the time or since) appeared to question whether any of those controlling parishes were themselves Catholic, part of intrinsically Catholic families or sympathetic to the Catholic cause. The acquisition of advowsons was treated much as any other business transaction, with little attention being paid to the religious implications. The interaction of the Catholic gentry with the parishes in which they resided was key, as were their actions and decisions in those parishes where they did not reside, but where they held the right to appoint to the advowson. The discussion will therefore first address the issue of their right to appoint and to what extent this was exercised in the pre- and post-Reformation eras, and then look at the impact of this policy in selected parishes.

Pre-1530s

Prior to the 1530s the control of the advowson and the right to appoint the priest in many parishes was owned by and exercised by one of the monastic houses of the county.¹² The monastic houses of York, such as St. Mary's abbey and the hospital of St. Leonard's, had control of many of the appointments to parishes in the North Riding. In the deanery of Richmond, St Leonard's had the right to appoint at the parishes of Bowes and Brighall prior to 1539; St. Mary's controlled the parishes of Forcett, Gilling, Kirkby Ravensworth and Hutton Magna; the abbey of St. Agatha controlled Easby and Egglestone abbey

¹² K.J. Allison, (ed.), *A Victoria History of the County of York: East Riding* [6 vols.] (Oxford, 1969); W. Page (ed.), *VCH of Yorkshire: North Riding* [3 vols.] (London, 1914-23).

owned the advowson of Rokeby and Startforth.¹³ In the deanery of Rydale the advowson of Helmsley church was held by Rievaulx abbey; St. Mary's held the rights to the advowson at Normanby and Lasingham until the dissolution of their abbey; and they also owned Nunnington church, but the right to appoint to the advowson belonged to the Lords of the manor until it was seized by the crown in 1553.¹⁴

Dickens' view that the clergy of the north were ill-educated and backward and that this led to demands from the local populace for reform, has been seen to be false; yet it is recognised that, as with all large organisations, not everything was perfect in the church and that standards of parochial care did vary from area to area. Accepting this there is still little evidence to suggest that the institution of a reformed religion and clergy did anything constructive to improve the situation in areas where there was need for reform. R.B. Smith calculated that prior to the Reformation the West Riding had around nine hundred clergy ministering to its spiritual needs.¹⁵ Yet by *c.* 1539-40 this number had reduced by three hundred and fifty, and this figure was reduced still further by the later Chantry Act that removed the clergy who served in the chapelries of the parishes.¹⁶ The reforms of Edward's reign, which removed chantry and chapel provisions, reduced the number of clergy in the parishes still further and in this respect can be viewed as even

¹³ *VCH: North Riding*, 1.

¹⁴ *VCH: North Riding*, 1, pp. 528, 544, 548.

¹⁵ Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 92. Smith calculated that this figure was composed of 347 regular clergy, 110 in colleges, hospitals and preceptories, 439 secular clergy and the Archbishop of York and his household.

¹⁶ Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 94.

more significant and therefore more detrimental to parishioners; in the large, northern parishes of Richmond, Catterick, Cleveland and Rydale this did further disservice to the community who in the pre-Reformation era at least were able to seek spiritual guidance at a chapel or with a Chantry priest, when the parish church was made inaccessible through bad weather or illness. Even the more accessible regions of the West Riding suffered from the removal of chantry provisions. Smith plays down these changes describing only 'another slight reduction in the number of clergy by 1546' and emphasising private disendowments.¹⁷ Yet his analysis does not account for the more wide-spread government enforced dissolutions of Edward's reign, which on top of the dissolutions Smith already acknowledges meant a significant loss of clergy.

It could be and has been argued, by those portraying the advantages of a godly Reformation over the corrupt medieval Catholicism, that quantity and quality were by no means the same thing. So did the removal of large numbers of clergy in fact improve the quality of the ecclesiastical incumbents and pastoral care they received? Peter Marshall argues that although complaints of absenteeism and pluralism were made prior to the Reformation, they were in fact fairly limited in relation to the number of parishes.¹⁸ The task here is not however to argue that late medieval Catholicism was without fault, for assuredly that was not the case, though nor was it, as A.G. Dickens asserted, in its last

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ P. Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 174-93. Marshall makes specific reference to Yorkshire parishes in this section.

death throes. Certainly evidence of dissatisfied parishioners and inadequate clerical provision can be found after the Reformation and throughout Elizabeth's reign.

In 1596 there were complaints made in the parish of Ellerburn that the vicar had not preached the four sermons that he was supposed to administer during the year, that he was not resident and offered no hospitality to his flock and gave no alms to the poor.¹⁹ In the parish of Downholme things appear to have declined even further. The town of Melmerby in the parish had its own chapel which had been established for the convenience of the inhabitants of Melmerby and Scrafton in winter when the storms made it difficult for them to reach the church. The chapel had in the pre-Reformation era been controlled by Coverham abbey, who appointed a hermit, given the name 'the king's hermit, to dwell at the end of chapel, clean it and make offerings to "St. Symond"'. In 1586 John Prat was running an alehouse from the hermit's end of the chapel, suggesting that prayer was no longer the main reason for the villagers visiting the premises.²⁰

The High Commission records of York show that vicars continued to be called before the authorities for failing to serve their parishes in the Elizabethan era. In May 1581 the vicar of Adlingfleet, Mr. Edmond Skerne, along with several of the parishioners, was called before the commission for failing to repair the church.²¹ At the same court session several

¹⁹ *VCH: North Riding*, 2, p. 440.

²⁰ *VCH: North Riding*, 1, p. 225.

²¹ J.S. Purvis, *The Elizabethan High Commission of York: The Act Book 1561/2-1580* (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, 1979), p. 82 (104). The parishioners were Francis Haldenbie, Gerald Haldenbie, Robert Mawson, Thomas Markham and Robert Langdale.

other vicars and curates appeared. John Marshall curate of Norton, near Malton was charged with failing to 'administer the cup, due to want of his limbs':²² John Hawkes vicar of Kirkby in 'Grendelythe' was ordered 'to look to his flock' and Simon Blut vicar of Garton was 'commanded to live in his vocation'.²³ In a further case Robert Wood the vicar of Scawby was brought before the commission for serving other cures without a license and drunkenness, and in January 1582 William Cliffe, vicar of Darfield was accused of adultery.²⁴ These kinds of accusations are in the vein of those cited as evidence of the corruption and disarray of the medieval church, yet clearly were not eradicated by the reforms to the parochial system taking place in the Reformation.

Nor did the reforms of the Tudor era see the removal of appointments by monastic houses replaced with appointments made by well-educated clergymen of the Church of England. Instead the Reformation resulted in advowsons being passed from hand to hand, with the highest bidder, rather than the most suitable authority, gaining power in the church.

The fact that the 'nationalisation' of advowsons was a by-product of the Reformation cannot have been entirely a happy coincidence. A great many advowsons, chantries and chapels fell into the hands of the Crown following the dissolution, though this was often a temporary situation, given that advowsons and livings were often sold off or granted away to loyal subjects by successive Tudor monarchs. Whilst the dissolution is most

²² Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 82 (104).

²³ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, pp. 82-3 (104).

²⁴ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, pp. 85 (114) and 91 (153).

often framed in terms of the profitability of selling off large monastic estates, the significance of the less profitable chantries and advowsons is more frequently overlooked, yet they were just as vital to the running of local communities and parish. Beat A. Kümin, in his primarily economic study of the early modern parish, also concluded that the beneficiaries of the changes made in the sixteenth century were the crown and the gentry. He cites the example of the archdeaconaries of Essex, Middlesex and Colchester where the crown's presentations increased from less than five percent prior to the Reformation to more than seventeen percent after the Reformation and the gentry doubled their share of advowsons from a third to sixty-six percent by Elizabeth's reign.²⁵

For Kümin this change was indicative of the wider socio-economic polarisation occurring in the early modern parish community and part of the crown's attempt to disperse local worries by making the parish another extension of its 'closely monitored ... local government structure.'²⁶ This interpretation appears to presuppose a long term plan amongst Tudor monarchs and officials to establish an efficient system of local government that would manage local social and economic troubles under the monarch's control but without troubling the crown with petty details. This clearly was not the case and the piecemeal auctioning off of advowsons and parish lands which had been in the hands of the former monasteries appears indicative not of a long term plan, but of the

²⁵ B.A. Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400-1560* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 245.

²⁶ Kümin, *Shaping of a Community*, pp. 247, 254-5.

contemporary concern with the acquisition of money, land and power through purchasing and patronage. Thus the crown had another useful pool of resources with which to reward good service and local entrepreneurial gentlemen had another target for acquisition.

Post-Reformation Control

It has already been established that Catholicism was slow to die out in the north and the five years of restored Catholic rule under Mary saw the revival of Catholicism. Yet even the Elizabethan era did not erase all Catholic influence from the parish church or the parish community. Marie Rowlands makes the point that 'the parish officers had Catholic wives, kindred and neighbours and, perhaps just as important, Catholic customers, creditors and debtors.'²⁷

In terms of the actual control of the parish church and the right to appoint clergy the families being examined here still appear to have retained some control. Following the Reformation parish land, chapels, vicarages and advowsons became commodities which were traded on the land market for cash sums or more frequently as part of a parcel which was given as part of a dowry, jointure or in-trade for other lands or goods. Men at the centre of government who received a part of a Yorkshire parish within parcels of assorted lands often traded them to local men, presumably glad to be rid of something which they could not use. Thus the control of parishes changed hands with a considerable frequency.

²⁷ Rowlands, *Catholics of Parish and Town*, p. 7.

For example the advowson of Melsonby in Richmondshire was acquired in 1427 by the Stapleton family with Simon Digby and Richard Stapleton holding possession in 1570; by 1571 it had reverted to the crown as Digby was attainted for treason. Elizabeth swiftly granted it to Ambrose, earl of Warwick and his heirs. In 1572 Warwick conveyed it to William Knipe, whose heir Samuel inherited it and presented in 1608. Samuel Kipe then granted the moiety to Sir Richard Theakstone in 1609-10, who in turn passed it to his heir, William. At some point between 1630 and 1632 William Theakston granted it to George Clay, who conveyed it to Ellen Rymer; she then granted it to Christopher and John Smythson who were trustees for Nathiel Hawkesworth who was the vicar of Middleton Tyas.²⁸ Thus the advowson had passed through the hands of thirteen people during a sixty-year period, whereas prior to the Reformation it had been in the hands of the Stapletons who had held relatively uninterrupted possession for over one-hundred-and-forty years. Although this process saw advowsons coming into the hands of Catholic families by accident or default, it was significant that no attempt was made to stop or regulate what were essentially private transactions amongst gentlemen.

The most notable example perhaps lies within the Fairfax family who held the advowson of the church of Gilling throughout the Tudor period and up until 1769 despite it being known that they were ardently Catholic.²⁹ The authorities had officially prevented them

²⁸ *VCH: North Riding*, 1, p. 109 making reference to Melsonby.

²⁹ *VCH: North Riding*, 1, p. 484; K. Laybourne, *Historical Notes on the Parish Church of Gilling West, North Yorkshire* (Richmond, 1979), pp. 10-11, 31. There is little information on the early sixteenth-century appointments to Gilling, and there appears to have been a rather rapid succession of incumbents in

appointing any clergy to the parish by the early eighteenth-century and attempts were made to regulate appointments in Tudor times. Marmaduke Cholmley had a similar experience. In 1527 the Cholmley family had obtained the advowson, rectory and associated parish lands of Brandsby, via marriage of Jane de la River to Roger Cholmley and Thomasina de la River to Richard Cholmley. In 1627 the Cholmley lands in Brandsby were forfeited to the crown due to Marmaduke's recusancy. Yet in the same year the lands were then re-granted to Marmaduke and his son, and he retained them until the Interregnum. The rectory was rented from Marmaduke by Sir Thomas Belasyse in 1621 apparently due to the Cholmleys well known Roman Catholicism but no mention was made of the rights of presentation to the advowson.³⁰

It could be said that these restrictions and regulations negated the value of holding the advowson, but again the significance lies with the fact that the Protestant authorities were unwilling to trespass into the private property-rights of a gentry family regardless of the implications of a Catholic family holding the legal rights over a Protestant parish church. It is with this fact that the strength of the Catholic gentry lay; despite their religious convictions they were gentlemen and therefore entitled to the property rights that this status entailed. The fact that they were able to maintain some aspect of control in many of their parishes did leave them with a place in parish society and often some say in how the

the latter half of the century with Cuthbert Thomson in 1562, Nynian Menvyle in 1573, William Sterne in 1576, Roger Blagburne in 1580 and William Barker in 1585.

³⁰ *VCH: North Riding*, 1, pp. 106-7; F. Collins (ed.), *Feet of Fines for the Tudor Period, 1486-1570*, Part 1 (Registry of Assurances, Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, 2, 1887), p. 201. Jane was the illegitimate daughter of Thomas de la River (delaryver) and is sometimes cited as Jane Carr.

parish was run. Even if the convicted or 'suspect' family members were unable to retain control themselves then there was always the possibility of passing the land to another member or branch of their family. What is clear from examining the somewhat patchy evidence that catalogues the ownership of advowsons and the control of parishes is that the families being examined here were still retaining some connections with their local parishes in terms of owning the advowsons.

The main parishes in which the sample families held land can be seen by an examination of the family seats which are noted in appendices one to three (pp. #424-88). Many of the families examined were able to gain some element of control over those parish churches where the head of the family held the main lands, but most of the advowsons were gained via other land transactions which were often connected to marriage arrangement and family alliances. Table 3.1 illustrates those parishes in which the twelve sample families who are the focus of this study held an interest at some point in the period, whether this be ownership of the advowson, chantry or vicarage (Table 3.1 follows).

3.1 Yorkshire Parishes and Family Control

| FAMILY | ADVOWSON OF PARISH | DATES |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| CHOLMLEY | BRANDSBY* | 1624 - 1653 |
| | KIRKBYMOREHEAD* [KIRBY MOORSIDE] | 1560/1- ? |
| | KELDHOLME* | 1560/1- ? |
| | ROSENDALE* | 1560/1- ? |
| | GILLYMORE* | 1560/1- ? |
| | MIDDLETON* | 1560/1- ? |
| | BRANSDALE* | 1560/1- ? |
| | CROPTON* | 1560/1- ? |
| | THORNTON* | 1560/1- ? |
| | LOCKTON* | 1560/1- ? |
| | SKELTON* | 1560/1- ? |
| | MALTON* | 1560/1- ? |
| | THORNTON-DALE | 1580 - ? |
| | SOUTH DALTON | 1573-1610 |
| | 1/3 ROWTHE [ROUTH] | (1562) |
| | WENSLEY | ? - 1555-6 |
| | KIRKDEIGHTON* | ? - 1562 |
| | HOLY TRINITY (CHANTRY)* | 1535 |
| | KIRBY MISPERTON (CHANTRY)* | 1535 |
| | ST. MARY MAGDELENE (CHANTRY)* | 1535 |
| SCARBOROUGH (CHANTRY)* | 1535 | |
| DANBY | LEAKE (followed descent of rectory and manor which was held by the Danby family from the Bishop of Durham) SCRUTON* | 1517 - 1665 |
| FAIRFAX | AMPLEFORTH | 1565 - 1852 |
| | GILLING | ? - 1769 |
| | KIRKDEIGHTON* | 1562 - ? |
| | NICHOLAS- ADDINGHAM* | 1569 - ? |
| | SESSAY | 1540? - 1568 |
| THURNSCOE* | 1569 - ? | |
| GASCOIGNE | BURGHWALLIS | ? - 1551/1557 (in dispute with the plain. Robt. Lewes |

| | | |
|-----------|--|--|
| | | and Wm. Asheley and the def. Wm. Gascoigne) |
| LAWSON | - | - |
| MEYNELL | - | - |
| NORTON | AINDERBY VICARAGE* HUTTON CHANTRY* ST. MARTIN'S YORK* 1/3 SOUTH KILVINGTON* WATH CHANTRY (St. Cuthbert's) (Chantry owned by John Norton) | 1533 - ? 1533 - ? 1533 - ? 1533 - ? ? ? - 1572 1572 - 1574 |
| STAPLETON | BEDALE MELSONBY CLIFFE (descent with manor) LUND (descent with manor) | 1595 1427-1570 1589 - c.1658 1589- c.1658 |
| VAVASOUR | THURNSCOE NICHOLAS ADDINGHAM NORMANBY* | ? - 1569 ? - 1569 1546 - 1617 (1572 presentments made by other leasees from this date) |
| WENTWORTH | LITTLE COULTON | ? - 1555 |
| WYCLIFF | WYCLIFFE THORNTON* | 1263 - 1878 1551 - ? |
| WYVILL | - | - |

* Control held in partnership with others.

Three-quarters of the families examined appear to have owned all or part of an advowson of a Yorkshire parish during the period 1536-1642. The Lawson, Meynell and Wyvill families' seeming lack of control may be explained by the fact that all three held the majority of their lands in the north of the region. The Lawson's power base was essentially in the Durham and Newcastle areas.

The issue of family networks once again becomes evident in the way in which the control of the advowson of parish churches could be passed amongst a small group of select families. In 1560-1 Richard Cholmley was one of three men who acquired the advowsons of the churches of Kirbymorehead [Kirby Moorside], Keldholme, Rosedale, Gillymore, Middleton, Bransdale, Cropton, Thornton, Lockton, Skelton and Malton which had previously been in the hands of Margaret Gascoigne, the widow of Henry, earl of Westmorland.³¹ It is most probable that the land transfer, of which the advowsons were a part, was part of a family arrangement as Margaret Gascoigne, the countess of Westmorland, had been a Cholmley prior to her two marriages.³² Thus the Cholmley and Gascoigne families were linked with one of the powerful Catholic northern noble families. This link was a powerful force in the landed power of the north up until 1569, when the monopoly of the Percy-Neville power-base was destroyed with the abortive rebellion.

In the following year, 1562, John Cholmley and his wife Katherine can be seen to be transferring their third share in the advowson of Routh church to Richard Cholmley and Francis Cholmley.³³ Presumably Richard and Francis were their nephews, the sons of John's eldest brother Sir Roger (see appendix II). Land and control could then be retained simply by passing the rights of control around different and successive family members.

³¹ Collins, *Feet of Fines*, 1, p. 245. The two men who appeared as plaintiffs in the case were Roger Simpson and Francis Burton.

³² See appendix IV, p. 505. The pedigree shows both a Margaret and Jane as separate people, however they appear to be the same person.

³³ Collins, *Feet of Fines*, 1, p. 264.

This practice was by no means new or innovative, but the fact that the gentry community in Yorkshire was extensive and yet still often closely related meant that by the Elizabethan era the tactics needed to evade persecution and prosecution were already established.

Some advowsons were either not in family hands or were sold or exchanged to other families during the period. The right to appoint at Burghwallis had been in the hands of the Gascoigne family for much of the sixteenth century with William Gascoigne presenting Henry Gascoigne to the parish in 1521, John Goldinge in 1545 and John Hall in 1556.³⁴ In 1594 advowson of Burghwallis church passed from John and Frances West to Richard Fenton and his wife Jenetta who took out a warrant against William Gascoigne and his heirs to prevent the interference of the Gascoigne family.³⁵ The rights to the advowson had been in dispute in the 1550s when a portion of the advowson of Burghwallis and the manor of Shepley had been left to Leonard West and Barbara his wife.³⁶ Barbara was one the daughters of Sir William Gascoigne of Cusworth; the fact that the West family, into which she married, still had possession of the advowson in the 1590s suggests that the Gascoigne-Wests had won the 1550s dispute. The fact the new

³⁴ A. H. Thomson and C.T. Clay (ed.), *Fasti Parochiales I: Being notes on the Advowsons and pre-Reformation Incumbents of the Parishes in the Deanery of Doncaster, part I* (YAS RS, 85, 1933), p. 53. In 1541 Henry Whiting was appointed by the archbishop due to the 'lapse of time' between incumbents, and in 1558-9 Anthony Iveson was presented on the death of John Hall, but no mention is this time made of who presented him.

³⁵ F. Collins, *Feet of Fines for the Tudor Period*, 4 (Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, 8, 1880), p. 4.

³⁶ Collins, *Feet of Fines*, 1, p. 156.

owners still felt the need to emphasise the fact that the Gascoigne family now had no rights over the advowson is evidence not just of the Gascoignes' continuing power in the region but also of their continued influence in the parish, despite the fact that they had not been the named owners of the advowson for over forty years.

In the same year, 1594, a fine shows that the advowson of Bedale church (als. Bedale Ascugh) passed as part of a large parcel of land from George Jackson and his wife Jane, to William Theakston.³⁷ This transaction cannot have gone smoothly as in 1595 Richard Theakston again appeared as the plaintiff, but on this occasion Brian, Richard and Robert Stapleton appeared as defendants.³⁸ The Theakstons of Bedale feature prominently in the records of land transactions in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period, particularly in their attempts to obtain control of advowsons. This suggests that control of the advowson was valuable. That the Stapleton family were willing to fight to retain control of their advowsons further shows that they were not considered worthless to the Catholic families in Yorkshire. The parish of Melsonby, which has already been discussed as an area where the Stapleton family had controlled the advowson until 1570, also provided further evidence of a continuing strong Catholic influence there after this date. In 1597 John Jackson, the preacher at Melsonby, wrote a letter against 'papist recusants' stating that there were '20,000 obstinate recusants in the archdeaconry of Richmond who with cursed Esau expect their desired day.'³⁹ This attests to the fact that there were many Catholics

³⁷ Collins, *Feet of Fines*, 4, p. 14.

³⁸ Collins, *Feet of Fines*, 4, p. 34.

³⁹ *VCH: North Riding*, 1, p. 109.

gentry families in Richmondshire and that as a result parishes were heavily, and in Jackson's opinion unduly, influenced by them.

Disputed ownership of land and the associated buildings and rights was commonplace in early modern society and in an effort to avoid cataloguing a series of territorial disputes the discussion of the ownership of advowsons should perhaps be left at this point in order to move on to look at the way in which the Catholic gentry interacted with the parish community and the Protestant figures of authority within them. Ownership of land and control of both advowsons and often the buildings in which Protestant clergy and administrators lived must have given the Catholic gentlemen or their conformist friends and family some control and required the achievement of some basic *modus vivendi*. The families' concern to retain them is evidence of this as if they were worthless as a source of power then they could have been sold to make a financial profit. The fact that much of the remaining evidence concerns what amount to power-struggles between gentlemen/women and the parish and ecclesiastical authorities certainly appears to indicate that the Catholic community were far from being helpless victims, isolated from their surrounding communities, which ironically is exactly the picture painted by many earlier historians of recusancy.

The Catholic Gentry and Parish Priests

The above examination of the transfer of advowsons can be seen to show that Catholic families were able to maintain ownership of church property and retain their right to appoint; further examination of these parishes also shows that this appears to indicate that there was little hostility to the Catholic families in these areas, although the nature of the surviving records ensures that it is only an absence of evidence that can indicate the lack of adversarial relationships between the Catholic gentry and the local parish clergy. The court books of the archbishop's visitations formed the basis for the later prosecutions made by the High Commission and as such the names that are found in one source frequently occur in the other; thus the presentation of recusants by their local priest was important, but it is often the gentry who appear in these local visitations records, rather than those lower down the social scale.⁴⁰ In parishes where Catholic families held land and were resident, but did not hold control of the advowson, they were increasingly likely to be cited as recusants.⁴¹

The Cholmley family of Brandsby held joint control of the advowson of Brandsby between 1624 and 1553. They were consistently cited as recusants from 1595 onwards

⁴⁰ Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Visitation Records: Court Books, various dates; E. Peacock (ed.), *A List of the Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604: Transcribed from the Original MS. in the Bodleian Library* (London, 1872). See appendix V for summaries and detailed lists of the Catholics in the county in 1604 which contains a far greater social range than the court books which frequently cite only the most prominent Catholics in the community.

and are accompanied in the records by other persistent recusants such as the Rawdens who appear alongside the Cholmleys in the 1604 survey of Yorkshire Catholics.⁴² The Cholmleys' possession of lands and the manor of Brandsby no doubt made it far more difficult for them to avoid their religious practices being noticed and as the resident gentry family it is unsurprising that their failure to conform is noted in the local parish visitation records as it was also noted by other contemporary sources which included the York High Commission and the 1604 survey of Catholics.⁴³

A similar pattern can be seen in the parish of Leake; here the descent of the advowson of the parish church followed the descent of the manor which was in the hands of the Danby family, from the bishop of Durham. The parish has no presentments in 1575, 1607 or 1615, but does have entries in the visitation records of 1586, 1595-6 and 1636.⁴⁴ Here various members of the Danby family are recorded as being recusants who had failed to communicate, which is again relatively unsurprising considering that they were the

⁴¹ The Cholmley family of the parish of Calton - V.1536/ CB/ f. 133v-134v; the Meynell family in Thornton-le-Street, V.1595-6/ CB1 / f. 183r-v; 1636 V.1636/CB/ f.392v

⁴² BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1595-6/ CB1 / f.96r; V. 1607 / CB /f. 174; V.1636 /CB/ 361r-v; P. Evans, *A Place Index to the Visitation Court Books of the Archbishop of York: York Diocese 1567-1786*, Borthwick Lists and Indexes, 26 (2000), p. 46.

⁴³ Appendix V, p. 568, The 1604 citation for Bransby cites a total of 21 recusants including Ursula Cholmley as well as servants to the Cholmley family, Jane Eston, Jane Ellis, Bridgett Aslaby, Anne Cottingham, Anne Wardell and Edward Chapman. In addition several other members of the parish who are below gentry status are named. In comparison the 1607 court book citation consists of around 16 recusants.

⁴⁴ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books V.1575 / CB1, f.61r; V.1586 / CB, f.107r-v; V.1595-6/ CB1, ff.184v-185r; V.1627/CB/ff.228v, 273v; V.1636/CB/f.394r-v, (there is no reference for either 1607 or 1615); Evans, *Place Index to the Visitation Court Books*, p.74; Sheils, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation*, p. 962.

resident gentry family in the parish and were also noted in other records as recusants. Yet whether this was really detrimental to them in this case is debatable, as in 1586 the churchwardens are noted as failing to levy the fines for absences from church.⁴⁵ The failure of churchwardens to act, combined with the sheer lack of presentments in other years would appear to indicate that some level of collusion was occurring within the parish, although the nature of surviving records naturally means that it is the lack of written evidence that leads to this conclusion rather than positive written confirmation of Catholic activity.

The Cholmleys also had part ownership of the advowson of several other parishes which were obtained as part of a bundle of lands; amongst these were various chapelries which were under the control of the central parish of Kirby Moorside, in the Rydale deanery. There appear to be far fewer presentments for recusancy in this parish and the complaints which occur are specific to the upkeep of the parsonage and church. Moreover these complaints are typical of the times, referring as they do to the buildings as 'being in decay'.⁴⁶ In 1636 a complaint was made against a man named Morley 'for abusing and deriding the Churchwardens in their office', but there is little indication as to whether this action is taken for religious reasons or if this is merely an example of local rivalries and resentments against the forces of local authority.⁴⁷ This indeed appears to be fairly typical

⁴⁵ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1586 / CB, f.107r-v.

⁴⁶ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1595-6/CB1/f.160r-v; V.1536 / CB / f. 330r-331v; Evans, *Index to the Visitation Court Books*, p. 241; W.J. Sheils, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation, 1575: Comperta et Detecta Book* (Borthwick Texts and Calendars, Records of the Northern Province, 4, 1977), pp. 49-50.

⁴⁷ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V. 1536 / CB / f. 331v.

of the majority of the areas in which Catholic families held control of the local advowson. Where the gentry family was openly Catholic and resident in that area then they often were cited in the visitation records as recusants or non communicants, but in those areas where they held control of the advowson, but were not the main resident gentry family, they do not appear and frequently the citations for recusancy are far fewer.⁴⁸ Where there were no prominent gentry targets to provide a focus for accusations of recusancy parishes were able to evade the attentions of the authorities.

Thus the same patterns occur in Addingham (Nicholas Addingham) where the Fairfax and Vavasours held joint control, but were not the resident gentry at the local manor. The Vavasours had a long relationship with the parish despite the fact that it was not one of their manors, as Leonard Vavasour had been the rector there between 1483 and 1530, and John Vavasour appears to have appointed Henry More to the advowson in 1572 following the death of the previous incumbent John Midhope.⁴⁹ The complaints made in the visitation records largely centre around accusations concerning adultery and fornication, and, whilst these do represent concerns about morality, they cannot be seen as directly linked to any anxieties concerning religious corruption. This implies that whilst Henry

⁴⁸ Evans, *Place Index to the Visitation Court Books*, p. 81; Sheils, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation*, p. 64.

For example, in Thornton-le-Street, where the Meynell family were resident, the majority of references are to them or other notable resident Catholic gentry for recusancy. BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1586/CB f.123r - Richard Talbott and his wife Jane Talbott, 'they come not to church nor communicate'; V.1595-6/ CB1 / f. 183r-v, references are to the Meynells and Cuthbert Metcalf, whilst their vicar is noted for the chancel being 'not in good repair'; V.1636 V.1636/CB/ f.392v.

⁴⁹ N.K. Gurney and C. Clay (eds.), *Fasti Parochiales IV: Being notes on the Advowsons and pre-Reformation Incumbents of the Parishes in the Deanery of Craven* (YAS RS, 133, 1971), pp. 2-4.

More was vicar of Addingham he was not actively opposed to his patrons' beliefs.⁵⁰ It should also be remembered that the acquisition of the advowson was accompanied by the acquisition of land in the area and a possible by-product of this was a religious safe haven where Catholic practices were not so easily noticeable.

The nature and true religious beliefs of the men who were appointed to the numerous parishes in Yorkshire are often very difficult to determine as few, if any, of these men left behind any written testimonial stating their religious standpoint and how this impacted on their behaviour in their parishes. Claire Cross' work on the former nuns and monks of Yorkshire suggests that their longevity ensured continuities in religious thought and to some extent practice, and the evidence regarding ordinations also bears out similar conclusions.⁵¹ Cross' assessment of the regular clergy in the county suggests that 'few of the beneficed lower clergy refused the oath of supremacy and [most] continued to serve their livings till they died', yet this does not necessarily imply that they were entirely at ease with the religious changes nor even that they enforced them.⁵² Moreover, the fact that the mass recruitment drives and accompanying group ordinations that were occurring in the south were not seen in the north implies that the impact of reformed clergy would

⁵⁰ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1586/CB1/80; V.1595-6 /CB1/51v; V.1607/CB/34v-35r; V.1636/CB/51v-52r; Evans, *Index to the Visitation Court Books*, p. 85; Sheils, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation*, p. 13.

⁵¹ Cross and Vicars, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p.13; C. Cross, 'Ordinations in the Diocese of York 1500-1630', in C. Cross (ed.), *Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church* (York, 1996), pp. 1-19, especially p. 12. These sources indicate that there may have been up to 300 former monks and friars still serving in the diocese in 1556 which is a theme that will be addressed further in chapter 4.

⁵² Cross, 'Ordinations in the Diocese of York 1500-1630', p. 12.

be lessened. The continuity in serving members of the clergy, resulting in few new appointments, can be seen in the parish of Thurnscoe in the deanery of Doncaster where the Faifax and Vavasour families shared control of the right to appoint to the advowson. Henry Maleverer, a university educated minister, was appointed to the parish in 1539 and remained rector there until the next appointment in 1583.⁵³ The continuity of secular gentry influence is clearly evident here as Maleverer was presented by William Vavasour and succeeded Leonard Vavasour in the office: thus we can see the uninterrupted influence of the Vavasour family from 1506 to 1583 and this is certainly reflected in the lack of presentments in the visitation records for this period and beyond, with no presentations being made in 1575 or 1585 and only one presentation in 1595-6, which was not directly concerned with religious practice.⁵⁴

The impact of University trained, and therefore Protestant, clergy should have upset the relationship between the Catholic gentleman and his local parish, and indeed Cross estimates that by the reign of James I around ‘two-thirds of York ordinands had studied the Arts courses at Oxford and Cambridge’.⁵⁵ Yet even in these cases the impact may

⁵³ J. Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714: Their Parentage, and Year of Birth with a Record of their Degrees*, Vol. 3 (Oxford, 1891), p. 962; A. H. Thomson and C.T. Clay (ed), *Fasti Parochiales II: Being notes on the Advowsons and pre-Reformation incumbents of the parishes in the deanery of Doncaster, part II* (YAS RS, 107, 1943), p. 85.

⁵⁴ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1575/CB/f.32; V.1595-6/CB1/f.197v – Richard Richardson listed as a fornicator; P. Evans, *A Place Index to the Visitation Court Books of the Archbishop of York: York Diocese 1567-1786*, Borthwick Lists and Indexes, 26 (2000), p. 128, no ref in 1586; Sheils, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation*, p. 32.

⁵⁵ Cross, ‘Ordinations in the Diocese of York 1500-1630’, p. 16.

have been relatively minimal. In 1594 just such a man was appointed, by Elizabeth I, to the parish of Barwick-in-Elmet, home parish of the Gascoigne family. His name was Timothy Bright and he had attended Trinity College Cambridge where he had obtained a BA and MD, yet the fact that he held other rectories and benefices may well have ensured that he kept a limited eye on parochial activities and certainly the fact that he was reputed to have attempted to purchase several oxen in the parish of Barwick, prior to having it pointed out that in fact he already owned them, appears to indicate that he was somewhat unfamiliar with the parish.⁵⁶ Certainly the visitation act books show a very limited number of presentments for the period with only Alice Smith and Maria Ellis being presented for religious failings in 1595-6, the first for failing to receive at Easter and the latter for failure to attend church.⁵⁷ The Reverend Bright may have been somewhat dismayed at the state of his parish for in 1607 the lack of a clerk, an altar cloth, a suitable place from which to read the bible and even the lack of new and suitable Protestant bible, combined with decaying glass in the Church, are all cited as reasons for complaint in the parish. This would appear to indicate that a new reformed church was not really operating in Barwick and the citation of a man named Taylor who had caused ‘candles to be sett upp on the day tyme and burned ever his wife being dead’, further suggests that old Catholic traditions were in practice.⁵⁸ The list of recusants cited in the parish unsurprisingly contains the names Ellis and Gascoigne who as gentle families would have

⁵⁶ Coleman, ‘History of Barwick-in-Elmet’, pp. 65-6; D.N.B., vol. 6, pp. 337-9; J. and J.A. Vale (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to 1900*, part I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 218.

⁵⁷ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1595-6/CB1/ f.28v.

⁵⁸ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1607/CB ff23v-24r.

had difficulty escaping notice, but the limited number of citations seems to indicate little concern and certainly there does appear to be a lack of vehement conflict between the parties despite the presence of the stereotypical elements needed for religious conflict, namely the educated Protestant minister and the recalcitrant Catholic gentleman.

Pluralism also occurred in other parishes apart from Barwick-in-Elmet and the fact that vicars often served more than one parish must have ensured that there was greater freedom for the parishioners, especially if the churchwardens too were reluctant to present wrong-doers. For example John Robinson was recorded as the parson of Thornton in 1575 and also the vicar of Gisburn, whilst the curate of Thornton, one William Mallome was noted as not being licensed to serve.⁵⁹ There appears to have been relatively little concern regarding recusancy or religious non-conformity in this parish, where the Wycliffs held the right to appoint from 1551. The same pattern occurs in Wighill where in 1575 Richard Yates is cited as holding two benefices, and the short-comings of the church are highlighted in that they ‘want two tomes of the homilies, a communion book, a psalter, the Church is in decay, they want the quarter sermons.’⁶⁰ In the same year William Slingsby and William Bullock are noted for failing to come to Church or receive communion and in 1586 the wife of Guy Fairfax is noted as not coming to Church for twelve months; the complaints concerning conformity again appear to be limited to the

⁵⁹ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1586/CB/f.83r; V.1607/CB/ ff.8v-9r; V.1636/CB/f.94r; Sheils, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation*, p. 15. This selection of visitations shows relatively few occurrences of complaints regarding recusancy, with only one occurring in 1607 and none in 1575, 1586 or 1636.

⁶⁰ Sheils, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation*, p. 9.

gentry whose behaviour was usually noted rather than extending further to include the lesser members of the parish.⁶¹

Catholic gentry and the Parish community

The Catholic gentry did not exist in isolation from the rest of society. Michael Questier makes the extremely valid point that recusancy is most often seen in isolation, disconnected from the study of the rest of early modern society.⁶² Although Questier is referring to the workings of the Jacobean exchequer, this point is equally valid in reference to Catholics, or recusants, in the context of the parish community.

Richard Cholmley appears to have still viewed his local parish church as an important symbol within his community. In fact he appears to have carried on using the church, or at least the church porch, to conduct his business dealings, despite his known recusancy. In 1610 Thomas Cholmley, Richard's brother, paid a bond of £126 to Thomas Cook in the porch of Stillington church.⁶³ A further entry states that Richard himself, and Christopher Hebden, had entered into a bond with Thomas Cholmley amounting to £252 which would allow Thomas to make a further payment of £126 in November of the same

⁶¹ BIHR, Visitation Records: Court Books, V.1586/CB/f.35v; V.1595-6/CB1/f.31v; V.1636/CB/f.45v; Sheils, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation*, p. 9. The other references centre round the offences of fornication and unlawful marriage.

⁶² M. Questier, 'Sir Henry Spiller, Recusancy and the Efficiency of the Jacobean Exchequer', *Historical Research*, 66 (1993), 251-66.

year again in Stillington church porch.⁶⁴ Gilbert Stapleton too seemed to have some element of control within his parish; a dispute in 1624 made it clear that he held the keys to Carlton Chapel despite being a suspected recusant.⁶⁵ This meant that Gilbert had the power to hold up the local service which was something which he exercised; yet the important aspect of this case was that the complaint simply stressed that he had delayed and disrupted the service and at no point was the suggestion made that the keys be removed from his authority.

Richard Cholmley also seemed concerned to catalogue the ownership of local advowsons and noted that in April 1611 a 'Mr. Webster and Rhodes came to Stearsby to buy the next advowson of the parsonage.'⁶⁶ This concern with who owned the local properties and held rights is perhaps just the actions of an astute business mind, but Richard's religious beliefs cannot have been entirely irrelevant to his concern with who held controlling rights in the parish.

This concern with the ownership of local advowsons continued, and in 1621 Richard made a further record concerning the control of his parish church which also illustrated that the control of the advowson of the parish was in great demand from many of the local gentlemen in the area and that ecclesiastic connections were not as important as

⁶³ NYCRO, Cholmley Papers and Richard Cholmley's Memoranda Book, ZQG/MIC 1456, f.2; *The Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley of Brandsby 1602-1623* (NYCRO, 44, 1988), p. 29.

⁶⁴ ZQG/MIC 1456, f.13v; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 46.

⁶⁵ BIHR, High Commission Cause Papers, HC.CP 1624/11.

⁶⁶ ZQG/MIC 1456, f.16; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 52.

local loyalties in securing patronage. Richard writes an account of events which he had gained via Henry Watson and John Marshall stating that on 26 April 1621 Jeremy Stockton [Stockdell] came to Brandsby church with a letter of sequestration that gave him authority to enter all the 'mean profitts and occupie the place' and to stand accountable to the next incumbent who was due to arrive soon. It appeared that the right to the advowson was in dispute as following two visits to the church the party of men, along with Stockton, retired to the alehouse where he condemned the actions of Sir William Hungate for 'passing this next advowson from him against his many faithfull promises to him and his father in lawe Mr. Matthew Dodsworth the bishopp's chancellor.'⁶⁷ Thus, although Richard Cholmley was excluded from the actual party, due to his non-attendance at the morning and afternoon prayer ceremonies, he was by no-means excluded from the events and was well able to monitor what was happening in his parish.

An early modern gentleman could not be entirely isolated from the surrounding community, as recent studies of social and economic trends of the Tudor and Stuart period have indicated. An integral part of gentry behaviour was defined by how they acted towards lower sections of society.⁶⁸ Thus Richard Cholmley continued to pay his duties to the parish. He made frequent donations to the poor, as befitted a local gentleman and also paid the churchwarden of Stearsby, William Rawden, the church lay for Agnes Goodrick.⁶⁹ Heal and Holmes suggest that the early modern period saw a movement away

⁶⁷ *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, pp. 222-3.

⁶⁸ Sharpe, *Early Modern England*, pp. 110-20, 157-80.

⁶⁹ ZQG/MIC 1456, f.16; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 67.

from charity centred on a gentleman's home, for example food or clothing donations given at the gate or kitchen door, to giving via local institutions that focused on the needs of the local community.⁷⁰ This would thus imply that if charity had to be formalised through what were in essence Protestant institutions then the Catholic gentry would be isolated from this 'manifestation of gentility'. The parish church had always been a focus for charity for the poor and remained so in the Elizabeth and Jacobean eras. The fact that Richard Cholmley was still able to engage in this formalised charity as well as the informal household charity demonstrates that Catholic families could still play a rôle in the parish community.

Nor was Richard Cholmley so alienated from his community that he could not engage in business with Protestant clergymen. In 1602 Richard appears to have been involved in a dispute concerning the rents of a parcel of land owned by the parson of Brandsby church.⁷¹ The rôle of a gentleman in the parish community was integral; they were often the principal landowners and employers in the area and therefore their place in society demanded that they could not remain isolated or hidden from their employees, tenants and neighbours. Richard Cholmley illustrates that business transactions required public appearances that were engaged in regardless of the current religious context of the buildings or environments in which they were conducted.⁷² The gentry still saw

⁷⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 286, 372.

⁷¹ ZQG/MIC 1456, f.16; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 25.

⁷² M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 60. Braddick emphasizes that the church was frequently the only building large enough in most villages to hold its inhabitants and that therefore it was also used for more mundane purposes and cites, amongst others, the

themselves as the social superior of the yeomanry, the tenant farmer and certainly the artisan or labourer, and thus they remained rôle-models; this was not just created within their own mindset, but expected or even required by the local community. Thus a generosity of mind, spirit and especially purse was needed if they were to retain their status, and charitable donations were just one of the methods by which this was displayed.

For a Catholic gentleman to make an appearance at the church itself, for the service, proved more problematic in terms of contravening their religious beliefs. Richard Cholmley was able to monitor what was happening as regarded his own parish church without always having to attend services there, yet those Catholic gentlemen who did on occasion attend their parish church may well have been doing so for other reasons than merely trying to avoid heavy fines. Aveling emphasises that many gentlemen were schismatics because they attended the Protestant services, and he frequently implies that this diminished any commitment that they did show to Catholicism, regardless of how infrequent their appearance at the parish church actually was. Aveling also assumes that 'the vast majority everywhere went to church very regularly' and his assumption that there was a 'casual laxity in attendance' that allowed recusants to escape notice was just that, an assumption.⁷³ Yet the existence of private chapels would have meant that an actual appearance at church from the local gentry may have only been required

example of Robert Downes, a Norfolk recusant, who complained that he had been overtaxed and was told that he might 'come to church to hear what was done'. This secular use of a building which is on the surface deemed a 'Protestant holy space' is particularly relevant to this discussion.

occasionally in order to satisfy the vicar or church wardens as private worship was occurring within the estate's confines (whether this be in the house itself or in a separate chapel depending on the size and wealth of the gentleman's holdings.)

Alexandra Walsham's less condemnatory phrase, 'church papist', signals both a more sympathetic and realistic account which did not see attendance at church as 'a weak kneed surrender' but rather a practicality which protected family resources and reputation.⁷⁴ This is of course true and is a dominant reason for male attendance at church, but what if there was more than this involved? Combined with financial concerns was the need to appear at the parish church to retain an element of control in the running of the parish, the actions of the vicar and to monitor the behaviour and actions of the gentleman's subordinates, his tenants and neighbours. Thus 'church papistry' takes on a new aspect as the gentleman's rôle in, and control of, the community was at stake and therefore their physical presence at the church was important not just on religious grounds, but also as a system of social monitoring.

The Gentry and the Laws of Religion: Ecclesiastical and Secular Authorities

The battle for the hearts and minds of the nation was played out not just on the national stage, with Elizabeth and her government insisting on outward compliance, whilst asserting that this was not a widow into men's souls, but also on a county and parish

⁷³ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 97.

⁷⁴ Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 80.

level. The stringency with which the laws and new religious changes were implemented often rested with the parish priest, curate and church officials. Beliefs at a very local level could therefore dictate how often reports of non-conformist behaviour were made and how seriously infringements of the official religious policy were taken.

Not all Yorkshire clergymen were entirely at ease with the new religious settlement; though many remained members of the new Protestant church it is clear that many of the traditions and practices of Catholicism continued. In April 1581 there was discussion before the High Commission concerning the deprivation of Christopher Tomlinson, vicar of Wighill, who ‘confessed that he thinketh it not a lawful thing to have the dead corpses of any person in the church unburied in times of divine service or sermon preached.’⁷⁵ The case further stated that he was ‘enjoined to minister communion, say devyne service and bury the deade and weare the surples, and do all other things apparteynyng to his functyon as is set downe in the booke of common (prayer) and as he is bound by the lawes’.⁷⁶ This statement appeared to indicate that he had been failing to adhere to the Book of Common Prayer. In the same year Christopher Harvey, vicar of Skipwith, was also before the court because he failed to adhere closely enough to the new religious laws.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 77 (91).

⁷⁶ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 80 (98). This entry is dated 4 April 1581.

⁷⁷ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 83 (105).

Other church officials, aside from the priests/vicars themselves, were also important in determining how strictly the new laws were implemented and the nature of the day-to-day running of the parish church. Remnants of Mary's reign were still present, despite the fact that Elizabeth had been on the throne for over thirty years. On 19 June 1581 Mr. Parker certified before the High Commission 'that certain relics and superstitions had been found in the church of Bolton'. Four selected parishioners, along with the rector of Bolton, were instructed to choose a new parish clerk as a result of this.⁷⁸ A similar situation appeared to be in operation in Gargrave church where in May 1582, 'Henry Bankes, gentleman, Thomas Smyth, Lancelot Nesfield gentleman, John Andrewe, Thomas Tomlinson, Thomas Wright, Christopher Whittacre of Gargrave, Henry Bankes and Thomas Tomlinson were judged the greatest offenders about the keepinge of certayne dole monuments lately belonginge to the church of Gargrave.' Bankes was fined 30s. and ordered to give them to the churchwarden and to 'deface those that are not already defaced'. Tomlinson was ordered to make a full answer and to write down a list of all the items and where they are.⁷⁹ Whilst this was not a clear indication of a commitment to Catholicism, it did indicate that the people of Gargrave were unwilling to give up those goods which were perceived as being part of the 'heritage' of the parish, regardless of the long period of time that Elizabeth's Protestantism had been enforced.

In June 1581, William Woodcock, a clerk, was being held prisoner in York Castle because he confessed to having 'kept certain bookes of supersiticion without defacing the

⁷⁸ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 84 (109v.).

⁷⁹ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 95 (168v.).

same'. It was ordered that 'he shall confesse his fault and detest popery'.⁸⁰ The concern with regulating the ownership and production of written material is an issue that has been considered by Anthony Milton. In his examination of the early Stuart period, he concluded that strenuous efforts were made to regulate the production of printed materials by the government and all factions within the Church of England.⁸¹ The possession of Catholic texts must, however, have been relatively common considering that the majority of the new Protestant texts were based upon Catholic ones, thus indicating that the clergy and their associates could gain access to Catholic doctrine.

Even within the more closely regulated confines of York Minster it appeared that old traditions were being maintained. William Barton, clerk of the Vicars Choral of York Minster, was brought before the High Commission also in 1581 after it was discovered that four candles had been burning for his wife following her death, which was, as the court stated, 'according to an old superstition'. William strenuously affirmed that this had been done against his will and he instead named four women who he stated lit the candles.⁸² Unsurprisingly once before the court the women too denied the charge, though it should be noted that it was once again female members of society that appeared to be up-holding and placing importance upon old practices, especially when it concerned

⁸⁰ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 84 (111).

⁸¹ A. Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), 625-65.

⁸² Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 83 (105v). The four women named were _____ Ellwick and _____ Pereson, Elizabeth Dales and Isabella Lockwood, a widow. The record stated that they 'denyed any

another woman who was presumably their friend. The fact that their deceased friend had been married to a vicar appeared to make no difference and certainly did not restrain their actions.

Prosecution and imprisonment

In October 1580 a case was heard in the High Commission of York which amply illustrated that members of the local community could still express their dissatisfaction and lack of respect for the new religious settlement and its physical embodiment, their local vicar or curate. The case saw six women and two men called before the archbishop of York, to be reprimanded for their behaviour.⁸³ This case once again illustrated that it was the women of the community who were prepared to take decisive action. In fact the archbishop seemed decidedly unconcerned with the behaviour of the men, Thomas Morton and Henry Hawton of Hatfield, focusing instead on what was considered inappropriate behaviour for women of the period.

The women were enjoined by the Archbishop to make declaration (one of them after another) that they have unwomanly and unmodestly behaved and used themselves towards Christopher Priorman clerk there curate not onely in uttering slanderous speaches against him but also in beating him and affirming that his maraig was unlawful and his children bastards. And therefore that they shall declare that the marriage of him and all the other ministers are lawfull and agreeing with Gods word and there children legitimate and here of to certify under the Curates hands and

of them had caused the candles to be lighted that morning though Lockwood's wife affirmed she moved the maids of the said Barton to put forth the said lights.'

⁸³ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 58 (54). The women were named as Anna Whitehead, Elizabeth West, Jane Coggan, Ellen Bynland, Margaret Croft, wife of William Croft, and Elizabeth More.

churchwardens and other foure honest men of Hatefeld ... to pay expenses ... and henceforth reverently to use there curate.⁸⁴

Amongst the sample gentry families being examined here there was also evidence of direct action being taken in opposition to the Elizabethan religious settlement, though it is not the intention here to look at all aspects of prosecution and resistance to the religious laws, but rather just to focus upon those that are directly linked to how these Catholic families reacted to the Protestant authority within their parish.

In 1580 Thomas Danby was also in front of the York High Commission having been accused by Richard Comyn, vicar of Leake for ‘speaking slanderous words against the minister and reviling him’.⁸⁵ The record reported that ‘Danby appeared and said openly in the court that he would not receive the Communion at the hands of Mr. Comyn so long as he was minister there.’⁸⁶ Thomas Danby was committed to York Castle, but released and bound to appear at a later date, yet even this did not put an end to Thomas’s open opposition to both Protestantism and his local vicar, as in a further appearance in October 1584 he was accused of leading other parishioners of Leake in opposition to Richard Comyn and of supervising the parishioners in ‘supersitious rytes’.⁸⁷ Danby referred to Comyn as a ‘knave and prailing merchant’ which seemed to be reflective of his general attitude to the Protestant clergy.

⁸⁴ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 58 (54).

⁸⁵ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 114 (261).

⁸⁶ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 114 (261).

⁸⁷ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 116 (272). Thomas Danby was ordered to make public declaration and pay costs taxed at £8.

with the parish community is the lack of prosecutions and the fact that even when Catholics were brought before the authorities they and the parish vicars were often satisfied with the most basic and insincere surface conformities. It was only when conflict became violent or there was a direct conflict of authority, usually with the more radical Protestant preachers/officials which escalated into legal disputes, that Catholics were brought before the authorities.

At Wakefield on 20 December 1580 Mr. Brian Stapleton was 'enjoined to be conformable and brought in certificate that he had heard divine service in his house.'⁸⁸ This became an increasingly important issue in the early modern era as the existence of private chapels no longer necessitated that a gentry family attend their parish church to hear a service or receive religious guidance. This opened up tremendous opportunities for Catholic families, and posed problems for the parish vicar who needed them to attend a parish service if he were to attest to their conformity. This court appearance, by Stapleton, indicated that holding services at home could be a successful way of avoiding detection, for although Brian Stapleton was brought before the Commission his affirmation that he had heard service at home was accepted.

The regulation of religious conformity was beginning to trespass on the area of private prayer and piety. Yet this did not mean that Catholics were forced into conforming as a result. Dorothy Wentworth's case was brought before the High Commission for her

⁸⁸ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 66 (66).

suspected failure to conform. Yet she seems to have gone to extreme lengths to avoid conforming whilst at the same time attempting to prove that she was adhering to the new religious settlement. John Bilbowe her servant certified that she 'hath once in her howse being stayed by hir husbande hard morning prayer said by one Mr Arthur Kaye preacher and not otherwise.'⁸⁹ On 3 May 1582 she was again summoned to the court and brought there by her husband, Matthew Wentworth. The court went to great lengths to persuade her to conform as it was recorded 'that the most reverend Father had long travailed with her in persuasion touching her conformitie in matters of religion; she at length yelded and promised simply that from hencefurth shee will bee an obdeiente subject and repaire to the church from time to time and heare divine service.'⁹⁰ The court was satisfied by Dorothy's promise to come occasionally to the parish church suggesting again that the emphasis was to obtain surface conformity rather than a true change of heart.

Various members of the Vavasour family were called before the sessions of the York High Commission for their failure to conform; the emphasis in the majority of the cases was not on punishment for disobedience, but rather on imposing the threat of financial punishment if a minimum of conformity was not adhered to.⁹¹ For example Maior/Mauger Vavasour of Newton near Ripley entered into a bond 'for wife and family all to receive communion except him', yet at a further session he stated that his family

⁸⁹ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 93 (163).

⁹⁰ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 94 (167v.).

⁹¹ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 66 (65v.).

had conformed, but not received communion.⁹² The cases that do appear in the records show that the courts and the parish community were relatively satisfied with the very minimum of co-operation; an occasional appearance at the church, by one member of the family, would satisfy most requirements, and it was only when this did not occur, usually over a number of years, that complaints were made and even these were limited.

The records of prosecutions show only a few cases in relation to the number of Catholics in the archdiocese of York. The lack of aggressively framed prosecutions and complaints indicates that Catholics could live within a Protestant parish without due hostility. Many of the cases appear to have arisen only when there was overtly displayed rejection or disobedience. It is this 'obstinate papacy' that Aveling celebrates, yet a less visible Catholicism was in reality more successful and judging by the long periods that many Catholics went undetected or at least unprosecuted far more popular in the long-term survival of Yorkshire Catholicism.

Conclusion

The parish was an important element in the early modern era, just as it had been in the medieval period. Its administrative significance was self-evident, but more than this it was an essential part of how a society organized itself. The local gentry were still integral to the operation of local society and local communities, controlling as they did large areas

⁹² Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, pp. 68, 79 (68v, 96v and 97).

of land, employing local men and women and dictating to a great extent how a community was run. At a local level the changes implemented by a national government were important, but did not have as significant an impact on everyday life as changes within the parish. Considering this fact and combined with the knowledge that so many of the northern and particularly the Yorkshire gentry were adhering to Catholicism it is surprising that this has not been a greater focus in 'recusant studies'. One of the main reasons for the absence of this topic from many books and journals surely lies with the lack of consistency in the evidence that exists to catalogue the history of the early modern parish. The conclusions that can be reached based upon the evidence gathered in relation to the activities of these twelve families appears to indicate the following; primarily that Catholic gentlemen were not isolated from the activities of their local parish, but rather that they continued to play a rôle in the economic, social and organizational aspects of parish life; secondly that reforms which were intended to result in the creation of a 'nationalised' church with comparable standards throughout in many cases actually resulted in the 'privatisation' of advowsons, which strengthened gentry control of the parish. Furthermore this meant that Catholics could in theory be in control of Protestant appointees; and thirdly that the success or failure of Protestant attempts to assert authority on a local level was most often dependent not on national rulings, but on how these policies were being interpreted and how stringently rules were being followed at ground-level. Thus Catholicism and Catholics were frequently living in tandem with Protestant figures of authority and their institutions, with conflict only arising when the equilibrium that had been established was disturbed. It is perhaps this last point which disturbed previous historians of early-modern Catholicism, such as Aveling, so much. A 'happy-

medium' which was so frequently in existence was not heroic and it certainly did not create martyrs. The condemnation of those 'church-papists' or 'schismatics' for their failure to take a stance was occasionally entered into by contemporaries at the continental seminaries, but even Allen and Persons were willing to accept that peaceful coexistence was the norm for most. A study of the interaction of Catholics and their parishes may therefore lack the drama of the history of Catholic martyrs, though men such as Thomas Danby indicated that parish conflict was not without its violence, but what should be noted as significant is the strong force which many Catholic families remained in their own areas and parish communities. This continuing and quiet presence was significant in the continuation of English Catholicism and it is this 'hidden presence' that should be seen as the quintessential strength of early modern Yorkshire Catholicism.

Chapter 4

The Catholic Gentry and the Religious Orders: Committed and Consistent or Isolated and Abandoned?

Introduction : The Monastic Church

For the Catholic families, and particularly for the younger sons and daughters who were not to marry, traditional career paths had been snatched away with the Reformation. They could no longer be assured that the Church would provide a place for them as priests, monks or nuns. The Reformation saw numerous men and women pensioned off and left without the rôle which they had fully expected to fulfil for the rest of their lives. Here the way in which the Catholic families dealt with these changes will be examined. Was medieval Catholicism alive and well at the beginning of the sixteenth century as seen in the level of gentry involvement in religious orders? Did the end of Catholic England mean that an ecclesiastical career was no longer an option for the religiously minded if they adhered to the old religion? Was Catholicism still alive and well in the monasteries and private chapels of Yorkshire in the 1530s and if so did this mean that the roots were not killed off by the dissolution but were merely transplanted to continental climes where they were able to flourish and prosper?

The dissolution has remained a subject of discussion in terms of justifying or condemning the Tudors for dissolving the monasteries, in assessing the role this played in the Reformation and more recently in studying the impact of the dissolutions on England and on the former religious themselves. Late nineteenth- and

early twentieth- century writers were polarised around a central discussion which saw Gasquet and Gardiner condemn the dissolution as wanton destruction which typified the Reformation, whilst the same events for Coulton and Baskerville were symbolic of the purging of corrupted and outdated Catholic institutions which were deplored for their waste and greed.¹ Woodward, Youings and Knowles were equally unwilling to agree, but their work moved the discussion on by using a wider range of material, meaning that now concerns as to the impact and implications of the fall of monasticism were being discussed. Yet the central themes still remained, with Knowles condemning the monasteries as veering too far from the ideas of their original founders and lamenting their fall as a sign that, regardless of Mary's reign, Catholicism could never have been restored and Youings stating that by the 1970s 'historians of widely different religious persuasions are today in remarkable agreement that the monasteries of early Tudor England and Wales were no longer playing an indispensable role in the spiritual life of the country'.² More recently Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers have compiled a list of the occupants of the monastic houses in Yorkshire which, using the limited surviving evidence, attempts to catalogue the movements of the former religious.³ The purpose of this study is not to

¹ G. Baskerville, *The English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries* (1937; London, 1965); G.G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* [4 vols.] (1923; Cambridge, 1950), vol. 2 argues that by 1400 the monasteries were weighed down by tradition; J. Gairdner, *The English Reformation: What it was and what it has done* (London, 1899); F.A. Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (London, 1888).

² D. Knowles, *Bare Ruined Choirs: The Dissolution of the English Monasteries* (Cambridge, 1976), as a summarised version of Knowles' views expressed in *The Religious Orders in England III: The Tudor Age* (Cambridge, 1959), specifically concluding comments; G.W.O. Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1966); J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1971), p. 14.

³ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*.

justify or condemn the dissolution, though the evidence from Yorkshire would suggest that the monasteries did remain important to both the religious and spiritual life, and the social and economic life, of the county in the sixteenth century. Knowles and Youings both appear to condemn them for failing in their spiritual purpose, and this condemnation in some way appears to stem from the fact that they were fulfilling a more mundane social function in the community; yet it would be wrong to assume that because they were performing practical functions in the local community that this in some way nullified their spiritual role.⁴ What is evident from this study is that the two functions were intertwined, and the fact that they were fulfilling both needs made them more, not less, important to Yorkshire.

The pre-Reformation religious situation in Yorkshire appeared to reflect the inherent conservative nature of the inhabitants of the county. They appeared content with their religion and the way it fitted into their lives; their rejection of the new ideas that were forming and taking hold at court and in the counties of the south is evidenced by their lack of involvement in groups who were embracing these new ideas and even by 1541, when Henry VIII made a progress into the county, traditional religious practices were in operation and the new ideas were shunned.⁵ Christopher Haigh in his examination of the county of Lancashire observed the same phenomenon. He

⁴ Knowles, *Bare Ruined Choirs*, pp. 316-20; Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, p. 14.

⁵ Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, pp. 1-15; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 431. Duffy makes the case for continuity in traditions citing considerable examples and whilst Dickens does make the point that Yorkshire was not 'hermetically sealed' from Protestant influence in the pre-Reformation period, he cites few examples in his discussion of the introduction of the Protestant religion in Yorkshire pre-1509, rather making generalisations, and conspicuously avoids the dissolution, both of monasteries and chantries in his discussion.

described the ‘backward’ nature of Lancashire in religion and indicated that as a result ‘pre-Reformation Catholicism was still strong in the county, so that the early sixteenth century found the old Church not at its nadir but at its high point.’⁶ Commitment to the Church and monasticism was also still a strong force within Yorkshire in the early sixteenth century. The numbers in monastic establishments indicate that they remained important to the gentry’s religious life. The continuing connections that existed between the local gentry families and the monastic and secular clergy make it clear that religion and secular life were closely inter-linked; and the wills made by the gentry demonstrate that the preservation of the soul via the prayers of the faithful was still a popular practice. The twelve sample families’ involvement with the church in the pre-Reformation period can be seen to be an indication of their commitment to the church and the monastic communities and is illustrative of the wider Yorkshire gentry community.

The evidence of the links between the gentry and their local parish churches and monasteries was visible in the period prior to 1536, though it is only when these established institutions were threatened that a clear display of their belief in the value of Catholicism becomes evident. Thomas Meynell’s commonplace book written in the Stuart period stresses that monasteries were considered to be a permanent feature of the landscape, which were thought to have been so important and sacred that none would dare touch them. He stated that

... Gentlemen (either for feare of the Civill Warres wch then did Rage
or for the love and devotion wch they did beare to godly and religious

⁶ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 63.

men) did leave and lay up their evidences in the monasteryes, holding them there to be in the safest custodie, because they Reasonably thought, none wold dare or be so ungratious, as to Commit direct sacriledge.⁷

Thus they were trusted with the papers proving a family's status and heritage which were indeed precious to the Yorkshire gentlemen of the medieval and early modern period. Pre-Reformation wills also showed that the Yorkshire gentry thought to leave provisions for their local church or for the support of the monastic orders in return for prayers for their souls. The wills displayed the sixteenth-century trend of leaving money for prayers to be said for a set period of time rather than in perpetuity, as was the medieval tradition. The will of Dame Elizabeth Greystock, widow of Sir John Vavasour, asked for prayers to be said for ten years; Sir Christopher Danby requested that a priest should sing for him 'duryng an holle yere next' after he was deceased; and Sir Brian Stapleton gave an unspecified sum for one hundred masses to be said for his soul.⁸ R.W. Hoyle argues that by the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century 'the monastery as a purgatorial institution was out of fashion' and takes the trend of having intercessionary prayers said for a fixed period to imply that this indicated a challenge to the belief in purgatory.⁹ Yet despite wills limiting the time period of prayers, testators did not display any signs of a decreased belief in purgatory and showed much concern for their own souls and for the souls of the family ancestors. Many of the wills expressed the belief that it was their duty to ensure that these souls were still

⁷ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 1.

⁸ R.W. Hoyle, 'The Origins of the Dissolution of the Monasteries', *Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 275-305; J. Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia V: A selection of wills from the Registry at York* (Surtees Society, 79, 1884), pp. 3, 27, 94.

⁹ Hoyle, 'Origins of the Dissolution of the Monasteries', p. 277.

remembered in prayers.¹⁰ Contemporary wills also suggest that the gentry placed importance on their local churches, monasteries and convents. Most made some provision or donation to their local church, in return for intercessory prayers, whilst Thomas Wentworth of North Emsall and Thomas Fairfax of Walton, both making their wills in the 1520s, left money to the four orders of friars, suggesting that monastic prayer was not altogether undervalued.¹¹ Despite his commitment to the idea of Reformation from below, A.G. Dickens also concedes that although the wills may not always have taken the traditional medieval Catholic style, they still indicated a commitment to Catholicism that was slow to die.¹²

The ties between local families and their local priest were also strong, often because they shared kinship meaning that the links which existed were not just spiritual, but

¹⁰ Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia V*, pp. 3-4, 8, 86-7, 94-5 121-3. Sir Henry Vavasour made elaborate preparations for mass to be said for his soul at York, for poor men to pray for him and for them to receive money and black gowns in return. Sir Christopher Danby requested prayers for his soul and all Christian souls; Dame Elizabeth Greystock required a mass for her soul and 'a commemoracion of our Lady & of *Requiem wt De profundis*, for my soule, my fathir & mothir soules & all Christen soules'. Sir Brian Stapleton wished a priest to sing for seven years for the souls of his father, mother, wife, his own and all good Christian souls, and Sir Thomas Fairfax left seven marks per year for life to his chaplain, Sir William Seaton, to pray for his soul and the souls of all his ancestors at Walton.

¹¹ Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia V*, pp. 120-3, 144-6, 191-3. Thomas Fairfax left 20s to be equally divided between the four orders, whilst Thomas Wentworth was more specific in his division of his money, specifying how his five pounds was to be divided. He left 20s to the brothers in Pontefract, 26s 8d to the Grey friars in Doncaster, 13s 4d to the Lady friars in Doncaster and 20s to the friars in Tikehill (Tickhill) and the 20s residue to the Prioress and Convent of Hampole. The will of John Marshall of York (1524), who made Dr. Vavasour his executor, also showed that the local churches and monastic orders were valued. He left numerous goods to the churches of York, but also left money to the Nuns of Appilton (Appleton), and requested that the priest of Grey Friars have 4d to say mass for him, whilst those brothers of the same institution 'beyng no preist' should receive 'ij d., to say *Dirige*'.

¹² A.G. Dickens, *Late Monasticism and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 125-9.

also via social and family bonds. Peter Marshall notes that 'clerical wills suggest that many remained in close touch with their families.'¹³ There is evidence that gentry families attempted to place either members of their own families or members of associated families in the local livings which they controlled. Prior to the Reformation Leonard Vavasour of Haselwood was a secular clergyman, instituted at the rectory of Addington at the presentation of Sir Henry Vavasour.¹⁴ This illustrated that the practice of entering a clerical career in the pre-Reformation era did not mean cutting all family ties, for either men or women.¹⁵ The Vavasours also owned the rights to appoint the local priest at the church at Ferry Fryston until 1332 when Henry Vavasour gave the privilege to the Vicars choral of the Cathedral Church of York. It would seem the Vavasours still retained some influence over the presentations, as in June 1519 John Gascoigne was appointed to the position.¹⁶

A.J. Pollard, writing on the North-East of England during the fifteenth century, emphasises the rôle religion and its associated trappings, such as churches, chantries

¹³ Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, p. 194

¹⁴ Foster, *Pedigrees*, 1. The Sir Henry Vavasour who was patron to Leonard was most likely his father, as Leonard took up the position 20 October 1483, prior to his father's death. Leonard then went on to a prebend at Osmotherly in 1504 and in April 1506 was instituted at the rectory of Thurnscoe. These later changes of parish occurred after his father's death, indicating that his elder brother, also Sir Henry Vavasour, was willing to support him.

¹⁵ Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, pp. 194-5. Marshall makes the point that 'Family ties reflected and reinforced the inveterate localism of the parish clergy' and states that priests' relatives, particular their widowed mothers, could be found living with them in parish rectories during the period.

¹⁶ C. Forrest, *The History and Antiquities of Knottingley in the Parish of Pontefract with historical notices of the neighbouring villages of Berkin, Brotherton, Fryston and Ferrybridge* (Burton Salmon, 1871), pp. 109-10; see 'Control and Compromise: Catholics and the Parish Community', pp. 179-224, for a discussion of post-Reformation control of advowsons.

and patronage, played in reinforcing the social rôles and standing of families. He also shows how religion and displays of religiosity were linked to dynastic importance. 'Closely related to the need to sustain social standing was the dynastic emphasis in religion. It was not just the status of the individual, but also the standing of his whole lineage which needed to be demonstrated.'¹⁷ This was true for the Yorkshire gentry families at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the church was integral to status and power in the region.

It is in the monastic communities of Yorkshire that a truly strong commitment to the Catholic faith can be seen. Yorkshire, after the dissolution, was described as 'the gretyste shere of suche late religius howsys within thys realme.'¹⁸ The abundance of monastic houses was not the only significant factor, but also the considerable numbers still entering these institutions in Yorkshire. Anne Laurence stated in her analysis of women in England that the numbers entering the religious communities had declined by the early sixteenth century, and that some of the 'communities had only two or three nuns', making them little more than private houses that were surplus to requirements.¹⁹ Janet Burton's study of the establishment of the orders in the East Riding seems to indicate that these smaller nunneries were never in fact intended to be

¹⁷ Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 180.

¹⁸ G.W.O. Woodward, 'Exemption from Suppression of Certain Yorkshire Priors', *English Historical Review*, 76 (1961), 386, referring to PRO, E 135/125, f. 184.

¹⁹ A. Laurence, *Women in England 1500-1700: A Social History* (London, 1994), p. 181. Laurence states that by 1534 there were 1600 nuns in the 136 religious communities, compared to 2000 nuns in 1500. This may reflect a general decline in numbers throughout the country, but it is clear that the decline is most notable in the south, whereas numbers in northern establishments remained relatively constant.

large and that their small incomes were adequate to their needs and purpose, which was to house the daughters of local families who were destined to enter the church.²⁰ Prior to the Reformation the church still provided a career for many of the gentry's younger sons and daughters. The numerous local priories, convents and chapels meant that family members were able to enter the church and yet be situated only a few miles from their family home.²¹ The existence of these smaller religious houses does appear to be of greater importance to the Yorkshire gentry and formed a link between the church and the community on a parochial level. Once the Reformation permeated the country, this safe, well-established and relatively easy option was no longer open to the families of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry. It was of course still possible to follow a religious life in the Catholic Church, but from the late 1530s with the closure of the local monastic establishments that meant making a determined effort, often abroad, to follow what was now a taboo path. The establishment of the English continental seminaries and monastic establishments came in the 1580s opening a new range of opportunities for those wishing to take holy orders within the Catholic Church. The forty-year gap in English monasticism between 1540 and 1580, however, did little to

²⁰J. Burton, *The Religious Orders in the East Riding of Yorkshire in the Twelfth Century* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 42, 1989), p. 43; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 3. Barton writes of the twelfth-century establishments that 'it may be suggested that the nunneries were not small because they were poorly endowed, but that they were poorly endowed because they were intended to be small. In other words they were not established, like male houses, as substantial communities entrusted with praying for the soul of the founder, but as social and economic conveniences.' Cross and Vickers also emphasise the fact that these establishments were still attracting only local men and women in the sixteenth century indicating that they were not intended to be grand establishments, but institutions that provided a small localised service for the surrounding community.

²¹ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, pp. 1-13; Laurence, *Women in England*, p.181. At the time of the Reformation there were fourteen nunneries and twenty-five monasteries in Yorkshire according to Laurence.

diminish the perception of monasticism as a positive force amongst the Yorkshire Catholic community as attested to by their keenness to re-embrace it after its long absence. The striking aspect here is that of continuity, in both the Yorkshire gentry's commitment to and contacts with monastic houses. In the early sixteenth-century when the destruction of Catholicism in England was inconceivable, the families studied here showed that they still viewed monasticism as an integral part of their religious life and saw their local convents, abbeys and monasticism as central to community life. These feelings and beliefs were not destroyed in the process of religious reform, for the same contacts and commitments developed and responded and could still be seen at the end of the seventeenth-century when they were focused on the continent, but still strong, especially amongst the daughters of Catholic families.

Pre-Reformation Yorkshire then presents a picture of well-established religious practices that were integral to the life of community and the individual. The Reformation brought great change to the county, most obviously perceivable in the dissolution of the monasteries which by 1540 was to encompass all establishments from the small family-run houses to large monastic establishments which were landmarks in the county and significant landowners. How big an impact did this event have on the sample families and what were their reactions, both to the impact on the individual and on the family?

Family connections, commitment and alliances.

The dissolution affected eight out of the twelve families, which are to be examined in detail, although the range of their experiences can be seen as reflective of all those who were members of religious communities.²² The members of these families were spread throughout Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and the North-East and were to be found in most of the religious orders. Only two of these eight families, the Gascoignes and the Cholmleys, had only one member affected by the dissolution, meaning the impact on them as a whole was not quite so great. The Fairfaxes too had only one member of the family in a priory in Yorkshire, with the other residing in Lincolnshire, another area of Fairfax influence. The Danby family also had two members within the monastic institutions of the era. This coincides with the fact that all four of these families were greatly concerned with their social advancement, which can also be seen in terms of the marriages they made and the positions in local government that they wished to secure. By the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century they were prioritising marriage over the taking of holy orders. From the other families it appears to be the Nortons, Lawsons, Stapletons and Vavasours who were most affected; the Stapletons had five members of their family in local monasteries, abbeys and priories, whilst the Vavasours showed most commitment with seven monks and nuns amongst their number.

²² W. Page (ed.), *The VCH of the County of York* [3 vols] (Folkstone, 1974). Volume 3 discusses the monastic houses in Yorkshire. The Meynells, Wentworths, Wycliffes and Wyvills were not involved with the religious houses of the Reformation period, nor is there any evidence to suggest that they patronised any of the Yorkshire monastic institutions in the medieval era. In contrast all eight of the

The commitment made by these families to the religious community was therefore a significant one with a total of twenty-five family members within monastic orders. Of this number six held positions of importance, though it should be noted that only three of these were within Yorkshire institutions.²³ Ralph Fairfax was head of Kyme Priory in Lincolnshire and William Vavasour was head of the Franciscan Friary in York, and both had therefore achieved positions of importance. William had made most of his progress outside the county, in Stamford and Oxford where he became head of the convent; he returned to supervise the Yorkshire Friary in 1514.²⁴ The more significant families within Yorkshire did seem restricted in achieving positions of power in the Tudor period, as the heads of the monasteries and priories frequently did not seem to be noblemen's sons or daughters, but rather the children of other lesser gentlemen.

Family associations and affiliations were visible amongst the spread of family members within religious institutions, and it did seem that certain houses were favoured, especially by female family members. Two Vavasour sisters, Margaret and Elizabeth, were both to be found in Nun Monkton, the house patronised by the Gascoigne family, continuing the association that went back to the early fifteenth century. Important Yorkshire families were often linked by marriage and these associations were maintained through the religious houses they patronised and which

families whose members were to be found in monasteries and priories in the period of dissolution show that they had long associations with monastic institutions.

²³ Page, *VCH York*, 3; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*. Jane Gascoigne was sub-prioress of Hampole and Margaret Danby was prioress of Arden. Joan Lawson was prioress of Neasham, Northumberland, whilst Agnes Lawson was prioress of the Newcastle nunnery.

their daughters and sons entered. Dorothy Vavasour and Thomas Cholmley were both within the double house of Watton, whilst Jane Fairfax and Isabel Stapleton were both at Sinningthwaite nunnery, which had seen another Isabel Vavasour as prioress in the 1450s.²⁵ The integration of religion through the monastic and secular life of the Yorkshire gentry was complete, meaning that any changes to religion would affect all aspects of their life. Thus the impact of the Reformation hit not just those family members who were within the religious communities, but the associated changes in land ownership and power following the sale of monastic properties affected the family as a whole.

Early Dissolutions

The dissolution of the monasteries officially began in 1536 with the act to dissolve the smaller religious houses, namely those with an income of less than two hundred pounds. The prelude to this act could be said to have occurred in the years previous to Cromwell's institution as Henry's first minister, with the reforms and suppression carried out by Wolsey in the 1520s.²⁶ This began the long process of suppressions, which ensured that by the end of 1540 there were no longer any religious houses in England.²⁷

²⁴ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 455.

²⁵ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, gives details of the inhabitants of the Yorkshire monasteries, priories and nunneries at the time of the dissolution. J. Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia II* (Surtees Society, 30, 1855), p. 272. The will of Margaret Stapleton, c. 1465-6, mentions Isabella Vavasour, her sister-in-law, who was prioress of Sinningthwaite.

²⁶ Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, 3, pp. 195-205.

²⁷ Youngs, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, p. 23.

In 1536 some of the smaller religious houses in Yorkshire were dissolved, such as Arden and Sinningthwaite, yet many others continued on until 1539-40.²⁸ Those members of the smaller houses who wished to continue within their orders were offered the choice of moving to a larger house. Christopher Haigh indicated that this option was the most popular in Lancashire when the prospect of leaving to join the outside world offered itself; in Yorkshire too most seem to have transferred to another house, meaning that for most of the religious in Yorkshire the full impact was delayed.²⁹ The wishes expressed by those within the orders indicate that they did not desire change, and the reaction of the wider community also seemed to indicate that they wished to maintain these institutions. Only Isabella Vavasour, who was within the Cistercian house of Gokewell, Lincolnshire appeared to show any interest in leaving the religious life in 1536 and it may well be that she did not do so.³⁰

²⁸ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*. The record of the dissolutions in Cross and Vickers show that ten of the fifty-eight monastic institutions and nine of the twenty-four nunneries were dissolved in 1536. (The ten monasteries were Sawley [Cisterian], Drax, Haltemprice, Healaugh Park, Marton, North Ferriby, Warter [Augustinian], Holy Trinity York [Benedictine], Coverham and Easby [Premonstratensian]. The nine nunneries were Ellerton in Swaledale, Kelderholme, Rosedale, Sinningthwaite [Cisterian], Arden, Nunburnholme, Nun Monkton, Clenthorpe [Benedictine] and Moxby [Austin].) This differs from Woodward's figures, which stated that fifteen of the thirty-three convents were dissolved.

²⁹ C. Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.145. Haigh highlights that the clamour for transfer amongst the nuns was so great that 'there was no room in the larger houses and some of the smaller ones had to be exempted. In Yorkshire all but three of the nuns wished to stay cloistered, and thirteen nunneries were repleved to accommodate some of those who wanted to remain in religion.'

³⁰ D.S. Chambers (ed.), *Faculty Office Registers 1534-1549: A Calendar of the First Two Registers of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Faculty Office* (Oxford, 1966), p. 80. Gokeswell Priory was dissolved in 1536 and the faculty office records that Ann Castleforth, recent prioress of Gokeswell was granted a dispensation to leave the religious life along with Isabella Vavasour, Joan Osgarby and Joan Williamson. This Isabella Vavasour is not listed in the pedigree of the family, but the Vavasours'

Many of Yorkshire's smaller monasteries were in fact exempted from suppression in 1536, despite fulfilling the criteria of having an income of less than £200 per annum. Rumours about possible misconduct of nuns or the inability of the priories to secure their exemption via financial means were and frequently still are seen as sufficient explanation for their dissolution at the earlier date, although more emphasis has so far been placed on examining reasons for institutions' exemption.³¹

There were five members of the families cited in three of the houses dissolved in 1536; Margaret Danby was a Benedictine nun at Arden, whilst Jane Fairfax and Isabel Stapleton were members of Sinningthwaite Priory and the two Vavasour sisters,

association with Louth Park in Lincolnshire, dating back to the fourteenth century, and Gokewell's position, just across the Lincolnshire boarder and in close proximity to the Vavasours' lands in the East Riding mean that it is most likely that Isabella was a member of the family. What happened to Isabella is not clear; but the appearance of an Elizabeth Vavasour on the dissolution lists at Arthington in 1539, though not on the list for the priory in 1536, most probably indicating that she had transferred from another institution, may provide an explanation for this.

³¹ Woodward, 'Exemption from Suppression', pp. 385-401. Woodward states that of the thirty-three convents that had an income of less than £200, only fifteen were actually suppressed in 1536. He attributes the exemptions of the remaining eighteen houses to the influence of Robert Holgate the future bishop of Llandaff and to the actions of the receiver, Leonard Beckwith, and his auditor, Hugh Fuller, in their willingness to allow the purchase of patents allowing exemption. In conclusion Woodward states that the overriding factor that allowed exemptions in Yorkshire was the fact that if all those institutions below the income threshold had been dissolved in 1536, upholding the royal decisions that all the religious wishing to be re-housed would be permitted to join other houses, would simply have been unfeasible as there would not have been enough houses left to accommodate them. These conclusions, therefore, further support the fact that the religious houses were intended to be small, family-run institutions, housing the religious in close proximity to their family lands and influence.

