

A.G. DICKENS REFORMATION STUDIES



Reformation Studies

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Reformation Studies

A. G. Dickens

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- 23 *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew: Reappraisals and Documents*, ed. Alfred Soman (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1974), 52–70
- 24 *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation*, ed. J. Mommsen (Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 1979), 11–23
- 25 *Frühformen Englisch–Deutscher Handelspartnerschaft*, ed. K. Friedland (Böhlau Verlag, Cologne, for the Hansische Geschichtsverein, 1976), 1–4
- 26 The 1978 Bithell Memorial Lecture. Institute of Germanic Studies, University of London, 1979
- 27 *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall*, ed. R. Buick Knox (Epworth Press, London, 1977), 17–43
- 28 The Stenton Lecture, University of Reading, 1979

PREFACE

To have prepared a complete re-edition of all my articles, pamphlets, and other *opuscula* would have been a waste of resources, since a good many will seldom if ever be required. All the same, this volume includes by bulk about three-quarters of my briefer contributions and I accept their republication by the Hambledon Press in the hope that students, researchers — and conceivably some general readers in the field of the Reformation — may find it convenient to have this hitherto widely scattered material available in a single volume.

I began postgraduate work in this field at Oxford in the autumn of 1932 and, apart from an interval of five years occasioned by the War, have pursued it ever since, insofar as the heavy demands of teaching, university committees, conferences and international academic relations have allowed. During these fifty years Reformation historiography has continued to extend the range of its approaches far beyond its former concentration upon the biographical, religious and political themes. While these latter can never become redundant, my own interests have lain to an increasing extent in the social causation and effects of the Reformation, and especially in the responses of the middle and lower orders of society, as exemplified in specific persons, groups and territorial regions.

The present collection arranges the items roughly but not precisely in chronological order, and they fall into three groups, each of which connects with one or more books. The first concerns English regional history, chiefly that of Yorkshire, though in fact I was also engaged upon other areas, for example with Suffolk in my edition (1951) of the chronicle of Butley Priory. In Yorkshire I first worked upon Catholic recusancy, a subject originally suggested by my former tutor K.B.McFarlane and here represented by Chapters 8, 9 and 10. The approach of these pieces differs a good deal from, and is complementary to, that of the admirable surveys of the field made later by J.C.H.Aveling. While working on the Elizabethan Catholics I realised that a general investigation of the Henrician, Edwardian and Marian years could claim an even greater priority. Hence during the years immediately before and after the War, I wrote most of the chapters here 1-7, 11, 13-16. Eventually, and in part as a result of periods spent

at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., I became fascinated by the literary culture of the Tudor North, as indicated by Chapters 11 and 12. These writings, enlarged by further research in the archiepiscopal registers and act books, contributed much to my book *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York* (1959), at this present time also being reprinted by the Hambledon Press. As explained in that reissue, all this regional work is little more than a development of the old English tradition of local history; it paid increasing attention to *mentalités* and the history of ideas, but derived nothing from Lucien Febvre and the *Annales*, concerning which I remained reprehensibly ignorant until about 1960.

Representing the second phase are some articles (Chapters 17-23) concerning aspects of English national history. Along with some of their regional predecessors, these link up with *Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation* (1959) and with *The English Reformation* (1964). During the 1960s my interests were broadening still further. Here the third and last group (Chapters 22, 24-28) relates to several books on the continental Reformation, especially to *The German Nation and Martin Luther* (1974). This continental development has not been an afterthought, since I had long taught European history, and had indeed aspired to write it earlier still, even from the time of my undergraduate studies with J.M. Thompson, Sir George Clark, T.S.R. Boase and C.S. Lewis.

It would occasion me no surprise if some parts of this volume should encounter critical comment, and I can only plead that the more sophisticated studies now being written on medieval and early modern history have arisen upon the foundations laid by a few members of my own generation. In the thirties and forties many new methodologies had to be painfully worked out, while many records, not least those in certain diocesan archives, could then only be discovered and transcribed amid the most primitive conditions.

Probably the most controversial views are those of Chapter 5: 'Secular and Religious Motivation in the Pilgrimage of Grace'. Legitimately enough, C.S.L.Davies, (*Past and Present*, xli (1968)) criticised its over-emphasis upon economic causation. I should doubtless have made it clearer that I was not trying to fit the whole story into a framework of economic tensions: rather did I perceive its religious fervour as existing for the brief duration of the Yorkshire rising, and as centred upon Robert Aske and a few clerics. By contrast I could find little sign of religious emotions, but innumerable proofs of

economic discontent, among the long-term causes. Doubtless the evidence deserves even closer consideration. Again, writing in the 1980s, one would need to give far more consideration to another secular factor: the encouragement of the Pilgrimage by the disaffected nobles and gentry far nearer to the Court than to the North. This outside intervention forms a prominent feature of the analysis by Professor Elton in his essay 'Politics and the Pilgrimage of Grace' in *After the Reformation*, ed. B. C. Malament (U. of Pennsylvania, 1980).

A.G. DICKENS

DEDICATED TO
THE REVEREND DOCTOR JOHN A. NEWTON
PRESIDENT OF THE METHODIST CONFERENCE 1981-2
FORMER PUPIL : HONOURED FRIEND

SEDITION AND CONSPIRACY IN YORKSHIRE DURING THE LATER YEARS OF HENRY VIII.

It has been too commonly assumed that a period of quiet in northern history succeeded the collapse of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The great upheaval was inevitably followed by lesser repercussions: a rising which had come so near success, and to the failure of which deception had so largely contributed, could not but leave hopes of ultimate retribution. The virtues of resolute conciliar government had not yet come to temper the fears aroused by the royal policy, to abolish seignorial liberties and to slacken the grip of the old families upon the popular mind. In Yorkshire, that central region of unrest, widespread discontent and antagonism simmered continuously after the revolt, culminated in the West Riding Plot of 1541, and subsided temporarily after the King's visit in the late summer of that year. A survey of Yorkshire reaction throughout the last decade of Henry VIII's reign must be based upon the Domestic State Papers, and from these we first select a few cases illustrating the position during the two years immediately following the Pilgrimage.

Dr. Dakyn, rector of Kirkby Ravensworth and vicar-general of the York diocese, was examined by the Privy Council about March 1537 and claimed that since the revolt he had exhorted the people of Richmond to accept the royal supremacy only at the risk of his life.¹ A month or two later the Duke of Norfolk found it necessary to attend in person the suppression of Bridlington and Jervaulx, because, as he explained to the King, the neighbouring country was populous and the houses greatly beloved by the people.²

Cases of verbal treason continued fairly numerous. On 2 December 1537 parishioners of Muston made grave charges before the President and Council in the North against their vicar, John Dobson. For a year and a quarter he had not prayed for the King. Only on 25 November, and as a result of remonstrances,

¹ *L. & P.*, xii (1), 786 (14).

² *Ibid.*, 1172 (1), 1192. He had, from Doncaster in February, reported the continuance of sedition, but thought he could trust the nobles and substantial yeomen (*Ibid.*, 318).

had he set forth the royal supremacy.¹ Moreover he had said, both in the church porch and in the alehouse at Muston, that the King would be driven out of his realm and then return and be content with a third part thereof. Expounding the symbolism of certain popular prophecies and rhymes,² Dobson had predicted that the Emperor (the Eagle) would hold suzerainty over the kingdom and that the Bishop of Rome (the Dun Cow) would return and "set the Church again in the right faith." He had quoted the popular rhyme regarding the fall of Cromwell, and the prophecy that "the moon shall kindle again, and take light of the sun, meaning by the moon the blood of the Perceis."³ Dobson was again charged with being in possession of a book of these prophecies and confessed to borrowing copies from Prior Borobie of the White Friars of Scarborough, during the Pilgrimage of Grace. Borobie and others were also examined and gave numerous details regarding the dissemination of the prophecies.⁴ These latter activities had, however, taken place before and during the rising, and enquiry only showed the impossibility of tracing them to their source. On 18 December the Northern Council, having apparently given up the attempt, simply reported the case to the King. Charges were then being preferred only by three of Dobson's parishioners, the rest declaring him the victim of malicious accusations. Even witnesses cited by the accusers denied that the prophecies were declared in the church porch and alehouse.⁵ Here, nevertheless, we seem to find an instance of parishioners combining to shield a popular but guilty priest, since Dobson was finally found guilty of treason and executed.⁶

Early in 1538 John Ainsworth, a Lancashire priest with a Cambridge degree, nailed a sermon on the door of St. John's, Ousebridge, York. It contained matter against the royal supremacy and the Act of Succession, "and in the end manifest and frantic ribaldry." When examined, Ainsworth steadfastly denied the legitimacy of the Divorce, and was executed along with Dobson.⁷

Along with them at the York assizes the Holderness woman

¹ Clear orders to this effect had been issued in June 1535 (*Ibid.*, viii, 854).

² Cf. the references given in M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy*, i, 82 *seqq.*

³ *L. & P.*, xii (2), 1212 (i). Prophecies concerning the Lumleys and Dacres are also mentioned. Cf. *ibid.*, xii (1), 318 (2) and xii (2), 1231.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xii (2), 1212, ii-viii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xii (2), 1231.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xiii (1), 705.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xiii (1), 533, 705. The former reference yields many details of his earlier life.

Mabel Brigge was also condemned to death. Her case illustrates the popular hatred to which the royal policy had given rise. In January and February 1538 elaborate examinations made of people from Welwick, Holmpton, Hollym and neighbouring places revealed that Brigge had recently undertaken a ritual fast with the intention of injuring the King and the Duke of Norfolk. A widow of 32 and servant to William Fisher, a husbandman, she had fasted on numerous days until mass was over and had said that she had essayed this "St. Trynzan's fast" only once before, and that the victim had broken his neck before the conclusion of her ritual. The same fate, she trusted, would befall the King and the Duke. Brigge had stated that she was hired for the purpose by Isabel, wife of William Bucke of Holmpton, and that all Holderness was bound to pray for them. Her examination also seemed to implicate her confessor, one Thomas Marshall, the chantry priest at Holmpton. He, like Isabel Bucke, denied the charge when examined. Ralph Bell, vicar of Hollym, confirmed the reports of Brigge's treasonable conduct, having heard them under seal of confession.¹ In April the Council in the North reported to the King that Brigge had been executed along with Dobson and Ainsworth. Isabel Bucke had been found guilty of treason, but reprieved till the King's pleasure should be known. The reasons for this reprieve were, it was written, to be duly explained to the King. They have not survived. The husband William Bucke and the chantry priest Thomas Marshall had been found guilty of misprision of treason for concealing the black fast,² but regarding the ultimate fate of these last three offenders we are again left in doubt.

It seems likely that Mabel Brigge's evident ambition to figure as a popular heroine was in part fulfilled. In the following June one William Wood of Bransdale in the parish of Kirkby Moorside reported a conversation in church between the parish priest of "Coken Kirk,"³ Robert Kirby, and his parish clerk, Robert Lyon. The clerk, having heard a report of the King's death, had hailed it as the answer to Mabel Brigge's prayers. The priest had said that vengeance must light on the King, who had put so many men wrongfully to death. The clerk had replied that "if

¹ *Ibid.*, 487. These examinations contain other details of local interest. They contain little to justify the doubt cast on the episode in Dodds, *op. cit.*, ii, 301.

² *Ibid.*, 705.

³ The chapel of Cockayne, in the gift of the vicar of Kirkby Moorside (*Victoria Co. Hist., Yorks., North Riding*, i, 516).

Cromwell were dead also, it were not one halfpenny worth of matter," while the priest thought that if one of the King's recent victims "might have had a switch at the King's neck a twelve-month before this business began" his soul would have been in small peril for the deed. The informer Wood claimed to have reminded the speakers at this juncture that men had been executed in the south country for saying less. The priest then menaced Wood: "If thou rehearse aught that we have said before any man, knight or justice, I will have a leg or an arm of thee before thou come there." Kirby and Lyon later became apprehensive of the consequences, the former expressing the wish that Wood could be sworn to secrecy and the latter attempting to placate him in traditional manner: "William, tarry and drink or thou go." But Wood, ignoring the offer, went away to York and reported the occurrences to Archdeacon Magnus, a member of the King's Council in the North.¹ Other councillors twice examined Wood, sending full particulars to their President, Bishop Tunstall, then in London.² Though William Wood, as an appended autobiography³ shows, was a rolling stone and had quarrelled with the Lyon family, his story was consistent and extremely circumstantial, citing other witnesses of the conversation. Unfortunately, we have here another of those anecdotes the outcome of which eludes us.

We need scarcely apologise for recounting such cases. However trivial in themselves, they are not without value if we would estimate the trend of popular opinion in Yorkshire after the Pilgrimage. For every case of treasonable speaking and activities reported by informers and preserved in the state papers, there must have been scores which never found their way to the ears of authority. An obscure paper⁴ provides one of our most intimate snatches of the conversation current in Yorkshire during those years.