Elizabeth and Margaret, were within Nunmonkton.³² No record was kept of what became of the two members of the Vavasour family following 1536 and they are not to be found on the lists of the other houses that were not dissolved at this early period. Margaret Danby also did not transfer to another house; she had achieved a position of importance within the Benedictine order, becoming prioress of Arden in 1502/3. She was still in the position in 1536, at Arden's dissolution, when she received a pension of £4.³³ Unlike the other sisters of the house Margaret would not have been given the option of joining another Benedictine priory as it was decided that those who had ruled the dissolved monasteries should not have to suffer the indignity of submitting to another's rule.³⁴

Arden was one of the smaller houses in Yorkshire and had only six nuns within it at the time of its dissolution. The reports made on the house stated that one of the nuns was over eighty and another was reported to have born a child, fathered by one of the canons. This perhaps indicated why it was targeted for dissolution at the early period; it fulfilled the criteria of having doubt cast upon the behaviour of the religious, whilst its size dictated that its income was too low to pay for any indiscretions to be overlooked. Sinningthwaite, too, was in financial difficulties, as the 1534 visitation by Archbishop Lee indicated. The injunctions issued in the same year also suggested that the nuns there had too much freedom available to them, which combined with its

³² *LP*. 13. 2. 917; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 539; Foster, *Pedigrees* 1. The very limited records from Nun Monkton show only information for Margaret Vavasour, making no mention of Elizabeth.

³³ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 575.

³⁴ Woodward, 'Exemption from Suppression', p. 395.

finances, would have provided adequate reason for the commission to recommend its dissolution.³⁵

Jane Fairfax had a more eventful experience of the dissolution than Margaret Danby. She was one of nine nuns in the Cistercian Priory of Sinningthwaite at its dissolution in August 1536 and she was left with the choice of leaving the order without a pension or transferring to another house.³⁶ Jane must have been resident at Sinningthwaite for at least ten years as her father Robert Fairfax of Acaster Malbis bequeathed his daughter, 'Jane a nun at Sinningthwaite', a gift and left the house a cow in return for prayers for his soul in his will dated 1526.³⁷ Despite her residence there for ten years all the indications are that she was still young at the dissolution and must therefore have joined the convent at an early age. Jane's commitment to the order may well have been a sincere one as she did not leave in 1536, but instead transferred to the Cistercian house of Nun Appleton, where she remained until its dissolution in 1539. The alternatives to transferring to another house in 1536 were perhaps not appealing, but there is little evidence to confirm or refute the accusations that religious lacked commitment and were merely taking the easiest option available to them. Jane

³⁵ Page, *VCH York*, 3, pp. 176-8. The injunction covered numerous points all designed to restrict the nuns' freedom and contact with the outside world. The prioress was ordered to ensure that the doors of the cloister were locked and that no sisters could get out until it was time for service and that no parsons could get inside. They were also ordered not to keep secular women to serve them, which, combined with their financial predicament, perhaps indicates why there were only eight servants and labourers for the nine nuns and the prioress at Sinningthwaite, compared to the fourteen servants and two boys found working for the six nuns at Arden Priory in 1536. (Page, *VCH York*, 3, p. 116).

³⁶ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 582. Those nuns who chose to leave their priories in the dissolutions of 1536 were not offered a pension. This was only offered to the prioresses in 1536, because they were not given the option of transferring to another house.

received one of the lowest pensions granted to the sisters of Nun Appleton at its dissolution, only 33s 4d, perhaps indicating her somewhat lesser status in the house as she had only transferred there three years previously and her relative youth compared to the other members. The fear of the alternatives available to her in 1536 may have induced her to choose this option, and it is Woodward's belief that the majority of those faced with the closure of their monastery or nunnery in 1536 did transfer to another establishment.³⁸

Isabel Stapleton was also a nun at Sinningthwaite; unlike Jane there is no record of her transfer to another Cistercian house. This does not however mean that she did not remain a nun, as it is more likely that details of her fate were either not recorded or were not amongst those documents to survive. It would appear that her family had ambitions for her advancement within the order as the will of her father, Brian Stapleton, made in 1518 states that his 'feoffes [were] to make an estate of vjs, viijd by yere to dame Isabella Stapleton, for terme of hir lyffe, [to cease] if she be callede bt [by] the grace of God to be prioress of the house of our Lady of Synnyngthwayt.'³⁹

³⁷ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 539.

³⁸ Woodward, 'Exemption from Suppression', p. 396. Woodward argued that the lack of firm evidence to show the fate of the religious dispossessed in 1536 makes it hard to prove decisively what happened to them, but he does indicate that those lists which are in existence contain forty new names in the surviving priories. It is far more likely that these represented nuns that had transferred to another institution rather than new recruits to the monasteries and convents over a three-year period (1536-1539).

³⁹ Raine, *Testament Eboracensia V*, pp. 94-5; Foster, *Pedigrees*, 1. This Isabell Stapleton was sister to Christopher Stapleton of Wighill and daughter to Brian Stapleton and Joan Thirkeld. She was named as a friend of Margaret Dodsworth, who was another nun at Sinningthwaite. Another Isabel Stapleton was also recorded as being a nun, but this Isabel was from the Carlton branch of the family. It is possible that the second Isabel Stapleton was in fact Alice Stapleton, who was recorded as a nun at Nunkeeling.

The dissolution of the house meant that Isabella was never able to achieve this position, but the bequest does indicate that the family still thought of their members within the religious houses and made provision for them. Isabel Stapleton, of the Stapletons of Wighill, was a nun at Sinningthwaite in 1520. Although evidence of Isabel's possible transfer is not available it is clear that she survived the dissolution. In 1545/6 the will of Isabel Stapleton of Wath was witnessed by Henry Cawton, a former monk of Rievaulx abbey and therefore presumably a former associate of William Stapleton also of Rievaulx abbey.⁴⁰ It is unclear if this is the same woman, but the proximity of Wath to Sinningthwaite, Rievaulx and Nun Monkton, the choice of witnesses for her will and the date which it was made indicates that it is likely.

The dissolutions that occurred in 1539-40 ensured that there was nowhere left to transfer to. Following the dissolution of Nun Appleton Jane Fairfax went to live with one Guy Fairfax of 'Laysthorpe beside Gilling'. In 1555 she confessed in a York Chancery court to committing incest and having a child by Guy Fairfax. The child was by that time three years old. She was ordered to make a public penance at Stonegrave church and told that she should no longer associate with Guy Fairfax.⁴¹ These proceedings illustrated the dilemma the former religious found themselves in following the Reformation. Women in particular could not start a new life in what was the only other respectable rôle available to them as a wife and mother, but were left in a limbo, as nuns without a priory.

⁴⁰ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 175.

⁴¹ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, pp. 580-2, 587-8.

The fact that most chose to transfer to another house in 1536 whilst this option was still possible may, as Woodward suggested, merely indicate that the harsh realities of an uncloistered celibate life were unappealing; but it also may indicate that there was genuine religious commitment amongst the religious men and women in Yorkshire. By the mid-1550s the religious houses had been dissolved for at least fifteen years and so the fact that many had made another life for themselves suggested that they were adapting to the situation rather than proving that they were not committed to their vocation in the first place.

In 1536 the majority of the religious houses in Yorkshire remained; did the larger religious houses feel strengthened by this move, feeling that their boosted numbers and the removal of the less profitable 'dead wood' signified the end of a period of reform? F. Logan, writing on the runaway religious, argued that they did feel more assured of their safety and that the economic intention of this move was clear.⁴² For the members of the houses in Yorkshire it is not clear that this was the case. Those with incomes below £200 exempted in 1536 were not secure, as their low incomes could not be increased dramatically, and it must have seemed that it was just a matter of time before they were again targeted. The Pilgrimage of Grace and the subsequent wary actions of government officials may have boosted confidences for a short period, but the repercussions that occurred in the following year must have been an indication that Henry VIII was intent on his plan. By 1537/8 the larger establishments, such as Fountains, Rievaulx and Byland seem to be showing signs of insecurity, as the large

⁴² F.D. Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England c.1240-1540* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 156.

number of petitions to hold secular office demonstrate.⁴³ Some precautions were made by the religious and their families to assure their fate; for the monks in the monasteries of Yorkshire the option of taking a secular position was open to them. Most, however, were faced with the preparations made for them by the commissioners who assessed the lands and properties of the monasteries and priories and decided the worth of their inhabitants.

Pensions and Family Provisions

The majority of those members who were in the Yorkshire monasteries at the dissolution received a pension which was intended to sustain them until their deaths. In some cases the pensions they received were enough to do so, but not necessarily in the manner suitable for the son or daughter of a gentleman.⁴⁴ The fact that many of the

⁴³ Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers*; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*.

⁴⁴ The adequacy of these pensions has been disputed for a number of years. Their value in real terms is hard to assess, as are the implications for the religious dispossessed and their lifestyles. Most of the debates centre around the standard pension of £5 issued to the male dispossessed, and few attempt to assess the viability of living on the pensions issued to the nuns, which were considerably lower than those received by their male counterparts. Gasquet, writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century concluded that these pensions were too low and would have created hardship and poverty for the former religious. He studied a fairly limited sample in the south of the country, focusing on Glastonbury. [Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*]. Baskerville attacked this view and stated that these pensions were adequate to live on and the equivalent of some chantries. [Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious after the Suppression of the Monasteries' in H.W.C. Davies (ed.), *Essays in History Presented to R.L. Poole* (Oxford, 1937).] A.G. Dickens counters this view and suggests that these pensions were actually a poor income and, with the value of money falling, they were worth even less in real terms. [A.G. Dickens, 'The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentations Payments', *English Historical Review*, 55 (1940), 384-418]. Knowles reaches the conclusion that these pensions were low, but did provide a subsistence wage which did not imply that the former religious were impoverished. [Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, III, p.407].

religious did survive the dissolution and went on to live for a considerable time, often reaching a great age for the period, indicates that they must have had enough to sustain them and keep them in good health. Their ability to do this must indicate that the pensions they were given were sufficient to sustain them, particularly when they were within a community where their families were in easy reach.

The presence of male family members in monastic orders was particularly significant in an era when marriages could make or break a family's fortune. From the Cholmley family, Thomas, a Gilbertine canon, received £4 at the dissolution of Watton Priory in 1539.⁴⁵ Watton was a double house containing both monks and nuns and was also reputed to have supported the Pilgrims in 1536. The pensions were still granted to the monks there despite the accusations of treasonous activities levelled against them.⁴⁶ Unlike many of the monks in holy orders there is no evidence to suggest that Thomas attempted to take up a secular position. Along with Thomas Cholmley, Richard and William Vavasour also left their orders without asking for transfer. Richard Vavasour was a monk at Pontefract on its dissolution in 1539/40; he received £6 pension, one of the higher amounts given.⁴⁷ William Vavasour, the warden of Grey Friars, York,

⁴⁵ *LP*. 14. 2. 663.

⁴⁶ Page, *VCH York*, 3. Another Cholmley was to be found in holy orders at the time of the dissolution; Alice Cholmley was in the Priory of St Mary Spital in London (also known as the New Hospital of St Mary without Bishopgate). The Yorkshire branch of the Cholmley family had no clear connections with this institution and the only connection St Mary's itself held outside the city was with Shoreditch in Middlesex. This Alice Cholmley was unlikely to be in direct contact with her namesakes in the north. *LP*. 14. 2. 433; V.H. Galbraith et al. (ed.), *Lands of Dissolved Religious Houses: PRO Lists and Indexes, Supplementary Series 3*, 2 (New York, 1964), pp. 175-8.

⁴⁷ *LP*. 14. 2, 576; *LP*. 15. 1032; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 210. Cross and Vickers record that in 1535/6 Richard Vavasour, along with Thomas Hemyngburgh and Henry

received £5 pension on the surrender 'of the priory all its possessions in England and the marches thereof and elsewhere' in November 1538.⁴⁸ William was a well-respected cleric having been at Grey Friars, Oxford prior to his transfer back to his home county and being one of the men consulted on Henry's divorce.⁴⁹ It would appear that none of these former religious members married; what became of many them is not entirely clear as they essentially disappear from the records. Evidence does, however, suggest that William became a priest at St. Mary Bishophill Junior in York, which coincidentally was the parish church of Copmanthorpe where the Vavasours held land and influence.⁵⁰ This further supports the suggestion that many of the former religious were supported and aided by their families following the dissolutions.

Many of the nuns that were pensioned from their houses survived the Reformation period, outlived the changes of the Edwardian and Marian eras and survived well into Elizabeth's reign. The last of the nuns from a Yorkshire house to survive the period as far as the records show lived until 1602 when she was still claiming her pension. None of the members of the families examined here survived as long as this, but many were

Durham were charged with conspiring the death of the prior. This does not, however, appear to have affected their right to a pension. Richard must have been one of the more senior members of the house, due to his higher pension and the fact that he had already been an ordained priest for ten years prior to 1536. He died in 1543, meaning that he only survived the dissolution of his house by three years.

⁴⁸ *LP*. 13. 2. 917.

⁴⁹ Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia V*, p. 193; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 455. The will of John Marshall, merchant of York, sees him leaving 'Doctor Vavasour v. marcs and a gilted spoon to pray for me and all that I am bounde,' indicating that William Vavasour was also well respected within York as a man whose prayers were worth securing for the salvation of the soul.

still alive and presumably well in the Elizabethan era. Jane (Joan) Gascoigne (Gascon) was the sub-prioress of Hampole Priory, which was surrendered in November 1539. She was acknowledged as the most senior nun there and as a result received £3 6s 8d, the highest pension of all the nuns there, with the exception of Isabel Arthington, the prioress, who received £10, a considerable amount for a woman in the era. It was perhaps thought that this high pension would not be claimed for long considering Jane was sixty-two years of age in 1539; she was however still receiving the pension in 1556, though this had ceased by 1564.⁵¹ Jane was then obviously able to survive the loss of her home and vocation and managed to live for at least seventeen years after the protection of the priory had been removed from her. This suggests that her family was able and willing to support her following the dissolution and that links were retained between the religious and their families. The longevity of the female religious and their ability to endure the religious changes implemented by successive Tudor monarchs highlights the fact that they were able to survive in the outside world. This is further supported by Alice Stapleton who was recorded as being one of the more senior nuns in Nunkeeling at its dissolution in 1539 and who was still alive and claiming her pension in 1553, and Dorothy Stapleton who was a nun in Swine priory at its dissolution and was granted 40s pension which she continued to claim until 1564, by which time she must have been at least seventy years of age.⁵² Also Dorothy

⁵⁰ J. Kaner, 'The Vavasours of Copmanthorpe and the Court of Elizabeth I', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 72 (2000), 107-29, especially p. 107.

⁵¹ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, pp. 486-7; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, pp. 569-70.

⁵² Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, pp. 532, 536, 592. Alice was already noted to be forty years of age in 1536 and she was one of only four nuns to receive the higher pension of 46s 8d in 1539.

of the Haselwood Vavasours, a nun at Watton Priory, received a pension of 46s 8d upon its dissolution and was still claiming her pension in 1582, far longer than her cousin, Elizabeth Vavasour whose claims for her lower pension of 26s 8d still continued for twenty-four years after the dissolution.⁵³

These nuns may well have been able to survive on their pensions without outside help, though it is also likely that their close proximity to their family homes meant that they could if necessary seek help. J. Tillotson's study of Yorkshire nunneries in the fourteenth century emphasised that the connections that existed between nuns and their families was not completely severed once they had entered their monastic establishment, therefore it could be expected that the same pattern existed in the period prior to dissolution, ensuring that families were aware of the position of their enclosed relatives.⁵⁴ Certainly there is evidence to suggest that some former nuns were able to rely on family support in the post-Reformation period and also that the community that existed within these monasteries and priories did not entirely disappear. The Lawson family in the North-East of England did not desert Jane, former prioress of Neasham. She was able to continue her residence there in the post-Reformation era as a tenant of her brother who purchased the property.⁵⁵ Jane certainly demonstrated that she was capable and well able to survive with her brother's help, as she became a successful farmer, living on the property for seventeen years

The recorders of 1553 give her age as sixty years, which does highlight a discrepancy of three years. Dorothy is recorded as being sixty years of age in 1552.

⁵³ *LP*. 14. 588 and 663; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, pp. 403-4.

⁵⁴ J. Tillotson, 'Visitation and Reform of the Yorkshire Nunneries in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History*, 30 (1994), 1-21.

and leaving a well stocked farm at her death.⁵⁶ Although there is little evidence that highlights as clearly as in this case that the families of the former religious were supportive it does seem feasible that other help and assistance could have been provided for them by their families.

Continuing Contact

Claire Cross emphasises the fact that the dissolution of these religious communities did not necessarily indicate the dissolution of the connections that existed within them.⁵⁷ Certainly the connections between the individuals within the religious communities were emphasised by the family connections via marriage and land that existed outside the convents, monasteries and priories. The fact that witnesses to the wills of the ex-monastic were often former colleagues or associates indicates both a connection in society and a concern to have those of similar religious opinion as testators to their final wishes.⁵⁸ Many of the former religious also indicated that they remembered and valued their former companions leaving them money or goods in

⁵⁵ W. Page (ed.), *VCH Durham*, 2 (London, 1907), p. 108.

⁵⁶ J. Raine (ed.), *Wills and Inventories Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language and Statistics etc. of the Northern Counties of England from the Eleventh Century Downwards, I* (Surtees Society, 2, 1835), p. 156.

⁵⁷ C. Cross, 'Community Solidarity among Yorkshire Religious after the Dissolution', in J. Loades (ed.), *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition* (Bangor, 1990), pp. 245-54.

⁵⁸ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*. William Lawson chose Richard Lynne, a former canon as a witness to his will as well as leaving two of the former members of Kirkham Priory, Stephen Chapman and James Parkinson, money in his will.

their wills. Jane Lawson left 6s 8d to each of the four women who had been nuns within Neasham Priory and who were still living in 1557.⁵⁹

Secularisation of monastic communities

Whilst the female members of the religious communities had only their pensions to fund them in post-dissolution Yorkshire, the male members of the community had the option of taking up secular positions often in nearby village churches, some of which their abbeys had controlled.⁶⁰ This was possible through the granting of a 'capacity' which enabled the 'holder to leave his or her Order altogether for the secular life, and (except for nuns) to hold a benefice for which a secular priest was eligible, either remaining within the Order, or leaving it completely'.⁶¹ The taking up of secular offices was an option that many of the male sample family members took, though it is not always noted where these men went or what their rôle in the community was after the dissolution. The debate concerning the fate of the ex-religious has been a

⁵⁹ Page, *VCH Durham*, 2, p. 108; Raine, *Wills and Inventories*, I, p. 156.

⁶⁰ Baskerville, *English Monks*, p.256; Chambers, *Faculty Office Register*, p. xliii; G.A.J. Hodgett, 'The Unpensioned Ex-Religious in Tudor England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 13 (1962), 195-202. Baskerville states that 'the former religious did not obtain these livings by good luck alone. Just before the dissolution there seems to have been, on the part of the religious house, extensive transference of patronage to individuals or trustees with the object of making subsequent provision for the monks of the house in question.' This may well have been the case in some instances, but this is undoubtedly an over-estimation of the organisation of the monastic houses in reference to the fate of their inhabitants. There is little evidence to suggest that all houses made provisions for the distribution of local church offices to their brothers and Hodgett and Chambers, *Faculty Office Register*, emphasise the lack of information on the provisions made for the ex-religious which would allow this point to be proved decisively. The fact that this was occurring in some cases does, however, suggest some forethought on the part of the monks and the abbots in the period of dissolution.

contentious one, largely due to the lack of definitive evidence and records tracking their movements following the Reformation. G.A.J. Hodgett stated that a large number were left with neither pensions nor preferments, estimating that there were a thousand monks and canons, over a thousand friars and eighty-six nuns without any support once they had left their orders.⁶² Chambers examined the numbers of religious that were granted capacities, stating that around sixty monks were granted permission to change their habit during the period 1536-39 and around thirty-four were granted permission to hold a benefice in the same period.⁶³ These figures only examine those who left before their houses were dissolved and therefore exclude any monks who were given permission to hold positions as secular clergy once their house had been dissolved. This means that these figures must be a minimum rather than a maximum of those changing from monastic to secular offices in the period.

The sons of many of the local gentry families were to be found in the monasteries and abbeys around Yorkshire prior to the Reformation, meaning that they were faced with the problem of what to do once their house was closed. The large male monastic communities housed within their walls several sons of gentle families being examined in this study. Thomas Norton was to be found in the North Riding; he was ordained a

⁶¹ Chambers, *Faculty Office Register*, p. xliii.

⁶² Hodgett, 'Unpensioned Ex-Religious', pp. 195-202. Estimations at the numbers of ex-religious without support are to be found in the last two pages of the article; though Hodgett himself admits the sources used were limited and Chambers makes the point, in the introduction to the *Faculty Office Registers*, that the confusion over surnames, monastic names and places of birth means that monks were often difficult if not impossible to trace over the period 1536-40.

⁶³ Chambers, *Faculty Office Register*, pp. lvii-lviii. These figures are taken from the tables showing the distribution of capacities among the religious excluding those issued on the dissolution of houses.

priest at Jervaulx Abbey in 1507, having being resident there since at least 1505, when he was a subdeacon. Richard Norton, at St. Leonard's hospital in York, was listed as seeking a release from religious life in 1540, most likely indicating that he was intending to take a secular post prior to the dissolution. He was not present at the hospital's surrender and therefore is not present on the pension lists meaning that the receivers did not monitor him in the years following the dissolution.⁶⁴ Thomas Danby was also a priest; he had been ordained at Newburgh Priory in the North Riding in September 1513, having being a member of the Priory from at least 1510. He too was not recorded on the pension list of the priory at its dissolution in 1539, possibly indicating that he had already taken a secular post.⁶⁵

William Stapleton of Rievaulx Abbey was also able to survive relatively well following the dissolution, though the rapid religious changes that occurred between 1536 and 1555 resulted in numerous alterations for him in the period. William is recorded as taking the alias Bedale whilst in Rievaulx. It appears that this was a popular option at the abbey as of the twenty-three monks listed on the pension records

⁶⁴ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, pp. 120, 130, 188, 194, 514. There were also two other men to be found amongst the religious who may have been connected to the Norton family; Peter Jackson is sometimes referred to as Peter Norton, one of these surnames being an alias taken on his entry to Roche Abbey and subsequent ordination as a priest in 1532. It is most likely however, that Jackson was his family name and that Norton was the name of his home town. One Robert Clyffton of Roche Abbey could possibly have been Robert Norton of Fountains Abbey, who was ordained subdeacon in 1500 and deacon in 1502. He is present on the pension list and is recorded as having received £6 on the abbey's dissolution in 1539.

⁶⁵ *LP*. 14. 1. 123 and 185; Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 314.

nineteen have an alias.⁶⁶ William presumably took 'Bedale' as a remembrance of the Stapletons of Bedale, whose family had descended to a female heir, meaning that the land was passed to the Stapletons of Carleton.⁶⁷ William had been ordained a priest in March 1531 and was amongst the minority who agreed to the election of a new abbot for Rievaulx in 1533. This could be considered a politically astute, if not popular, move within the abbey, which is a reflection of William's approach to the Reformation. He applied for and was granted a dispensation to hold a benefice without change of habit in 1538. Many of the religious took this precaution in 1538, having the foresight to see that 1536 was the beginning, rather than the end of religious change. Unlike many though he did not leave his abbey prior to its dissolution as is evident from his presence on the pension lists, which show he received £5 6s 8d. Following the surrender of Rievaulx he disappeared from the records until August 1549, almost ten years after the dissolution, when he took up the position of vicar of Eastington. His adaptation to his new life included his marriage to Joanna Raby. The Marian restoration however brought this new life to a close as in 1554 he was divorced from 'his pretended wife', deprived of his living and ordered to perform a public penance at his former church.⁶⁸ This was to be the unfortunate fate of many of the ex-religious, as they attempted to adapt to the new situation facing them, but were constantly thwarted by changes in governmental policy.

⁶⁶ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 3. Cross states that the practice of taking the name of their place of birth, rather than the family name, was a practice adopted by many Cistercians on entering the monastery. The choice of Bedale is particularly significant in this case, due to the history of the lands there, and highlights the continuing awareness of the monks regarding their homes and families, despite their religious life.

⁶⁷ Foster, *Pedigrees*, vol. 1.

⁶⁸ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 181.

The changes also affected the male member of the Fairfax family who was head of a Lincolnshire house; Ralph Fairfax was the last prior of the Augustine Priory of Kyme in Lincolnshire, having being instituted in 1511. The Priory was not dissolved until 1539 largely due to the commitment of Ralph and his fellow monks, who were prepared to pay a heavy fine to ensure its exemption in 1536.⁶⁹ Dr. London's report on Kyme following the surrender of the Priory noted Ralph Fairfax to be 'an honest priest' who was able to redeem his house from debt. This lacks the more condemnatory tone of some of the statements made of many other houses following their dissolution; it may also indicate that Ralph was able to draw on other resources to secure the financial solvency of the house. The notes made on the nine other monks inhabiting Kyme, seven of whom were 'aged' and two 'young', also indicate that they were following the rule of the house until the end.⁷⁰ Despite the community's excellent behaviour and the attempts of Ralph to prolong its life, the abbey was dissolved and it is clear that Ralph had also shown foresight in this as he applied for and was granted permission to hold a benefice with change of habit in 1539.⁷¹

Members of the Lawson family who were within Yorkshire monastic institutions were in less exalted positions than their counterparts in the North-East, reflecting the Lawsons' weaker foothold in the county in the pre-Reformation era. William Lawson was a canon at Kirkham Priory in 1533/4, though he is not referred to as being present at the surrender, which in his case probably indicated that he had already chosen to

⁶⁹ W. Page (ed.), *VCH Lincoln*, 2 (London, 1906).

⁷⁰ *LP*. 14. 1. 1222 and 1280.

take up a secular position. He is recorded as being granted a dispensation to hold a benefice without change of habit in 1539 and the records of the Yorkshire receiver indicated that he outlived the changes to the priory, recording his death in 1541.⁷²

Some former monks were able to adapt to the post-Reformation world and still maintain a prominent rôle in the church and the local community. The dissolution did provide male members of the former monastic communities with an opportunity to take up a more secular role in the wider community. The fact that many chose to stay within the church can and has been seen as a Hobson's choice, yet it could also be seen as an indication of religious commitment as men's options were more varied than their female counterparts. Ordination was not compulsory for monastic orders and adopting a secular office often indicated that individuals had taken an active, rather than a passive role in deciding their own futures. Obtaining the position of parish priest was by no means an easy task, as can be seen from the above examples, so those

⁷¹ Chambers, *Faculty Office Register*, p. 197.

⁷² Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, pp. 86, 298, 303, 524. There is also a John Lawson noted as being present at St. Mary's in York, though there is no clear family link, apart from his sharing a surname and his presence in the county. The records of Arden Priory also note a sister named Lawton, whose Christian name is not recorded. John Lawson is recorded as being ordained acolyte in 1517, subdeacon in 1518 and priest in 1519. At the dissolution he may have been identified as John Baitson, John Coke or John Simpson, thus making it unlikely that he was a member of the Lawson family (p.86). John Lawton of Thirsk records in his will of 1527 that his daughter was a nun at Arden Priory. The lack of a comprehensive Lawson pedigree for this period and the absence of a pension list for Arden make it difficult to determine the relationship between these two people and the main branch of the Lawson family (p.524). There is slightly more information available on William Lawson and he is recorded as being ordained a subdeacon in 1525, a deacon in 1526 and he was clearly a canon at Kirkham Priory by 1533/4 as he is named as such in the will of William Towers of Bridlington.

choosing this path did appear to be actively committing to their religious vocation.⁷³ Preferments and prebends were not as easily or as frequently available as Baskerville indicated, but as the case of William Stapleton shows it was possible for former monks to obtain them. The fact that all these men were in areas where their families still held some influence must have been helpful and although there is no definite evidence to suggest that their families aided them in the years after the dissolution it seems likely that this was the case as local networks were in existence and were active within Yorkshire parishes.⁷⁴ The fact that these roles were in great demand suggested a higher level of religious devotion amongst the former monks than has previously been credited to them and is perhaps an indication that had the same kind of option been available to the women of the former monastic houses they would not have been so heavily condemned by historians as lacking true religious commitment.

The purchase of monastic land: A collective response

The dissolution of the monasteries emphasised the fact that change was coming and to the Yorkshire gentry this must have been a very visible and dramatic change as they

⁷³ Scarisbrick, *Reformation and the English People*, pp. 79-80. A frequent point made is that monks and nuns left the monasteries very easily and this is taken as an indication that they had little or no religious commitment. Even Scarisbrick is somewhat dismissive of them, stating that they 'walked out of their houses apparently without batting an eyelid'. Yet this seems very condemnatory, given the situation in 1539-40, as they had no option. Once the houses were dissolved the former nuns had little option but to walk away, as society had no place for them to go to express their religious devotion. Some of the men, however, did have the option of taking the role of parish priest/ chaplain/ chantry priest and where these roles were available they were taken up indicating that there was religious commitment and devotion amongst the former monastic.

⁷⁴ See chapter 3, 'Control and Compromise: Catholics and the Parish Community', pp. 179-224.

saw family members forced out of their religious houses. This change posed not just a threat to their religious security, in terms of the salvation of their souls, but was also a very perceptible attack on their society. It removed a safe haven for sons and daughters and was also a threat to their social status. This change, imposed by the king at the centre, impacted on their society; it was a threat to the traditional power structures of the church and the nobility as an attack on the monasteries was, by association, a threat to the standing of the gentry, who were the local power in many of the areas where the monastic institutions existed.

The dissolution and subsequent sale of land did bring dramatic change, and also the possibility of securing a prosperous future. Anthony Fletcher describes the dissolution as a disturbance to the 'traditional theory of a harmonious and static social order', as 'the flood of monastic, chantry and crown lands produced an open and speculative land market.'⁷⁵ This is certainly an accurate description of how the Yorkshire gentry perceived their environment; they wished to preserve the 'traditional' and 'static social order', yet the opportunity to increase their land holding surely represented too great an opportunity to let it pass them by. Their desire to preserve what already existed is visible in the Pilgrimage of Grace and is also indicated by their response to indications that change was coming. There appears to have been a belief within Yorkshire that the monastic institutions had gained a reprieve following the Pilgrimage. The failure of the commissions to dissolve a number of religious houses despite their incomes falling below the threshold and the restoration of certain abbeys by the Pilgrims may have given some false hope. The only priory connected with the

⁷⁵ Fletcher and MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p. 6.

sample families to be restored was Ferriby, which along with the church of North Ferriby had been leased to Sir William Fairfax for a period of 21 years for the rent of £7 0s 2d.⁷⁶ The rebels had expressed some dismay at the change in use and ownership.

They complained that Sir William was;

‘a man of fair possessions’ but of miserly nature, and incurred the anger and disgust of all his neighbours, rich and poor; for he neither took up his residence in the priory nor made any attempt to carry on its ancient hospitality.⁷⁷

What is clear from this comment was the expectation that Ferriby would continue to be a source of shelter and hospitality, despite the fact that it was in private hands. In some ways this was a criticism of Fairfax, for failing in his duty as a gentleman to provide hospitality, which ironically enough was something which other Yorkshire recusant gentlemen were to be praised for later in the period, despite their financial hardships.⁷⁸ It is also indicative of the fact that the services monastic institutions provided were integral to the society of the north prior to the Reformation, and indicated that Catholic practices were still ingrained in their minds.

Whilst in the north-eastern shire of Northumberland and in the Palatinate of Durham actions were being taken to maintain control of church land within the area following

⁷⁶ J.W. Clay (ed.), *Yorkshire Monasteries Suppression Papers* (YAS RS, 48, 1912), pp. 111-12

⁷⁷ Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, 1, p. 162.

⁷⁸ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 224. William Middleton of Stockheld and John Vavasour of Haselwood are two of the men particularly singled out for praise. Vavasour was noted as ‘the only great and bountiful housekeeper in the north’.

the first dissolutions of 1536, in Yorkshire little was being done.⁷⁹ The gentry made some preliminary enquiries into possible purchases of the monastic lands and properties, but to little avail as they seemed to be out of favour and therefore out of the running for preferment.

Those who recognised that change was coming were able to prepare; this is evident from both the action of individuals within monastic institutions and ambitious families outside the church. Two members of the Lawson family, within institutions in the North-East, demonstrate a keen sense of family loyalty and an ability to sense where their own interests would lie in the post-monastic world.

Joan Lawson and Agnes Lawson both held important positions in priories in the North-East in the pre-Reformation era. Joan was the prioress of Neasham Priory in Durham and Agnes was prioress of St. Bartholomew's nunnery in Newcastle.⁸⁰ Their positions within the religious communities of the North-East reflected the family's position as leading members of the gentry in the area. Just as the Lawsons were leaders of the secular community so were Agnes and Joan leaders of the religious community. The Lawson family made use of their connections within the monastic institutions, with Joan Lawson, prioress of Neasham, securing the exemption of her priory in 1537 and then granting a lease for all the possessions of the priory in

⁷⁹ L.W. Hepple, *A History of Northumberland and Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (London, 1976), p. 51. Following the first suppressions of 1536 the monastic communities enlisted the support of the local landowners, including Thomas Lawson of Cramlington, who was granted a forty-one year lease on Hartford.

⁸⁰ *LP*. 14. 2. 755 and 773. St Bartholomew's is most often referred to as 'the Newcastle nunnery'.

Neasham to her brother James Lawson, a merchant of Newcastle; he was able to secure all this for the rent of £2 per year.⁸¹

Writing of the North-East in the Reformation period, Leslie Hepple states that the 1536 dissolutions provoked 'desperate attempts by the larger houses to prolong their lives'.⁸² What Hepple perceives as desperate attempts do, however, appear to be very well organised and focused on ensuring that the landed power remained in the North-East. The attempts to secure the support of the local landowners in order to preserve some control show that the leaders of the monastic communities were attempting to secure a future for the land, their tenants and in some cases for themselves. Denys Hay emphasised the 'insistent territorial and political pre-occupation of the abbots and priors of the houses in Northumberland and Durham'.⁸³ Yet this concern with the lay affairs of the areas was a necessity for the heads of these houses due to the nature of the diocese of Durham and due to the fact that its situation on the border meant 'that responsibility fell to corporate institutions'.⁸⁴ These houses, therefore, had a long history of involvement with the politics and lay affairs of the region. The religious of Durham then perhaps had an advantage over those of Yorkshire, in that their awareness of national politics was that much greater and a tradition of lay-clerical co-operation in business already existed.

⁸¹ Page, *VCH Durham*, 2, p. 108; Hepple, *History of Northumberland*, p. 51.

⁸² Hepple, *History of Northumberland*, p. 51.

⁸³ D. Hay, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries in the Diocese of Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 15 (1938), 69-114, esp. p. 76.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

By 1539, when both Neasham and the Newcastle nunnery were dissolved, it must have been obvious for some time to the local gentry, whose sons and daughters were to be affected, that the process was going to go ahead regardless of the 1536 protests. The Lawsons in the North-East were to gain a far stronger position in the post-Reformation North-East than their counterparts in Yorkshire. James Lawson was able to purchase, in 1541, the site of the Newcastle nunnery and the associated lands in 'Isemond'[Jesmond], 'Northload' and 'Owston Grange' [Ouston] in Chester parish, all of which were within the bishopric of Durham, despite the Nunnery itself residing in Newcastle.⁸⁵ He was also able to secure further land and property from Neasham following the surrender and redistribution of land in 1540.⁸⁶ This can be seen in direct contrast to the Yorkshire families, where none of the sample families benefited directly from the dissolution despite their attempts to secure land and properties in which they had an interest.

The attempts made by the sample gentry families, within Yorkshire, to purchase monastic properties were uniformly unsuccessful. The early dissolution of 1536 did provoke some response and prompted would-be purchasers to put their names forward. The dissolution of Nunmonkton in 1536 led William Gascoigne to make a plea to Cromwell stating: 'If the nunnery of Nunmonkton, founded by my ancestors go to the King's augmentation, I beg I may have the preferment of it, paying as much

⁸⁵ *LP*. 16. 1500 (p.722).

⁸⁶ Page, *VCH Durham*, p. 108; Galbraith, *Lands of Dissolved Religious Houses*, 1, p. 127 referring to PRO SC 6/HENVIII/7478, 'Special Collections Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts: York Monastic Possessions'. James Lawson was granted by letters patent of 1 October 32. Henry VIII [1540-1], all the

as any other will.’⁸⁷ Despite William’s standing in the community, ability to pay the asking price and long-standing familiar connections with Nunmonkton, he was not granted the preferment, which went instead to Lord Latimer.⁸⁸ Sir William Gascoigne’s son, Sir William (the younger) also tried to secure ex-monastic properties. He asked for ‘the preferment of eyther Bridlington Abbay or Jervax abbey with the demaynes of eyther of thaym’, promising Cromwell that he ‘shall not only gyffe as much as eny other wyll for the preferment thierof but also do unto your lordship suche pleasur and seruyce as at eny tyme heir after shalbe in me to do’.⁸⁹ This letter has an air of desperation, as the younger Sir William insisted that his living was so small whilst his father was still alive, that he needed help gaining sufficient income and that Cromwell was his best hope as he had few friends who could aid him. Despite William’s best efforts, his attempt to gain both Bridlington and Jervaulx failed. Part of the lands of Bridlington abbey was later to come into the hands of the

lands, tenements and demesne lands in Nesesham [Neasham], the grange of Little Burdon and its tithes, a messuage ‘called Hynden ... and two messuage in Hudworth’.

⁸⁷ *LP*. 10. 1152. Although William Gascoigne is keen to claim that his ancestors founded the nunnery, it would appear that the actual founder was a Sir William Arche and his wife Juetta, who granted the lands for the founding of the nunnery *c.* 1147-53 and that their daughter became the first prioress. [W. Farrar (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 1 (YAS Extra Series, 1914), no. 535]. The founding of Yorkshire nunneries is discussed in N. Vickers, ‘The Social Class of Yorkshire Medieval Nuns’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 67 (1995), 127-32, especially p. 127. By the time of Layton and Leigh’s visitation William Gascoigne is acknowledged as the founder and patron. *LP*. 10. 364; Clay, *Yorkshire Monastic Suppression Papers*, pp. 15-18, 29. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* also lists ‘William Gaston’ as one of two feodaries for Nun Monkton indicating that his association with the priory had continued.

⁸⁸ Clay, *Yorkshire Monastic Suppression Papers*, pp. 17, 29. Sir William Gascoigne also had connections with Gisburne as he was listed amongst the founders along with Lord Conyers, James Strangeways and the Earl of Rutland.

⁸⁹ Clay, *Yorkshire Monastic Suppression Papers*, p. 50.

Cholmleys, though this was by default, not direct purchase. The Gascoignes certainly had the money and influence in the region to justify their claims for the preferment of ex-monastic properties, yet all their pleas were ignored in favour of outsiders or prominent nobles.

The Gascoignes were certainly not the first of the families to show an interest in the spoils of the dissolution. The ever-alert Lawson family also attempted to gain from the dissolution in Yorkshire as they had from the changes in Durham, Newcastle and Northumberland. As early as September 1535, Sir George Lawson of the city of York had written to Cromwell to enquire if the rumours were true that ‘temperall persons [were] to haue the seruyng and receipt of all lands pertenyng to monasteries and religious houses.’⁹⁰ Sir George Lawson later made more specific pleas for property. In 1538 he asked Cromwell for the cell of St Martin’s, part of St. Mary’s Abbey, York. He had already approached the abbot about the purchase, but had no success.⁹¹ The Lawsons’ approach to acquiring monastic lands seems to be consistent; their desire to deal primarily with the religious themselves seems evident, as they contacted the royal authorities as a last resort. While this policy appeared to bring them success in Durham and Newcastle, it was a different case within Yorkshire. George failed to secure the cell of St. Martin’s near Richmond, the other contender for the property

⁹⁰ Clay, *Yorkshire Monastic Suppression Papers*, p. 4.

⁹¹ Clay, *Yorkshire Monastic Suppression Papers*, pp. 63-4. It would appear that George Lawson’s attempts to win over the abbot were doomed to failure as another petitioner, Sir Roger Cholmley, had already secured his favour. In a letter to Cromwell dated 3 November 1538, William, the abbot of St Mary’s York, once again put forward Roger Cholmley’s case over George Lawson’s.

being Sir Richard Cholmley of Thornton-on-the-Hill.⁹² The case does however highlight the importance of the religious in determining the fate of the monastic properties. Whilst this policy was successful in the North-East it would seem that it was unsuccessful for the Yorkshire branch of the Lawson family.

George Lawson made several other requests to Cromwell for monastic property. He attempted to secure the site of the Austin Priory in York in 1538, which he stated was a small area, with few facilities, thus being useless to anyone else, whilst being of great interest to him as he owned the adjacent house. The same criteria were applied to his plea for the house of the White Friars in Newcastle in 1539, which also adjoined his 'poor howse'.⁹³ This plea indicated that he had not gained the friars' house in York, requested the previous year.⁹⁴ None of George's requests resulted in him being allowed to purchase or rent the properties in which he had shown an interest. James Lawson, the Newcastle merchant and cousin to George, did however have the tenure of 'the site of the late house of Augustinian Friars within the town of Newcastle upon Tyne ... and the two gardens there belonging to it' in January 1553.⁹⁵ It would seem that once again the Yorkshire gentry lost out on the re-distribution of land, falling foul

⁹² Clay, *Yorkshire Monastic Suppression Papers*, pp. 63-4.

⁹³ Clay, *Yorkshire Monastic Suppression Papers*, pp. 64, 67, 70. George also put in requests for land in Pontefract, Newburgh and Malton, this time with William Blithman to aid him. These attempts were also unsuccessful.

⁹⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward VI, 1547-1548*, 1, v (London, 1924), pp. 66, 264. The land of the Austin Priory in York had been under the control of Edmund Peckham until the 1550s, when it was transferred to John Wright and Thomas Holmes of London.

⁹⁵ *Patent Rolls: 1547-1548*, 1, iv, p. 117. The tenure was shared with Thomas Horsley and the land itself was in the hands of Edmund Dudley, duke of Northumberland, who gained it along with a number of other sites in an exchange with the king.

of more influential persons who reserved the rights to first pick of profitable lands and properties and with successive monarchs remaining wary of the inhabitants of what had proved to be a troublesome county.

From the later records showing the transfer of land in the reign of Edward VI, it becomes clear that the sample families were not in favour with the government, king or initial beneficiaries of the monastic sell off, with only the Fairfaxes benefiting directly from the purchasing of ex-monastic property.⁹⁶

Like the Fairfax family, the Lawsons too were not restricted to Yorkshire as they held land elsewhere. The Lawson family descended from the North-East and were only beginning to gain a strong foothold in Yorkshire in the early sixteenth century. In looking at the religious prior to the Reformation the Lawsons' connections and influence are easily visible. Without the influence of the greater gentry, men with influence and connections at court or the noble families who were persistently present in Yorkshire to hinder the progress of the ambitious, they were able to rise in status at a far faster rate, which is reflected in the monastic houses. Acknowledging this is important in assessing how the dissolution could be perceived by the local gentry as an attack on their influence and control as well as being seen by the religious as a direct attack on their way of life.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 241.

⁹⁷ Ibid. Smith compiled a table of 'Purchasers of confiscated property in the West Riding 1536-46'. Top of the list was the earl of Cumberland, followed by the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Arthur Darcy, John Neville, Lord Latimer and Sir Richard Gresham, all of whom obtained property over the value of £100. From the twenty-nine men listed only twelve are from a West Riding family and only a further four are

Marian Reaction and Gentry Response

The Dissolution was complete by 1541 and though the sale of monastic land continued for a number of years the last traces of monasticism in Yorkshire had disappeared. The Marian restoration had little impact on the former monastic houses, as the restorations that occurred were limited to Southern England, despite the obvious indications that monastic popularity, values and traditions were far stronger in the north.⁹⁸ The changes or rather enforcement of the law concerning the activities of the ex-religious in fact caused many problems for individuals, as was seen in the previously cited cases of Jane Fairfax and William Stapleton, both of whom had taken partners by the Catholic restoration. In terms of the wider community, the Marian restoration did little to help the gentry families examined regain control of religion.

The Reformation and the institution of a 'professionalised' clergy saw not just a change in religious practice but also broke down old traditions and sometimes family structures.⁹⁹ There were some attempts made by the sample families in the post-

from a family which at least partially resided within Yorkshire. The only member of one of the sample families to occur was William Fairfax. Much of the ex-monastic land sold in Yorkshire went not to inhabitants of the county but to London buyers, illustrated via the Patent Rolls of Edward VI's reign.

⁹⁸ C. Cross, 'The Reconstitution of Northern Monastic Communities in the Reign of Mary Tudor', *Northern History*, 39 (1993), 200-4. This article discusses the spontaneous and unofficial attempts of a small band of Cistercians to resurrect their community. It highlights mainly the fact that the former religious were still in touch with each other and if given the opportunity may well have welcomed restored monasteries, rather than showing that any real restoration occurred.

⁹⁹ R. O'Day, *The English Clergy* (Leicester, 1979) discusses the changing patterns of the career structure of the clergy throughout the period 1558-1642.

Reformation period to retain their rights to appoint or control the local parish clergy. Most of the impetus for this appears to lie with the desire not to lose ancient rights and customs, or to enforce the family's rights and status in the community. The associated power and standing was something which the gentry families were reluctant to give up, and attempts to maintain control combined with a continuing enforcement of the Catholic religion. The Stapleton families were involved in cases in which they tried to maintain their rights over church property. The advowson of Bedale church was in dispute in the reign of Edward VI which brought the Stapletons in conflict with John, bishop of Chester.¹⁰⁰ The Stapletons also contested the prebend of Ulleskelf, though it is unclear who prevailed in this dispute.¹⁰¹ Thus the Catholic gentry were keen to retain a relationship with their local parish church and the speed with which they were to embrace the English monastic orders on the continent indicated that they saw this as a continuation of their relationship with the monastic church.

¹⁰⁰ H.B. McCall, *The Early History of Bedale in the North Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1908), p. 108. The case saw Brian Stapleton and Sir George Pierpoint at suit with John, bishop of Chester at Easter and Trinity 1551 (5th Ed. VI) over who had the right to present at Bedale church, which had fallen vacant after the death of Robert Magnus, who had held the appointment for over fifty years. Robert had been appointed by the archbishop of York. The case stated that Brian Stapleton had held the advowson from the time of Edward VI and had granted it to a succession of people, culminating in Sir George Pierpoint in 1536. The case appears to have been settled in favour of the minor William Digby who was in the King's custody and the presentments given to the bishop of Chester.

¹⁰¹ PRO C3/172/24 'Stapilton v. Hungate: York 1558-1579'. The case appears to have involved both Henry Stapleton and Brian Stapleton in dispute with George Bulleyn and William Hungate, over who had rights over the prebend of Ulleskelf. Bulleyn cited the previous prebendary, John Ceaton, as granting them rights for ten years in the first and second years of Philip and Mary's reign.

The Elizabethan Response

Prior to the Reformation the cloistered life was something frequently chosen by the Catholic gentry families. The institution of the English Church under Henry VIII should in theory have put an end to the idea that a career in the Catholic Church was an option. The rôle of local parish priest or the option of entering the monasteries, chapels and priories that provided an ecclesiastical life close to home and the family with a local patron to oversee activities had been removed. If the medieval Catholic Church merely provided a safe option for surplus or unmarried sons and daughters who could not be financed via marriage or inheritance, the numbers choosing what was from the 1540s onwards a difficult path should have declined. English Catholic gentry within monastic institutions should have become extinct, yet looking at these families this does not happen. The numbers choosing a religious life during the post-Reformation period remained high, despite the fact that it meant long periods of separation or sometimes-permanent dislocation from their families in England. There is a visible commitment to maintaining English monastic traditions. The continent became an important feature in the lives of many of the Catholic gentry families with numerous prominent members entering the religious communities there.

The continental seminaries and monastic houses began to develop during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, with the establishment of both male and female monastic communities and educational seminaries for the training of Catholic academics and Jesuit priests. For Aveling 'the Catholic revival manifested itself especially in the proliferation of foundations of English monasteries and convents. Before the 1590s

the English Catholics betrayed a remarkable lack of interest in such matters.¹⁰² Despite Aveling's view that there was little initial interest in these foreign seminaries many Catholic families from the north were instrumental in their establishment and in maintaining their popularity. Indeed many Yorkshire Catholic families were quick to seize the opportunities offered by the new continental seminaries and English-oriented monasteries and nunneries. Aveling argues that the situation changed rapidly in the 1590s, due to the Jesuit movement and its influence on the English community.¹⁰³ Haigh disputes this stating that 'the priests were not sent to create a new Catholicism'. For Haigh the Catholic mission was a reactive response to the demand from England and it created no 'new Catholicism'.¹⁰⁴ The actions of the Yorkshire Catholic families seem to indicate that by the 1590s they had seen the possibilities that the continent offered; although it was the opportunity to continue with past practices that seemed to appeal most, the newly reformed monasticism did hold appeal for some families. Some displayed a vigour and commitment that had not been shown in the late medieval era. Rather than being enthusiasts for a new Catholicism, the Yorkshire gentry displayed an ability to adapt to the new situation taking some inspiration from the new ideas, whilst still maintaining the traditional.

From the sample families it is clear that the Vavasours had continued to maintain their commitment to the value of monasticism, as did the Stapletons, though as in the pre-Reformation period this was to a slightly lesser extent than the Vavasours. By the

¹⁰² Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 76.

¹⁰³ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁴ C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 93 (1981), 37-69. The discussion of the Catholic mission occurs at pp. 55-7.

Stuart era the Lawsons too were showing a considerable presence in the continental monasteries. At the height of the Elizabethan period the Gascoigne family showed clear connections and commitment to the English Catholic communities on the continent. Prior to the Reformation and until the 1550s the Gascoigne family did not seem to be prominent in either the priesthood or monastic orders. Profitable marriages and social advancement in the lay community were a priority in the early years of the sixteenth century, and it was only in the latter half of the period that the Gascoignes showed a predominant tendency and commitment to expressing their religious convictions by joining an ecclesiastical house. By this period this expression could only take place by joining the religious communities that had sprung up in the Low Countries and Germany. The Meynells too demonstrated an interest in holy orders that was not visible in the pre-Reformation period. During the late Elizabethan and early Stuart eras they showed that they were committed to the idea of Catholic education, training and to maintaining the monastic tradition in the new climate of reformed Catholicism. At the time of the Reformation no members of the family had been in holy orders, secular or monastic, yet in a period where the difficulties involved in joining foreign monasteries were amply evident, the Meynells demonstrated that they believed in the value of monastic life and in the education that such institutions could provide.¹⁰⁵ If anything the commitment of these two families to monasticism was even stronger in the post-Reformation era than it had been before.

¹⁰⁵ Ampleforth, Ampleforth Abbey Library, Meynell Papers MSS; Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', pp. 72-6. They chose a monastic education for their sons in the foreign seminaries over the safer, if Protestant influenced, options available in England. See 'Education, the Law and Careers: The Educated and Active Catholic Gentry', pp. 285-364.

This represented a significant commitment of family resources to the Catholic Church in a period of increasing domestic hardships. Indeed those families that chose to look to the continent were often to invest almost an entire generation in the cause. William and Anne Vavasour (c. 1580-1620) had thirteen children, six of whom entered a religious life. Three of their sons and three of their daughters were in holy orders. Francis Vavasour, their fourth son, became a Franciscan Friar at the heavily English populated Douai. Henry Vavasour and John Vavasour, respectively the second and third sons, also joined the church. John was a lay brother at a Jesuit College, thus meaning he was part of the rapidly increasing Catholic Jesuit movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁶ Margaret and Catherine both became nuns at Cambrai, and Mary became a Benedictine nun at Brussels.¹⁰⁷ Even their married sister and her husband showed an interest in the continental communities as the couple's son, Robert Doleman, became a Catholic priest following his education at St. Omer.¹⁰⁸ The same proportional commitment was demonstrated by the Gascoignes; John and Anne Gascoigne had ten children, six of whom joined the continental orders.¹⁰⁹ John's

¹⁰⁶ Foster, *Pedigrees*, 3; Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*. Henry Vavasour also joined the priesthood; however, the possibility that he married Suzanne, daughter of William Plant strongly suggests that he did not adhere to the Catholic religion and was in fact a Protestant clergyman.

¹⁰⁷ Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, p. 228.

¹⁰⁸ G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: The Early Stuarts 1603-1659*, II (London, 1975), p. 86; Foster, *Pedigrees*. Robert Doleman was the eldest son of Philip Doleman and Frances Vavasour, daughter of William Vavasour of Haselwood. (Frances had previously been married to Philip Lawson, see 'Suitable, Successful and Advantageous Marriages', esp. pp. 148-170, for details on the significance of Catholic alliances in marriage). He received a Catholic education at St. Omer and then entered the priesthood. He returned to Yorkshire in 1660 and remained there for the rest of his life, apart from the brief respite in France during the furore caused by the Oates Plot of 1687.

¹⁰⁹ *DNB*, 21, p. 44; Coleman, 'The History of Barwick in Elmet', chapter 10; Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. From their four sons only the eldest, Thomas, remained in England, though he too, in old age, was to travel

uncle, William Gascoigne had become a Carthusian monk at Brussels, demonstrating a commitment to the monastic orders far earlier than the 1590s.¹¹⁰ The Stapleton family also made a considerable contribution to the population of the foreign seminaries in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods. Thomas Stapleton was one of the founders of Douai, along with Allen, making him a prominent member of the continental exiled community.¹¹¹ Of the six children of Gilbert Stapleton of Carlton and Eleanor Gascoigne, two joined the monastic orders abroad.¹¹² The Lawson family contribution too was great; over two successive generations a total of eight members of the family joined holy orders on the continent, with all the female members of one generation becoming nuns.¹¹³

to the continent and join the Benedictine order at Lambspring. John and Michael both became monks, whilst Francis became a secular priest. This represents a significant commitment as the number of heirs produced from the male line was greatly diminished. From their daughters Catherine and Christian/Justina both became nuns.

¹¹⁰ Foster, *Pedigrees*, I. No dates are given for William, but the dates available for his siblings indicate he must have been in holy orders between 1560 and 1590, showing that members of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry were involved in the continental monastic establishments earlier than 1590.

¹¹¹ C.G. Herbermann (ed.), *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church*, 14 (London, 1912), p. 240. Although Thomas is usually cited as a Sussex man, it should be noted that he was the son of William Stapleton of Carlton and upon leaving England in 1558, for Louvain, he took his father and other relatives with him. He was one of the few family members to attend the Universities, though this occurred during Mary's reign and the establishment of a Protestant regime under Elizabeth induced him to look to the continent. Unlike many other members of these Catholic gentry families who chose to go abroad he was an academic and was therefore involved in the new religious ideas.

¹¹² Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, 1, p. 169; Foster, *Pedigrees*, 1 see 'Pedigrees of Stapleton of Carlton - Lord Beaumont - and Stapleton of Whighill, Myton, Norton etc.' Gregory became a monk at Douai and sacrificed his inheritance in favour of his vocation, whilst Mary joined the convent at Cambrai. This commitment was significant as only two of the other four children were to marry.

¹¹³ Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, 1; Appendix IV, p. 507.

Yet this exodus of the faithful to the continent is not always viewed in such a positive manner. The families themselves wrote very little of their feelings on the matter so it is difficult to determine their opinions of the continental seminaries, though their willingness to send their children on this dangerous journey suggest that the service they provided was valued. If the Reformation had never happened they would undoubtedly not have made the trip to the continent to establish and populate these houses. If the options only offered in the continental monasteries after the dissolution had been available in Yorkshire they would have had not need to venture further afield, but that is not to say that these new opportunities and experiences were negative. P. Guilday stated of those foreign seminaries and their inhabitants that;

It is impossible not to deplore the injury [they] did to their respective countries; but in both cases, if they are culpable, it is the fault entirely of men reduced to despair by an odious persecution, and it must rather be imputed to the advisors of the iniquitous measure which drove them to seek an asylum in countries where their misfortune was commiserated.¹¹⁴

This paints a bleak picture of men and women forced to abandon their homes to become unwanted aliens in a foreign land and that in doing this they have abandoned their much loved homeland to the forces of oppression. Yet this does not seem to be the case for many members of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry. These continental institutions were in many ways a copy of the system that operated in England prior to the Reformation, but without many of the negative overtones that had become associated with monasticism. Many of the families achieved positions of importance, equivalent to or better than the positions that they would have been able to achieve in

¹¹⁴ P. Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558 - 1795* (London, 1914), p. 93.

the English ecclesiastical communities prior to the Reformation. At Cambrai the Gascoignes and their former Yorkshire neighbours the Constables held considerable sway and formed support for the cult sparked by Augustine Baker.¹¹⁵ They maintained the traditional notions of Catholic devotion and also built firm foundations for the continuity of a reformed Catholicism that could be transplanted to England.

Just as these families had achieved prominent and influential positions in the Yorkshire community, so too were they able to in their new lives on the continent. Catherine Gascoigne became the lady abbess of Cambrai, a position which she held until she was 76 years of age in 1676, whilst her sister became the prioress of the Benedictine convent in Paris.¹¹⁶ Their brother, John Gascoigne, attained the position of abbot at the Benedictine monastery of Lamspring in Lower Saxony. From the Vavasour family, Mary became a nun at Brussels and went on to be abbess of the convent there until 1676, a position she had held for 23 years. Their ability to assume these rôles as leaders of the new communities on the continent illustrates a continuity of their rôles as leaders of Catholic society in England and also illustrates how the families adapted to their new situations.

The establishment of many English exile communities on the continent was to become a prominent feature of the second half of the seventeenth century and was something in which former members of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry and their sons and daughters played a prominent part. The activities of these gentry 'Catholic refugees' in

¹¹⁵ D. Lunne, *The English Benedictines 1540 - 1688: From Reformation to Revolution* (London, 1980), p. 216.

the post-Reformation period echoed the activities of the gentry in the pre-Reformation era. Just as family members or associated county families would congregate in one monastery in England, so the same pattern occurred on the continent. In England prior to the Reformation, family allegiances to particular houses had been visible, as with the Gascoignes' commitment to Nunmonkton; the religious changes of the Tudor period had created an increasingly tight knit community of Catholic families that in the Elizabethan era had become connected via marriage and business, as well as through common religious practices, and these links were still visible in the religious institutions of the continent. Continuities are visible in terms of individual families focusing their attentions on one house on the continent, and patronage of one particular order is visible, with the Benedictines particularly benefiting from Yorkshire patrons.

In Cambrai there was a definite concentration of Yorkshire gentlemen's daughters. Catherine Gascoigne was the abbess there, whilst the Vavasour sisters, Margaret and Catherine, were nuns at the abbey. Mary Stapleton of Carlton was also to be found there in the 1640s.¹¹⁷ Francis Gascoigne, who had become a secular priest, following his education at St. Gregory's Douai and Malines, also spent time at Cambrai prior to his ordination at Douai in 1636, where he must have come into contact with his sister, Catherine.¹¹⁸ In Ghent, Flanders, the Lawson family had a visible presence and seems

¹¹⁶ *DNB*, 21, pp. 44-5; Foster, *Pedigrees*, 1.

¹¹⁷ Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, 1, p. 169.

¹¹⁸ Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, 2, p. 126; Foster, *Pedigrees* 1-3. Unlike many priests, and indeed his sister, he did not reconcile himself to a life in exile and returned to England in 1639 as a priest where he remained for nine years.

to have preferred this house to all others. Mary Lawson, daughter of Roger Lawson of Brough was a nun there prior to 1623, and in the succeeding generation another Mary Lawson, this time the daughter of Henry Lawson of Brough, was also in this establishment c. 1640-60. By the end of the seventeenth century their presence was unmistakable as Catherine, Mary, Elizabeth, Anne and Frances Lawson were all nuns there c. 1690-1720.¹¹⁹

It was not just the female members of the gentry families who maintained the traditional allegiance and alliances in the new environment of the continental monasteries and seminaries, but the same trends are visible amongst the male family members. William Gascoigne of Hutton, Yorkshire, chose to travel to Lisbon with his brother-in-law Robert Meynell in 1647. Their careers were both centred on the church but in divergent parts of Europe. William was eventually ordained in 1651, but still used Meynell as his alias when he travelled. Robert Meynell had been ordained in 1640 at St. Lorenzo, but following his trip to Lisbon and then to Rome did not return to England despite his declaration of his desire to be a missionary, choosing instead to remain on the continent.¹²⁰ It would seem that for many of these young family members foreign exile was not such a trial and did offer new opportunities. The connections that had been forged in England between the Gascoignes and the Meynells also proved fruitful for the individuals in their forays into the new world of the continental monasteries.

¹¹⁹ Clay, *Dugdale's Visitation*, 1, pp. 318-9; Foster, *Pedigrees*.

¹²⁰ Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, 2, pp. 126, 220.

The Gascoigne family also maintained links between the secular community in Yorkshire and the religious community on the continent. Thomas Gascoigne (c. 1593-1686), eldest son of John Gascoigne of Lasingcroft, Parlington and Barnbow, inherited the family estates and lived out the majority of his life in England. Following his trial for High Treason, of which he was acquitted, he retired to the English Benedictine monastery of Lambspring, joining his brother John, who was abbot there.¹²¹ The concept of joining a monastery in old age has clear echoes of medieval Catholic practices and suggests that the new reformed Catholicism which was so appealing to the exiled academics such as Campion, Allen and Persons had not superseded the 'old religion' in the mind and hearts of many of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry who maintained a continuity of beliefs throughout the period.

Guilday may believe that the English Catholics' movement to the continent was harmful to Catholicism in England, but the idea of a safe haven that supported and strengthened the Catholic cause must surely have been viewed positively by those who travelled abroad and settled there and by the families who sent them. Thomas Gascoigne had certainly not abandoned hope of re-establishing the religious communities in England as in 1678 he endowed the convent of the Blessed Virgin, which was established at Dolebank near Fountains Abbey, with £90.¹²² The sons who went abroad to be educated and then returned as missionary priests also indicated that England was prominent in the minds of those that went abroad. The Vavasours and Meynells maintained a prominence as active Catholics within England, as well as

¹²¹ *DNB*, 21, pp. 44-5. Thomas joined the confraternity there and died at the monastery aged ninety-three in 1686, being buried next to his brother who had died in 1681.

making forays into the continental schools, monasteries and seminaries. Robert Doleman's activities were more typical of the trends followed in the later part of the seventeenth century. He underwent foreign training followed by a return to his home county to join the mission. This cycle did not begin until the 1620s and 1630s for most sons and daughters of the Catholic gentry, as it was not until then that the foreign seminaries were well enough established to undertake this sort of training. The pull of the foreign seminaries was not necessarily what compelled them to leave the security of their homes and families, but the lack of English facilities meant that those with a calling had to go abroad to receive a Catholic education.

The Meynell family in particular made valuable use of the continental seminaries to educate their children. In post-Reformation Yorkshire the Meynell family showed a propensity for survival despite the increasingly harsh climate and their unfortunate tendency to be noticed by those in power despite all their efforts to remain inconspicuous. Whilst the continent was not to provide a family stronghold for them, it was to be a source of Catholic educational establishments which they used very successfully. Thomas, John and William Meynell, sons of Anthony, were all educated at Douai. William was the only one of the three sons who went on to be ordained, at St. Omer in 1645, eight years after he had first entered Douai, aged nineteen years.¹²³ William, too, showed that he had not forgotten England and in particular Yorkshire, as he returned to England in 1647 to become chaplain to the Witham family at Cliffe

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, 2, pp. 72-6; Ampleforth, Meynell MSS; Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers'.

Hall in Yorkshire.¹²⁴ This demonstrated that Yorkshire was not completely devoid of priests and that the county was not abandoned by the seminary priests as Haigh argues occurred in Lancashire; Yorkshire was instead served by its own, just as it had been in the pre-Reformation era. Although seminary priests were not the saviours of the religion, they along with others had their part to play.¹²⁵ The Meynells also supported the recusant community in England and the Catholic community abroad in other ways. They were an active part of the recusant lay community and showed their adaptability in harbouring priests, such as George Catterick;¹²⁶ they also suffered for their religion through imprisonment and persecution.¹²⁷ The Meynells fulfilled a vital function; they are an example of 'the people who sheltered and helped in various ways the priests without whom Catholicism could not have survived in Elizabethan England'.¹²⁸ This reciprocal arrangement was however by no means entirely selfless, as in return their children received an education.

The pattern seen emerging in relation to the Yorkshire Catholic gentry families and the Catholic Church is reflected in the other career paths that recusants followed. As the situation became more oppressive and persecution heightened so did the determination for the families to survive as Catholics. The families became

¹²⁴ Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, 2, p. 220. William remained in Yorkshire until his death in 1683.

¹²⁵ Haigh, 'Continuity of Catholicism', pp. 48-9, 53, suggested Marian priests were the vital element and noted that even in the North Riding recusancy was already established by the time the seminary priests arrived.

¹²⁶ Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, 2, p. 49

¹²⁷ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', pp. 17, 51-2.

¹²⁸ P. McGrath & J. Rowe, 'The Elizabethan Priests: Their Harbourers and Helpers', *Recusant History*, 19 (1989), 209-33.

geographically disparate; rather than trying to maintain the practice of settling locally as the parish priest or joining the local and possibly family run monastery or convent, they travelled abroad and established an alternative system. The desire to maintain the 'old religion' was clear, as was the continuing conservative nature of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry. They took the system that existed in England and established it on the continent with family alliances showing as clearly on the continent as they did in the heart of Yorkshire.

Catherine Gascoigne and Mary Vavasour as two female members of the gentry class achieved positions of power in their relative communities and John Gascoigne also rose to monastic power. Priests who trained abroad due to the lack of facilities and legislation in England could return home once their training was complete. The foreign seminary education provided by Douai was of value to those families in Yorkshire, even if their sons did not choose to stay and continue into the priesthood. Just as gentlemen sent their sons to the Inns of Court for training in the law without any intention of encouraging them to become lawyers, so the sons of the Catholic gentry could receive an ecclesiastical education without taking priestly vows. In many ways this was just a continuation of the medieval tradition and nothing unusual. If anything it illustrates the ability of the English Catholics to adapt their traditional educational methods to suit the change in times. Travel abroad was becoming an important aspect of a young gentleman's education in the seventeenth century. Cliffe states that travel on the continent was a fashionable asset for a gentleman.¹²⁹ Travel to the continental seminaries for the young Catholic gentry was by no means an easy

¹²⁹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 79-80.

task and as the sons of the Meynell and Wyvell families discovered not without its dangers and adventures. Nevertheless it cannot have been considered that foreign travel was completely unsuitable for their sons and may have been something that was an ultimately beneficial experience both as a Catholic practice and a life experience.

Conclusion

Throughout the period from the pre-Reformation era to the Civil War the traditional conservative values of the Yorkshire Gentry were evident. During the late Medieval, the Tudor and the Stuart periods the desire of the families to retain their religion, position, power and status is more than evident. Themes of continuity are clear, though the desire to continue with old practices and ways of life did mean that the families had to adapt to the new world that faced them. The Yorkshire gentry began as an inherently conservative group, whose beliefs and attitudes had been shaped within the confines of northern religion and politics, isolated from new ideas that spread more easily in the south of England. Religious practices were integral to their communities and to their lives. They made use of their local monastic houses and saw the church as yet another means of supporting their standing and authority; whether this was through family members in the clergy, the dedications in wills or the erection of church monuments and tombs. No concept of Reformation from below can be accepted when examining Yorkshire in this period; the gentry may have approved of some minor reforms to areas of church practice, but a Protestant Reformation, including the introduction of a prayer book, the reform of services and the eradication

of monastic institutions was not demanded by them, but imposed on them by royal government.

Their response to the Reformation was to be expected; they attempted a protest, but ever mindful of retaining their status and cautious to remain loyal to the King, this was a minimal effort. Once it became clear that the situation was a *fait accompli* they attempted to adapt to the new state of affairs without making any great compromise to their religious practice or their control of the their locality. Individuals within monastic institutions attempted to adapt to their new lives; for woman by integrating back into the familiar community or for men by taking secular office, meaning that they could remain within the religious sphere. The families themselves attempted to continue their associations with monastic institutions; attempts to purchase properties illustrate both a desire for continuity and an ability to seize all opportunities to enhance the family standing and landed wealth. The fact that within Yorkshire the gentry were rarely successful illustrates not a lack of trying on the part of the gentry, but changing governmental attitudes. Yorkshire was regarded suspiciously by the King and his ministers and a proliferation of courtiers and new noblemen who recognised that the monasteries and abbeys of Yorkshire could be profitable ensured that the Yorkshire gentry were deprived of the preferment of these properties.

The Marian restoration failed to restore the balance of power in Yorkshire and by the Elizabethan period it became impossible to maintain the facade of conformity. This meant that the continuation of traditional values and practices could only occur elsewhere. The continental seminaries offered the old religion in a variety of ways

including a revived monasticism combined with a commitment to Catholic education as well as the newer Catholic ideas embodied by the Jesuits. Although not all of the families joined these new continental institutions the proportions were still high and compared favourably with the numbers involved in medieval monasticism. Catholicism was alive and well amongst the Catholic gentry communities in Yorkshire and the maintenance of traditional Catholic practices did not necessarily indicate a backward community, but rather one that was willing to adapt to continue with those values and practices that it felt important.

The monastic communities of later medieval England had engendered a loyalty and commitment that did not die when the process of dissolution swept away the physical symbols of English monasticism. In Yorkshire the monasteries, abbeys and convents did still have a strong basis of support and although numerically the numbers joining the monastic order may not have been as great as at the hey day of the high middle ages, the fact that English / Yorkshire monasticism re-established itself on the continent in a relatively unchanged form showed the strength of the roots of English Catholic commitment. Claire Cross's work has shown that the monastic communities did not completely disperse after the initial period of dissolution, and she illustrated this by an examination of female religious communities whose members retained a cohesive force even without the physical trapping of an abbey or convent to hold them in place. The continuities in the longer terms, particularly amongst the Yorkshire Catholic gentlewomen, can also be seen. They had a significant presence in the early sixteenth century monastic houses of Yorkshire and the same can be said of their presence in the English continental houses of seventeenth and early eighteenth

century. In some cases the very same families were involved in maintaining the monastic communities; pre-Reformation England saw Margaret, Elizabeth, Dorothy and Isabel Vavasour in monastic establishments whilst a later generation of daughters, Mary, Margaret and Catherine Vavasour, formed a strong presence in the continental Catholic communities. Those Families who were not in a position to achieve significant roles in Yorkshire monasticism prior to the Reformation, but had progressed in social status during the subsequent era, showed that they too valued the monastic communities and assumed the roles within them that would be expected of gentry families of their status had the dissolutions not occurred.

The Catholic gentry of Yorkshire were not isolated or abandoned for they had a self-supporting community that existed both in England and on the continent. A desire for elements of continuity in religious practice, combined with an ability to adapt epitomised their approach to the monastic element of Catholicism, just as it was imbued in their other activities.

Chapter 5

Education, the Law and Careers: The Educated and Active Catholic Gentry

Introduction

Education and the development of the 'middling sort' have been a focus for social historians since the 1960s with the growth of interest in the studies of both local communities and the history of the lower orders.¹ Studies of religious change in the period too have placed emphasis on education although Protestantism and the study of education have remained intrinsically linked in a way that Catholic studies and the history of education have not.² Studies in Catholic history have tended to focus on education in relation to the creation of centres on the continent or have placed emphasis on the Protestantising nature of educational provision within England.³ In

¹ Barry and Brooks, *Middling Sort*; Sharpe, *Early Modern England*, pp. 254-78; Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp. 672-724; K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 1982), pp.183-221. The majority of texts on early modern society contain at least one chapter on education and/or professions. Many of the key studies on education were made by Lawrence Stone in 1960s. The focus on the development of a 'middling sort' has been taken up again in the 1990s, putting forward a revised analysis of the development of the middle class that is not as reliant on the creation of an all powerful bourgeoisie in Tudor and Stuart England to explain the changes in society.

² Wrightson, *English Society*, pp. 183-221. Wrightson names his chapter on education 'Learning and Godliness' and emphasises that contemporaries prioritised education as they believed it 'would advance the Protestant Reformation by banishing ignorance and implanting the knowledge of the truth' (p. 185).

³ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 139, 144-5, 213, 219, 291-2; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, pp. 158-68; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 161. Aveling places most emphasis on those gentry families who sent their children abroad to be educated, which is in line with his emphasis on the central rôle of the Jesuits and the mission. He does make some mention of household education, though the impact of this is somewhat lost due to his condemnation of the all-pervasive nature of the Protestant

examining the Catholic gentry of the period it is necessary to acknowledge both the rôle of education as a tool for the progression of religious ideas and as a means of retaining social status in line with contemporary gentry ideas. Education represented more than just a threat to the old traditions, and continental schools were more than just a training ground for members of the mission.

The development of 'careers' as a means for a gentleman, or more likely a gentleman's son, to earn a living that was not reliant solely on landed income is also an area that requires examination in relation to the Catholic community. Most studies of the professions or careers in the era between the Reformation and the Civil War have emphasised the development of a 'middling sort' who were engaged in such activities. This has implied that those involved in the law, medicine or the military were almost exclusively limited to a rising bourgeois class or represented the forward-thinking Protestant-minded men who were willing to seize upon new opportunities. Entrepreneurial qualities, it appears, have been linked by many only to Protestantism, excluding the Catholic gentry.⁴ Yet younger sons of gentlemen were often involved in activities which ensured that they were not solely reliant on land-based incomes and

education system. Bossy focuses on penal laws designed to remove children who came under the control of the central government from Catholic influences. He also makes comment on the important rôle of women. Haigh noted that both the Inns of Court and the Universities provided 'Lancashire with informed Protestants'.

⁴ M.J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 236-250. Michael Bennett concluded that certain members of society were pursuing a career during the late fifteenth century and that therefore the development of 'careerism' was not simply an early modern phenomenon. He does however emphasise that patronage remained important (pp. 192-3) and demonstrated that advancement was more easily achieved via military service in the counties (pp. 162-3).

this included the younger sons of what is widely acknowledged as a conservative sector of society, the Yorkshire Catholic gentry.

The changing nature of the post-Reformation world naturally had an effect on all gentry families, but the Catholic gentry had religious loyalties to add into the equation as a consideration in their activities. How then did the Catholic gentry obtain an education in this hostile climate and still manage to remain constant to their religion? An examination of 'school level' and higher education in England and on the continent will demonstrate that the Yorkshire Catholic gentry did not live as an isolated group who were unable to maintain gentry activities which were on a par with their conformist neighbours, but rather that they were able to adapt to the changed circumstances of the era. Through the adaptation of traditional educational methods and the creation of alternative schooling within the English Catholic communities on the continent, educational facilities were available both to the conservative and the enterprising Catholic families of the era.

Once obtained, this education could be put to a variety of uses. The vocational nature of the continental educational environment led some to join the church, though for many of the sons of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry their education was always intended to be of use to them in their secular lives. The eldest sons needed the ability to manage their estates, but it was the younger sons that often took up a profession, thus mixing within the Catholic communities that existed amongst the 'middling sort'. Here their religion often became an advantage in creating a ready-made clientele with shared religious beliefs which required services from someone whom they could trust

not to betray them. Thus alliances were created within a Catholic community that allowed the gentry to widen their scope of associations within marriage and business dealings and which allowed them to become leaders of Catholic society.

Education

Lawrence Stone, the main proponent of the theory that the 'propertied classes' effected a change in society via their exploitation of the higher education system and their adaptation to the new demands of the reformed era, advocated that the drive towards educating noble and gentry children was prompted by humanist ideas and an anxiety to maintain social control.⁵ The 'educational revolution' then is most often viewed as a product of religious and administrative reform and Protestant ideology.⁶ The view that the government and monarch saw education as a way to maintain social control, and thus that the process of education needed to be regulated, certainly seemed to be proved by Cromwell's attempts to secure control of both the Universities and Inns of Court in the 1530s.⁷ Even though these attempts were somewhat abortive they suggest that education, and in particular higher education in England, should have been an alien and hostile environment to the northern conservative Catholic gentry. It also suggests that it should have been difficult if not impossible for an English Catholic gentleman to achieve an education that was compatible with his beliefs in post- Reformation England.

⁵ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 674.

⁶ Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 41-80; 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900', *Past and Present*, 42 (1969), 69-139.

⁷ Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 98.

1. Basic Education

Lawrence Stone's 1964 article entitled 'The Educational Revolution in England' outlined three types of basic education, which he viewed as summarising educational provision in early modern England.⁸ These took the form of the petty schools which provided basic literacy, lower-form grammar school education for apprenticeships and 'grammar schools proper' which prepared the sons of the gentry and the bourgeoisie for the universities and Inns of Court. These interpretations of basic educational provisions excluded the majority of the gentry and nobility's experience of early schooling/ education which was often provided via a home tutor.

Tutors were a feature of gentry households throughout the country. Heal and Holmes in their study of the gentry stressed that contemporaries still viewed parental or home education as a starting point, whether this was provided by the child's natural parents or at the household of another gentry family.⁹ They also concluded that for conformist families the preferred educational choice may have been one of the new schools.¹⁰ Yet this may not always have been true, especially in the sixteenth century. The fact that wealthy families still saw tutors as a demonstration of their class, as distinct from the new 'middling sort' whose sons were also being educated in the grammar schools,

⁸ Stone, 'Educational Revolution in England', pp. 42-4.

⁹ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 247-8.

¹⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 258-9.

may indicate that home tuition was still seen as a sign of traditional values and a declaration of status.¹¹

Cliffe noted that the schools of Yorkshire contained a mixture of classes; he stated that by the seventeenth century 'a sizeable portion of the scholars were the sons of gentry', but even in quoting statistics was only able to prove that around a third of Pocklington school's 165 entrants were the sons of gentlemen; which, although a sizeable proportion, still suggests that a considerable number must still have been educating their children at home.¹²

For the Yorkshire Catholic gentry this was a fortunate trend. It fitted into their view of traditional values whilst also being a convenient way of maintaining Catholic teaching within a private rather than a public environment. The presence of a tutor within the household also provided a pretext for harbouring strangers within the home and given that many priests after the 1580s/1590s were educated and therefore doubled as tutors, this meant that two services could be provided by one person, given the correct circumstances and candidates.

2. Private Tuition

Education within the household could take many different forms, and the medieval tradition within the gentry and nobility did not die out with the advent of the Tudors.

¹¹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 71, indicated employing resident tutors was a practice 'confined to the upper levels of the squirearchy'.

¹² Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 70.

Continuity of educational practices could be seen in the activities of the Yorkshire gentry in the period; sending children to the houses of friends or relations of equal status for training and education was not simply abandoned in favour of a formalised schooling, and home tutors continued to be employed.¹³

For the daughters of the gentry education within the home was the main and in many cases their only experience. The practice of sending children to the houses of friends and family was still well used. The life of Mary Ward, which has been well catalogued, indicated that she moved, at an early age, from her father's estate at Mulwith to Holderness to live with her grandmother and that another female cousin, Babara Babthorpe, who was younger than Mary, was also there.¹⁴ Both were presumably being educated in the running of a household and in the Catholic religion under the guidance of a senior female family member.

The 1604 survey of Yorkshire demonstrated that there were a number of home tutors operating in the gentry households of Yorkshire, many of whom were noted as being recusants or at the very least as being doubtful of religion. Robert Wade, Gregory Slater, Laurence Tailor, Stephen Morvell, Richard Hindle, Richard Bawddwen, William Brigg, William King, Robert Boune and Christopher Tailor were all noted as being tutors whose religion was unclear; John Chapman, John Girlington and Gerard

¹³ R. O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1982), pp. 2-3; N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London, 1984), pp. 1-5, makes the case for continuity in education between the medieval and early modern eras.

¹⁴ See chapter 6 for further discussion of women and education, pp. 433-8. M.M. Littlehales, *Mary Ward (1585-1645): A Woman for all Seasons* (London, 1974), p. 4.