Richard Oversole of Northallerton, a tiler aged seventeen, left his Yorkshire home for the first time in November 1538 to visit his aunt at Dover. On the way he lodged with Robert Kowe, a palemaker, of Key Street near Sittingbourne. Conversation took place the next day as Richard went with his host towards Canterbury.

"... The seyd Richard sayth that he havynge comynycacyon

¹ Cf. R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 490.

² *L. & P.*, xiii (1), 1282, 1350 (i).

³ *Ibid.*, 1350 (ii).

⁴ *P.R.O.*, S.P. i, 140, pp. 33-4. Cf. *L. & P.*, xiii (2), 996.

with the seyd Robert sayd yf the comens that were late rebelles in the north had com furth in their purposed jurney the lord Cromwell wold have fled the land. And that wordes were there sayd by so meny that he can not tell their names. And the seyd Rychard sayth that he sayd to the seyd Robert that one of the Percys was gone into Scottland and all other were then dede.¹ And yf any thyng happened to the Kyng but good, the seyd Percy wold be next to the crowne. Robert Kowe of Caystrete besyde Cheson Wode, palemaker, sayth that Rychard Oversole, beyng at the house of the seyd Robert for his there loggyng on fryday the vygill of Seynt Andrewe last past, as the seyd Robert and Rychard were comyng fro Kaystrete to Caunterbury, the seyd Rychard sayd that all the Percys were ded except one and he wold cause Ingland to shyne as bryght as seynt George and that the Scottes Kyng wold be Duke of Yorke, and the Kyng our soveraigne lorde and the lord Cromwell wold fle the land, and showed to the seyd Robert not at what tyme."

It will be remarked that the element of prophecy and magic stands out as common to almost all these cases. Students whose view of popular resistance to the Reformation is based upon the stories of the Elizabethan recusants² will find here much to surprise them. In these years, 1537 to 1541, we remain as yet far behind the age of the Counter Reformation, when opposition to the civil power rests upon a basis of reasoned argument. The intellectual background, even that of the common people, was to be transformed by the advent of the seminary priests nearly half a century later.

That the failure of the Pilgrimage had not exorcised from the popular mind the motive of rebellion is indicated by the particulars of the West Riding conspiracy of 1541, a movement which has not yet been investigated with the attention its importance demands. No modern historian has accorded it more than cursory mention, apart from Gairdner, who in calendaring much

¹ The reference is to Sir Ingram Percy, sole surviving brother and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, who had died in June 1537. Sir Thomas Percy had been attainted and executed and the Percy lands surrendered to the Crown. The Percy interest, comprising a powerful knot of Yorkshire families, had been of primary importance in the Pilgrimage of Grace (*cf.* Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-65). It should be recalled that in this period the strongest connections and richest lands of the Percys were not on the Borders, but in Yorkshire (*cf.*, for example, the rent roll printed in Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii, 582).

² The writer has particularly in mind the Yorkshire material printed in H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, iii, and in J. Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, iii.

of the relevant material in volume xvi of the *Letters and Papers*, included an extremely brief account in his introduction.¹ For the sixteenth-century chroniclers, Hall provided the basic account:

" In the beginnyng of this yere, v. priestes in Yorke shire began a new rebellion, with thassent of one Leigh a gentleman, and ix temporall men, whiche were apprehended, & shortly after in diverse places put in execucion, in somuche that on the xvii² daie of Maie, the said Leigh & one Tatersall, and Thornton, wer drawn through London to Tiborne, and there wer executed. And sir Ihon Neuell Knight, was executed for the same at Yorke."³

Stow⁴ and Holinshed⁵ add very little to this account. Wriothesley⁶ adds a few details, which will be noticed in their place. Fortunately a considerable number of state papers, mainly either dispatches from the Imperial and French ambassadors, Chapuys and Marillac, or bills of expenses incurred in connection with the plot, enable us greatly to amplify the meagre narratives of the chroniclers.

Contemporaries give divergent estimates of the total number of the conspirators. Chapuys, in providing our most informative general account of the plot, says that there were forty or fifty conspirators, "nearly twelve" of whom were gentlemen, men of substance and mature age, or beneficed priests along with over three hundred servants and retainers.⁷ Earlier, Chapuys had mentioned fifty persons, six or seven of whom were priests.⁸ Marillac at first mentions eighty or a hundred gentlemen and priests,⁹ a seemingly unacceptable figure, and later gives merely eighty or a hundred *persons*.¹⁰ It will be in due course observed that about twenty-five conspirators were actually captured,

¹ Pp. xxxiii-iv.

² An error for xxvii. Cf. below, p. 16.

³ Grafton's edn. of Hall (1548), fo. ccxliiii.

⁴ *Summarie* (1565), fo. 199v; *Chronicles* (1580), p. 1020.

⁵ *Chronicles* (1587), iii, 953.

⁶ *Chronicles* (Camden Soc., second series, xi), i, 124-5.

⁷ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁹ Kaulek, *Correspondance Politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac, 1537-1542*, p. 295.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297. Richard Hilles, writing in the following September to Henry Bullinger from Frankfurt, spoke of "about twenty persons, of whom about twelve had formerly been monks" (*Zurich Letters*, i, 219-20). The number twenty is obviously too small and the attribution to ex-monks, with one exception, unconfirmed.

but Marillac plainly implies that the greater number escaped.¹ It remains unfruitful to speculate regarding the number of people more or less implicated, for the secret could be none too closely guarded. The government subsequently made prolonged and probably not very successful attempts to trace the local ramifications.² In view of the ambitious plans of the conspirators it seems likely that a considerable number of people had actually engaged to assist.

Of the persons implicated, Sir John Nevile of Chevet was by far the most important. The third son of Sir John Nevile of Liversedge,³ he had obtained Chevet sometime before 1508 by marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Bosville of Chevet. His accounts for the rebuilding of the house there—a process lasting from 1508 to 1529—are extant and amongst the most interesting of their kind.⁴ The marriages of his daughters were attended by lavish feasting and display, and Nevile, with obvious pride, kept detailed accounts of the expenses,⁵ as also of those connected with the office of High Sheriff of Yorkshire, which he occupied in 1519, 1524 and 1528.⁶

Meanwhile he had been noted by Wolsey's commissioners as an enclosing landlord: "Johannes Nevyle miles apud Cheyte in dicto westriding inclusit in uno parco pro feris nutriendis certas terras per quod unum messuagium et unum aratrum prosternuntur et quattuor persone ab inhabitationibus suis recesserunt."⁷ As one would expect, Nevile was particularly active during the monastic dissolutions. Between 1536 and 1539 he wrote several letters to Thomas Cromwell supplicating for grants of monastic properties, especially those of Monk Bretton, Guisborough, Nostell and Selby.⁸ His sister Margaret, wife of

¹ Cf. below, p. 14.

² Cf. below, p. 18.

³ For pedigrees see Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, 393; Surtees Soc., xxxvi, 170; J. Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, ii; *Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. Foster, p. 340. Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis* (ed. Whitaker, 1816), pp. 184-5, contains additional matter, but should be used with caution. Nevile of Chevet must not be confused with Sir John Nevile of Snape, fourth Lord Latimer, who died in 1545.

⁴ *Y.A.J.*, xxxii, 326-30, prints these. Cf. Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 394-5, and on various land transactions *Y.A.S. Record Series*, ii, 42, 66-8.

⁵ Printed in S. Pegge, *The Forme of Cury* (1780), pp. 163-85, and in J. Croft, *Excerpta Antiqua* (1797), pp. 78-91.

⁶ Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 393; J. Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, ii.

⁷ *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (new series), vii, 242. Cf. his mention of "the paille aboute his parke" (Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 395).

⁸ *Yorks. Monasteries Suppression Papers* (Yorks. Archæol. Soc., Record Ser., xlviii), pp. 26-7, 60-62, 65, 71-2, 74-5. Cf. J. W. Walker, *Monk Bretton Priory* (Yorks. Archæol. Soc., Extra Ser., v), p. 58.

Christopher Stapleton of Wighill,¹ became notorious as an active supporter of the Pilgrimage of Grace,² but Nevile himself remained in that small group of Yorkshire gentry who contrived to avoid complicity. In May 1537 he sat on juries for the trial of the northern rebels,³ and about the same time told Cromwell that the people were rejoiced at the report that the King and Cromwell were coming north.⁴ He was appointed steward of Lord Darcy's lands after the attainder of that nobleman.⁵ In 1539 he appears as one of the King's bodyguard⁶ and received payments from the King in 1540-41.⁷

On the eve of his fall Nevile proudly compiled some notices of his building achievements at Chevet and elsewhere. "And all this I have done within theis xxiiii yeares, Lord, I thanke hym of his goodnes; and at this present daye, which ys the xxviiiith day of November in the xxxiind yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne lord kynge Henrye the eighte, owes never a penye to anye man lyvinge for the said howse or howses, or any parcell belonginge thearunto."⁸ Altogether it would be difficult to exemplify more admirably the type of "new man" taking advantage of modern opportunities and policies to rise in the world. It seems, to say the least, ironical that a career so constantly marked by cautious self-interest should end in execution for treason. But a sentence in a despatch of Marillac to his master Francis I does much to clear up the seeming improbability. Nevile probably suffered, not for active complicity, but for his foolish concealment of the plot, which one of the conspirators had revealed to him.⁹ Suspicion apparently also fell on Nevile's wife Elizabeth and on his son Henry, since they were brought to London on the discovery of the plot¹⁰ and in the following

¹ *Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. Foster, p. 333.

² Dodds, *op. cit.*, i, 146-8; ii, 216.

³ *L. & P.*, xii (1), 1199 (4), 1227 (2).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1317.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii (1), 646 (51).

⁶ *Ibid.*, xiv (2), 783. He had been with Henry at Guynes (Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 395) and was well known at court (*cf.* below, note 9).

⁷ *L. & P.*, xvi, 380 (fos. 110, 125b), 1489 (fo. 167).

⁸ Hunter, *loc. cit.*

⁹ "Sire, quant la comtesse de Salbery (Salisbury) fut decapitée, l'on prononça sur le champ la sentence de mort à ung maistre Menel (a copyist's misspelling) gentilhomme assez congneu en ceste court et de médiocre faculté (ability, talent, wit) lequel pour avoir sceu la conspiration qui se faisoit naguères au Nor, qu'ung des conjurés luy avoit descouverte, et n'en avoir révéélé aucune chose, a esté mené audit pays pour estre exécuté sur les lieux" (Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 315).

¹⁰ *L. & P.*, xvi, 1489 (fo. 189b). *Cf.* the indenture mentioned in *ibid.*, 1050.

June received pardons.¹ Ultimately Henry Nevile's rights were fully restored by special act of parliament.²

William Legh of Middleton was also a man of family³ and substance, holding the manors of Middleton, Rothwell and Rhodes,⁴ besides numerous other lands in Yorkshire and Cheshire,⁵ and considerable goods and chattels. Much is known of his lands and property from a very extensive series of deeds, receipts and inventories preserved amongst the state papers after his attainder.⁶ Quite the most remarkable of these documents is a detailed inventory of the contents of Legh's houses,⁷ which deserves to be printed, if only as a fascinating document of social history. His father, Roger, had married the daughter of John Nevile of Cudworth, and he was thus a distant kinsman of Sir John Nevile. He is probably to be identified with the "William Ligh" in receipt of an annuity from Croxton Abbey⁸—an interesting connection, as will subsequently appear. Though Hall records only his "assent" to the plot, Legh was nevertheless imprisoned from 20 April to 9 May at Sheriff Hutton, and later in York Castle,⁹ before being haled to London for execution. His servant Thomas Crofte was committed to the Davy Hall gaol in York by the Council in the North¹⁰ and afterwards sent for some unspecified purpose from York to Leeds.¹¹

A conspirator called Robert Boxe is also spoken of as a gentleman.¹² He was imprisoned along with other plotters at York and Sheriff Hutton,¹³ and though he does not appear in the lists of

¹ *Ibid.*, 947 (74).

² 5 & 6 Edw. VI, cap. 29. Cf. also on Henry Nevile (Y.A.S., Record Series, ii, 109; Y.A.J., xxxii, 330; J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters of Yorkshire History*, p. 151).

³ *Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. Foster, p. 45. His brother Sir John and his son Gilbert are both noted here as attainted. A note in P.R.O. Aug. Off. Misc. Books 171, fo. 34, shows his sons Gilbert and Richard surrendering their father's valuables to the Council at York (1 June 1541).

⁴ *L. & P.*, xvi, 883.

⁵ Thoresby, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

⁶ Aug. Off. Misc. Books 171, fos. 2-43, *passim*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fos. 2-13.

⁸ *L. & P.*, xvi, 92 (p. 29).

⁹ P.R.O., S.P. i, 166, fos. 17, 30. These and many similar details we learn from the series of bills of expenses connected with the plot. These are fortunately preserved in *ibid.*, fos. 14-32, and in Aug. Off. Misc. Books 171, fos. 47, 49. They are calendared in *L. & P.*, xvi, 875, but it will be necessary to give the original references below.