Fawden were noted as being recusant schoolmasters at Pateley Bridge and Hornby; Richard Stockdale was noted as a non-communicant, William Postgate as a teacher of children and a member of a Catholic family and Lucy Scaife as a recusant teacher.¹⁵ A further two schoolmasters were to be found on the list of Catholics. Henry Lewes and a Mr. Bond were noted as being in the house of a Mr. Frakes, and Francis Barwick was noted as 'being a poore man' who 'doth teach children to write and rede' suggesting that there was a basic elementary provision being made within the Catholic community for those below gentry status.¹⁶

Despite the 1604 survey Aveling stated that 'there is astonishingly little evidence of house-tutors in Catholic gentry houses throughout Yorkshire', and he dismissed the citations presented in this survey as insignificant or inconclusive evidence of a strong secular Catholic educational system.¹⁷ He concluded that many of those cited were not genuine cases or were not by his definition capable of providing a Catholic education. Two of the cases dismissed almost immediately are those of William Postgate at Egton and Lucy Snaife at Huntingdon. He comments that:

At Egton the teacher was a retired farmer, living in the house of his daughter, a farmer's wife, and he was clearly a 'parish catechist'. At Huntingdon the teacher was a married housewife and only recently a recusant, with no particular connection with the Holme family.¹⁸

¹⁵ Peacock (ed.), *Roman Catholics in 1604*, pp. 20-1, 53, 78, 93, 97-8, 118.

¹⁶ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, pp. 43, 51.

¹⁷ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 291.

¹⁸ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 292.

The dismissal of these two cases appears largely to be based on their reliance on women and their lack of prominent connections in the parish. William Postgate is demoted due to his reliance on the hospitality of his daughter Jane and his lack of a formalised Catholic education, such as that provided by the continental seminaries and schools, whilst Lucy is dismissed as merely a woman, with no connections and lacking the demonstratively confrontational and consistently unwavering commitment to Catholicism which Aveling so frequently required before acknowledging someone as a true Catholic of the era. Aveling's definition of the true provision of a Catholic education appears to rely on the presence of Catholic priests or at the very least a classically educated male tutor. He concluded that the only real home tutor was Gerard Fawden, the recusant tutor to Marmduke Tunstall's children in Barningham.¹⁹

The fact that tutors were frequently cited on the lists surely indicated that they remained central to educational provisions of the era, and the fact that so many were confirmed or suspected to be Catholics also indicated that, in terms of basic educational provision, this was an important method for Yorkshire Catholics. Much as with the development of household Catholicism paralleling a trend for private chapels amongst the wealthy to ensure private family devotion, so too did the use of Catholic tutors develop within an already established trend for home tutoring.

The accounts given of tutors in 1604 also suggest something about the prejudices and xenophobia of the period. In Thryburgh parish Sir Thomas Reresby was noted as

¹⁹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 292; Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 86.

having a Scottish man, George Egleseme, as schoolmaster to his children.²⁰ Meanwhile in Normanton a 'Lancaster man' was retained by Mr. Thimbleby.²¹ This may also suggest that xenophobic and regional prejudices were being overcome via a shared religion and the associated religious needs or alternatively that the authorities compiling the survey viewed Catholicism as being associated with 'foreigners'. Certainly many of the tutors cited must have obtained their learning from sources other than the English universities indicating that Catholicism did lead to contact with 'foreigners' and thus may have further generated suspicion about such men.²²

Even if the Catholic gentry chose to send their sons to school, this did not necessarily mean that they would be receiving a Protestant education. Cliffe asserted that '[u]ntil the closing decades of the sixteenth century it was not unusual for even a hardened Catholic to enter his sons at such public grammar schools as St. Peter's York, Ripon and Pocklington'.²³ This may be slight exaggeration, as the evidence produced by examining these sample Catholic families rather suggests that home tuition was the

²⁰ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 6. The editor of this text suggests that this man was a wandering scholar, educated at Louvain, which would certainly fit into the profile of Catholic tutors of the period.

²¹ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, pp. 12-13.

²² Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxoniense*. Very few of the men cited appear in the university registers. A Christopher Taylor of Yorkshire was at Oriel College and is noted to have matriculated 2 July 1585 aged 20 making this possibly the same man (p. 1458). From the other men cited, there were numerous William Kings named but none look to be the man named in this survey (pp. 854-5). A Richard Baldwin of Lancaster was at Brasenose College in 1602 then aged 17, however his presence there in 1605 for his BA suggests that this was not the Richard Bawddwen [Bauldwen] named in the survey (p. 61). A George Thimbleby and a William Thimbleby, both of Lincoln, were to be found in the registers of Oxford in 1586 aged 10 and 12 years respectively, but the Thimbleby listed in the survey is noted as a Lancastrian casting doubt on these being either of the men in question (p. 1469).

norm for the Catholic gentleman, yet Cliffe's point that even such establishments as these had 'teachers with popish sympathies' is valid and is indicative of the circumstances in Yorkshire that permitted the Catholic community to survive.²⁴ Thus the provision of primary education was certainly possible within the Catholic community in England. But what of higher educational provision?

3. Higher Education: The Universities and Inns of Court

Gentry Education: The Universities

The English universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been established for many years by the sixteenth century although the Yorkshire gentry had made somewhat sparing use of them. Higher education, in the form of a university education, in the later middle ages was essentially designed for those taking up a religious life. Alan Cobban points to it as an exclusively male, almost monastic education system, which was also aligned to create the secular clergy, despite all attempts by the English universities to 'define themselves as essentially lay corporations.'²⁵ The medieval universities do not appear to have been favoured by the Yorkshire families focused upon here nor by the Yorkshire gentry as a whole. Their lack of enthusiasm for allowing their sons to join the secular clergy, instead favouring the local monastic institutions, would explain their apathy towards Oxford and Cambridge. After all

²³ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 72.

²⁴ Ibid. Two school masters at Ripon, Edmund Brown and John Nettleton, were noted as being Catholic.

²⁵ A.B. Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1999), pp.2-3.

theological education was only needed by those wishing for a life in academia or amongst the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the land.

This is not, however, to say that none of the sample family members reached these exalted heights prior to the Reformation, nor that all Yorkshire gentry families ignored the possibilities opened by a university education. Thomas Gascoigne had risen to the position of chancellor of Oxford in the fifteenth century, and Dr. William Vavasour had risen within the monastic structure, following a theological education that was significant enough to lead to him being consulted on the matter of Henry VIII's divorce in 1530s.²⁶

In the post-Reformation era the predominant writings on the history of education have determined that the gentry throughout England became far more willing to send their sons to the universities. Cliffe in his study of Yorkshire states that '[o]f the heads of families in 1642 a total of 172 received a university education'.²⁷ Heal and Holmes too used these figures to support their argument that there was a growing trend for university education amongst those gentlemen who had the financial means to support their sons.²⁸ When this figure is seen as a percentage of the total numbers of families (which Cliffe states to be 679), it is perhaps not so impressive as this means just less than a quarter (25%) of the heads of gentry families had experienced university

²⁶ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, p. 455; L. Stone (ed.), *The University in Society: Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the Early 19th Century*, 1 (London, 1975), pp. 122-3, 125-6.

²⁷ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 73-4.

²⁸ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 270.

education.²⁹ Also what is vital to note is that of the 247 families who ensured that their eldest sons had some higher education, 162 chose the Inns which is over half the number of families. Only 92 gentlemen of Yorkshire saw fit to give their sons the experience of both a university and an Inn, despite the overwhelming impression coming from writing of the period that this was the preference. For example William Wentworth, giving his rather prescriptive advice to his son, the future earl of Strafford, wrote that: 'All your SONNES would go to the university at xiii yeares old and staie thear two or three yeares, then to the ynns of court, before xvii years of age....'³⁰ Yet this assertion that the family should see the universities as a prelude to studying the law at the Inns seems to have been no more than idealised posturing. Despite William's assertion that 'all sonnes' should go to the universities, the Wentworth family made little use of them. William and Thomas' conforming religious beliefs meant that fear of prosecution did not prevent their attendance. It is more likely that even by the seventeenth century the majority of Yorkshire families were maintaining the pre-Reformation trend of either sending their sons straight to the Inns from home or allowing them to attend the courts of chancery for a year prior to their entrance to the Inns.³¹ In fact, from the Wentworth family, only George Wentworth

²⁹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 73. Cliffe stated that of 679 gentry families in Yorkshire in 1642, there were (a) 79 heads of families who went to a university only, (b) 70 who went to an inn of court only, (c) 92 who attended both a university and an Inn of Court, (d) 4 went to a Catholic college only, (e) 1 went to a Catholic college and an inn of court and (f) 1 attended all three, a Catholic college, a university and an inn of court. (A total of 247 obtained some kind of formal higher education leaving 432 who experienced no higher education.)

³⁰ Cooper, *Wentworth Papers*, p. 21.

³¹ E.W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England: Thomas Keball, A Case Study* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 36.

appears in the Oxford Registers (1593/4) indicating that he is the exception rather than the rule in attending university.³²

It is clear that the sample families favoured the Inns over the Universities in the post-Reformation era. Aveling believes that their presence at the Inns can be explained through their desire to secure their sons an education, whilst avoiding the more Protestant atmosphere of the Universities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and he in any case presses for the more significant rôle of the Catholic schools on the continent.³³ The universities had been taken under close supervision in 1535, at the same time as the monasteries, due to their ecclesiastical origins and structures.³⁴ The Protestantisation of the universities was, however, a slow process, with the revival of Catholicism in Mary's reign further delaying the reformers' progress.³⁵ It was only in 1581 that the Catholic religion was seen as a barrier to entry. Stone concluded that this 'new regulation successfully banned Roman Catholics from

³² C.W. Boase, *Registers of the University of Oxford, 1449-63: 1505-71*, 1 (Oxford, 1885); A. Clark, *Registers of the University of Oxford, 1571-1622*, 2 [parts 1, 2, 3 & 4] (Oxford, 1887-89). Between 1449 and 1622, there are eight recorded members of the Wentworth family at Oxford; the majority of these come from the Nettlested branch of the Wentworth family.

³³ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 294-295.

³⁴ D. Logan, 'The First Royal Visitation of the English Universities, 1535', *English Historical Review*, 106 (1991), 861-88. This article discusses the curriculum changes at the universities along with the possible opponents of change. It concludes that '[t]he most serious change without doubt was the closing of the canon law faculties. These faculties, which had formed generations of practitioners in the church courts and administrators in the ecclesiastical apparatus, were no more. Yet the teaching of Roman law in the faculties of civil law, weakened by the loss of canon law, continued....' (p.888). The control of the universities' faculties of law thus ensued that the flows to the Inns of Court increased amongst those who wished to study and enter the profession and amongst the religious conservatives of the post-Henrician period, who wished to by-pass the universities.

³⁵ N. Wood, *The Reformation and English Education* (London, 1934), p. 280.

the university.³⁶ Yet the conclusion that the legislation was successful is also doubtful. Victor Morgan discussed the Catholic influence at Cambridge, which was perceived as the more Protestant of the two English Universities, stating that the Archbishop of York, Dr. Sandys, was forced to write requesting that Catholic pupils be refused entry and tutelage under the guidance of the crypto-Catholic Dr. Caius at Gonville. Sandys complained that:

...the popish gentlemen in this county [Yorkshire] send their sons to him [and] he setteth sundry of them over to one Swayl, also of the same house, by whom the youth of this county is corrupted: that at their return to their parents, they are able to dispute in defence of popery and few of them will repair to the church.³⁷

Catholics from the families being examined here were also to be found at the universities in the period after 1581. Ironically the one member of the Vavasour family to attend Cambridge was one of the most active Catholics in York in his later years.³⁸ Thomas Vavasour was at St. John's College, Cambridge and received his BA in 1536-7 and his MA in 1537-8; the University doctrine was of course still Catholic at this time thus making his attendance less problematic for his Yorkshire family. He was still at the University in 1547 when he affirmed his strong Catholic beliefs at the Visitation.³⁹ He continued his education in Venice, before returning to Yorkshire to practice as a doctor, though his return to the universities in England was obviously

³⁶ Stone, *University in Society*, pp. 6-7.

³⁷ V. Morgan, 'Cambridge University and "The Country", 1560-1640', in Stone, *University in Society*, pp. 207-8.

³⁸ C.H. and T. Cooper (ed.), *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1 (Cambridge, 1858), p. 327; R. Rex, 'Thomas Vavasour, MD', *Recusant History*, 20 (1990-1), 436-54.

³⁹ Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1, p. 327; 3, p. 121. He affirmed his belief in transubstantiation at the 1549 visitation (25 June).

expected in 1556 when a request was made by Alexander Acock for St Mary's College to be used by Thomas and six other students.⁴⁰ It would appear that Thomas never returned to Cambridge, so the request for accommodation made on his behalf was unnecessary; he instead relied on the education he obtained abroad in his future career.

The Lawson family, whose branches reached from Yorkshire into the North-east (Durham), had four sons at the universities, all of whom were there after 1581. William Lawson was at Oxford c. 1583-4;⁴¹ Edmund was at Gloucester House c. 1595, along with Ralph Lawson, from the Durham branch of the family, who had been at the same college in 1586/7.⁴² William Lawson of Yorkshire was at Christ Church c. 1606 and was awarded his BA on 10 February 1609/10, indicating that his presence there had been at least three years and supporting the idea that by the Stuart era the desire for education was seen as a serious pursuit, rather than merely a suitable way for a gentleman to spend his time.⁴³ From these four men it appears only Edward followed what was thought to be the traditional course (advised by William Wentworth) and attended the university and then went on to the Inns.⁴⁴ This is perhaps less surprising as he was the second son of Sir Ralph Lawson of Brough and,

⁴⁰ Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1, p. 327; Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 2 [2], p. 286.

⁴¹ Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, v.2 [2], p. 133.

⁴² Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, v.2 [2], pp. 157, 211.

⁴³ Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, v.2 [2], p. 292.

⁴⁴ J. Foster (ed.), *The Register of Admissions of Gray's Inn 1521-1889* (London, 1889), p. 97. Edward was recorded as being at Oxford c. 1595 and was then recorded as being at Gray's Inn c.1599. This would fulfil the criteria of spending three to four years at the universities before moving on to the study of law at the Inns.

therefore, unlikely to inherit. The importance of education to the younger sons of gentlemen was perhaps greater in the climate of the early seventeenth century, as incomes from the land could no longer ensure that a gentleman would not have to work.

Which University?

The association of certain university colleges with particular areas of the country has been proven in many cases, for example Peterhouse college was Lancastrian, Brasenose College recruited from Lancashire and Cheshire, Corpus Christi had links with Rochdale Grammar School, Jesus College took over fifty percent of its students from Wales and Exeter College favoured Devon and Cornwall.⁴⁵ Yorkshire, or at least Protestant Yorkshire, has traditionally been seen as favouring Cambridge, due to its geographical location, the strength of its Protestantism and the links that Yorkshire grammar schools had with the colleges there.⁴⁶ These links were perhaps not as applicable to the Catholic gentry of the county, yet frequently they viewed regional loyalties and connections as significant, and an examination of their preferred university will indicate whether they rejected Yorkshire's regional connections with Cambridge due to their religious beliefs. The Fairfax presence at the universities was slightly greater than that of many of their Yorkshire gentry counterparts, but it was limited to the Stuart era. Henry, Thomas and William Fairfax were all at Cambridge yet even for a family which was only marginally Catholic at this time this was still a

⁴⁵ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 161-3; Stone, *University in Society*, pp. 105-7.

small number and coincided with the interest in new ideas concerned with government and liberty, which centred around the university towns in the approach to war.⁴⁷ These ideas were obviously appealing to certain members of the Fairfaxes of Yorkshire as was seen through their allegiances during the Civil War.

The reasons that Catholic gentlemen and their sons had for avoiding the universities are clear and so it may be expected that little in the way of a pattern of attendance at certain colleges would be visible, yet the loyalty to a particular college that has been noted in Lancashire does not appear in looking at these families as an indicator of county preferences. It appears that that family loyalty and tradition rather than county loyalties determined which college a family's sons would attend. The Catholic gentry studied here do not appear to have preferred any college to another as being particularly favourable to either Catholics or Yorkshiremen. From the Catholic branches of the families only Christopher Danby appearing in the lists of Oriel College in October 1605 can clearly be identified as a Catholic, from a visibly active Catholic branch of the family, who still managed to attend University.⁴⁸ Their limited attendance may be one of the factors that result in no visible pattern occurring, though the fact that in every other area of life, from religious preferences, land transactions and marriage there occur certain common denominators between the families being

⁴⁶ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 74, 266. Protestant and radical colleges were Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, Queens' and Christ's at Cambridge.

⁴⁷ Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 2 [1], p. 372 and p. 358. Henry was at Cambridge in 1611.

⁴⁸ Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 2 [2], p. 285. This is presumably the young Christopher Danby, the son of his recusant mother Elizabeth Wentworth and Thomas Danby, rather than his older cousin, who shared the same name, though not the same good name or inheritance.

studied suggests that university education in England was an area in which they felt no desire to create a stronghold. The fact that they did, however, form the united patterns of a strong Catholic, northern orientated community at the continental schools suggest that by the 1590s their educational concerns had already been redirected into home education, the Inns of Court and the continental seminaries. Far more typical of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry are the Meynells who, along with the Wycliffs, did not favour the universities. The Meynells much preferred the religious security offered by the foreign seminaries, where the students were undoubtedly 'kept to ther studie ... and encoraged therto and kept from ryotouse companie'.⁴⁹ This was something that William Wentworth desired, but was something that the universities and Inns of Court could not guarantee. The new ideas that were being developed in the universities were something that the majority of Yorkshire gentleman were ill at ease with and this perhaps indicates that even the conformists amongst them would prefer the familiarity of the Inns to the risk of exposing their sons to new radical religious and social ideas which were entirely opposed to their conservative nature.

From the Cholmley family only two Yorkshiremen are noted to be at Oxford during this period. Thomas and Thoephilus were both at Trinity at the turn of the century, though neither of these men were from the Catholic branch of the family at Brandsby.⁵⁰ The fact that Trinity had been closely associated with Durham in the

⁴⁹ Cooper, *Wentworth Papers*, p. 21

⁵⁰ Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 1, p. 19; 2 [2], pp. 236, 244. Thomas was excused six terms absence in 1607/8 due to poverty. The other Cholmleys referred to in the registers, Hatton, Robert and Hugh are cited as descending from Cheshire, perhaps suggesting that they are from the Cholmondleigh family.

medieval period may suggest that regional loyalties were holding some sway in the Cholmley family's choice.

Three men holding the surname of Gascoigne were to be found in the Oxford registers between 1500 and 1630, John, William and Henry. The latter two were both from the Yorkshire branch of the family, though there is little evidence to suggest that they were Catholic. William was resident at Exeter College in the Michalmas term of 1581, whilst Henry appears to have been at Queen's for a longer period, from 1618 to 1622.⁵¹ It is unlikely that John Gascoigne was from the same family as the licence granted to him in 1562 to beg, under the surety of William Hivester of All Saints, indicates a poverty which the Yorkshire branch of the family were not suffering.⁵² At Cambridge, the notable George Gascoigne was under the tutelage of Stephen Nevynson at Trinity College in 1577. His family had by this stage detached itself from the main Yorkshire branch of the family as their affiliation with Cambridge rather than Oxford may indicate.⁵³

The universities were used by the Yorkshire gentry, though at no time, even prior to the Reformation, do they appear to be as popular as the Inns of Court. Heal and Holmes state that 'we are accustomed to thinking that the gentry followed university

⁵¹ Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 2 [1], pp. 280, 282; 2 [2], pp. 99, 375.

⁵² Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 2 [2], p.4.

⁵³ S.T. Bindoff, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558*, II (London, 1982), p. 192; Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1, pp. 374, 565; P.W. Hasler, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603*, II (London, 1981), p. 171. The George Gascoigne referred to here later went onto the Middle Temple and Gray's Inn where he found himself in a great deal of debt. He later

by the Inns of Court in a routine that was almost pre-destined in the century after 1550'.⁵⁴ The idea that university education occurred before going to the Inns to study law does not appear to be supported by the activities of the sample families and therefore suggested that the accustomed way of thinking about education in the Tudor and Stuart eras is incorrect, especially for the Catholic or conservative gentry families. If the Universities were rejected, on the whole, by both Protestant and Catholic family members alike, as appears to be the case here, why were the Inns considered so much more attractive?

The Law and the Inns of Court.

Throughout the reigns of Elizabeth I and her immediate Stuart successors the notion appears to have persisted that the Inns of Court were much infected by popery.⁵⁵

This assertion forms the opening sentence to the 1976 *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Special Supplement* by Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, and continues as a theme throughout his short book on Elizabethan recusants at the Inns of Court. Yet contemporary perceptions of a 'popish environment' and the reality for Catholics often proved to be very different. If this 'notion' were true then it would appear immediately to explain the attractiveness of the Inns over the Universities. Yet the Inns were in the south, in the heart of London and as such close to the court and its

achieved note as poet and MP. Edward Gascoigne, MP for Thetfordn is also noted as attending Cambridge. (*Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1, p. 555).

⁵⁴ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 270.

⁵⁵ G. de C. Parmiter, 'Elizabethan Popish Recusancy in the Inns of Court', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research: Special Supplement*, 11 (1976), 1-59, particularly p. 1.

Protestant influence. The Yorkshire Catholic community operated in the north, with apparently infrequent contact with the south, so what value did the Yorkshire families place on the educational facilities that the Inns provided, did they make use of them and, if so, to what extent did they play a rôle in the life of a Yorkshire Catholic gentleman?

It would appear that the Inns of Court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were well used by the recusant communities, with many sons of those families who contained either known or suspected recusants, appearing in the records. Entry into the law was an increasingly common phenomena during the Tudor and Stuart period. The value of lawyers was recognised by Henry VII whose use of them was well known, the most notable examples being Empson and Dudley, who enhanced the profile, though perhaps not the reputation, of the profession.⁵⁶ Cromwell too achieved greatness for a brief time and could be seen to have owed this prosperity, at least initially, to his training in the law. With the aspiring having these rôle models and combined with the increased amount of litigation entered into by the Yorkshire gentry, it is unsurprising that the ranks of the Inns swelled.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London, 1987), pp. 150-1. Chrimes discusses the Council Learned in the Law and emphasises that the common denominator to all the personnel was legal training.

⁵⁷ A. Esler, *The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation* (Durham, 1966), pp. 24-25. Esler put forward the view that traditionally ambition was seen as a social evil, yet by the Elizabethan age Marlowe and others of his generation were writing in praise of 'the aspiring mind'. Despite this humanistic approach, which tried to paint the ambition as a continuation of the renaissance in terms of religious and social change Esler reaches the conclusion that the Elizabethans failed to live up to their ideals, abandoning them for economic gain and financial prosperity. (p.148)

5.1 Family Members at the Inns of Court 1500-1640⁵⁹

| FAMILY | GRAY'S INN | LINCOLN'S INN | MIDDLE TEMPLE | INNER TEMPLE | TOTAL |
|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| Cholmley | 10 | 2? | 1 | 2 | 15 |
| Danby | 2 | ? | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Fairfax | 8 | ? | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Gascoigne | 4 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 11 |
| Lawson | 8 | 1? | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| Meynell | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Norton | 10 | 0? | 0 | 6 | 16 |
| Stapleton | 5 | ? | 2 | 4 | 11 |
| Vavasour | 4 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 12 |
| Wentworth | 11 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 23 |
| Wycliffe | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Wyville | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Total | 66 | 16 | 17 | 17 | 124 |

The majority of the families examined made what would appear to be the logical choice by sending their sons to Gray's Inn. The Gascoigne family appear to be somewhat of an aberration in their choice of Inns; unlike the majority of Yorkshire families they appeared to favour the Middle Temple for their sons' education in the law, over Gray's Inn, although Gray's Inn does come a very close second in their preferences.⁶⁰ The fact that the Gascoignes of Bedfordshire also favoured the Middle Temple is indicative of the family loyalty overriding any county loyalties and trends. The earliest records of the Middle Temple, beginning in 1501, show that William Gascoigne of Cardington, Bedfordshire was at the Temple and was keen to avoid the

⁵⁹ Uncertainty as to whether the individual is from the Yorkshire branch of the family and/or doubt as to the accuracy of the record is denoted by a ? next to the figure.

⁶⁰ W. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts 1590-1640* (London, 1972), pp. 32-33. The Bedfordshire branch of the Gascoigne family also preferred the Middle Temple, despite Gray's Inn also being the most popular choice for Bedfordshire families.

office of Marshal, preferring the fine to the tasks involved with the office.⁶¹ The family in Bedfordshire were descended from the second marriage of Lord Chief Justice William Gascoigne, yet both they and the Yorkshire Gascoignes show common loyalties in their respect for training in the law, suggesting that 'family tradition' was as important in choosing which Inn as it had been in the more limited choice of which university.

The socially ambitious Protestant could make use of the law and the Inns of Court: the ease of access to London and court were valuable to the ambitious gentleman's son and actually practising law could supplement income and provide access to profitable offices. The conformist gentleman could progress socially and monetarily through practising the law and the connections and contacts made at the Inns, if he managed to avoid the debts and temptations London offered. For the recusant gentleman things were different as access to a Protestant court and network were in theory at least out of bounds to all but the Catholic nobility or the very brave. Yet the Inns of Court and the legal profession did have much to offer the sons of recusant gentry in terms of freedom of movement, protection and a career.

The Yorkshire gentry had long seen the possibilities that the Inns of Court offered: their presence at the Inns offered opportunities not available in their home county. The Inns harboured not just those wishing to take up the law as a profession, but also those

⁶¹ C.T. Martin et al (ed.), *Middle Temple Records*, 1 (London, 1904-5), p. 2.

gentry sons who were spending time there to finish their education, or in the case of some, such as George Gascoigne, gaining an education in those matters which their parents had definitely not envisaged.⁶² For most sons though the Inns offered a relatively safe environment, ease of access to London, and to court if they so desired. Training in the law was also invaluable even to those who were not to enter the profession, but were destined to return home to their family estates in the north. Knowledge of the law ensured that they were able to secure places of significance in their county such as becoming a JP and was an advantage in the frequent land disputes that permeated the Tudor and Stuart period. R.B. Smith rather over-emphasises the change in the structure of society in creating professional men, but does make the very valid point that 'prominent Riding families whose fortunes had derived from success in legal practice during the fifteenth century included Fairfax, Vavasour and Gascoigne'.⁶³ Prior to the Reformation there had been a number of Yorkshire families who had made valuable use of the Inns of Court, some like Sir William Gascoigne (d. 1412) achieving notability through practising the law.⁶⁴

For the Yorkshire Catholic gentry of the post Reformation period, the same reasons for attending the Inns of Court still applied, but new reasons for valuing the Inns were added.

⁶² *D.N.B.*, 21, 36-47; Hasler, *History of Parliament*, II, pp. 171-172; F. Schelling, *The Life and Writing of George Gascoigne* (New York, 1893), p. 8.

⁶³ Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 89.

⁶⁴ Leeds, WCYRO, Gascoigne MSS, GC/F5/1, 100b; Foster, *Pedigrees*, 1; Coleman, 'History of Barwick in Elmet', p.134. Sir William Gascoigne became Lord Chief Justice of England and is most noted for imprisoning the future Henry V, for contempt of court. Richard Gascoigne wrote of the event

Networks and Patronage

Firstly the Catholic network that allowed marriages to be secured was also at work in the wider country. The patronage of members of the Inns that were themselves Catholic allowed a safe environment to be created for the young sons of the gentry. This allowed them to receive an education in England, whilst also remaining under supervision. The harsher climate of the late Elizabethan period saw this decline and can perhaps indicate why the continental seminaries became more popular as the application of laws against Catholics became more stringent.

Education, whatever form it took in the period, was not an inexpensive exercise. Once in the capital, rooms had to be secured, lodgings, food and living costs paid for and travel between home and the Inns needed to be arranged, meaning the expense of horses or carriages was incurred. Marmaduke Cholmley's time at the Inns was funded by his recusant uncle Richard Cholmley. It appears from his accounts that this was an expensive process. Richard kept detailed records of the costs of keeping Marmaduke at the Inns and accompanied him to London for the first time in November 1619, beginning the section, 'I take Marmaduke Cholmley up with me to the Innes of Court'. He stated that it took five nights and six days to make the journey from Saxton to London and that they hired a coachman and two 'coachmeares' for which he was

and of Sir William's rise to power. This action also secured him a rôle in Shakespeare's dramatisation of the Lancastrian dynasty in *Henry IV*, part II, act V, scene II.

charged nine shillings per day.⁶⁵ In addition to this was the cost of ale for the coachman, hay for the horses and the cost of their re-shoeing, grease for the coach and labour cost for the 'greaser' who applied it.⁶⁶ It would appear that new clothes were also required so that the right impression could be made as further purchases were made to obtain Marmaduke's attire which included 'satten dublitt clothe for breches', £4 11s. 6d. for his gown, 11s. for ribbon and a tailor's bill of £5 18s. 4d.⁶⁷

Marmaduke, or 'Duke' as Richard called him, appears to have been greatly favoured as the tailoring bill for his apparel far exceeded the bill for the tailoring of Richard and his wife's clothes, which only came to 16s. 8d. Richard also secured Marmaduke's lodgings close to the Inns.

He with Mr. Andrew Yonge went to ther chamber in Mrs. Hewes howse in Sct. Clements layne upon Saturday after noone but should have begonne the Thursday before for 4s. each week ther chamber. I gave Duke to put in his purse and make me account as he spent it by writing xs. ____ sence 7 lawebooks 15s 6d to put in his purse sence xs. Mrs. Hewes 2 note. ... Duke's trunke cost 9s ... lawebookes xvs vjd.⁶⁸

Marmaduke it appears made the most of the opportunities offered him by his proximity to the capital and incurred numerous debts, which his father Thomas Cholmley attributed to the stringent financial arrangements made by Richard which were insufficient for Marmaduke's needs. A later account which stated that by

⁶⁵ NYCRO, Cholmley Papers and Memoranda Book, ZQG/MIC 1456, f. 93; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 184.

⁶⁶ *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 184. The cost of ale appeared on average as between 5d and 10d, grease as 4d and the greaser 2d, shoeing also cost 2d. On the way to London he also had to pay to have the seating in the coach re-stuffed which cost 16d.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

December 1619 Marmaduke had already 'lost one of his shirts, and the key of the new truncke I bought him which cost ix. vjd.' does however appear to suggest that Marmaduke was not especially careful with his uncle's money.⁶⁹ This case does illustrate quite plainly that recusants were able to exercise patronage to fund the education of young men in the law and that recusancy was no barrier.

Patronage and connections at the Inns of Court were also exercised much as they were within the Catholic marriage networks. In the 1580s, when the situation for recusants in Yorkshire had become increasingly tense, Richard Gascoigne of Sedbury sent his son and heir, William, to the Middle Temple. Once there Richard was bound to John Marvin and John Girlington.⁷⁰ The Girlingtons were also a Yorkshire family, and John Girlington and his wife were finally noted to have converted to recusancy in 1603-1604, although the family was noted as being marginal in religion throughout the Elizabethan period, suggesting that they were sympathetic to, if not practising, Catholics.⁷¹ This suggests that not only was it possible to maintain the county and religious affiliations at the Middle Temple where Yorkshiremen and recusants were fewer in number, but that the network could still work effectively to shelter younger sons. The connection between marginal/recusant families was maintained at the Inns of Court, following through the links that were upheld within the county through marriage, social association and common sympathies in religion and attitudes.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 185

⁷⁰ Martin, *Middle Temple Records*, p. 265

⁷¹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p.176.

Making connections that allowed networks to develop and patronage to be secured was not limited to Catholic connections that could be made via the Inns. Peter Vavasour who was at the Middle Temple in 1572 appears to have engaged in business with Thomas Heneage of the Queen's chamber concerning the surrender of all the Vavasours' estates and interests in Thornton, and the connected houses and other lands in Yorkshire.⁷² Thus the very act of attending the Inns could place sons in an ideal position to make socially and financially profitable advancements.

Career and prosperity

Secondly, the Inns also offered the chance of a career and prosperity. This was particularly important for the younger sons of the Catholic gentry, who could no longer rely on a secured income. The growth of a career-minded 'middle class' deriving from the younger branches of gentry stock is something that increasingly became a feature of the Stuart years.⁷³ In his discussion of society Christopher Brooks asks the question 'Where ... do the professional people fit in?'⁷⁴ The law allowed the gentry and the lower classes to mingle; often the gentry in the post-Reformation

⁷² CSPD, 1547-1580, p. 454.

⁷³ Prest, *Inns of Court*, pp. 21-46. Chapter 2, 'The Quality of Membership' discusses the trend in the 'influx of well-born amateur students in the late sixteenth century...' (p.40) and the reversion to the traditional rôle of the Inns as places to educate lawyers by the Stuart era. This supports the fact that most of those attending the Inns from the Yorkshire Catholic gentry families were doing so to gain an education in the law, as the financial situation of most of the families did not permit them to make an ostentatious show of their wealth. Prest continues in this chapter to emphasise the 'economic squeeze on middling landholders' (p.46) that prevented them using the Inns as a gentry finishing school.

⁷⁴ Barry and Brooks, *Middling Sort*, p. 143.

period had risen from the middling classes and by the Stuart era some younger sons were returning to this professional middle class.

There is certainly some evidence to suggest that younger sons of these Catholic gentry families were attempting to create a career path for themselves in the law, though for many it was not a life-long occupation but a pre-cursor to their inheritance or profitable marriage.

William Gascoigne practised as a lawyer, despite being the eldest son and heir to George Gascoigne and the Cardington lands.⁷⁵ William's presence at the Middle Temple appears to have been for a significant length of time (from the late 1480s/early 1490s to 1506), showing that the practice of law was an important part of William's life. It would appear that William ended his close connections with the Middle Temple in 1506, possibly having come into his inheritance, as he was discharged from 'occupying or exercising any office within the Middle Temple'. He was, however, granted the privilege of being able to lodge there, along with his wife, whenever his business brought him to the London area. This further supports the fact that he was returning home to run the estate.⁷⁶ Even as a gentleman in the pre-Reformation era, both in terms of education and career, the Inns of Court and their subsequent access to the legal community played an important rôle for him. This

⁷⁵ Foster, *Pedigrees*, 1; Ives, *Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England*, p. 4. This indicates that William Gascoigne was involved in a deal with Thomas Kebell, a 'career lawyer', to obtain lands from the feoffees of Thomas Heslington of Trumpington, c. 1480s. This indicates that William's connection with the Middle Temple was a long one and therefore that he was involved in practising law for a significant period of time.

⁷⁶ Martin, *Middle Temple Records*, 1, p. 3.

suggests that the post-Reformation activities of these families were building upon already strong foundations and connections and were not merely a response to heightened religious awareness. Much as with the families' approach to vocations, politics and allegiances, a careful balance of adherence to traditional values was being mixed with an adaptation to changing circumstances. The Yorkshire gentry were not backward but conservative and happily they found that conservatism and the law meshed well in the late Tudor era.

From the Gascoigne family, George Gascoigne, the sixth son of John Gascoigne of Lasincroft, entered the Middle Temple on 6 February 1560.⁷⁷ The law was a suitable occupation for younger sons and this was readily accepted by many gentry families of the era, with Thomas the second son of Henry Gascoigne of Sedbury also entering the Middle Temple in 1565.⁷⁸ George certainly made use of his training, becoming a Master of the Bench at the Inn. He eventually returned to the traditional gentry preserve, settling in Northamptonshire, though his son Nicholas also entered the Middle Temple in 1590, two years after his father's death, suggesting that the choice was his own and that attending the Inns was something that both he and his father considered to be beneficial.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Martin, *Middle Temple Records*, 1, p. 126.

⁷⁸ Martin, *Middle Temple Records*, 1, p.149. Entry is dated 2 July.

⁷⁹ Martin, *Middle Temple Records*, 1, p. 315. The Middle Temple records stated that he was bound with his father in 1590; this must have been arranged prior to his father's death or indicated that George was already at the Inn prior to this date with his father. The fact that he still took up the position following the death of his father suggested that by the 1590s this had become the acceptable pattern within the family.

Many of these men continued to be involved in the law within their local communities, but this is not to say that every case was a success story. Not all were as successful as they might have been and opposition did exist. In 1589 a letter from Richard Lane to Richard Oseley indicated that the former was attempting to block the career path of Nicholas Vavasour in preventing him obtaining the office of attorney in the Court of Requests. Richard Lane's objection to Vavasour appears to be based upon a fear that his own service at the Court for eighteen or nineteen years would be overlooked and that Vavasour 'is already sufficiently preferred by his father, and that he is likely to be so advanced by his marriage as to live without that office.'⁸⁰ The obtaining of the office is not as important here as that fact that this makes it clear that despite the continuing availability of landed wealth and a traditional title to the sons of these families, many were also choosing to practice that law as a profession, meaning that the Inns became more important than merely a finishing school for a gentleman's education.

Recusancy and avoiding detection

Thirdly, the Inns, despite their proximity to London and the court, had a 'particular' status, with confused jurisdiction. This, combined with the fluctuating nature of the population there and a general unwillingness on the part of the authorities to enforce

⁸⁰ *CSPD, 1580-1625*, p. 265.

the blanket legislation, meant that they represented something of a safe-haven for those not of a conformist background.

The students were to some extent sheltered from the attempts made to legislate religion. Geoffery Parmiter stated that: 'The requirements to take the oath [Section nine, Act of Supremacy] did not apply to barristers or students (inner barristers), and it does not appear to have had any great effect on the bench.'⁸¹ The students may have been excluded from taking the Oath of Supremacy, but they were not excused from the law and the Act of Uniformity, which applied to all under Elizabeth's rule.⁸² Yet Catholic students were able to attend the Inns of Court.

The members of the Inns of Court lived a life that was collegiate or communal to a large extent. They were either practitioners or students of the same profession... and during term they lived together in the chambers of their respective Inns. The Inns thus formed tightly knit communities with common interests that bred a tolerance and forbearance among their members which tended to mitigate the religious and political animosities that were noticeable outside their walls.⁸³

Ironically, this made them almost a safe haven for those who wished to avoid detection and for most recusant students making a pretence of conformity, which may have involved swearing to the Oath of Uniformity, posed little moral uncertainty.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Parmiter, *Elizabethan Popish Recusancy*, p.3.

⁸² Parmiter, *Elizabethan Popish Recusancy*, p.6.

⁸³ Parmiter, *Elizabethan Popish Recusancy*, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁴ Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, pp. 363-68; Parmiter, *Elizabethan Popish Recusancy*, pp. 3, 6-8; Prest, *Inns of Court*, pp. 174-86.

A hotbed of 'Radical Catholicism'

Lastly, the Inns, as seats of learning, could become a haven for unorthodox ideas. Just as radical Protestant ideas were fostered by the younger generation at the turn of the century, so too were the new reformed Catholic ideas, coming from the continent. The danger here was that these new ideas could change into a radical form of Catholicism, and that unlike the traditional conservative Catholicism upheld in the north, the Inns could form a hotbed of Catholic intrigue and plots. The connection between the Middle Temple and the Gunpowder Plot was to lend credence to these ideas by the early Stuart era.

The Inns of Court had the potential to become a true haven for the counter-Reformation, filled as they were with young men between eighteen and twenty-five years, who were open to new ideas, eager to learn and to a large extent devoid of the restrictive supervision of their elders. Certainly numerous complaints were made by those in authority, expressing similar sentiments to those of Archbishop Parker in 1571, who was dismayed at the 'over-bold speeches and doing touching religion'.⁸⁵ Certainly the Inns did see a greater concentration of more radical ideas than elsewhere in the country, both Catholic and Protestant, although again the expression of Catholic ideas still seems to have been rather tame in comparison to some of the theatricals that were connected with Protestant displays, such as those engaged in by law student

⁸⁵ Prest, *Inns of Court*, p. 175.

Robert Brigges, whose ongoing argument with Satan appears to have entertained the legal communities at the Middle Temple for days.⁸⁶

Two members of the Vavasour family were connected to the more radical Catholics at the Inns of Court at the beginning of the seventeenth century and were suspected in the Gunpowder plot both because of their relationship with the Treshams and the fact that one of them was found to have possession of a Catholic text in his rooms at the Inn. The possession of Catholic texts certainly became of increasing concern to the authorities as the Stuart era progressed. Anthony Milton has examined the concern of the religious authorities to monitor and censor all religious texts being produced in early Stuart England, citing that the sermons of Edward Maie, a preacher at Lincoln's Inn, were altered to give them a 'more Protestant direction'.⁸⁷ The copying out of Catholic texts was also a concern to the authorities, which was an activity that also appeared to focus upon centres of learning such as the Inns.

The Inns were a place where Catholic sons came to be educated in the law and therefore, unsurprisingly, they did produce a concentration of Catholics who heard mass, discussed Catholic ideas and read Catholic texts. Prest stated that the missionary

⁸⁶ K. Sands, 'John Foxe: Exorcist', *History Today*, 51 (2001), 37-43. Brigges' Catholic background and his feelings of obligation to convert to Protestantism are illustrative of the difficulties faced by those at the Inns who needed some element of conformity to guarantee their success in the law. Whilst Sands paints this dilemma accurately, the focus of the article upon Foxe's persuasive sermons ensures that she fails to acknowledge that Catholics could and did make a pretence of conformity in swearing the oath of supremacy whilst also hearing mass at the Inns and then going on to practice law within a Catholic community.

⁸⁷ Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy', pp. 625-51, especially p. 628.

priests regarded the Inns as their prime target, yet this does not appear to be true.⁸⁸ They were visited by the missionary priests, and perhaps more frequently than the Catholic strongholds of the north that Haigh portrays as woefully neglected by the mission, yet the mission appears to have targeted specifically London and the large houses of the south.⁸⁹ The Inns were therefore a place where a Catholic could receive an education and gain relatively frequent access to priests, yet they were not the 'hotbed for radical Catholicism' that they could have been. Haigh would perhaps condemn the missionary priests for failing to seize on this opportunity, but this was not a failure, because the vast majority of Catholics in England did not want radicalism.

The Inns of Court were a far safer option than the universities by the end of the sixteenth century, but by this time the Catholic families also had another alternative available to them, the foreign seminaries. They were undoubtedly more religiously secure than either the universities or the Inns of Court, yet the Inns continued to receive students from Yorkshire, from the Catholic families of Yorkshire and from the sample of twelve in this study, even after the seminaries had become well established. Their continued popularity demonstrated that the Inns were, as far as they could be in Protestant England, what the Catholic gentry wanted; a training ground in the law which had access to Catholic services and clergy and in which a Catholic community, albeit a small one, could survive to produce Catholic lawyers.

⁸⁸ Prest, *Inns of Court*, p. 175.

⁸⁹ C. Haigh, 'Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 394-406, esp. pp. 402-3 where Haigh stated that the focus of the mission was on gentry houses in the South-East.

The Continental Schools

The majority of texts that discuss the education of recusants appear to assume that once established the continental seminaries would be the natural and only choice for the recusant gentry.⁹⁰ Yet as is obvious from the proceeding discussion this was not the case. The continental schools undeniably offered a Catholic education that could be obtained in relative safety once the actual journeying to and from the continent had been made. Their disadvantages are often highlighted; they were at a great distance and only became available in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Yet this is not to say that they were not popular, nor that education on the continent was an entirely new concept to the gentry of Yorkshire.

Aveling correctly identified a long-standing custom in the North Riding, especially in coastal areas, such as Scarborough, of sending boys to Flanders or Paris for their education. He is of course keen to emphasise the rôle played by the newly inspired missionary and Jesuit priests, such as Allen, in recruiting to the seminaries, yet is forced to concede that even 'by 1582 very few Continentally-trained English mission priests had reached the North Riding', despite the fact that Douai had opened in 1568.⁹¹ The impetus for sending children abroad, rather, lies within the Catholic community itself. Following 1569 many families fled to the continent for refuge and the movement to the schools appears to rest with those determined to secure a Catholic education for their children. Those recusant gentlemen with the financial

⁹⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 259.

⁹¹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 53.

means could adapt existing practices and keep up with an increasing trend amongst their conformist counter-parts to permit their sons the experience of foreign travel and education as a part of their transition into manhood, whilst retaining their religious beliefs.

The rôle played by the Yorkshire gentry in establishing and maintaining the continental mission has been covered more extensively within a discussion of the rôle of the Yorkshire gentry in monasticism.⁹² The purpose here, however, is to look at the rôle of these institutions as an alternative to the higher education available in England. The rôle of these continental seminaries was primarily for the recruitment and education of men wishing to take up a vocation, whether this be secular, monastic or as a member of the Jesuit order.

The Meynell family of the North Riding illustrate the type of education provided by the continental schools. The letter of William Meynell, the fourth son of Anthony, provides some indication concerning the different perceptions of knowledge in the period. He indicates that there was a distinct difference between the knowledge needed to run an estate and household and the knowledge acquired through a classical education.

I hope want of years may pleade a faire excuse for want of complements, and my weaknesse in learning becume my intercessor to crave pardon for my unlearned lines. I was allwayes content to conforme my selfe to the bounds of a domesticke behaviour, but lest I might to tediusly rane at randome and delude your expectation.⁹³

⁹² See Chapter 4, pp. 225-284

⁹³ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 74.

Despite undergoing an education at the seminaries not all entered the priesthood and although the seminaries were an alternative to the educational facilities in England, they were by no means used to the exclusion of the Inns of Court or as a full replacement for home tutelage. For those who intended to take up a vocation they were an important training ground, putting them in contact with the reformed Catholic ideas that were prevalent on the continent.

The continent was also an option for women in the period, and education was an important element in both the establishment of the continental orders for women and their work. The experience and actions of these women are perhaps the best indication that an analysis, such as Aveling's, which is based on placing the Jesuit and male missionaries at the heart of an explanation of why Catholicism survived is fatally flawed.

The institute established by Mary Ward faced considerable opposition from clerics, both those in close proximity to the continental houses and at Rome. The institutions were to provide both educational and spiritual training, yet the vision the women themselves had of their rôle and that held by contemporary clerics appear to have been greatly at variance. Jean Hendrico, a contemporary chronicler, stated in 1609 that, 'they teach young girls to read, write and sew for the honour of God' and Bishop Blaise, though far more supportive of the movement than many of his peers stated that the institute 'sets forth a well-conceived plan for the education of girls, with a view to their training in godliness and the accomplishments befitting their sex.'⁹⁴ The fact that

⁹⁴ Littlehales, *Mary Ward*, pp. 10, 12.

Mary Ward and many other women were directed into enclosed orders is indicative of the rôle that was viewed suitable to their sex, yet their actions indicate that the education and training of a gentlewomen did leave them well able to cope with the situations facing them and their later 'hands-on' missionary work demonstrated that education was a tool used by women as a means of control.⁹⁵

The women were obviously highly educated for Winifrid Wigmore, a companion of Mary Ward, was fluent in five languages, indicating both ability and that she had undergone some education in her youth.⁹⁶ They also appear to have seen their ability to educate as a way of justifying their actions and existence and an important part of post-Reformation Catholicism. For example Mary and her followers attempted to prove themselves to a sceptical male clerical audience by opening schools for the poor in Rome and Naples, and Sister Dorothea's narrative indicated that providing a Catholic education was central to the women's missionary work in London in the early seventeenth century.

I dare not keep schools publicly, as we do beyond the seas, especially at my first coming ... but I teach and instruct children in the house of parents which I find to be a very good way, and by that occasion I get acquaintances, and so gaining first the affections of their parents, after with more facility their souls are converted to God. Besides teaching

⁹⁵ F. Medioli, 'An Unequal Law: The enforcement of *clausura* before and after the Council of Trent', in C. Meek (ed), *Women in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 136 and 152. This suggests that the implementation of *clausura* occurred only after Trent and that between 1536 and 1789 nuns in continental monasteries, particularly Italian monasteries, were restricted from living 'an active life'. This is particularly relevant to the current discussion, as English gentlewomen in particular appear to have expected to have an active role to play in maintaining their religion.

⁹⁶ Littlehales, *Mary Ward*, p. 9.

children I endeavour to instruct the simple and vulgar sort; I teach them their Pater, Ave, Creed, Commandments etc.⁹⁷

Education was therefore of concern to both Catholic men and women: the gentry saw that it was both a means to a career and income and that the education of their sons and daughters in the Catholic religion was to be vital to the survival of Catholicism in general. Whilst the missionary priests were important in providing inspiration and impetus for members of the Catholic gentry to take up a vocation, the leaders of the church appear to have grossly misjudged the importance of women to the survival of Catholicism in England as was shown by their reaction to strong and active Catholic women who desired an active rather than a passive rôle in the future of their religion.⁹⁸

The early modern era saw an expansion in the numbers receiving some kind of formalised education. For the sons of gentlemen, including the gentlemen of Yorkshire, education became an integral part of their formative years and training. This was just as true for the sons of the Catholic gentry as it was for the conformist, and although the level of education varied from family to family, most recognised the opportunities presented by higher education, both financial and in some cases spiritual. The choices open to the sons of the Catholic gentry were in some ways restricted, but religion was by no means as much of an obstacle as a lack of finance would have been. Legal practice had always been of concern to the gentry, and in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century the Inns of Court were by far the preferred choice for the Catholic gentry, bettering the Universities and even the foreign Catholic

⁹⁷ Littlehales, *Mary Ward*, p. 16.

seminaries. The first of these was rejected due to the more Protestant associations of many of the colleges and the latter chosen mainly by those who had ambitions for their sons to become priests and the means to secure safe passage abroad. Education and the law were then inter-linked; the authorities certainly recognised that Catholics in both professions posed a threat as they chose to implement special penalties for Catholic lawyers and schoolmasters.⁹⁹ The importance of both professions to the Catholic community was vital to its survival, as will be illustrated by an examination of careers amongst the Catholic gentry, showing that the educated in law, medicine and teaching were able to provide a service to Catholics in the north which ensured both Catholic survival and their integration with the wider gentry community.

Careers and Professions

The steady growth in numbers of lawyers, doctors and school masters, together with the increasing importance and wealth of merchants has been a trend in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries noted by many social historians who have often formed a discussion of these groups of professionals or tradesmen around the broad heading of

⁹⁸ See chapter 6, 'A Catholic in the Family', pp. 433-8, for an extended discussion of the role played by women as educators and instructors in the Catholic faith.

⁹⁹ P. McGrath, *Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I* (London, 1967), p. 175; G.W. Prothero (ed.), *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reign of Elizabeth and James I* (1894: Oxford, 1954), pp. 74-6. The Act of 1581 stated that Catholic teachers should be forbidden to teach the young and that they should be imprisoned without bail for one year.

the 'middling sort'.¹⁰⁰ Christopher Brooks' study noted that there was a tenfold increase in the number of men qualified to practice the law.¹⁰¹ Brooks was also keen to stress that many of these men were not from the landed classes and those that 'did claim gentry parentage were in fact the children of the 'lesser' or parish gentry rather than the greater gentry.'¹⁰² Yet the growth in these professions did not necessarily mean a shift in the power base of society as not all the men engaged in these activities were from the 'middling' section of society. Those who entered these professions were often, as Brooks is forced to concede, the younger sons of gentlemen, the lesser gentry or from sub-branches of greater gentry families. In his examination of Yorkshire J.T. Cliffe estimated that 'rather more than one-quarter' of the heads of the gentry families in Yorkshire had at some point been engaged in professional or commercial activities either as a supplement or alternative to relying solely on landed income to support themselves and their families.¹⁰³

It is clear from looking at the families of the Yorkshire gentry that there was diversity in their occupations, interests and the way in which they made money. Although it is

¹⁰⁰ Barry and Brooks, *Middling Sort*, introduction and indicated in most chapters; Esler, *Aspiring Mind*; A. Everett, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 33 (1966), 56-73; J.H. Hexter, 'The Myth of the Middle Class in Tudor England', in *Reappraisals in History* (London, 1961), pp. 71-116; W. Prest (ed.), *The Professions in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), chapters 4 and 5. Barry and Brooks emphasise the professions as almost exclusively under the influence of the 'middle classes', whereas Hexter's earlier interpretation was emphatic in denying the existence of any concept of the middle class in England during the early modern period.

¹⁰¹ Barry and Brooks, *Middling Sort*, p. 113.

¹⁰² Barry and Brooks, *Middling Sort*, pp. 113-4.

¹⁰³ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 85. He lists these as physicians, clergymen, counsellors at law/recorders/attorneys, merchants/tradesmen, stewards of private estates and holders of office of profit.

undeniable that their main preoccupations were typical of the traditional concerns of the gentry and nobility, for land and landed income remained, for many, the mainstay of their income, this is not to say that they had no interest in other ways of maintaining or even increasing their earnings. Their surviving personal correspondence, their wills and their appearance in national records all demonstrated their concern with land, its management, usage and profitability, yet also in these documents is evidence of gentlemen with careers in the law, medicine and even mercantile business. Whilst the commonplace book of Thomas Meynell, Richard Gascoigne's record book and the memoranda book of Richard Cholmley all devote a considerable amount of space to boasting about land ownership, litigating over land or merely cataloguing the renting and uses of land, what is also noticeable is an increasing interest in pursuing other means of sustaining an income, or at least providing their children with alternative means, which were not solely reliant on land and inheritance.¹⁰⁴ The sons of gentlemen were frequently lawyers or businessmen, clerics or soldiers or perhaps even doctors. The education they had received was thus used, as opposed to being merely training for their role as landlord. In the early modern era, a gentleman could have a career to augment and enhance his landed income and this had implications for the way in which he lived his life and, for the Catholic gentleman in particular, could be a great asset in an era when recusancy fines were removing landed assents from the family's hands.

¹⁰⁴ NYCRO, Cholmley Papers and Memoranda Book, ZQG/MIC 1456; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*; NYCRO, Thomas Meynell's Commonplace Book, ZIQ/MIC 2050; West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, Richard Gascoigne's Book entitled 'Records and Evidences belonging to the Descent of the Gascoignes', GC/F/5/1; West Yorkshire Archives, Gascoigne Family Records, GC/F1.

The pursuit of a career in the early modern era brought gentlemen into the public domain and the importance of patronage in advancing any profession may have made religion an important issue. The relationship between careers and religion will be examined in a three-fold way; firstly, in looking at the main areas into which a gentleman could respectively move, which would increase his income without damaging his status, the question as to whether Catholicism hindered this process has to be asked. Secondly, if the gentry themselves were not involved in the professions did Catholicism limit a gentleman's ability or willingness to engage the services of professional men? Was engaging the services of a doctor/ physician a risk, after all the chances of them bumping into a priest come to administer the last rites were surely increased? Were lawyers less likely to be engaged by a Catholic patron than a conformist one? Lastly, and more obviously, did the conflict with the law that recusancy brought mean that the gentlemen who were Commissioners of the Peace, Justices of the Peace or servants of the crown could no longer remain in friendship with their Catholic neighbours?

Continuity and Revival: Careers in a Catholic community.

In examining the issue of religious continuity after the Reformation Christopher Haigh noted that by the 1570s 'there existed in York an informed and separate Catholic group' prior to the arrival of the missionaries in the city.¹⁰⁵ This community was indeed religiously distinct from the conformist majority, but it appears Catholic men and women were still able to interact with their neighbours within the city

¹⁰⁵ Haigh, 'Continuity of Catholicism', p. 48.

community. Whilst conflict may have occurred when York citizens such as Dorothy Vavasour, Margaret Clitherow and William Bowman were questioned on matters of religion, there is little to suggest that medical services were rejected because they came from a Catholic physician and his wife, that conformist men and women refused to buy meat from premises where the wife of the butcher was known to be Catholic or that William, a locksmith, found himself without customers because of his refusal to attend a church that was without priest, altar and sacraments.¹⁰⁶ Whilst the Catholic community was not isolated from the wider community in which it existed, the appearance of Catholic lawyers and doctors in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart eras did ensure that a parallel and self-sufficient community could exist in order to provide internal support mechanisms for Catholics should they be needed. Thus in examining each of the aspects below continuity and an ability to successfully interact with the wider community appear as common themes; the issue of service on the commissions of the peace is perhaps the most controversial aspect of Catholic careerism in the period under examination and therefore an examination of the Yorkshire bench will show that Catholic involvement continued throughout this era. The continuing involvement of Catholic gentlemen or their relations in the hierarchy of the law will establish that the Catholic gentry were integrated into local society and were integral to the successful operation of early modern authority.

¹⁰⁶ Haigh, 'Continuity of Catholicism', p. 48.

Industry

Despite land remaining the most important concern for an early modern gentleman, it is clear that a wider variety of concerns and business interests did show through in the activities and records of the gentry. Yorkshire's most famous industry, coal mining, was in the early stages of its development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but many of the more enterprising gentlemen saw that it could be a profitable exercise, which although straying from the more traditional practice of agriculture, still relied on land ownership or tenure, putting it within the reach of the ambitious gentleman. Many Yorkshire gentry families held land in areas which had working coal fields; the Vavasours held manorial rights in Baildon, the Wentworths had pits at Staincross Moor which they rented out, the Danbys of Masham had mines at Colsterdale in Mashamshire and the Gascoignes showed great interest in the possibilities of a profitable mine.¹⁰⁷ Sir William Gascoigne, senior, demonstrated considerable regard for the mining opportunities that his land possessed; he and his eldest son, also Sir William, attempted to exploit these to their fullest potential by purchasing pumps to ensure that the deep pits could still be worked despite the problems of water-logging. The Gascoignes held land rich in coal in both the West Riding and also in the North-East. Sir William Gascoigne of Sedbury owned the very profitable coalfields in Durham, which added greatly to his income.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 58-62.

¹⁰⁸ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 62.

Other primary production industries such as the smelting and production of iron were also a gentry concern. In 1575 Matthew Wentworth held a lease to extract ironstone for his forge at West Bretton, whilst in 1629 George Wentworth was selling wood to fuel the great demand for charcoal to heat these furnaces.¹⁰⁹ Richard Cholmley also appears to have been attempting some diversification when in 1611 he engaged Thomas Horseman and company, 'brickmakers of Wystow', to come to Brafferton to check if his soil was good to make bricks on and then to 'make and burn me 300 000 bricke good and suffitient to be put to work in buildinge'.¹¹⁰

Religion did not appear to be a barrier to involvement in activities which were concerned with private wealth and which ultimately benefited the local community in terms of providing work. The government, both local and national, was well aware that the Catholic families who held land and power in the region were integral to the structure of society there and that they could not be isolated from the economic activities of the area. Perhaps more importantly the authorities had no wish to do so as the greater their income the greater the financial penalties that could be extracted for their failure to conform.

¹⁰⁹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 63-4.

¹¹⁰ Northallerton, NYCRO, Cholmley Papers and Memoranda Book, ZQG/MIC 1456, f. 16v; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 54.

Medicine

The status of physicians and the early modern medical training make the issue of what constituted a qualified doctor an area of debate.¹¹¹ The College of Physicians had been founded in 1518, which suggested that by the Elizabethan era some element of formality existed.¹¹² It would seem sensible, therefore, to accept that those men who had received some formalised training and who were named as ‘physicians’ or ‘doctors of physic’ should, for the purposes of this study, be viewed as members of a professional class. The need to consult a doctor occurred in most gentry families in the period and therefore it is not just those family members who became physicians who are important to this study, but also the doctors that were called upon to tend to the members of these Catholic families.

The visibility of certain very active Recusant doctors would seem to suggest that there was opportunity, especially in York and the surrounding areas, for Catholics to have both their spiritual and physical well-being tended to by men who shared common religious beliefs. The letter of an unknown private citizen to William Cecil in 1570 confirms that Doctors Vavasour and Lee were well known in the north and were protected within the Catholic community following the 1569 rebellion.

We have also two doctors of physic, worse papists there are now in Rome, Dr. Vavasour and Dr. Lee. We have hunted for the former these two years, but he is so friended that no officer will see him. He has had a number of masses said in his house of late, as some of his chaplains

¹¹¹ M. Pelling, ‘Medical Practice in the Early Modern England: Trade or Profession?’, in Prest, *Professions in Early Modern England*, pp. 90-128.

¹¹² M.D.R. Leys, *Catholics in England 1559-1829: A Social History* (London, 1961), p. 183.

whom we have met of late have confessed, and he has not been seen here since just before the insurrection. Dr. Lee was with the Earls at Richmond, rode thither with the Countess of Northumberland, and assisted her when she took the letters from the post which were said to have been sent for from the Queen to the regent. He goes from papist to papist, and nothing is said to him.¹¹³

The College of Physicians itself was regarded with some suspicion following the appointment of Dr. Caius as its president in 1571, and a complaint was made that ‘the papistes have constantly occupied the Cheefe roomes’.¹¹⁴ Obtaining the education suitable for early modern medicine was not an impossible task; in England the authorities considered the college infected with popery, and even if this proved too risky, then the foreign medical schools such as Padua had no problems with accepting English Catholics. Thomas Vavasour was one such man who obtained his medical education abroad and then returned to his home county to practice his trade.

York it would appear remained a popular city in which to seek medical attention well into the seventeenth century, as Richard Cholmley’s writings note. In giving his advice to William Hardwick who had been taken ill, presumably whilst visiting Richard, he stated that,

I imediatlye let him a horse, byd him kepe his head & neck warme, goe to any of the phisitions in York he lyked best in my name.¹¹⁵

It would appear from this statement that Richard Cholmley was known well enough amongst the medical community in York that service would be provided on the credit

¹¹³ *CSPD, 1566-79 Addenda*, pp. 223-4.

¹¹⁴ Leys, *Catholics in England*, p. 183.

bought by his name and it also implies that by mentioning his name good service would be guaranteed. The frequent illnesses suffered by Richard throughout his life and the numerous physicians and apothecaries he consulted may account for his familiarity with the medical practitioners of York and the surrounding area.¹¹⁶ Richard added that he lent William a further ten shillings and sent one of his men to see him the following Saturday to retrieve his horse and deposit another five shillings with the unfortunate Hardwick. William Hardwick's religion is not mentioned, but the Hardwick family of Hovington were noted as recusants later in the period and Richard was a known recusant by October 1619 when the illness struck suggesting that the two men shared beliefs. A common denominator seems likely in this case as Richard's hospitality was not enjoyed by many, as he was not a man noted for his generosity.¹¹⁷

It is unsurprising that Richard Cholmley chose York in which to seek medical attention, for as well as it being the central city of the north it also had a long tradition of Catholic medical practitioners. In July 1580 Margaret Wright, wife of John Wright an apothecary of York, who was suspected in religion was commanded to appear before the High Commission.¹¹⁸ In the following year John Wright himself was before the High Commission answering for his failure to conform; also on the same list were

¹¹⁵ Northallerton, NYCRO, Cholmley Papers and Memoranda Book, ZQG/MIC 1456, f. 92v.; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 183.

¹¹⁶ *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, pp. 85, 158, 170, 183, 195, 229. The 'physicians' consulted included a Mr. Blackburn, Jane Pennythorne of Sherburn 'formley called the skylfull woman of Marshland', Mr. Wendell, Doctor Fryer and Dr. Lapworth of Oxford whom he lists as his physician.

¹¹⁷ *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. ix.

¹¹⁸ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 31 (3v.). The citation of the folio number in the original documentation is given in brackets after the page number.

fellow apothecary Richard Hutton and Robert Lee the doctor who was frequently accused with Thomas Vavasour.¹¹⁹

For women too, the opportunity to be cared for in illness or childbirth by someone who shared their religious beliefs must have been important. The rôle of women at the centre of a Catholic community, such that in York in the Elizabethan era; at the head of a household, as Dorothy Lawson was in James I's reign or Dorothy Scrope in the late Elizabethan era, meant that a female network would have been increasingly vital. The catalogue of Thomas Vavasour's activities included the running of a maternity clinic in Common School Lane, York.¹²⁰ Considering contemporary perceptions of pregnancy and childbirth this would surely have involved Dorothy Vavasour playing a vital rôle in the practicalities of assisting women during and after the birth.¹²¹ The fact that they had priests as frequent visitors would also have permitted Catholic rituals following the birth to have continued.

In the isolated districts of the North Riding and in the City of York finding a medical practitioner who adhered to the old faith may not have been that difficult as the family and community networks that existed could have allowed families to share

¹¹⁹ Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, p. 70 (74).

¹²⁰ Aveling, *City of York*, p. 42; Purvis, *Elizabethan High Commission*, 27v. ff.

¹²¹ J. Eales, *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (London, 1998), p. 72; Mendleson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 153. Mendleson and Crawford state that by the early eighteenth century some aristocratic London women were attended by male doctors in childbirth but that 'only adult women were present at the beginning of our period, and even after the incursion of the male midwife, the majority of women gave birth in an all-female environment.'

information. For example the Fairfax family were closely acquainted with John Troutbeck, another physician from the city of York.¹²²

It appears, however, that sickness often struck whilst people were in the capital. Richard Cholmley recorded payment of forty-four shillings to Doctor Moore and £4 8s to Thomas Hick the apothecary for the care of Marmaduke Cholmley whilst he was at a house in Fleetstreet and that Benedict Stapleton's physician also received 4s at the same time. Leys' study of English Catholicism indicated that 'amongst the Elizabethan recusants were many doctors, several of whom were imprisoned.'¹²³ The ability of these doctors to tend to imprisoned Catholics whose health often suffered whilst incarcerated was vital, as was their compliance in assisting priests in administering Catholic sacraments at those times in Catholics' lives when both a doctor and priest were required.

The strength of Catholicism amongst the medical profession appears to have continued throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Vavasours produced another Catholic physician Peter Vavasour who donated fifty pounds to the Yorkshire clergy fund in 1660.¹²⁴ The links between Catholicism and the medical profession established in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries laid the groundwork for the Catholic doctors of the future. The fact that many men chose to

¹²² J.C.H. Aveling, 'The Catholic Recusancy of the Yorkshire Fairfaxes: Part II', *Recusant History*, 4 (1957-8), 61-103, especially p. 80.

¹²³ Leys, *Catholics in England*, p. 183.

¹²⁴ Leys, *Catholics in England*, pp. 183-4.

train in medicine ensured that the Catholic community had access to services, which were to become increasingly vital to ensure their continuing success and survival.

Lawyers

The life of Edmund Plowden illustrated that Catholicism and the successful and prosperous practising of the law were not mutually exclusive.¹²⁵ Nor was Edmund one of the middling sort, but he rather fitted into the same social strata as many of the younger sons and sub-branches of the Catholic families being examined in this study, coming as he did from 'an ancient and genteel family.'¹²⁶ Using the well-documented example of Plowden and combining this with a consideration of the comparatively favourable conditions in the Inns, it should therefore be possible to argue that many Catholics could have taken up the profession if they so desired.

Was the law a possible career for a Catholic of the period?

Some members of Catholic families did take up the law, or at least the enforcement of it, as a profession. Anthony Meynell, who was at Lincoln's Inn in the 1520s, through to the 1540s, became a serjeant-at-law in the North Riding, though the pursuit of his career had begun prior to the great religious upheavals and was over by the time of rigorous persecutions. The previous examination of the number of Catholics at the Inns does suggest that studying the law was a relatively common practice for the

¹²⁵ Northallerton, NYCRO, Cholmley Papers and Memoranda Book, ZQG/MIC 1456, f. 16v; G. de C. Parmiter, *Edmund Plowden: An Elizabethan Recusant Lawyer* (CRS MS, 4, 1987), pp. 104-10.

gentry and there is evidence to suggest that many of these men made use of the study in the pursuit of a career. Christopher Wyvill, son of Sampson Wyvill of Durham and Faith Girlington, was one of the sons of the lesser branches of the Wyvill family, as his father was the second son of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill of Constable Burton.¹²⁷ He illustrates how landed income was not always the immediate priority for the sons of gentlemen, especially if they wished to take up a profession, as he sold the lands in Durham endowed to him by his father and focused instead on his career; it should, however, be noted that he eventually married and settled on his wife's family lands in Saffron Walden, thus returning to the traditional gentry fail-safe of a profitable marriage.¹²⁸

Leys, discussing lawyers in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century England, reached the conclusion that skilled men such as Denis Molony, Nathaniel Pigott and James Booth 'had they been willing to conform ... might have attained high rank in their profession, but loyalty to their faith prevented them from reaping the full harvest of their reputation'.¹²⁹ Yet the fact that these men were operating in a still hostile environment and creating reputations for themselves which did lead to them being in demand suggests that Catholic lawyers maintained a presence at the Inns and in the professions despite all attempts to stop them.

¹²⁶ Parmiter, *Edmund Plowden*, p. 5.

¹²⁷ See appendix III, pp. 495-6.

¹²⁸ B.P. Levack, *The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-1641: A Political Study* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 14, 42, 281.

¹²⁹ Leys, *Catholics in England*, p. 194.

The Services of the Law

Early modern England was a litigious environment and the gentry made particular use of the services of lawyers for their frequent land disputes. For the recusant gentleman the avoidance or at least contesting of prosecutions for non-conformity was another area for which lawyers were required. It appears the Catholic gentlemen of Yorkshire were able to secure and make use of the services of lawyers who were less than hostile to potentially profitable clientele who would have frequent need of their services.

The North Riding Record Office provides an introduction to Richard Cholmley's memoranda book stating that he was keen 'to avoid the full rigours of the law by bribery, by retaining lawyers to plead his case in the courts and by the adoption of all possible legal subterfuge.'¹³⁰ The surviving papers of Richard Cholmley provide an insight into his daily life and in particular into his conduct of business. One Leonard Brakenbury features frequently in his record of payments, often for numerous miscellaneous services, but in 1616 Cholmley recorded that:

I payd him forder for kepeing my name fourth of the generall scedull (for all Cath[olics] he haveinge disbursed £xx) so as I may kepe my lands and goods safe hereafter from inquisitions [£]4. And demaund was that if I would hereafter allowe him yerelye as others did £v he would release ant thinge for his paynes past. He is to perfect the confessions etc. of quietus est ...¹³¹

¹³⁰ *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. viii.

¹³¹ Northallerton, NYCRO, Cholmley Papers and Memoranda Book, ZQG/MIC 1456, f. 43; *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 115.

This makes it clear that Leonard was in fact his legal representative. In 1594 and 1602 Brakenbury appears to be acting on Richard Cholmley's behalf ensuring that fines and arrears of fines were paid.¹³² The records further indicate that the services Leonard performed went beyond representation of Richard in legal matters, as in May 1613 Leonard went to London on behalf of Richard Cholmley to pay 'the Kings rent £38 vjs. viij*d*. And to buy my wife her pettecote stuffe & sowing sylk xxxixs'.¹³³ This suggested that he was close to the family and the frequent reoccurrence of his name in reference to estate business and in assisting other recusant members of the family with the dispersal of fines suggests he was a trusted employee.

The Catholic population was in need of lawyers in whom they could have confidence as the penalties for non-conformity increased and the evasion of ruin required skilled manoeuvring of land and property if the family as a whole was to avoid financial disaster. Cliffe provided evidence pertaining to the longevity and long-term staying power of many of the Yorkshire gentry families who were in the Tudor and Stuart era convicted of, but not ruined by, recusancy.¹³⁴ This success can be attributed both to the skills of the members of the families themselves, but in part must be attributed to the legal skills hired by them in this period. Regardless of whether these lawyers were themselves Catholic or sympathetic to the Catholic cause, the recusant community of Yorkshire appeared to have little trouble in finding legal representation. This would suggest that self-sufficiency was a trait displayed not just by those families focused upon here, but which was common to both the wider Yorkshire and English Catholic

¹³² *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 24.

¹³³ *Memoranda Book of Richard Cholmley*, p. 66.

communities. Lawyers were, however, only part of the legal system and other elements could also be found to have Catholic sympathies.

Justices of the Peace

In 1969 J.H. Gleason wrote that 'the justices of the peace symbolise the polity of England. Official but not professional, autonomous and powerful yet limited and directed, they have long served their land in unmatched fashion.'¹³⁵ The place of the JP in early modern England fell therefore between the rôle of professional lawman, public/King's servant and local dignitary. This office should in theory have been the one place that was safe from Catholic influence, representing as it did the law of the land in the counties distant from the centre of government. Yet as is immediately obvious from an examination of the names of the JPs, Catholic gentlemen or at the very least Catholic influence played a significant rôle on the judicial benches of Yorkshire.

In 1572 Henry, earl of Huntingdon wrote to Lord Burghley informing him of the actions he had begun to take 'for better order to be kept in this country [Yorkshire]'.¹³⁶ In identifying ways in which to prevent further trouble he concluded that 'it were better to displace more of the papists still in the commission' to maintain order. One

¹³⁴ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 230.

¹³⁵ J.H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England 1558-1646: A Later Eirenarcha* (Oxford, 1969), p. 1.

¹³⁶ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 435.

of the main concerns of the newly revised and reformed council of the North was the regulation of popery via the justices of the peace. In 1572 the justices were instructed to notify the council of the names and addresses of 'all known and suspected papists within [their] rule, the enemies of God and good order, especially of such as do not come to church'.¹³⁷ Despite the serious event of the proceeding years it would still seem that the government's main concern lay with ensuring a surface conformity, for an appearance at church could secure exemption from the search.

The importance of the JP in local society was vital; J.A. Sharpe points out that a fundamental weakness of the Tudor and Stuart system of government lay in the fact that 'Justices of the Peace might obstruct royal commands, carry them out half-heartedly or ignore them altogether.'¹³⁸ Thus the construct of the bench was crucial to the way in which the law was both interpreted and enacted. A study of the Justices of the Peace in Yorkshire in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, made by Simon Walker, indicated that the supposed opposition between central government (royal authority) and local autonomy (gentry independence) that in theory occurred amongst the JPs was not sustained by the evidence in Yorkshire. In fact he concluded that delegates of central authority 'usually possessed strong and continuing ties in Yorkshire itself'.¹³⁹ The composition of the individual benches for each of the three Ridings in the fifteenth century did vary but Walker makes the point that a few constants were observable. Prominent northern noblemen, such as the duke of

¹³⁷ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 435

¹³⁸ Sharpe, *Early Modern England*, p. 109.

¹³⁹ S. Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389-1413', *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993), 281-313. Concluding comments at p. 310.

Lancaster and the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were always on the bench, as were certain baronial families and a selection of men who held positions in the central courts of King's Bench or Common Pleas.¹⁴⁰ Carol Arnold's study of the West Riding Bench in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries also suggests that continuity was the overriding influence with 'little change in the selection of local gentry appointments to the West Riding commission' in the early years of Henry VII's reign.¹⁴¹ This said, it should be acknowledged that by the sixteenth century the composition of the county had changed somewhat, with increased gentry numbers, many of whom were claiming arms and vying for advancement; the extension of the gentry class was reflected in the composition of the commissioners of the peace.¹⁴² Yet it was still the case that most knights, resident in the county, would be appointed to the commissions. The commissions of the peace in the reign of Henry VIII show once again consistency and continuity in membership and composition. Members of the nobility, such as Audley, Norfolk, Suffölk, Westmorland, Cumberland and Dacre are seen on commissions for all three Ridings and represented a combination of

¹⁴⁰ Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 284, 289. The baronial families named as maintaining places on the bench in each Riding were: North Riding - the Scropes of Bolton, the Roos of Helmsley and the Fitzhughs of Ravensworth; East Riding - the Scropes of Masham and the Mauleys of Musgrave; West Riding - the Nevilles and the Talbot lords of Hallamshire.

¹⁴¹ C. Arnold, 'The Commissioners of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509' in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Late Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), 116-38. Discussion of the sixteenth century begins at p. 130.

¹⁴² Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 5-6, 16. Cliffe stated that there were 679 gentry families in 1642 which had increased from the 557 families in 1558, but more importantly the period had seen increased internal stratification of the gentry class. This is supported by the fact that families such as the Lawsons were able to enter the gentry class in Yorkshire, despite their comparatively humble beginnings as merchants.

important national figures and local noblemen who held influence in the area.¹⁴³ The same themes are noted by Gleason in his examination of the justices of the Elizabethan era, as the same names re-appear, though often in the next generation.¹⁴⁴ The gentlemen appearing on the lists can be broadly subdivided, as they ranged from knights to men who lacked the landed power of Thomas Wentworth, but who were still important in local society due to their training in the law or local influence. Thomas Grice, a lawyer from the north of Wakefield appeared amongst the West Riding justices in 1538, 1540, 1544 and 1545 having first been appointed in 1501, thus demonstrating continuity in the commissions, the significance of having local men on the bench and the increasing importance of legal training in securing a position in local society.¹⁴⁵

The Tudor regime enhanced the status of local gentlemen who had been building up their rôle in the local society of the north of England for many years. In 1511 Brian Stapleton was on the commission of array for Nottinghamshire, whilst William Fairfax, Roger Cholmley, Robert Wyvill and Sir William Gascoigne were all on the commission for Yorkshire in 1511 and 1512.¹⁴⁶ Sir John Wentworth and Thomas Fairfax, a serjeant-at-law, were on the 1541 commission for oyer and terminer as well as fulfilling their roles as justices of the peace.¹⁴⁷ The commissions of the peace for Yorkshire and the surrounding counties were composed almost entirely of northern

¹⁴³ *LP*. 13. 1, 1519 (38, 39, 40).

¹⁴⁴ Gleason, *Justices of the Peace*, pp. 224-45.

¹⁴⁵ Arnold, 'The Commissioners of the Peace', p. 131; *LP*. 13. 1, 1519 (39); *LP*. 15. 282 (21); *LP*. 20. 1, 622, 623.

¹⁴⁶ *LP*. 1. 1, 804 (29); 833 (45, 50); 1365 (3).

gentlemen in the early years of Henry VIII's reign. The 1511-38 lists contained John Vavasour, Sir Peter Vavasour, Marmaduke Wyvill, Sir Thomas Wentworth and Thomas Wentworth.¹⁴⁸

The composition of the Henrician justice commissions for the North and West Ridings in the years following the Pilgrimage of Grace, summarised in the two tables below, show a relative consistency in the number of men appointed. The majority of the justices were local men, and although there was a slight increase in the percentage of gentlemen who were not knighted appearing in the commission, in terms of the actual number of gentlemen on the commission, the numbers are stable throughout the latter years of Henry VIII's reign. (The total number of gentlemen is achieved by adding together the number of knights and the number of gentlemen 1538 = 48, 1540 = 51, 1544 = 57, 1545 = 52).

5.2 Justices of the Peace for the West Riding

| Year | 1538 | | 1540 | | 1544 | | 1545 | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Nobles | 14 | (22%) | 13 | (20%) | 10 | (15%) | 13 | (19%) |
| King's men¹⁴⁹ | 2 | (3%) | 2 | (3%) | 3 | (4%) | 3 | (5%) |
| Knights | 23 | (36%) | 25 | (38%) | 21 | (30%) | 18 | (27%) |
| Gentlemen | 25 | (39%) | 26 | (39%) | 36 | (51%) | 33 | (49%) |
| Total | 64 | | 66 | | 70 | | 67 | |

¹⁴⁷ *LP*. 16. 1395 (13).

¹⁴⁸ *LP*. 1. 1, 969 (38); *LP*. 10, 777 (10); *LP*. 13. 1, 1519 (38, 39).

¹⁴⁹ Indicating Justices who were appointed as representatives of the crown and who are indicated as such in the lists.

5.3 Justices of the Peace in the North Riding

| Year | 1538 | 1540 | 1545 |
|------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Nobles | 16 (31%) | 12 (26%) | 14 (28%) |
| King's men | 2 (4%) | 2 (4%) | 3 (6%) |
| Knights | 15 (30%) | 13 (28%) | 13 (26%) |
| Gentlemen | 18 (35%) | 20 (42%) | 20 (40%) |
| Total | 51 | 47 | 50 |

In line with the increasing number of gentlemen in Yorkshire the numbers recruited to the justice commissions increased in the second half of the sixteenth century, yet continuity was still a consistent theme and this was to be of advantage to the Catholic families of the north as Elizabethan religious policy began to be more rigorously enforced. Amongst the case studies made by Gleason in his study which examined the justices in England between 1558 and 1640 was an examination of the Justices of the Peace of the North Riding. This examination showed that whilst the numbers on the commission doubled between 1562 and 1582 and increased again by 1608, the percentage of this body who were gentlemen remained constant.¹⁵⁰ This meant that there was opportunity for newer families to gain a foothold, without excluding the older gentry families from the justice commissions. This policy may have diluted the influence of the older gentry families, many of whom were Catholic, yet it was not a deliberate action to remove Catholicism from the bench, but part of a wider ranging change in the society and government of the county.

¹⁵⁰ Gleason, *Justices of the Peace*, pp. 49, 224-45. Gleason's figures are as follows:

1562 - 10 gentlemen = 59%

1584 - 25 gentlemen = 57%

1608 - 25 gentlemen = 52%

1626 - 21 gentlemen = 62%

1636 - 23 gentlemen = 59%

J.T. Cliffe also illustrates this change, though he puts more, and perhaps undue, emphasis on the perceived threat of Catholic influence, as he pointed out that by the seventeenth-century it was no longer possible to restrict the choice of JP's to the ancient families of Yorkshire for three reasons; one, many families had simply died out; two, impoverishment of ancient lines meant that they were no longer in a position to take on the rôle; and three, many ancient families had declared their support for the Catholic cause.¹⁵¹ It would not be true, however, to say that ancient families were excluded from the bench in this era. Catholics continued to sit on the bench in Yorkshire well into the reign of James I; naturally enough the authorities continued to see this as a problem which, despite their best efforts, they seemed unable to rectify. Aveling, in his study of northern Catholicism, made a study of the North Riding bench between 1603 and 1619 and concluded that unlike the earlier groups of justices, two-thirds were names that were unfamiliar to Yorkshire and were therefore not connected to the old Catholic families of the Riding.¹⁵² He categorises the men on the North Riding bench into two separate groups, Protestant 'new men' and 'old gentry'.¹⁵³ For

¹⁵¹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 245.

¹⁵² Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 202.

¹⁵³ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 202-4. The new men are, Sir Stephen Proctor of Fountains, Sir Timothy Wittingham, Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, Sir Francis Boyntin of Barmston, Sir Arthur Dakins of Linton, Sir Edward Yorke of Ripon, Thomas Hebblethwaite of Norton, Malton, Sir Henry Jenkins of Busby, Sir Timothy Hutton of Marske, Richmondshire, Sir William Bamburgh, _____ Norcliffe of Nunnington, _____ Norcliffe, _____ Gibson of Welburn, _____ Gibson of Welburn, Sir Richard Etherington, Sir Richard Vaughan, William Robinson, Sir William Sheffield, Matthew Jobson, Sir David Foulis, Sir Henry Musgrave of Norton Conyers, John Clough of Carlton Miniott, Thirsk, Sir Cuthbert Pepper of Cowton, Adam Middleham, Anthony Besson of Askrigg, Sir Henry Linley, John Theaker, Sir Henry Tankard of Arden, Robert Hungate of Sandhutton, John Payler, Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby of Hackness.

Aveling the influx of these new men was a determined effort by Sheffield to ensure that the justices would be free of Catholic influences. It did appear that the new man in charge of the council was making a determined effort to free the county from the grip of Catholicism. Despite this the bench still retained many representatives of the older Yorkshire families. Aveling names fourteen men as having 'Catholic connections', yet cautions that 'it would be unwise to imagine that they formed a bloc solid with Catholic influence.'¹⁵⁴ His dismissal of these men because they were not all publicly and consistently committed to Catholicism seem to be a gross underestimation of their usefulness to the Catholic or church Papist communities in the area. Amongst them were to be found Sir Marmaduke Wyvill and Sir Richard Cholmley. Sir Richard had himself been a recusant, only conforming between 1601 and 1603, which suggested a commitment to the old religion, and his numerous Catholic and doubtful relatives suggested that he could not have been entirely free of Catholic company.

Looking at the North Riding bench in more detail and over a slightly longer period than that used by either Gleason or Aveling, the significance of continuities in appointments to the commissions can clearly be seen, whether this be generational continuity or continuities in the appointment of certain office holders. Table 5.4 illustrates the list of justices for the North Riding between 1538 and 1636. In terms of aristocratic and court appointments a great deal of consistency can be seen; however

¹⁵⁴ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 203-4. Aveling cites fourteen members of the old gentry who had Catholic connections: Ralph Eure, third Lord Eure, Sir William Eure of Malton, Sir Henry Slingsby, William and Henry Tankard, Sir Conyers Darcy, Sir Richard Musgrave, Robert Hungate, Sir Thomas Bellasis, Sir Thomas Lascelles, Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, Sir Richard Cholmley, and Sir Edward Yorke.

of more concern for the purposes of this study is the role of the gentry on the commissions. The number of gentlemen on the commission did dramatically increase during the period, which in some ways can account for the assumption that the older and typically more conservative gentry were of less significance. Yet there is a great deal of consistency in appointments, which can clearly be confirmed by looking at the families under examination within this study. The name 'Sir Richard Cholmley' appears on the list in 1545, 1561, 1608 and 1626 indicating family continuity on the bench, with Sir Hugh Cholmley appearing in 1636; The same pattern occurs with the Fairfax family with successive Sir Nicholas Fairfaxes appearing on the commission lists for 1538, 1540, 1545, 1561, 1562, 1584 and 1626 and in 1636 Sir Thomas Fairfax appeared; Sir Christopher Danby's name occurs on the lists for 1538, 1540, 1545 and 1562 and Sir Thomas Danby appears in 1636; Marmaduke Wyvill appears consistently throughout the period earlier period and is then replaced by his grandson and great-great-grandson who were both his namesakes (1538, 1540, 1562, 1584, 1608 and 1626) and Roger Wyvill appears in 1526 and re-appears in 1536; Robert Meynell also appears consistently (1538, 1540, 1545 and 1562). Even John Norton makes consecutive appearances on the commission in 1538, 1540 and 1545, although his absence from the later commissions is unsurprising considering the family's involvement in the events of 1569; Sir George Lawson's and Thomas Fairfax's appearances too are limited to the early years of the reign, although their absences cannot easily be attributed to religion but rather to changing circumstances. All of these men had Catholic connections, if indeed they were not themselves Catholics, and yet they were not excluded from the commissions. Indeed the presence of men such as Richard Cholmley on the bench tends to suggest that whilst the concept of

order, epitomised by the role of the JP, should have been in direct opposition to recusant/Catholic non-conformity, in practice the two could be reconciled.

Sir Richard Cholmley is a particularly interesting case as the early decades of the seventeenth century saw him engaged in a heated and prolonged dispute with the Puritan Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby. The legal disputes appear to have been triggered following the visit of a rowdy hunting party to Hackness, consisting of Sir William Eure and Sir Richard Cholmley amongst others, who imposed themselves upon the hospitality of the Puritan Hoby household.¹⁵⁵ Much of the early hostility appears to have been directed at the Eure family, but in regard to the control of the East Riding this event appears to have precipitated what Binns described as a 'relentless vendetta against the Cholmleys' over the hereditary stewardship of the Liberty of Whitby Strand.¹⁵⁶ Hoby had attempted to pursue the Cholmleys on grounds of recusancy, but when this came to nothing he was forced to resort to taking the case to Star Chamber, where despite his connections with Robert Cecil he was not victorious. Whilst this case has been seen by many to suggest that the Yorkshire gentry were divided irreconcilably on grounds of religion, with Catholics and their allies being the targets for these disputes, the events suggest that it was to a great extent a dispute provoked by Hoby's feeling of being personally affronted and that further it was he as the 'godly' Puritan who was the outsider in a community which accepted and supported the conservative Yorkshire gentleman. Sir William Eure,

¹⁵⁵ Binns, *Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley*, pp. 4-5; Gleason, *Justices of the Peace*, pp. 38-9; J.

Moody (ed), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605* (Stoud, 1998), pp. xlvi-li.

¹⁵⁶ Binns, *Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley*, pp. 4-5, 72.

president of the Council of the North, unsurprisingly defended his son's behaviour, and thus by association the behaviour of his companions; the visit to Hoby's home which provoked the subsequent events and the actions of the young men once there tend to suggest that Hoby was a target because he was considered prudish in his rejection of drinking and gambling. Whilst this was undoubtedly connected with and was an attack upon his Puritan religion, it also implied that he was an outsider to the local community who was excluded from their social activities; more importantly it was Hoby whose name was removed from the North Riding Commission, whilst Chomley stayed and even progressed in terms of the offices he gained, even if this progress was short lived as a result of his poor financial situation. ¹⁵⁷

A further example of the continuing hostility can be seen in 1616 when an unusually large number East Riding justices gathered for the Epiphany session of the commission; it would also appear that these twenty-one men had decided to stay until the end of the session which Hoby took as a deliberate attempt to pervert the course of the proceedings. Hoby claimed that Sir William Constable, Sir William Hilliarde, John Hotham and John Legard were there in order to pack the bench with 'popish sympathisers', that the removal of the records whilst the group adjourned for dinner was illegal, that the vote that was taken on the obligation to repair a highway was not considered in regards to the law and that Hotham had entered the session late, taken

¹⁵⁷ Binns, *Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley*, p. 5; Forster, 'The North Riding Justices and their Sessions, 1603-1625', *Northern History*, 10 (1975), 102-25. It is noted Sir William Eure and Hoby did not appear together at the Quarter Session until 1613 and Hoby and Cholmley only once sat on the same bench during the reign of James I and never appeared together at the recorded session of their own division.

Ellis' place and sat with his back to the public. Those accused by Hoby naturally refuted the charges. Hotham stated he had no recusant friends, Hilliarde that he had given instructions to churchwardens to prosecute recusants and Constable found in favour of the group accused by Hoby. Gleason points out that Hoby was not standing alone in this case and that 'if he may have been an uncomfortable neighbour and colleague, he had his admirers', yet what is clearly evident is that he was a source of discomfort to his colleagues, neighbours and even the authorities who should have seen him as a natural ally if we are to view them as intrinsically hostile to the Catholic population. The men of the East Riding commission also appeared on the North Riding commission, as can be seen in table 5.4, ensuring that the same alliances and friendships would occur in both. G.C.F. Forster correctly points out that 'continuity of service and family cohesion must not be allowed to obscure divisions in the commissions of the Peace', but equally important as factional division in terms of religious differences were 'local particularism' and the hostilities which sprang up from a resentment of recent arrivals attempting to establish their positions at the expense of local men and the rejection of those who were unwilling to adapt to local society.¹⁵⁸

The issue of whether Catholicism led to social exclusion is then a controversial one as can be seen from the above cases. It would certainly be untrue to suggest that religious tensions never made themselves felt in the county and even in the commissions. By the seventeenth century Catholicism was no longer the religion of the majority, but was surviving through the ability of its followers to adapt. The administering of

¹⁵⁸ Forster, 'North Riding Justices', p. 108.

justice was, however, still the duty of the social elite and Catholic and Protestant gentlemen alike took on this role. Closely connected to justice was the concept of service. The idea of a 'public office' could perhaps be seen as a slightly misleading term when applied to early modern society; it is not the rôle of councillor or politician that is crucial here, but rather the concept of public service. Gentlemen often engaged in a range of activities, which were vital to the running of early modern society, and Sharpe emphasised that 'the willingness to serve in local office' was widespread in English society despite the inherent problems and often costs that this duty entailed.¹⁵⁹ The presence, therefore, of men on the bench who had Catholic relatives or were 'doubtful of religion' should be noted as a success, and not a failure. More than this, it is a clear indication that there was continuing de facto integration of the Catholic gentry in their local society, which was especially true for those gentlemen who were prominent in county society and politics. They were not isolated or alienated but continued to play a vital role and illustrated further that continuity was the crucial element in early modern society, which could override religious differences.

Conclusion

The education and advancement of the Catholic gentry was therefore only limited in part by the recusancy laws of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By no means were they excluded completely from entering into the same establishments as their conformist counterparts, nor were they prevented from earning money, even if they then risked losing much of it in fines and seizures. A formal education was part of the

¹⁵⁹ Sharpe, *Early Modern England*, p. 109.

early modern experience and this was as true for the Catholic gentleman as it was for the conformist. Whilst a university might not be a religiously sound place for a Catholic to study, they could gain entry if they desired, although the Inns of court were preferable, because Catholic sympathisers and even Catholic priests could be found there, and because a training in the law had practical uses for a gentleman. The wide range of gentry activities entered into by heads of families and particularly by younger sons illustrated the diversity of the definition of a gentleman in the period. The newer gentry may well have made their fortunes outside the traditional spheres of managing the land, and many continued to engage in the range of careers available to them. The established gentry were not blind to the changes that were occurring and although landed income remained a central concern of the gentry, they did not ignore the law, medicine, trade or mining as ways to supplement their income.

Yet despite the changes in wider society continuity is an overwhelming theme and the same families occur throughout the period showing that the gentlemen of Yorkshire were able to 'move with the times'. They adapted, ensuring their survival. The Catholic gentry families of Yorkshire were securing an education for their children and by producing a generation of educated men and women, who became lawyers, doctors and prominent members of local society, they were thus ensuring the continuity of their religion. The Catholic community had lawyers they could turn to when they needed legal guidance, so they were provided with legal expertise that often ensured that they retained their estates or escaped the harshest punishments. They had doctors to tend to both their physical and spiritual needs, for whilst medical knowledge was limited men such as Thomas Vavasour could provide access to priests

when they were needed. They had friends and relations who were justices of the peace and Catholics were still to be found on jury panels in the 1580s. The Catholic community had the means to be self-sufficient when and if it needed to be, but all the evidence suggests that the Catholics in Yorkshire were integrated into society to such a depth, that even the best efforts of the Elizabethan regime was unable to entirely remove them. The Catholic gentry of Yorkshire were active in the spheres of education, the law and medicine and had thus secured themselves a place in the society of the north which reflected their continuing importance.

5.4 COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION OF THE PEACE 1538-1636:

NORTH RIDING¹

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------|-------------------------|------|----------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Thomas Lord Audley of Waldon | Thomas Lord Audley of Waldon | | | | Nicholas Bacon | Thomas Bromley [knt.] Lord Chancellor | Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, Chancellor | Sir Thomas Coventry – lord Keeper | Sir Thomas Coventry – Lord Coventry, lord Keeper |
| Thomas Cromwell | | | Thomas Wroithesley | | | | Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, treasurer | James Ley, earl of Malborough, lord Treasurer | William Juxon, Bishop of London, lord Treasurer |
| | | | | | | | | Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester, lord President | Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester, keeper of privy seal |
| Thomas Duke of Norfolk | Thomas Duke of Norfolk | | Thomas Duke of Norfolk | | | | | Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey, earl Marshall | |
| | | | | | | | | Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, lord Privy Seal | |
| Charles duke of Suffolk | Charles duke of Suffolk | | Charles duke of Suffolk | | | | | Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave | Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|--|
| | | | | | | Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon | Edmund Sheffield, Lord Sheffield [president of council of north & Lord lieutenant] | Emmanuel Scrope, Lord Scrope [lord president council of North, Lord lieutenant] | |
| | | | | | | | | | William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury |
| Robert Holgate Bp. Llanduff | Robert Holgate Bp. Llanduff | | Robert Holgate Archbishop of York | Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York | Thomas Young, Archbishop of York | Edwin Sandys Archbishop of York | Toby Mathew, Archbishop of York | Toby Mathew, Archbishop of York | Richard Neile, Archbishop of York |
| | | | | | | Matthew Hutton [dean, York] | Thomas Mallory [archdeacon Richmond] | | |
| | | | | | | Wm Cecil, Lord Burghley, lord treasurer | | William Cecil, Earl of Exeter | William Cecil, Earl of Exeter |
| | | | Russell Hereford | | | | | | |
| Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham | Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham | | Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham | Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham | | Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham | George Lloyd, Bishop of Chester | | |
| | | | | | William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester | | | | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| | | | | | Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arandel | | | | |
| George, earl of Shrewsbury | | | George, earl of Shrewsbury | Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury | George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury | George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury | Gilbert Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury | | |
| Ralph, Earl Of Westmorland | Ralph, Earl Of Westmorland | | Ralph, Earl Of Westmorland | | Henry Neville, Earl of Westmorland | | | | |
| | | | | | Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland | | | | Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland |
| Thomas Earl of Rutland | | | | | Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland | Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland | Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland | Francis Manners, Earl of Rutland | |
| Henry Earl of Cumberland | Henry Earl of Cumberland | | Henry Earl of Cumberland | | Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland | George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland | | Francis Clifford, earl of Cumberland | Francis Clifford, earl of Cumberland |
| | | | | | | | | Henry Constable, Viscount Dunbarre | |
| | | | | | | | | Algernon Percy, Lord Percy | |
| | | | | | | | | Henry Clifford, Lord Clifford | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| William, earl of Southampton | William, earl of Southampton | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | John May, Bishop of Carlisle | John Thornborough Bishop of Bristol | | |
| William Lord Dacre Of Gilleslande | William Lord Dacre Of Gilleslande | | William Lord Dacre Of Gilleslande | | William, Lord Dacre of Gilsland | | | | |
| John Lord Scrope Of Bolton | John Lord Scrope Of Bolton | | John Lord Scrope Of Bolton | | Henry, Lord Scrope | Henry, Lord Scrope | Thomas Scrope, Lord Scrope | | |
| | | | Conyers | | | | | | |
| Sir John Neville, Lord Latimer | Sir John Neville, Lord Latimer | | | John Latimer, Lord Latimer | | | | | |
| John Lord Lumley | John Lord Lumley | | | | John Lord Lumley | | | | |
| | | | Lord Eure | | | William Eure, Lord Eure | Ralph Eure, Lord Eure | William Eure, Lord Eure | |
| | | | | | Robert, Lord Ogle | Cuthbert, Lord Ogle | | | |
| Francis, lord Talbot | | | | | | Gilbert Talbot, Lord Talbot | | | |
| | | | | | | Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon | | | |
| | | | | | | Edward Parker, Lord Morley | | | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------|----------------------------|---|------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Sir Christopher Jenney | Sir Christopher Jenney | | | | | | Edward Bruce, Lord Bruce, master of rolls | | |
| John Hynde ⁵ | John Hynde ⁵ | | John Hynde ⁵ | William Dalison [Justice of King's Bench] | | | John Altham, baron of exchequer, assize | | |
| Thomas Magnus ⁵ | Thomas Magnus ⁶ | | Thomas Magnus ⁷ | William Rastell, justice of Queen's Bench | | Christopher Wray [knt.], chief just. Queen's bench | | | |
| | | | Molyneux | | | | | | |
| | | | Sir Richard Lister | | | | | | |
| Sir Thomas Tempest | Sir Thomas Tempest | | | | | | | | |
| Sir Ralph Ellerker, jun. | Sir Ralph Ellerker, jun. | | | | | | | | |
| Sir William Evers | Sir William Evers | | | | William Eure, Lord Evers | | | | |
| Sir Edward Gower | Sir Edward Gower | | | | | | | Sir Thomas Gower [knt. & baronet] | |
| | | | | | Thomas Wharton, Lord Wharton | Philip Wharton, Lord Wharton | | | |
| | | | | | John Darcy, Lord Darcy | John Darcy, Lord Darcy | Conyers Darcy [knt.] | | |
| | | | | | Nicholas | John Clench | Edward | | George |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| | | | | | Powtrell [Serjeant-at-law] | [serjeant-at-law] | Philips [serjeant-at-law] | | Vernon [knt.] [justice of common pleas] |
| | | | | | John Welsh [serjeant-at-law] | Francis Rhodes [serjeant-at-law] | Richard Hutton [serjeant-at-law] | | Richard Hutton [justice of common pleas] |
| | | | | | | | | | Robert Berkley [knt.] [justice of king's bench] |
| Sir William Middleton | Sir William Middleton | | | | | | | | |
| Sir Marmaduke Constable (Sen.) | Sir Marmaduke Constable (Sen.) | | Sir Marmaduke Constable (Sen.) | | | | | | |
| | | | Sir Henry Saville | | Henry Saville | Thomas Saville | | Sir John Saville [knt.] | |
| | | | | | | | | Sir Francis Harvy [knt.] | |
| | | | | | | | | Sir Henry Yelverton [knt.] | |
| | | | | | | | | Sir Richard Hutton [knt.] | Sir Richard Hutton [knt.] |
| | | | | | | | | Sir Thomas Wentworth [knt. & baronet] | Sir Thomas Wentworth [president of York, lord lieutenant] |
| | | | | | | | John Sheffield, | Sir William Sheffield | Sir William Sheffield knt. |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|-----------------------|----------------------|------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| | Sir Ralph Eure | | Sir Ralph Eure | | | Sir Ralph Eure | esq. William Eure | knt. ⁴ | |
| | | | Sir Ralph Elleker | | | | | | |
| | | | Sir Richard Cholmley [knt.] | Sir Richard Cholmley [knt.] | | | Sir Richard Cholmley [knt.] | Sir Richard Cholmley [knt.] | Sir Hugh Cholmley [knt.] |
| | | | Sir Ralph Bulmer | | | | | | |
| Sir Ralph Evers, jun. | | | | | Thomas Gargrave [knt.] | | | | |
| | | | | | Henry Gate [knt.] | Edward Gate | | | |
| Sir George Lawson | Sir George Lawson | | | | | | | | |
| Sir James Metcalf | | | | | | | Thomas Metcalf [knt.] | | |
| | Sir Henry Gascoigne | | | | | | | | |
| Sir James Strangeways | | | | | | | | | |
| Sir Nicholas Fairfax | Sir Nicholas Fairfax | | Sir Nicholas Fairfax | Sir Nicholas Fairfax [knt.] | Sir William Fairfax [knt.] | Sir William Fairfax [knt.] | | Sir Thomas Fairfax [knt.] | Sir Thomas Fairfax [Viscount Fairfax of Emeley] |
| Sir George Conyers | Sir George Conyers | | | Sir George Conyers [knt.] | | | | | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------|----------------------|------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Sir Chris. Danby | Sir Chris. Danby | | Sir Chris. Danby | | Sir Chris. Danby [knt.] | | | | Thomas Danby [knt.] |
| | | | Sir John Downey | | | | | | |
| Sir Roger Lasselles | Sir Roger Lasselles | | Sir Roger Lasselles | | | | Thomas Lasselles, knt. | | |
| | | | Sir Leonard Beckwith | | | | | | |
| | | | Sir Robert Constable | | | | | | |
| Thomas Fairfax ⁹ | Thomas Fairfax ¹⁰ | | | | | Sir Thomas Fairfax [knt.] | | | |
| John Uvedale | John Uvedale | | John Uvedale | | | | | | |
| John Norton | John Norton | | John Norton | | | | | | |
| Sir Robert Bowes | Sir Robert Bowes | | Sir Robert Bowes | | Sir George Bowes [knt.] | | | | |
| William Babthorpe | William Babthorpe | | William Babthorpe | | | | | | |
| Robert Chaloner | Robert Chaloner | | Robert Chaloner | | | | | | |
| John Barton | John Barton | | | | | | | | |
| William Bellasye | | | | | Sir William Bellasis [knt.] | Sir William Bellasis [knt.] | Henry Bellasis [knt.] | Sir Thomas Bellasis [knt. & baronet] | Henry Bellasis [esq] |
| William Rokeby | William Rokeby | | | | Thomas Rokeby | Ralph Rokeby | | | |
| | | | | | Roger Radcliffe | | | | George Radcliffe [knt. & attorney of King in the north] |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|------------------|------------------|------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------|
| John Pulleyn | John Pulleyn | | | | | | | | |
| Matthew Boynton | Matthew Boynton | | | | | | Francis Boynton [knt.] | | |
| Marmaduke Wyvill | Marmaduke Wyvill | | Marmaduke Wyvill | | | Marmaduke Wyvill | Marmaduke Wyvill [knt.] | Sir Marmaduke Wyvill [baronet] | |
| George Conyers | George Conyers | | | | | | | Nicholas Conyers | |
| James Fox | James Fox | | James Fox | James Fox | | | | | |
| Robert Meynell | Robert Meynell | | Robert Meynell | | Robert Meynell [serjeant-at-law] | | | | |
| William Danby | William Danby | | | | | Thomas Danby | | | |
| | | | | | Ralph Skinner, dean of Durham | | | | |
| | | | | | Leonard Dacre | | | | |
| William Tankard | William Tankard | | William Tankard | | | | | | |
| Richard Whalley | Richard Whalley | | Richard Whalley | Richard Whalley | | | | | |
| | Henry Evre | | | | | | | | |
| | John Thorpe | | | | | | | | |
| | Thomas Bilby | | Thomas Bilby | | | | | | |
| | | | Michael Stanhope | | | | John Stanhope, Lord Stanhope, vice | | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|------|------|------|--------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------|-------------------------------|
| | | | | | | | chamberlain of household | | |
| | | | Christopher Metcalf | | | | | | George Metcalf |
| | | | Richard Bowes | Richard Bowes | | Sir Robert Bowes [knt.] | | | |
| | | | Thomas Bokeby | | | | | | |
| | | | Richard Norton | Richard Norton | | | | | |
| | | | William Conyers of Maske | | | | | | |
| | | | Richard Younger | | | | | | |
| | | | Thomas Gower of Stitnam | Edward Gower [knt.] | | | | | Thomas Gower [knt. & baronet] |
| | | | Thomas Gower of Stainsby | | | | | | |
| | | | | | Roger Radcliffe | Roger Radcliffe | | | |
| | | | | | John Sayer | | | | |
| | | | | | John Hebert | | | | |
| | | | | | Nicholas/ Michael Wandsworth | | | | |
| | | | | | Roger Dalton | | | | |
| | | | | | Anthony Catterick | | | | |
| | | | | Anthony Hunter | | | | | |
| | | | | Thomas | | | | | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|------|------|------|------|--------------------|------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | | | | Eynns | | | | | |
| | | | | George Dakins | | | Arthur Dakins | | |
| | | | | Christopher Lepton | | | | | |
| | | | | Robert Trystram | | | | | |
| | | | | James Grene | | | | | |
| | | | | | | Sir John Manners [knt.] | | | |
| | | | | | | Sir John Foster [knt.] | | | |
| | | | | | | Sir Henry Gate [knt.] | | | |
| | | | | | | Sir William Mallory [knt.] | | William Mallory | William Mallory |
| | | | | | | Sir Christopher Hilliarde [knt.] | William Hilliarde | | |
| | | | | | | Sir John Dawney [knt.] | Thomas Dawney [knt.] | Thomas Dawney [knt.] | Thomas Dawney [knt.] |
| | | | | | | Sir Ralph Bouchier [knt.] | | | |
| | | | | | | Laurence Meres | | | |
| | | | | | | Ralph Herleston | | | |
| | | | | | | Humprey Purefey | | | |
| | | | | | | Laurence | | | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | | | | | Blundestone | | | |
| | | | | | | John Gibson | John Gibson [knt.] | Sir John Gibson [knt.] | Sir John Gibson [knt.] |
| | | | | | | | John Gibson, jnr. [knt.] | | |
| | | | | | | Henry Cheke | | | |
| | | | | | | Martin Birkett | | | |
| | | | | | | Henry Constable | | | |
| | | | | | | Christopher Wandesford | | | Christopher Wandesford |
| | | | | | | William Hillarde | | | |
| | | | | | | William Bowes | | | |
| | | | | | | Thomas Grinston | | | |
| | | | | | | Roger Dalton | | | |
| | | | | | | Thomas Calverley | | | |
| | | | | | | Thomas Layton | Charles Layton | Sir Thomas Layton [knt.] | Sir Thomas Layton [knt.] |
| | | | | | | Francis Cholmley | | | |
| | | | | | | Christopher Wandesford | | | |
| | | | | | | John Constable | John Constable | | |
| | | | | | | Anthony Talboys | | | |
| | | | | | | Robert Briggs | Robert Briggs | | |
| | | | | | | William | | | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 ⁷ | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | | | | | Watenhall | | | |
| | | | | | | Robert okeby | | | |
| | | | | | | William Maliverer | William Maliverer | | |
| | | | | | | Cuthbert Pepper | Cuthbert Pepper [knight, attorney court of wards] | | |
| | | | | | | | Edward Yorke | | |
| | | | | | | | Thomas Posthumous Hoby [knt.] | | Thomas Posthumous Hoby [knt.] |
| | | | | | | | Richard Musgrave [knt..] | | |
| | | | | | | | William Bamburgh [knt..] | | |
| | | | | | | | Richard Theakston [knt.] | | |
| | | | | | | | Richard Vaughan [knt..] | | |
| | | | | | | | Richard Etherington [knt.] | | |
| | | | | | | | Henry Jenkins [knt..] | | |
| | | | | | | | Sir Timothy Whitting- | Sir Timothy Whitting- | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 ⁴ | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| | | | | | | | ham [knt..] | ham [knt..] | |
| | | | | | | | Stephen Proctor [knt..] | | |
| | | | | | | | Charles Hales [knt..] | | |
| | | | | | | | John Bennet [knt. & doctor of laws] | | |
| | | | | | | | Richard Williamson [knt..] | | |
| | | | | | | | John Ferne [knt..] | | |
| | | | | | | | Sir Timothy Hutton [knt..] | Sir Timothy Hutton [knt..] | Matthew Hutton |
| | | | | | | | Walter Bethell | | Hugh Bethell [knt.] |
| | | | | | | | Christopher Aske | | |
| | | | | | | | Thomas Davile | | |
| | | | | | | | Richard Alsborough | | |
| | | | | | | | Hugh Frankland | | William Frankland |
| | | | | | | | Thomas Scudmore | | |
| | | | | | | | Thomas Norcliffe | Sir Thomas Norcliffe [knt.] | |
| | | | | | | | Henry Tankard | Sir Henry Tankard | |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| | | | | | | | | [knt.] | |
| | | | | | | | Richard Darley | Sir Richard Darley [knt.] | Sir Richard Darley [knt.] |
| | | | | | | | Robert Hungate | | |
| | | | | | | | John Theaker | | |
| | | | | | | | Adam Midlam | | |
| | | | | | | | | Sir David Foulis [knt. & baronet] | |
| | | | | | | | | Sir Conyers Darcy [knt.] | |
| | | | | | | | | Sir Arthur Ingram [knt.] | Sir Arthur Ingram [knt.] |
| | | | | | | | | Sir Thomas Tildesley [knt.] | |
| | | | | | | | | Sir William Ellis [knt.] | William Ellis [knt. & council of north] |
| | | | | | | | | Sir Thomas Ellis [knt.] | |
| | | | | | | | | Sir John Lowther [knt.] | Sir John Lowther [knt. & council of north] |
| | | | | | | | | | Richard Dyott [knt. & council of north] |
| | | | | | | | | | John Melton [knt., |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
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| | | | | | | | | | secretary & keeper of signet in north] |
| | | | | | | | | John Wilson, dean of Ripon | |
| | | | | | | | | Henry Bankes D.D. | |
| | | | | | | | | William Pennyman | William Pennyman [baronet] |
| | | | | | | | | | James Pennyman |
| | | | | | | | | Henry Griffith (Griffin) | |
| | | | | | | | | William Aldborough | |
| | | | | | | | | Roger Gregory | |
| | | | | | | | | Matthew Jobson | |
| | | | | | | | | Thomas Hebblethway te | Thomas Hebblethway te |
| | | | | | | | | Roger Wyvell | Roger Wyvell |
| | | | | | | | | Thomas Gilby | |
| | | | | | | | | | Edward Osborne [baronet] |
| | | | | | | | | | John Hotham [knt. & |

| 1538 | 1540 | 1544 | 1545 | 1561 | 1562 | 1584 | 1608 | 1626 | 1636 |
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| | | | | | | | | | baronet] |
| | | | | | | | | | Robert Napier [knt.] |
| | | | | | | | | | William Strickland [knt.] |
| | | | | | | | | | James Morley |
| | | | | | | | | | Richard Egerton |
| | | | | | | | | | Thomas Harrison |
| | | | | | | | | | Thomas Best |
| | | | | | | | | | John Dodsworth |
| | | | | | | | | | John Wastell |
| | | | | | | | | | Robert Barwick |
| | | | | | | | | | William Caley |
| | | | | | | | | | Richard Wynne |

¹ Compiled from J.H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 224-45.

² LP, I, 59 (9) King's serjeant-at-law

³ LP, I, 59 (9) King's serjeant-at-law

⁴ LP, I, 59 (9) King's serjeant-at-law

⁵ Clerk

⁶ Clerk

⁷ Clerk

⁸ Gleason states that William is the son of the former president of the council of the North, but that it was unlikely that John Sheffield was related.

⁹ Serjeant at Law.

¹⁰ Serjeant at Law.

Chapter 6

A Catholic in the Family?: Yorkshire Catholic Gentlewomen and the Continuation of the Catholic Community.

Introduction: Women, Religion and Status

The rôle of women was clearly defined in Tudor and Stuart literature and early modern thought as subordinate and inferior to that of men. The idea of patriarchal society was characterised and supported by the main institutions of the Church and State. Yet, during this period there were two female monarchs, with strong, if diametrically opposed, religious views. During both their reigns religion and religious imagery were significant. Mary appeared as the restorer of the Catholic faith, albeit with the support of her Spanish Catholic husband, Philip.¹ Elizabeth was the Protestant queen who chose to use the image

¹ It should be noted that Philip has remained on the sidelines of English historiographical debate, with Victorian, Whig, Marxist and revisionist writers centering their attentions on Mary, despite the fact that many from these groups would not consciously wish to place undue emphasis on females in history. J.D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 537-8, 553-60, noted that Philip was king in name only; Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 373 and *Later Tudors*, pp. 98-102 makes little mention of Philip, with most references having little to do with his involvement in the running of England during Mary's reign; J. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 231-2, emphasized that Philip was disliked due to 'anti papal xenophobia' meaning that even a female Catholic monarch was preferable to a foreign, male Catholic monarch. C. Erickson, *Bloody Mary: The Life of Mary Tudor* (1978; London, 1995). Even biographies such that by Erickson which do not provide an overly favorable view of Mary's reign see Philip as fairly insignificant in the events, except as a catalyst for discontent. D. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford, 1989), presents Philip as slightly more pro-active, but he still only features in one chapter entitled 'Philip and Mary'.

of virginity to shape her femininity to an acceptable form in a male orientated world.² Considering the political and religious climate, the ideas and images of women in public life and as defenders of the faith were prominent and will therefore be important when examining women and religion in the period.

Feminine imagery within religion was commonplace; it had been employed throughout the middle ages, frequently to imply inferiority or within a metaphor that was intended to insult or denigrate another church, religion or group.³ Women and religious expression were inextricably connected in early modern thought patterns and so it is unsurprising that many women chose to take this religious imagery and make use of it, despite its initially negative context.

This imagery was used to great effect by the Catholic Church against heretics in the Middle Ages and was used equally effectively by followers of the newly established Protestant Church of England against 'popery' in the years following the Reformation.

² A.L. Rowse, *The Elizabethan Renaissance: The Life of the Society* (London, 1971), pp. 142-65. Simon Forman's discussion of 'the Virgin Queen' and Rowse's subsequent analysis of this image and its Freudian symbolism illustrate this point. Elizabeth chose two images which should have been in contrast, those of 'virginity' and 'marriage to the country'. These were very similar to the Catholic images of women who were destined to be nuns, where purity was symbolized as was their marriage to the church as they appeared as 'brides of Christ'.

³ P. Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500-1720* (London, 1993), p. 16. References here are made to the term 'whore' being applied to the enemy of the church. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, pp. 1-40. Hill devotes an entire chapter to discussions of the Roman Antichrist; O. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe 1500-1800* (London, 1995), pp. 30-1, discusses the concerns over the figures of Mary and Magdalen and the efforts to down-grade them made by both Catholic and Protestant theologians.

John Bale, bishop and former Protestant exile, condemned the Catholic Church as the 'whorish mother the church of antichrist the strompet of Babylon, the rose coloured harlot'.⁴ These more colourful images of the evils of Catholicism featured prominently in the writings of those who were ardent Protestants or who had experienced exile abroad. The Catholic exiles of the later Elizabethan period do not appear to have produced the same kind of venomous attack on the evils of Protestants and Protestantism in England. This was reflective of the low key and adaptive approach taken by the vast majority of Catholics during the late Tudor and early Stuart eras.

This use of negative female imagery was applied to Catholics of the period and to women of the period. The question then arises, what were contemporary perceptions of Catholic women; were they considered to be a combined evil in society? The traditional image was of passive wives and daughters existing within a patriarchal relationship, yet many instances of recusancy show Catholic women with conformist men, implying independent female thought and action. A common theme of early modern writing was the idea that women acting without male approval was the path to ruin; both ruin to the individual morality of the woman herself and to the moral and social well-being of society itself. Crawford summarises the general view stating that '[i]f women attempted to behave independently, they subverted the gender order, and threatened men's sense of identity at

⁴ J. Bale, *The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romysche foxe* (1542) referred to in Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 16. Bale may not be the author of this particular piece as William Turner is thought to be the author of *The Hunting of the Romish Fox*, whilst Bale wrote a similar tract a few months later entitled *Yet a course at the Romyshe Foxe*. J.W. Harris, *John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 25, 1940), p.121.

the most fundamental sexual level.’⁵ Yet the Catholic religion did have the capacity to accept that women were capable of independent behaviour unsupervised by men in their day-to-day lives, as the acceptance of female religious orders demonstrated.⁶

Despite this, throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras and as a direct consequence of the religious changes, Catholic women were doing just that. They practised Catholicism whilst their husbands conformed to the Protestant necessities. Whether their husbands conformed due to true religious beliefs or merely to avoid financial and social penalties was in many ways irrelevant. By permitting their wives to practice a forbidden religion and by publicly acknowledging that they were powerless to stop it, they endorsed their wives’ freedom to choose and accepted an individuality and independence that the law, in other instances, would not have tolerated. Women also sheltered and protected missionary priests, housed other recusants and made trips abroad to join monastic orders. On the continent they displayed an ability to survive, organise and educate and make important decisions independent of their male counterparts. At home in England they educated their children in the Catholic faith and became a mainstay of the ‘old religion’.

Despite all these activities and Bossy’s acknowledgement that there is a ‘unanimous convergence of evidence ... on the importance of the part played ... by women, and

⁵ Crawford, *Women and Religion in England*, p. 17.

⁶ Rowlands, ‘Recusant Women’, pp. 149-80. Marie Rowlands does not go as far as to state this but does emphasise that the world of the closed nuns was a respectable alternative to religious life and that a father’s authority in religion in a Catholic household was diluted by the presence of priests who could intervene and often interfere.

specifically wives', Catholic historiography has in general de-emphasised their rôle. Only John Bossy and Marie Rowlands seem willing to attribute a large degree of credit to the Catholic women of the era.⁷ Bossy makes the point that, in theory, the household regime was a patriarchy and that Tudor and Stuart contemporaries were quite prepared to view women as 'poor weak creatures who are prone to heresy'.⁸ Yet this was not a realistic view of the rôle of women, especially in a Catholic family. A.L. Rowse was willing to attribute a somewhat mocking significance to the rôle played by women in the early years of recusancy, which Bossy finds to be an exaggerated, though not entirely untrue, interpretation of the situation. Bossy described Rowse's portrait of an English Catholicism 'founded not in legitimate decisions made by responsible men but in a series on conjugal coups d'état mounted by aggressive wives, and allowed to take root because of the feeble resistance offered to their spouses by too many henpecked husbands' as 'a comic invention of some power [but] ... also surely to a large degree true.'⁹ Alexandra Walsham, in a more recent assessment of Church Papistry, stated that:

Church papistry, then, did not invariably signal a weak-kneed surrender of the male religious initiative: on the contrary, it was often the qualified conformity of the paterfamilias which rendered feasible the very establishment of an internal recusant regime. A husband's concentration on protecting the family's resources and reputation could both enable and necessitate his wife's assumption of a more energetic rôle in safeguarding its spiritual integrity. Ironically, a woman's inferior public and legal

⁷ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 153.

⁸ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 152, referring to T.H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation, 1572-1615* (Chicago, 1964).

⁹ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 153; A.L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society* (London, 1951), pp. 430, 453, 456f., 458.

identity afforded her superior devotional status, fuller membership of the Roman Catholic Church...¹⁰

Aveling, the main author of texts discussing Catholicism in Yorkshire, seems far more unwilling to acknowledge the rôle of women as significant or important. In describing the expansion of female religious devotion in the period 1603-42 he stated that only a small number joined the communities on the continent and continued to say, in reference to women who were seeking a 'more retired and recollected life', that 'the immediate reaction of such people was to intensify their devotions at home, under the guidance of a priest.'¹¹ Thus he placed far more emphasis on the rôle of men in the continuation of Catholicism as they were the priests and were therefore essential to the practice of the Catholic religion, which was a premise that was challenged in this period as will be seen. In *The Handle and the Axe*, Aveling examined women's religious communities on the continent and conceded that they challenged the traditional rôle of women as inferior to men.¹² Even in his examination of Catholic households in Yorkshire he placed matriarchal households only fourth on the list and de-emphasised the rôle women had to play, even in the education of their children.¹³

¹⁰ Walsham, *Church Papists*, pp. 80-1. The role of church papistry amongst men is discussed further p. 397.

¹¹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 253.

¹² Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 87.

¹³ J.C.H. Aveling, 'Catholic Households in Yorkshire, 1580-1603', *Northern History*, 16 (1980), 85-101, with particular reference to p. 88 which sees the only paragraph devoted specifically to matriarchal households.

Marie Rowlands suggests the opposite, writing that 'women assumed a particular importance in the transmission of culture and maintenance of facilities. In a significant number of households the ruling Catholic influence was feminine.'¹⁴ For her the female household was important and the minority of active women did not detract from their impact. It is evident from looking at Yorkshire that women did have a significant place in the history of Yorkshire Catholicism and therefore by implication in maintaining English Catholicism. Wives, mothers, grandmothers, aunts and sisters all had their own part to play and through their religious activities they often became more than their traditional rôle dictated, definable in their own right as pioneers, shelterers, helpers, educators and even martyrs.

Women and Religion: The Official View

Religion was a way in which women of all statuses in society could express themselves albeit within clearly defined lines which dictated social behaviour. They had a clearly defined place within medieval religion and although this has been seen by some as limiting the part that women could play, both in terms of how they expressed their piety and in how the Church as an international establishment viewed them, it ensured that they were active and sometimes even prominent figures in local religion.

Medieval Catholicism

¹⁴ Rowlands, 'Recusant Women', p. 174.

Generally medieval Catholicism has been perceived as hostile to women. There is certainly some evidence to confirm that there was initial opposition from the Catholic hierarchy of the early medieval era to women being publicly involved in formalised religion.¹⁵ The opposition appeared to be centred around women taking a publicly active or dominant rôle in religion or society in general and, as P.J.P. Goldberg points out, was supported by the medical science of the period.¹⁶ This was not, however, to say that the Catholic church saw no place for women, for it is clear that the church did have a clearly defined rôle for women to play which made them active participants in Catholic rituals and practices. They attended services and mass, their marriages were legitimised by the church, they were purified following childbirth, their children were baptised and their wills and dedications showed their continued commitment and belief in Catholic practice after death.¹⁷ The importance of wills and testate procedures as a source for women's history of the medieval and early modern period has been advocated by both Goldberg and Cross in order to give a voice to women who have largely been silent to the

¹⁵ G. Constable, 'Aelred of Rievaulx and the Nun of Watton: An Episode in the Early History of the Gilbertine Order', pp. 205-26 and S. Thompson, 'The Problems of the Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries', pp. 227-52, in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women* (Oxford, 1978). Details discussed in 'Traditional Rôles: Nuns', pp. 358-66. Examples of the Catholic Church opposing the rôle of women in religion can also be found in examination of heretical groups; see S.E. Wessley, 'The Thirteenth-Century Guglielmites: Salvation through Women', pp. 289-303 and C. Cross, "'Great Reasoners in Scripture": The Activities of Women Lollards 1380-1530', pp. 359-80, both also in Baker, *Medieval Women*.

¹⁶ P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Women', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 112-31.

¹⁷ Goldberg, 'Women', pp. 112-31. Women of the cities and towns wanted to participate in the craft guilds and religious celebrations of the urban environment showing that religion was integral to their secular lives.

historian.¹⁸ Claire Cross used the wills of women of Leeds and Hull to illustrate the religious practices and beliefs of the urban women of the early modern era.¹⁹ Here it becomes clear that women were religiously active, but in such a way as to remain hidden from the public sources that have traditionally encapsulated religious activity for historians. The wills examined showed that some of the women in Leeds resumed the traditional Catholic practice of leaving money to celebrate mass for the dead in the reign of Mary once the prohibitions of Edward VI's reign had been removed. The concern for the soul was not removed by the Protestant enforcement of the new religious practices and even by Elizabeth's reign concern to ensure the salvation of the soul through charitable works continued. Cross states that the increase in the value of charitable bequests in the seventeenth century went 'hand in hand with the advance of Protestantism'.²⁰ Yet charity was not solely the province of the 'godly people', but rather a Catholic tradition; indeed a concern to leave money for charitable works in order to secure salvation was a theme of wills in the pre-Reformation era and continued to remain a concern of Catholics, particular Catholic women, after the Reformation.

The wills made by the women from the sample families prior to the reforms of the 1530s show that they were religiously active in the private sphere and that piety and religious

¹⁸ C. Cross, 'Northern Women in the Early Modern Period: Female Testators of Hull and Leeds 1520-1650', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 59 (1987), 83-94; Cross, 'The Religious Life of Women in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire', in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds.), *Women in the Church* (Studies in Church History, 27, London, 1990), pp. 307-333; P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300-1520* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 362-7.

¹⁹ Cross, 'Northern Women', pp. 83-94.

²⁰ Cross, 'Northern Women', p. 93.

devotion were an important part of their lives. The wills of the fifteenth century showed that they believed in the value of prayer to speed their entrance to heaven and that they desired not only the saving of their own souls after death, but also those of their family and friends. The importance placed upon monastic institutions was illustrated by women's desire to be buried within their walls. Joan Ingleby, daughter of Brian Stapleton and widow of Sir William Ingleby expressed her desire to be interred at Mount Grace Priory in Cleveland demonstrating both the value of the monastic institutions of the period and the familiar piety that came from the Ingleby family's long association with Mount Grace.²¹ Elizabeth, Lady Scrope of Upsall, the widow of both Thomas, Lord Scrope and Sir Henry Wentworth, noted that she desired burial in Black Friars, London and left dedication for prayers to be said for herself and all the members of her extended family, both Scrope and Wentworth.²² Women also left money to their local parish churches showing both their involvement with, and their desire to be remembered by, religious institutions in their own community. For example Elizabeth Vavasour of Thornton-on-the-Hill left various bequests to her local parish church including altar cloths and money for the upkeep of St. Nicholas' church, 'Hustwayte' [Hustwaite] in her will of 1498, demonstrating her concern for the local community as well as her own soul.²³ Jane Stapleton also expressed similar concerns in the early sixteenth century leaving money to both her local parish church and to various monastic establishments.²⁴

²¹ J. Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia III* (Surtees Society, 45, 1865), p. 234. The families' relationship with the monastic institutions of the north are discussed, pp. 358-66 and also pp. 211-70.

²² Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia V*, p. 50.

²³ Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia IV* (Surtees Society, 53, 1869), p. 138.

²⁴ Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia IV*, p. 273.

The wills made by women also showed a particular concern for their female relations; sometimes this took the form of a pure concern for their physical wellbeing, but frequently there was a distinctly religious connection to the goods left, showing consideration for their spiritual needs. Joan Ingleby left her lands to her daughter and made provision for her daughter's children in her will pertaining to the material wellbeing of her female descendants.²⁵ Elizabeth, Lady Scrope also showed an immense concern for her female relations and servants; aside from the interest she expressed in various religious institutions, she was also desirous to retain control over more material family matters after her death. She left money to all her female servants and gentlewomen, Katherine Polen, Mary Sulyard, Katherine Clifton and Dorothy Danby, and left ten marks to Margaret Bigod to say prayers for her. She also left her sister, Lady Lucy, her primer and psalter, given to her originally by the mother of Henry VII, on condition that she upheld the marriage arrangements that had been made for her niece, also named Lucy.²⁶ The passing on of this book appears to imply a shared female piety as well as a concern to pass down valued possessions, especially those with royal connections. The combination of religious and secular concerns expressed by the women of the pre-Reformation era suggests that religion was integral to their world and values, and the concern with the security of their female relatives and friends, whether this be concern for their physical or spiritual well-being, continued throughout the era being examined.

²⁵ Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia III*, p. 234.

²⁶ Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia V*, p. 50. Elizabeth Scrope had arranged a marriage between Lucy and John Cultel. The other item promised to Elizabeth's sister on her acquiescence in these arrangements was a cup of her choice.

In examining the part that women played in the Catholic Church and religion it is important to acknowledge that they played an active role, even if the surviving evidence appears to suggest that it was not always as public a role as that played by men. Much work on the medieval and early modern eras has suggested that women operated in a relatively private environment, that of the household. Looking at archaeology in relation to the medieval period Roberta Gilchrist has suggested that as the status of a family increased the household became increasingly segregated, creating separate and distinct male and female spheres.²⁷ Jeremy Goldberg also discusses the concept of a public/private dichotomy in relation to both the theory and practicality of female education and work. He concluded that the attitudes of men towards women did much to shape women's lives and that whilst in the fifteenth century women could engage in a wide range of activities most did not.²⁸ More recently Kim Phillips has pointed out that the idea of a public/private dichotomy was often more of an ideal than a reality, and where the division between public and private did exist it was not always as pronounced as conduct books and other medieval literature portrayed it.²⁹ The same problems relating to public and private space are to a great extent still applicable to the early modern period. The discussion of a public/private dichotomy and the controversy over 'separate spheres' has formed a great deal of the historiographical debate regarding gender roles in the early

²⁷ R. Gilchrist, 'Medieval Bodies in the Material World: Gender, Stigma and the Body', in S. Kay and M. Rubin (eds.), *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 43-61, especially pp. 51f.

²⁸ Goldberg, 'Women', p. 122.

modern period and this influences both architectural and social constructs.³⁰ The gentry's advancements in wealth and prestige perhaps made household divisions of space easier to maintain than in the smaller properties of the medieval era, but the fact that gentlewomen were frequently seen to run estates, direct the family, employ servants and conduct some matters of business in their husband's absence, meant that the household could not be an entirely private environment; although this is not to say that the concept and usefulness of privacy within the household was entirely lost, after all in terms of religion the idea of private worship was used by Catholic and Puritan alike. By the late seventeenth century private space had become a reality with changes in architectural style and reflecting the changes in society which ensured private space was made available in the greater houses of the era.³¹

In medieval religion women were active, they were devout in prayer and active participants in the beliefs and practices of Catholicism. They ran their homes and lived their lives with Catholicism as an integral part. This was not to say that religion and religious practices were imposed upon them, but rather that they were active in perpetuating them and ensuring that they were carried out correctly. The fact that

²⁹ K.M. Phillips, 'Bodily Walls, Windows and Doors: The Politics of Gesture in Late Fifteenth-Century English Books for Women', in J. Wogan-Browne *et al.* (eds.), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain, Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 185-98.

³⁰ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, pp. 223- 9, 256-9; A. Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), 383-414.

³¹ M. Girouard, *Life in the English County House: A Social and Architectural History* (1978; Harmondsworth, 1980), pp. 82-119.

Catholicism already had a rôle for them, in the private practice of their religion in their homes and lives, meant that if anything they were better able to adapt to the new reformed household/covert Catholicism of the Elizabethan era. Gentry women in particular were well accustomed to the idea of private masses in household chapels, to private devotions in the home as opposed to the more public rôle played by their husbands. Women were therefore ideally placed to carry on with and enhance the part that they had always played, resulting in their domination of Catholic numbers and their vital part in the maintenance of Catholic tradition that will be explored further in a discussion of household Catholicism.

Post-Reformation Catholicism and Casuistry

The new Protestant religion in England was hardly any more favourable to women's involvement in formalised religious practice, despite the numerous attempts made to portray the Reformation as a liberating force in women's history.³² Puritan tracts written by women are used as evidence of a reformed religion which, stripped of the ancient trappings and rituals of Catholicism, allowed women to play a greater rôle.³³ Yet 'Puritan' was just as much a term of abuse as 'Papist', and those who took up such ideas formed a separate group from the mainstream Anglicised Protestantism, much as the Catholic

³² Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 432-3. The 1543 Act 'for the advancement of true religion' forbade women to read the bible or scriptures in private or public, although noble and gentlewomen were permitted to read the authorized version of the bible in private. Class again formed the basis for access to religion, overriding gender.

community did. Women such as Lucy Hutchinson are often cited as independent leaders given a voice by religious change, yet just as easily Margaret Clitherow could be cited as an example of vocal resistance to conformity.

The Protestant texts of the Elizabethan period were not all favourable to female involvement in either religion or politics. In 1558, prior to Elizabeth's reign, John Knox published a text entitled *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*.³⁴ This text was essentially an attack on women in public life, sparked by his immense dislike of the Catholic Queen Mary and Scotland, though not tempered by the succession to the throne of Elizabeth. Amanda Shephard has discussed the reaction to this text by the examination of five refutations of Knox's work, three of which were produced by Catholics.³⁵ These works asserted a view of women as capable, particularly of ruling and exercising authority. Their main aim was to provide legitimacy for female rulers. John Leslie, bishop of Ross, wrote to ensure the restoration of Mary Stuart to her throne; David Chambers, a Scottish lawyer, advocated a woman's right of inheritance which coincided with his desire to please Catherine de Medici; and Henry Howard wrote praising the abilities of women in order to re-instate himself within the Elizabethan

³³ P. Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The Emancipation of Mrs. Jane Radcliffe', *The Seventeenth Century*, 2 (1987), 143-65, especially pp. 147-9.

³⁴ John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Edinburgh, 1732); the edition referred to by A. Shephard, *Gender and Authority in Sixteenth-Century England: The Knox Debate* (Keele, 1994) in her discussion is London, 1980.

³⁵ Shephard, *Gender and Authority*. This makes reference to the two texts produced by Protestant exiles John Aylmer and Richard Bertie during Mary's reign which, despite the authors' shared religion, contradict

regime.³⁶ A by-product of all these desires was an acknowledgement that women were capable of playing a greater rôle in society as a whole. These texts by Catholic writers do appear to suggest that, as Sheppard states, 'Patriarchy was not a monolithic and uniform ideology unquestioningly accepted within early modern society.'³⁷ Even accepting that Sheppard does limit this examination to texts which take extreme views, either in favour of or against female rulers, there does appear to be a place in the lay Catholic mind for female independence of thought and action.

Given this what did the Catholic Church have to say on the issue of women? The instructions given to the missionary priests did prescribe a place for women. The texts see them in the traditional rôle of wives and mothers, but in defining what was and was not acceptable behaviour, for a Catholic, regardless of gender, they did, if somewhat inadvertently, open new opportunities for women to act independently.

Rules on priests celebrating mass stated that 'A recluse or anyone else who has no assistant available may celebrate mass alone' and continue to state that 'a priest is

much of what Knox wrote. The three Catholic texts referred to are by John Leslie, David Chambers and Lord Henry Howard, which are cited in more detail below.

³⁶ Ibid. The texts referred to by Sheppard are J. Leslie, *A defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble princessse Marie, queene of Scotlande and dowager of France, with a declaration as well of her right, title and intereste to the sucesion of the crowne of Englande, as that the regimete of women is conformable to the lawe of God and nature* (London, 1569); D. Chambers, *Discourse de la Legitime Succession des femmes aux possessions de leur parents et du gouvernement des Princesses aux empires et royaumes* (Paris, 1579) and Henry Howard, 'A dutifull defense of the lawfull regiment of weomen devided into three books', B.L. Lansdowne 813.

³⁷ Sheppard, *Gender and Authority*, p. 7.

considered to be alone if there are only women present'.³⁸ On the one hand this reduces the state of women, as it did not appear to matter if they were there or not; but on the other hand the frequency of female congregations in the household Catholicism of the Elizabethan period may then have enhanced the rôle that women could play within the celebration of the mass. In questioning the tradition of a wife's right to spend what was in law her husband's money, these new rules also suggested that Catholic practice came before property rights.³⁹ The problem of upholding Catholic rights and customs was also something that the casuist texts discussed in great detail. It is clear here that the Catholic Church was still upholding that women were subordinate and inferior to men. The texts concluded that in preparing meals on fast days or serving prohibited foods, which would normally be a mortal sin then wives could be excused by permission of their husbands, just as servants could be excused by permission of their masters.⁴⁰ It also concluded that wives could serve their husbands in heretical activities because 'of their subjection to their superiors by doing these services, unless they are harmed by doing so, and even then such co-operation does not carry with it the blame which attaches to their superiors.' Allen and Persons did add to this the proviso that 'it would be much better if they refused to do this sort of service,' although this was not to undermine the exclusion from mortal sin granted to women.⁴¹ Women were then inferior to men in the church's thinking, but this inferiority gave them greater scope to stay within the teachings of the Catholic Church whilst also going about their daily lives in a hostile society.

³⁸ Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, p. 20.

³⁹ Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, p. 29. See 'Sheltering Priests' for details, pp. 438-43.

⁴⁰ Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, p. 39.

⁴¹ Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, p. 119.

The practicalities of the situation in Elizabethan England dictated that exceptions to the rules had to be made in order to make the practice of Catholicism possible in a hostile environment. In examining the rôle of Catholic women the practical expression of Catholicism was far more significant than theory of how women should behave. This becomes evident in examining the Catholic gentlewomen in sample families as their actions show that women were vital to the continuity of Catholicism in post-Reformation England.

Traditional Rôles

Nuns

The traditional and acceptable way in which a woman could commit to a religious life was to join a convent or priory, although this was an option which, especially in the medieval period, was open only to women of the upper classes.⁴² It was a publicly acknowledged way in which women could express their piety and devotion within the established church institutions. There were of course other, less orthodox, means of expression, including voluntary isolation or prophetic visions which have also been

associated with religious expression by women, though this most often remained the province of women from the lower classes whose options were more limited than their higher class contemporaries.

The Yorkshire gentry accepted that their daughters could express religious commitment by joining a priory before the Reformation as the numbers within monastic institutions illustrated.⁴³ The early accounts of monastic institutions implied that a certain amount of hostility existed within the Church itself and not all supported the idea that women should be permitted to join these institutions. Often accounts focus on the misdeeds of a minority, which was a theme common to many accounts of female monastic institutions prior to and during the period of dissolution.⁴⁴ The accounts of the Yorkshire monastic institutions, which housed women, do not portray a particularly rich lifestyle for the

⁴² M. Wade Labarge, *Women in Medieval Life: A Small Sound of the Trumpet* (London, 1986), p. 99.

⁴³ See chapter 4, pp. 225-84.

⁴⁴ Constable, 'Aelred of Rievaulx' and Thompson, 'The Problems of the Cistercian Nuns'. Constable discusses the transgression of a nun who was given to the order at four years of age and illustrates how the community reacted to her, whilst Thompson begins 'the early Cistercians were remarkable for their hostility to the feminine sex' and continues to discuss the long process by which women were eventually accepted into a Gilbertine lifestyle, with only a few institutions being formally incorporated into the Cistercian houses. (p. 251). *LP*. 13 and 14 [1&2] contain various accounts given by the visitors and assessors of monastic properties cataloguing financial or moral improprieties, which happily coincided with the Henrician policy of dissolving unprofitable or morally lax institutions. Criticisms applied to both male and female house, but the relative poverty of many of the smaller female houses and the fact that they were often in the charge of a woman, without much male supervision, made them particularly open to attack. See chapter 4 for details of some of the female monastic institutions in Yorkshire and the accusations leveled against them, pp. 225-84.

inhabitants.⁴⁵ The low income of many of these houses necessitated few servants and this implied a decline in the lifestyle of the residents who had been gentlewomen or daughters of the nobility. This was more in keeping with the idea of monastic simplicity and work and implied the devotion of the women who chose to go there or at the very least the devotion of the parents who sent their daughters there.

Yorkshire gentlewomen continued to show a desire to join Catholic monastic institutions after the Reformation and the continental seminaries owed much to them. The fact that they continued to face the hostility that arose from outside the Catholic community showed that they were committed to their religion and their ability to face and overcome the objections that came from within the Catholic establishment demonstrated a commitment to the monastic lifestyle.⁴⁶ Yorkshire women such as Mary Ward were instrumental in establishing institutions on the continent for women. She wrote of her vocation that 'I was resolved within myself to take the most strict and secluded, thinking and often saying, that as women did not know how to do good except to themselves (a

⁴⁵ B.J. Harris, 'A New Look at the Reformation: Aristocratic women and Nunneries, 1450-1540', *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), 89-113. This article puts forward the view that nunneries were peripheral to the 'women *and* men who constituted the ruling class', p. 109. This appears to be somewhat at odds with an examination of the Yorkshire gentry, although the discrepancy may be attributable to the fact this article is concerned with aristocratic rather than gentlewomen.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 4, pp. 225-84; M.C.E. Chambers, *The Life of Mary Ward*, I [2 vols.], ed. H.J. Coleridge (London, 1882). These volumes catalogue the hostility faced by Mary in her efforts to establish the continental monastic houses for women. The opposition came in the form of both foreign bishops and English Catholic clergymen who considered her presumptuous and considered it to be an over-ambitious project for a woman.

penuriousness which I resented enough even then) I would do in earnest what I did.⁴⁷ From the women within the sample families examples of equally notable religious commitment and determination can be found. In examining the Yorkshire gentry and the church the rôle of women in continuing the Catholic traditions of monasticism was touched upon; here the individual women involved will be examined in more detail.

Catherine Gascoigne, daughter of Sir John Gascoigne of Barnbow, and Margaret Vavasour, daughter of William Vavasour of Haselwood, were two of the nine gentlewomen who first went out to Cambrai, to begin their own English nunnery living under Benedictine rule.⁴⁸ This group suffered considerable hardships, both in terms of separation from their country and family, but also in more immediate ways as they had no place of residence on the continent. The house that they were eventually able to secure was noted as being a ruin with 'only four walls and no roof'.⁴⁹ These women showed their religious commitment in a very clear way; the difficulties that they endured were a sign of this and it was clearly not the circumstances that they had been used to living in as they were from prosperous families in England. Their ability to adapt to this new lifestyle and their clear ability to survive and adapt in a foreign, unfamiliar and not altogether friendly

⁴⁷ Chambers, *Life of Mary Ward*, 1, p. 50.

⁴⁸ Bar Convent Archive, York, the Gascoigne archive is referenced as 3G/2/_. 3G/2/8. This extract is entitled 'A document copied from the manuscript annals of the English Congregation of Monks of the Brides of the Benedictines'. The leader of the group was Helen More known as Dame Gertrude, and the other women accompanying her were Margaret Vavasour who was known as Dame Lucy, Anne Morgan known as Dame Benedicta, Dame Catherine Gascoigne, Grace More known as Dame Agnes, Dame Anne Marie More, Frances Watson known as Dame Mary, Mary Hoskins and Jane Martine known as Martha.

⁴⁹ Bar Convent Archive, York, Gascoigne, 3G/2/8.

country also does not entirely fit with the traditional image of early modern women. Even more recent reassessments of early modern women and their interaction with religion in the post-Reformation era has failed to acknowledge the rôle that Catholic women played in developing and maintaining their religion, with emphasis instead being placed on the Puritan religion as an important development in increasing women's rôle in religious practices.⁵⁰

The available accounts concerning the women who made the choice to continue to practice Catholicism within a monastic environment and who were pioneers in establishing and running the English convents and nunneries abroad do share common themes. The written accounts of these women's lives are also united in their stories which attempt to ally the unconventional behaviour of these women with the more subservient stereotypes and religious imagery of the day; many of them were produced by priests or

⁵⁰ Eales, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 2-3, 86-97; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 390-1; B.S. Travitsky and A.F. Seeff (ed.), *Attending to Women in Early Modern England* (Delaware, 1994); M.E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 179-217; All these texts emphasize the importance of the development of Protestantism in increasing the rôle and influence of women in religious practice. Wiesner writes in reference to Europe that 'the Protestant religion both expanded and diminished women's opportunities. The period in which women were the most active was the decade or so immediately following an area's decision to break with the Catholic Church...' (p. 186). M.B. Rowlands, 'Recusant Women 1560-1640' in M. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society* (London, 1985), pp. 149-80, places far greater emphasis on the importance of Catholic women and casts doubt on the established ideas about women's relationship with male authority in terms of disobeying in matters of religion. It should be noted that she focuses on lay not monastic rôles for women and so will be discussed in more detail through an examination of women in the household and within the local community.

monks which may go some way to explaining the telling of the truly 'providential' acts of fate which allow these women to take up their vocation despite all opposition.

Dame Catherine Gascoigne, who became abbess of the house of Cambrai, was described much as other Catholic women of the period, such as Mary Ward and Margaret Clitheroe. The account of her life notes her birth as 1 March 1600 and that she showed signs of sanctity and piety from an early age, so that 'at the age of 14 [she] began to adopt the choices of the mystical life, devoting herself especially to the study of Humility Mortification and Prayer.'⁵¹ These early indications of a future religious life were also seen in Justina Gascoigne, who demonstrated her charitable nature by giving the food from her father's table to the poor, much to the displeasure of her cousin and contemporary Gregory Stapleton who felt the need to inform her father of this activity.⁵² The idea of suffering and the rejection of worldly concerns was also a theme echoed in the life story of Catherine Gascoigne. The textual record of her life within the Benedictine order stated, rather inaccurately considering the political climate of the times, that she desired a religious life, but found only 'one obstacle towards attaining her wish', namely her exceptional beauty. This fits well with other texts concerning women of the period,

⁵¹ Bar Convent Archive, York, Gascoigne, 3G/2/8; Chambers, *Life of Mary Ward*, 1, pp. 9 & 16; M. Rowlands, "'The Galloping Girls': The Painted Life of Mary Ward", unpublished paper delivered at the Northern Renaissance Conference, Houghton Tower, 1997. The same early religious devotion was seen in the autobiography and in the painted life of Mary Ward. One portrait depicts Mary aged three being saved from a fall by uttering her first word which was 'Jesus'. Later in her life she was observed reciting daily the Day Hours, the Litany of Our Blessed Lady and the Rosary. Marie Rowlands highlighted the use of symbolism in these accounts as being a tool for promotion of the Catholic religion.

⁵² Bar Convent Archive, York, Gascoigne, 3G/2/33.

emphasising that they should not be concerned with politics and affairs of high state, but rather with domestic and wifely duties. Undoubtedly good looks were not the only problems facing a young Catholic woman who wished to become a nun in this era. Exceptional beauty may well have indicated her suitability as a wife rather than a nun, and the same problem was experienced by Mary Ward whose father wished her to marry. This problem was however rectified as the story continues to say that Catherine prayed to God to be blighted by an illness, which might lessen the impediment to her religious devotions. Her prayers were answered in the form of an outbreak of smallpox and the impediment of beauty, it would appear, was removed from Catherine's life.

Influences on Catherine's choice of a monastic life appear to have derived from the Gascoigne's chaplain, Father Richard Huddleson, who was also a Benedictine monk, and Father Baker. These men appear to have had a profound and long-lasting affect on Catherine, and it would appear that the influence of chaplains and visiting priests were important in recruiting both men and women. Aveling in his analysis of Northern Catholics saw these men as playing the most significant rôle in the continuation of Catholicism. Haigh viewed events rather differently, seeing these missionary priests as failing to make the significant impact that was needed at this time of crisis due to their concentration on gentry households.⁵³ The necessity of priests to the Catholic religion is undeniable, but it was true that for many their contact was limited and it was family

⁵³ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 253; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance* and 'From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 31 (1981), 129-47.

members and local devout Catholics who kept loyalty constant during the priests' absence.

Catherine appears as a remarkable woman; not only did she choose to leave her family and a familiar environment, but she also appears to have gained an important and influential position within the monastic institutions of the Catholic church at a very early age and was able to maintain her status and position in an essentially male dominated environment, throughout her life. She became abbess at Cambrai aged thirty, only five years after she had first adopted the religious profession. This in itself was a remarkable achievement as the council of Trent had decreed that an abbess should be at least forty years of age and have been professed for a minimum of eight years before obtaining this position. The dispensation from Rome may well have been granted due to the absence of any older candidates of equally good birth who could have taken up the position, although the fact that Catherine held the position for fifty years must have indicated her aptitude for the position.⁵⁴

Catherine Gascoigne was not the only member of her family who entered the continental monastic institutions and achieved a position of importance. Justina Gascoigne also journeyed to Cambrai in 1638 and was the youngest member to join the convent there, aged only fifteen. She took her vows in 1640 and went on to establish another Benedictine convent, this time at Paris. The initial trip to Paris in 1652 had been entered

⁵⁴ Bar Convent Archive, York, Gascoigne, 3G/2/8.

upon because of the lack of funds at Cambrai, which is further evidence of the commitment of these women to their religion, despite the problems that they faced.⁵⁵

The new convents on the continent had opened up new opportunities for the young Catholic women of England, who took advantage of the experiences that this new era offered them. Whilst they did face hardships and challenges that would not have occurred in a pre-Reformation monastic life they also had new freedoms. Writing of Protestant religious women Aveling stated that ‘they always paid lip-service to their traditional inferior place in society, but nevertheless explicitly claimed the right to their own opinions.’ He continues ‘it seems to have been presumed that Catholics were essentially conservative, and that therefore the seventeenth century cannot have known any similar demonstrations by their womenfolk. Yet the history of new English Catholic women’s religious communities upsets this presumption.’⁵⁶ This is a rare acknowledgement by Aveling of the fact that women did have a rôle to play in the world of post-Reformation Catholicism. Yet to assume that this meant an abandonment of a conservative approach to religion and religious expression is not necessarily true. Old family alliances still existed on the continent and those families who had been important and influential in England remained so in this new period and in this new land. The women who went out to establish these new communities took with them the traditional and conservative views of their Catholic gentry upbringing and used them and their family names, in their new lives to gain recognition and respect. The post Reformation world saw the old conservatism

⁵⁵ Bar Convent Archive, York, Gascoigne, 3G/2/33.

⁵⁶ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 87.

adapt to respond to the new environment and therefore created a situation whereby women could gain independent and individual recognition whilst still retaining many of the hierarchies and traditions that had existed alongside the medieval world.

Wives and Mothers

The most frequent rôle a woman would take up was that of wife and mother. Here, too, religion played a part in defining behaviour, shaped by thoughts and writings on motherhood which were encapsulated in the image of the holy virgin. She was both wife and mother, an ideal of the perfect women who was to be emulated and who gave women a part to play within religious devotion for mothers' prayers would be heard by the holy virgin. By the Elizabethan era the significance of the household had increased greatly, as Catholicism was essentially a household religion. Masses were said in the houses of the gentry and these homes became the safe houses of the missionary and Marian priests who were sheltering there.⁵⁷ Aveling estimated that between 1580 and 1603 there were three hundred gentry households that could have been described as Catholic, yet he was willing to dispute this as particularly significant as he stated that whilst on paper this seemed impressive, 'in reality the bulk of the gentry's strong Catholic conviction and activism was found in two types of gentry family, neither of them capable of maintaining large, stable family residences - women (widows or the recusant wives of conformist) and "vagrants" who often moved house to avoid persecution.'⁵⁸ Naturally these types of

⁵⁷ Aveling, 'Catholic Households', p. 85; McGrath and Rowe, 'Elizabethan Priests', pp. 209-33.

⁵⁸ Aveling, 'Catholic Households', p. 86.

'household Catholicism' would be less important to Aveling's interpretation of the Jesuit/missionary priest as saviour of the Catholic religion. The foreign seminaries had in mind a large-scale re-conversion of England with priests being restored to their natural place and obtaining the associated respect and standing in the community. Haigh points out that this re-birth was non-existent and that the Catholicism that existed in post-Reformation England owed just as much to medieval Catholicism.⁵⁹ In an analysis of the rôle that gentlewomen played in the survival of Catholicism, it becomes clear that their household Catholicism allowed old traditions and new ideas to blend to form a Catholicism that was adaptable enough to survive an era of persecution. The significance of women becomes clear when an examination of the number of recusants identified by the authorities is made, and the surviving details of these women's lives indicate that they were important in maintaining the traditions of the 'old religion' and in providing a forum for the missionary priests.

Women and Public Prosecution

Recusant Rolls and Fines

The task of maintaining religious obedience and compliance was an enormous one. The religious changes imposed by the government, headed by the monarch, were implemented at a slow rate and were integrated into the everyday lives of most at a slow rate meaning

⁵⁹ Haigh, 'Continuity of Catholicism', pp. 37-69.

that by the Elizabethan era many, especially in the north, were still involved with what could only be described as barely modified Catholicism.⁶⁰ The debates over religious doctrine and civil obedience placed great importance on religion as a sign of a successful monarchy and the authority of the regime.⁶¹ In many cases it would seem that it was considered more important that those who did not comply with the law of the land were made to pay the financial penalty. Reports such as those made by Sir Ralph Sadler to Sir William Cecil concerning the situation in Yorkshire stated that 'There are not ten gentlemen in all this country that favour her proceedings in the cause of religion'.⁶² These placed great emphasis on the rôle of the gentlemen of the county, yet as the subsequent lists and financial records show, equal importance was placed on determining the religious conviction of the women of Yorkshire.

The 1577 survey of Catholics within the dioceses of England and Wales showed the number of Catholics within the diocese of York and those areas which fall within Yorkshire, but not necessarily under the province of the archbishop of York. M.M.C.

⁶⁰ Dickens, *The English Reformation*, especially pp. 442-56; Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, pp. 164-5; *Policy and Police*, pp. 396-425; Haigh, *English Reformation Revised*, introduction and chapter 9, pp. 176-208, by Haigh and chapter 6 by R. Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformation', pp. 114-38, for discussion of local studies; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (1971; London, 1991), pp. 80-9. Keith Thomas has shown that some of the old Catholic practices and traditions survived, despite opposition by Protestants who condemned these actions as superstitious practices.

⁶¹ A.J. Fletcher, 'Honour, Reputation and Local Office Holding in Elizabethan and Stuart England', in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 19-115.

⁶² *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 139.

Calthrop, in the introduction to the Catholic Record Society's first published volume of Recusant Rolls, makes it clear that the 1577 census was merely a list of Catholics, produced in response to the claim that 'those that are backward in religion grow worse.'⁶³ The fact that the lists included a financial estimate of each person's worth, however, would better support the idea that 'the government did not want to make such a census, but to get at a list of Catholics of property from whom fines could be extorted.'⁶⁴ The list makes class distinctions, and it is interesting to note the high numbers of females to be found amongst the lists. The figures for Yorkshire show that there were six ladies known to be Catholic compared to only one knight; twenty-three gentlewomen compared to only fourteen gentlemen; and seventy-two 'inferior' women, against only thirty-two 'inferior' men.⁶⁵ This disparity of women outnumbering men to such a great extent was not seen in any of the other dioceses surveyed in that year.⁶⁶

⁶³ *CSPD, 1547-1580*, pp. cxi, 45; M.M.C. Calthrop (ed.), *Recusant Rolls 1592-3* (CRS RS, 18, 1916), p. xi.

⁶⁴ P. Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales 1577', in *Miscellanea XI: Early Recusants* (CRS RS, 22, 1921), p. 4.

⁶⁵ Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns', p. 5. It should be recognised that as with all records of Catholics from this period the survey was and still is considered to be inaccurate, in the fact that it grossly underestimates the number of recusants in England in 1577. Used in context, however, the inaccuracies may be considered to be less detrimental as its purpose was not to produce an accurate head count to show the number of people practicing Catholicism, but rather to assess how much could be obtained in fines - as a tax was imposed on all those who were found to be worth £40 per annum in land or £200 in goods.

⁶⁶ Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns', pp. 6-9. From the other counties only Suffolk and Essex had the women outnumbering the men on the list. Suffolk saw the ladies outnumbering the knights, with 5 ladies recorded and only 1 knight and 11 gentlewomen, compared to only six gentlemen. In Essex there were 2 ladies and only one knight listed; 18 gentlewomen and only fourteen gentlemen and 2 'inferior' men with 6 'inferior' women.

Considering that the survey was designed to ensure that fines would reap the most benefit by being levied upon those Catholics who had the means to pay, it is surprising that the religious practices of so many Yorkshire women were highlighted. Women were of course not recognised by common law if they were under the protection of, or in some way represented by, a man, whether this be husband, father, brother or an appointed guardian. Yet they were to a great extent deemed responsible for their own behaviour and, therefore, held accountable for their own actions, including their choice of religion.⁶⁷ Husbands were liable for the fines of their wives and daughter, but many widows, who appear to have been viewed by the authorities as acting independently, were also to be found on these lists. Why so many women appear is still a question that needs further examination. The logical conclusion may be that the women in Yorkshire, or their representatives, had more financial resources at their disposal with which to pay, yet there is little evidence to support the fact that Yorkshire women, or their husbands, were in a better financial position than elsewhere in the country.⁶⁸ Perhaps another explanation would be that the survey in the York diocese was more thorough in its searching than elsewhere in the country, and therefore discovered more of these Catholic women; after all the Council of the North had its headquarters at York. The survey was to be carried

⁶⁷ Laurence, *Women in England*, p. 227. Laurence refers to the *The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights* written in 1632 and the 1653 digest for law magistrates which affirmed that 'After marriage, all the will of the husband: and it is commonly said a femme coverte hath no will.'

⁶⁸ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 93-118; Tawney, 'Rise of the Gentry'. Cliffe discusses the Yorkshire gentry as a whole stating that some families prospered whilst others declined and that Tawney's view of the gentry as the dominant and rising class of this period was not universally true. Certainly neither produces evidence to suggest that Yorkshire Catholic gentlemen or their families were more a financially viable target than any other county gentry grouping.

out under the jurisdiction of the bishops and as Edwyn Sandys's letter to Elizabeth and her privy counsellors indicated, the short time period given to carry out the exercise ensured that the people of York were a far easier target than the outlying areas of his jurisdiction, such as Nottinghamshire.⁶⁹ The Archbishop stated that he had followed instructions.

I haue with all diligencie travelled therin, and haue sent vnto yor Lordships herewithall the names and abilities of suche within my dioces, as refuse to come to Churche... Yt was not possible for me in this shortnes of tyme to searche owt all, being required by yor Lordships to returne answere within vij daies, for as yet I haue not visited my dioces, and so canne not come by full vnderstandinge of the offendours.⁷⁰

Despite the archbishop's protestations that he was unable to carry out the task to its full there were 176 Catholics listed as residing within the diocese which was a higher figure than produced by any other religious jurisdiction and so we could expect numerically more women than in other counties. Yet we still have to contend with that fact that, of the 176 listed, 101 were women.⁷¹ If women were so insignificant and inferior why would the authorities choose to place such emphasis on cataloguing their religious beliefs?

What is also interesting about the survey is that it gives details of those who were cited, which provides a breakdown of the marital status of the women to be found on the list. This provides information on unmarried Catholic women, widows and couples: it also

⁶⁹ Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns', p. 2, making reference to PRO Dom. Eliz. 117, n. 23.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns', p. 7. From the 75 men listed, 56 were lay men and 11 were priests.

allows notice to be taken of those women who were cited alone, without their husbands, despite being married. A total of fifty-two women were named as individuals, with a further nineteen appearing alongside their husbands.⁷² From those who were listed as individuals just less than a quarter were widows, which meant that they had far more religious freedom and were able to follow their own religious inclinations with far fewer problems than their married counterparts.⁷³ Widows were able to display more independence in their religious choices, as demonstrated by many of the women in the sample families examined. Following their husband's death both Dorothy Lawson and Margery Scrope were able to operate more freely.⁷⁴ The survey shows that these women also became liable to bear the costs of their actions and were assessed on the basis of their deceased husband's estates. Thus they became liable to pay the fines for their recusancy.

A widow's legal status would mean that she could be held financially liable for her own religious practices; what is more surprising here are the number of married women and daughters who appeared on the survey. They were listed as independent people despite the fact that in law they held only that income and property which their husbands and fathers chose to give them. There are two possible explanations for this pattern occurring: the facts could be as they are presented, that there was an exceptionally high proportion of Catholic women who were married to conformist Protestant husbands; alternatively, it could be the case that both husband and wife were Catholic, but the man, wishing to

⁷² Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns', pp. 12-36.

⁷³ Ibid. Seventeen of the 82 women listed were widows.

⁷⁴ See 'The Household' for an expansion of this point, pp. 428-32.

avoid heavy fines and possible financial ruin was maintaining a surface conformity whilst his wife, who had less standing in the law, was free to practice the 'old' religion in a semi-public way.⁷⁵

In order to determine which of these possibilities was most likely for the families being examined here it is necessary to look at the survey as a whole as well as the details available for individuals from the families.