¹⁰ S.P. i, 166, fo. 14.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 16.

¹² *Ibid.*, fos. 14; 30 ("Mr. Box"). The present writer has discovered no pedigree, though the name was apparently common in the Doncaster region (cf. *Doncaster Records*, ii, 81, 114, etc.; but no Robert Boxe appears).

¹³ S.P. i, 166, fos. 14, 17.

those executed, he may well have suffered the extreme penalty.¹ Thomas Tattershall, "a cloath man of that countrey,"² is referred to as "*Mr. Tattersall*"³ and was clearly a man of property. His wife asked £10 11s. allowance for rents of her farms due at Pentecost after her husband's attainder,⁴ and they also possessed some plate.⁵ Having been attached by the under-sheriff at Wakefield, Tattershall was taken to York and imprisoned in the Castle.⁶ Shortly afterwards he was sent to London, confined in the Tower, and executed at Tyburn on May 27.⁷ In connection with Tattershall we may recall that the West Riding clothiers, annoyed by industrial legislation, had enthusiastically joined the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁸ The presence of this discontented class probably encouraged the conspirators to count upon the support of such towns as Wakefield and Pontefract.

Of the other laymen concerned we know comparatively little. Gilbert Thornton, "a yeoman of the same partes," was imprisoned in York Castle and executed along with Legh and Tattershall at Tyburn.⁹ James Dymond may perhaps be identified with "one Diamond of Wakefeld, a poor man" who had "devised the policy for going over waters" when the Pilgrims were on the Don.¹⁰ If the identification be correct, Dymond did not escape retribution for his second share in rebellion, since after seven weeks' imprisonment he was hanged and quartered at York.¹¹ William Cokeson and his servant Brown, evidently of Wakefield, were taken to York in connection with the plot.¹² Oswald Gryce, probably a relative of the two priests of that name whom we shall shortly encounter, was searched for at Wakefield and sent to York.¹³ John Kent was imprisoned in York Castle.¹⁴ William Barker of Chevet, possibly one of Nevile's tenants, was taken into custody and apparently brought to London. In the following June he was nevertheless granted a pardon along with Nevile's wife and son.¹⁵ A certain Leonard Bates was sent to York,¹⁶ while

¹ Cf. below, p. 17.

² Wriothesley, *op. cit.*, i, 124.

³ S.P. i, 166, fo. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 31.

⁵ Aug. Off. Misc. Books 171, fos. 16, 17, 29, 30.

⁶ S.P. i, 166, fos. 29-30.

⁷ Wriothesley, *loc. cit.*, and the other chroniclers above-mentioned.

⁸ Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9, gives the main references.

⁹ Wriothesley, *loc. cit.*; S.P. i, 166, fo. 30. His house had been searched "with sex men" (*ibid.*, fo. 29).

¹⁰ *L. & P.*, xii (1), 946 (p. 431).

¹¹ S.P. i, 166, fo. 20.

¹² *Ibid.*, fos. 25, 26.

¹³ S.P. i, 166, fo. 29.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 24; *L. & P.*, xvi, 1489 (fo. 190); *Ibid.*, 947 (74).

¹⁶ S.P. i, 166, fo. 26.

men named Smallpage and Smith occur along with William Barker in a manner indicating that they were also prisoners.¹ The wife of one Ridge was taken to York along with Mrs. Tattershall and Mrs. Kent²; her husband was probably one of those who escaped on the disclosure of the plot.³ This list exhausts the known lay conspirators and suspects, but the notable part taken in the rising by priests remains to be considered.

The main group of clergy occurring in the state papers may be identified, by reference to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, as chantry priests of the Wakefield district. William Green, who was imprisoned at Sheriff Hutton from 16 April to 9 May, and later in York Castle,⁴ was incumbent of the chantry of St. Mary in the north part of Rothwell church.⁵ William Brumfeld *alias* Bromhede was priest of St. Mary's chantry at Middleton in Rothwell parish,⁶ and hence closely connected with William Legh. Along with those of others,⁷ his rooms were carefully inventoried, and a detailed list of his domestic properties is preserved.⁸ William

¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 24.

² *Ibid.*, fos. 21, 26.

³ Cf. below, p. 14.

⁴ S.P. i, 166, fos. 17, 30.

⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (below cited as *V.E.*), v, 75. He was very possibly the William Grene, chaplain, in receipt of an annuity from Croxton (*L. & P.* xvi, 92, p. 28). One Thomas Gren, priest, was summoned by letter in connection with the plot (S.P. i, 166, fo. 24).

⁶ *V.E.*, v, 76.

⁷ "Item for the takyng of the inventoryes of the prestes chambers at Wakefeld & other therijs. viiij*d*. Item to the undersheriffe for his costes att Wakefeld at the praysenge of the goodes of the said persons and diverse onest men with hym, ij dayesixs. viiij*d*." (S.P. i, 166, fo. 25).

⁸ Aug. Off. Misc. Books, 171, fo. 51. It seems by no means irrelevant to print this intimate list in full—

"The Inventorye of Sir William Bromheds chambre taken by Jamys Corkar and William Watson and prased by Edmund Parkar, Robarte Burton, John Horton and John Thackwra.

The plac wher he lay.	
First in the wyndowe in money	xiij <i>d</i> .
Item a feder bedde, a bolster and a pillawe, iij blankets, ij coverlets, a pare of shetys, a coveryng of verders	vs. x <i>d</i> .
Item a litle counter with a pounce of waxe in it, one olde tippet of clothe and the letters of his ordres	xij <i>d</i> .
Item one litle copborde with a pare of harden shetys and a towell	xvj <i>d</i> .
Item a greter copborde (xviij <i>d</i> .) with a gowne of (vs.) clothe and a clocke (viij <i>d</i> .), a say doblet (viij <i>d</i> .), a nolde chamlet (iiij <i>d</i> .) gerkyn and a tippet of say (vj <i>d</i> .)	viijs. viij <i>d</i> .
Item the portar [porture] hangyd a bowte with payntede clothes	viij <i>d</i> .
Item a chare and a quyshing	vj <i>d</i> .
Item a tristell and one other chare	vj <i>d</i> .
Item one lode of coles by estymation	vj <i>d</i> .

The chambre.	
Item a mattres, a coverlet and chare	ijs.
Item ij tristiles, a forme, a shete with a quarteron of woll by estimation, and a quishing	xvj <i>d</i> .
Summa.....xxijs."	