To be found amongst the ladies and gentlewomen listed was Anne Calverley (Caluerleye), who was wife to Walter Calverley and daughter to Sir Christopher Danby. She appeared without her husband and he was noted as having lands worth forty pounds per annum. Anne came from a Catholic family and was obviously maintaining her religious beliefs after her marriage, despite the fact her husband appeared to be conforming. The Calverleys' high status in society meant that they stood to lose far more than those of lower income, if Walter Calverley had also appeared as a recusant. The thirty-eight recusants who appear in the 1577 headcount as couples were mainly from the lower sections of society, indicating that they did not have as much to lose by having both family members appear. A few gentlemen and their wives were listed as couples, such as William and Rosamund Hawkesworth of Little Milton, who were noted as having lands

⁷⁵ Walsham, *Church Papists*, see introduction for definition of recusancy and Church papistry. A discussion of Church papistry in relation to Yorkshire women is specifically dealt with in 'A Catholic wife and Conformist Husband', pp. 394-8.

worth two hundred pounds, and Thomas and Mary More of Barnburgh, who were valued at the far lesser amount of twenty pounds a year.

Perhaps most noticeable was the fact that Thomas Vavasour, the extremely religiously active 'doctor of phisicke' and his equally influential wife, Dorothy (both of York) were to be found on the list of Catholics in the York diocese. This may not appear startling, but what was unusual was that they appeared separately, not as a couple, and were the only married couple both to appear, yet to be listed as individuals. Why these two people appear at all on a list designed to ascertain which recusants were of sufficient income to be fined is a question that is raised as both were noted as 'worth nothing, but very wilfull'.⁷⁶ This fact perhaps also indicated that the lists compiled in Yorkshire were not just concerned with money but also with identifying potentially troublesome Catholics. The fact that both husband and wife were very active in maintaining the Catholic community may explain why they appear on the lists, as the authorities were keen to keep track of them, despite their lack of finance. The fact that Dorothy Vavasour was listed separately also indicated that she was seen as an individual threat to the religious authorities, and Richard Rex's article on her husband would seem to indicate that their activities were not interdependent, with Dorothy engaging in potentially dangerous acts whilst her husband was imprisoned.⁷⁷ The wilfulness of women such as Dorothy was what brought them to the attention of the authorities and combined with this was the fact

⁷⁶ Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns', p. 17.

⁷⁷ Rex, 'Thomas Vavasour, M.D.', pp. 436-54.

that they resided within the city of York itself, which made it virtually impossible for the authorities, even in the relatively conservative city, to ignore their behaviour.⁷⁸

The rôle played by Dorothy and other female inhabitants of York, such as Margaret Clitherow, was important both in practical terms of maintaining a community within the town which had access to priests, but also in a more abstract way. Their actions and sacrifices for the cause did provide inspiration for many Catholics, especially those on the continent who were distanced from the immediate consequences of religious disobedience and were therefore able to view these events as heroic or romantic acts of sacrifice.⁷⁹ Aveling is also unwilling to see these women and their actions as particularly significant to the Catholic cause, stating of Margaret Clitherow that ‘she might easily have been converted by the “godly preaching” and catechising of Henry More, Bunney or Huntingdon’s chaplains’.⁸⁰ For Aveling the crucial players in the continuation of the Catholic religion in England were the seminary priests: they were not the women who risked their usual comforts and even their lives to maintain the Catholic religion. Nor were they the women who continued to practice the household Catholicism of the later Tudor era and who maintained old traditions whilst adapting to the new world, where surface conformity by either them or their husbands might be prudent. For Aveling the former were seeking an attention and rôle which the conformities of the day denied to

⁷⁸ A.G. Dickens, *The Marian Reaction in the Diocese of York: The Clergy, I and The Laity, II*, (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Pamphlets 11 and 12, 1957 & 1958), discusses the conservative nature of York.

⁷⁹ P. Caraman, *Margaret Clitherow* (York, 1986). This short booklet provides a brief account of the life of Margaret Clitherow, focusing on the persecution and heroism of Margaret.

them and he saw them latching on to Catholicism, when they could just have as easily seized upon the Puritanical ideas of the period. The latter were too easily swayed and lacked the commitment of their religious convictions which did not fit with the new zealous commitment evoked amongst some of the exiled and Jesuit orders.

The 1577 list does more than illustrate those who were known to the authorities, it also illustrated the success of those who remained undetected. Whilst the activities of the Vavasours of York were well catalogued their relations at Bubwith and Haselwood, who were quieter in their religious practices, remained unnoticed. For many evasion was the key to survival. The Vavasours of York were a sub-branch of the main gentry family and had moved into a community of tradesmen and women. The prominence of tradespeople on the list, especially the wives of butchers, is easily noticeable. Thus the middling sort once again play an important rôle in the survival of English Catholicism and it is once again the younger sons and daughters of the main gentry families who were willing to take risks in order to maintain Catholic practices.⁸¹

Avoiding detection was a key ploy of the Catholics of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, as the number of vagrant recusants showed. Those families who lived within the geographical boundaries of Yorkshire but who were within the diocese of Chester could find this to their advantage. In the 1577 survey they are listed as ‘persons not of the dyoces of Yorke, but of the diocesses of other Byshoppes within the province of York.’

⁸⁰ Aveling, *City of York*, p. 45.

⁸¹ See appendix III, p. 490, Thomas Vavasour was the fifth son of Peter Vavasour of Spaldington

Amongst this much shorter list were to be found members of the Wycliffe, Gascoigne and Norton families. Jane Gascoigne of Sedbury was named on the list without her husband, Richard. This seems rather peculiar as she was the daughter of Richard Norton of Norton Conyers and therefore her Catholic heritage and obvious continuous practice of the religion was something which can hardly have escaped her husband's notice. The realities of the situation will be discussed further in the next section. Marmaduke Norton (presumably of the Sawley branch of the family) also appeared on the list with his wife. Although she was not cited by name on the list she was Elizabeth, daughter of John Killinghall of Middleton Durham, who also had Catholic ancestry.⁸² The confused nature of the religious jurisdictions were often an asset to the families as they allowed them to remain obscure and ensured that sympathisers of the cause could easily neglect to record specific details.

Records of prosecutions in the 1580s are also available, and amongst these records the large numbers of women present was again significant. Though the families being examined here did well to avoid detection and therefore the numbers recorded are sparse there are still far more of the female family members cited than there are male family members. Between 1581 and 1592, when the records were still being recorded in the Pipe Rolls, there were four, or possibly five, women from the sample families named as recusants, Jane Gascoigne, Hanna Gascoigne, Elizabeth Lawson, Frances Vavasour and Dorothy Wentworth. Four of these women were married but appeared without their husbands. Jane Gascon (Gascoigne) was recorded as being the wife of Richard of

⁸² See appendices II, III and IV for details of pedigrees, pp. 457-521.

Setharghe (Sedbury) and was convicted of six months' recusancy in July 1587. Also recorded was a Hanna Gascoigne who was convicted on 18 March 1587/8 for thirteen months' recusancy from 3 September 1586 and who was also recorded as being married to a Richard Gascoigne of Sedbury.⁸³ Elizabeth Lawson was the wife of Ralph Lawson of Brough and was convicted on 4 September 1587 and again on 18 March 1587/8 for thirteen months' recusancy.⁸⁴ Dorothy Wentworth was the wife of Matthew Wentworth of Bretton and was convicted in March 1585/6 for two months recusancy from 4 January 1585/6.⁸⁵ All of these women share certain commonalities; first, they all descend from and married into Catholic families and two reappear in subsequent years: Second, their husbands were either unable to control their wives' behaviour in the way that the society of the time dictated that they should or alternatively they were willing accomplices in their wives' failure to comply with the laws governing religion. The only unmarried woman from the sample families to appear in the records of this period was Frances Vavasour. She was noted a 'spinster' of Wharton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire and was

⁸³ H. Bowler, *Recusants 1581-92* (CRS RS, 71, 1986), p. 66. There are two possible explanations for this record. Either the same woman was twice convicted for recusancy over the same period meaning that Jane and Hanna were the same person or Hanna Gascoigne was the wife of another Richard Gascoigne. Richard Gascoigne of Sedbury (son of Sir Henry Gascoigne and husband of Jane Norton) had an uncle, Richard Gascoigne of Cold Ingleby who had two sons named Richard and Christopher. The eldest of these, also a Richard Gascoigne (son of Richard of Cold Ingleby) would be of comparable age to his more well documented cousin. Richard, son of Richard, is cited in the pedigrees as having no heir, but it was still possible that he married and his connection with Sedbury could have led his wife to be recorded as a recusant of Sedbury.

⁸⁴ Bowler, *Recusants 1581-92*, p. 107.

⁸⁵ Bowler, *Recusants 1581-92*, p. 187.

convicted on 28 March 1588 for a total of ten months' recusancy which spanned from 8 September 1586.

The amount of business that was to be carried out by the exchequer concerning the number of recusants and the fines to be administered on them reached a peak in the 1590s and meant that the previous system of adding the names and financial details to the Pipe Rolls became impractical, resulting in the creation of separate Recusant Rolls to record these details. Again women feature strongly in the official records detailing who was fined for failure to attend the established church. Writing in 1916 of the Recusant Roll for 1592-3, Calthrop observed that:

As regards figures, the account deals with roughly 4500 names...The women number more than half, but by only by a few figures. One cannot say that their preponderance is a special characteristic of the north, south, east or west of England. The Yorkshire account gives about 200 more women than men; in Lancashire men and women appear about equal.⁸⁶

Calthrop may not have seen this as a particularly significant issue, but the sheer number of women occurring on the registers, particularly in Yorkshire, did provoke some comment. The fact that there were two hundred more women than men on the Yorkshire register for 1592-3 is significant in reconstructing the history of recusancy and Catholicism in the county. This was also not an isolated phenomenon, as has been shown through the examination of earlier records within this analysis. It means that the rôle of women was far greater than has been previously acknowledged by Aveling in his histories of Yorkshire Catholicism.

The Recusant Rolls kept accounts both of the names and the amount each recusant owed, thus providing some idea of the value of the families' land and income and if they were able to pay these fines. Amongst the married women appearing in 1592-3 were Jane Gascoigne, wife of Richard Gascoigne of Sedbury and Elizabeth Lawson, wife of Ralph Lawson of Brough. Additional women from the sample families occur in these years with ____ Cholmley, Jane/Anna Danby, Ursula Fairfax, Elizabeth Lawson (not the wife of Ralph), Winifrid Meynell, Margaret Meynell, Elizabeth Stapleton, Anna Vavasour, _____ Wentworth and Jane Wycliffe representing over two-thirds of the families being examined.⁸⁷ The list for 1593-4 also showed the same names reappearing; Ursula Cholmley and Matilda Wentworth were named suggesting that these were the women listed without Christian names on the 1592-3 lists.⁸⁸

The institution of the earl of Huntingdon as the president of the Council of the North (1572-95) had resulted in increased pressure on the Catholic population. The earl's own religious convictions left him diametrically opposed to Catholicism and distinctly unwilling to adopt the level of toleration that had been the hallmark of Yorkshire's authorities.⁸⁹ 1595 saw the end of his presidency and just as the secular administration

⁸⁶ Calthrop, *Recusant Rolls 1592-3*, pp. xvi-xvii.

⁸⁷ Calthrop, *Recusant Rolls 1592-3*, pp. 73, 82-3, 85,87, 96, 98-9, 102, 107.

⁸⁸ Bowler, *Recusant Rolls, 1593-4* (CRS RS, 57, 1965). On these lists Ursula wife of Marmaduke Cholmley of Brandsby, Jane wife of Thomas Danby of Leake, Joan wife of Richard Gascoigne of Sedbury, Elizabeth wife of Ralph Lawson of Brough, Winifred wife of Thomas Meynell and Margaret Meynell, widow of Kilvington, Elizabeth wife of Richard Stapleton and Matilda Wentworth of Bretton.

⁸⁹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 174.

changed, so too did the ecclesiastical administration. The new archbishop of York, Matthew Hutton, took up his office and oversaw another survey concerning the religious persuasions of those who fell under his jurisdiction.⁹⁰ This survey shows a far more thorough approach than that taken in 1577 with all areas under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York being examined as well as areas of Yorkshire that fell under other bishoprics being noted (see table 6.1)

⁹⁰ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 1-107. This volume contains various miscellaneous records including the surveys taken in 1582 and 1595. These are taken from the catalogues of Hatfield House Library where they were bound together in 1712. The 1582 survey was sent to the Privy Council by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the sparseness of information would appear to indicate that the survey is at best an overview. The 1595 survey with which this analysis is concerned was taken under the direction of the Archbishop of York and provided information on areas under his jurisdiction only.

6.1 Recusants in the Province of York in 1595 ⁹¹

| AREA | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|-------------------------------|-----|----------|-------|---------|
| York : Peculiar Jurisdictions | 85 | (41.5 %) | 120 | (58.5%) |
| East Riding | 13 | (29.5 %) | 31 | (70.5%) |
| Cleveland : Bulmer | 22 | (31 %) | 49 | (69%) |
| Cleveland : Rydall | 7 | (30%) | 16 | (70%) |
| Cleveland : Cleveland | 76 | (40%) | 113 | (60%) |
| Nottingham | 10 | (67%) | 5 | (33%) |
| Snaith | 8 | (38%) | 13 | (62%) |
| 'Howdenshire' (Howden) | 14 | (44%) | 18 | (56%) |
| York | 5 | (42%) | 7 | (58%) |
| Allertonshire | 13 | (45%) | 16 | (55%) |
| Durham | 16 | (26%) | 46 | (74%) |
| Stockton | 12 | (35%) | 22 | (65%) |
| Easington | 15 | (44%) | 19 | (56%) |
| Chester | 25 | (46%) | 29 | (54%) |
| Northumberland : Morpeth | 9 | (41%) | 13 | (59%) |
| Northumberland : Alnwick | 38 | (51%) | 36 | (49%) |
| Northumberland :Bamburgh | 2 | (100%) | - | |
| Northumberland :Corbridge | 22 | (48%) | 24 | (52%) |
| Northumberland :Newcastle | 11 | (52%) | 10 | (48%) |
| Carlisle : Cumberland | 17 | (45%) | 21 | (55%) |
| Westmorland | 11 | (41%) | 16 | (59%) |
| Chester | 8 | (50%) | 8 | (50%) |
| Chester : Malpas | 7 | (27%) | 19 | (73%) |
| Chester : Bangor | 5 | (28%) | 13 | (72%) |
| Chester : Wirral | - | | 3 | (100%) |
| Chester : Frodsham | 2 | (67%) | 1 | (33%) |
| Chester : Manchester | 8 | (50%) | 8 | (50%) |
| Chester : Macclesfield | 1 | (20%) | 4 | (80%) |
| Chester : Nantwich | 27 | (60%) | 18 | (40%) |
| Chester : Blackburn | 34 | (54%) | 29 | (46%) |
| Leyland | 178 | (36%) | 321 | (64%) |
| Richmond | 63 | (34%) | 120 | (66%) |
| Boroughbridge | 46 | (54%) | 37 | (46%) |
| Catterick | 24 | (22%) | 83 | (78%) |
| Amounderness | 57 | (42%) | 37 | (58%) |
| Lonsdale | 10 | (11%) | 83 | (89%) |
| Kendal | 8 | (50%) | 8 | (50%) |
| Furness | 1 | (33%) | 2 | (67%) |
| Total | 910 | (39%) | 1418 | (61%) |

⁹¹ A database of British Place Names at <http://www.gazetteer.co.uk> (January 2001) for citation of modernised palace names.

The table shows the number of men and women within each archdeaconry, and it is clear that women were still maintaining their numerical advantage in 1595.⁹² On average the percentage spilt appears as a sixty/forty divide in favour of the women. Highest numbers appear in those areas that were difficult to regulate, due to their geographical location or due the fact that there was dual regulation affecting the area, meaning that no one had overall control. Areas such as York, the East Riding, Catterick and Richmondshire all show that women were a high percentage of the Catholic population. The figures from Durham, Malpas, Bangor in Wales, Macclesfield in Chester and Lonsdale, now part of Lancashire, all show high percentages of women, suggesting that women were playing an important rôle in these areas too, despite being overlooked in the studies of Catholicism in these districts.⁹³ The majority of the sample families being examined in this study have representatives amongst the women that appeared on the lists for 1595. The parish of Leake was dominated by the Danby family with Anne Danby, wife of Thomas appearing without her husband and being indicted having been noted as being worth a thousand marks in goods. Also appearing were her mother-in-law, Isabel of Braworth, who was by 1595 a widow, and Anne's son and daughter, Myles and Mary.⁹⁴ Included within this

⁹² Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 15-107. These figure show the number of women appearing on the lists as suspect or confirmed in their recusant activities. Not all of the men or women appearing here were indicted for their activities.

⁹³ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*; K.R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire* (Chetham Society, third series, 19, 1971), for a discussion of Lancashire and Cheshire.

⁹⁴ See appendices II, III and IV for details of the Danby family, pp. 458-9, 474-5, 499-500; Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 25, 45, Anne is noted as the wife of Thomas Dalby, but it is evident from the subsequent information and the fact that the Danbys were the main gentry family of Leake and Braworth that this was in fact Jane Danby, née Warde. Also appearing was an unnamed women who was wife to William Danby,

parish was Thomasin Walker, a servant to the Danby family of Leake and Marie Bowmore a servant to Robert Danby of Hay Waynes; Robert was a member of the Danby family of Masham. The inclusion of family members and servants demonstrated that gentry households were a central place for the maintenance and practice of the 'old religion' and that women were central to this form of post-Reformation Catholicism.⁹⁵ From the Gascoigne family, William and Ellen Gascoigne appeared as a couple on the lists whilst Jane, the wife of Richard Gascoigne of Sedbury, again appeared without her husband as she had in previous years.⁹⁶ The Lawson family had a particularly large number of women appearing on the lists for 1595. The list for the parish of Stanfordham in the deanery of Corbridge, Northumberland showed a hive of Catholic activity centring around Mrs Lawson, a widow of Chesborough Grange. Present with her were Katherine, her daughter, and various friends and employees maintained by her including two single women Anne Shastoe and Jane Swinburne, two male servants Ambrose Swinburne and William Coke, and an additional Ambrose Swinburne and his wife Margaret who ran the wind mill for her and who were expected to be left Chesborough Grange upon Mrs. Lawson's death.⁹⁷ There can be little doubt that this was Dorothy Lawson who was related both to the Lawsons of Newcastle and of Yorkshire and who will be discussed further in subsequent sections due to the actively religious life she led. Other female members of the Lawson family appearing in 1595 included, Barbara Lawson of Healey,

a yeoman. His mother was noted to be Isabel Ward, the wife of Henry Ward of Kirkby Knowles Parish. This suggests that the unknown woman and William were related to the Danbys of Leake, though the exact connection is unclear.

⁹⁵ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 45, 99.

⁹⁶ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 17, 87.

Northumberland, Margerie [Margery] Lawson the wife of John Lawson of Bywell and two unmarried sisters Katherine Lawson and her sister Elizabeth of Washington, who were both left three hundred pounds by their father George.⁹⁸ In Yorkshire, Elizabeth Lawson the wife of Ralph Lawson of Brough appeared on the lists without her husband, as did Frances Lawson wife of Henry of Elvet at St Oswald's Parish in Durham.⁹⁹ Not all of the Lawson women appear as wives; another Katherine Lawson appears, listed as a servant of Martha Stanford in Askham Parish, Westmorland, which would fit in well with the practice of youths going into service in other gentry households. Here Katherine appeared with Jane Atkinson as they were both servants to Martha Stanford, a married woman, who also appeared on the list as a non-communicant, making this household appropriate to house the daughters of Catholic families.¹⁰⁰

The 1595 lists also see other more familiar names re-appearing; Ursula Fairfax, Anne Vavasour, wife of Peter, and Jane Wycliffe. Also appearing for the first time were Cecily Norton wife to William of 'Clowberke' and Elizabeth Norton daughter of Edmund who lived with and was maintained by him; Jane Tunstall of Worksall and widow Fairfax of 'Spufforth' [Spofforth] who was residing with a William Paner at Moorside; Elizabeth Vavasour a spinster supported by Peter Vavasour, whose wife Anne was a long-standing recusant; and Francis Wentworth, the wife of Michael of Badsworth. All these women

⁹⁷ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, p. 60.

⁹⁸ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 34, 54, 59. Also amongst the Lawson women was Agnes Lawson 'a poor beggarly widow'.

⁹⁹ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 53, 100.

¹⁰⁰ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, p. 65.

demonstrated that the gentlewomen of the period were vital in this heightened era of persecution.

The changes to the secular and ecclesiastical administration in Yorkshire and the north in general that occurred in 1595 made it an ideal time for the authorities to take stock of the religious persuasions of the population of the north. The survey that was carried out therefore reflected the needs of the northern administrators in the closing decades of the Elizabethan regime. The next large-scale change came with the death of Elizabeth and the institution of the new King James I of England and VI of Scotland. Unsurprisingly this change of administration at the centre of power and government was also felt in the remoter regions of the country and 1604 saw yet another survey of Yorkshire, to note the religious persuasion of the King's subjects. The Recusant Rolls, which remained the religious indicator for the central government's administration and fines systems, continued to be taken, but this survey goes a long way to confirm that in the eyes of contemporaries, as well as in the eyes of later historians, Yorkshire demonstrated a uniqueness as a Catholic county in the north.¹⁰¹ In 1604 a survey of all three ridings was taken and provides us with details on the number of recusants and non-communicants.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ M. Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation* (London, 1999), p. 177, described Lancashire as 'England's most catholic county' which is true only in part as although certain areas of Lancashire displayed high levels of recusancy, others showed a confirmed commitment to the new Protestant regime.

¹⁰² Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*; A.G. Dickens, 'The Extent and Character of Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1604', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 37 (1948-51), 24-48; Dickens and J. Newton, 'Further Light on the Scope of Yorkshire Recusancy in 1604', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 38, (1952), 524-28. Dickens makes the point that this survey was probably 'unique for its period' and discusses

Besides this it provided other important information, including the much-ignored information on Catholic women of the era. A.G. Dickens made an analysis of the survey in the late 1940s and early 1950s, looking at the possible problems arising from surveys taken in the early modern period. In his analysis he makes no real mention of the gender composition of the survey and his only acknowledgement of women recusants lies in his comment on the effectiveness of the mission.

Seminary priests were operating with fair success, probably with the active assistance of influential Catholic families whose womenfolk in particular stand out as most consistently defiant in their rejection of the state church.¹⁰³

The conclusion that seminary priests were effective is in itself an area of debate, considering Haigh's later analysis and conclusion that the mission was a failure, but even more surprising, considering the numerical breakdown of the 1604 figures on lines of gender, is the dismissal of women as little more than an aid to the Jesuit mission (see table 6.2).

the accuracy and statistical composition of the survey in relation to the geographical distribution of recusancy in these articles.

¹⁰³ Dickens, 'Extent and Character', pp. 42-3.

6.2 Women in the 1604 Survey of Catholics in Yorkshire¹⁰⁴

| STATUS | WEST RIDING | CITY OF YORK AND AINSTY | NORTH RIDING | EAST RIDING |
|--|-------------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| MARRIED (appearing with husband) | 135 | 14 | 211 | 41 |
| MARRIED (appearing without husband) | 156 | 9 | 174 | 36 |
| WIDOW | 70 | 10 | 103 | 11 |
| SERVANT | 41 | 4 | 61 | 13 |
| FEMALE RELATIONS | 41 | 4 | 45 | 8 |
| SPINSTER | 8 | 0 | 25 | 1 |
| UNKNOWN | 54 | 8 | 110 | 30 |
| TOTAL | 505 | 49 | 729 | 140 |

6.3 Table Showing The Gender Division of Catholics in the 1604 Survey

| | WOMEN | MEN | TOTAL |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| EAST RIDING | 140 | 112 | 252 |
| NORTH RIDING | 729 | 556 | 1285 |
| WEST RIDING | 505 | 423 | 928 |
| CITY OF YORK | 49 | 40 | 89 |
| TOTALS | 1423 | 1131 | 2554 |

These figures demonstrate that a minimum of 1423 women were noted as being dissenters in religion in 1604. These figures are of course meaningless without our being able to ascertain what proportion of the Catholic population of Yorkshire this represented. Dickens' breakdown of the numbers in each Riding, however, unwittingly confirms the

¹⁰⁴ See appendix V for a detailed break down of these figures cited in tables 6.2. and 6.3, pp. 522-574.

significance of women. The first of Dickens' two articles on the 1604 census of Catholics provides a statistical breakdown of the three ridings stating that there were 968 recusants and non-communicants in the West Riding, 1234 in the North Riding and 259 in the East Riding.¹⁰⁵ The 1604 survey then demonstrates that over half the recusants and non-communicants [56%] were women, which shows that in terms of percentages the number of women was remaining fairly constant as the average divisions in 1595 had shown a sixty/forty split in favour of women. Even allowing for the inaccuracies and incomplete returns, which occurred, for example, in those parishes that were suffering from outbreaks of the plague, it is clear that women were a significant force in practising and maintaining Catholicism in the early years of the seventeenth century.

This survey also provided more information on the Catholics of Yorkshire than can be obtained from the official sources compiled by the authorities of the period. It is clear from the figures that the majority of these women were married and in addition to this the number who had female relations of some kind, whether this be mothers, sisters or children, also recorded as being in some way opposed to the new religious settlement suggest that Catholicism was very much 'a family affair'. One trend that again showed itself to be prevalent in 1604, just as it was in 1577, was the number of married women who appeared on the survey as recusants or non-communicants, without their husbands also being named. The numbers are almost evenly split in the East Riding and the number

¹⁰⁵ Dickens, 'Extent and Character', pp. 30-1. Some minor inaccuracies do exist in Dickens' figures, as some names are counted twice, but even allowing for these it is clear that women still compose over half of the recusant population.

of women appearing as individuals, rather than as part of a married couple is greater in the West Riding. Across the three Ridings 375 women appeared to have conformist husbands with a further 401 appearing as part of a couple. This situation would suggest therefore that a considerable number were at odds with their husbands in terms of their religious beliefs. Amongst those who appeared to be in a marriage where their religion was not shared by their partners were Lady Katherine Fairfax, Lady Barbara Gascoigne and Lady Anne Wyvill. Katherine Gascoigne was the first wife of Sir Thomas Fairfax, later Viscount Emley, and is reputed to have failed to attend her local parish church of Halton and as having refused to receive communion at Easter at another unspecified church.¹⁰⁶ Her husband was in a very prominent position as his rise through the ranks of society indicated, and it is therefore extremely surprising that he was willing to let his wife demonstrate an independence which showed that she was dissenting from both the official religion and his authority as her husband. Lady Gascoigne, wife of Sir William Gascoigne of Sedbury, is perhaps less surprising as her husband was not in a position to lose so much socially by her appearance, yet it is clear that in 1604 he was not willing to be noted as a recusant, whilst he was listed in 1593-4, suggesting a timely change of heart had occurred.¹⁰⁷ Lady Anne Wyvill, wife of Sir Marmaduke and Jane Wyvill, wife of Sir Christopher, both appeared without their husbands in the Catholic enclave of Masham.¹⁰⁸ Meriall Wycliffe, wife of William and Margaret Wycliffe, wife of John also appeared

¹⁰⁶ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, pp. 61-2.

¹⁰⁷ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 63; Bowler, *Recusant Roll 1593-4*, p. 218. Lady Gascoigne appears without a Christian name in the 1604 survey; William was, however, married to Barbara Anderson in 1599 (see appendix II, p. 462).

¹⁰⁸ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 76.

without their husbands in the parish of Wycliffe. All four women were part of Catholic families, appeared with other family members, apart from their husbands, and were themselves from Catholic families prior to marriage, indicating that there was a strong tradition of female dominated Catholicism.¹⁰⁹ This is further supported by the fact that Ursula Cholmley appeared on the list for Brandsby in 1604, without her husband Marmaduke, but along with two Catholic servants who were retained by her and alongside her brother-in-law Richard who was named as recusant and who also retained three Catholic servants.¹¹⁰ The most likely explanation for the majority of these cases, especially those such as William Gascoigne's non-appearance, is that the husbands were maintaining a surface conformity to avoid fines for non-attendance at church. Husbands were not financially responsible in law for the recusancy of their wives until 1610-11, although this was not always the reality of the situation. Alexandra Walsham points out that 'a recusant wife ... called into question the reliability of her professedly Protestant partner'. If these men were truly Protestant then it would certainly not have been advisable to allow their wives to dissent for, as A.G. Dickens noted in his revised assessment of Yorkshire recusancy, it was possible that in some areas husbands were forced to undertake responsibility before the statute was actually put into force.¹¹¹ Thus it would have been far safer for both partners to maintain the minimum surface conformity

¹⁰⁹ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 80. Jane Wyvill was a member of the Stapleton family, Merial Wycliffe was a member of the Blackstone family of Durham (see appendix II for further details, pp. 470, 471).

¹¹⁰ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 120. Also appearing without her husband was Anne Danby wife of Thomas Danby of Leake.

¹¹¹ Dickens, 'Further Light', p. 524; Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 80. Dickens bases his conclusion on the fact that certain men appeared in the Recusant Rolls of 1604 but were not listed on the survey.

if avoidance of all financial penalties were the aim. Yet the fact that many were at best 'surface conformists' would account for the lack of hostility to their wives' behaviour.

The 1604 results do, however, show a far closer parity between the number of Catholic gentlemen and the number of Catholic gentlewomen appearing as recusants or non-communicants.¹¹²

6. 4 Gentry Numbers in Yorkshire in 1604

| | GENTLEWOMEN | GENTLEMEN | TOTAL |
|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| WEST RIDING | 66 | 53 | 119 |
| YORK | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| EAST RIDING | 18 | 15 | 33 |
| NORTH RIDING | 56 | 63 | 119 |
| TOTAL | 143 | 135 | 278 |

In the East and West Ridings gentlewomen still outnumber gentlemen, with sixty-six women compared to fifty-three men in the West Riding and eighteen women compared to fifteen men in the East Riding. In the North Riding the men actually out-number the

¹¹² See appendix V for a breakdown of the number of gentry in each parish [excluding York], pp. 569-74.

women, with sixty-three gentlemen and fifty-six gentlewomen appearing.¹¹³ The gentlemen that appear in the survey most often occur in a family context. Many appear as part of a couple, indicating that Catholic gentlewomen were not wavering in their beliefs, but rather that their husbands were now joining them in a more public stance. Alternatively many gentlemen who appear in 1604 appear to be the sons, frequently the younger sons, of a Catholic mother. For example in the North Riding parishes of Ayskarth [Asgarth] and Grinton, Elizabeth and Roger Metcalf and Anne and Soloman Swale appear as a couple. In Danby Wiske Frances and Christopher Conyers appear along with Katherine and Thomas Conyers, and in addition to these two married gentry couples Marmaduke and George Conyers are also listed as gentlemen. In Masham Margaret Danby and Marmaduke her husband appear as a couple, whilst Isabel Danby and Jane Wyvell and Lady Anne Wyvell all appear without their husbands. Yet a parity of numbers occurs between men and women as Robert Wyvell, Robert Norton and Christopher and James Danby the sons of Isabel all appear. This pattern indicates therefore that an equality of number and percentage could appear without the heads of families or in fact their heirs appearing, as younger sons and males from lesser/cadet branches are what frequently explain the increase in number. Whilst in numerical terms a balance had been reached which may initially appear to suggest that the significance of gentlewomen was decreasing, in practical terms they still had a significant role to play.

¹¹³ The survey shows a minimal number of gentry as resident in the City of York and Ainsty and therefore these figure have slightly less meaning in examining trends in this broader context. A discussion of the significance of the activities of the gentry in the City, which would be inappropriate to discuss further here, occurs in S.L. Bastow, 'The Catholic Gentry and the Catholic Community of the City of York, 1536-1642: The Focus of a Catholic County', *York Historian*, 18 (2001), 13-22.

Bossy, in his discussion of the Catholic Community, has dated the end of matriarchal Catholicism to 1620, attributing this to the change in the administration of the recusancy laws and the infeasibility of maintaining Church Papistry beyond a single generation.¹¹⁴ The latter of these conclusions is based on an assumption that Catholic men ‘would...probably find it increasingly difficult to marry girls whose religion differed from their own.’¹¹⁵ This has already been shown to be a far less significant problem in Yorkshire, primarily due to the wide choice of religiously conservative and openly Catholic families who were themselves seeking partners for their sons and daughters, and additionally because marriages did occur between Catholics and conformists in the period after 1569-70 with what appear to be relatively few problems.¹¹⁶ The fact that gentlemen do appear alongside their wives in the 1604 survey does however show that some were perhaps less concerned to maintain a surface conformity, and the first of Bossy’s reasons, that there was a decline in the risk of being fined or sequestrated, may have more validity here; although it should be noted, as has been indicated above in the discussion of the families specific to this study, that not all chose to make public their beliefs and that Church Papistry/occasional conformity was still being used as a tactic for evasion of fines throughout the Jacobean and early Caroline period.

¹¹⁴ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, pp. 158-9.

¹¹⁵ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 159.

¹¹⁶ See chapter 2, pp. 97-178.

To assume that gender determined whether or not someone would be punished either fiscally or physically would also be false. The York Castle prison lists confirm that both men and women were imprisoned. In 1599 there were thirty-three men and twenty-five women imprisoned there, in 1606 there were thirty-seven men and two to three women and in 1619 there were fourteen men and four women imprisoned for praemunire and twenty-four men and five women who were imprisoned but who were not being held under praemunire.¹¹⁷ The imprisonment and subsequent death in York of women such as Dorothy Vavasour, Mary Hutton and Alice Oldcorn illustrate that they were not immune from incarceration.¹¹⁸ The pressing to death of Margaret Clitherow also is ample illustration that being female did not exclude these women from extreme measures taken by the authorities to control religious practices. From the women of the families who provide a focus for this study Elizabeth Johnson, the daughter of Richard Norton and wife of Thomas Johnson, was imprisoned in the Gatehouse at Westminster.¹¹⁹ Between 1577 and 1580 her name appears on the list of Catholics imprisoned for their faith and despite her incarceration in a London gaol, her Yorkshire origins were via her husband and father. She it appears was alone in her imprisonment, as her husband's name was not to be found on the lists suggesting that again women were acting and were being treated as independent in their religious choices. Rowse's conclusion that women's commitment to

¹¹⁷ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 276-9. Figures taken from the Constables of Everington MSS, Hutton of Marske MSS, York Diocesan Archives and Temple Newsam MSS.

¹¹⁸ Rex, 'Thomas Vavasour, MD', p. 448.

¹¹⁹ *Miscellanea I* (CRS RS, 1, 1905), pp. 60, 62.

Catholicism was less significant because they did not risk the same as their menfolk, namely imprisonment, is therefore blatantly untrue.¹²⁰

All the evidence suggests that Catholicism was appealing to women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the fact that the majority of historical assessments conclude that the religious changes in England were more attractive to women. The suggestion that women found the preaching aspect of Protestantism more attractive than the traditions of the Catholic religion is not entirely true. A large proportion of all the Catholics in Yorkshire were female and the surveys taken illustrate that they remained committed to their religion with a constancy which was not found so frequently amongst the gentlemen of Yorkshire. Bossy's assessment that 'all in all... the evidence entitles us to conclude that, to a considerable degree, the Catholic community owed its existence to gentlewomen's dissatisfaction at the Reformation settlement of religion, and that they played an abnormally important part in its early history' gives women some credit for the importance of their role in ensuring the continuity and survival of Catholic practice but this study indicates that this credit should be extended beyond a narrow interpretation of matriarchal Catholicism, which fails to acknowledge those below the gentry class and which terminates its acknowledgement of women's contributions at 1620.¹²¹ This survey also shows that women of the gentry, yeomanry and labouring classes were all involved in opposing the religious settlement in some way and exercising their own choices in their religious beliefs and it contradicts Rowse's explanation for the continuing strength of

¹²⁰ Rowse, *England of Elizabeth*, p. 494.

¹²¹ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 159.

Catholicism as a sign of snobbery amongst the upper classes and particularly the men at court. His conclusion that 'in Yorkshire as in Lancashire there are hardly any recusants from the towns or among the middle class' is also seen to be entirely false as all the surveys, from 1577 through to 1604 show that the town population of York and the middling sort remained important.¹²² Thus women were central to maintaining Catholicism throughout the Tudor and Stuart eras. The examination of the lives of certain of these women in more detail will demonstrate that they were also more than just figures in official surveys and show how they made Catholicism a living religion in an age where it was in danger of dying a slow quiet death.

A Catholic wife and Conformist husband

The names cited on the lists of recusants and in the Recusant Rolls paint a picture of a large number of recusant and determinedly Catholic women living with conformist, law abiding husbands. The prosecution records showed that husbands paid their wives' fines and yet appear to have done nothing to correct or prevent this aberrant and often costly behaviour. This situation, if true, posed two contradictions for both the husband and wife in the relationship, putting both in a morally and socially awkward position. From the husband's viewpoint a disobedient wife was not an asset and an inability to control his wife's behaviour would surely reflect badly. The Catholic wife would also find herself in an awkward position, living with a husband who did not share her views. Spiritually this would be condemned by the Catholic Church; morally she would be obliged to obey her

¹²² Rowse, *England of Elizabeth*, p. 492.

husband; and physically her well-being was threatened by the authorities, through either fines or imprisonment, which were even more of a threat if she was left without the support of her husband.¹²³

Does this therefore mean that the official records are painting an entirely false picture of women acting independently from their husbands in religion? In many cases the picture is not entirely as it initially appears, but this is not to say that things were never as they seemed. In many cases it was true that husbands were at least sympathetic to their wives' religion, but in some cases the wife was indeed Catholic whilst the husband was a practising Protestant. As an examination of marriage in the period has shown, careful consideration was given to the religion of partners and so a Catholic women, from a Catholic family was unlikely to be married to a man who did not demonstrate at least some sympathies or a belief in religious tolerance. Perhaps the most often cited example of a Catholic wife married to a conformist husband is that of Margaret Clitherow. John Clitherow is described by Philip Caraman as 'indifferent to his wife's religion' and was noted at one point as complaining to the authorities that he could do nothing to control his wife's religious practices.¹²⁴ Although not of the gentry class John Clitherow's case illustrates the issues which faced men of all classes who had determinedly Catholic wives.

¹²³ Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, pp. 28-35.

¹²⁴ Caraman, *Margaret Clitherow*, p. 7; M. Claridge, *Margaret Clitherow 1556-1586* (London, 1966).

From the families being examined here Dorothy Lawson too faced the problem of having a conformist husband. William Palmes recorded that

... she had every month a priest secretly; tho' to cloak the matter for her husband's satisfaction who comply'd with the times, shee went monthly abroad, as if she had wanted the conveniencys at home. Her second care and sollicitude was to provide Catholic servants: the which shee did so dextrously by little and little, hiering one after another, and never two att once, that her husband, between jest and earnest, tould her, his family was becoming Papist ere he perceived it.¹²⁵

Dorothy was then able to circumnavigate the problem through care and the fortunate fact that her husband's law career meant that much of his time was spent at the Inns in London, far from Dorothy's Catholic activities. Roger Lawson was not altogether opposed to the Catholic religion as prior to their marriage he was noted to be 'well disposed in religion for his intellect' and his conversion on his death-bed to Catholicism suggests he was more than sympathetic to his wife's beliefs towards the end of his life.¹²⁶

The number of women, particularly married women, appearing on the lists may well be explained in another way. Alexandra Walsham opens her book with the affirmation that 'In 1582, a species of Christian was newly detected within Elizabethan society - "church papist".¹²⁷ By this she meant that a proportion of the population were attending the church services of the Protestant religion which the laws of the land dictated that they should

¹²⁵ W. Palmes, 'The Life of Dorothy Lawson of St. Antony's, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Northumberland' in J. Fenwick (ed.), *Local Tracts: Tracts relating to the Counties of Northumberland and Durham and the borough and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, vol. 3 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1856), pp. 19-20.

¹²⁶ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', pp. 9, 22.

attend whilst also remaining committed to the Catholic religion. From the Protestant viewpoint these people were categorised as 'Church Papists' as indicated by much of the propaganda produced at the time, whilst the Jesuit missionaries categorised them as 'schismatics'. The surveys taken before 1582 may however suggest that these people were far from being a new species of Christian and had existed before this period. Even as early as 1577 it is clear that women were being openly defiant of the religious settlement, whilst their husbands, fathers and brothers were compliant to the laws of the land whilst also providing no active opposition to their wives' or female relations' activities.

Church Papistry was then an essentially male practice, as avoidance and covert religious practices were necessary in the public world. Why then were women able to exercise their own religious beliefs in a society that advocated male dominance in politics and religion? Patricia Crawford provides a summary of why Catholic women should be acknowledged as fundamental to the era in her examination of women and religion stating:

Since the public world was very dangerous for professing Catholics, the private world of the household became extremely important, the only place in fact where the faith could be practised. Everyone agreed that the household was women's domain, and their rôle was correspondingly important.¹²⁸

The private sphere of women's lives was, therefore, fundamental to understanding how their rôle in religious practice became much more significant in the post-Reformation

¹²⁷ Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 1.

¹²⁸ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 60.

world; earlier discussions in this chapter have indicated the division between public and private could not always be made in such a clear fashion and in terms of religion, private decisions regarding belief and practice could perhaps impact upon the fate, status and social role of the individual. Yet there still seems to have been an overwhelming feeling amongst contemporaries in early modern England that to a great extent the household was private, even if the religious activities that took place within it were 'public knowledge'. The rowdy hunting party which descended upon the household of Sir Thomas and Lady Margaret Hoby, their activities and the subsequent dispute illustrate that whilst there were undoubtedly problems of drawing a clear line between public and private, and that knowledge of a household's private religion could be used as a weapon, there was a clear concept that the household contained an element of 'the private'. The grounds for Hoby's initial complaints concerning the behaviour of his impromptu houseguests were based upon the fact that they 'had subverted the household's tranquillity and godly order with their unruly behaviour' and thus the Hobys were personally insulted by the fact their hospitality and household had been abused;¹²⁹ for the first of these could not be refused as it was a gentleman's duty to provide hospitality whilst the latter was private and Hoby naturally expected his guests to respect the practices of his household even if they were not in line with the practices of their own. Lady Margaret had kept to her own chamber during the visit and it thus appears to be the fact that William Eure had insisted on seeing her before he left that appeared as the key to the insult incurred. Lady Hoby makes few

¹²⁹ F. Heal, 'Reputation and Honour in Court and Country: Lady Elizabeth Russell and Sir Thomas Hoby', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 6 (1996), 161-78; J. Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605* (Stroud, 1998), p. xlvii.

comments in her diary that do not refer to her practice of prayer and meditation, and thus the fact that the only reference to this incident remarked upon by her relates directly to Eure's visit to speak with her is an indication that she was unhappy that he had trespassed into her private space, particularly as he was still in a drunken state.¹³⁰ The issue of private space within the household has been explored by Mark Girouard who has illustrated that the early modern era saw the development of private rooms which were not in any way envisaged to be 'public space'.¹³¹ The subsequent disputes were greatly concerned with Hoby attempting to slur the reputation of the members of the hunting party and their families for their Catholic connections; although these cases were prolonged and the hostility between the two sides continued for several years the fact that he was unable to conclusively prove anything or in fact remove them from the bench is yet further indication that although 'Catholic' households may have been public knowledge, they were still private enough for the authorities to decline to interfere too significantly in their activities. Thus, even in one of the few examples of extreme religious hostility occurring within the county, Hoby was able to present Cholmley's servants at the quarter sessions, but ultimately was unable to prevent both Henry and Richard from being knighted.¹³² John Bossy in his discussion of husband-wife

¹³⁰ Moody, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 108.

¹³¹ Girouard, *English Country House*, pp. 93-94.

¹³² G.C.F. Forster, 'Faction and County Government in Early Stuart Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 10 (1975), 70-86. Forster interprets this prolonged dispute as an example of the kind of hostility which forced Catholics into conformity or out of local government. The hostility between the Hobys and Cholmleys however is based upon more than just religious differences and although these are undoubtedly played upon during the dispute it is equally reflective of the kind of local and personal rivalries which occur in many areas of the county and which are not merely provoked by religion, but rather by struggles for power

relationships concluded that whilst many Protestant or conformist gentlemen had Catholic wives ' this constituted an area of intense sensitivity into which government would enter at its peril' and this can be seen to be true even if his agreement with Rowse is not,¹³³

The Catholic Household

Running of the household

With the onset of the Elizabethan era and the movement of Catholicism from the established religion of the majority to the covert religion of a minority, the household became increasingly important.¹³⁴ Women were frequently the main instigators and practitioners of this household Catholicism.¹³⁵ Haigh associated this household Catholicism with the failure of the Catholic mission and the poor judgement of the Jesuit missionaries. He stated that 'the concentration of recusancy around the houses of the Catholic gentry, revealed in many official surveys, was the result, and not the cause of the attention priests gave to gentlemen.'¹³⁶ To condemn household Catholicism as a symbol

and influence in local society. The fact that Cholmley was able to operate in a relatively high position in local society and was supported is further evidence that Catholics were integrated in society to such a level that it was impossible to ostracize them.

¹³³ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 155. Bossy concludes that Rowse's assumption that this constituted a weak-kneed evasion of patriarchal responsibility is correct, whereas the alternative conclusion that patriarchal authority was far more determined that 'governors and legislators should keep out of what was not their business' is more plausible.

¹³⁴ Aveling, 'Catholic Households', pp. 85-101; Crawford, *Women and Religion*, pp. 58-65.

¹³⁵ Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 404.

¹³⁶ Haigh, 'From Monopoly to Minority', p. 146.

both Catholic servants and Catholic tenants.¹³⁹ Nor was she the only Catholic woman to maintain such a Catholic household; Margery Scrope of Danby also maintained a Catholic household, which included her two sons and a Catholic servant in 1595, as did members of the Danby family.¹⁴⁰ Numerous women appeared to be running Catholic households either with or without their husband's consent in 1605. Appearing in the West Riding were Beatrice Barnaby, Anne Holmes, Helen Greaves, Lady Manners and Lady Plumpton; in the North Riding Margery Scrope again appeared with her son and three servants, with her son being noted as having been secretly married. Ursula Cholmley, a member of one of the families focused on here, also appeared with servants, family members and as a harbourer of seminary priests.¹⁴¹ In the East Riding Marie Constable, Elizabeth Dolman (widow) and Thomasin Gaile (widow), all appear to have been running Catholic households.¹⁴²

Whilst widows of the gentry class were often in a better position to fund and run a Catholic household being free of the constraints of a husband's authority, they were not the only women to do so. Dorothy Lawson managed to maintain a

¹³⁸ Palmes, *Life of Dorothy Lawson*, pp. 19-20.

¹³⁹ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, p. 60. The miscellaneous records in this volume provide evidence to support much of what Palmes discusses in his account of Dorothy's life suggesting that his text is more than a hagiography and does contain factual information as well as the more stylized accounts of events.

¹⁴⁰ Talbot, *Miscellanea*, p. 99.

¹⁴¹ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, pp. 63; 121.

of failure and as confirmation of the Parsons /Aveling interpretation of heroic Catholicism is to also remove women from the history of Catholicism. Neither Haigh nor Aveling really allow for the rôle of women in running a Catholic household that provided shelter for priests, servants, family and friends in the Elizabethan era. Haigh's discussion of household Catholicism rather makes the point that the movement from the church to the household excluded the masses and made Catholicism a gentrified religion.¹³⁷ The fact that gentry households in Yorkshire were vital to Catholic survival is illustrated through the number of gentry families that appeared on the lists, but it is also clear that they were not isolated from the rest of the community, as an examination of the actions of the gentlewomen of the period will show.

Dorothy Lawson provided an example of the female-run household. Whilst her conformist husband was still alive she was forced to take great care in how she ran her Catholic home. Palmes stated that:

Her second care and sollicitude was to provide Catholic servants: the which shee did so dextrously by little and little, hiering one after another, and never two att once ... shee was forced to convey the priest into the house by night, and loged him in a chamber, which, to avoid suspicion, was appointed by a grant from her husband only for the children to say their prayers.¹³⁸

The securing of Catholic servants was an activity that did not go altogether unnoticed as the survey of 1595 indicated. Dorothy was recorded on this as having

¹³⁷ Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 265-6.

Catholic household whilst her husband was still alive. She was perhaps fortunate in the fact that her husband's career forced his prolonged absences from their family home. This would perhaps not have suited many wives of the period, as his absence may be regarded suspiciously, as Palmes did record that;

her husband going more frequently than at first to London about law business, that the landlady where the good man resided, struck with a holy jealousy, feared lest he should forsake her and remain at Heton.¹⁴³

Crawford notes that women were open to attack on the grounds that they were more easily corrupted than men. The absence of Dorothy's husband and the subsequent housing of a succession of men must surely have placed her in a precarious position. Margaret Clitherow was accused of harbouring priests not for religious reasons 'but for harlotry'.¹⁴⁴ Certainly the women who were recorded as harbouring Catholic priests were frequently described in unfavourable terms.

After the death of her husband and Dorothy's removal to St. Anthony's, Palmes describes that a more overtly Catholic household appeared to be in operation. In recording the schedule of the day he wrote that mass was celebrated in the morning, evensong in the afternoon, with Litanies of Loretto and a *de profundis* for the faithful departed. The day then culminated with the litanies of saints at between eight and nine o'clock at night

¹⁴² Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604* and see appendix V, pp. 522-74, for details of the number of women who appeared listed with children and servants, but without a Catholic man also appearing on the list as the head of the household.

¹⁴³ Palmes, *Life of Dorothy Lawson*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴⁴ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 67.

which all the servants were obliged to attend.¹⁴⁵ The household chapel was also a central feature of a Catholic household; it was crucial to the life of Dorothy Lawson's insular community and was equally important to the Vavasours of Haselwood. Both maintained a Catholic chapel throughout the Elizabethan era that was serviced by Catholic priests. Dorothy's chapel was well maintained and was described as 'neat and rich, the altar stood vested with the various habitiments, according to the fashion in Catholick countrys.'¹⁴⁶

Whilst some households were homes and places of worship others served a wider range of religious and social functions. Dorothy Vavasour's house in York also doubled as a maternity home for the women, in particular the Catholic women of the city. Rex noted that Thomas Vavasour was assisted in his medical work by his wife and that Dorothy was described as 'the chief matron and mother of all the good wives in York'.¹⁴⁷ In fact it appeared that she 'in effect took over her husband's practice after his imprisonment, delivering and even christening the children of Catholic parents.'¹⁴⁸ The rôle that Dorothy Vavasour played in York was therefore far greater than that of a shelterer of priests; she was important to women in assuring both their religious and physical well being in childbirth. It also indicated that it was not just gentry households that were targeted, nor were they the only centre for Catholicism. Catholicism focused around the household was central to the Catholic religion's continuity, development and survival of the period. To

¹⁴⁵ Palmes, *Life of Dorothy Lawson*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁶ Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p. 404, cites the examples of the Countess of Arundel and Lady Montague, two noble women who kept private Catholic chapels; Palmes, *Life of Dorothy Lawson*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁷ Rex, 'Thomas Vavasour, MD', p. 439.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

down-grade 'household Catholicism' to the realms of a fatal mistake on the part of the continental missionaries or as merely a base for the missionary priests and saviours of Catholicism to begin their work is to overlook the centrality of the home in early modern England and almost to obliterate women's rôle in the continuity of the Catholic religion.

Education of Children

The education of children in the medieval and early modern era has remained a source of contention, due to the minimal information available on the topic. The education of boys was clearly the priority, though this was not to say that girls were neglected.¹⁴⁹ The fact that Katherine Cholmley fell in love with and subsequently married Richard Dutton, her music tutor, demonstrated that private tutors were provided for female as well as male children in the period.¹⁵⁰ Yet, it was music that Katherine was being tutored in, not Latin, Greek, philosophy or any of the other subjects crucial to an early modern formal education. Lawrence Stone expresses the opinion that 'Although the mid-sixteenth century saw the emergence of a number of highly educated noblewomen, in general access both to sacred truth and to new learning was monopolised by men, thus increasing their prestige and influence and reducing that of women. In Elizabethan England this discrepancy between the sexes in terms of education was true at all levels of society.'¹⁵¹ Caroline Bowden's study of female education has emphasised not the discrepancy in

¹⁴⁹ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, see chapter 15 'Educating boys', which states that essentially a boy's education was academic, whilst a girl's was not.

¹⁵⁰ Cholmley, *Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley*, pp. 8-9; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 13.

¹⁵¹ Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 158.

female education in comparison to that received by males in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but rather that the education girls received was intended to fit them for their future lives.¹⁵² Girls were not sent away to university or the Inns of Court, but educated in the home which was the province of their mothers' authority and the heart of a Catholic household. Women then had a vital rôle to play in the education of their daughters and as it became more common, especially amongst the Catholic gentry, to have home-tutors, so we could naturally conclude that they could also retain a hold over the religious education of their sons.

Aveling plays down the rôle that women played in education, stating that 'the extended family was more an ideal than a reality' and therefore that children very rarely lived at home for any length of time.¹⁵³ This may not be altogether true of the situation in the English family, as much recent research has suggested that a closer relationship existed between parents and younger children than had previously been thought. Even accepting that many adolescents were sent to other houses, this does not preclude them from being educated by the women of the family. The Catholic network that existed was in practice to arrange marriages and the evidence from within the families being examined suggests

¹⁵² C.M. Bowden, 'Female Education in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries in England and Wales: A Study of Attitudes and Practice', unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of London (1996), pp. 6-7.

¹⁵³ Aveling, 'Catholic Household', p. 91. Here the conclusion is reached based on the evidence of Peter Burke's writing in *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy* (London, 1974); Houlbrooke, *The English Family*, pp. 146-8. Houlbrooke believed that 'the upbringing of young children belonged primarily to their mothers' and that 'early religious education was a parental responsibility'. He also continues to affirm that mothers played the biggest part in early religious education. He does acknowledge that the

that it was also an aid to providing a network of houses to which children could be sent. Thus male and female children could still be within the reach of Catholic women, even if they were not their own mothers.

The importance of female relations in the education and instruction of children is clear. It is attested to in the case of Jane Stapleton: her father, Sir Robert Stapleton, was a Protestant, but Jane was a devout Catholic. She and her three siblings were not brought up by their father after their mother's death, but were cared for by their grandmother, Elizabeth Stapleton in York, who was herself a Catholic.¹⁵⁴ The rôle of mothers, aunts and especially grandmothers is clear when examining the education of girls and young women in a Catholic family. Mary Ward was noted to have lived with her grandmother, Ursula Wright of Ploughland, and her husband from the age of five. Both were Catholics and were frequently prosecuted for their faith.¹⁵⁵ Agnes Rawson of Sherburne was noted to have 'brought up' Frances Rawson, daughter of Thomas Rawson.¹⁵⁶

In 1604 the Catholic school masters appeared quite frequently in the houses of the Catholic gentry; a more unusual and therefore more notable occurrence was the recording of one Luce Scaife, wife to Thomas Scaife in Huntingdon in the North Riding, as a

higher ranks of society would send their children away to be educated, although girls would be retained at home and educated there for a far longer period.

¹⁵⁴ S.D. Hogarth, 'The Stapleton-Wywill Marriage Purse', *Textile History*, 20 (1989), 21-32.

¹⁵⁵ Chambers, *Life of Mary Ward*, 1, pp. 12-14.

¹⁵⁶ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 24. Peacock noted that he believed Agnes Rawson to be the daughter and heiress of William Gascoigne, a statement which appears to lack confirmation in any of the pedigrees.

‘teacher of children’.¹⁵⁷ This indicated that women were involved in the education of children, sometimes in a formalised arrangement.

The rôle of women in providing religious tuition through their influence in the running of the household, via their example and by providing access to a Catholic priest was enhanced rather than diminished by the external changes to religion in England, whether this was in providing education for relatives or for the wider community as was the case with Dorothy Lawson.

Father Palmes noted that on festival days Dorothy Lawson arranged catechism in the afternoon to which the neighbours’ children were called and that she took great delight in presenting medals and Agnus Dei to them for answering the examinations.¹⁵⁸ It would seem that Catholic practices and traditions had not been rejected either by Dorothy or the local community, despite the fact that the import of such articles was strictly forbidden.¹⁵⁹ The continuity of such traditions amongst both the gentry and the lower classes supports the continuing popularity of such superstitions, and the fact that Dorothy was able to convert a retainer of her father-in-law to Catholicism by a simple retelling of stories from

¹⁵⁷ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 118.

¹⁵⁸ Palmes, ‘Life of Dorothy Lawson’, p. 43.

¹⁵⁹ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 67, 114, 117; Thomas, *Religion and Magic*, p. 60; R. Whiting, ‘Abominable Idols: Images and Image-breaking under Henry VIII’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 30-47, particularly p. 47. Thomas suggests that one impact of the Reformation was the rapid decline of Catholic practices which involved tokens, amulets or superstitions. Whiting examined the strength of iconoclasm in the south-west and concluded that the removal of the trappings of Catholicism

the Old Testament suggests that old style religion had not altogether been superseded by Protestant evangelising or a dynamic Jesuit-style reformed Catholicism.¹⁶⁰

Even in securing an education outside the home women played an important rôle. Dorothy Lawson was noted by William Palmes to have sent all her children to the religious houses for education.

... she addressed all the rest of her children. A dozen on number (except the heire, in whom was deservedly planted the hope of perpetuating that ancient stock, and two daughters, one by sickness, the other impeded by immaturity of age) each to colleges and religious houses, appointed for men and women, with sufficient maintenance, according to their severall vocations.¹⁶¹

The value of a Catholic education was prized by Dorothy above the desire to retain her children at home. On parting with her children Palmes notes that it was testament to her 'witt, piety and love to her children in educating them, liberallity in proceeding so bounteously for them; mortification for forsaking of herself in leaving them.'¹⁶²

The role of education within any society is crucial to the formation of beliefs and the maintenance of traditions and religion. The fact that girls were receiving informal Catholic education from other Catholic women is crucial to the continuation of religious

was in general unpopular. The approval of such objects in communities with a strong Catholic influence appears to have remained strong.

¹⁶⁰ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', p. 48.

¹⁶¹ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', p. 25. It should be noted that her eldest son, Ralph Lawson, had already been sent to Douai for his education and returned to continue the family name via his children.

¹⁶² Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', p. 26.

practice and values, yet the fact that this sort of activity is frequently undocumented in a formalised way meant that it has largely escaped the notice of historians. Also it is clear that the women of the period, who had the financial means to do so, were willing to take advantage of the continental establishments which could provide their daughters with a more structured education as well as allowing them to take up a Catholic vocation. It is very clear therefore that Catholic women were active in providing, acquiring and participating in the maintenance of their religion through education and the dissemination of their religious beliefs.

Sheltering Priests

The 'household Catholicism' of the Elizabethan era left women in a unique position to be key players in maintaining the religion within England. The gentry in particular became vital as it was their houses that were to act as substitute churches and their influence in the area that often allowed the smaller and now more tightly knit Catholic communities to exist.¹⁶³

For Aveling the key to post-Reformation Catholicism were the missionary priests, not the gentry and definitely not the women of these families. He advocated that 'aggressive evangelisation, initially by a mere handful of able clergy, backed by an effective literary propaganda campaign, could gain quick and sweeping successes, at least amongst the

¹⁶³ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 284. In Haigh's opinion 'the incidence of recusancy owed much more to geography than to the protection of gentry families' in Lancashire.

educated and propertied minority.¹⁶⁴ Undeniably Catholic priests were vital to the survival of the Catholic religion, but the central rôle ascribed to them by Aveling, to the exclusion of all other players, was an exaggeration designed to fit with his theory of a new zealous Catholicism engineered by the Jesuit order on the continent and implemented by the dynamic visiting missionary priests. The missionary priests who came to England at the height of Elizabethan persecution did have a rôle to play, which was slightly more significant than Haigh would have us believe;¹⁶⁵ but the significance of the rôle played by women would support Haigh's hypothesis that there were 'alternatives to the kind of Catholic community which the mission fostered' even if it was not the alternative that Haigh described in his reassessment of early modern Catholicism.¹⁶⁶

The Jesuit missionaries undoubtedly saw themselves as vital to Catholicism and to correct the aberrant behaviour of a community gone astray. Their instruction book even excused wives misappropriating the family income to accommodate the missionaries:

Out of their dowry and paraphernalia wives may give property away or bequeath it. Moreover, out of the property of their husbands, wives may pay debts which the husbands do not want to pay, even against the express will of the husbands. It follows that Catholic wives may maintain priests who administer the sacraments to them; for their husbands should provide them with priests. They can also dispose freely of whatever property they possess over and above the dowry for similar purposes.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 65.

¹⁶⁵ As shown through the influence on priests in aiding the decisions of young Yorkshire women to join the foreign seminaries.

¹⁶⁶ Haigh, 'From Monopoly to Minority', pp. 129-47.

¹⁶⁷ Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, p.29.

Thus women's disobedience was condoned, if it was for the maintenance of the Catholic religion. This must have been excellent news for Dorothy Lawson who was engaged in covertly supporting and sheltering missionary priests as well as actively supporting Catholicism in other ways.¹⁶⁸ What is obvious from the accounts of missionary priests is the fact that they could not operate without the help of well established families within England and as Dorothy's case illustrated they were frequently reliant on the abilities of women, who demonstrated that they possessed the guile, wit and financial acumen to orchestrate the clandestine activities. Dorothy had contact with these priests from an early age, beginning with Richard Holtby soon after her marriage. She then appeared to have sheltered a succession of priests at St Anthony's including Fr. Legard, Fr. Henry Morse and finally Fr. William Palmes.¹⁶⁹

Dorothy was not alone in displaying the ability to manage this complex and dangerous activity. Sheltering, moving and protecting priests was often a female activity. Mrs. Dorothy Vavasour also sheltered priests in York along with other women who formed the Catholic community within the city.¹⁷⁰ The 1596 and 1604 survey also indicated that it was most often the women who sheltered and aided the priests. In the West Riding Margaret Chapman was recorded as sheltering Percival Chapman who used the name

¹⁶⁸ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', p.19.

¹⁶⁹ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', pp. 13, 32.

¹⁷⁰ J.J. Delaney and J.E. Tobin (eds.), *Dictionary of Catholic Biography* (London, 1962); she does not receive a mention, unlike her husband who was credited for these activities.

Anthony in his priestly activities.¹⁷¹ At Wath-on-Dearne a priest named as Mr. Smith was noted as having been in the house of Anne Holmes, and at Sherburne the widow Agnes Rawson was noted as being ‘a dangerous recusant.’¹⁷² Agnes not only allowed Jesuit priests to shelter in her house, but also was reported as having a ‘cope, chalice, bookes and such like thinges as they vse for masse’.¹⁷³ Besides this she was noted to have housed vagrant recusants and housed a pregnant women whose child was secretly baptised. In the remote areas of the North Riding, ideal country for the sheltering of priests, women again appear to be vital. Ursula Cholmley of Brandsby was reported to have kept seminaries in her house.¹⁷⁴

The sheltering and harbouring of missionary priests was not the only contribution that women made to the cause, as they also appear to have done a great deal to finance it. John Gerard wrote in his biography of a widow, Mrs. Wiseman, who was arrested and imprisoned for sheltering Fr. Brewster, that during her imprisonment she sent half her annual income to Gerard which totalled six hundred florins.¹⁷⁵ Dorothy also provided finance for the priests she sheltered and Palmes noted that she was generous with her money and she did not hold him to account for his spending, gave him money without

¹⁷¹ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁷² Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, pp. 8, 23.

¹⁷³ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 23.

¹⁷⁴ Peacock, *Roman Catholics in 1604*, p. 121.

¹⁷⁵ P. Caraman, *John Gerard: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London, 1951), p. 52. She was one of the two women to be condemned to death by pressing, the other being Margaret Clitherow, who was pressed to death in York. Wiseman was condemned 30 June 1598, but managed to escape this fate and was released from prison during the reign of James I.

keeping a record and never checked if he had given her the correct change. She also gave £10 a year to the society and allowed six per year to come from the society to her house for eight days.¹⁷⁶ Palmes painted a picture of a competent and some might say formidable woman as he stated, 'In the government of her family, her authority, prudence, sweetness, and gravity, was such, that every one loved her with fear, and fear'd her with love.'¹⁷⁷

Dorothy's capabilities and actions were in fact far greater, suggesting that although she certainly valued and respected the missionary priests she did not consider them essential to the way in which she and her community practised their religion. In cataloguing Dorothy's traits and activities Palmes noted several unconventional activities that Dorothy obviously considered to be the norm.

When any was to be reconcil'd thereabouts shee played the catechist, so as I had no other share in the work but to take their confession. ... To women in travail shee never went without comfort of both sorts: relics for the soul, and, if they were poor, cordialls for the body. For these offices, shee gained so much on the opinion of her neighbours, that they would generally say, they fear'd not if Mrs. Lawson were with them.¹⁷⁸

He continued to say that he was with her seven years and that during that time all received help and baptism, and that she ensured no child went to the grave un-baptised.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', p. 47.

¹⁷⁷ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', p. 48.

¹⁷⁸ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', p. 45.

¹⁷⁹ Palmes, 'Life of Dorothy Lawson', p. 46. Palmes also stated that Dorothy was involved in the more conventional lay Catholic activities, placing special emphasis on the seven works of charity. She kept a purse of 2d for widows being one herself and that she visited prisoners, including Fr. Morse, did his laundry and took them 'church stuff'. Writing of the prison he stated 'to her gostly father nothing was wanting fitt for the condition of a religious man' as he had good chambers and a library.

Dorothy then fulfilled the rôle of a priest in many ways, serving the community in the ways in which a local Catholic parish priest would have done. This certainly opposed Aveling's interpretation of the community being revived from despair by the Catholic mission and suggests certain continuities with pre-Reformation Catholic traditions. Yet it does not suggest that the mission was the failure, undervalued and misdirected, as Haigh described it. Dorothy valued the priests who stayed with her and the works of the society that she was given to read as a favour and at the urging of Palmes, on her death bed. She and Palmes appear to have held each other in a mutual respect and the fact that she held so much sway in the community meant that the Catholic message did spread beyond the gentry community and throughout the geographical area in which Dorothy appeared to have ruled supreme. Dorothy may have been an exceptional woman and therefore not altogether typical of her times, but the less well-documented lives of other gentry women suggests that there were others. Haigh may view such women as evidence of the failure of the mission in reaching only to a minority, but Dorothy surely represented the new post-Reformation Catholic who blended together the best of the old religion and its practices almost imperceptibly with the new ideas and inspirational texts coming from the continent. Thus this Catholicism was neither a continuation of medieval Catholicism nor a new Catholicism founded by the Jesuits, but an imperceptible mix of both representing the conservatism of the northern gentry with the adaptability of a new generation who were capable of surviving hard times.

Conclusion

All the evidence suggests that women were important to the survival of Catholicism in Yorkshire. They were not passive participants in their religion, but played an active and often vital rôle in allowing Catholicism to continue. In many cases, as the recusant records constructed by the authorities suggest, women were in fact the key players in the survival of Catholicism. Even accepting that their husbands were often not opposed to their wives practising Catholicism, it was still significant that 'it was often the womenfolk who first defied the penal laws.'¹⁸⁰ The lives of some Catholic women have already been documented and published, yet the Catholic gentlewomen from many of these Yorkshire families also had a significant rôle. Parallels thus exist between the sample family members and the better documented and catalogued Catholic women. Whilst the career of Mary Ward is well recorded, the lives of women such as Margaret Gascoigne are not, but are equally as important in the monastic history of Catholicism on the continent. Within the lay community Dorothy Lawson played just as great a rôle in maintaining the northern gentry community as Margaret Clitherow did in York. Women who were married to men who were equally as obstinate in their Catholicism, such as Dorothy Vavasour and Winifrid Meynell, displayed the determination and commitment required to practice their religion and look after their families whilst their husbands were incarcerated. Their actions show that they valued both the old and new aspects of Catholicism. They looked to the missionary and Marian priests for religious guidance and maintained old religious practices that were named as 'superstitions' by the humanists of

the Protestant Reformation. They were integrated into the wider Catholic community, yet played such a significant and vital part within that community that their actions deserve a separate acknowledgement.

¹⁸⁰ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 189.

Conclusion

Sir Ralph Sadler's letter in 1569 noted that there were not ten gentlemen in Yorkshire that favoured the Elizabethan religious settlement; he continued to state that 'the common people are ignorant, superstitious, and altogether blinded with the old popish doctrine', a charge which was also frequently leveled at the English Catholic population as a whole.⁴⁴⁶ Thus the scene was set by contemporary critics and to a large extent accepted by later historians; Haigh noted evidence of 'backwardness' as an indication of the strength of late Medieval Catholicism in Lancashire.⁴⁴⁷ For the authorities in Tudor and Stuart England Catholicism was to be equated with backward thinking and designed to be a sign of ignorant and superstitious people. Later analyses did little to redress this established view; rather they focused upon either the numbers who adhered to the Catholic religion throughout the early modern era, centering on identifying and then differentiating between those who were convincingly recusant and those who at times conformed; or alternatively they examined the role of seminary priests, their skills, inadequacies or misjudgments, depending upon how the mission was interpreted.

Yet when the early modern Catholic gentry are examined, it is clear that they were not 'backward', but conservative and pragmatic in their actions; it was not 'superstition', but tradition that was frequently the driving force to their actions and that 'ignorance' was a charge that could not be leveled against men and women who demonstrated considerable

⁴⁴⁶ *CSPD, 1566-79*, p. 139.

⁴⁴⁷ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 332.

ingenuity in evading persecution and conducting a career, whilst maintaining their religious beliefs.

Throughout the period from the Pilgrimage of Grace to the Civil War the traditional conservative values of the Yorkshire Gentry were evident, as was their desire to retain their religion, position, power and status. The Yorkshire gentry were an inherently conservative group in the later Middle Ages, whose beliefs and attitudes had been shaped within the confines of northern religion and politics. They were isolated from new ideas that spread more easily in the south of England and thus were more easily able to retain Catholicism through the early years of Reformation. Whilst this study has highlighted the importance of continuity in religious thought and practice, a theme which has been highlighted by Christopher Haigh in his revisions of Reformation history, it has not emphasised continuity at the exclusion of all else. Unlike Haigh's interpretation the case for continuity has not been made in order to demonstrate that the English Catholic mission, orchestrated from the continent, was a failure;⁴⁴⁸ rather it suggests that whilst many religious practices were maintained, the Catholicism of the 1570s, 1580s and beyond was a hybrid of medieval Catholicism, enhanced by the new reformed Catholic ideas coming from the continent. Nor did the continental seminaries see the re-birth of Catholicism in England, as Aveling would have us believe, for as this study has shown, Catholicism in Yorkshire never died.⁴⁴⁹ This integration of traditional and reformed Catholicism was epitomised by the sons of Catholic gentlemen from the most

⁴⁴⁸ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 332; 'Continuity of Catholicism', pp. 37-69.

⁴⁴⁹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 112; *Handle and the Axe*, pp. 19, 27, 43-9, 56-61.

conservative of families who were educated and trained as priests on the continent and who then returned to the north to minister to their own people.

In the sphere of public protest, the rebellion of 1569 clearly formed a turning point in the history of Catholicism and in the history of northern society. It signalled the transformation of Catholicism, as it moved from the public world to a private one. The study of rebellions also illustrated three important themes, which have run throughout this study. The first of these was continuity and conservatism and this can be seen as central; the same names appeared in 1536, 1569 and then on the lists of prosecutions, illustrating that a family's commitment to Catholicism and conservatism had frequently begun long before the recusancy persecution of the late 1580s and 1590s. The second important point relates to the part played by younger sons and lesser members of the greater gentry families; they were crucial to the continuity of Catholicism, in both the public role they played in rebellions and in their continuing resistance to conformity throughout the era. The third strand emphasised by this thesis is the key rôle of women and their commitment to upholding Catholicism, even when the commitment of the gentlemen wavered. These three strands were established as central in the rebellions of the period and consistently reoccurred in the other areas studied.

In looking at the marriages secured by the Yorkshire Catholic gentry in the period between 1536 and 1642 it is clear that they were still able to use this traditional gentry tactic to increase their wealth. What does become clear however is the fact that religion was undeniably a significant factor in marriage arrangements; yet the creation of a

‘Catholic community’ did not mean that the gentry were isolated, but rather that they created a community, within a community. This fortified rather than divided the Catholics of Yorkshire, whilst they continued to operate within the gentry community of the north they also had a smaller community within this composed of Catholic gentry families which proved a source of strength in the difficult times of persecution. The social and geographical range of families that the Yorkshire gentry looked to was far greater than the range noted by Haigh in the marriages of the Lancashire gentry, indicating that circumstances in Yorkshire were different.⁴⁵⁰ The fact that many of the gentry opted for a legally recognised marriage in their local parish church did not mean that they did not consider the religious implications of their decision. Whilst conformity may have been necessary for the actual ceremony, the long term implications of marriage and the procreation of children ensured that Catholicism was kept alive into another generation.

Themes of continuity and adaptability were once again made clear in an examination of the Catholic gentry’s relationship with the church, both the secular and monastic. The desire to continue with old practices and ways of life meant that the families were forced to adapt to the new world that faced them, which suggests that ‘backwardness’ in religion actually provoked adaptation and change. The Catholic gentry made use of their local monastic houses prior to the Reformation and saw the church as yet another means of supporting their standing and authority; whether this be through their control over clergy appointments, the dedications they made in their wills designed to keep them in the collective memory of the faithful or through the erection of church monuments and tombs

⁴⁵⁰ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 89-90.

which left evidence of their piety in a visible and physical form. In the post-Reformation world they welcomed with open arms the monastic institutions on the continent, illustrating that monasticism was still valued. This surely demonstrated that Catholicism was alive and well amongst the Catholic gentry communities in Yorkshire and that the maintenance of traditional Catholic practices did not necessarily indicate a backward community, but rather one that was willing both to retain and adapt those values and practices that it felt to be important. Here women appeared as crucial players, in establishing and populating the establishments on the continent.

In terms of parish life Catholic gentlemen were not isolated from the activities of their local parish, but rather they continued to play a rôle in the economic, social and organizational aspects of the early modern community. Thus Catholics were frequently living in tandem with Protestant figures of authority and their institutions, with conflict only arising when the equilibrium that had been established was disturbed. A desire to maintain continuity in local power bases often overrode religious difficulties and concerns.

The Catholic gentry were also able to obtain an education and a career in the post-Reformation period. A great deal of emphasis within this study has been placed upon the law as a form of education, training and as a career and as a means of securing a position in society. The law and its enforcers are often viewed as the enemies of Catholics and the period did see Catholics being prosecuted for their failure to conform, yet as is obvious from this study and previous works, Catholics could also be protected by men in positions

of legal authority. Whilst Aveling condemns those who had the means to act for not doing more or failing to remain consistent in their religious beliefs, the examination of the law and its training has illustrated that the Catholic population were not always helpless martyrs, but were taking practical steps to protect themselves.⁴⁵¹ The rôles of Catholic doctors, lawyers, tradesmen and landowners were as vital in the practical sustenance of a Catholic community as the priests; this is not to belittle or de-emphasise the importance of priests in the Catholic religions, for their rôle is evidently central to Catholic religious practice, but rather to suggest that the rôle of other educated and skilled Catholic men and women were also crucial to retaining a cohesive Catholic community within Yorkshire.

The evidence from the examination of Catholic families in Yorkshire has suggested that women were important to the survival of Catholicism in the county. They were not passive participants in their religion, but played an active and often vital rôle in allowing Catholicism to continue. In many cases, as the recusant records constructed by the authorities suggest, women were in fact the key players in the survival of Catholicism. Even accepting that their husbands were often not opposed to their wives practicing Catholicism, it was still significant that it was the women who acted. Parallels exist between the family members focused upon here and other Catholic women of the period which would suggest that women's rôle in Catholic history has been underestimated. The actions of the women examined show that they valued both the old and new aspects of Catholicism, looking to both missionary and Marian priests for religious guidance, and

⁴⁵¹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 203-20. Aveling catalogues the increasingly harsh prosecution imposed by the authorities.

whilst also retaining old religious practices. They are the one group who consistently emphasise the mixture of old and new that characterised Yorkshire Catholicism between 1536 and 1642 and perhaps beyond.

The words of Thomas Meynell's lamentation at the religious changes sweeping through the county began this study and his commonplace book records that in 1600 when he was imprisoned for his religious beliefs in the North-blockhouse at Hull and following his release, his priorities were reflective of the main themes of this study. He was concerned about his prolonged absence from both his wife and his land, yet his wife was obviously well able to continue to look after his concerns and maintain the Catholic religion despite the fact she was not permitted to consult with her husband;⁴⁵² he was keen to secure his sons an education which would enhance their prospects and yet also retain their adherence to the Catholic religion,⁴⁵³ and he remained both the conservative Yorkshire Catholic gentleman whose heritage and lineage was integral to his sense of self whilst also seeing himself as a Renaissance gentleman who expressed both his piety, education and love for his wife in verse.⁴⁵⁴ Thus Thomas should have the last word finishing his verse with a sentiment that seems to summarise much of what the gentry of the period and those that followed hoped for:

A worke of worthe I do intende,
To wch (god Willinge) nowe Ile bende.
Finis.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵² Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', pp. 16-20.

⁴⁵³ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', pp. 72-6.

⁴⁵⁴ Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', pp. 17-9.

⁴⁵⁵ Meynell MSS, Thomas Meynell's Commonplace Book, f. 14; Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers', p. 19.

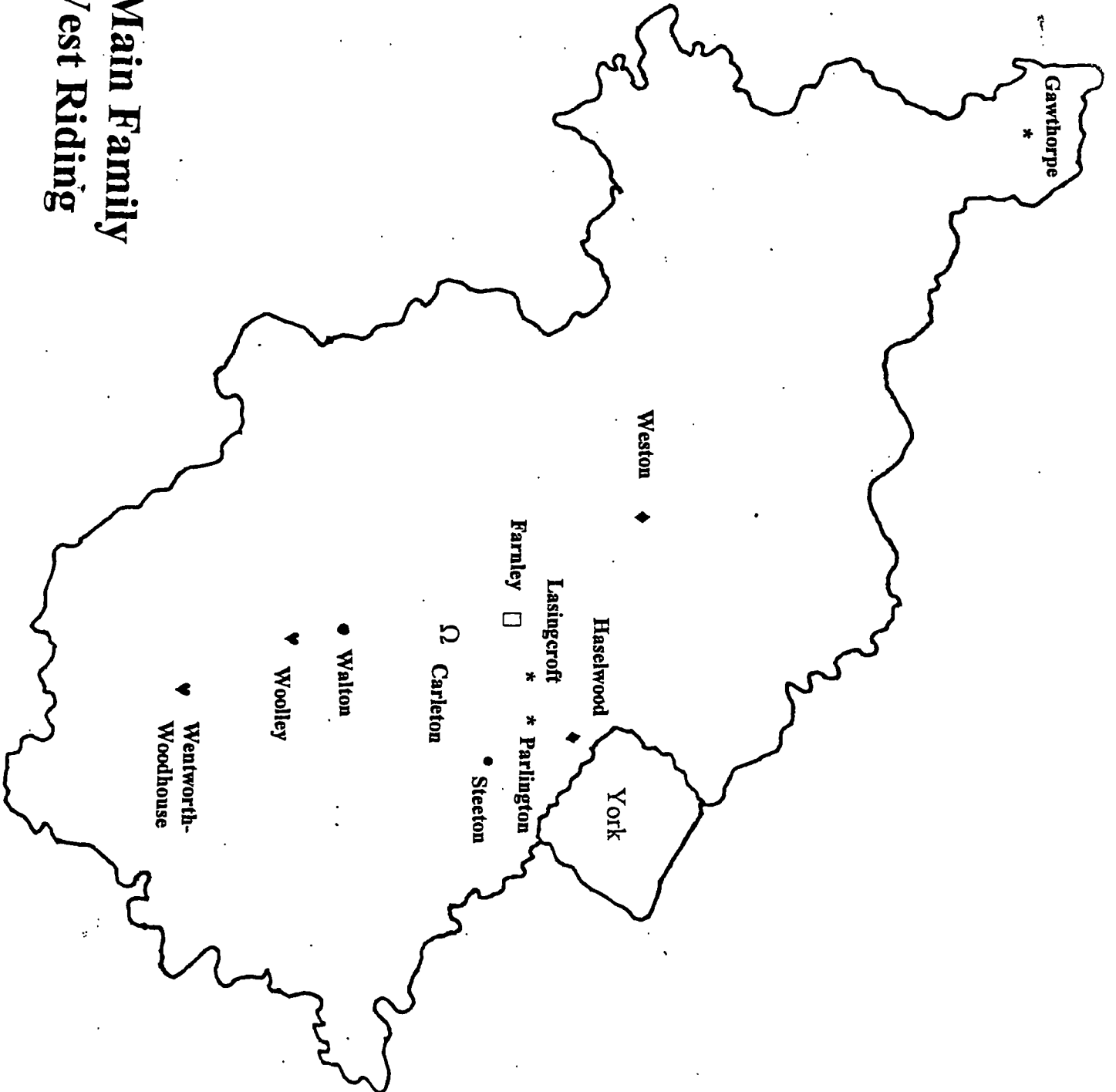
APPENDIX I

MAPS

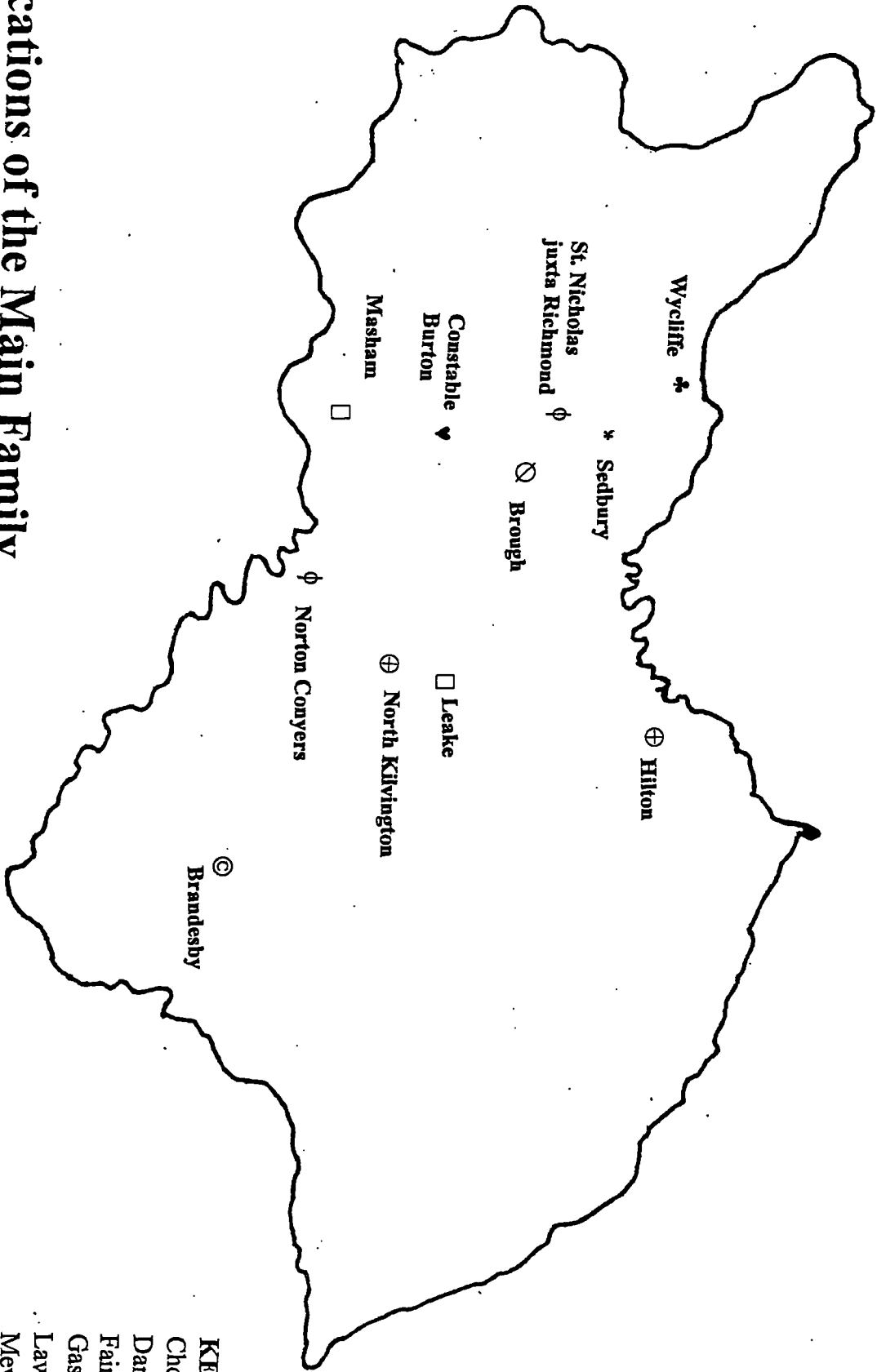
Locations of the Main Family Estates in the West Riding

KEY

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Cholmley | ☉ |
| Danby | □ |
| Fairfax | ● |
| Gascoigne | * |
| Lawson | ⊘ |
| Meynell | ⊕ |
| Norton | φ |
| Stapleton | Ω |
| Vavasour | ◆ |
| Wentworth | ♣ |
| Wycliffe | ♠ |
| Wyvill | ♣ |



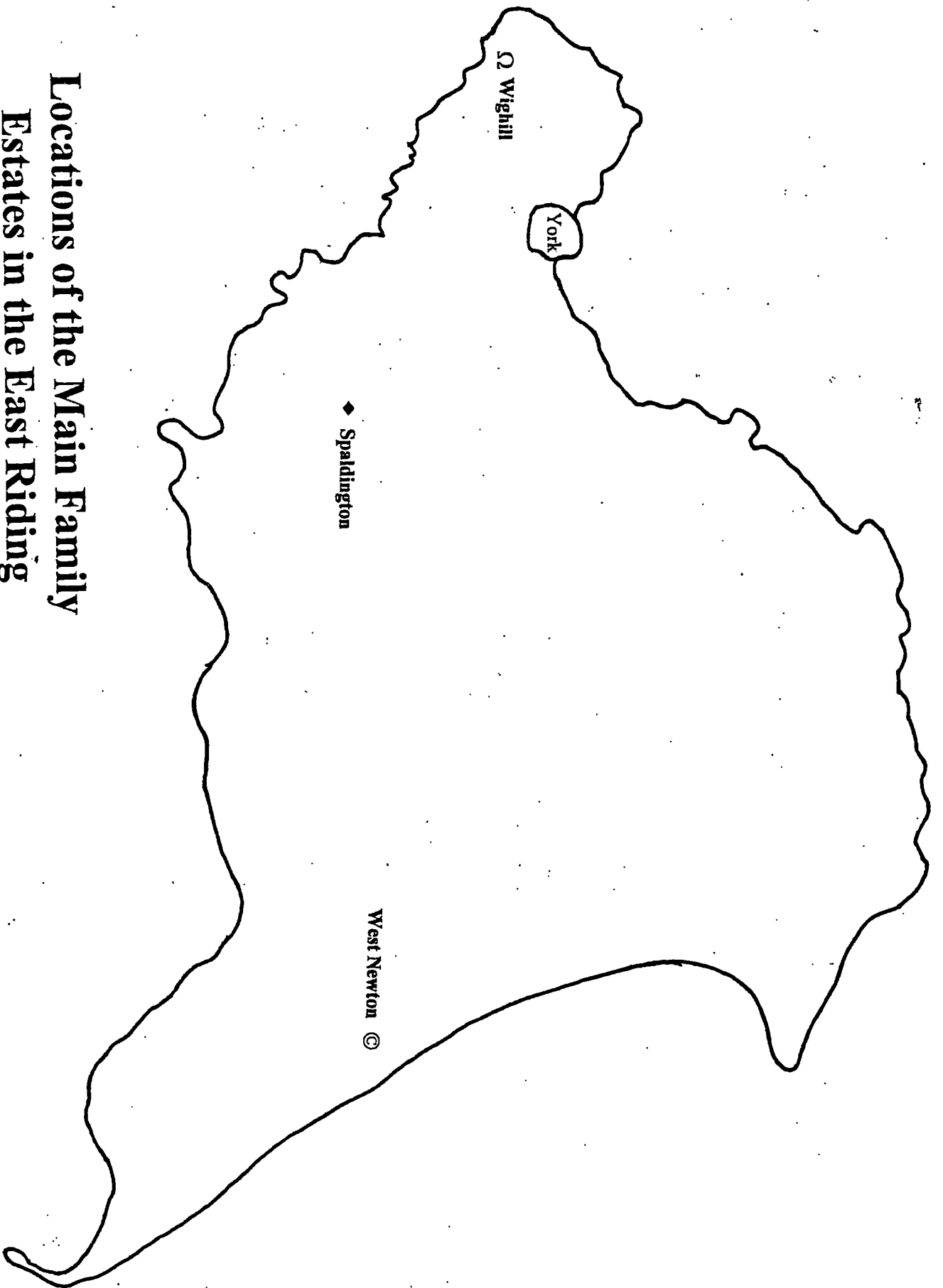
Locations of the Main Family Estates in the North Riding



KEY

- ⊙ Cholmley
- Danby
- Fairfax
- * Gascoigne
- ⊕ Lawson
- ⊕ Meynell
- ⊕ Norton
- φ Stapleton
- ◆ Vavasour
- ♠ Wentworth
- ♣ Wycliffe
- ⊙ Wycliffe

Locations of the Main Family Estates in the East Riding



- KEY**
- ◉ Cholmley
 - Danby
 - Fairfax
 - * Gascoigne
 - ⊘ Lawson
 - ⊕ Meynell
 - ⊖ Norton
 - ϕ Stapleton
 - Ω Vavasour
 - ◆ Wentworth
 - ♣ Wycliffe
 - ♠ Wyvill

APPENDIX II: THE MARRIAGES OF ELDEST SONS

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <u>Key</u> | |
| bold | - Recusants |
| <i>italics</i> | - suspected recusants /Catholics families |
| highlighted | - Protestant /Puritan |
| d. | - daughter of |
| d.&h | - daughter and heiress of |
| m. | - married |

CHOLMLEY

H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Rolls II* (CRS RS, 57, 1965), p. 214; M.M.C. Calthrop (ed.), *Recusant Rolls 1592-3* (CRS RS, 18, 1916), p. 99; J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 248-57, 444-6; 'Pedigree of Cholmeley of Brandsby Hall, Boyton, Whitby, Howsham, etc.' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, vol. 3 (London, 1874); C. Talbot (ed.), *Recusant Records* (CRS, 53, 1960), pp. 343, 399.

Cholmeley of Brandsby

| | |
|--|--|
| John of Golston | m. Jane d.&coh. Thomas Eyton of Golston, Yorkshire. |
| Sir Roger of Thornton and Roxby (?-1538) | m. Katherine d. Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, Yorkshire. |
| Sir Richard of Roxby Braham (1516-79) | m. [1] Margaret d. William, Lord Conyers of Hornby, and Yorkshire. [2] Catherine d. Henry, first Earl of Cumberland, widow of John, eighth Lord Scrope of Bolton (died 1598 after her husband) |
| <i>Roger</i> of Brandsby (?-1577) | m. Jane d.&coh. Thomas de la Rivere, of Brandsby, Yorkshire, married pre-1557. |
| Thomas of Brandsby (?-1630) | m. Anne d. John Pullen of Scotton, Yorkshire. |
| Marmaduke of Brandsby (1603-1665) | m. Ursula d. William Thornton of Newton, Yorkshire. |
| <i>Thomas</i> of Brandsby | m. <i>Catherine</i> d. Marmaduke Tunstall of Wycliffe, Yorks. |

(1628-90)

Thomas of Brandsby m. Anne d. Robert Plumpton of Plumpton, Yorks.
(1663-?)

Cholmeley of West Newton

Sir Henry of Roxby and m. Margaret d. Sir William Babthorpe of Osgodby,
Whitby Yorks./Lincs

Sir Richard of Whitbym. m. [1] Susan d. John Leyard of London.
(?-1625) [2] Margaret d. William Cob of London.

Sir Hugh of Whitby m. Elizabeth d. Sir William Twysden of East Peckham in
(1600-1657) Kent.

Sir Hugh (Tangier) m. Anne d. Spencer Compton, second earl of Northampton
(1632-1688/9) in 1665-6.

DANBY

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 3 (Exeter, William Pollard & Co., 1907), pp. 402-4; T.D. Whittaker, *A History of Richmondshire*, vol. 2 (London, 1823), pp. 98-104 and 98a. for Pedigree.

Danby of Great Leake

H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Rolls II* (CRS RS, 57, 1965), p. 215; M.M.C. Calthrop (ed.), *Recusant Rolls 1592-3* (CRS RS, 18,1916), pp. 85, 102.

James of Braworth m. ____ d. ____ Walworth, Durham.

William of Leake m. Margaret d. Gilbert Legh of Middleton, Yorkshire.
(?-1544)

James of Braworth m. ____ d. ____ Warde.

Thomas of Leake m. Anne/Jane d.&coh. Ralphe Anger of ____.
(?-1623)

Thomas of Braworth m. [1] Elizabeth d. Christopher Carrus of Halghton,
(1589-?) Lancashire.
[2?] Elizabeth Johnson.

John Danby of Great Leake m. [1] Mary d. William Swynbourne of Cap-Heaton,
Yorks.
(1616-?) [2] Mary d. Anthony *Meynell* of Kilvington, Yorkshire.

Danby of Masham and Farnley

Sir Robert m. _____
(?-1471/2)

Sir James m. Agnes d. John Langton of Farnley, Yorkshire.
(?-1496/7)

Sir Christopher m. Marjorie d.&coh. of _____ of Masham, Yorkshire.
(?-1513)

Sir Christopher m. Elizabeth d. Richard, Lord Latimer, Yorkshire.
(1502-71)

Sir *Thomas* m. *Mary* d. Lord Neville, Earl of Westmorland.
(?-1590)

FAIRFAX

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 186-96; Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 3, pp. 155-7, 430-1; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 18 (London, 1889), pp. 128- 51; 'Pedigree of Fairfax of Gilling Castle, Denton: The Barons Fairfax of Cameron: Fairfax of Steeton, Silsdon and Newton Kyme' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Fairfax of Walton

William of Walton m. Catherine d. Sir Alexander Nevile of Thornton Bridge,
(?-1453) Yorkshire.

Sir Thomas of Walton m. Elizabeth d. Sir Robert Sherburne of Stonyhurst,
(?-1505) Lancashire, in 1460.

Sir Thomas of Walton m. Agnes d. Sir William *Gascoigne* of Gawthorpe,
(?-1520/1) Yorkshire.

Sir Nicholas of Walton m. [1] Jane d. Guy Palmes of Naburn, Yorkshire.
and Gilling Castle [2] Alice d. Sir John Harrington and widow of Sir Henry
(?-1570) Sutton of Averham, Nottinghamshire.

Sir Thomas, Viscount
Fairfax of Gilling
(1574-1636)

m. [1] Catherine d. Sir Henry Constable of Constable
Burton, Yorkshire.
[2] Mary d. Sir Robert Ford of Butley, Suffolk and
widow of Sir William Bamborough of Howsham,
Yorkshire.

Sir Thomas Fairfax

m. Althea d. Sir Philip ____ of [Ha?]worth.

Fairfax of Steeton

Sir Guy Fairfax of Steeton

m. Isabel d. Sir William Ryther of Ryther, Yorkshire.

Sir William of Steeton and
Bolton Percy.

m. Elizabeth d. Sir Robert *Manners*, Rutland.

Sir William of Steeton etc.
(?-1558)

m. Isabel d.&h. Sir Thomas/John Thwaites of Denton,
Yorkshire.

Sir Thomas of Denton and
Nun Appleton (?-1599)

m. Dorothy d. George Gale and widow of John Rokeby of
Sandal, Yorkshire.

Sir Thomas of Denton and
Nun Appleton (1560-1640)

m. Eleanor d. Robert Aske of Aughton in Yorkshire.

GASCOIGNE

F.S. Coleman (ed.), *History of Barwick in Elmet, Thoresby Society*, 17 (1908), pp. 129-162 and Pedigree facing 162; 'Pedigree of Gascoigne of Gawthorpe and Parlington', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Gascoigne of Gawthorpe

Sir William (died pre-
1463/4)

m. Joan d.&h. John Nevile of Oversley, Warwickshire and
Althorpe, Lincolnshire.

Sir William of Gawthorpe
(?-1486/7)

m. Lady Margaret Percy d. Henry, third Earl of
Northumberland.

Sir William
(1467-1551) m. [1] Alicia d. Sir Richard Frognall of Frognall, Lincs.
[2] Margaret d. Richard Lord Latimer and widow of
Edward Willoughby of Beckington, Somerset (died
1522).
[3] Maude Lynley, widow.
[4] Bridget, widow of Robert Stokes of Bickerton,
Yorkshire (married post-1526 and died 1556).

Sir William of Cusworth
(c. 1500-?) m. [1] Margaret d. Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark,
Yorkshire.
[2] Margaret d. Thomas Wright.

Sir William of Gawthorpe
(?-1566/7) m. Beatrice d. Sir Richard Tempest of Bracewell Hall and
Bowling, Durham.

Gascoigne of Lasincroft

Nicholas m. Mary d. Hugh/Robert/John Cilderow of Salesbury,
Lancashire in 1390.

John m. Isabel d.& h. William Heton of Mirfield, Yorkshire.
(d.1473).

William (?-1476) m. Joanetta d. Sir William Beckwith of Clint in 1465,
Yorkshire.

William (?-1527)
(third son of William) m. Margaret d. Richard Kighley of Newhall, Yorkshire.

John of Lasincroft and
Abberford (1446-1557) m. Anne d.&coh. John *Vavasour*, third son of Sir Henry
Vavasour of Haselwood, Yorkshire.

Thomas (?-1568) m. Joan d. William *Ilson* of Gunby, Yorkshire.

Gascoigne of Parlington

John of Parlington (3rd son
of John of Lasincroft) m. Maud d. William Arthington of Adwick-in-the-Street,
Yorkshire.

Sir John of Lasincroft,
Parlington and Banbow. m. *Anne* d. **John Ingleby** of Lawkland, Yorks (d.1637).

Sir Thomas (1596-1666) m. Anne d. John Symonds of Brightwell, Oxfordshire.

Gascoigne of Sedbury

H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusants 1581-92* (CRS RS, 71, 1986), pp. 66, 214, 218

- | | |
|--|---|
| Sir Henry of Sedbury and Ravensworth | m. Elizabeth/ Isabella d.&h. Sir Henry Boyton of Sedbury Yorkshire and Ravensworth, Durham. |
| Sir Henry of Sedbury and Ravensworth (?-1558) | m. Margaret d. Sir Roger Cholmeley of Thornton-on-the-Hill, Yorkshire. |
| <i>Richard</i> of Sedbury and Ravensworth (?-1604/5) | m. Jane d. Richard <i>Norton</i> of Norton Conyers, Yorkshire in 1549. |
| Sir William (1569-1642) of Thorpe-on-the-Hill | m. Barbara d.& coh. Henry Anderson of Haswell Grange and Newcastle in 1599. |

LAWSON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1899), pp. 316-21.

Lawson of Brough

H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusant Rolls II* (CRS RS, 57, 1965), p. 214; H. Bowler (ed.), *Recusants 1581-92* (CRS RS, 71, 1986), p. 107; ; M.M.C. Calthrop (ed.), *Recusant Rolls 1592-3* (CRS RS, 18,1916), pp. 99, 247; C. Talbot (ed.), *Recusant Records* (CRS, 53, 1960), p. 344.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Thomas of Cramlington (?-1499) | m. _____ d. Sir William Cramlington of Cramlington, Northumberland. |
| William of Cramlington | m. _____ d. _____ of Horsley, Northumberland. |
| James of Newcastle (?-1542) | m. Alison d. George Bertram of Newcastle. |
| Edmund of Newcastle (?-pre-1565) | m. Margery d. Ralph Swynnnow. (She remarried Robert Lawson of Usworth, Durham). |
| Sir <i>Ralph</i> of Brough (?-1623) | m. Elizabeth d.&h. of Roger Brough of Brough, Richmondshire. |
| Roger of Heton, Northumberland. (1571-1614) | m. Dorothy d. Sir Henry Constable of Burton, Yorkshire. |

- Henry of Brough** (?- 1636) m. Anne d. Robert Hodgson of Heburne, Durham.
- Sir *John* of Brough (?-1698) m. Katherine d. Sir William Howard of Naworth Castle, Cumberland.
- Sir Henry (1653-1726) m. Elizabeth d. Robert Knightley of Offchurch, Warwickshire.

MEYNELL

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 1 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1899), pp. 315-21; 'Pedigree of Meynells of Kilvington' and 'Pedigree of Mennell formerly of Malton' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Meynell of Hilton

- Robert of Hilton (?-1528) m. Agnes d. Sir John Lancaster of Sockbridge, Westmorland.
- Robert of Hilton (?-1563) m. Mary d. Thomas Pudsey of 'Barford' (Barforth), Richmondshire.
- Roger of Hilton m. [1] Jane d. Sir Christopher Danby of Farnley, Yorkshire.
[2] _____ Slingsby, Yorkshire.
- Edmund of Hilton (?-1615) m. [1] Thomasin d. Ralph *Tankard* of Arden.
[2] Elizabeth d. William Bowes of Ellerbeck, Yorkshire in 1599.

Meynell of North Kilvington

- Anthony Meynell of North Kilvington (third son of Robert of Hilton who died in 1528) m. [1] Margaret, d. _____ of Eggesfield, Durham.
[2] Elizabeth d. William Greene of Lanmouth.
[3] Joan d. Thomas Rokeby of Mortham, a widow.
[4] Katherine d. Richard Norton of Edelthorpe, Durham.
- Roger of Kilvington (?-1591) m. Margery d.&coh. Anthony Caterick of Stanwick, Yorkshire (?- post-1587).
- Thomas** of North Kilvington m. [1] **Winifride** d. Thomas Pudsey of Barforth in Richmondshire.
[2] **Mary** d. Thomas Grange of Harsley, Yorkshire.

Anthony of North
Kilvington (1591-1669)

m. Mary d. James Thwaytes of Marston, Yorkshire.
(?-1669)

Thomas of Kilvington
(1615-c.1649)

m. Gerard d. *William Ireland* of Nostell, Yorkshire
in 1637.

Roger of Kilvington
(1640-?)

m. Mary d. Sir John *Middleton* of Thurntoft, Yorkshire.
(?-1685)

NORTON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 71-6, 92-3; 'Pedigree of Norton, Baron Grantley, of Grantley Park', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874); 'Pedigree of Norton alias Conyers of Hartford, etc.' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the Leading Families of Yorkshire* (London, 1872).

Norton of Sawley

Sir John Norton of Norton
and Sawley (?-1489)

m. Jane d. Sir Randolph Pigot (?-1488).

Sir John Norton of Norton
and Sawley (1460-1520)

m. Margaret d. Sir Roger Warde of Givendale (?
-1520)

John Norton of Norton
and Sawley (1481-1556/7)

m. Anne d.&h. William Ratcliff of Rilston Yorkshire in
1492/3.

Richard Norton, Lord of
Gilling, Hartfoth, Norton
Conyers and Nunwick.
(?-1585)

m. [1] Susan Neville, fifth daughter of Richard, Lord
Latimer of Snape Hall, Yorkshire (1501-?)
[2] Phillipa d. Robert Trappes of London and widow of
Sir George Gifford of Middle Claydon,
Buckinghamshire (?-post 1586)

Norton of Norton Conyers

Francis of Norton Conyers
(?-post 1569) (son and
heir of Richard Norton.)

m. Albreda sister & coh. Thomas Wimbish of Norton,
Lincolnshire.

John

m. Bridget d. Robert *Stapleton* of Wighill, Yorkshire.

Norton of St. Nicholas juxta Richmond

- Edmund of Clowbecke m. *Cecilie* d. Mathew Boyton of Barmston in Holderness,
(?-1610) Yorkshire.
(Third son of Richard Norton)
- Robert of Swynton m. Catherine d.&h. John Staveley of Swynton, Yorkshire.
(Fourth son of Edmund)
- Maulger of St. Nicholas m. Anne d. George Wandesford of Kirklington, Yorkshire.
(1593-1673) in 1621/2 (?-1683).

STAPLETON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 1 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1899), pp.163-80; 'Pedigree of Stapleton of Carleton - Lord Beaumont - and Wighill, Myton, Norton, etc.' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1(London, 1874).

Stapleton of Carleton

- Sir Brian (1452-1496) m. [1] Jane d. John, Viscount Lovell (co-heiress with her brother)
[2] Alice widow of Sir William Neville of Calthorpe in 1484-5.
- Sir Brian (1483-1550) m. [1] Elizabeth d. Henry, seventh Lord Scrope of Bolton.
in 1486.
[2] Joan / Joanna, d. Thomas Basset of North Luffenham, Rutland.
- Sir Richard (1516-85) m. [1] Thomasine, d. Robert Amades / Amadei (London?).
[2] Elizabeth, d. Mr. Langton and widow of William Meryng of Quousque.
- Brian (1535-1606) m. [1] *Eleanor*, d. Ralph Neville, forth Earl of Westmorland.
[2] Elizabeth, d. George, Lord Darcy.
[3] Margery d. _____ Sheppard and widow of John Freeston of Altofts, Yorkshire, after 1594.
- Richard (1564-1614) m. **Elizabeth** d. Sir Henry Pierpoint of Holme Pierpoint, Nottinghamshire, in 1591.

Gilbert (? - 1636) m. [1] Catherine d. William Hungate of Saxton, Yorkshire in 1613.
[2] **Helen**, d. Sir John Gasoigne of Lasincroft and Barnbow, Yorkshire.

Richard (1620-70) died unmarried and without issue.

Stapletons of Wighill

Sir William (?-1503) m. [1] Margaret d. Sir James Pickering of Oswaldkirk, Yorkshire.
[2] Joan d. Sir Thomas Tunstall and widow of Sir Roger Ward of Givendale and Guisley, Yorkshire.

Sir Bryan (1448-1518) m. Jane d. Sir Lancelot Thirkeld of Threlkeld, Cumberland.

Christopher (1485-1537) m. [1] Alice d. William Aske of Aske, Yorkshire (d.1521).
[2] Elizabeth d. Sir John Neville of Liversedge, Yorks.

Sir Robert (?-1557) m. Elizabeth d. Sir William Mallory of Studley, Yorkshire.

Sir Robert (1548-1606) m. [1] Catherine d. Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, Yorkshire.
[2] Olive d. Sir Henry Sherington of Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire and widow of John Talbot of Salwarp, Worcestershire.

Henry (1574-1630/1) m. Mary d. Sir John Forster of Alnwicke, Northumberland.

Robert (1601-34/5) m. Catherine d. Sir Thomas Fairfax of Walton, Yorkshire, afterwards Viscount Fairfax of Emley and Ireland (she remarried a further four times).

Sir *Miles* (?-1665) m. Mary d.&h. to Sir Ingram Hopton.

VAVASOUR

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 224-8; 'Pedigree of Vavasour of Haslewood, Spaldington, Weston, Copmanthorpe, etc.', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Vavasour of Haselwood

- | | |
|---|--|
| Sir Henry (?-1452) | m. Joan d. John Langton of Huddleton. |
| Sir Henry of Haselwood (?-1500) | m. Joan d. Sir William Gascoigne, Yorks. (?-1462) |
| Henry of Haselwood (?-1515) | m. Elizabeth d. Sir John Everingham of Everingham, Yorkshire (?-1509) |
| John of Haselwood (1494-1524) | m. Anne d. Henry, sixth Lord Scrope of Bolton in 1509. |
| Sir <i>William</i> of Haselwood (?-1572) | m. Elizabeth d. Anthony Calverley (she remarried Robert Gascoigne) |
| Ralph of Woodhall (brother of Sir William) Yorks. | m. [1] Ursula d. Sir William Fairfax of Steeton, Yorks. [2] Elizabeth d. Richard Peck of Wakefield, |
| Walter/William of Haselwood (1569-?) | m. Anne d. Sir Thomas Manners, son of Thomas, earl of Rutland. |
| Sir Thomas of Haselwood (?-1632) | m. Ursula d. Walter Gifford of Chillington, Staffordshire. |
| Sir Walter of Haselwood (1613-78/9) | m. Ursula d. Thomas, Viscount Fauconbridge in 1635/6. |

Vavasour of Spaldington

- | | |
|--|---|
| Sir John of Spaldington | m. Isabel d.&coh. of Thomas de la Haye, Yorkshire. |
| Sir John of Spaldington (?-1506) | m. Elizabeth d. Robert Tailboys, Lord of Redesdale and Kyme, Yorkshire. |
| William of Gunby (brother of Sir John who died with- | m. [1] Isabel d.&h. Robert Urswick of Badsworth, Yorks. [2] Alice d. Robert Mallory. |

out issue) (?-1495)

Sir *Peter* of Spaldington
(?-1556)

m. Elizabeth d. Andrew, Lord Windsor of Stanwell,
Middlesex (?-1548)

John of Spaldington
(?-1573)

m. [1] Katherine d.&h. William Ilson of Gunby, Yorks.
[2] Cassandra d.&h. _____ Loudon of South Cave,
Yorks.
[3] Julian d. John Aske of Aughton, Yorkshire.

Ralph (first son of third
marriage)

m. Frances d. Sir Adam Darnell of Stickford, Lincolnshire.

Sir John of Spaldington
(?-1641)

m. Mary d. John Gates of Howden, Yorkshire.

Peter of Spaldington

m. Anne d. Sir Thomas Gower of Sitenham in 1631.

Vavasour of Weston and Newton

John of Weston and Newton

m. Elizabeth d. Henry Thwaites of Lund, Yorks
(?-c. 1482)

John of Weston and Newton

m. Cecily d. Sir John Norton, Yorkshire.

John of Weston and Newton

m. [1] Bridget d. Sir Thomas Mauleverer of Allerton,
Yorkshire.
[2] Agnes d. Sir William Calverley of Calverley,
Yorkshire.

Marmaduke of Weston
and Newton.

m. Joane d. Sir William Midelton of Stockeld, Durham.

William of Weston

m. [1] Alice d. Richard Paver of Breame.
[2] Elizabeth d. Leonard Beckwith of Selby, Yorkshire
(coh. of her brother.)
[3] Margaret d. Walter Welsh of Shelsden Abberley,
Worcestershire.

Sir *Mauger*

m. Joan d. John Savile of Stanley and widow of John
Metcalf of Nappa, Yorkshire.

William of Weston

m. [1] Mary d. Francis Vaughan of Sutton-upon-Derwent in
1598.

[2] Anne d.&h. Richard Tolson of Cockermouth,
Cumberland in 1625.

Thomas of Weston

m. [1] Mary d. Richard Norton, Yorkshire.
[2] Dorothy d. John Braddyll of Portfield, Lancashire.
[3] _____ d. John Rhodes of Ribchester, Lancashire.

WENTWORTH

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 321-5; 'Pedigree of Wentworth of Elmsall, Bretton and Baron Wentworth of Nettlested' and 'Pedigree of Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse, Earls of Strafforth [Watson Wentworth, Marquess of Rockingham], Vernon-Wentworth of Wentworth Castle and Wentworth of Woolley', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse

William of Wentworth-
Woodhouse (?-1508) m. Isabel/Elizabeth d. Sir Richard Fitzwilliam of Aldwark,
Yorkshire, in 1460.

Sir Thomas of Wentworth-
Woodhouse (1482-1548) m. Beatrice d. Sir Richard Woodruff of Woolley, Yorks.
c.1514

William of Wentworth-
Woodhouse (1507-49) m. Catherine d. Ralph Beeston of Beeston, Yorkshire in
1518.

Thomas of Wentworth-
Woodhouse (?-1587) m. Margaret d.&h. Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe,
Yorkshire (?-1591).

Sir William of Wentworth-
Woodhouse (1565-?) m. Anne d.& h. Sir Robert Atkins of Stockwell, Gloucester.

Sir **Thomas** of Wentworth-
Woodhouse (?-1641) m. [1] Lady Margaret Clifford, d. Francis Clifford fourth
earl of Cumberland in 1611 (?-1622)
[2] Lady Arabella Holles d. John earl of Clare 1624/5,
(?-1631)
[3] Elizabeth d. Sir Godfrey Rodes of Great Houghton,
Yorkshire in 1632 (?-1688)

Wentworth of Woolley

Michael of Medham Priory m. Beatrice/ Isabel d.&h. Percival Whitley of Whitley, Suffolk (?-1558) third Durham (1524-?).
son of Thomas of Wentworth-Woodhouse.

Thomas Wentworth of m. Susan d. Christopher Hopton of Armley Hall, Yorkshire.
Medham Priory
(1542-?)

Michael of Woolley m. **Frances** d.&h. George Downes of Paunton, Hereford in
(1547-1641) 1585.

WYCLIFFE

T.D. Whittaker, *History of Richmondshire*, vol. 1 (London, 1823), pp. 201-2

Wycliffe of Wycliffe

Robert of Wycliffe m. Margaret d. Sir Christopher Coniers of Hornby, Yorks.

Ralph, Lord of Wycliffe m. Anne d. Sir William Bowes of Stretlam Castle, Durham.
(line descended to daughters.)

John Wycliffe (second son m. Elizabeth d. John Parkinson of Beaumont Hill, Durham.
of Robert.)

William of Wycliffe m. [1] Dorothy d. John Place of Hanlaby, Yorkshire. (co-
(?-1584) heir of her mother)
[2] Muriell d. William, Lord Eure, (?-1557)

Francis of Wycliffe m. **Jane** d. Thomas Rookeby of Morton, Yorkshire (?-
(?-post 1585) post 1610)

William of Wycliffe m. *Muryell* d. John *Blackstone* of Blaykston, Durham.
(?-1611) [descended
to daughters]

WYVILL

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 431-7; 'Pedigree of Wyvill of Constable Burton', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Wyvill of Constable Burton

- Robert m. Joan d.&coh. John Pigot.
- Robert (?-1527) m. Anne d. Sir John Norton, of Norton Conyers, Yorkshire.
- Marmaduke (?-1558) m. [1] Agnes d.&coh. Sir Ralph FitzRandolf of Spennithorne, Yorkshire.
[2] _____ widow of Sir Roger Bellingham.
[3] Dorothy d. Sir Brian Hastings of Fenwick, Yorkshire.
- Christopher (?-1577) m. Margaret d. John Scrope of Hambledon, Yorkshire.
- Sir *Marmaduke* (____-1617/8) m. **Magdalen** d. Sir Christopher Danby, of Farnley, Yorkshire.
- Christopher* (1562-1614) m. **Jane** d. Sir Robert Stapleton of Wighill, Yorkshire.
- Sir *Marmaduke* (?-1648) m. **Isabel**, d. & h. Sir William Gascoigne of Sedbury, Yorkshire.
- Sir Christopher** (1615-65) m. Ursula, d. Conyers, Lord Darcy and Conyers, first earl of Holderness, Yorkshire.

**APPENDIX III:
THE MARRIAGES OF YOUNGER SONS AND SUB-BRANCHES OF
THE FAMILY**

Key

- bold** - Recusants
italics - suspected recusant
d. - daughter of
d&h. - daughter and heiress of
d&coh.- daughter and co-heiress of
m. - married

CHOLMLEY

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 248-57, 444-6; 'Pedigree of Cholmeley of Brandsby Hall, Boyton, Whitby, Howsham, etc.' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Cholmeley of Brandsby

Sons of John of Golston and Jane Eyton.

1. Sir Richard of Thornton- m. Elizabeth d. _____ Neville of Thornton Bridge.
on-the-Hill.
2. Sir Roger (see below)

Younger sons of Sir Roger of Thornton (?- 1538) (second son of John and Jane) and Katherine Constable.

2. Marmaduke died young.
3. Roger m. Jane d. Sir John Neville of Liversedge.
4. Henry died young
5. John m. Katherine d. Edmund Roos

Younger sons of Sir Richard of Roxby (1516-1579) and Margaret d. Lord Conyers of Hornby.

1. Francis of Roxby m. Jane d.&coh. Ralph *Bulmer* of Wilton.
2. Roger (see below)
3. Richard of Skewsby m. Tomasine [natural d. Thomas de la Rivere] and the
and Braham. widow of Ninian Tankard in 1568.

Younger sons of Sir Richard of Roxby and Catherine d. Henry, first earl of Cumberland

4. **Henry** of Roxby m. **Margaret** d. Sir William Babthorpe.
5. **John** died young.

Younger sons of Roger of Brandsby (second son of Sir Richard) and Jane de la Rivere

1. **Marmaduke** of m. **Ursula** d.&h. Ralph Aslaby of South Dalton.
Brandsby
2. **Richard** (?-1624) m. **Mary** d. William Saxton of Hungate
3. *Thomas* (See below).
4. *William*

Younger sons of Marmaduke of Brandsby and Ursula Thornton

2. **Francis** died unmarried.

Younger sons of Thomas of Brandsby and Catherine Tunstall

1. **Marmaduke** (1660-1660) died young
2. **Thomas** (See below)
3. **Francis** (1667-1740) died unmarried
4. **Hugh** (1670-?)
5. **Henry** (1672-1673)

Cholmeley of West Newton

Younger sons of Sir Henry of Roxby and Margaret Babthorpe

2. **Henry**
3. **John** m. Mrs. Isabel Ellis in 1622.

Younger sons of Sir Richard of Whitby and Susan Leyard

2. **Sir Henry** of West m. **Catherine** d. Henry *Stapleton* of Wighill, Yorkshire and
Newton Grange widow of Sir George Twisleton of Barley.
(c.1608-72)
3. **Richard**
4. **John**

Sons of Sir Henry of West Newton Grange and Catherine d. Henry Stapleton

1. Hugh (1642-?) m. Margaret d. Gregory Crake of Marton, Yorkshire.
2. Richard (c.1643-1655)

Younger sons of Sir Richard of Whitby and Margaret Cob.

5. Sir Richard of Grosmont m. Margaret d. John, Lord Pawlet of Hinton St. George, Somerset.

Younger sons of Sir Hugh of Whitby and Elizabeth Twysden

1. Sir William of Whitby (1625-63) m. [1] Katherine d. Sir John Hotham of Scarborough.
[2] Katherine d. John Saville of Methley, Yorkshire.

DANBY

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 3 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 402-4; T.D. Whittaker, *A History of Richmondshire*, vol. 2 (London, 1823), pp. 98-104 and 98a. for Pedigree.

Danby of Great Leake

Younger sons of James of Braworth and ____ d. ____ Walworth.

2. Christopher of Scarborough m. Agnes d. ____.
3. Robert of Raunton nr. Topcliffe.
4. Leonard parson of Cowsby.

Younger sons of William of Leake and. Margaret Legh

2. William of Knaresborough m. Katherine d. Richard Greene of Newby.

Younger sons of James of Braworth and. ____ d. ____ Warde.

2. Myles

Younger sons of Thomas of Leake and Anne Anger

2. Miles
3. John of Borroughby m. Dorothy Davile, widow, of Otteringham in 1614.
4. Francis

5. Edmund of Borroughby

Younger sons of Thomas of Braworth and Elizabeth Carrus

2. Thomas

3. Christopher.

Younger sons of John Danby of Great Leake and Mary Meynell

Anthony

Joseph

James

John

FAIRFAX

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 186-96; Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 3, pp. 155-7, 430-1; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 18 (London, 1889), pp. 128-51; 'Pedigree of Fairfax of Gilling Castle, Denton: The Barons Fairfax of Cameron: Fairfax of Steeton, Silsdon and Newton Kyme', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Fairfax of Walton

Younger sons of Sir Thomas of Walton and Elizabeth Sherburne

2. William

3. Richard

4. John

Younger sons of Sir Thomas of Walton and Agnes Gascoigne

2. William (twin to his elder brother Nicholas) of Bury St. Edmunds (?-1588). m. [1] _____ [2] Katherine d. Robert Tanfield.

3. Thomas of Caldbeck, Cumberland m. _____ d. John Orbell of Shenfield Suffolk.

4. Miles of Gilling

5. Guy

6. Robert

Younger sons of Sir Nicholas of Walton and Jane Palmes

2. Nicholas of Gilling

m. Jane d. William Hungate of Saxton.

- (?-1582)
- | | |
|--|---|
| 3. George | m. Frances d. Sir Francis <i>Slavin</i> of Newbiggin. |
| 4. Thomas, University preacher and canon of Carlisle. | m. _____ Vaux. |
| 5. Robert of Pocklington | m. _____ d. John Spencer of Yeddingham. |
| 6. Edward of Corbrough | m. Ursula d. John, Lord Mordaunt. |
| 7. Henry of Lund | |
| 8. Cuthbert of Acaster Malbis | m. Mary d. _____ Whitmore. |

Younger sons of Sir Thomas, Viscount Fairfax of Emley and Catherine Constable

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 2. Henry of Bridlington (?-1650) | m. Frances d. Henry Baker of Hurst. |
| 3. William of Lythe | m. [1] _____ [2] Mary d. Marmaduke <i>Cholmeley</i> of Brandsby. |
| 4. Nicholas (?-1657) | m. Isabel d. Thomas Beckwith of Aikton. |
| 5. John | |
| 6. Jordan, merchant of London | |

Younger sons of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Althea d. Sir Philip ____ of [Ha]worth.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 2. Charles (_?-1711) | m. Abigail d. Sir John Yates. |
| 3. John (? _-1692/3) | m. Mary d. Colonel Hungate. |
| 4. Nicholas | m. [1] Elizabeth d. Thomas Davidson of Blackiston, Durham. [2] Catherine, widow of Sir George Southcote of Bilborough, Lincolnshire. |
| 5. Philip | |

Fairfax of Steeton

Younger sons of Sir Guy Fairfax of Steeton and Isabel Ryther.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 2. Thomas of Finningley (?-1544) | m. Cecily d. Sir Robert <i>Manners</i> . |
| 3. Guy | died unmarried |
| 4. Nicholas | |

Younger sons of Sir William of Steeton and Isabel Thwaites

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Guy (1519-45) | died unmarried |
| 2. Thomas s.&h. | |
| 3. Francis | died young |

4. Edward died young
5. Gabriel of Steeton and Sledmer m. Elizabeth d. *Robert Aske* of Aughton.
6. Henry of Street Houses/Seacroft m. Dorothy d. *Robert Aske* of Aughton.
7. John.

Younger sons of Sir Thomas of Denton and Dorothy Gale, widow of John Rokeby

2. Henry died young
3. Ferdinando died young

GASCOIGNE

F.S. Coleman (ed.), *History of Barwick in Elmet*, Thoresby Society, 17 (1908), pp. 129-162 and Pedigree facing 162; 'Pedigree of Gascoigne of Gawthorpe and Parlington', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Gascoigne of Gawthorpe

Younger sons of Sir William (died pre-1463/4) and Joan Nevile of Oversley.

2. **Humphrey** rector of Newton Kyme.
3. John of Burghwallis m. Mary d. Sir Thomas Percy of Egremont.

Younger sons of Sir William of Gawthorpe (? -1486/7) and Lady Margaret Percy

2. **John** vicar of Ferry Fryston.
3. Thomas

Younger sons of Sir William (1467-1551) and Alicia Frognall.

2. Sir Henry of Sedbury m. Elizabeth/Isabella d.&h. Sir Henry *Boynton* of Sedbury.
3. George died unmarried.
4. Marmaduke of Caley Hall m. Jane/Joan d.&h. Henry *Redmayn* of Harewood Castle

Son of Sir William (1467-1551) and Margaret Willoughby

1. John of Whedale/Woodhall and Louth. m. Barbara/Bridget _____.

Younger sons of Sir William of Cusworth (c.1500-?) and Margaret Fitzwilliam

2. Francis of Garforth (1537-78) m. [1] Anne d. Sir William *Vavasour*.
3. Thomas of Burghwallis [2] Elizabeth d. Martin *Anne* of Frickley.
(?-1554) m. Jane d. Thomas Reresby of Thrilberg.
4. Swyth died young.

Sons of Sir William of Gawthorpe (?-1566/7) and Beatrice Tempest

1. William died young
2. William died young
3. Thomas died young
4. Francis died young

Gascoigne of Lasincroft

Younger sons of Nicholas and Mary Cilderow

2. Nicholas
3. Thomas

Younger sons of John and Isabel Heton

2. Nicholas
3. John
4. George
5. Thomas
6. Richard
7. Robert
8. Alveray
9. James

Younger sons of William (?-1476) and Joanetta Beckwith

1. John
2. William of Lasincroft
3. Thomas m. Margaret d. Sir Henry Vavasour of Haselwood.

Younger sons of William (second son of William) (?-1527) and Margaret Kighley

2. William.

Younger sons of John of Lasincroft and Anne Vavasour.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2. Richard of Lasincroft (?-1592) | m. [1] Elizabeth d.&coh. Thomas Sothill of Sothill and widow of Sir Henry Saville of Thornhill. [2] Elizabeth d.&h. Robert West of Millington and widow of William Scargill of Riche. |
| 3. John of Parlington | m. Maud d. William Arthington of Adwick-in-the- Street, Yorkshire. |
| 4. William | a Carthusian monk at Brussels. |
| 5. Robert | m. Elizabeth d. Anthony Calverley and widow of Sir <i>William Vavasour</i> of Hazlewood. |
| 6. George of Kirkby, Northamptonshire (?-1588) | m. Mary d. John Stokesley of Essex. |

Gascoigne of Parlington

Younger sons of John of Parlington (3rd son of John of Lasincroft) and Maud Arthington

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 2. Thomas | m. Alice d. Sir William <i>Gascoigne</i> of Gawthorpe and widow of Edmond Hazlewood of Maydeswell, Northamptonshire. |
| 3. Leonard (?-1609) | died unmarried. |
| 4. Alveray of Garforth (?-1585) | m. Andrea d. William Awdrey of Croydon, Surrey. |

Younger sons of Sir John of Lasincroft and Anne Ingleby

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 2. John | Abbot of Lambspring. |
| 3. Michael | a monk . |
| 4. Francis | a secular priest . |

Younger sons of Sir Thomas (1596-1666) and Anne Symonds

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. John | died unmarried |
| 2. Francis | died unmarried |
| 3. John | |
| 4. Sir Thomas (1623-1698) | m. Elizabeth d.&coh. William Sheldon of Boeley, Worcestershire. |
| 5. George | m. Anne d.&coh. Ellis Woodrove of Helperby. |

Gascoigne of Sedbury

Younger sons of Sir Henry of Sedbury and Elizabeth/ Isabella Boyton

2. Thomas of Ravensworth Castle
3. Richard of Cold Ingleby

Younger sons of Sir Henry of Sedbury (?-1558) and Margaret Cholmeley

2. Henry
3. Thomas, merchant of London

LAWSON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1899), pp. 316-21.

Lawson of Brough

Younger sons of William of Cramlington and _____ d. _____ of Horsley.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1. Thomas | m. Eden d. Sir Roger Gray of Horton. |
| 2. James | m. Alison d. George Bertram of Newcastle. |
| 3. George | m. Elizabeth d. _____ Fenwick of Brinkburn. |
| 4. Robert | |

Younger sons of James of Newcastle (?-1542) and Alison Bertram.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 2. George (?-1580) | died unmarried. |
| 3. Ralph of Nesham (?-1580) | died without issue. |
| 4. Henry of Nesham Abbey (?-1607) | m. Frances d. Cuthbert <i>Conyers</i> of Layton. |

Younger sons of Sir Ralph of Brough (?-1623) and Elizabeth Brough

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2. Edmund | m. Frances d. _____ Archer. |
| 3. Marmaduke | |
| 4. James | m. Margaret d. Sir Robert Ramsey. |
| 5. George | m. _____. |
| 5. William. | |

Younger sons of Roger of Heton (1571-pre-1623) and Dorothy Constable

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1. Raphe | died unmarried. |
| 2. Henry | m. Anne d. Robert Hodgshon of Heburne. |
| 3. Roger | died unmarried. |
| 4. George | died unmarried. |
| 5. John | died unmarried. |
| 6. Thomas | died unmarried. |
| 7. Edmund | |
| 8. James | m. _____. |

Younger sons of Henry of Brough (?- 1636) and Anne Hodgson

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. Roger | died unmarried. |
| 2. Henry (?-1644) | m. Catherine d. Sir William Fenwick of Meldon, Northumberland. |
| 3. Sir John (1627-98) | m. Katherine d. Sir William Howard of Naworth Castle, Cumberland. |
| 3. Francis | |

Younger sons of Sir John of Brough (?-1698) and Katherine Howard

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. John | |
| 2. Henry | m. Elizabeth d. Robert Knightly. |
| 3. Charles | |
| 4. William | |
| 5. Philip (?-1693) | m. Anne Maria Knollys d. earl of Banbury. |
| 6. Ralph | |
| 7. Thomas | a priest. |

MEYNELL

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 1 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1899), pp. 315-21; 'Pedigree of Meynells of Kilvington' and 'Pedigree of Mennell formerly of Malton', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Meynell of Hilton

Younger sons of Robert of Hilton (?-1528) and Agnes Lancaster

- | | |
|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2. Henry | died unmarried and without issue. |
| 3. Anthony | |
| 4. Brian | |

Younger sons of Edmund of Hilton (? -1615) and Thomasin Tankard

Charles m. Jane d. Thomas Scudamore of Overton.

Younger sons of Edmund of Hilton (? -1615) and Elizabeth Bowes

Robert (1604-?)
Edmund

Meynell of North Kilvington

Anthony Meynell of North Kilvington and Joan Rokeby

2. Richard of Dalton (?-1612)

Anthony Meynell of North Kilvington and Katherine Norton

3. Robert of Stanke m. Margaret d.&h. Christopher Nodding of Stanke.

Robert of Stanke and Margaret Nodding

1. Lawrence (1576-?) m. Eleanor d. Francis Lassells of Allerton in 1604
2. Francis
3. Robert

Lawrence (1576-?) and Eleanor Lassels

John (1608-?)

Roger of Kilvington (? -1591) and Margery Caterick

2. George of Dalton m. Elizabeth d. Robert Trotter of Shelton Castle, Yorkshire
(Meynells of West Dalton in 1602
and Aldborough)

George of Dalton and Elizabeth Trotter

1. John died unmarried in 1650
2. Roger (1605-73) m. Mary eldest d. Sir Ralph Conyers of Layton, Durham.
3. Thomas died unmarried
4. Anthony (?-1664)

5. George (1630-1707) m. Olivia d. Sir *Marmaduke Wyvill* of Constable Burton.

Thomas of North Kilvington and Winifride Pudsey

2. Richard of Broughton m. Isabell / Elizabeth d. John *Talbot* of Thornton-in-the
(?-1663) Street.

Anthony of North Kilvington (1591-1669) and Mary Thwaytes

2. John died unmarried
3. Hugh died unmarried
4. William died without issue
5. Anthony died unmarried
6. James (1621-?)

Thomas of Kilvington (1615-?) and Gerard Ireland

1. William died young
2. Anthony died unmarried
3. John died unmarried

NORTON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 71-6, 92-3; 'Pedigree of Norton, Baron Grantley, of Grantley Park', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874); 'Pedigree of Norton alias Conyers of Hartford, etc.' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the Leading Families of Yorkshire* (London, 1872).

Norton of Sawley

Younger sons of Sir John Norton of Norton (1460-1520) and Margaret Warde (? - 1520)

2. Henry died unmarried

Younger sons of John Norton of Norton (1481-1556/7) and Anne Ratcliff.

2. Thomas m. Elizabeth d. _____ Ashe/Eshe of Skirmingham

3. William
4. Christopher
5. Marmaduke
6. John died without issue.

Younger sons of Richard Norton, Lord of Gilling etc. and Susan Neville

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Francis of Norton Conyers | m. Albreda sister of Thomas Wimbish of _____, Lincolnshire |
| 2. John | m. [1] Jane d. Robert Morton of Bawtry. [2] Margaret d. Christopher Redshaw of Owston. |
| 3. Edmund (heir) | m. Cecilie d. Mathew Boynton of Barmston in Holderness. |
| 4. William of Hartforth | m. Anne d. Mathew Boynton of Barmston. |
| 5. George of Cleasby | |
| 6. Thomas | |
| 7. Christopher | |
| 8. Marmaduke (____-1594) | m. [1] Elizabeth d. John Killinghall of Middleton St. George, Durham (?-1584/5) [2] Frances d. Ralph Hedworth of Pokerley and widow of George <i>Blakiston</i> of Seaton in 1590. |
| 9. Sampson of Wath | m. Bridget d.&coh. Sir Ralph <i>Bulmer</i> of Wilton. |
| 10. Richard (?-1564) | |
| 11. Henry (?-1564) | |

Norton of Norton Conyers

Younger sons of Francis of Norton Conyers and Albreda Wimbish

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. John | m. Bridget d. Robert <i>Stapleton</i> of Wighill. |
| 2. Henry of Burrowbrig (?-1620) | m. Catherine d. Will/Thomas Tankard of Branton/Bramton |
| 3. Jeremy | |

Sons of Henry of Burrowbrig and Catherine Tankard

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Theophilus (?-1582) | died unmarried. |
| 2. Basil | died unmarried. |
| 3. John | died unmarried. |

Norton of St. Nicholas juxta Richmond

Younger sons of Edmund of Clowbecke (?-1610) and Cecilie Boyton

- | | |
|------------|---|
| 1. Richard | died unmarried. |
| 2. Francis | died unmarried. |
| 3. William | died unmarried. |
| 4. Robert | m. Catherine d.&h. John Staverley of Swynton. |

Younger sons of Robert of Swynton and Catherine Staveley

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Maulger (1593-1673) | m. Anne d. George Wandesford. |
| 2. Richard | m. Margaret d.&h. Francis Hall of Worsall. |
| 3. William of Swinton (c.1601-1625) | died unmarried. |

Younger sons of Maulger of St. Nicholas (1593-1673) and Anne Wandesford

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Edmund (?-1648) | m. Anne d.&h. Toby Dudley of Chopwell, Durham in 1647. |
| 2. William (1627-1666) | |
| 3. Christopher (1651-?) | m. _____. |

STAPLETON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 1 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1899), pp.163-80; 'Pedigree of Stapleton of Carleton - Lord Beaumont - and Wighill, Myton, Norton, etc.', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Stapleton of Carleton

Younger sons of Sir Brian (1452-1496) and Jane, d. Viscount Lovell

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 2. George of Rempston, Nottinghamshire (?-1564) | m. Margaret d.&coh. William Gaskill. |
|--|--------------------------------------|

Younger sons of Sir Brian (1483-1550) and Joan / Joanna Basset

- | | |
|--|---|
| 2. Brian of Barton Joyce, Nottinghamshire (?- 1568) | m. Alice, d. Francis Roos of Laxton, Nottinghamshire (she re-married [2] Anthony <i>Stapleton</i> of Rempston, third son of George). |
| 3. Anthony | m. Joanna widow of _____ Burlace in 1544. |
| 4. John | parson of Bingham, Nottinghamshire. |
| 5. George | |

Younger sons of Sir Richard (1516-85) and Elizabeth Meryng.

2. William
3. Richard

Sons of Brian (1535-1606) and Eleanor d. Ralph Neville

1. John died young.

Younger sons of Brian (1535-1606) and Elizabeth, d. George, Lord Darcy.

2. Miles died young
2. Richard m. Elizabeth d. Sir Henry Pierpoint of Holme Pierpoint, Nottinghamshire.
4. George of Linton, York m. Jane d. _____ Rye.
5. Robert of Templehurst, York m. Mary, d. Sir Robert Dolman of Gunby, York.
6. Bryan

Younger sons of Richard (1564-1614) and Elizabeth Pierpoint

2. Epiphanius (1601/2-?) died unmarried.
3. Sir Robert Stapleton m. _____ d. _____ Manwaring and widow of _____
(? -1669) Hamond.

Sons of Gilbert (? - 1636) and Catherine Hungate

1. Benedict died unmarried.

Younger sons of Gilbert (? - 1636) and Helen Gascoigne

1. Richard (1620/1-?) condemned as a lunatic in 1650.
2. Gregory (1622/3-80) a monk at Douai.
3. Sir Miles (1626-83/4) m. [1] Elizabeth d. Earl of Lindsey.
[2] Elizabeth d. Sir Thomas Longueville
of Wolverton, Buckinghamshire.
4. John (1630-1644)

Stapletons of Templehurst

Sons of Robert of Templehurst and Mary Dolman

1. Sir Brian m. Margaret d. Richard Langley of Millington.

Younger sons of Henry (1574-1630/1) and Mary Forster

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 2. Sir Philip of Warter | m. [1] Frances d. Sir John Hotham of Scarborough, widow of John Gee of Beverley. [2] Barbara d. Leonard, Lord Dacres of Hurst- Monceaux, Sussex in 1637/8 |
| 3. John | m. Dorothy d. Thomas Hungate |
| 4. Brian | m. Anne Brinton. |

Younger sons of Robert (1601-1634/5) and Catherine Fairfax

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Sir Miles | |
| 2. Henry (?-1673/4) | m. Anne d. Sir Arthur Ingram. |

Stapletons of Wartre

Sons of Sir Philip of Wartre and Frances Hotham

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. John (1637-1697) | m. Elizabeth d. Sir Wilfrid <i>Lawson</i> of Isell, Cumbria. |
| 2. Robert (?-1675) | m. Dorothy d. Henry, fourth Lord <i>Fairfax</i> of Denton. |

Sons of Sir Philip of Wartre and Barbara d. Lord Dacres

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Henry (?-1724) | died unmarried. |
| 2. Philip of Wighill (?-1743) | m. Margaret d. Thomas Gage in 1682. |

VAVASOUR

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 224-8; 'Pedigree of Vavasour of Haselwood, Spaldington, Weston, Copmanthorpe, etc.', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Vavasour of Haselwood

Younger sons of Sir Henry (? -1452) and Joan Langton

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 2. John | m. Elizabeth d.&coh. Thomas de la Hay of Spaldington. |
| 3. William of Badsworth | m. Isabel d.&h. Robert Urswick of Badsworth. |

Younger sons of Sir Henry of Haselwood (? -1500) and Joan Gascoigne (?-1462)

1. William
2. Henry m. Elizabeth d. Sir John Everingham of Everingham.
3. **Leonard** rector of Addingham (1483) and Thurnscoe (1506)
4. John of Scarborough m. Cecily Langdale.

Younger sons of Henry of Haselwood (? -1515) Elizabeth Everingham (?-1509)

2. William
2. Christopher

Younger sons of John of Haselwood (1494-1524) Anne d. Henry, sixth Lord Scrope of Bolton.

- 2 Christopher
3. Leonard of Addingham m. Mary d. Sir John Hotham and widow of Sir William
(?-1597/8) *Greene* of Barnby.

Younger sons of Sir William of Haselwood (? -1572) and Elizabeth Calverley

1. John (?-1609) m. Ellen d. Sir Nicholas *Fairfax* of Gilling.
2. Ralph m. [1] Ursula d. Sir William *Fairfax* of Steeton.
[2] Elizabeth d. Richard Peck of Wakefield.
3. William died without issue.
2. George died without issue
3. Henry died without issue
4. John died without issue

Younger sons of Walter/William of Haselwood (1569-?) and Anne Manners

2. **Henry** (1597-?) a secular priest.
3. **John** (1601-?) a lay brother in the Jesuit College.
4. **Francis** a Franciscan Friar at Douai.
5. George (1598-?) died unmarried.

Younger sons of Sir Thomas of Haselwood (? -1632) and Ursula Gifford

2. William

Younger sons of Sir Walter of Haselwood (1613-1678/9) and Ursula d. Thomas, Viscount Fauconbridge

1. Thomas (?-1642) died unmarried.
2. Sir Walter (1644-1712/3) m. Jane d. Sir Jordan Crosland.
3. Henry died unmarried.
4. John(1653-?)

Vavasour of Spaldington

Sons of Sir John of Spaldington and Isabel de la Haye

1. Sir John of Spaldington m. Elizabeth d. Robert Tailboys, lord of Redesdale and
(?-1506) Kyme
2. William of Gunby m. [1] Isabel d.&h. William Urswick of Badsworth
(?-1495) [2] Alice d. Robert Mallory.

Younger sons of William of Gunby and Alice Mallory

2. Nicholas died unmarried

Younger sons of Sir Peter of Spaldington (?-1556) and Elizabeth d. Andrew, Lord Windsor of Stanwell

2. George of Willitoft m. Anna d.&h. Robert Skipwith of Willitoft.
(?-1561)
3. Andrew of Shropshire m. Anne d.&h. James Leich. (Had a son William of
Newton who married Elizabeth d. Hugh Powell)
4. William (?-1578) m. Sith de Linton in 1551.
5. Thomas (M.D.) m. Dulcia d. ____ Kent of Hemingford, Hertfordshire.

Sons of John of Spaldington (?-1573) and Katherine Ilson

1. John (?-1567) m. Jane, d. Sir Thomas Metham.
2. Peter (?-1573) m. Frances d. ____ Thwaites.

Sons of John of Spaldington(?_-1573) and Cassandra Loudon.

3. Edward (?-1573) died unmarried.

Younger sons of John of Spaldington (?-1573) and Julian Aske.

4. Ralph (see eldest sons)
5. Gervase
6. Thomas (?-1539)
7. Richard m. _____.
8. Robert
9. Marmaduke

Younger sons of Ralph (first son of third marriage) and Frances Darnell.

2. Alexander m. Ursula d. Thomas Portington of Sawcliffe, Lincolnshire.

Younger sons of Sir John of Spaldington (?-1641) and Mary Gates

- 2 John m. Frances d. Valentine Clarke of Spaldington.

Sons of Peter of Spaldington and Anne Gower

1. John (1633-78) m. Katherine d.&coh. John Akeroyd of Foggathorpe in 1654.
2. Thomas (1636-79) m. Dorothy d. Sir Ferdinando Leghe of Middleton, Yorkshire in 1660.

Vavasour of Weston and Newton

Younger sons of John of Weston and Newton and Elizabeth Thwaites

2. Percival
3. Henry (?-1523)
4. William

Younger sons of John of Weston and Newton and Cecily Norton.

2. Henry
3. Robert m. Agnes d. Edward Saltmarsh.
4. Marmaduke

Younger sons of John of Weston and Newton and Bridget Mauleverer

2. Thomas died without issue.

Sons of John of Weston and Newton and Agnes Calverley

3. William
4. John
5. Walter

Younger sons of William of Weston and Margaret Welsh

2. William
3. John
4. Thomas

Younger sons of Sir Mauger and Joan Savile and widow of John Metcalfe

2. John
3. Richard

Younger sons of William of Weston and Mary Vaughan

2. Mauger (1603-?) m. Frances d.&coh. Piers Legh of Lyme, Cheshire in 1633.

Younger sons of Thomas of Weston and _____ Rhodes

2. John
3. William

WENTWORTH

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 321-5; 'Pedigree of Wentworth of Elmsall, Bretton and Baron Wentworth of Nettlested' and 'Pedigree of Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse, Earls of Strafforth [Watson Wentworth, Marquess of Rockingham], Vernon-Wentworth of Wentworth Castle and Wentworth of Woolley', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse

Younger sons of William of Wentworth-Woodhouse (? -1477) and Isabel/Elizabeth Fitzwilliam

2. Ralph
3. George
4. William

Younger sons of Sir Thomas of Wentworth-Woodhouse (1482-1548) and Beatrice Woodruff

2. Gervase.
3. Michael of Mendham Priory (?-1558) m. [1] Beatrice/Isabel d.&h. Percival Whitley of Whitley, York (1524-?).
[2] Agnes.
4. Thomas (?-1576) m. Grace d. John *Gascoigne* of Lasincroft.
5. Bryan.

Younger sons of William of Wentworth- Woodhouse (1507-49) and Catherine Beeston

2. Michael
3. William
4. Gervase m. Anne d. Robert Garneys of Suffolk

Younger sons of Sir William of Wentworth- Woodhouse (1565-?) and Anne Atkins

1. John(?-1625) died unmarried.
2. Sir Thomas (1593-1641) see eldest sons
3. Sir William of Ashby Puerorum (?-1644) m. Elizabeth d.&coh. Thomas Savile of Northgateshead in 1627 (1597-1666).
4. Robert died unmarried.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| 5. Michael (1600-?) | died unmarried. |
| 6. Matthew (1605-1635) | died unmarried. |
| 7. Philip (1608-1635) | |

Younger sons of Sir Thomas of Wentworth-Woodhouse (1593-1641) and Lady Arabella Holles

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| 2. Thomas (?-1631) | died young. |
|--------------------|-------------|

Younger sons of Sir Thomas of Wentworth-Woodhouse (1593-1641) and Elizabeth Rodes

- | | |
|-----------|-------------|
| 3. Thomas | died young. |
|-----------|-------------|

Wentworth of Woolley

Younger sons of Michael of Medham Priory Suffolk (?-1558) and Beatrice/ Isabel Whitley

2. Michael
3. Henry

Younger sons of Michael of Woolley (1547-1641) and Frances Downes

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Thomas (1595-1612) | died unmarried. |
| 2. Michael (?-1659) | died unmarried. |
| 3. Sir George of Woolley | m. [1] Anne (?-1624) d. Thomas Fairfax of Cameron in 1621. [2] Averell/Everild d. Christopher Maltby, Alderman of York. |
| 4. Matthew (?-1647) | died without issue. |
| 5. John (1606-1682/3) | m. Elizabeth d. Arthur Aldburgh of Aldburgh, Yorkshire in 1652/3. |

WYCLIFFE

T.D. Whittaker, *History of Richmondshire*, 1(London, 1823), pp. 201-2

Wycliffe of Wycliffe

Younger sons of Robert of Wycliffe and Margaret Coniers

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 2. John | m. Elizabeth d. John Parkinson of Beaumont Hill, Durham. |
| 3. Robert | m. Margaret d. _____ Talboys of Thorneton, Durham |
| 4. Richard | died without issue. |
| 5. Roger of London | |
| 6. William | m. _____ widow of _____ Ashe. |

Younger sons of John Wycliffe (second son of Robert) and Elizabeth Parkinson

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 1. Robert | died without issue. |
| 2. Ralph | died without issue. |
| 3. William (?-1584) | m. [1] Dorothy d. John Place of Hanlaby. [2] Muriell d. William, Lord Eure. |
| 4. John | m. Mabel d. Thomas Rookeby of Moreton. |
| 5. George | died without issue. |

Younger sons of William of Wycliffe (?-1584) and Dorothy Place

2. Ralph
3. John

Younger sons of William of Wycliffe (?-1584) and Muriell d. William, Lord Eure

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 4. Peter | m. _____ d. _____. |
| 5. John (?-1638) | m. [1] Margaret d. Nicholas Girlington of Hackforth. [2] Margaret d. William <i>Lawson</i> of Thorpe Bulmer, Durham. |

Younger sons of Francis of Wycliffe (?-post-1585) and Jane Rookeby

2. Thomas (?-pre-1610)
3. Anthony
4. Francis

WYVILL

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 431-7; 'Pedigree of Wyvill of Constable Burton', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Wyvill of Constable Burton

Younger Sons of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill and Agnes FitzRandolph

2. William m. _____
3. Sampson of Walworth m. Faith d. Sir Nicholas Girlington of Hackforth (remarried
4. Durham (?-1568) George Pudsey of Stapleton-on-Tees.)
5. Francis

Sons of Sir Sampson Wyvill and Faith Girlington

1. Christopher of Saffron Waldon, Essex. m. Margery d. William Brockett and widow of Samuel Cage of London and Saffron Waldon.
2. Thomas
3. Marmaduke of Nesham Durham. (?-1619) m. Jane d. William Wormley of Hurworth and widow of William Greenwell of Nesham in 1597 (?-1619)

Younger sons of Christopher Wyvill and Margaret Scrope

2. Richard
3. Robert m. Elizabeth d. John Layton of West Layton.
4. Christopher

Younger Sons of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill and Magdalen Danby

2. Marmaduke of Croydon Surrey, (1565-1623) m. [1] Judith d. William Morley of Glynde, Sussex.
[2] Judith d. William Braby of Suffolk.
3. Thomas
4. Humphrey
5. **Francis** rector of Spennithorne
6. Robert
7. William m. Alice d.&h. James Beckwith.
8. John
9. Henry

Younger Sons of Christopher Wyvill and Jane Stapleton

2. Edmund m. _____ d. _____ Lowther, Carlisle.
3. William of Johnby m. Mary d. Leonard Musgrave of Johnby,
Westmorland.
4. Henry (?-1602/3) died unmarried.

Sons of William Wyvill and Mary Musgrave

1. Christopher of Johnby m. Frances d. Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh of Kirk
Oswald.
2. Leonard.

Younger Sons of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill and Isabel Gascoigne

2. William (1615/6-?) died unmarried.
3. Marmaduke unmarried
4. John
5. Robert m. Mary d.&h. _____ Parkinson of Slenningford,
Yorkshire.
6. Dr. Henry
7. Francis of Ripon m. Barbara d. Basil Stavelay of Ripon and widow of Walter
Percehay of Ryton

APPENDIX IV:

THE MARRIAGES OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE SAMPLE FAMILIES

Key

bold - Catholic/Recusant

italics - suspected recusant (first name)/ Catholic family (surname)

d. - daughter of

d&h. - daughter and heiress of

d&coh.- daughter and co-heiress of

m. - married

CHOLMLEY

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 248-57, 444-6; 'Pedigree of Cholmeley of Brandsby Hall, Boyton, Whitby, Howsham, etc.', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Cholmeley of Brandsby

Daughters of Sir Roger of Thornton and Katherine Constable.

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Elizabeth | m. Richard <i>Redman</i> , Durham. |
| [Jane?] Margaret (?-1570) | m. [1] Henry <i>Neville</i> , fifth earl of Westmorland. [2] Henry <i>Gascoigne</i> , Yorkshire. |

Daughters of Sir Richard of Roxby and Margaret d. Lord Conyers of Hornby.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Margaret | m. Sir James <i>Strangeways</i> of Sneton, Yorkshire. |
| Elizabeth | m. Roger son of Sir Leonard Beckwith |
| Jane | m. Sir Ralph <i>Salvin</i> of Newbiggin, Yorkshire. |
| Anne | died young |

Daughters of Sir Richard of Roxby and Catherine d. Henry, first Earl of Cumberland

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Katherine (?-1623) | m. Richard Dutton of Cloughton, Yorkshire (in 1592?). |
|--------------------|--|

Daughters of Roger of Brandsby and Jane de la Rivere

Catherine m. Leonard Chamberlain of Bugthorpe, Yorkshire.
Alice m. **John Wright** of Blansby Parke, Yorkshire c. 1592.
Elizabeth m. Robert Harrison of Rockley, Lincolnshire c. 1596.

Daughters of Marmaduke of Brandsby and Ursula Thornton

Mary m. *William Fairfax*, younger son of **Thomas**, Viscount Fairfax, Yorkshire.
Anne m. *William Salvin* of Newbiggin, Yorkshire.
Dorothy
Alathea

Daughters of Thomas of Brandsby and Catherine Tunstall

Catherine m. Francis Willoughby.
Ursula
Elizabeth

Daughters of Thomas of Brandsby and Anne Plumpton

Anna (1696-?) m. Thomas Mitchell of Angram, Yorkshire.
Lucy (1707-?) m. William Stubbs of London.
Catherine (?-1716)
Margaret (?-1754)
Jane (?-1704)
Mary (?-1732)
Ursula (1700-?)
Elizabeth (?-1728)
Barbara (1703-?)
Alathea (1704-?)

Cholmeley of West Newton

Daughters of Sir Henry of Roxby and Margaret Babthorpe

Barbara (?-1618) m. *Thomas Bellasis* of Newburgh [the First Lord Fauconberg].
Margaret (c. 1584) m. [1] *Thomas Meynell* of Hawnby, Yorkshire
[2] *Timothy Comyn* of Durham
Dorothy (c. 1587-?) m. *Nicholas Bushell* of Bagdale (Bagby? North Riding) in 1601.
Hilda (?-1641/2) m. *Hugh Wright*, Mayor of Durham.

Jane
 Mary (?-1650) m. Rev. Henry Fairfax, fourth son of the first Lord Fairfax
 of Cameron in 1626-7.
 Susanna m. Robert Theakstone of Troutdale, Yorkshire in 1615.
 Annabella (?-1625) m. Henry Wickham, Rector of Bolton Percy, West Riding.

Daughters of Sir Richard of Whitby and Susan Leyard

Margaret (1604-?) m. Sir William Strickland of Boyton, Yorkshire in 1622.
 Ursula (c.1605-28) m. George *Trotter* of Skelton, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir Hugh of Whitby and Elizabeth Twysden

Anne (c.1634-?) m. Richard Stephen of Estingham, Gloucester in 1654.
 Elizabeth (?-1699)

DANBY

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 3 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 402-4; T.D. Whittaker, *A History of Richmondshire*, vol. 2 (London, 1823), pp. 98-104 and 98a. for Pedigree.

Danby of Great Leake

Daughters of James of Brawarth and ____ d. ____ Walworth

Ann died unmarried.

Daughters of William of Leake and. Margaret Legh

Mary m. Christopher *Greene* of Lamouth
 Elizabeth m. Christopher Exilby of 'Disforth' (Dishforth, Yorkshire)

Daughters of James of Braworth and. ____ d. ____ Warde.

Elizabeth m. George Tiplady of Richmondshire
 Barbara m. Thomas Allan
 Mary died following her marriage.
 Dorothy m. [1] ____ Walker
 [2] ____ *Redman*
 Frances m. Richard Lambert of Wistow, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Thomas of Leake and Anne Anger

Elizabeth m. **Michael Metcalfe** in 1603.
Jane/Jennet m.. **Thomas Middleton** of Middleton, Cleveland.
Mary m.. **Thomas Appleby** of Great Smeaton, Yorkshire.

Daughters of John Danby of Great Leake and Mary Swynbourne

Elizabeth m. **James Shafto** of Tanfield-Leigh, Durham.

Daughters of John Danby of Great Leake and Mary Meynell

Elizabeth (1655-?)
Agnes (1662-?)
Ursula (1664-?)

Danby of Masham and Farnley

Daughters of Sir Christopher Danby (1502-1571) and Elizabeth Latimer.

Dorothy m. **Sir John Neville** of Liversedge, Yorkshire.
Margaret m. **Christopher Hopton** of Armley Hall, Yorkshire.
Magery m. **Christopher Mallory** (died without issue).
Elizabeth m. **Thomas Wentworth** (2nd son of John Wentworth of Emsall).
Mary m. **Sir Edmund Malyverer** of Wodersome, Yorkshire.
Magdelene m. **Marmaduke Wyvill** of Burton [Constable], Yorkshire.
Jane m. **Roger Meynell** of Hanalaby, Yorkshire.
Anne m. **Walter Calverley**, Yorkshire.

FAIRFAX

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 186-96; Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 3, pp. 155-7, 430-1; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 18 (London, 1889), pp. 128-51; 'Pedigree of Fairfax of Gilling Castle, Denton: The Barons Fairfax of Cameron: Fairfax of Steeton, Silsdon and Newton Kyme', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Fairfax of Walton

Daughters of William of Walton and Catherine Nevile

Mary m. **Thomas Gower** of Sittenham, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir Thomas of Walton and Elizabeth Sherburne

Anne
Elizabeth
Jane m. Sir Richard Aldborough of Aldborough, Yorkshire.
Dorothy m. Christopher *Nelson* of Riccall, son of William,
alderman of York.
Isabella

Daughters of Sir Thomas of Walton and Agnes Gascoigne

Anne m. William Harrington.
Margaret m. [1] William *Sayer* of Worsall, Yorkshire (?-1531).
[2] Richard Mansell before 1535.
Isabel m. _____.
Elizabeth
Dorothy
Catherine
Dorothy m. _____ Dawtrey.

Daughters of Sir Nicholas of Walton and Jane Palmes

Anne m. Christopher *Anne* of Frickley, Yorkshire.
Margaret m. Sir William *Bellais* of Newborough, Yorkshire.
Eleanor m. John *Vavasour* of Hazlewood, Yorkshire.
Elizabeth m. ____ Roos of Ingmanthorpe, Yorkshire.
Catherine died young
Mary m. Sir Henry Curwen of Workington, Cumberland.

Daughters of Sir Thomas, Viscount Fairfax of Emley and Catherine Constable

Mary m. Sir Thomas Layton.
Catherine (?-1666/7) m. [1] Robert *Stapleton* of Wighill, Yorkshire (?-1634/5)
[2] Matthew Boyton of Barmston, Yorkshire (?-1646).
[3] Sir Arthur Ingram of Temple Newsham, Yorks.
(?-1655).
[4] William Wickham of Rousby in 1657.
Margaret m. [1] Wakinson Payler.
[2] John, son of Sir John Hotham, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Althea d. Sir Philip _____ of ___worth.

Mary
Catherine (____-1715) m. George Metham.

Fairfax of Steeton

Daughters of Sir Guy Fairfax of Steeton and Isabel Ryther.

Eleanor m. Miles Wilstrop of Wilstrop, Derbyshire.
Maud m. Sir John Waterton of Waterton, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir William of Steeton and Elizabeth Manners.

Ellen m. Sir William Pickering of Oswaldkirk, Yorkshire.
Elizabeth m. Sir Robert Oughtred of Kexby, Yorkshire.
Anne m. Sir Robert Normanville of Kilnwick Percy, Yorkshire.
Dorothy m. ____ Constable of Kexby, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir William of Steeton and Isabel Thwaites

Anna m. Sir Hy. Everingham of Laxton, Yorkshire.
Mary m. Robert Rockley of Rockley, Nottinghamshire.
Bridget m. Sir Cotton Gargrave of Nostell, Yorkshire.
Ursula m. Ralph *Vavasour* of Hazelwood, Yorkshire.
Agnes m. Edmund Eltoft of Farnell (Farnhill/Farnley?, Yorks).
Susan

Daughters of Sir Thomas of Denton and Dorothy Gale, widow of John Rokeby

Ursula m. Sir Hy *Bellasyse* of Newborough, Yorkshire.
Christina m. John Aske of Aughton, Yorkshire
(?- 1619)
Anne (?-1571) died young

Daughters of Sir Thomas of Denton and Elanor Aske

Ursula (c.1609-38)
Ellen (1611-71) m. Sir William Selby, Yorkshire
Frances (1612-?) m. Sir Thomas Widdrington (Speaker of the House of
Commons).
Elizabeth (c.1613-?) m. Sir William Craven of Lenchwick, Worcestershire in
1646.
Mary (c.1616-78) m. Henry Arthington of Arthington, Yorks. in 1638.
Dorothy (1617-?) m. Richard *Hutton*.

Daughters of Thomas Fairfax of Denton and Rhoda d. Thomas Chapman and widow of Sir Thomas Hussey.

Mary (1588-?)

Dorothy (1590-1655/6) m. Sir William Constable of Flamborough, Yorkshire.
Anne (1600-24) m. Sir George *Wentworth* of Woolley, Yorkshire.

GASCOIGNE

F.S. Coleman (ed.), *History of Barwick in Elmet, Thoresby Society*, 17 (1908), pp. 129-62 and Pedigree facing 162; 'Pedigree of Gascoigne of Gawthorpe and Parlington' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Gascoigne of Gawthorpe

Daughters of Sir William (died pre-1463/4) and Joan Nevile of Oversley.

Anne/Agnes (?-1504) m. Sir Robert de Plumpton of Plumpton, Yorks. in 1477/8.
Margaret m. Sir Christopher Ward of Givendale.

Daughters of Sir William of Gawthorpe (?-1486/7) and Lady Margaret Percy

Elizabeth (?-1553) m. George, Lord Tailboys (?-1538)
Margaret m. Ralph Ogle of Bothall, Northumberland.
Agnes m. Sir Thomas *Fairfax* of Walton, Yorkshire.
Dorothy m. Sir Ninian Markenfield.
Elinor died unmarried.
Maud died unmarried.
Joan died unmarried.

Daughters of Sir William (1467-1551) and Alicia Frognall.

Elizabeth m. [1]Robert Ryther of Ryther, Yorkshire.
[2] Richard *Redman*, Durham/Northumbria.
Margaret m. Thomas *Middleton* of Stockheld, Northumbria.
Anne died unmarried.

Daughters of Sir William (1467-1551) and Margaret d. Richard Lord Latimer and widow of Edward Willoughby

Dorothy

Daughters of Sir William of Cusworth (c.1500-?) Margaret Fitzwilliam

Barbara m. Leonard West of Burghwallis, Yorkshire, younger son
of Thomas West, Lord de la Warr.
Bridget m. [1] Matthew *Redman*, Northumbria.
[2] William *Gascoigne* of Caley.
Dorothy m. Richard Thimbley of Horncastle, Lincoln.