Swynden, one of the four chantry priests of the Soteshill foundation at Wakefield,¹ was searched for in that town, captured and sent to York.² There he was executed along with James Dymond and John Dixon.³ This last was in 1535 one of the six chaplains in the college of the Trinity at Pontefract.⁴ Watch had been kept for him in Wakefield for two days prior to his arrest there.⁵ John Gryce, another priest taken at Wakefield, was confined in York Castle,⁶ while his apparent kinsman Gregory Gryce, also taken at Wakefield, may be the incumbent of that name who held the free chapel of Thirsk in 1535.⁷ Errors regarding christian names are common in Tudor records, and in two of these cases they may have hindered our task of identification. The priest Robert Holdyne or Howden, who occurs amongst the prisoners at Sheriff Hutton and York,⁸ may perhaps be the same as, or connected with, the Thomas Holden repeatedly appearing as a chantry priest at Rotherham.⁹ It seems still more tempting to connect the "Sir Robert Burton" in the bills of expenses¹⁰ with the Thomas Burton whom we see in the *Valor* as chaplain at Pontefract along with John Dixon.¹¹

Two priests outside this class also became involved. The bills of expenses show that the "Condam of Crokstone" (also spelt "Croxston") was taken in custody to Pontefract, and that his servant was detained for two days.¹² This can hardly be other than Thomas Green, last abbot of Croxton Abbey in Leicestershire,¹³ a house with which some of the plotters seem to have been connected.¹⁴ As will in due course be observed there is some reason for the supposition that this ex-abbot was actually executed for his share in the conspiracy. The other clerical suspect was Thomas Maunsell, vicar of Brayton, who had played an important, if somewhat disreputable part in the Pilgrimage of Grace,¹⁵ and

¹ *V.E.*, v, 78.

² *S.P.* i, 166, fo. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 20.

⁴ *V.E.*, v, 68.

⁵ *S.P.* i, 166, fo. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fos. 29, 30.

⁷ *V.E.*, v, 102.

⁸ *S.P.* i, 166, fos. 17, 30. The name Robert here occurs in both documents.

⁹ *V.E.*, v, 62; *Yorks. Chantry Surveys* (Surtees Soc., xci, xcii), pp. 205, 379.

¹⁰ *S.P.* i, 166, fo. 17—the Sheriff Hutton list; cf. *ibid.*, fo. 29, where Robert Burton occurs amongst those arrested at Wakefield.

¹¹ *V.E.*, v, 68.

¹² *S.P.* i, 166, fos. 16, 27.

¹³ The deed of surrender signed by him is printed in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, ii (1), 156–7.

¹⁴ Cf. above, pp. 9, 11, note 5.

¹⁵ Cf. the references in Dodds, *op. cit.*, and especially Maunsell's statement in *L. & P.*, xi, 1402.

had been excepted from the royal pardon of November 1536, though not from that of July 1537.¹ In 1541 he seems to have been found at Wakefield with the priest John Dixon, along with whom and with the Quondam of Croxton he was certainly taken to Pontefract.² But Maunsell's previous good fortune did not desert him and he apparently held the living of Brayton until his death in 1555.³ It is likely that in 1541 his bad reputation alone was sufficient to entail his arrest in connection with any local sedition, and that no positive evidence of his guilt was at any stage forthcoming.⁴ Nevertheless, the undoubted clerical element in the plot remains impressive: the Yorkshire episode of 1541 rivals the western rising of 1549 as a classic example of Tudor parish clergy heading reaction against the policy of the Crown.

It seems high time to discuss what is known of the causes of the trouble, the plan of the conspirators and the actual course of events.

Chapuys goes so far as to assert that the conspiracy was far more dangerous than the former—the Pilgrimage of Grace—the people's indignation having risen higher owing to the cruelties and exactions which followed the Pilgrimage, and the time of the year, the spring, being more favourable to rebellion.⁵ In another despatch Chapuys gives as the chief northern grievance the King's seizure of the rentals, not only of the abbeys, but of the principal lords like Northumberland, with the result that the money which formerly circulated in the North now came up to London.⁶ This comment seems of the highest importance. The fear lest "ther should be no money nor tresor in thos partes" had been a leading cause of the Pilgrimage itself. Aske himself had admitted it as the main reason why the commons rose against the dissolution of the monasteries.⁷

Altogether we may safely ascribe the plot of 1541 to the continuance of that complex of grievances observable in 1536-7, heightened by the punishments consequent upon the great revolt of those years, and by the maintenance of the policy which had disposed of the last great abbeys and was in process of eradicating seigneurial franchises.

¹ Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 401, 414-5.

² *S.P.* i, 166, fos. 24, 27.

³ Cf. Torre's catalogue of the rectors of Brayton printed in W. W. Morrell, *Hist. and Antiq. of Selby*, pp. 306-7.

⁴ He was incidentally a tenant of William Legh (Aug. Off. Misc. Books, 171, fos. 21v-22).

⁵ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁷ Cf. Aske's confession printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, v, 335-6.

The plans of the conspirators indicate their confidence in securing a large following, and with local opinion in the state it then was,¹ a clerical plot might easily have developed into a formidable general revolt. According to Chapuys, the northerners were emboldened by Henry's increasing liabilities in France, whither he had just sent fresh troops, and by rumours that the Scots were stirring on the Border. They had so far laid aside their normally dominant hatred as to hope for the assistance of the King of Scots, who would have met with slight resistance had he invaded the country. The conspirators, continues Chapuys, planned to gain as many people as possible to their views, and then denounce and declare openly against the King's government and tyranny, attacking and slaying those who should rise in defence of the commonwealth. The forty or fifty leading conspirators, with over three hundred retainers, purposed to stage their rising at Pontefract Fair. The Lord President of the North, Bishop Holgate, was to be killed and "the King's fortress in which he resided" seized and defended.² Pontefract Castle, evidently intended in this passage,³ had been the first objective and subsequently the main headquarters of the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁴ Known since the reign of Edward I as the "Key of the North,"⁵ and still in fair condition,⁶ Pontefract would have formed, pending help from Scotland, the essential centre of resistance against loyalist levies moving up from the South or Midlands. Bald and second-hand as are the accounts of Chapuys, on this topic almost our sole informant, they can be made to yield a perfectly feasible plan of campaign.

Of the actual course and collapse of the plot we know less than of its plans and membership. Marillac simply notes that the design would have succeeded had not one of the plotters revealed the secret. The rest then sought safety in flight, some to Scotland, some to the "mountains and desert places." A few were made prisoners, who might or might not, says Marillac, be

¹ Marillac speaks of "le peuple . . . d'ailleurs assez enclin à telles nouvelles" (Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 297).

² *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 156, 158; *cf.* with these Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

³ The King's Manor at York was actually by now the regular residence of the Lord President (Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-7).