Daughters of Sir William of Cusworth (c. 1500-?) Margaret Wright.

Alice m. [1] Edmond Hazlewood of Maydeswell,
Northamptonshire.
[2] Thomas *Gascoigne*, third son of John of Parlington,
Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir William of Gawthorpe (?-1566/7) and Beatrice Tempest

Margaret (1537-?) m. Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse,
Yorkshire.

Gascoigne of Lasincroft

Daughters of Nicholas and Mary Cilderow

Elizabeth m. Anthony St. Quintin of Harpham, Yorkshire.
Margaret m. Thomas Ardens of Marton, nr. Bridlington, Yorks.

Daughters of John and Isabel Heton

Timothea m. Thomas Clervaux of Crofton, Yorkshire.
Joan/Jenetta m. John More son of Nicholas More
Margaret
Mary
Agnes
Elizabeth
Alathea

Daughters of William (?-1476) and Joanetta Beckwith

Mary
Margaret m. William Newby.
Joan
Elizabeth/Isabella m. _____ Dyneley.

Daughters of William (?-1527) and Margaret Kighley (third son of William)

Alice m. Anthony Hippon of Newhall, Featherstone, Yorkshire.

Daughters of John of Lasincroft and Anne Vavasour

Frances m. Geoffrey Barnby of Derbyshire.
Elizabeth (?-1614) m. Michael Thompson of Brotherton, Yorkshire.
Joan m. Henry Ambler of Leeds, Yorkshire.
Grace m. Thomas *Wentworth* of Scroby, Nottinghamshire, fourth son of Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse.
Katherine m. Richard Beaumont of Lassells Hall in Almondbury, Yorkshire.
Alice m. John Newcomen of Saltfleetby, Lincolnshire.
Anne m. [1] **William Mallett** of Normanton, Yorkshire.
[2] Henry Ellis of Kiddall, Yorkshire.
[3] _____ Bridesall of Tadcaster, Yorkshire.

Gascoigne of Parlington

Daughters of John of Parlington (3rd son of John of Lasincroft) and Maud Arthington

Mary m. William Crofts of Cloughton, Lancashire.

Daughters of Sir John of Lasincroft and Anne Ingleby

Helen m. **Gilbert Stapleton** of Carleton, Yorkshire (?-1636).
Mary m. William Houghton of Park Hall, Lancashire.
Catherine (1600-1676) **Abbess of Cambrai.**
Anne m. George Twenge of Kilton Castle, Cleveland.
Margaret **a nun**
Christian

Daughters of Sir Thomas (1596-1666) and Anne Symonds

Anne m. Sir Stephen Tempest of Broughton in Craven, Yorks.
Catherine **Prioress of Benedictines in Paris.**
Helen Thomas *Appleby* of Linton-uopn-Ouse, Yorkshire.
Mary died unmarried.
Frances **died unmarried at Cambrai.**

Gascoigne of Sedbury

Daughters of Sir Henry of Sedbury(?-1558) and Margaret Cholmeley

Margaret (?-1567)

Daughters of Richard of Sedbury (?-1604/5) and Jane Norton.

Elizabeth m. **Francis Tunstall** of Scargill, Yorkshire and Thurland Castle, Lancashire.

Daughters of Sir William (1569-1642) and Barbara Anderson

Isabella (c.1602-?) m. **Sir Marmaduke Wyvill** of Constable Burton, Yorkshire in 1611.

LAWSON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1899), pp. 316-21.

Lawson of Brough

Daughters of William of Cramlington and _____ d. _____ of Horsley.

Joan (?-1537) **Prioress of Neasham**
Barbara m. _____ Collingwood.
Agnes (?-1565)

Daughters of James of Newcastle(?-1542) and Alison Bertram.

Mabel/Elizabeth (?-1582) m. [1] Gerard Fenwick.
[2] Richard Hodgson of Newcastle.
Barbara m. [1] Cuthbert Blount of Newcastle.
[2] _____ Scrivener.
Elizabeth

Daughters of Sir Ralph of Brough (?-1623) and Elizabeth Brough,

Alice m. Thomas Ingleby of Lawkland, Yorkshire.
Margaret m. Sir Thomas *Rokeby* of 'Mortham' (Morthen - Yorkshire).
Jane died unmarried.

Daughters of Roger of Heton (1571- pre-1623) and Dorothy Constable

Mary a nun at Ghent, Flanders.
Catherine died unmarried.
Elizabeth m. John Yorke of 'Gothwayt' (Goatland, Yorks.) (his third wife).
Anne m. Henry Widdrington of Beantland, Northumberland.

Daughters of Henry of Brough (?- 1636) and Anne Hodgson

Mary a nun in Ghent, Flanders.
Dorothy (?-1712) m. William *Blakestone* of Sheildraw, Durham.
Anne

Daughters of Sir John of Brough (?-1698) and Katherine Howard

Catherine a nun in Ghent, Flanders.
Mary a nun in Ghent, Flanders.
Elizabeth a nun in Ghent, Flanders.
Anne a nun in Ghent, Flanders.
Frances a nun in Ghent, Flanders.

Daughters of Sir Henry (1653-1726) and Elizabeth Knightley

Mary died young.
Anne m. William Witham of Cliffe, Yorkshire.
Elizabeth m. Stephen Tempest of Broughton, Yorkshire.

MEYNELL

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 1 (Exeter, 1899), pp. 315-21; 'Pedigree of Meynells of Kilvington' and 'Pedigree of Mennell formerly of Malton', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Meynell of Hilton

Daughters of Robert of Hilton(?-1528) and Agnes Lancaster

Anne m. _____ Radcliffe of Mulgrave.

Daughters of Robert of Hilton(?-1563) and Mary Pudsey

No daughters.

Daughters of Roger of Hilton and Jane Danby

No daughters.

Daughters of Edmund of Hilton (?-1615) and Thomasin Tankard

Esther

Bridget m. Samula Coulson.

Daughters of Edmund of Hilton (?-1615) and Elizabeth Bowes

Ellin

Mary

Margaret

Catherine

Meynell of North Kilvington

Daughters of Anthony Meynell of North Kilvington and Katherine Norton

Anne

Elizabeth

Eleanor

Daughters of Roger of Kilvington (?-1591) and Margery Caterick

Mary

m. Oswald *Metcalf*.

Elizabeth

m. George Holtby of Scackleton.

Margaret

m. Sampson Trollope of Eden Dene, Durham.

Daughters of Thomas of North Kilvington and Winifride Pudsey

Mary

m. *George Polle* of Spinkhill, Derbyshire.

Anne

m. *Thomas Grange* of Harlsey, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Anthony of North Kilvington (1591-1669) and Mary Thwaytes

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Winifride</i> | m. [1] Thomas Killingbeck of Allerton Grange, Yorkshire. [2] Thomas Barlowe of Barlow, Lancashire. |
| <i>Clare</i> | m. Sir Richard <i>Foster</i> of Skokesley, Yorkshire. |
| <i>Collet</i> | died unmarried. |
| <i>Mary</i> | m. <i>John Danby</i> of Leake, Yorkshire. |
| <i>Julian</i> | died unmarried. |
| <i>Catherine</i> | died unmarried. |
| <i>Frances</i> | died unmarried. |

Daughters of Thomas of Kilvington (1615-?) and Gerard Ireland

| | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>Mary</i> | m. John Brigham of Wyton, Yorkshire in 1669. |
| <i>Elizabeth</i> | died unmarried. |

Daughters of Roger of Kilvington (1640-?) and Mary Middleton

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Ann</i> | m. Peter <i>Middleton</i> of Stockeld, Northumbria. |
| <i>Jane</i> | m. Marmaduke Palmes. |
| <i>Katherine</i> | |
| <i>Mary</i> | |
| <i>Teresa</i> | died unmarried. |

NORTON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 71-6, 92-3; 'Pedigree of Norton, Baron Grantley, of Grantley Park' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874); 'Pedigree of Norton alias Conyers of Hartford, etc.' in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the Leading Families of Yorkshire* (London, 1872).

Norton of Sawley

Daughters of Sir John Norton of Norton (1460-1520) and Margaret Warde (?-1520)

| | |
|----------|---|
| Margaret | m. Sir John Lascelles of 'Brakenburgh' (Brakenber?, Westmorland). |
| Jane | m. Sir William Mallory of Studley, Yorkshire. |
| Anne | m. Christopher Wandesford of Kirklington, Yorkshire. |

Daughters of John Norton of Norton (1481-1556/7) and Anne Ratcliff.

Isabel m. _____ Battie of 'Hewicke' (Heworth?, Yorks.).
Anne m. [1] Robert Plumpton of Plumpton, Yorkshire in 1538.
[2] Robert Morton of Bawtry, Yorkshire.
Margaret m. Thomas *Markenfield* of Markenfield, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Richard Norton, Lord of Gilling and Susan Neville

Mary m. [1] Henry *Greene* of Newby, Yorkshire.
[2] John Lamborne.
Anne m. Robert Byrnard of Knaresborough, Yorkshire.
Clare m. Richard Goodricke of Ribston, Yorkshire.
Jane m. Richard *Gascoigne* of Sedbury, Yorkshire.
Katherine m. Francis *Bulmer* of Elmedon (Emsall?, Yorks.).
Joan m. Gerard *Salvin* of Croxdale, Durham.
Elizabeth m. Henry son and heir of Sir Thomas Johnson of Walton,
Yorkshire.

Norton of Norton Conyers

Daughters of Francis of Norton Conyers and Albreda Wimbish

Susan
Sarah
Mary died unmarried.
Elizabeth m. Edward Barton of Whenbye, Yorkshire in 1575.

Norton of St. Nicholas juxta Richmond

Daughters of Edmund of Clowbecke (?-1610) and Cecilie Boyton

Milicent
Elizabeth

Daughters of Robert of Swynton and Catherine Staveley

Elizabeth m. Richard Smurthwaite of Nutwith Cote, Masham,
Yorkshire.

Daughters of Maulger of St. Nicholas (1593-1673) and Anne Wandesford (?-1683)

Mary (1635-?) m. Sir John Yorke of Gouthwaite, Yorkshire in 1651.

STAPLETON

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 1 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1899), pp.163-80; 'Pedigree of Stapleton of Carleton - Lord Beaumont - and Wighill, Myton, Norton, etc.', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Stapleton of Carleton

Daughters of Sir Brian (1452-1496) and Jane/Joan, d. viscount Lovell

Joan m. Sir William Pierpoint of Holme, Nottinghamshire.

Daughters of Sir Brian (1483-1550) and Joan / Joanna Basset

Alice

Daughters of Sir Richard (1516-1585) and Thomasine Amades / Amadei.

Elizabeth died young.

Daughters of Brian (1535-1606) and Elizabeth, d. George, Lord Darcy.

Thomasine (c.1560-?) m. Robert Gale of Acombe-Grange, Yorkshire.
Dorothy
Barbara (?-1592)

Daughters of Richard (1564-1614) and Elizabeth Pierpoint

Jane died unmarried.
Elizabeth died unmarried.
Grace died unmarried.

Daughters of Gilbert (? - 1636) and Helen Gasoigne

Mary (1625-68) a nun at Cambrai.
Anne (1628-?) m. Mark Errington of Pont-Eland, Northumberland.

Stapletons of Wighill

Daughters of Sir Bryan (1448-1518) and Jane Thirkeld

Elizabeth m. Edward Saltmarshe, c.1509.
Jane m. Robert *Conyers* of Kelton, Yorkshire.

Eleanor m. Thomas, Lord Wharton.
Mary m. John Copley of Batley, Yorkshire.
Isabel a nun at Sinningthwaite.

Daughters of Christopher (1485-1537) and Alice Aske

Joan (?-1538) m. Henry Hammerton of Hellifield Peel, Yorkshire c. 1535.
Isabel m. John Lampton/Lamplugh of Lamplugh, Cumberland.
Anne m. John Irton of Irton, Cumberland.
Margaret m. Henry Eser.
Alice

Daughters of Sir Robert (?-1557) and Elizabeth Mallory

Elizabeth (?-1601) m. Bryan Hamond of Scarthingwell, Yorkshire.
Bridget m. [1] John *Norton* of Norton Conyers, Yorkshire.
[2] Anthony Maude.

Daughters of Sir Robert (1548-1606) and Catherine Constable

Jane (?-1656) m. **Christopher *Wyvill*** of Constable Burton, Yorkshire.
Dorothy

Daughters of Sir Robert (1548-1606) and Olive Sherington and widow of John Talbot

Olivia m. Sir Robert Dinely of Bramhope, Yorkshire in 1605.
Ursula m. Sir Robert Baynard of Lackham, Wiltshire.
Mary (c. 1585-?) died unmarried.
Grace died unmarried.

Daughters of Henry (1574-1630/1) and Mary Forster

Katherine (?-1672) m. [1] Sir George Twisleton of Barley, Lancashire.
[2] Sir Henry *Cholmley* of West Newton., Yorkshire
Mary m. Sir Henry Quintin of Harpham, Yorkshire.
Jane m. William, second son of Sir John Fenwick of Wallington,
Northumberland.
Olive died unmarried.
Grace died unmarried.
Isabel (?-1619)

Daughters of Robert (1601-1634/5) and Catherine Fairfax

Catherine (?-1695) m. William **Fairfax** of Steeton, Yorkshire in 1562.
Mary m. Walter Moyle of Twyford Abbey and Hammersmith,
Middlesex.
Elizabeth/Isabel m. Mathew Boynton of Rawcliffe, Yorkshire (?-1700).

Daughters of Sir Miles (?-1665) and Mary Ingram

Catherine (?-1703/4) m. [1] Sir Thomas Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer,
Yorkshire.
[2] John Hopton of Ingersgill (Inglethorpe?, Yorkshire).
Ellen died young.
Mary died young.

VAVASOUR

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 224-8; 'Pedigree of Vavasour of Haslewood, Spaldington, Weston, Copmanthorpe, etc.', J. Foster (ed.), in *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Vavasour of Haselwood

Daughters of Sir Henry (?-1452) and Joan Langton

Isabel/Elizabeth m. Richard Clervaux of Croft, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir Henry of Haselwood (?-1500) and Joan Gascoigne (?-1462)

Joan m. Robert Maleverer.
Katherine m. Sir Peter *Middleton*.
Maude (?-1509) m. Sir John Gilliott of York.
Elizabeth m. Sir Richard Goldsborough of Goldsborough, Yorkshire.
Margaret m. [1] Thomas *Gascoigne* of Lasingcroft, Yorkshire.
[2] Walter Courcy c.1510.

Daughters of Henry of Haselwood (?-1515) Elizabeth Everingham(?-1509)

Agnes died young
Anne m. Nicholas Loundes of London
Jane m. Thomas Oglethorpe of 'Beale' (Beal, Yorkshire).
Dorothy a nun.

Daughters of John of Haselwood (1494-1524) Anne d. Henry, sixth Lord Scrope of Bolton.

Margaret m. William *Redman* of Twisleton (Twiston? Lancashire).
Jane m. William Percehay of Ryton, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir William of Haselwood (?-1572) and Elizabeth Calverlay

Mary m. William Plumpton of Plumpton, Yorkshire.
Katherine m. Richard Peck of Wakefield and Wilsick, Yorkshire.
Frances m. John Ryther of Ryther, Yorkshire.
Elizabeth m. Thomas Hayland of Hayland, Lincolnshire.
Ann m. Francis *Gascoigne* of Gawthorpe, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Ralph of Woodhall (brother of Sir William) and Elizabeth (d. Richard) Peck

Frances m. Francis Percy of Scotton.

Daughters of Walter/William of Haselwood (1569-?) and Anne Manners

Jane (1595-1617) m. Raphe Hansby of Tickhill, Yorkshire.
Theodosia (c. 1595-1616) died unmarried.
Bridget died unmarried.
Anne (c. 1594-?) died unmarried.
Mary (1599/1600-1676) a **nun** at Brussels.
Frances m. James *Lawson* of Nesham, Northumbria.
Margaret a **nun** at Cambrai.
Catherine a **nun** at Cambrai.

Daughters of Sir Thomas of Haselwood (?-1632) and Ursula Gifford

Mary (?-1631)
Anne (?-1658) a **nun**
Frances m. Alphonse Thwenge of Kilton Castle, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir Walter of Haselwood (1613-1678/9) and Ursula d. Thomas, Viscount Fauconbridge

Ursula died young.

Vavasour of Spaldington

Daughters of Sir John of Spaldington and Isabel de la Haye

| | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| Katherine | m. John Wombwell. |
| Anne/Jane | m. Thomas <i>Lawson</i> , Yorkshire. |
| Ellen | m. ?_ Langholme. |
| Jane | m. Thomas Oglethorpe. |

Daughters of William of Gunby and Alice Mallory

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------------|
| Ann | m. Robert Benger of Bengough. |
| Margaret | m. Thomas Langdale |
| Katherine | |
| Isabel | |
| Dorothy | |

Daughters of Sir Peter of Spaldington (?1556) and Elizabeth d. Andrew, Lord Windsor of Stanwell

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Anne | m. Thomas Langdale (?-1544) of Houghton, Yorkshire (son of Anthony). |
| Mary | m. ?_ Evers of Bolton, Lancashire. |
| Elizabeth | died unmarried. |

Daughters of John of Spaldington(?-1573) and Julian Aske.

Katherine
Margaret
Elizabeth

Daughters of Sir John of Spaldington (?-1641) and Mary Gates

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Frances (?-1666) | m. Robert Orme of South Newbald, Yorkshire. |
| Isabell | m. Godfrey Whittington of Wittingham, Lancashire. |

Daughters of Peter of Spaldington and Anne Gower

| | |
|---------|---|
| Mary | m. Walter Bethell of Ellerton, Yorkshire (his second wife.) |
| Frances | m. Mauer Vavasour of Weston, Yorkshire. |

Vavasour of Weston and Newton

Daughters of John of Weston and Newton and Elizabeth Thwaites

| | |
|-----------|--|
| Anastasia | m. Sir John Langton of Farnley, Yorkshire. |
| Elizabeth | a nun at Nun Monkton. |
| Ellen | m. William Exilby. |
| Margaret | a nun at Nun Monkton. |

Daughters of John of Weston and Newton and Cecily Norton.

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Elizabeth | a nun. |
| Anne | m. Sir Walter Calverley. |
| Joan/Jennet | m. John Walworth. |
| Margaret | m. Christopher Baynes of Netherdale (Nidderdale, Yorkshire). |

Daughters of John of Weston and Newton and Bridget Mauleverer

| | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|
| Elizabeth | m. _____ Johnson. |
| Dorothy | m. Thomas Keighley of Newhall. |

Daughters of John of Weston and Newton and Agnes Calverley

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Isabel (?-1597/8) | m. John (son of Robert) Hagthorpe. |
| Grace (?-1559/60) | m. Robert Sotherby of 'Picklington' and 'Birdsan' (Pocklington and Birdsall, Yorkshire). |
| Frances | m. [1] Anthony <i>Fawkes</i> . [2] Philip Bainbridge. [3] Walter Pulleyn of Scotton. |
| Anne | m. [1] Thomas Pulleyn. [2] Peter <i>Danby</i> , Yorkshire. |

Daughters of Marmaduke of Weston and Newton and Joane Midelton

| | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| Elizabeth | m. Thomas Cowndham. |
|-----------|---------------------|

Daughters of William of Weston and Alice Paver

| | |
|-------|--|
| Agnes | m. [1] John Pulleyn of Killinghall, Yorkshire. [2] Edward Pilkington of Lancashire. |
|-------|--|

Daughters of William of Weston and Elizabeth Beckwith

Frances m. Henry (son of Francis) Slingsby of Scriven, Yorkshire.

Daughters of William of Weston and Margaret Welsh

Anne

Daughters of Sir Mauger and Joan Savile and widow of John Metcalfe

Mary m. Stephen Hamerton of Hellifield Peel, Yorkshire.

Frances m. Edward Cloughe of Thorpe Stapleton, nr. Leeds,
Yorkshire.

Daughters of William of Weston and Mary Vaughan

Anne died young

WENTWORTH

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, William Pollard & co., 1907), pp. 321-5; 'Pedigree of Wentworth of Elmsall, Bretton and Baron Wentworth of Nettlested' and 'Pedigree of Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse, Earls of Strafforth [Watson Wentworth, Marquess of Rockingham], Vernon-Wentworth of Wentworth Castle and Wentworth of Woolley', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 1 (London, 1874).

Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse

William of Wentworth- Woodhouse (?-1477) and Isabel/Elizabeth Fitzwilliam

Elizabeth m. [1] Thomas Lee of Middleton, Yorkshire.
[2] Henry Arthington.

Sir Thomas of Wentworth-Woodhouse (1482-1548) and Beatrice Woodruff

Isabella m. Nicholas Wombwell.
Elizabeth m. Ralph Denman of Newhall Grange.
Beatrice m. Thomas Worralll of Loversall, Yorkshire.

Daughters of William of Wentworth-Woodhouse (1507-49) and Catherine Beeston

Margaret m. Launcelot Mountford of Kilnhurst, Yorkshire (son and
heir of Christopher and Muriel).

Muriel m. Christopher Mountford of Kilnhurst, Yorkshire.
Elizabeth died unmarried.
Beatrice m. John Savile of Wath, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Thomas of Wentworth-Woodhouse (?-1587) and Margaret Gascoigne

Elizabeth (?-1577) m. Thomas *Danby* of Farnley, Yorkshire (?-1624).
Barbara died unmarried.
Margaret (?-1614) m. [1] Michael son and heir of John, Lord Darcy of Aston,
Yorkshire.
[2] Jasper Blytheman of New Lathes, Yorkshire.
Catherine (?-1631) m. Thomas Gargrave of Nostell, Yorkshire in 1587.
(executed 1595).

Daughters of Sir William of Wentworth-Woodhouse (1565-?) and Anne Atkins

Mary/Margaret (c.1602-?) m. Sir Richard *Hutton* of Goldsborough, in 1602.
Anne (1591-?) m. Sir George Savile of Thornhill, Yorkshire in 1607.
Elizabeth m. Jasper Dillon, Earl of Roscommon in 1603.

Daughters of Sir Thomas of Wentworth-Woodhouse (?-1641) and Lady Arabella Holles

Lady Anne (1627-95) m. Sir Edward Watson, son and heir of Baron Rockingham.
Lady Arabella (1630-?) m. Justin McCarthy, son of Donagh, Earl of Clancarty,
Ireland.

Daughters of Sir Thomas of Wentworth-Woodhouse (?-1641) and Elizabeth Rodes

Margaret (?-1681) died unmarried.

Wentworth of Woolley

Daughters of Michael of Medham Priory Suffolk (?-1558) and Beatrice/ Isabel Whitley

Isabel (?-1558)
Alice
Catherine
Margaret
Mabel
Helen

Daughters of Thomas Wentworth of Medham Priory (1542-?) and Susan Hopton

Beatrix m. John *Greene* of Dean Grange in Horsforth, Yorkshire
(?-1637)
Mary m. Robert Coningsby, Hereford.

Daughters of Michael of Woolley (?-1641) and Frances Downes

Dorothy m. John Wood of Copmanthorpe, Yorkshire.
Elizabeth m. [1] Thomas Odfield of Woodlands, Yorkshire.
[2] Richard Beaumont of Mirfield, Yorkshire.
Alice died unmarried
Mary m. Richard Langley of Millington, Yorkshire.
Rosamond m. [1] Betram Reveley (?-1622) of 'Throple',
Northumberland in 1620.
[2] Roger Widdrington of Cartington, Northumberland.
Margaret (?-1638) m. William Wombwell of Wombwell, Yorkshire in 1628.

WYCLIFFE

Wycliffe of Wycliffe

T.D. Whittaker, *History of Richmondshire*, vol. 1 (London, 1823), pp. 201-2.

Daughters of Robert of Wycliffe and Margaret Conyers

Margaret m. _____ Girlington
_____ m. Robert Thirkeld.

Daughters of Ralph, Lord of Wycliffe and Anne Bowes

Elizabeth m. George Carr of Newcastle.
Alice m. Thomas *Middleton* of Newcastle.
Anne m. James Malleverer of Wodersham, Yorkshire.
Anne m. Anthony Brakenbury of Sellaby, Durham.

Daughters of John Wycliffe (second son of Robert) and Elizabeth Parkinson

Agnes m. Christopher Madison, Sunderland.
Anne m. John Nixon.
Grace m. Robert Millott of Whitehall, Durham.

Daughters of William of Wycliffe (?-1584) and Dorothy Place

Margaret m. Thomas Blenkinsop of Westmorland.
Jane

Daughters of William of Wycliffe (?-1584) and Muriell d. William, Lord Eure

Margaret m. Roger Lepton of Reswick, Yorkshire.
Mary
Muriell died unmarried.

Daughters of Francis of Wycliffe (?-post 1585) and Jane Rookeby

Elizabeth
Mary
Muriel

Daughters of William of Wycliffe (?-1611) and Muryell Blackstone

Dorothy m. John Wytham of Cliffe, Yorkshire (he remarried twice).
Mary died young (before 1596)
Catherine (?-1657) m. **Marmaduke Tunstall** of Scargill, Yorkshire before 1612.

WYVILL

J.W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, vol. 2 (Exeter, 1907), pp. 431-7; 'Pedigree of Wyvill of Constable Burton', in J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1874).

Wyvill of Constable Burton

Daughters of Robert Wyvill and Ann Norton

Margaret m. [1] Richard Beaumont of Whitley Beaumont, Yorkshire (3rd wife) in 1522.
[2] Richard Nevile of Stockbridge, Yorkshire.
Agnes m. Richard Askew of Firby, Yorkshire.
Lucy m. Thomas *Middleton* of Nether Studley.
Dorothy m. Richard Dodsworth of Thornton Watlass, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill and Agnes FitzRandolph

Margaret
Julian

Daughters of Sir Sampdon Wyvill and Faith Girlington

Margaret m. Rowland Dodsworth of Jolby, Richmondshire.

Daughters of Christopher Wyvill and Margaret Scrope

Margaret (?-1565)
Dorothy m. Soloman *Swale* of South Stainby, Yorkshire.

Daughters of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill and Magdalen Danby

Elizabeth m. Christopher Phillipson of Calgarth
Mary m. [1] Francis Briggs of Old Malton, Yorkshire
[2] Thomas Percehay of Ryton, Yorkshire.
Eleanor

Daughters of Christopher Wyvill and Jane Stapleton

Barbara died young
Elizabeth m. _____ Bellingham, Lincolnshire.
Olive m. Cuthbert Collingwood of Ellington, Northumberland.
Mary m. [1] John Wilde of Huton, Yorkshire
[2] Anthony *Bulmer* second son of Betram Bulmer.
Catherine m. John Wharton of Kirkby Theure, Westmorland.
Philipa m. Richard Sale of Hopecare, Lancashire.

Daughters of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill and Isabel Gascoigne

Mary (?-1646) m. Arthur Beckwith of Aldborough, Yorkshire
Jane m. Robert Wilde of Hunton, Yorkshire.
Isabel m. James Darcy, sixth son of Conyers, Lord of Darcy and
Conyers.
Grace m. George Wytham of Cliffe, Yorkshire.
Olive m. George *Meynell* of Aldbrough, Yorkshire.
Elizabeth m. Sir *William Dalton* of Hawkeswell, Yorkshire.
Anne (?-1695) m. *Thomas Dalton* younger brother of Sir William.
Dorothy

APPENDIX V

CATHOLICS IN YORKSHIRE IN 1604

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Catholics in Parishes in the City of York

Catholics in the Parishes in the East Riding

Catholics in the Parishes in the North Riding

Summary Table

Gentry in the Three Ridings and the City of York in 1604

Catholic Gentry in the West Riding

Catholic Gentry in the East Riding

Catholic Gentry in the North Riding

Central Tables for the 1604 Survey

| | WOMEN | MEN | TOTAL |
|---------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| <u>EAST RIDING</u> | 140 | 112 | 252 |
| <u>NORTH RIDING</u> | 729 | 556 | 1285 |
| <u>WEST RIDING</u> | 505 | 423 | 928 |
| <u>CITY OF YORK</u> | 49 | 40 | 89 |
| TOTALS | 1423 | 1131 | 2554 |

Number Of Catholics In The West Riding Of Yorkshire In 1604

| PARISH | WOMEN | MEN |
|-------------------------|-------|-----|
| KEXBOROUGH-DARTON | 1 | 1 |
| SILKSTONE | 2 | 3 |
| WORSBOROUGH | 1 | 0 |
| WOLLEY | 0 | 1 |
| CAWTHORNE | 9 | 7 |
| WICKERSLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WALES | 0 | 0 |
| WHISTOW | 0 | 0 |
| 'RANFIELD' | 0 | 1 |
| ROTHERAM | 0 | 0 |
| CANTLEY | 1 | 2 |
| THORPE SALVIN | 0 | 1 |
| ANSTON | 1 | 1 |
| THRYBERGH ¹ | 1 | 2 |
| TODWICK | 0 | 1 |
| HUTTON PAGNEL | 0 | 2 |
| FRICKLEY | 1 | 1 |
| WATH-ON-DEARNE | 3 | 1 |
| LETWELL | 2 | 2 |
| HICKLETON | 0 | 1 |
| STANTON | 0 | 2 |
| BRADFIELD | 2 | 2 |
| ECCLESFIELD | 2 | 0 |
| ---EN UPON DEARNE | 0 | 1 |
| SHEFFIELD | 2 | 11 |
| ARKSEY | 1 | 1 |
| DARFIELD | 1 | 0 |
| _____? | 5 | 7 |
| BARNBY DUN ² | 1 | 1 |
| CROFTON | 0 | 1 |
| SANDAL MAGNA | 2 | 0 |
| HUDDERSFIELD | 3 | 6 |
| ALMONDBURY | 0 | 4 |
| WARMSFIELD | 4 | 1 |

¹ TRIBURGH

² BARNEBY-UPON-DEARNE

| | | |
|-----------------------|----|---|
| BRADFORD | 1 | 1 |
| NORMANTON | 4 | 3 |
| ROTHWELL | 4 | 5 |
| WAKEFIELD | 1 | 1 |
| THORNHILL | 3 | 1 |
| EMLEY | 2 | 5 |
| WHITKIRK | 5 | 3 |
| BARWICK | 14 | 8 |
| KIPPAX | 3 | 0 |
| SWILLINGTON | 4 | 1 |
| ABERFORD | 3 | 1 |
| ILKLEY | 3 | 1 |
| OTLEY | 3 | 2 |
| ADDLE | 1 | 0 |
| LEEDS | 10 | 6 |
| GISBURNE | 2 | 0 |
| KEIGHLEY | 2 | 2 |
| MITTON | 14 | 4 |
| BROUGHTON | 1 | 4 |
| LONGPRESTON | 6 | 7 |
| SKIPTON | 4 | 3 |
| KIRKBY | 0 | 2 |
| BURNSALL ³ | 0 | 2 |
| GARGRAVE | 0 | 1 |
| THORNTON | 1 | 1 |
| BOLTON | 0 | 3 |
| ARNCLIFF | 1 | 0 |
| GIGGLESWICK | 1 | 0 |
| BENTHAM | 1 | 1 |
| SLAIDBURN | 1 | 3 |
| THORNTON | 8 | 7 |
| HOOTON ⁴ | 0 | 0 |
| INGLETON | 4 | 3 |
| CARLTON | 1 | 0 |
| KIRKBY WHARFE | 1 | 2 |
| BROTHERTON | 4 | 1 |
| SHERBURNE | 8 | 4 |
| SAXTON | 4 | 8 |

³ BURNEFALL

⁴ HORTON

| | | |
|--|----|----|
| LEDHAM | 5 | 5 |
| [CHURCH] FENTON | 6 | 3 |
| CAWOOD | 2 | 1 |
| SELBY | 1 | 0 |
| BRAYTON | 4 | 1 |
| DRAX | 7 | 7 |
| CARLETON | 14 | 12 |
| MONK FRYSTON | 2 | 3 |
| BIRKYN | 4 | 7 |
| SPOFFORTH | 10 | 15 |
| STAVELEY | 6 | 4 |
| KNARESBOROUGH | 11 | 11 |
| COPGRAVE | 1 | 0 |
| HUNSINGORE | 2 | 2 |
| GREWELTHORPE | 3 | 2 |
| BAWTRY ⁵ | 0 | 1 |
| DALLA HALL ⁶ | 4 | 2 |
| LAVERTON | 1 | 0 |
| SWETTON | 1 | 1 |
| HARTWITH | 4 | 3 |
| KIRKBY MALZEARD ⁷ | 55 | 43 |
| GOLDSBOROUGH | 0 | 2 |
| KIRK DEIGHTON | 0 | 2 |
| CROSSGATE | 11 | 8 |
| WESTGATE | 4 | 6 |
| BONDGATE ⁸ | 1 | 2 |
| SKELGATE | 3 | 3 |
| SHAROW | 3 | 3 |
| SAWLEY | 1 | 2 |
| THORNTON | 18 | 10 |
| 'HENWICK' | 1 | 0 |
| ALDFIELD | 2 | 2 |
| 'STAMERGATE' | 4 | 1 |
| BISHOPTON [CUM SUTTON] ⁹ | 2 | 0 |
| SKELTON | 4 | 1 |
| MARKINGTON | 7 | 1 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| INGTHORPE | 3 | 1 |
| SAWLEY | 2 | 1 |
| THORNTON | 1 | 7 |
| RIPON | 7 | 2 |
| COWTHORPE | 1 | 1 |
| BURROW BRIDGE | 5 | 5 |
| KIRKBY OVERBLOW | 1 | 1 |
| BEAMSLEY | 3 | 0 |
| BURTON LEONARD | 7 | 5 |
| FEWSTON | 3 | 1 |
| NIDD | 5 | 2 |
| RIPLEY | 36 | 34 |
| FARNHAM | 13 | 8 |
| ALDBOROUGH | 0 | 1 |
| ROCLIFFE | 4 | 1 |
| MINSKIP | 1 | 0 |
| WHIXLEY | 5 | 0 |
| HAMPESTHWAITE | 4 | 1 |
| GREAT OUSEBURN ¹⁰ | 1 | 1 |
| STAVELEY 'WITH SLENYNETHFIRTH' | 3 | 1 |
| BEWERLEY | 3 | 2 |
| BISHOPSIDE ¹¹ | 7 | 2 |
| DACRE 'PASTURE' | 4 | 3 |
| PATELEY BRIDGE WITH BISHOPSIDE | 6 | 6 |
| PONTEFRACT | 3 | 10 |
| DONCASTER | 3 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 505 | 423 |

⁵ GAWTRAY

⁶ DALLAHE

⁷ Appears twice pp 34, 36

⁸ In the parish of Ripon.

⁹ In the parish of Ripon.

¹⁰ USBURNE MAGNA

¹¹ In the parish of Ripon.

Number of Catholics in the City Of York in 1604

| Parish | Women | Men |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| MICKLEGATE ¹ | 2 | 2 |
| BISHOPHILL (JUNIOR) | 3 | 2 |
| BISHOPHILL (SENIOR) | 2 | 4 |
| ST CRUX ² | 1 | 0 |
| ST SAMPSON | 1 | 0 |
| ST JOHN | 1 | 1 |
| ST CUTHBERT | 5 | 3 |
| ST SAVIOUR & ST ANDREW'S | 2 | 0 |
| 'ST MAURICE' | 1 | 2 |
| [ST MICHAEL LE] BELFREY | 6 | 4 |
| 'ST WILFRID'S' | 2 | 2 |
| ST HELEN | 1 | 1 |
| 'WALMGATE' | 0 | 2 |
| ALL SAINTS ON THE PAVEMENT ³ | 1 | 3 |
| ST MICHAEL'S OUSEBRIDGE | 0 | 1 |
| ST LAWRENCE | 2 | 0 |
| 'ST NICHOLAS' | 1 | 0 |
| ST MARGARET | 1 | 1 |
| ST DENNIS & ST GEORGE | 1 | 0 |
| [LONG] MARSTON | 4 | 1 |
| HEALAUGH ⁴ | 4 | 6 |
| BILTON | 2 | 3 |
| 'HALTON' | 4 | 0 |
| THORP ARCH | 0 | 1 |
| BOLTON PERCY | 1 | 0 |
| ACASTER MALBIS | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 49 | 40 |

¹ MICKLITH

² CHRIST

³ ALLHALLOWS ON THE PAVEMENT AND PETER THE LITTLE

⁴ HEALEY

Numbers of Catholics in the Parishes of the East Riding in the 1604 Suvey

| PARISH | WOME N | MEN |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----|
| KEYINGHAM ¹ | 1 | 0 |
| SKEFFLING & BURSTWICK | 5 | 5 |
| HALSHAM | 2 | 2 |
| WELWEEK | 2 | 2 |
| MARTON | 7 | 2 |
| SPROATLEY | 2 | 0 |
| WYTON | 0 | 1 |
| PRESTON | 3 | 1 |
| ATWICK ² | 3 | 1 |
| NUNKEELING & 'BENHOLME' | 3 | 5 |
| HUMBLETON | 0 | 2 |
| DUNINGTON | 1 | 0 |
| HEDON | 1 | 1 |
| KINGSTON-UPON- HULL & LIBERTIES | 5 | 9 |
| NORTH FERRIBY | 5 | 3 |
| BEVERLEY | 1 | 3 |
| COTTINGHAM | 1 | 1 |
| LECONFIELD | 1 | 0 |
| NORTH CAVE | 0 | 1 |
| HAYTON | 1 | 0 |
| AUGTON | 1 | 1 |
| SPALDINGTON | 0 | 1 |
| CATTON | 1 | 1 |
| POCKLINGTON | 2 | 2 |
| LONDESBOROUGH | 0 | 1 |
| BUBWITH. | 12 | 12 |
| 'BRIGHTON' | 0 | 1 |
| RISBY | 1 | 0 |
| HUNSLEY | 2 | 1 |
| WILBERFOSS | 5 | 3 |
| MILLINGTON | 3 | 1 |
| EASTHORPE ³ | 1 | 1 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| GOODMANHAM | 1 | 2 |
| [GREAT] GIVENDALE | 1 | 0 |
| HOWDEN | 1 | 0 |
| NEWLAND | 3 | 1 |
| LINTON | 0 | 1 |
| ASSELBY | 3 | 1 |
| KNEDLINGTON | 2 | 0 |
| YORKFLEET | 1 | 0 |
| ELLERKER WITH BRANTINGHAM | 2 | 1 |
| EASTRINGTON | 2 | 0 |
| WALKINGTON | 0 | 1 |
| HEMINGBROUGH | 6 | 0 |
| CLIFFE WITH LUND | 13 | 12 |
| OSGOODBY | 7 | 6 |
| WOODHALL ⁴ | 8 | 4 |
| SOUTH DUFFIELD | 1 | 0 |
| BARLBY | 2 | 2 |
| NABURN | 7 | 5 |
| THORGANBY | 1 | 0 |
| RICCALL | 0 | 2 |
| STILLINGFLEET | 0 | 3 |
| WHELDRAKE | 2 | 1 |
| NORTON | 0 | 1 |
| WEAVERTHORPE WITH HELPERTHORPE | 1 | 0 |
| THORPE BASSET | 1 | 0 |
| WESTON | 0 | 1 |
| EAST AND WEST HESLERTON | 1 | 0 |
| PICKERING ⁵ | 1 | 0 |
| FOXHOLES | 0 | 1 |
| FOWLTON | 1 | 1 |
| BRIDLINGTON | 0 | 1 |
| FLAMBOROUGH | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 140 | 112 |

¹ KAINGHAM

² ATURCKE

³ EASTROPPE

⁴ Also included BRACKHOLME, BOWTHORPE & MENTHORPE, p. 140

⁵ PICKERING

Catholics in the Parishes of the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1604

| PLACE | WOMEN | MEN |
|-------------------------------|-------|-----|
| RICHMOND | 6 | 5 |
| MIDDLEHAM | 0 | 1 |
| THORNTON STEWART | 5 | 3 |
| FINGHALL | 0 | 0 |
| HINDERWELL ¹ | 0 | 0 |
| SPENNITHORNE | 3 | 0 |
| COVERHAM | 3 | 2 |
| HAUXWELL ² | 0 | 0 |
| DOWNHOLME | 4 | 1 |
| EAST WITTON | 3 | 3 |
| 'WENSLOWE' | 9 | 6 |
| AYSGARTH ³ | 2 | 5 |
| GRINTON | 40 | 22 |
| MUKER ⁴ | 6 | 1 |
| WEST WITTON | 0 | 0 |
| BOLTON | 1 | 0 |
| DANBY WISKE | 10 | 11 |
| KIRBY WISKE | 0 | 0 |
| MANFIELD | 9 | 9 |
| LANGTON | 1 | 1 |
| AINDERBY STEEPLE ⁵ | 0 | 0 |
| BARTON 'CUTHBERT' | 0 | 0 |
| BARTON 'MARIE' | 0 | 0 |
| SOUTH COWTON | 0 | 0 |
| [GREAT] SMEATON | 0 | 0 |
| 'ERIHOLME' | 0 | 0 |
| MIDDLETON TYAS | 9 | 13 |
| SCRUTON ⁶ | 0 | 0 |
| KIRBY 'STETHAM' | 1 | 0 |
| HIPSWELL | 0 | 0 |
| CATTERICK | 1 | 1 |
| PATRICK BROMPTON | 0 | 0 |

| | | |
|------------------------------|----|----|
| MASHAM | 45 | 43 |
| WATLASS | 0 | 0 |
| WELL | 0 | 0 |
| BEDALE | 4 | 4 |
| HORNBY | 8 | 10 |
| BOWES | 1 | 0 |
| ARKENGARTH DALE | 0 | 0 |
| STARTFORTH | 0 | 0 |
| ROMALDKIRK ⁷ | 2 | 0 |
| ROKEBY | 5 | 2 |
| BRIGNALL | 2 | 0 |
| WYCLIFFE | 7 | 6 |
| HUTTON BONVILLE ⁸ | 4 | 2 |
| STANWICK | 59 | 45 |
| GILLING PARISH | 2 | 2 |
| FORCETT PARISH | 31 | 21 |
| EASBY PARISH | 1 | 1 |
| KIRKBY RAVENSWORTH | 13 | 19 |
| BARNINGHAM | 7 | 14 |
| MELSONBY | 9 | 21 |
| WATH | 3 | 1 |
| KIRKLINGTON | 1 | 0 |
| PICKHILL ⁹ | 0 | 0 |
| CUNDALL | 1 | 1 |
| WEST TANFIELD | 2 | 3 |
| BURNESTON ¹⁰ | 3 | 4 |
| KIRBY MOORSIDE ¹¹ | 2 | 1 |
| GREAT WORSALL | 9 | 8 |
| GIRSBY | 3 | 3 |
| BIRKBY | 2 | 1 |
| LEAKE | 4 | 2 |
| [KIRBY] SIGSTON | 3 | 0 |
| THORNTON LE STREET | 10 | 10 |
| NORTH OTTRINGHAM | 2 | 0 |

¹ HIDESWELL

² HAWKESWELL

³ AYSKARTH

⁴ MUKAR

⁵ Omitted due to the presence of plague.

⁶ SCRATON

⁷ RUMERKIRK

⁸ HUTTON-LONGVILLE

⁹ PICKHALL

¹⁰ BURISTON

¹¹ KIRKBIE (on the Moor)

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----|----|
| BROMPTON [by Sawdon] | 1 | 1 |
| OSMOTHERLEY | 1 | 1 |
| HUTTON BONVILLE | 8 | 8 |
| HORNBY | 1 | 1 |
| WEST ROUNTON | 0 | 1 |
| STOKESLEY | 15 | 15 |
| GUISBOROUGH | 30 | 10 |
| EGTON | 39 | 29 |
| SEAMER | 2 | 1 |
| STANTON CUM THORNABY | 6 | 2 |
| THORNABY [on Tees] | 7 | 1 |
| CRATHORNE ¹² | 10 | 8 |
| KILDALE | 0 | 1 |
| WHORLTON | 6 | 5 |
| RUDBY [IN HUTTON] | 0 | 2 |
| APPLETON WISKE | 6 | 4 |
| DANBY | 2 | 1 |
| GREAT AYTON ¹³ | 2 | 0 |
| INGLEBY GREENHOW ¹⁴ | 3 | 4 |
| ACKLAM | 1 | 0 |
| YARM | 3 | 4 |
| KIRK LEATHAM ¹⁵ | 13 | 12 |
| SKELTON | 11 | 8 |
| BROTTON ¹⁶ | 17 | 13 |
| WESTERDALE | 1 | 0 |
| UPLEATHAM ¹⁷ | 0 | 1 |
| LOFTUS ¹⁸ | 13 | 8 |
| EASINGTON | 0 | 1 |
| HILTON | 2 | 1 |
| MIDDLETON | 3 | 2 |
| LYTHE | 20 | 15 |
| HINDERWELL 'CUM ROWSBY' | 3 | 2 |
| WHITBY | 12 | 12 |

¹² CRAWTHORNE

¹³ AYON MAGNA

¹⁴ INGBEBRE JUXTA GREENEHOWE

¹⁵ LEAVENTON

¹⁶ BRITTON

¹⁷ UPLEADOME

¹⁸ LOFTHOUSE

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|
| HOVINGHAM | 26 | 11 |
| HELMSLEY | 0 | 2 |
| APPLETON LE STREET | 1 | 0 |
| GILLING | 3 | 1 |
| 'SPONTON CUM MEMBRIS' | 1 | 3 |
| OLD MALTON | 0 | 0 |
| BARTON 'Burton' | 2 | 1 |
| KIRKDALE | 3 | 5 |
| NORMANBY | 0 | 0 |
| BILSDALE | 1 | 1 |
| OSWALDKIRK | 0 | 0 |
| NUNNINGTON ¹⁹ | 0 | 0 |
| SCAWTON | 0 | 0 |
| SLINGSBY | 0 | 0 |
| NEW MALTON (St. Michael's) | 0 | 0 |
| Chapel of St Leonard's NEW MALTON | 0 | 0 |
| GREAT EDSTONE | 0 | 0 |
| STONGRAVE | 2 | 2 |
| FYLING[DALES] | 20 | 9 |
| ESKDALE[SIDE] | 19 | 9 |
| UGGLEBARNBY | 10 | 3 |
| 'SNEBY' [SNEATON] | 1 | 1 |
| SUTTON | 2 | 0 |
| BULMER | 2 | 2 |
| STILLINGTON | 0 | 1 |
| HUTTONS AMBO | 1 | 0 |
| SHERIFF HUTTON | 0 | 1 |
| OVERTON | 4 | 4 |
| HINDERSKELFE | 3 | 2 |
| HUNTINGTON | 8 | 4 |
| STRENSALL | 2 | 1 |
| HAXBY | 1 | 0 |
| EASINGWOLD [CUM RANSKALL] | 2 | 2 |
| BRANDSBY | 13 | 8 |
| 'TURINGTON' | 4 | 1 |
| BOSSALL | 2 | 0 |
| Total | 729 | 556 |

¹⁹ NORMINGTON

ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE COUNTY OF YORK IN 1604¹

THE WEST RIDING

Key

* - Husband appearing on the list
 m - married to
 d - daughter of
 y - yes

esq. - esquire
 gent - gentleman
 s - son of
 n - no

| Area: Parish | No | WOMEN: Name | m | Status | * | No | MEN: Name | m | Status |
|--------------------------------------|----|--|---|---|---|----|--|------------------|---|
| STAINCROSS: KEXBOROUGH- DARTON | 1 | Anne Rokeby | | | | 1 | Thomas Saville | | Gent |
| STAINCROSS: SILKSTONE | 2 | Jane Shackleton | | Servant to Thomas | | 3 | Thomas Champney John Walker | | Yeoman of Dodsworth Servant to William Oxley |
| | | Margaret Trigott | m | Stephen | y | | Stephen Trigott | m | |
| STAINCROSS: WORSBOROUGH | 1 | Isabel Rockkley | m | Jervase | n | 0 | John Holmes | | Gent aged 10/11 yrs |
| STAINCROSS: WOOLLEY | 0 | | | | | 1 | Michael Wentworth | | Gent |
| STAINCROSS: CAWTHORNE | 9 | Beatrix Barneby Isabel Barneby Dorothy Barneby Alice Watton | m | Thomas, gent | n | 7 | Robert Barnby | s | son of gent |
| | | Margaret Champney ² Elizabeth Champney ³ Mary Burdett Frances Tyngle Alice Walker | m | servant to Thomas Barneby widow + 3 children Arthur, gent Servant to Arthur Charles | y | | Charles Champney Nicholas Champney Arthur Burdett Michael Tyngle Francis Barnby | s m m m | Margaret Champney s of Margaret and m. to Eliz gent Servant to Arthur Priest, s of Thomas Barnby |

¹ E. Peacock, ed., *A List of the Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604*, transcribed from the original Ms. In the Bodleian Library (London, 1872). All figures are based upon information given in Peacock and all subsequent page references refer to this volume. The spelling of all place and individual names are as cited in this edition.

² Also has two sons on survey Charles and Nicholas.

³ Included all there children, who were not named.

| Area: Parish | No | WOMEN: Name | m | Status | * | No | MEN: Name | m | Status |
|---|----|----------------|---|----------------------|---|--------------|------------------------------|---|---|
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: WICKERSLEY | 0 | | | | | 0 | | | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: WALES | 0 | | | | | 0 | | | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: WHISTOW | 0 | | | | | 0 | | | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: 'RANFIELD' | 0 | | | | | 1 | Thomas Weisbye/ Westby | 1 | Gent? |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: ROTHERAM | 0 | | | | | 0 | | | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: CANTLEY | 1 | | | Margaret Harbrede | m | ? | Timothy Witham | 2 | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: THORPE- SALVIN | 0 | | | | | 0 | George Wynder | 1 | Servant to Marg Harebrede |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: ANSTON | 0 | | | | | 0 | | | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: THRYBERGH | 2 | | | John ? Shenfield | m | Thomas, gent | Thomas Reresby | 3 | gent |
| | | | | | | | | | Servant to Thomas |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: TODWICK | 0 | | | | | 0 | George Egleseme | | School master to Reseby's children Scot |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: HUTTON PAGNEL | 0 | | | | | 0 | Thomas Ashley | 1 | Servant to Sir Robert Swift |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: FRICKLEY | 1 | | | Isabel Clayton | m | William | John Gifford | 2 | gent |
| | | | | | | | William Clayton | 1 | |

⁴ Possibly Reresby, as a note on Thomas Reresby follows.

| | | | | | |
|--|---|------------------------------|----|--------------------|---|
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: WATH-ON-DEARNE | 3 | Anne Holmes | 1 | Mr Smith | An old priest in the house of Anne Holmes |
| | | Elizabeth Holmes | | | |
| | | _____ | | | |
| | | maid servant of Anne Holmes | | | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: LETWELL | 2 | Alice Burton | 2 | Robert Burton | m |
| | | Elizabeth Storth | | Nicholas Storth | Fugitive brother of John |
| | | In house of John Storth | | William Crouder | poor man |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: HICKLETON | 0 | | 1 | | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: STAINTON | 0 | | 2 | _____ Bellamy | s Mr Bellamy |
| | | | | _____ French | s Mr French |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: BRADFIELD | 2 | _____ Oxley | 2 | | |
| | | Margaret Revell ⁵ | | Thomas Revell | s Rich and Margaret Aged 20 yrs |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: ECCLESFIELD | 2 | Helen Greaves | 0 | | |
| | | widow | | | |
| | | Mary Greaves | | | |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: --EN UPON DEARNE | 0 | | 1 | Mr Reresby | + servants |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: SHEFFIELD | 2 | | 11 | William Rawson | |
| | | Winifrid Eluyshe | | Roger Howton | |
| | | _____ Clayton | | William Fraunkyshe | |
| | | | | Laurence Clayton | m |
| | | | | Nicholas Clayton | |
| | | | | James Holland | School Master |
| | | | | William | School Master |

⁵ Also her son, Thomas aged 20.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|---|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: ARKSEY | 1 | _____ Adwick | m | George | n | 1 | William Spark | Sampson | School Master |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: DARFIELD | 1 | Anne Skyes | | Servant to Mrs Wombwell | | 0 | | Nicholas Beete | School Master |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: _____? | 5 | Lady Manners ⁶ | m | wife to William Bradwell, Gent | | 7 | William Bradwell | Richard Horner | School Master |
| | | Thompkinsyn Harp | | servant | | | | Robert Gelslyn | School Master |
| | | Ellen Powthrell | m | Thomas | y | | Thomas Powtrell | John Batley | School Master |
| | | Mary Cook | m | Tryte widow | y | | Tryte Cook | William Spark | |
| | | Anne Plattes | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | Nicholas booth | | Servant to Powtrells |
| | | | | | | | Thomas palmer | | Servant to Powtrells |
| | | | | | | | Anthony cowlng | | Servant to Powtrells |
| | | | | | | | Richard Crashley | | Servant to Powtrells + 4 others |
| STRAFFORTH & TICKELL: BARNBY-DUN | 1 | Anne Horsfield | | servant | | 1 | Edward Bray | | |
| AGBRIG AND MORLEY: CROFTON | 0 | | | | | 1 | Francis Strageways | | |
| AGBRIG AND MORLEY: SANDAL MAGNA | 2 | Frances Breton | | widow | | 0 | | | |
| | | Dorothy Breton | d | Frances | | | | | |
| AGBRIG AND MORLEY: HUDDERSFIELD | 3 | | | | | 6 | John Armitage alias Herne | | |
| | | | | | | | James Hallows | | |
| | | | | | | | William | | |

⁶ Theodocia Bradwell following her re-marriage.

⁷ Servant to Henry P'kyn, p. 10.

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|---------------|---|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| STAINCLIFFE & EWCROSSE; HOOTON | 0 | Jennet Richardson | m | James | n | | | |
| | | Anne Readman ¹⁴ | | | 0 | | | |
| STAINCLIFFE & EWCROSSE; INGLETON | 4 | Katherine Constable | m | Robert gent | y | 3 | Robert Constable | m gent ¹⁵ |
| | | Jennet Nicholson | m | William | n | | Richard Webster | |
| | | Elynn Readman | m | Thomas | n | | Robert Guye | |
| | | Jennet Simpson | m | Thomas | n | | | |
| STAINCLIFFE & EWCROSSE; CARLTON | 1 | Elizabeth Farrand | | widow | 0 | | | |
| BARKSTON ASH: KIRKBY WHARFE | 1 | Elizabeth Righton | m | Thomas | n | 2 | John Mian | Servant Thomas Lodge |
| | | Dorothy Tyndale | m | John gent | n | 1 | William Turner | Servant Thomas Lodge |
| BARKSTON ASH: BROTHERTON | 4 | Jane Nelson | m | Robert yeoman | n | | | |
| | | Edith Robinson | m | William gent | n | | | |
| | | Isabel Heptenstall | | servant | | | | |
| BARKSTON ASH: SHERBURNE | 8 | ___ Stafford | m | Barnard | y | 4 | Barnard Stafford | m |
| | | Agnes Rawson ¹⁶ | | widow | | | Richard Nicholson | |
| | | Jane Hymsworth | m | Francis | n | | William Middleton | poor |
| | | Jane Mian | | poor | | | John Taylor | House of Agnes Rawson |
| | | Margaret Wharlade | m | Bryan | n | | | |
| | | Margaret Barnaby | m | John yeoman | n | | | |

¹⁴ Already occurred in Thornton

¹⁵ Recorded as having a child secretly baptized.

¹⁶ Recorded as harboring seminary priests and having Catholic servants, p. 23.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|---|------------------|---------------------------|
| | | Francis Rawson ¹⁷ | m | Thomas | n | | | |
| | | Johanne Maie | | | | | | |
| BARKSTON ASH: SAXTON | 4 | Margaret Hungate | m | William esq | y | 8 | William Hungate | m esq |
| | | Johanna Hungate | m | William, gent | y | | William Hungate | m gent |
| | | Katherine Hungate | | | | | Philip Hungate | |
| | | ___ Tailor | m | John | y | | John Tailor | m |
| | | | | | | | Nicholas | Butler to William Hungate |
| | | | | | | | James Richardson | |
| | | | | | | | William Cook | |
| BARKSTON ASH: LEDSHAM | 5 | Elizabeth Wytham | m | Peter, gent | y | 5 | Ralph Babthorpe | m gent |
| | | Katherine Ellis | m | William, gent | y | | Peter Wytham | |
| | | Thomasin Ellys | | widow | | | Richard Jackson | m gent fugitive |
| | | Frances Couplan | | | | | William Coupland | |
| | | Elizabeth Pease | m | Thomas | n | | George Wansworth | m gent |
| BARKSTON ASH: [CHURCH] FENTON | 6 | Alice Dalby | | in house of William Halliley | | 3 | Robert Halliley | |
| | | Elizabeth Newby | m | Edward gent | n | | Richard Lilburne | School Master |
| | | Clare Grene | d | Elizabeth | | | | |
| | | Elizabeth Grene | | widow | | | | |
| | | Frances Newby | m | Gervaise, Gent | n | | Ambrose Newby | s Edward Newby |
| BARKSTON ASH: CAWOOD | 2 | Cicily Newby | d | Edward Newby | | | | |
| | | ___ Aclam | m | Henry, gent | y | 1 | Henry Aclam | m gent |
| | | Margery Constable | | In house of Mr Aclam | | | | |
| BARKSTON | 1 | ___ Newson | m | Francis | n | 0 | | |

¹⁷ Brought up by Agnes Rawson, p. 24.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----|------------------|---|---------------------------|---|----|-------------------|--|--|--|--|--------|
| ASH: SELBY | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BARKSTON | 4 | Dorothy Young | m | Andrew, gent | y | 1 | Andrew Young | | | | | gent |
| ASH: BRAYTON | | Margaret Nuthall | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Uxor Collum | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Uxor Cherry | | Lawrence | n | | | | | | | |
| BARKSTON | 7 | Constable | m | Michael, gent | y | 7 | Michael Constable | | | | | m gent |
| ASH: DRAX | | Dorothy Baxter | m | Marmaduke | n | | John Johnson | | | | | |
| | | Symthe | m | William | y | | William Smyth | | | | | |
| | | Alice Watkinson | m | John | n | | Richard Gidler | | | | | |
| | | Rusholme | m | William | n | | Robert Barker | | | | | |
| | | Holte | m | Arthur widow | y | | Arthur Holt | | | | | |
| | | Addyman | m | | | | Edward Batman | | | | | |
| BARKSTON | 14 | Walker | m | John | n | 12 | Edward Ramsey | | | | | |
| ASH: CARLETON | | Clerk | m | Lyonell | y | | Lyonell Clerk | | | | | |
| | | Watson | m | Thomas | n | | | | | | | |
| | | Manning | m | Bryan gent | y | | Bryan Manning | | | | | gent |
| | | Norrays | m | Henry | n | | Robert Poules | | | | | |
| | | Marye Vynce | | | | | William Poules | | | | | |
| | | Marye Tayler | | | | | Richard Cooke | | | | | |
| | | Ingram | m | Brian | n | | Richard Stapleton | | | | | Esq |
| | | Agnes Browne | | | | | George Stapleton | | | | | gent |
| | | Poules | m | Thomas | n | | Robert Stapleton | | | | | Gent |
| | | Hepenstall | m | William | n | | William Akes | | | | | |
| | | Poules | m | Robert | n | | Thomas Tyson | | | | | |
| | | Girdler | m | Richard | n | | | | | | | |
| | | Annabel Scott | | | | | | | | | | |
| BARKSTON | 2 | Mary Nicholson | m | Servant to William Nelson | | 3 | William Nelson | | | | | |
| ASH: MONKFRYSTON | | Isabel | m | William | n | | Richard Jackson | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|----|---------------------|--|--|--|--|----------------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BARKSTON | 4 | Belle | m | John | y | 7 | Richard Nicolson | | | | | |
| ASH: BIRKYN | | Roger | m | Thomas | y | | John Belle | | | | | |
| | | Margery Alleyne | m | Anthony | n | | Thomas Roger | | | | | |
| | | Conyers | m | | y | | Philip Belle | | | | | s John |
| | | | | | | | Cuthbert Conyers | | | | | s Mrs Conyers |
| | | | | | | | William Lockwood | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | John Belay | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | John Baxter | | | | | |
| CLARO: SPOFFORTH | 10 | Lady Plumpton | m | Sir Edward Plumpton knt | y | 15 | Sir Edward Plumpton | | | | | m knt |
| | | Anne | | maid servant | | | John Barfelayes | | | | | Servant to Edward Plumpton |
| | | Margaret Herman | | Servant to Edward Plumpton | | | John Harrington | | | | | Servant to Edward Plumpton |
| | | Jane Paver | m | Richard Paver, gent | n | | William Reynolds | | | | | School Master |
| | | Jayne Ingleby | | widow | | | William Woodburne | | | | | |
| | | Gelstrop | m | George, gent | y | | George Gelstrop | | | | | m gent |
| | | Damer Thompson/Kendle | m | William weaver | y | | William Thompson | | | | | m weaver |
| | | Dorothy Swaile | m | William | y | | William Swaile | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | Solomon Swaile | | | | | s Dorothy & William |
| | | Wilson | m | William bailiff | y | | William Wilson | | | | | m Bailiff |
| | | Jayne Pallor ¹⁹ | m | Laurence Monk | y | | Laurence Monk | | | | | m husbandman |
| | | | | | | | William Ramesden | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | William Godfrey | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | Francis Chapman | | | | | Tanner |
| | | | | | | | Rennie Swynburne | | | | | Servant to Edward |

¹⁸ Reported to be secretly married, p. 31.

¹⁹ Reported to be secretly married, p.31.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|------------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|----|--------------------|---|-------------------|
| CLARO: STAVELEY | 6 | Jayne Forrest | m | Richard | y | 4 | Richard Forrest | m | Plumpton labourer |
| | | Anne Edmondson | d | William Edmondson | | | John Garforth | | milner |
| | | Frances Watson | | widow | | | | | |
| | | Ursula Buton | | Servant to Ms Watson | | | | | |
| | | Margaret Burneston | | Servant to Mrs watson | | | Robert Gibson | | gent |
| CLARO: KNARES-BOROUGH | 11 | Anne Gibson | m | Widow | y | 11 | Richard Gibson | s | Anne Gibson |
| | | Margaret Young ²⁰ | | Francis | | | Francis Young | m | |
| | | Margaret Monkton | | spinster | | | William Slingsby | | Gent |
| | | Elizabeth Tunstall | | widow | | | Edward Burnard | | Gent |
| | | Agnes Hebdon | | widow | | | John Johnson | | Yeoman |
| | | Lady Trapps | m | Sir Francis | y | | Sir Francis Trapps | m | |
| | | Ellen Inghand | m | John | n | | William Earle | | Sadler |
| | | Ellen Sympson | m | William | y | | Robert Sympson | | Poor youth |
| | | Isabel Knagges | m | John | n | | Robert Gibson, snr | | |
| | | Margaret Ward | m | Gilbert | n | | Henry Craven | | |
| | | Margaret Poynton | m | Roger workman | y | | Roger Poynton | m | Workman at forge |
| | | Jennet Sizzy | m | John | n | | Thomas Mushe snr | | |
| CLARO: COPGRAVE | 1 | Grace Wyths | | | | 0 | | | |
| CLARO: HUNSINGORE | 2 | Frances Dowson | m | George | y | 2 | George Dowson | m | |
| CLARO: GREWEL-THORPE | 3 | Suzan Hebdan | m | Thomas | y | | Thomas Heddan | m | |
| | | Dorothy Armystead | m | Robert glover | y | 2 | Robert Armystead | m | Glover |
| | | Dorothy Loftus | | widow | | | Michael Bayne | | Smith |
| CLARO: BAWTRY | 0 | Lucy Walker | m | Michael carpenter | n | | | | yoeman |
| | | | | | | 1 | Henry Dufield | | |

²⁰ Reported to be secretly married and as having a child secretly baptised, p. 33.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|-------------------|---|----------------------|---|----|---------------------|---|---------------|
| CLARO: DALLA | 4 | Alison Buck | m | Currier | y | 2 | William Currier | | |
| | | Agnes Horseman | m | Leonard, Husband-man | y | | Leonard Horseman sr | | Husband-man |
| | | Agnes Beckwith | | widow | | | | | |
| CLARO: LAVERTON | 1 | Hawood | m | Fabian | n | 0 | | | |
| CLARO: SWETTON | 1 | Anne Wells | m | Thomas, Husbandman | y | 1 | Thomas Wells | | Husband-man |
| CLARO: HARTWITH | 4 | Isabel Buck | m | James, Yeoman | y | 3 | James Buck | m | Yeoman |
| | | Jennet Malthouse | m | George, yeoman | y | | George Malthouse | m | Yeoman |
| | | Isabel Brafferton | m | Richard, Husbandman | y | | Richard Brafferton | m | Husband-man |
| | | ____ Burnett | | Widow of Richard | n | | | | |
| CLARO: KIRKBY MALZEARD ²¹ | 55 | Anne Malham | m | Christopher gent | y | 43 | Christopher Malham | m | gent |
| | | Anne Malham | m | Stephen gent | y | | Stephen Malham | m | gent |
| | | Dorothy Rippley | m | William yeoman | n | | Thomas Abbott | | Lynen webster |
| | | Anne Rowenthwaite | m | William yeoman | n | | Myles Robinson | | |
| | | Frances Atkinson | | widow | | | Geffrey East | | Macon |
| | | Dorothy Atkinson | m | Gilbert, yeoman | y | | Gilbert Atkinson | m | yeoman |
| | | Frances Atkinson | | mother of Gilbert | | | Henry Duffield | | |
| | | Jayne Walton | m | Leonard, yeoman | y | | Leonard Walton | m | yeoman |
| | | Elizabeth Russell | | old /lame | | | John Beckwith | | Husband-man |
| | | Johan Walton | m | William joiner | n | | John Bell | | |
| | | Jennet Walker | m | Laurence | n | | | | |
| | | Isabel Bayne | | 'an idiot' | | | Michael Bayne | | |
| | | Conyers | m | Henry, gent | y | | Henry Conyers | m | gent |
| | | Alison Buck ? | | | | | | | |
| | | Jennet Beckwith | m | Francis | y | | Francis Beckwith | m | |
| | | Anne Potter | m | Richard slater | n | | Thomas Briggs | | labourer |

²¹ Appears twice pp. 34, 36.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|---|----------------|---|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| | Grace Buck | | widow | | | | | |
| | Jennet Skelton | m | William | n | | | | |
| | Halliday | m | Ninian | n | | | | |
| | Broune | m | spinster | n | | | | |
| RIPON: INGTHORPE | Anne Allanson | m | John | n | 1 | Edward Ellis | chirurgion | |
| | Ward | m | Thomas | n | | | | |
| | Kendall | m | William | n | | | | |
| RIPON: SAWLEY | Roger | m | Richard | n | 1 | William Askwith | | |
| | Thackery | m | servant to | | | | | |
| | Eileen Barrow | | William Norton | | | | | |
| RIPON: THORNTON | Anne Halliday | | | | 7 | William Walworth | m gent | |
| | | | John Barrows | | | Henry Lewes | School Master in house of Mr Franks | |
| | | | | | | James Webster ²³ | m | |
| | | | | | | Thomas Bradley ²⁴ | m | |
| | | | | | | Henry Warwick ²⁵ | m | |
| | | | | | | Thomas Thornton ²⁶ | m | |
| RIPON: RIPON | Elizabeth Ward | m | Marmaduke | n | 2 | Robert Suttell | 2/3 Children baptised | |
| | Margaret Popleton | m | Thomas | n | | | | |
| | Dorothy Furbacek | m | Rauff | n | | | | |
| | Margaery Pickard | | widow | | | | | |
| | Jennet Ward | m | John | n | | | | |
| | Ellyne Popleton | m | William | n | | | | |
| RIPON: RIPON | Margaret Pyp/Vetty ²⁷ | m | George | y | | George Vetty | Secret marriage | |
| | Elizabeth | | Fled to Lancs. | | 1 | James Bowilton | Fled to Lanc | |

²³ Secretly married by Popish Priest.

²⁴ Secretly married by Popish Priest.

²⁵ Secretly married by Popish Priest.

²⁶ Secretly married by Popish Priest.

²⁷ Reported to be secretly married, p. 43.

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|---|------------------------|-----------------------|
| COWTHORPE: RIPON: BURROW BRIDGE | 5 | Walmsley Katherine Norton | m | Henry, gent | n | 5 | William Morgan | Sadler |
| | | Frances Look | | Servant to Katherine Norton | | | James Tankard | gent |
| | | Frances Tanckard | m | Edmond | | | Edmund Tankard | m gent |
| | | Alice Gibson | m | Henry tailor | | | Henry Gison | m Tailor |
| | | Katheren Pulleyne | d | Alice Gibson | | | Samuel Pulleyne | |
| RIPON: KIRKBY OVERBLOW | 1 | Elizabeth Gilstripp | m | Thomas | y | 1 | Thomas Gilstripp | |
| RIPON: BEAMSLEY | 3 | Margaret Philip | m | James, Husbandman of the stores | n | 0 | | |
| | | Garthred Wardle | m | William | n | | | |
| | | Jayne Wardle | d | William & Jayne | | | | |
| RIPON: BURTON LEONARD | 7 | Jennet Oram | m | William tailor | y | 5 | William Oram | tailor |
| | | Anne Ward ²⁸ | m | James, husbandman | y | | James Ward | husband-man |
| | | Margaret Netherwood ²⁹ | m | Christopher, husbandman | y | | Christopher Netherwood | husband-man |
| | | Elizabeth Brown | | widow | | | Robert Oram | Tailor excommunicated |
| | | Agnes Wright | | widow | | | | |
| | | Jane Lowson | | old | | | Thomas Lowson | Wright |
| | | Helen Cundall | | servant to James Ward | | | | |
| RIPON: FEWSTON | 3 | Mary Shearburne | | | | 1 | John Pulleyne | |
| | | Margaret Grange | | | | | | |
| | | Alice Holme | | old | | | | |
| RIPON: NIDD | 5 | Margaret Wilkes | m | Edward, gresman | y | 2 | Edward Wilkes | m gresman |
| | | Alice Wilkes | | mother to Edward | | | Humphrey Metcalf | |
| | | Jenet Hay | | widow | | | | |

²⁸ Reported to be secretly married.

²⁹ Reported to be secretly married.

| | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|----|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Elizabeth Wilkes | m | William | n | | | |
| | Jennet Johnson | | widow | | | | |
| 36 | Jennet Reynardson | m | Francis | y | 34 | William Reynardson | blacksmith |
| | Jennet Atkington | | widow | | | Thomas Buck | blacksmith |
| | Dearlove | | widow | | | Simon Wythes | |
| | Alice Dearlove | | widow | | | Francis Ardington | |
| | Katheren Brown | m | Thomas Glover | n | | Thomas Haxby | |
| | Mary Hall | m | William yeoman | n | | Edward Wells | |
| | Wilkinson | m | Gregory labourer | y | | Gregory Wilkinson | labourer |
| | Cecelye | | servant to Wilkinson | | | William Pallicer | |
| | Jane Pallicer | m | William yeoman | n | | Thomas Birkbeck | |
| | Lucy Wilson | m | Richard | n | | Thomas Gouthwaite | |
| | Anne Whelehous | | widow | | | George Robinson | mason |
| | Elizabeth | | servant at Ripley Hall | | | William Radcliffe | yeoman |
| | Anne Simpson | m | William | n | | Thomas Buck | In house of Francis Reynardson |
| | Anne Alkinson | | spinster | | | William Wheelhouse | tailor |
| | Anne/Katherine Ingleby | m | John, gent | y | | John Ingleby | gent |
| | Frances Yorke | m | Thomas, gent | y | | Thomas York | gent |
| | _____ | | servant to John Ingleby | | | Leonard Smith | servant to John Ingleby |
| | _____ | | servant to John Ingleby | | | _____ | servant to John Ingleby |
| | Grace Robinson | m | George, mason | n | | John Cutler | In house of Francis Reynardson |
| | _____ | m | Henry, cowper | y | | Henry Wheelhouse | cowper |
| | _____ | | widow | | | Vynce Wheelhouse | Henry |
| | Margaret Geldard | m | John | n | | James Wheelhouse | Henry |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|---|--|---|---|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Agnes Jeffery | | widow | | | | |
| | Agnes Hardestye | m | John | n | | Edward Wheelhouse | cowper |
| | Isabel Brown | m | William | n | | William Penyington | labourer |
| | Jennet Percival | m | Rauf | n | | George Atkinson | butcher |
| | Hopwood | | widow | | | ? | servant to Mr Parker |
| | Geldhart | m | John | y | | John Geldhart | m |
| | Jane Beane | m | Rauf | n | | | |
| | Dracap | m | George | y | | George Dracap | |
| | Grime | m | William | y | | William Grime | |
| | _____ | | maid servant to John Ingleby | | | Leonard Grime | shoemaker |
| | _____ | | maid servant to John Ingleby | | | _____ | In house of John Ingleby |
| | _____ | | maid servant to John Ingleby | | | _____ | In house of John Ingleby |
| | Cecilye | | In house of Gregory Wilkinson | | | ? | Henry Wheelhouse |
| | ? | d | Henry Wheelhouse | | | ? | Henry Wheelhouse |
| | Mary Knaresbrough | m | Walter, yeoman | y | 8 | Walter Knaresbrough | yeoman |
| RIPON: FARNHAM | Alice Knaresbrough | d | Walter | | | Richard Knaresbrough | Walter |
| | Margaret Walkingham | d | Walter Widow, | | | Knarsbrough Rauf Hart | |
| | Maude ? | d | Walter | | | Mickell Peg | |
| | Anne Bickerdale | m | Edward, tailor | n | | | |
| | Elizabeth Bickerdale | | In house of Walter Knaresbrough | | | Richard Bottomley | In house of Walter Knares-brough |
| | Mary Clement | | In house of Walter Knaresbrough | | | Peter Benson | In house of Walter Knares-brough |
| | Jane Bickerdyke | m | Edward gent | n | | | |
| | Mary Tunstall | m | Richard of Farnham, husbandman | n | | | |
| | Elizabeth Bickerdike | | spinster remaining with her brother Edward | | | | |

ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE COUNTY OF YORK IN 1604¹

THE CITY OF YORK AND AINSTY

Key

- * - Husband appearing on the list
- m - married to
- d - daughter of
- y - yes
- esq. - esquire
- gent - gentleman
- s - son of
- n - no

| Area: Parish | Women: Name | M | Husband/status | * | Men: Name | M | Status |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---|----------------------------|---|------------------|---|-------------------|
| MICKLEGATE | Elizabeth Wanupp | m | Robert | N | Thomas Archer | | labourer |
| | Ellen Hurton | | widow | | John Myn | | |
| BISHOPHILL [JUNIOR] | Anne Tailor | m | Thomas goldsmith | Y | Thomas Tailor | | goldsmith |
| | Dorothy Browne | | widow | | John Tailor | | Brother to Thomas |
| BISHOPHILL [SENIOR] | Anne Brown | d | Dorothy Thomas, gent | Y | Thomas Beckwith | | gent |
| | Beckwith | m | servant to Thomas Beckwith | | William Birnard | | gent |
| | Margaret White | | | | Robert Thompson | | |
| ST CRUX | Elizabeth Foxgill | m | George | n | John Day | | |
| ST SAMPSON | Edith Sharp | | Richard, tailor | n | | | |
| ST JOHN | Mary Myn | m | Thomas Myn | Y | Thomas Myn | | |
| ST CUTHBERT | Rosse | | widow | 3 | John Fletcher | | |
| | Mary Tiplay | | servant to Rosse | | William Fletcher | s | John |
| | Jackson | m | John | Y | John Jackson | | |
| | Knowles | | widow | | | | |
| ST SAVIOUR & ST ANDREW'S | Thwynge | m | William, esq | n | | | |
| | Jane Waddy | | widow | 0 | | | |

¹ E. Peacock, ed., *A List of the Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604: transcribed from the original Ms. In the Bodleian Library* (London, 1872). All figures are based upon information given in Peacock and all subsequent page references refer to this volume. The spelling of all place and individual names are as cited in this edition.

| 'ST MAURICE' | Isabel Vendor | m | widow | Y | 2 | William Cawood |
|----------------------------|--------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| | Anne Cawood | | William | | | |
| [ST MICHAEL LE.] BELFRAY | Ann Branton | d | William | 4 | 4 | John Synth William Branton |
| | Mary Withier | | | | | John Standeven snr |
| | Elizabeth Rap | m | by a seminary priest | n | | |
| | Frickley | m | William | Y | | William Frickley |
| | Uxor Gillyott | | | | | |
| | Fleckley | m | William | Y | | William Fleckley |
| 'ST WILFRID'S' | Udall | m | Thomas | Y | 2 | Thomas Udall |
| ST HELEN | Thorpe | m | Francis John | Y | 1 | Francis Thorpe John Staneven yt |
| 'WALMGATE' | Standeven | | | Y | 2 | Robert Thompson |
| | | | | | | Matthew Pearson Tailor |
| | | | | | | Brother to Thomas the lord mayor |
| ALL SAINTS ON THE PAVEMENT | Lucy Plowman | m | William, milner | Y | 3 | William Plowman |
| | | | | | | Henry Wright |
| ST MICHAEL'S OUSEBRIDGE | | | | | 1 | Robert Lampton |
| ST LAWRENCE | Elizabeth Dalby | | widow | 0 | 0 | Richard Brown |
| | Katheren Grenebury | | widow Richard in house of Eliz, Dalby | | | |
| 'ST NICHOLAS' ST | Margaret Taylor | | | 0 | 0 | |
| MARGARET | Thomasyn Barkar | | widow | 1 | 1 | John Whitfield |
| ST DENNIS & ST GEORGE | Alice Carlile | | | 0 | 0 | |
| YORK AINSTY: LONG | Mary Thwates | | | 1 | 1 | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|---|---|---|-----------------------|--|
| HOLDERNESS: DUNNINGTON | 1 | Anne Creswell | widow. | | 0 | | | | |
| HOLDERNESS: HEDON | 1 | Suzanna Cooke | poor | Thomas Jackson | 1 | | | | |
| HOLDERNESS: KINGSTON- UPON-HULL & LIBERTIES | 5 | Bullocke | m Francis, labourer | Francis Bullocke | 9 | y | m | labourer | |
| | | Spetch | m William, butcher | William Spetch | | y | m | butcher | |
| | | Clarke | widow | William Topponge | | | | Glover | |
| | | Thomson | m Michael, butcher | George Wolfe | | n | | Merchant | |
| | | Free | widow | John Newitt | | | | Merchant | |
| | | | | Robert Burton | | | | Merchant | |
| | | | | William Maxwell | | | | Merchant | |
| | | | | Robert Bennington | | | | Yeoman | |
| HOLDERNESS: NORTH FERRIBY | 5 | Anne Craven | m in house of Robert Dalton, esq | John Thompson | 3 | | | Yeoman | |
| | | Anne Dalton | m other of Robert Dalton. | | | | | | |
| | | Elizabeth Dalton ⁹ | m Robert | Thomas Dalton | | n | s | Robert Dalton | |
| | | Margaret Crathorne | m Robert | Robert Bacon | | y | m | | |
| HOLDERNESS: BEVERLEY | 1 | Elizabeth Percy | Widow of Edward | William Jackson | 3 | | | Tanner | |
| | | | | William Fennell | | | | | |
| | | | | Richard Griffith | | | | Alias Griffin, tailor | |
| HARTHILL: COTTINGHAM | 1 | Jaine Ashe | servant to Christopher Maltbie gent. | William Sparke | 1 | | | | |
| HARTHILL: | 1 | Ellen Legge | m John | | 0 | n | | | |

⁹ Their son, also a Robert Dalton, does appear, p. 130.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|-------------|--|----|---|--|------|--------------------|
| LECONFIELD | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| HARTHILL: NORTH CAVE | 0 | Jane Monckton | m Philip | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | John Metham | | 1 | | | esq. | |
| HARTHILL: HAYTON | 1 | Elizabeth Thompson | m John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | n | | | |
| HARTHILL: AUGTON | 1 | Elizabeth Thompson | m Thomas | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | y | | m | |
| HARTHILL: SPALDINGTON | 0 | Anne Jerom ¹⁰ | m Thomas | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | Gent |
| HARTHILL: CATTON | 1 | Elizabeth Doullman | Widow (mother of gent) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | y | | m | |
| HARTHILL: POCKLINGTON | 2 | Ellen Baiston | servant to Elizabeth Doullman | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | Gent |
| HARTHILL: LONDES- BOROUGH | 0 | Anne Barker | m Richard | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | Robert Hewes |
| HARTHILL: BUBWITH. | 12 | Jane Barker | m Richard | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 12 | y | | m | Richard Barker |
| | | Elizabeth Barker ¹ | m John (jr) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | John Barker, snr. |
| | | Anne Vavasour | m Peter, gent | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | John Barker, jnr. |
| | | Katherine Vavasour | d Peter, gent | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Richard Vavasour |
| | | Elizabeth Vavasour | d Peter, gent | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | William Baibe |
| | | Isabel Bell | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Robert Rameforth |
| | | Jennet Patchet | m John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | William Cloudsdale |
| | | Allison Newbecke | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | John Patchet |
| | | Isabel Parker | m John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Peter Newbecke |
| | | Agnes Weatherall | m John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | John Hothum |
| | | Elinor Skotton | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | John Weatherall |
| HARTHILL: 'BRIGHTON' | 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Robert Fewell |
| HARTHILL: RISBY | 1 | Anne, Lady Ellerker | m Sir Raiphe | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jarvis Smith |
| HARTHILL: | 2 | Alice Browne | m Henry | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Henry Browne |

¹⁰ Notes that they were 'supposedly married' and that Thomas' child was secretly christened, p.132.