⁴ Chapuys speaks of Pontefract as "the town in which the last rising took place" (*Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158).

⁵ Hunter, *op. cit.*, i, p. xxii.

⁶ Marillac the same year described it as "ung des plus beaulx chasteaulx d'Angleterre" (Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 335).

guilty.¹ The bills of expenses indicate that the Council in the North and Sir Robert Neville, High Sheriff of Yorkshire,² received information regarding the names and whereabouts of the conspirators, and surprised them about March 22.³ As this date precedes by only a few days that of Pontefract Fair,⁴ it would appear that the conspiracy was nipped in the bud shortly before the intended outbreak. At Wakefield, where several suspects were arrested and their goods valued, Sir John Nevile himself, and others, with their servants, helped to search houses. An under-sheriff with six men conducted a search for Swynden and Oswald Gryce, while a servant of the sheriff lay in wait two days for Dixon.⁵ There is every indication that the trouble centred mainly around Wakefield, and Lord President Holgate afterwards wrote of this "commotion" as being "at Wakefield."⁶ The prisoners were lodged at Sheriff Hutton, in the keeping of Sir Thomas Curwen,⁷ and in various York gaols.⁸

The judicial machinery was rapidly set in motion. On April 2 the Privy Council sent a letter to the Chancellor "desyryng hym to make out an oyer determiner to the President of the Counsaill in the north and the Counsaill there, joyning with the same Robert Southwell esquier etc."⁹ whom the Kinges highnes sendeth to

¹ "... et de faict eussent desjà surpris aucuns evesques qui ont en ces cartiers là le gouvernement et maniemment des affaires, n'eust esté qu'ils feurent descouvertz par ung d'entre eulx qui révéla le mistère, qui fut cause qu'ilz meirent peine après de se saulver les ungs au pays d'Escoce, les autres ès montaignes et lieux désertz, excepté quelques-ungs qu'on a faict prisonniers, qui peult estre sont innocens du faict" (Marillac to the Constable, 27 April; Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 295).

² A nephew of Sir John Nevile (*Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. J. Foster, p. 246; Thoresby, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-5).

³ Chapuys speaks of the plot as just discovered on 17 April, but the bills of expenses mention the transport of prisoners from March 22 (S.P. i, 166, fos. 24, 26). A messenger sent "to the corte being then at Caunterburie" returned on March 29 (*Ibid.*, fo. 22).

⁴ Richard III's charter, confirmed by Henry VII, allowed two fairs at Pontefract, one beginning on Palm Sunday, the other on Trinity Sunday, and each continuing for six days afterwards (B. Boothroyd, *Hist. of Pontefract*, appendix, p. ix). Palm Sunday fell on April 10 and Trinity Sunday on June 12 in 1541. It seems most probable that the outbreak was planned for the former of these dates.

⁵ S.P. i, 166, fos. 25, 29.

⁶ S.P. ii, 6, fo. 134.

⁷ Cf. *Visitations of 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. Foster, p. 8, and Dodds, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁸ S.P. i, 166, fos. 14, 28, 30. Davy Hall, for which the city sheriffs then paid the King a fee-farm (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 221), the Kidcote on Cusebridge, and the Castle are mentioned. Both at Sheriff Hutton and in York the prisoners were kept in irons (S.P. i, 166, fos. 17, 28).

⁹ A Master of Requests who had been sent on a similar mission the previous year (*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. Nicolas, vii, 74, 77, 112). He actually became a member of the Council in the North in 1541 (Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 491).

those partes for the sitting with the sayd President for the same purposes."¹ The trials occupied some of the best-known counsel in northern England,² and convictions were probably taking place before the middle of May.³ Marillac notes that some of the northern rebels, priests and gentlemen, were brought to London and lodged in the Tower on May 20, in order to be examined regarding the names of their accomplices.⁴

It will have been observed that Marillac dates the passing of sentence upon Nevile as contemporaneous with the execution of the Countess of Salisbury on May 27.⁵ By this date the executions of the rest had begun. "And the same daie," writes Wriothesley, "were three persons more drawn from the Tower of London to Tiburne, one called Lee, a gentleman of the north countrey, which was hanged and quartered; and another called Tartarsall, a cloath man of that countrey, and one Thorne,⁶ a yeoman of the same partes, was hanged and headed; which persons with their affinitie had pretended to have made a new conspiracie or insurrection in the north countrey in Lent last past, and were brought up to London by Sir Richard Gresshame, knight and alderman of London⁷; and tenne persons more of their affinitie were hanged, drawn and quartered in Yorke for the same treason; and one Sir John Nevill, knight, was sent from the Tower of London to Yorke to suffer execution their for treason, which was of their councill."⁸

We can add several particulars to Wriothesley's story of the executions. Chapuys writes on June 10 that three of the chief promoters of the last conspiracy in the northern counties, an

¹ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 167.

² Francis Southwell, Robert Mennell, Richard Smethley, William Tankard, Richard Palmes, Richard Whalley, Richard Burnell and Thomas Gargrave appear in the list of "rewardes to lerned cowncell at the time of the sessions" (S.P. i, 166, fo. 22v). The clerk of the assize was Francis Frobisher of Doncaster, like Mennell, Tankard and Gargrave a later member of the Council in the North (Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-4). He was an uncle of the famous seaman (Cartwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9).

³ The expenses of counsel and clerks are undated (S.P. i, 166, fos. 19, 22v), but various prisoners were brought out of Sheriff Hutton, apparently for trial, on May 9 (*ibid.*, fo. 17). The expenses include an item "for paynes takyn by Bryan Lewty, notary, in and about the Kinges besynes, as for wryting of examynacions and other bookes at this present tyme by one hole night and two dayes and at othyr dyvers tymes" (*ibid.*, fo. 19). These records are unfortunately no longer extant.

⁴ Kaulek, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 308.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 8, note 9.

⁶ He is everywhere else called Thornton.

⁷ Father of Sir Thomas Gresham and an ex-lord mayor of London. On his Yorkshire connections see *D.N.B.*, viii, 585.