¹¹ Alleges a secret marriage and christening of their child, p. 134.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|----|----------------------------|-----|------------------|--------------|----------------------------|---|
| HUNSLY | | Alice Browne | d. | Henry | | | | | |
| HARTHILL: WILBERFOSS | 5 | Thomazine Gaile | | widow | 3 | | | | |
| | | Agnes Mapperley | | servant to Thomazin Gaile. | | John Burton | | servant to Thomazin Gaile. | |
| | | _____ | | servant to Thomazin Gaile | | Robert Gibson | | servant to Thomazin Gaile. | |
| | | _____ | | servant to Thomazin Gaile | | Laurence Hutton | | | |
| | | Elizabeth | | old | | | | | |
| HARTHILL: MILLINGTON | 3 | Ursula Doulman Katherine ? | m | Marmaduke gent. | n 1 | | | | |
| | | | | servant to Marmaduke | | Peter ? | | servant to Marmaduke | |
| | | Dorothe Peat | | | | | | | |
| HARTHILL: EASTHORPE | 1 | Elizabeth Langdale | m | William | y 1 | William Langdale | | | m |
| HARTHILL: GOODMAN-HAM | 1 | _____ lady Grimston | m | Sir Marmaduke | n 2 | Stephen Parker | | servant to Sir Marmaduke | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| HARTHILL: [GREAT] GIVENDALE | 1 | Jane Holme | m | William | n 0 | | John Grmston | servant to Sir Marmaduke | |
| HOWDENSHERE HOWDEN | 1 | Cecile Peacocke | m | John | n 0 | | | | |
| HOWDENSHERE :NEWLAND | 3 | Margaret Killingbecke Ann Bartrom | m | Thomas | n 1 | Henrie ? | | servant to Thomas | |
| | | | | servant to Thomas | | | | | |
| | | | | maid to Thomas | | | | | |
| HOWDENSHERE LINTON | 0 | | | | | William Craven | | | |
| HOWDENSHERE ASSELBY | 3 | Elizabeth Craven Isabel Underwood | m | Laurence | y 1 | Laurence Craven | | | m |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|------------------------------|---|---------------------------|------|-----------------|--|---|--------|
| | | Ellen Nutburn | | servant to Laurence widow | | | | | |
| HOWDENSHERE KNEIDLINGTON | 2 | Julian Starkie | | | 0 | | | | |
| | | Margaret Audas | m | John | n | | | | |
| HOWDENSHERE YORKFLEET | 1 | _____ Dawson | m | Anthony | n 0 | | | | |
| HOWDENSHERE ELLEKER WITH BRANTING-HAM | 2 | Alice Ellerker | m | Robert gent. | y 1 | Robert Elleker | | m | gent. |
| HOWDENSHERE EAST-RINGTON | 2 | Barbara Elleker Marie Ashbie | m | Richard | n 0 | | | | |
| | | Anne Craven | | Sister to Richard Ashbie | | | | | |
| HOWDENSHERE WALKINGTON | 0 | | | | | Thomas Sherwood | | | Gent. |
| OUSE & DERWENT : HEMBROUGH | 6 | Francis Dunnington | m | John | n 0 | | | | |
| | | uxor Baxter | | | | | | | |
| | | Dorothe Hewin | | | | | | | |
| | | uxor Widdowes | | | | | | | |
| | | Margaret Proudfoote | | | | | | | |
| | | Catherine Stable | m | Henry | n | | | | |
| OUSE & DERWENT: CLIFFE WITH LUND | 13 | Dorothe Newit | m | Thomas | y 12 | Thomas Newit | | m | |
| | | Agnes Garrake | | | | | | | |
| | | uxor Brecon | | | | | | | |
| | | Agnes Durham | m | Richard | n | | | | |
| | | Elizabeth Ellistone | m | John | n | | | | |
| | | Margaret Freman | m | Thomas | y | Thomas Freman | | m | |
| | | uxor Sking | | | | | | | |
| | | Agnes | m | Thomas, milner | y | Thomas | | | milner |

| | | Welburie | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------|---|---------|--|---|--|---|----------------------|
| THORPE BASSET | | | | | | | | | |
| BUCKROSE: WESTON ¹⁸ | 0 | | | | | | | 1 | Roger Conyers |
| BUCKROSE: EAST AND WEST | 1 | Dawney ¹⁹ | | | | | | 0 | |
| HESLERTON | | | | | | | | | |
| BUCKROSE: PICKERING | 1 | Margaret Tindall | | widow | | | | 0 | |
| BUCKROSE: FOXHOLES | 0 | | | | | | | 1 | Richard Ellerton |
| BUCKROSE: FOWLTON | 1 | Alice Morris | m | William | | n | | 1 | Robert Normanvell |
| BUCKROSE: BRIDLINGTON | 0 | | | | | | | 1 | John Carleill |
| BUCKROSE: FLAM- BOROUGH | 0 | | | | | | | 1 | Thomas Crosse |
| | | | | | | | | | Gent |

¹⁸ Thomas Conyers is listed again in this parish along with Roger; both are noted as resorting to the house of William Brice, p. 143.

¹⁹ No indication if this non-communicant is male or female.

ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE COUNTY OF YORK IN 1604¹

THE NORTH RIDING

Key

- * - Husband appearing on the list
- m - married to
- d - daughter of
- y - yes
- esq. - esquire
- gent - gentleman
- s - son of
- n - no

| Area: Parish | Women: Name | m | Husband / Status | * | Men: Names | m | Status |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|---|--------------------|---|------------------------|
| RICHMOND | 6 Lady, _____ Gascoigne | m | Sir William | n | 5 Robert Atkinson | m | glasier |
| | Bridgett Atkinson | d. | spinster William Atkinson | | William Atkinson | | yoeman |
| | Beckwith | m | Leonard | n | Robert Gibson | | cordwiner |
| | Marie Hutchenson | m | Arthur mercer | n | Nicholas Bacon | | cordwiner |
| | Marie Heighington | | widow | | John Close | | sadler |
| | Anne Tallier | | widow | | | | |
| HANGWEST: MIDDLEHAM | 0 | | | 1 | Edward Clarkson | | |
| HANGWEST: THORNTON STEWARD | 5 Margaret Scrope | | widow | 3 | Henry Scrope | | gent |
| | Marie Beseley ² | | servant to Mrs. Scrope | | Christopher Scrope | | gent |
| | Isabel Sparling | | servant to Mrs. Scrope | | Richard Skelton | | servant to Mrs. Scrope |
| | Jane Harrison | | servant to Mr. Raphe Withes | | | | |
| | Jane Chambers | | widow | | | | |
| HANGWEST: FINGHALL | 0 | | | 0 | | | |
| HANGWEST: HIDERWELL | 0 | | | 0 | | | |
| HANGWEST: SPENNITHORNE | 3 Marie Carter | m | George | n | 0 | | |

¹ E. Peacock, ed., *A List of the Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604: transcribed from the original Ms. in the Bodleian Library* (London, 1872). All figures are based upon information given in Peacock and all subsequent page references refer to this volume. The spelling of all place and individual names are as cited in this edition.

² Secret marriage of Christopher Scrope and Marie Beseley, p. 64.

| | Margaret Ashe | m | Henry | n | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|---|----------------------|
| | Ede Shyppingdell | | servant to Francis Scrope | | | |
| HANGWEST: COVERHAM | 3 _____ Bainbrige | m | Anthony | y | 2 | Anthony Bainbrige m |
| | _____ Bainbrige | | mother of Anthony | | | |
| HANGWEST: HAUXWELL | 0 Anne Topham | m | Edward | y | 0 | Edward Topham |
| HANGWEST: DOWNHOLME | 4 Elizabeth Hagston | | spinster | | 1 | Ralph Hagston |
| | Jane Harland | | | | | |
| | Anne Scrop | m | John gent | n | | |
| | Katherine Hagston | m | Matthew | n | | |
| HANGWEST: EAST WITTON | 3 Dorothe Ascough | m | Thomas, yr. | y | 3 | Thomas Acugh, yr |
| | Anne Ascugh | m | Thomas snr | y | | Thomas Acugh snr |
| | Jane Harrison | | Sister to John Harrison | | | John Harrison |
| HANGWEST: WENSLOWE | 9 Katheren Russell | | widow | | 6 | |
| | Anne Waite | | widow | | | |
| | Isabel Hopps | m | Thomas Wilson | y | | Thomas Wilson |
| | Mary Waller | | poor | | | Thomas Hillaire |
| | Dorothe Fawcett | | poor | | | William Fosse |
| | Eilen Harrison | | poor | | | Kirtian Colles |
| | Jane Thompson | | | | | Percival Thompson |
| HANGWEST: AYSGARTH | 2 Bridgett Spence ³ | m | Rauffe of Bear Park, gent. | n | 5 | Valentine Fawcett |
| | Elizabeth Metcalf | m | Roger, gent. | y | | Roger Metcalf gent |
| | | | | | | Thomas Middleham |
| | | | | | | John Sadler |
| | | | | | | Jeffery Hammond |
| HANGWEST: | 4 Anne Swaile | m | Soloman ,gent. | y | 2 | Soloman Swaile gent. |

³ Secret Marriage of Ralph and Bridgett at Ayskarth, p. 67.

| GRINTON | 0 | | | 2 | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|-------------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|--|---------------------|--|
| Agnes Stockdale | m | Reginald | n | | | | | |
| Anne Garthe | m | John | n | | | | | |
| Alicen Tayler | m | spinster | n | | | | | |
| Barbara White | m | Thomas, yeoman | y | Thomas White | | | yeoman | |
| Marie Gower | m | Roger, gent. | n | | | | | |
| Alicen Keraton ⁴ | m | Ralf, yeoman | y | Ralf Kearton | | | yeoman | |
| Jane Kearton | d. | Ralf, yeoman | y | John Keraton | s | | Ralf | |
| Isabel Kearton | m | George, yeoman, uncle to Ralf | y | George Kearton | | | yeoman | |
| Agnes Kearton | | Widow | | Anthonie Kearton | s | | Ralf | |
| Isabel Alderson | | Widow | | George Alderson | | | Yeoman of Cogden | |
| Agnes Metcalf | | Widow | | | | | | |
| Agnes Robinson | | Widow | | | | | | |
| Isabel Robinson | d. | Agnes | | | | | | |
| Elizabeth Metcalf | m | Jeffery, yeoman | n | | | | | |
| Elizabeth Metcalf | m | Brian, yeoman | n | | | | | |
| Epham Wharton | m | James, tailor | y | James Wharton | | | tailor | |
| Margaret Metcalf | | Widow | | | | | | |
| Margaret Waitbie | m | George, yeoman | n | John Waitbie | s | | George Waitbie | |
| Alicen Addeson | m | John, labourer | n | Henrie Waitbie | s | | George Waitbie | |
| Alicen Collier | m | Ralphie, yeoman | n | | | | | |
| Dorothe Metcalf | m | Richard, yeoman | n | | | | | |
| Jennet Gibson | | Widow | | | | | | |
| Phillise Simpson | | Widow | | | | | | |
| Agnes Blaiades | m | William, yeoman | y | William Blaiades of Healey | | | yeoman | |
| Agnes Hutchenson | m | John, smith | n | Matthew Blaiades | | | Labourer of Grinton | |

⁴ Also included are the uncle and two sons of Ralf Kearton, p. 68.

| | | Agnes Hutchenson | d. | John | n | William Blades | Yeoman of Whityside |
|---------------------------|---|--------------------|----|------------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| | | Issabel Hutchenson | d. | John | n | | |
| | | Agnes Metcalf | d. | Brian | | | |
| | | Elizabeth Metcalf | d. | Brian | | Richard Lumasses | |
| | | Isabel Douglas | m | Symond of Reethyeoman | n | Thomas Lumasses | |
| | | Isabel Milner | d. | Isabel Douglas | | | |
| | | Margery Hall | d. | Brian Hall | | Brian Hall | s Christopher Hall of Surfleet Hall, yeoman |
| | | Margaret Atkinson | m | Christopher yeoman | n | Reynold Alderson | Yeoman of Yearley |
| | | Jane Douglas | | servant to Ralf Milner | | Edward Stublely | Servant to Henry |
| | | Isabel Paycock | m | William yeoman | y | William Paycock | Fremlington yeoman |
| | | Margerie Metcal | d. | Jeffery Metcalf yeoman | | | |
| | | Agnes Harrison | d. | James Harrison | | James Harrison snr | |
| | | Phillice Robinson | m | Christopher weaver | y | Christopher Robinson | m weaver |
| | | Jane Buckton | m | John | y | John Buckton | m |
| HANGWEST: MUKER | 6 | Anne Milner | m | James | n | George Metcalf | |
| | | Alice Clarkson | m | Edward | n | | |
| | | Margaret Metcalf | | widow | | | |
| | | Marie Alderson | m | Ralph | n | | |
| | | Anne Metcalf | | spinster | | | |
| | | Alice Wharton | m | Jeffrey | n | | |
| HANGWEST: WEST WITTON | 0 | | | | 0 | | |
| EAST GILLING: BOLTON | 1 | Calvet | m | Leonard | n | | |
| EAST GILLING: DANBY WISKE | 1 | Katherine Coniers | m | Thomas esq. | y | Thomas Coniers | esq. |
| | 0 | Grace Simpson | m | Marmaduke yeoman | y | Marmaduke Simpson | m yeoman |
| | | Frances | m | Christopher gent | y | Christopher Conyers | gent |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|-------------------------|---|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Constance Beckwith | m | Richard yeoman | n | William Wintersgill snr | | |
| Katheren Norton | m | Robert | n | Thomas Walter | webster | |
| Katherine Bailes | | servant to Nortons | | Frances Boyes | servant to Richard Robinson yeoman | |
| Magdalen Baine ⁸ | m | Christopher yeoman | y | Christopher Baine | m yeoman | |
| Cecell Jackson | m | John a blind man | n | Christopher Baine | s Christopher & Magdalen | |
| Ellen Renger | m | Christopher Webster | y | Christopher Renger | m webster | |
| Suzan Atkinson | | widow | | Thomas Mathesson | | |
| Frances Atkinson | d. | Suzan | | Nathaniel Smith | | |
| Margaret Atkinson | m | John | y | John Atkinson ⁹ | | |
| Jenet Jackson | m | George | n | Thomas King | s Jenet Jackson | |
| Issabel Rayner | m | Thomas | n | William Bourdell | | |
| Marie Burton | | servant to James Danbie | | William Thexton | yeoman | |
| Jenet Smithson | m | Richard | n | Christopher Thexton | Taylor | |
| Agnes Smithson | | widow | | | | |
| Frances Crosbie | m | Anthony collyer | y | Anthony Crosbie | m collyer | |
| Jane Wright | m | Thomas | n | | | |
| Dorothe Lucas ¹⁰ | m | Ralf | y | Ralf Lucas | m | |
| Magdelne Atkinson | m | Francis yeoman | n | John Sturdie | yeoman | |
| Dorothe Bradwith | | widow | | John Gleason | webster | |
| Luce Jackson | m | Edward tailor | n | William Jackson | webster | |
| Jenet Johnson | | widow | | William Gleadston | | |
| Margaret Gill | | widow | | John Renger | webster | |
| Anne Cowper | m | William | n | John Kirbie | | |

⁸ Also included their son Christopher, p. 74.

⁹ Noted as having a child secretly baptized, p. 76.

¹⁰ These two were noted to have been secretly married, p. 76

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----|---|---|----------------------------|---|---|
| Katherine Langdaile | | | | John Dodsworth | | gent |
| Jane Langdaile | d. | Katherine | | Robert Dodsworth | | gent |
| Margaret Boggle | | | | James Danbie of Ellinton | | gent |
| Anne Thwaites | | | | Christopher Danbie London | | gent |
| Margaret Danbie 11 | m | Marmaduke, gent. | y | Marmaduke Danbie | m | gent. |
| Margaret Mayson 12 | | | | Christopher Danbie | s | Marmaduke Danbie |
| Margaret Chater | m | Robert | y | Henry Chater | | |
| Katherine Haber.13 | | | | William Johnson | | Milner retained by Chris. Wywill |
| Lady Anne Wivell ¹⁴ | m | Sir Marmaduke | n | John Normanwell of Swinton | | Gent |
| Jane Wivell ¹⁵ | m | Sir Christopher | n | Robert Wyvell of Burton | | gent |
| Alice Eller | | spinster | | Robert Norton | | Gent |
| Elizabeth Burton | m | Brian yeoman | y | Brian Burton | m | yeoman |
| Dorothe Hoopes | m | Francis | y | Francis Hoopes | m | |
| Jane Hoopes | | widow | y | Anthonie Hoopes | | yeoman |
| Magdalene Salpwicke | m | Thomas gent. | y | Thomas Salwicke | m | gent. |
| Jane Jackson | m | John cordwinder | y | John Jackson | m | cordwinder |
| Katherine Waites | | in house of Robert Norton ¹⁶ | | Christopher Barton | | in house of Robert Norton ¹⁷ |
| Margaret Smurthwait | m | Roger | y | Roger Smurthwaite | m | |
| Jane Beckwith | m | Richard yeoman | n | John Smurthwaite | s | Roger and Margaret |
| Eden Tewtin | m | John | y | William Tewtin | | |

¹¹ Also Christopher Danbie their son, p. 75.

¹² She was also noted as being excommunicated, p. 75.

¹³ She was also noted as being excommunicated, p. 75.

¹⁴ Anne Wivell is noted as having a palsy and her son and daughter-in-law Jane Wywill, nee Stapleton are also on the lists, p. 76.

¹⁵ Jane is noted as being 'with child' in this survey, p. 76.

¹⁶ Also in the house was Christopher Barton who had been there only two months compared to the 7 or 8 Katherine resided there, p. 76.

¹⁷ Also in the house was Christopher Barton who had been there only two months compared to the 7 or 8 Katherine resided there, p. 76.

| | Sampson | m | Thomas | y | Thomas Sampson | m |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--|-----|------------------------------------|---|
| HANG EAST: WATLASS | 0 | | | 0 | | |
| HANG EAST: WELL | 0 | | | 0 | | |
| HANG EAST: BEDALE | 4 | m | Richard deceased widow | 4 | Marmaduke Percie John Collinson | |
| | | | widow | | | |
| | | | widow | | Peter Scott | |
| | | m | Edmond | y | Edmond Foster | |
| HANG EAST: HORNBY | 8 | m | Thomas, esq. | y 1 | Thomas Darcie | m Esq. |
| | | m | Christopher | n | John Girlington | |
| | | m | John jr. | n | William Mease | School-master to Mr. Girlington |
| | | | poor & old | n | William Wilson | |
| | | m | Thomas husband and wife of unknown surname staying with Thomas Darcy | y | Thomas _____ | m husband and wife of unknown surname staying with Thomas Darcy |
| | Marie Winde | | servant to Darcys. | | Ambrose Milton | servant to Darcys. |
| | Ann Babthorpe | | Servant to Mr. Girlington | | Edward Carr | servant to Darcys. |
| | Margerie Grisbie | | Servant to Mr. Girlington | | Oswald Metcaif | Old and senseless |
| | | | | | Robert Meynell | Servants to Girlington |
| | | | | | Roger Robinsn | Servants to Girlington |
| HANG EAST: BOWES | 1 | | widow 18 | 0 | | |
| HANG EAST: ARKENGARTH DALE | 0 | | | 0 | | |
| HANG EAST: STARTFORTH | 0 | | | 0 | | |
| HANG EAST: ROMALDKIRK | 2 | Frances Barnbrgge | | 0 | | |

¹⁸ Text noted that she was 'Relieved by Philipp Brunskell who married her daughter', p. 78.

| 19 | | Sithe Robinson | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|----|----------------------------------|---|---|-------------------|---------------------------|--|
| HANG EAST: ROKEBY | 5 | Katherine Cootes 20 | | spinster/m. Thomas Brenche | | 2 | Thomas Brenche | | |
| | | Lady Margaret Rookebie ²¹ | m | Thomas knt. | y | | Thomas Rookebie | knt | |
| | | Mary Blaides | | servant to Rookebie | | | | | |
| | | Dorothie Hidreth | | Widow alias Robson | | | | | |
| | | Margaret Horne | m | John | n | | | | |
| HANG EAST: BRIGNALL | 2 | Sithe Pareman | m | Thomas | n | 0 | | | |
| | | Jane Langstaff | | widow | | | | | |
| HANG EAST: WYCLIFFE | 7 | Jane Wycliffe | | widow | | 6 | Thomas Wycliffe | | |
| | | Merrial Wycliffe | m | William | n | | Ninian Girlington | | |
| | | Margerie Blackburn | m | Robert yeoman | n | | John Girlington | s Ninian Girlington | |
| | | Margaret Wycliffe | m | John gent | n | | Thomas Thwaites | | |
| | | Ellen Taylor | d | John Taylor | | | John Taylor | | |
| | | Margaret Smithson ²² | m | George | y | | George Smithson | | |
| | | Margaret Tailor | d. | John Tailor | | | | | |
| HANG EAST: HUTTON BONVILLE | 4 | Marthey Bailes | m | Cuthbert | y | 2 | Cuthbert Bailes | | |
| | | Isabel Thirkeld | m | John | n | | Francis Thirkeld | | |
| | | Jane West | m | William | n | | | | |
| | | Elizabeth | m | Christopher | n | | | | |

¹⁹ List includes Elizabeth Franke who is possibly d.&coh. William Beckwith who married George Franke, if so then she has already occurred on the list see 106. Elizabeth and George therefore occurred in the 'Parshie of Middleton Tyers' p. 72 where it was noted that they had moved to 'Romell Church Parish' which is found in the survey as Romalldkirk nr. Barnard Castle, pp. 78, n.

²⁰ Survey noted that Thomas Brenche reported he was married to Katherine Cootes and that they had a child c. 3 months old. Neither marriage or baptism took place in the Parish church suggesting both were Catholic ceremonies, p. 79.

²¹ A. suspected private baptism is noted for their child within the past 3 months, p. 79.

²² Margaret was the daughter of Ninian Girlington and she occurs on the list as her child was born in her father's house. Her husband was listed as 'supposed husband' suggesting a secret marriage. Both Ninian Girlington and his son, John, Margaret's brother occur on the list, p. 80.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Rainardson | m | John | y | John Rainardson | m |
| | Ann Blenkinsopp | | | | Martin Carter | |
| | Cootes | m | Robert | y | Robert Cootes | m |
| | Dorothe Mettam | | | | William Wilde | |
| | Anne Thompson | | | | Roger Atkinson | |
| | Jane Atkinson | | | | Emott Atkinson | |
| | Jennet Smith | | | | Thomas Neeson | |
| | Jane Gascoigne | | Widow gent | 2 | John Rainardson | Servant to Mrs. Gascoigne |
| HANG EAST: GILLING PARISH | Anne Hugganson | m | John | n | Peter Culsait | |
| | Jennet Berrie | | widow | 2 | William Grainger | Vagrant person |
| HANG EAST: FORCETT PARISH | Jenet Ovington | | widow | 1 | | |
| | Allison Lowes | m | George | n | John Brewster | |
| | Elizabeth Pudsey | | widow | | Ambrose Pudsey ²³ | gent |
| | Marie Dent | | widow | | | |
| | Anne Dixon | m | Robert yeoman | y | Robert Dixon | yeoman |
| | Jennet Stringet | | widow mother of Henrie | | William Dixon | s Robert and Anne |
| | Katherine Stringer | m | Henrie | y | Henrie Stringer | m |
| | Helen Hawe | m | George | n | Francis Emmerson | carpenter |
| | Anne Allen | m | Francis yeoman | n | Christopher Dent | |
| | Eden Firbancke | | lunatic | n | | |
| | Isabel Pearson | m | Symond | n | Robert Berry | yeoman |
| | Margaret Gibson | | widow | | George Lowes | Vagrant person |
| | Mabell Burton | m | Henrie | n | Henry Fishorne | yeoman |
| | Allison Carter | | | | Ambrose Newtowne | |
| | Elizabeth Farrand | m | William | n | Robert Applebie | |
| | Elizabeth Hill | | widow | | Francis Newton | yeoman |
| | Anne Gibson | m | Anthony | n | | |
| | Elizabeth | | spinster/m. | | James Thompson | |

²³ Ambrose Pudsey of Barforth was reported 'to be secretly married to Mrs. Dent of Pearbrigg', p. 83.

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | Foster ²⁴ | | James Thompson | | | |
| | Isabel | | old | | Robert Clayton | |
| | Margaret Cuthbertson | | servant to widow Pudsey of Barworth | | | |
| | Jenet Grisbye | | servant to widow Pudsey of Barworth | | | |
| | Elizabeth Ovington | | widow | | Anthony Ovington | yeoman |
| | Isabel Bierley | m | William | n | | |
| | Grace Pearson/Lyones ²⁵ | m | Thomas, servant to Mr Meynell of Kilvington | y | Thomas Lyones | m servant to Mr Meynell of Kilvington |
| | Margaret Cuthbertson | | | | | |
| | Jenet Grisbie | | | | | |
| | Frances Newcome | | | | | |
| | Slingsby | m | Henry junr. | y | Henry Slingsby, junr. ²⁶ | |
| | Alison Dent ²⁷ | m | John | y | John Dent | m |
| | Elinor Coltman ²⁸ | m | John | y | John Coltman | m |
| HANG EAST: EASBY PARISH | Jane Harrison | | spinster/poor/lame | 1 | John Watson | Joiner |
| HANG EAST: KIRKBY RAVENSWORTH | Anne Goodrigg | m | Francis | y | Francis Goodrigg | m |
| | Elizabeth Harrison | | widow | | John Bell | |
| | Margaret Collinge | | widow | | Gavin Collinge | |
| | Eden Ponsenbie | | spinster | | Richard Shaw | Alias 'Black Dick' |
| | Richardson | | widow | | George Swier | |
| | Eilfyn Smith | | widow | | John Smithson | gent |

²⁴ Reputed to be secretly married, p. 84.

²⁵ Reputed to be secretly married and to have a child who had been secretly baptized, p. 84. The fact that they lived and worked in a Catholic household would indicate that they were Catholic.

²⁶ Reputed to have a child who had been secretly baptized, p. 84.

²⁷ Reputed to be secretly married and that they had two children secretly baptized, p. 84.

²⁸ Reputed to be secretly married and to have one child who was secretly baptised, p. 84.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Marie Smithson | m | Anthony Smithson | y | Anthony Smithson | m |
| | Margaret Smithson | m | George | y | George Smithson | |
| | Margaret Chapman | | widow | | Cuthbert Chapman | gent |
| | Margaret Smithson | | | | Richard Mennell | |
| | Agnes Layton | | | | Brian Hall | |
| | Alice Barton | | | | Anthony Cootes | |
| | Frances Goodrigges ²⁹ | m | George Smithson | y | George Smithson | m |
| | | | | | Robert Collinge | |
| | | | | | George Collinge | |
| | | | | | William Myers | |
| | | | | | James Ponsobie | |
| | | | | | William Swinney | |
| | | | | | Beele Wycliff | |
| HANG EAST: BARNINGHAM | Elizabeth Tunstall | m | Francis, esq. | y | Francis Tunstall | m Esq. |
| | Ellen Swainston | | | | Cuthbert Pudsey | gent |
| | Mabel Watson | | Servant to Francis Tunstall | | Gerard Fawden | Teaches Francis Tunstall's children |
| | Elizabeth Thompson | | Servant to Francis Tunstall | | John Thompson | |
| | Elizabeth Shawe | | | | William Collinge | |
| | Anne Dent | m | William of Seargill | n | Francis Maddeson | |
| | | | | | John Moore | Alias Baw |
| | | | | | Olyver | |
| | | | | | Frances Lecke | |
| | | | | | George Slater | |
| | | | | | John Hackforth | |
| | | | | | Francis Claxton | |
| | Elizabeth Johnson | m | John yeoman | n | Francis Goodrigge | Of Ravensworth |
| | | | | | John Smithson | Of Newsam, come from beyond the seas |
| HANG EAST: | Elizabeth | m | Robert | y | Robert Gaterd | |

²⁹ Reputed to be secretly married, p. 85. John Moore

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---|-----------------|--|-------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| MELSONBY | Gaterd ³⁰ | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | maid servant of Gaterds | | | | | man servant of Gaterds |
| | | | | | | | | | William Gaterd | Dwelling with widow Gaterd |
| | | | | | | | | | Gabriel Wilde | Dwelling with widow Gaterd |
| | | | | | | | n | | Richard Filton | Alias Stephenson |
| | | | | | | | | | John Stenesbye | man servant to Filton |
| | | | | | | | y | | Nicholas Hall | |
| | | | | | | | y | | Edward Pearson | |
| | | | | | | | | | | man servant to Edward Pearson |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | Raffie Wilson | Servant to Robert Thompson |
| | | | | | | | | | Richard Whitfelde | Servant to Robert Thompson |
| | | | | | | | y | | Edward Gower | |
| | | | | | | | | | Gerard Garbott | |
| | | | | | | | | | James Thompson ³⁴ | |
| | | | | | | | | | Anthonie Thompson | |
| | | | | | | | | | John Thompson | An old man |
| | | | | | | | | | Thomas Wilson | Christopher Wilson |
| | | | | | | | | | John Wilson | Christopher Wilson |
| | | | | | | | | | Robert Smithson | |
| | | | | | | | | | Marke Milner? | milner |
| | | | | | | | | | John Raynaldson ³⁵ | |
| RICHMONDSHIRE - WATH | | | | | | | y | 1 | Cuthbert Simpson | Of Norton Conyers |
| | | 3 | Dorothe Simpson | | | m | | | | |

³⁰ Secretly married, p. 87

³¹ The survey notes that there master refused to give the names of his male and female servants, p. 86.

³² He is noted to be illegitimate which may explain the dual surnames; despite this he retained a man-servant, p. 86.

³³ Also had a man servant who was unnamed, p. 86.

³⁴ Secretly married, p. 87

³⁵ Secretly married to widow Gascoigne, p. 87

| | Margaret Harrison | m | John jnr. | n | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Elizabeth Harrison | d | John Harrison elder. | | | | |
| RICHMONDSHIRE: KIRKINGTON | Margaret Bultner | 1 | old | 0 | | | |
| RICHMONDSHIRE: PICKHILL | | 0 | | 0 | | | |
| RICHMONDSHIRE: CUNDALL | Eileen Ford | 1 | John | y | 1 | John Ford | m |
| RICHMONDSHIRE: WEST TANFIELD | Wilson | 2 | Marmaduke | y | 3 | Marmaduke Wilson | m |
| | Keye | m | William | y | | William Keye | m |
| | | | Brian Wilson | | | Brian Wilson | |
| | | | Simond Milner | | 7:36 | Simond Milner 7:36 | |
| RICHMONDSHIRE: BURESTON | Jane Jackson | 3 | George | y | 4 | George Jackson | m esq |
| | Jane Gatenbre | m | Francis | y | | Francis Gatenberg ³⁷ | m Gent |
| | Jane Micharell | m | George | y | | George Micharell | m Gent |
| | | | | | | Francis Strangewish | Servant to George Jackson |
| RICHMONDSHIRE: KIRBY MOORSIDE ³⁸ | Tankard | 2 | Thomas, esq | n | 1 | | |
| | Katherine Wilson / Gibson | m | William, gent | y | | William Wilson / Gibson | m gent |
| ALLERTONSHIRE: GREAT WORSALL | Helen Saire | 9 | Richard | y | 8 | Richard Saire | m |
| | Elizabeth Saire | | widow | | | John Saire | |
| | Mary Potter ³⁹ | m | Cuthbert tailor | y | | Cuthbert | m tailor |
| | Jane Simpson | m | Thomas | n | | | |
| | Dorothy Stanley | m | Richard | n | | Richard Stanley | m |
| | Cokes | m | Richard ⁴⁰ | y | | Richard Cook | m |
| | Grace Wells | m | Laurence | y | | Laurence Wells | m |

³⁸ This could be the same man as 'Mark Milner' who was reported as visiting the houses of Edward Gaterd and Richard Stephenson in Melsosby, John Thompson is also listed again pp. 87-88.

³⁷ Survey notes that Francis was married by a Catholic priest named Wilson and had all three of his children baptised by 'popishe priests', p. 88.

³⁹ Thomas Bawhinny, clerk is reported to have solemnized a marriage in the house of Willima Dobby.

⁴⁰ Mary Ward secretly married Cuthbert Potter, p. 90.

⁴¹ Recorded as having two children secretly baptised, p. 90.

| | Jane Wilson | | servant to John Saire | | George Hodgson | | servant to John Saire |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|-----------------------|--|---------------------------|
| ALLERTONSHIRE: GIRSBY | Anne Pearson | m | Barnard | y | Barnard Pearson | | |
| | Horsley m. | | widow | 3 | George Stockdale | | Gent in Sockburn, Durham |
| | Hodgson | | widow of Thomas | | George Conyers | | Esq, of Sockburne |
| | Agnes Conyers | m | John | n | Leonard Hoggard | | |
| ALLERTONSHIRE: IRKBY | Margaret Parkinson | m | James | y | James Arthur | | 20 yrs old |
| | Anne Ward | | Habours her sister | | | | |
| ALLERTONSHIRE: EAKE | Anne Danbie ⁴¹ | m | Thomas | n | John Parkinson | | Of Knaton |
| | Elizabeth Jackson | m | Thomas | n | Miles Danbie | | |
| | Janet Thompson | | widow | | | | |
| | Marie Danbie | | | | | | |
| ALLERTONSHIRE: [KIRBY] SIGSTON | Issabell Jefferson | | poor & old | 0 | | | |
| | Mary Metcalf ⁴² | m | Valentine | n | | | |
| | Faith Best ⁴³ | m | Richard | y | Richard Best | | m |
| ALLERTONSHIRE: THORNTON LE STREET | Janet Mattison | | widow | 1 | Thomas Mennell | | esq |
| | Janet Webster | | widow | 0 | | | |
| | Talbot | m | Richard | y | Leonard Brakenbury | | gent |
| | Dorothie Scroope | m | Frances of Spennithorne | n | Richard Talbot | | Gent poor |
| | Dorothie Jefferson | m | Christopher | y | Thomas Johnson | | |
| | Dorothie Palliser ⁴⁴ | m | Thomas | y | Christopher Jefferson | | m |
| | Helen Fowbery | | spinster | | Thomas Palliser | | m weaver |
| | Margery | m | Christopher | n | Thomas Cooke | | Servant to Thomas Meynell |
| | | | | | Gilbert Browne | | Servant to |

⁴¹ Recorded as having a private baptism for her child, p. 91.

⁴² Harboured with Christopher Marwood of Winton, p. 91

⁴³ Recorded as having a private baptism for their child, p. 91

⁴⁴ Recorded as having a child who had not been baptised, but who was to have a private baptism, p. 92.

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| | Almond | | | | | | | Thomas Meynell |
| | Dorothie Watson | spinster | Servant to Thomas Meynell | Richard Robinson | | | | Servant to Thomas Meynell |
| | Grace Lyons | m | Thomas | Thomas Lyons | y | | | m |
| ALLERTONSHIRE NORTH OTTRINGHAM | Helen Metcalf | d. | Vincent | | 0 | | | |
| | Phillis Sildner | | spinster | poor | | | | |
| ALLERTONSHIRE BROMPTON | Anne Walton | | | John Hunter | 1 | | | groom |
| ALLERTONSHIRE OSMOTHERLEY | Margaret Gatenbie | | widow ⁴⁵ | Martyn Peart | 1 | | | Retained by Leonard Walker |
| ALLERTONSHIRE HUTTON BONVILLE | Marshall | m | John poor | John | y | 8 | | m poor |
| | Conyers | m | Robert, gent | Robert Conyers | y | | | m gent |
| | Isabel Wright | m | George | Christopher Conyers | n | | | Esq. |
| | Conyers | m | John, gent | John Conyers | y | | | m gent |
| | Conyers | m | Roger, gent | Roger Conyers | y | | | m gent |
| | Marye Watson | | poor & old | Richard Hutton | | | | Poor and old |
| | Helen Stockdale | m | Richard gent. | Christopher Newstead | n | | | Teacher retained by Richard Newstead |
| ALLERTONSHIRE HORNBY WEST | Routhe | m | Henry yeoman | Henry Routhe | y | | | m yeoman |
| ALLERTONSHIRE HORNBY WEST | Anne Kenerhewe | m | Lyonel poor labourer | Lyonel poor labourer | y | 1 | | m |
| ALLERTONSHIRE WEST | | | | James Grayson | 1 | | | |
| ALLERTONSHIRE ROUNTON | Anne Brasse | m | Peter draper & husbandman | Peter Brasse | y | 1 | | draper & husbandman |
| LONGBARGH: STOKESLEY | Margaret Rochester | | servant to Peter Brasse | Christopher Wilkinson | | 5 | | Servant to Richard Wilkinson |
| | Meryall Bartram | m | William pewterer | William Bartram | y | | | m pewterer |
| | Isabel Wilkinson | m | Richard pewterer | Richard Wilkinson | y | | | m pewterer |
| | Margerie George | m | Bartholomew pewterer | Bartholomew George | y | | | m pewterer |
| | Margaret | m | Robert pedlar | Robert Warmworthe | y | | | m pedlar |

⁴⁵ Said to be in the house of William Bowes, p. 93.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| | Warmworthe | | | | | | | |
| | Anne Morley | m | Thomas cowdwayner widow | Thomas Morley ⁴⁶ | y | | | m cowdwayner/ church warden |
| | Agnes Morley | | | Nicholas Brown | | | | Servant to Thomas Morley |
| | Margaret Mitchinson | m | Christopher tanner | Christopher Mitchinson ⁴⁷ | y | | | m tanner |
| | | | | Leonard Hutchinson | | | | Tanner, brother to Christopher Mitchinson |
| | Margerie Swinbancke | m | William | George Harryson | n | | | pedlar |
| | Marie Anderson | m | Robert butcher | Robert Anderson | y | | | m butcher |
| | Jane Harrison ⁴⁸ | m | George | Henry Warmworthe | n | | | Tailor |
| | Alice Harrison | d. | George | Robert Madderson | | | | cordwayner |
| | Jane Smalshankes | | | | | | | |
| | Margaret Harrison ⁴⁹ | m | Robert Warmworthe | Robert Warmworthe | y | | | m |
| LONGBARGH: GUISBOROUGH | Margerye Bales | m | William husbandman | William Bales ⁵⁰ | y | 1 | 0 | m husbandman |
| | Agnes Hewgill | m | George, esq | Lancelot Bales | n | | | s William Bales |
| | Isabell Tockettes | d. | George Tockettes | Anthony Bales | | | | s William Bales |
| | Elizabeth Veley | | servant to Marmaduke Bowes, gent | Thomas Jolsey | | | | carpenter |
| | Meriall Clarke | m | Symon of Hutton | George Hewgill | n | | | labourer |
| | Suzan Thompson | m | John, parish clerk of Guisburghe | George Tockettes | n | | | Esq. |
| | Jane Wetherheld | | widow | | | | | |
| | Anne Buckton | m | Peter | | n | | | |
| | Phillis Sim | d. | John Sim | | | | | |

⁴⁶ Refused to join in the presentation, p. 95.

⁴⁷ Retaining suspect persons, p. 95.

⁴⁸ Stated that she was already named, several Jane Harrison occur on the list it is unclear which if any of these this woman was, p. 95.

⁴⁹ Recorded as being secretly married by a popish priest at Egton, p. 95.

⁵⁰ Recorded as having their child, Margaret baptized at home c.1598, p. 96.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|----|-------------------|---|--------------------|---|--------------------|--|--|
| | Alice Clarke | d. | Symon Clarke | | | | | | |
| | Margaret Bales ⁵¹ | d. | William | | | | | | |
| | Grace Fell | | spinster | | | | | | |
| | Marie Watson | m | John | n | | | | | |
| | Anne Duffit | | | | | | | | |
| | Anne Hoggard | m | Robert | y | Robert Hoggard | m | | | |
| | Joan Hoggard ⁵² | d. | Robert | | | | | | |
| | Jane Corneforth ⁵³ | m | Leonard | y | Leonard Corneforth | | fuller | | |
| | Elizabeth Cawbecke | m | Christopher | n | | | | | |
| | Alice Laverocke | | widow | | | | | | |
| | Margaret Hansill | m | John clark | n | | | | | |
| | Margaret Heselton | | widow | | | | | | |
| | Jane Gradon | | servant to | | | | | | |
| | Margaret Pencock | m | Thomas Jolsey | | | | | | |
| | Johan Syn | m | William locksmith | y | William Pencock | | locksmith | | |
| | Helen Syn | d. | John gent. | y | John Syn | | gent. | | |
| | Hawise Lume | m | John yeoman | n | | | | | |
| | Margaret Robinson | m | William labourer | n | | | | | |
| | Alice Patton | m | Nicholas yeoman | n | | | | | |
| | Marie Hawrigge | | servant to | | | | | | |
| | Alice Allison | | William Bales | | | | | | |
| LONGBARGH: | Jane Hodgson | m | widow | | | | | | |
| EGTON | Jane Hodgson | m | John | y | John Hodgson | m | Of Grow-manhurst | | |
| | Margery Whitfield | m | William | y | William Whitfield | m | | | |
| | Katheren Sympson | m | Edward cordwayner | y | Edward Sympson | m | cordwayner | | |
| | Emott Cockerell | | widow | | Robert Hodgson | | Tanner of Mirkbeck | | |
| | Jane Barton | | widow | | | | | | |

⁵¹ Recorded that her father had his child baptised c.1597, p. 96.

⁵² Recorded that her father had her baptised around the first of the month by a 'popish priest', p. 96.

⁵³ Recorded as having their son Richard secretly baptised, p. 96.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|------------------|--|--|
| | Anne Smith | m | Richard yeoman | n | | | | | |
| | Dorothe Salvin | m | Ralph sr, esq | n | | | | | |
| | Dorothe Simpson | m | Christopher cordwayner | y | Christopher Simpson | m | cordwayner | | |
| | Roe | m | John labourer | y | John Roe ⁵⁴ | m | labourer | | |
| | Agnes Marshall | m | John labourer | y | John Marshall | | labourer | | |
| | Elizabeth Pearson | m | Henry | n | _____ Browne | | husbandman | | |
| | Anne Fetherston | m | William husbandman | n | Ralph Harwood ⁵⁵ | | | | |
| | Marie White | m | Christopher fuller | n | | | | | |
| | Katheren Harewood | m | Christopher labourer | n | | | | | |
| | Jane Dicconson | m | Mathew labourer | n | | | | | |
| | Helen Consett | m | Christopher glover | y | Christopher Consett | m | glover | | |
| | Jane Graison | | widow | | | | | | |
| | Elizabeth Knagges | m | George cordwayner | n | Matthew Lynton | | carpenter | | |
| | Jane Whitfield | m | John husbandman | n | | | | | |
| | Jane Postgate ⁵⁶ | | Widow | | | | | | |
| | Isabell Tomlin | m | John labourer | n | | | | | |
| | Isabel Viccars | m | George husbandman | n | | | | | |
| | Jane Postgate | | harbours her father William | | William Postgate | | Teaches Children | | |
| | Jane Smallwood | | | | Marmaduke Patch | | | | |
| | Isabell Holme | | servant to Ninian Smithson | | | | | | |
| | Ellis Knagges ⁵⁷ | m | Christopher | y | Christopher Conset | m | | | |
| | Dorothe Pearson ⁵⁸ | m | Chrofer Simpson | y | Chrofer Simpson | m | | | |
| | Dorothe | m | Henry Lawson | y | Henry Lawson | m | | | |

⁵⁴ Recorded as having a child secretly baptised, p. 100.

⁵⁵ Recorded as having a child secretly baptised, p. 100

⁵⁶ Recorded as having her child secretly baptised, p. 100.

⁵⁷ Recorded as living together as man and wife and being secretly married possibly the same Helen and Christopher Consett mentioned above, but this is not clearly the same couple so both are counted individually, p. 98.

⁵⁸ Recorded as living together as man and wife and being secretly married, p. 98.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|--------|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| LONGBARGH: APPLETON WISKE | 6 | Margerie Bowes | m | Robert yeoman | y | 4 | John Gracewith Robert Bowes | m | gent yeoman |
| | | Margaret Bowes | | | | | James Bowes | | |
| | | Phillis Bowes | | | | | | | |
| | | Margaret Best | | widow/old/ poor spinster/poor | | | Marmaduke Lodge | | |
| | | Elizabeth Renethewe | | | | | | | |
| | | Johnson | m | John tailor | y | | John Johnson | m | tailor |
| LONGBARGH: DANBY | 2 | Thomas | m | Robert 64 | y | 1 | Robert Thomson | m | |
| | | Rudd | m | Nicholas | n | | | | |
| LONGBARGH: GREAT AYTON | 2 | Edith Bawmer | m | Thomas | n | 0 | | | |
| | | Merial Yoward | | widow | | | | | |
| LONGBARGH: INGLEBY GREENHOW | 3 | ____ Farnaby | m | Christopher | y | 4 | Christopher Farnaby | m | |
| | | Wilson ⁶⁵ | m | Alexander | y | | Alexander Wilson | m | |
| | | ____ Rymer | | widow | | | John Ascough | | Retained by widow Rymer |
| | | | | | | | John Wilson | | Retained by Thomas Hewgill |
| LONGBARGH: ACKLAM | 1 | Mary Strangwais | m | William gent. | n | 0 | | | |
| LONGBARGH: YARM | 3 | Allison Thompson | | widow/poor | | 4 | Edward Buck | | Poor man |
| | | Elizabeth Clifton | | widow/poor | | | Francis Saire | | Gent - poor |
| | | Margery Thomson | | | | | Christopher Pottes | | |
| LONGBARGH: KIRK LEATHAM | 1 3 | Suzan Man | m | Thomas | y | 1 2 | Francis Tailer Thomas Man | m | |
| | | Jane Grayson | m | William | y | | William Grayson | m | |

⁶⁴ Recorded as having a private baptism for their child, and as being harboured by Thomas Wood, p. 103.

⁶⁵ Recorded as having a child secretly baptised, p. 103.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|-------------------------|----|---------------------------|---|--------|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| | | Elizabeth Hird | m | Thomas | n | | Francis Welfoote | | |
| | | Jane Buttrye | | Retained by Thomas Man | | | Christopher Harrison | | Retained by Thomas Man |
| | | Margaret Rose | | | | | Stephen Beades | | Retained by Thomas Man |
| | | Katheryn Briggs | | spinster | | | Myles Symon | | Retained by Thomas Man |
| | | Isabel Rose | | | | | William Simpson | | Retained by Ralph Wilson |
| | | Sythe Hall | | Servant of George Gale | | | Francis Ingram | | Servant of George Gale |
| | | Margaret Gayle | m | George yeoman | y | | George Gayle | m | yeoman |
| | | Anne Rudd | m | Thomas | n | | | | |
| | | Marye Ward | m | Richard | y | | Richard Ward | m | |
| | | Jane Orton | | Spinster | | | John Goldes-borough | | |
| | | Isabel Maxwell | | | | | John Gibson | | Servant to Goldes- borough |
| LONGBARGH: SKELTON | 1 1 | Allison Milner | m | William | y | 8 | William Milner | m | |
| | | Agnes Allenbye | m | Robert | y | | Robert Sawyer | | |
| | | Jane Nelson | m | Robert | n | | Robert Allanbye | | |
| | | Alice Staynhouse | m | John | n | | Christopher Burdon ⁶⁶ | | husbandman |
| | | Elizabeth Staynhouse | | | | | | | |
| | | Margaret Trotter | m | Robert, esq | y | | Robert Trotter | m | esq |
| | | Joan Nelson | m | William | n | | John Staynhouse | | Labourer |
| | | Jane Locke | m | Richard | n | | Thomas Staynhouse | | Labourer |
| | | ____ Jebbs | | widow | | | Richard Staynhouse | | Labourer |
| | | ____ Burton | | widow | | | | | |
| | | Averell Burdon | m | Christopher | n | | | | |
| LONGBARGH: BROTTON | 1 7 | Katheren Baybrigg | m | John | y | 1 3 | John Bainbrigg | m | |
| | | Mary Bainbrigg | d. | John | | | Thomas Hodgson | | |
| | | Jane Hebb | m | John | y | | John Hebb | m | |
| | | Mary Pinder | | | | | | | |

⁶⁶ Had a child secretly baptized, p. 103.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| | Jane Harte | m | William fisherman | y | William Harte | m | fisherman |
| | Helen Hewgill | m | Thomas | n | Francis Trewitt ⁶⁷ | | |
| | Margaret Hart | m | John elder | y | John Hart elder | m | |
| | Marie Hart | m | John jnr. | y | John Hart jnr ⁶⁸ | | |
| | Simpson | m | Thomas | y | Thomas Simpson ⁶⁹ | m | |
| | Agnes Pinder | m | John | n | | | |
| | Elizabeth Hobb | m | William | | | | |
| | Helen Hewgill | m | Thomas | y | Thomas Hewgill | m | |
| | Anne Stephenson | m | Richard | n | John Simpson | | Fisherman/Labourer |
| | Margery Harrison | | | | George Norton | | Fisherman/Labourer |
| | Jenet Boyes | | | | | | |
| | Elizabeth Pattison | m | Rowland | y | Rowland Pattison | m | Fisherman/Labourer |
| | Helen Berryman | | | | Thomas Berryman | | |
| LONGBARGH: WESTERDALE | Marie Goodyear | m | Edward | n | 0 | | |
| LONGBARGH: UPLEATHAM | Margaret Pattison ⁷⁰ | | | | Thomas Tockettes gent | | Retained by Thomas Willie fisherman |
| LONGBARGH: LOFTUS | Josian Pattison | d. | Margaret | | William Deane | 8 | |
| | Dorothy Hart | m | Richard | n | Richard Hart | | Fisherman fisherman |
| | Isabel Leife | | | | George Leife | | |
| | Helen Lambe | | | | Thomas Leife | | |
| | Helen Kirke | | spinster | | | | |
| | Jayne Boyes | | | | | | |
| | Anne Pattison | m | Rowland milner retained by Jane Boyes | y | Rowland Pattison ⁷¹ | m | milner retained by Jane Boyes |
| | Pattison | m | Oliver | y | Oliver Pattison | m | Brother to Rowland |
| | Elizabeth Gibson ⁷² | m | William Sympson cordwayner | y | William Sympson | m | cordwayner |

⁶⁷ Had a child secretly baptized, p. 105.

⁶⁸ Had a child secretly baptized, p. 105.

⁶⁹ Had a child secretly baptized, p. 105.

⁷⁰ Aged eighteen, p. 106.

⁷¹ Child baptized at home by Maie the midwife.

⁷² Recorded as being secretly married in York castle, p. 107.

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|--|----------------------|----|------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | | | Helen Pattison | d. | spinster Margaret Pattison | | Thomas Gibson | Apprentice to Wm. Simpson |
| | | | Jane Deane | m | William | n | | |
| | | | Margaret Robinson | | widow | | | |
| LONGBARGH: EASINGTON | 0 | | | | | 1 | Edward Hirst | Retained by Nicholas Conyers |
| LONGBARGH: HILTON | 2 | | Jane Strangwais | | retained by Edmond Meynell | 1 | Francis Mitchell | retained by Edmond Meynell |
| | | | Elizabeth Strangwais | | retained by Edmond Meynell | | | |
| LONGBARGH: MIDDLETON | 3 | | Breckenburie | m | Anthony in the house of Wm. Walker | y | Anthony Brackeneburie | m In the house of Wm. Walker |
| | | | Isabel Clerkson | m | Cuthbert | y | Cuthbert Clerkson | m |
| | | | Isabel Myton | | | | | |
| LONGBARGH: LYTHE | 2 | | Katheren Radclif | m | ? | 1 | | |
| | 0 | | | | | 5 | | |
| | | | Dorothy Harding | m | Raffe gent. | y | Raffe Harding | m gent |
| | | | Dorothy Harding | | | | Raffe Radcliffe | gent |
| | | | Dorothy Menvell | | | | | |
| | | | Anne Radcliffe | m | William gent. | y | William Radcliffe | m gent. |
| | | | Isabel Readman | m | Thomas gent. | n | Henry Ridley | |
| | | | Jane Raye | m | John | y | John Raye | m |
| | | | Agnes Thorpe | m | Christopher | n | | |
| | | | Jane Harland | m | Robert | y | Robert Harland ⁷³ | m |
| | | | Elizabeth Wardell | m | Gregory | n | | |
| | | | Elizabeth Locke | | | | | |
| | | | Mary Pickering | d | Elizabeth Locke | | | |
| | | | Helen Massam | | retained by Katheren Radcliffe | | Simon Ridley | retained by Katheren Radcliffe |
| | | | Marie Willye | | retained by Katheren | | Francis Salvin | retained by Katheren |

⁷³ Recorded as having one child secretly baptised, p.108.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---|--|---|---------------------|---|---|
| | Elenor Menwill | | Radcliffe retained by Katheren Radcliffe | | Thomas Atkinson | | Radcliffe retained by William Radcliffe, gent |
| | Jane Harding | | retained by Katheren Radcliffe | | George Manor | | |
| | Isabell Cockerell | | retained by William Radcliffe, gent | | Gregorie Wardell | | |
| | Dorothie Aysleybie | | retained by William Radcliffe, gent | | Walter Sleightholme | | |
| | Joan Hogg/4 | m | John | y | John Hogg | m | |
| | Jane Ray/5 | m | John | y | John Ray | m | |
| | Isabell Hodgson | m | Cuthbert | y | Cuthbert Hodgson | m | |
| LONGBARGH: HINDERWELL CUM ROWSBY76 | Elizabeth Simpson | m | Robert ⁷⁷ | y | Robert Simpson | m | |
| | Isabell Tailor | | widow/poor | | Robert Walker | | Servant and journeyman to Robert Simpson |
| | Dothorie Barton | m | William snr. fisherman | n | | | |
| LONGBARGH: WHITBY | Acklam | | widow | 1 | John Lamme | | |
| | Watson | m | John | y | John Watson | m | husbandman |
| | Margaret Spenley | m | Thomas | n | William Cooke | | Weaver |
| | Elizabeth Denton | | | | _____ Bell | | weaver |
| | Elizabeth Boyes | d | John | | Edward Postgate | | labourer |
| | Fairfax | m | Henry ⁷⁸ | y | Henry Fairfax | m | |
| | Elizabeth Douthward | m | George | n | _____ Tailor | | Retained by Wm. Boyes |

⁷⁴ Recorded as being secretly married and as having three children secretly baptised, p.108.

⁷⁵ Recorded as being secretly married, p.108.

⁷⁶ Dorothie Menwill- See 563 North Riding, Dorothie of Ugthorpe, she is recorded as being an obstinate recusant and seducer of others, p.109.

⁷⁷ Recorded as being secretly married and as having four children secretly baptised, p.109.

⁷⁸ Recorded as being secretly married, p.110.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Fairfax | m | Raphe | y | Raphe Fairfax | m |
| | Marsingale | m | George ⁷⁹ | y | George Marsingale | m |
| | Stonas | m | Christopher ⁸⁰ | y | Christopher Stonas | m |
| | Jackson | m | Richard tailor | y | Richard Jackson | m |
| | Elizabeth Cockerell ⁸¹ | m | George | n | John Stonas | husbandman |
| | | | | | Leonard Donnington ⁸² | |
| RYDALL: HOVINGHAM | Elizabeth Holtbie | m | George | n | Richard Lee | Poor/old |
| | Katheren Gildert | m | Guy labourer | n | | |
| | Almaine | m | Gilbert cowper | y | Gilbert Almaine | m |
| | Phillice Blackburn | | servant to Henry Wilden gent. | | Henry Wilden of Shackton Grange | gent. |
| | Franklin | m | John warriner | y | John Franklin | warriner |
| | Anne Sealing | m | Edward labourer | n | John Harrison | Alias Gilbert, labourer |
| | Phillice Cranthorne | m | Bennet labourer ⁸³ | n | | |
| | Jane Clarkson | | widow/poor | | | |
| | Katherine Theaker | | poor | | | |
| | Prudom Skelton | m | Henry husbandman | n | | |
| | Alice Grene | m | Thomas labourer | n | | |
| | Alice Thornton | m | Richard labourer | n | | |
| | Goodrick Mary Frodingham | m | Roberte | y | Roberte Goodrick ⁸⁴ | |
| | Elizabeth | m | Thomas gent. | y | Nicholas Bullock | gent |

⁷⁹ Recorded as being secretly married, p.110.

⁸⁰ Recorded as being secretly married, p.110.

⁸¹ Presented by her own husband, p.110.

⁸² Had a child baptised in his house - not counted in the list as his beliefs are not indicated, p.110.

⁸³ Recorded as having two children secretly baptised, p.112.

⁸⁴ Recorded as having two children secretly baptised, p.112.

| BULMER : | Dorothie Hungate | m | Thomas gent. | y | 2 | Thomas Hungate | m | gent. |
|----------|-----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------|---|--|
| BULMER : | Elizabeth Nettleton ⁹² | m | Christopher Horsley | y | | Christopher Horsley | m | |
| BULMER : | | | | | 1 | Lawrence Knagges ⁹³ | | |
| BULMER : | Anne Fairfax | m | Francis gent. | n | 0 | | | |
| BULMER : | | | | | 1 | Richard Sugdall | | tailor |
| BULMER : | Jane Baine | m | Christopher | y | 4 | Christopher Baine | | |
| BULMER : | Bridgett Beseley | m | Edward gent. | y | | Edward Beseley | m | gent |
| BULMER : | Katheren Tarte | m | Richard | n | | Edward Whalley | | Alias Goodreck retained by Ed. Beseley |
| BULMER : | Anne Beseley ⁹⁴ | m | William | y | | William Beseley | m | |
| BULMER : | Ursula Bainton | | spinster | | 2 | Thomas Milburne | | gent |
| BULMER : | Jane Vertue | | spinster | | | | | |
| BULMER : | Elizabeth Grene | | retained by Thomas Milburne | | | Robert Shawe | | retained by Thomas Milburne |
| BULMER : | Grace Holme | m | Seth, esq | y | 4 | Seth Holme | m | esq |
| BULMER : | Jane Sturdie | m | Robert labourer | y | | Robert Sturdie | m | labourer |
| BULMER : | Margaret Darbie | | widow | | | Robert Holme | | Gent |
| BULMER : | Margaret Pearson | | widow | | | Robert Thomson | | Servant to Robert Holme |
| BULMER : | Ellis Spender | | widow | | | | | |
| BULMER : | Anne Foster | | widow | | | | | |
| BULMER : | Alice Webster | | widow | | | | | |
| BULMER : | Luce Scaife teacher | m | Thomas | n | | | | |
| BULMER : | Jayne _____ | | retained by William Foster | | 1 | William Clitheroe | | Retained by Rauffe Hurst |

⁹² Recorded as being secretly married, p. 116.

⁹³ Recorded as being secretly married, p. 117.

⁹⁴ Recorded as being secretly married, p. 118.

| BULMER : | Anne Bouthe | m | gent. | n | 0 | gent. | spinster |
|----------|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|---|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| BULMER : | Jaine Brudburie | m | Edward | n | 0 | | |
| BULMER : | Elizabeth Browne | | spinster | | 2 | William Wood | |
| BULMER : | Elizabeth Weare | m | Richard | y | | Richard Weare | |
| BULMER : | Ursula Cholmley ⁹⁵ | m | Marmaduke, gent | n | 8 | | |
| BULMER : | Anne Rawden | m | William | y | | William Rawden | m |
| BULMER : | Isabel Martyn | m | Raiphe labourer | n | | | |
| BULMER : | Jane Eston | | servant to Richard Cholmley | | | Edward Chapman | servant to Richard Cholmley |
| BULMER : | Elizabeth Martyn | | servant to William Rawden | | | William Martyne | |
| BULMER : | Jane Ellis | | servant to Richard Cholmley | | | Roger Best | |
| BULMER : | Rachel Hebdon | m | Christopher yeoman | n | | Thomas Masterman | |
| BULMER : | Sissalay Rawden | | widow | | | | |
| BULMER : | Elizabeth Thornton | m | Richard labourer | n | | | |
| BULMER : | Bridgett Aslaby | | servant to Richard Cholmley | | | William Duke | Apprentice to Richard Houlsathe |
| BULMER : | Anne Cottingham | | servant to Ursula Cholmley | | | | |
| BULMER : | Anne Wardell | | servant to Ursual Cholmley | | | | |
| BULMER : | Mary Hungate ⁹⁶ | m | Richard Cholmley, esq | y | | Richard Cholmley | m esq |
| BULMER : | Elizabeth Wilden | m | Thomas gent. | n | 1 | Thomas Wildon jun. | |
| BULMER : | Agnes Bowland | | servant to Thomas Wilden | | | | |

⁹⁵ Recorded as harboring recusants and seminary priests, p. 121.

⁹⁶ Recorded as being secretly married by a Popish priest in front of witnesses, p.121.

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|-------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|--|--|--|
| | | Jane Fisher | | servant to Thomas Wilden | | | | |
| | | Margaret Calam | | | | | | |
| BULMER : | 2 | Anne Thwenge | | retained by Nicholas Fairfax | 0 | | | |
| BOSSALL | | Jayne Fairfax | m | Nicholas | n | | | |

Gentry Numbers in Yorkshire in 1604

| | GENTLEWOMEN | GENTLEMEN | TOTAL |
|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| WEST RIDING | 66 | 53 | 119 |
| YORK | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| EAST RIDING | 18 | 15 | 33 |
| NORTH RIDING | 56 | 63 | 119 |
| TOTAL | 143 | 135 | 278 |

Catholic Gentry In The West Riding Of Yorkshire In 1604

| PARISH | WOMEN | MEN |
|-------------------------|-------|-----|
| KEXBOROUGH-DARTON | 1 | 1 |
| SILKSTONE | 0 | 0 |
| WORSBOROUGH | 0 | 1 |
| WOOLLEY | 0 | 1 |
| CAWTHORNE | 4 | 2 |
| WICKERSLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WALES | 0 | 0 |
| WHISTOW | 0 | 0 |
| 'RANFIELD' | 0 | 1 |
| ROTHERAM | 0 | 0 |
| CANTLEY | 0 | 0 |
| THORPE SALVIN | 0 | 0 |
| ANSTON | 1 | 1 |
| THRYBERGH ¹ | 0 | 0 |
| TODWICK | 0 | 0 |
| HUTTON PAGNEL | 0 | 0 |
| FRICKLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WATH-ON-DEARNE | 0 | 0 |
| LETWELL | 0 | 0 |
| HICKLETON | 0 | 0 |
| STANTON | 0 | 0 |
| BRADFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| ECCLESFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| ---EN UPON DEARNE | 0 | 0 |
| SHEFFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| ARKSEY | 0 | 0 |
| DARFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| _____? | 1 | 1 |
| BARNBY DUN ² | 0 | 0 |
| CROFTON | 0 | 0 |
| SANDAL MAGNA | 0 | 0 |
| HUDDERSFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| ALMONDBURY | 0 | 0 |
| WARMFIELD | 1 | 1 |

¹ TRIBURGH

² BARNEBY-UPON-DEARNE

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| BRADFORD | 0 | 0 |
| NORMANTON | 2 | 2 |
| ROTHWELL | 1 | 1 |
| WAKEFIELD | 1 | 0 |
| THORNHILL | 1 | 1 |
| EMLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WHITKIRK | 4 | 3 |
| BARWICK | 2 | 1 |
| KIPPAX | 0 | 0 |
| SWILLINGTON | 2 | 1 |
| ABERFORD | 0 | 0 |
| ILKLEY | 0 | 0 |
| OTLEY | 0 | 0 |
| ADDLE | 0 | 0 |
| LEEDS | 3 | 2 |
| GISBURNE | 1 | 0 |
| KEIGHLEY | 0 | 0 |
| MITTON | 0 | 0 |
| BROUGHTON | 1 | 1 |
| LONGPRESTON | 2 | 2 |
| SKIPTON | 0 | 0 |
| KIRKBY | 0 | 0 |
| BURNSALL ³ | 0 | 0 |
| GARGRAVE | 0 | 0 |
| THORNTON | 0 | 0 |
| BOLTON | 0 | 0 |
| ARNCLIFF | 0 | 0 |
| GIGGLESWICK | 0 | 0 |
| BENTHAM | 1 | 1 |
| SLAIDBURN | 0 | 0 |
| THORNTON | 2 | 2 |
| HOOTON ⁴ | 0 | 0 |
| INGLETON | 1 | 1 |
| CARLTON | 0 | 0 |
| KIRKBY WHARFE | 0 | 0 |
| BROTHERTON | 2 | 0 |
| SHERBURNE | 0 | 0 |
| SAXTON | 2 | 2 |

³ BURNEFALL

⁴ HORTON

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| LEDHAM | 2 | 3 |
| [CHURCH] FENTON | 2 | 1 |
| CAWOOD | 1 | 1 |
| SELBY | 0 | 0 |
| BRAYTON | 1 | 1 |
| DRAX | 1 | 1 |
| CARLETON | 1 | 4 |
| MONK FRYSTON | 0 | 0 |
| BIRKYN | 0 | 0 |
| SPOFFORTH | 3 | 2 |
| STAVELEY | 0 | 0 |
| KNARESBOROUGH | 1 | 2 |
| COPGRAVE | 0 | 0 |
| HUNSGORE | 0 | 0 |
| GREWELTHORPE | 0 | 0 |
| BAWTRY ⁵ | 0 | 0 |
| DALLA HALL ⁶ | 0 | 0 |
| LAVERTON | 0 | 0 |
| SWETTON | 0 | 0 |
| HARTWITH | 0 | 0 |
| KIRKBY MALZEARD ⁷ | 6 | 4 |
| GOLDSBOROUGH | 0 | 0 |
| KIRK DEIGHTON | 0 | 0 |
| CROSSGATE | 0 | 0 |
| WESTGATE | 0 | 0 |
| BONDGATE ⁸ | 0 | 0 |
| SKELGATE | 1 | 0 |
| SHAROW | 0 | 0 |
| SAWLEY | 1 | 0 |
| THORNTON | 1 | 0 |
| 'HENWICK' | 0 | 0 |
| ALDFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| 'STAMERGATE' | 0 | 0 |
| BISHOPTON [CUM SUTTON] ⁹ | 0 | 0 |
| SKELTON | 0 | 0 |
| MARKINGTON | 0 | 0 |

⁵ GAWTRAY

⁶ DALLAHE

⁷ Appears twice pp 34, 36

⁸ In the parish of Ripon.

⁹ In the parish of Ripon.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| INGTHORPE | 0 | 0 |
| SAWLEY | 0 | 0 |
| THORNTON | 0 | 1 |
| RIPON | 0 | 0 |
| COWTHORPE | 0 | 0 |
| BURROW BRIDGE | 1 | 0 |
| KIRKBY OVERBLOW | 0 | 0 |
| BEAMSLEY | 0 | 0 |
| BURTON LEONARD | 0 | 0 |
| FEWSTON | 0 | 0 |
| NIDD | 0 | 0 |
| RIPLEY | 2 | 2 |
| FARNHAM | 1 | 0 |
| ALDBOROUGH | 0 | 0 |
| ROCLIFFE | 0 | 0 |
| MNSKIP | 0 | 0 |
| WHIXLEY | 1 | 0 |
| HAMPESTHWAITE | 0 | 0 |
| GREAT OUSEBURN ¹⁰ | 0 | 0 |
| STAVELEY 'WITH SLENYNETHFIRTH' | 0 | 0 |
| BEWERLEY | 0 | 0 |
| BISHOPSIDE ¹¹ | 0 | 0 |
| DACRE 'PASTURE' | 1 | 0 |
| PATELEY BRIDGE WITH BISHOPSIDE | 0 | 00 |
| PONTEFRACT | 1 | 2 |
| DONCASTER | 2 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 66 | 53 |

¹⁰ USBURNE MAGNA

¹¹ In the parish of Ripon.

Catholic Gentry in the Parishes of the East Riding in the 1604 Suvey

| PARISH | WOMEN | MEN |
|--------------------------------|-------|-----|
| KEYINGHAM ¹ | 0 | 0 |
| SKEFFLING & BURSTWICK | 2 | 3 |
| HALSHAM | 0 | 0 |
| WELWEEK | 0 | 0 |
| MARTON | 2 | 0 |
| SPROATLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WYTON | 0 | 1 |
| PRESTON | 2 | 1 |
| ATWICK ² | 1 | 0 |
| NUNKEELING & 'BENHOLME' | 1 | 2 |
| HUMBLETON | 0 | 0 |
| DUNINGTON | 0 | 0 |
| HEDON | 0 | 0 |
| KINGSTON-UPON-HULL & LIBERTIES | 0 | 0 |
| NORTH FERRIBY | 0 | 0 |
| BEVERLEY | 0 | 0 |
| COTTINGHAM | 0 | 0 |
| LECONFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| NORTH CAVE | 0 | 1 |
| HAYTON | 0 | 0 |
| AUGTON | 0 | 0 |
| SPALDINGTON | 0 | 1 |
| CATTON | 0 | 0 |
| POCKLINGTON | 1 | 1 |
| LONDESBOROUGH | 0 | 0 |
| BUBWITH. | 3 | 1 |
| 'BRIGHTON' | 0 | 0 |
| RISBY | 1 | 0 |
| HUNSLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WILBERFOSS | 0 | 0 |
| MILLINGTON | 1 | 0 |
| EASTHORPE ³ | 0 | 0 |
| GOODMANHAM | 1 | 0 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| [GREAT] GIVENDALE | 0 | 0 |
| HOWDEN | 0 | 0 |
| NEWLAND | 0 | 0 |
| LINTON | 0 | 0 |
| ASSELBY | 0 | 0 |
| KNEDLINGTON | 0 | 0 |
| YORKFLEET | 0 | 0 |
| ELLERKER WITH BRANTINGHAM | 1 | 1 |
| EASTRINGTON | 0 | 0 |
| WALKINGTON | 0 | 1 |
| HEMINGBROUGH | 0 | 0 |
| CLIFFE WITH LUND | 0 | 0 |
| OSGOODBY | 0 | 0 |
| WOODHALL ⁴ | 0 | 0 |
| SOUTH DUFFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| BARLBY | 0 | 0 |
| NABURN | 2 | 2 |
| THORGANBY | 0 | 0 |
| RICCALL | 0 | 0 |
| STILLINGFLEET | 0 | 0 |
| WHELDRAKE | 0 | 0 |
| NORTON | 0 | 0 |
| WEAVERTHORPE WITH HELPERTHORPE | 0 | 0 |
| THORPE BASSET | 0 | 0 |
| WESTON | 0 | 0 |
| EAST AND WEST HESLERTON | 0 | 0 |
| PICKERING ⁵ | 0 | 0 |
| FOXHOLES | 0 | 0 |
| FOWLTON | 0 | 0 |
| BRIDLINGTON | 0 | 0 |
| FLAMBOROUGH | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 18 | 15 |

¹ KAINGHAM

² ATURCKE

³ EASTROPPE

⁴ Also included BRACKHOLME, BOWTHORPE & MENTHORPE, p. 140

⁵ PICKERING

Catholic Gentry In The West Riding Of Yorkshire In 1604

| PARISH | WOMEN | MEN |
|-------------------------|-------|-----|
| KEXBOROUGH-DARTON | 1 | 1 |
| SILKSTONE | 0 | 0 |
| WORSBOROUGH | 0 | 1 |
| WOOLLEY | 0 | 1 |
| CAWTHORNE | 4 | 2 |
| WICKERSLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WALES | 0 | 0 |
| WHISTOW | 0 | 0 |
| 'RANFIELD' | 0 | 1 |
| ROTHERAM | 0 | 0 |
| CANTLEY | 0 | 0 |
| THORPE SALVIN | 0 | 0 |
| ANSTON | 1 | 1 |
| THRYBERGH ¹ | 0 | 0 |
| TODWICK | 0 | 0 |
| HUTTON PAGNEL | 0 | 0 |
| FRICKLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WATH-ON-DEARNE | 0 | 0 |
| LETWELL | 0 | 0 |
| HICKLETON | 0 | 0 |
| STAINTON | 0 | 0 |
| BRADFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| ECCLESFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| ---EN UPON DEARNE | 0 | 0 |
| SHEFFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| ARKSEY | 0 | 0 |
| DARFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| _____? | 1 | 1 |
| BARNBY DUN ² | 0 | 0 |
| CROFTON | 0 | 0 |
| SANDAL MAGNA | 0 | 0 |
| HUDDERSFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| ALMONDBURY | 0 | 0 |
| WARMSFIELD | 1 | 1 |

¹ TRIBURGH

² BARNEBY-UPON-DEARNE

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| BRADFORD | 0 | 0 |
| NORMANTON | 2 | 2 |
| ROTHWELL | 1 | 1 |
| WAKEFIELD | 1 | 0 |
| THORNHILL | 1 | 1 |
| EMLEY | 0 | 0 |
| WHITKIRK | 4 | 3 |
| BARWICK | 2 | 1 |
| KIPPAX | 0 | 0 |
| SWILLINGTON | 2 | 1 |
| ABERFORD | 0 | 0 |
| ILKLEY | 0 | 0 |
| OTLEY | 0 | 0 |
| ADDLE | 0 | 0 |
| LEEDS | 3 | 2 |
| GISBURNE | 1 | 0 |
| KEIGHLEY | 0 | 0 |
| MITTON | 0 | 0 |
| BROUGHTON | 1 | 1 |
| LONGPRESTON | 2 | 2 |
| SKIPTON | 0 | 0 |
| KIRKBY | 0 | 0 |
| BURNSALL ³ | 0 | 0 |
| GARGRAVE | 0 | 0 |
| THORNTON | 0 | 0 |
| BOLTON | 0 | 0 |
| ARNCLIFF | 0 | 0 |
| GIGGLESWICK | 0 | 0 |
| BENTHAM | 1 | 1 |
| SLAIDBURN | 0 | 0 |
| THORNTON | 2 | 2 |
| HOOTON ⁴ | 0 | 0 |
| INGLETON | 1 | 1 |
| CARLTON | 0 | 0 |
| KIRKBY WHARFE | 0 | 0 |
| BROTHERTON | 2 | 0 |
| SHERBURNE | 0 | 0 |
| SAXTON | 2 | 2 |

³ BURNEFALL

⁴ HORTON

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| LEDHAM | 2 | 3 |
| [CHURCH] FENTON | 2 | 1 |
| CAWOOD | 1 | 1 |
| SELBY | 0 | 0 |
| BRAYTON | 1 | 1 |
| DRAX | 1 | 1 |
| CARLETON | 1 | 4 |
| MONK FRYSTON | 0 | 0 |
| BIRKYN | 0 | 0 |
| SPOFFORTH | 3 | 2 |
| STAVELEY | 0 | 0 |
| KNARESBOROUGH | 1 | 2 |
| COPGRAVE | 0 | 0 |
| HUNSGORE | 0 | 0 |
| GREWELTHORPE | 0 | 0 |
| BAWTRY ⁵ | 0 | 0 |
| DALLA HALL ⁶ | 0 | 0 |
| LAVERTON | 0 | 0 |
| SWETTON | 0 | 0 |
| HARTWITH | 0 | 0 |
| KIRKBY MALZEARD ⁷ | 6 | 4 |
| GOLDSBOROUGH | 0 | 0 |
| KIRK DEIGHTON | 0 | 0 |
| CROSSGATE | 0 | 0 |
| WESTGATE | 0 | 0 |
| BONDGATE ⁸ | 0 | 0 |
| SKELGATE | 1 | 0 |
| SHAROW | 0 | 0 |
| SAWLEY | 1 | 0 |
| THORNTON | 1 | 0 |
| 'HENWICK' | 0 | 0 |
| ALDFIELD | 0 | 0 |
| 'STAMERGATE' | 0 | 0 |
| BISHOPTON [CUM SUTTON] ⁹ | 0 | 0 |
| SKELTON | 0 | 0 |
| MARKINGTON | 0 | 0 |

⁵ GAWTRAY

⁶ DALLAHE

⁷ Appears twice pp 34, 36

⁸ In the parish of Ripon.

⁹ In the parish of Ripon.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| INGTHORPE | 0 | 0 |
| SAWLEY | 0 | 0 |
| THORNTON | 0 | 1 |
| RIPON | 0 | 0 |
| COWTHORPE | 0 | 0 |
| BURROW BRIDGE | 1 | 0 |
| KIRKBY OVERBLOW | 0 | 0 |
| BEAMSLEY | 0 | 0 |
| BURTON LEONARD | 0 | 0 |
| FEWSTON | 0 | 0 |
| NIDD | 0 | 0 |
| RIPLEY | 2 | 2 |
| FARNHAM | 1 | 0 |
| ALDBOROUGH | 0 | 0 |
| ROCLIFFE | 0 | 0 |
| MINSKIP | 0 | 0 |
| WHIXLEY | 1 | 0 |
| HAMPESTHWAITE | 0 | 0 |
| GREAT OUSEBURN ¹⁰ | 0 | 0 |
| STAVELEY 'WITH SLENYNETHFIRTH' | 0 | 0 |
| BEWERLEY | 0 | 0 |
| BISHOPSIDE ¹¹ | 0 | 0 |
| DACRE 'PASTURE' | 1 | 0 |
| PATELEY BRIDGE WITH BISHOPSIDE | 0 | 00 |
| PONTEFRACT | 1 | 2 |
| DONCASTER | 2 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 66 | 53 |

¹⁰ USBURNE MAGNA

¹¹ In the parish of Ripon.

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SP 74 State Papers Domestic.
STAC 1/58 Court of Star Chamber Proceedings: Henry VII.
STAC 17/8. Court of Star Chamber Proceedings.

Leeds, Leeds Central Library

MIC 219 Gascoigne Collection of Manuscripts: Material for a History of the
 Gascoigne Family.
 Gascoigne Collection of Manuscripts: Pedigrees 1600-1700.

Leeds, West Yorkshire Archives (WYCRO)

GC/F1 Gascoigne Family Records.
GC/F1/5 Gascoigne MSS.
GC/F/5/1 Richard Gascoigne's Book entitled 'Records and Evidences
 belonging to the Descent of the Gascoignes'.
 Calendar of Richard Gascoigne's Book', entitled 'Records and
 Evidences belonging to the Descents of the Gascoignes'.

Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Archives

MD 175 Vavasour Deeds.

Northallerton, North Yorkshire County Record Office (NYCRO)

ZDV Thomas Meynell's Commonplace Book.
ZDV (F) Fairfax Papers.
ZQG/MIC 1456 Cholmley Papers and Richard Cholmley's Memoranda Book.
ZIQ/MIC 2050 Thomas Meynell's Commonplace Book.

York, Bar Convent Archive

3G/2/_ Gascoigne Archive.
3G/2/8 Extract is entitled 'A document copied from the manuscript annals of the English Congregation of Monks of the Brides of the Benedictines'.

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research

HC.CP High Commission Cause Papers,
Records of the Archbishop of York: Register 30.
V. [date]/CB1_ Visitation Records: Court Books of the Archbishop of York.

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