⁸ Wriothesley, *op. cit.*, i, 124-5.

abbot and two gentlemen, were hanged and quartered on May 27.¹ His "two gentlemen" are probably Legh and Tattershall, and his abbot the Quondam of Croxton, whose execution is not recorded by the chroniclers. The expenses incurred in executing Swynden, Dymond and Dixon on the Knavesmire at York are noted in somewhat gruesome detail,² while John Gryce significantly leaves the Keeper of York Castle five shillings to dispose to the poor prisoners at York to pray for his soul.³ Chapuys tells us that on May 27 the ordinary executioner was doing his work in the North, with the result that the Countess of Salisbury had to be beheaded in the Tower by a blundering youth.⁴

On June 3 the Privy Council ordered the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver by indenture the body of Sir John Nevile to Edward Goldsborough, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Thomas Tempest,⁵ to be by them conveyed to the North and there delivered to the President of the Council.⁶ The expenses of Nevile's conveyance to York are elsewhere recorded,⁷ and he is known to have suffered there on June 15.⁸ The chroniclers agree that in all ten persons, besides Nevile, were executed at York. Legh, Tattershall and Thornton suffered at Tyburn. If the late abbot of Croxton were indeed included amongst the victims, he probably met his end

¹ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 166.

² " . . . Cost abowte hanging up of there quarters.

Item, payd for powles	vjd.
Item, for roppe	vjd.
Item, for caryng of theme to the barres	viiijd.
Item, payd to two men that helpe us to hang theme up	viiijd.

This account concludes with the following petition—

" Shewith unto your lordeshyp how that the officers aforesaid hade no maner of ramente belonginge unto the presoners aforsayd, for it hayth bene evermore accustomed that the officers shulde have the rament of all those that ware put to dethe that was in there kepyng. Wherefore we beseeche your lordshyp and all this most honorable counsell that your said beadmen may have as other hayth had in tymes past, and youre orators shall evermore pray for youre lordeshyp long conteneue " (*sic*) (*S.P.* i, 166, fo. 20).

The "barres" are, of course, the city gates where the quarters of rebels were displayed. The "officers" are "the foure officers unto the sheriffes of the Cetie," and "your lordeshyp" is apparently Lord President Holgate, whose signature appears on the bill.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 30. This bill also contains the item: "For drink to the men that did execucion at Knasyre.iiijd." Such refreshment, as we know from many contemporary churchwardens' accounts, was then considered essential even to the transaction of routine parish business.

⁴ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 166. He probably went merely to behead Nevile, and would have no share in the hanging of the plebeian conspirators on the Knavesmire.

⁵ Apparently the well-known Sir Thomas Tempest of Bracewell, a member of the King's Council in the North (*Reid, op. cit.*, p. 490).

⁶ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 197-8.

⁷ *L. & P.*, xvi, 1489, fo. 190.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 932 (p. 451).

elsewhere, possibly in Leicestershire. This would give us a total of fourteen or fifteen executions, a figure which is admirably confirmed by a first-hand and independent source. Archbishop Holgate, who as Lord President had taken a leading part in the suppression of the conspiracy, wrote in the apology which he later made to the Marian government: "The commocion at Waikefeilde beinge appaised with executinge of fiftene persons without anye chargeis to the Kinge and mucche to his advantaige."¹

Enquiries into the ramifications of so far-reaching a plot would be likely to continue for some months, and we are in all probability justified in connecting with it the following entry in the Privy Council Register for November 16, 1541: "Commissions wer directid to the Lorde President of the Cownsell off Yorcke and to therle off Shrewysbery² joyntly, to repayre the xxiiijth of this present to Dancastre, and there to sitt upon thenquyre of certayne traysons."³

The Yorkshire plot of 1541 attained national and even international significance. Henry adopted a friendly attitude towards France; the Duke of Norfolk and other ministers started behaving graciously towards Marillac. This development the French ambassador ascribes to the "marvellous fear" occasioned at court by the troubles in the North, regarding which, the further the investigation was carried, the more was coming to light.⁴ The plot, comments Marillac sardonically, was yet one more demonstration of the goodwill which these northerners bore towards their King, and of which they would show more had they the means to execute it. Such things might well induce Henry rather to think about preserving his own possessions than about disputing those of his neighbours.⁵ Although, thinks Marillac, this particular enterprise had been checked and some of the most guilty captured, the fact remained that the people

¹ S.P. ii, 6, fo. 134.

² Francis Talbot, fifth Earl and Holgate's successor as Lord President (cf. Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-90). On his Yorkshire connections see Hunter, *Hallamshire*, ed. Gatty, pp. 75-8.

³ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 268.

⁴ "Je laisse à part le recueil qu'ils m'ont fait au double plus grand que de costume, et ne puy pour l'heure penser à quoy tendent tant de caresses et tant de belles parolles si ce n'est qu'ils ayent une merveilleuse peur à cause du bruyct de la conspiration du Nord, où je suys adverty que, tant plus on y cherche, tant plus on y treuve, . . ." (Marillac to the Constable, 30 April; Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 298; cf. *ibid.*, 295, 303; *L. & P.*, xvi, 769, 850).

⁵ "C'est tousjours la démonstration de bonne volenté que ce peuple porte à leur roy s'il avoit moyen de l'exécuter, qui sera peult estre cause de luy faire plus penser à mainctenir et conserver le sien que quereller celluy de ses voisins" (Kaulek, *op. cit.*, p. 295).

would do as much and more if opportunity served, as by the King's going overseas, or being in difficulties elsewhere.¹ To the government, as to Marillac and Chapuys, the discontent of the North seemed doubly dangerous when considered beside the Scottish threat, which was being illustrated anew by border raids in April.² As Henry had reminded his northern subjects in 1536, by their rebellion "was like to have ensuyd the utter ruyne and destruccion of those whole countreys to the great comfort and avauncement of youre auntyent ennemyes the Scottes, which as his Highnes is credebly enfourmed do with a great redynes watche uppon the same."³ The Scots had been, and were shortly again to be, the best allies of Henry VIII in his task of ruling his northern subjects, but in 1541 it seemed to some observers that the northerners might well join with these "auntyent ennemyes" in a combination disastrous to the unity of England. The tradition of centuries was in fact not so to be annulled by the transient convulsions of the Reformation, yet the danger forced Henry to redouble his efforts to answer the problem of the North.

The events of 1541 had demonstrated more than Marillac imagined. They had demonstrated the utility and the potentialities of the King's newly reconstituted northern Council. Thanks largely to that Council, a movement which in previous years would easily have attained to the military stage now remained a local and short-lived conspiracy. Though, however, the plot failed to accomplish any reversal of the royal policy, it did resolve the King to immediate action. By May 1 Henry had begun to strengthen the Border towns against the Scots.⁴ Shortly afterwards he revived his old plan for a personal appearance in the North.⁵ It became clear that the requisite statesmanlike gesture might take the form of a royal progress marked by lavish expenditure,⁶ majestic condescension,⁷ and a show of impartial justice.⁸ The

¹ " . . . que le peuple ne feust pour en faire autant et davantaige où ilz verroient l'occasion à propos, qui pourroit estre si ce roy passoit la mer ou qu'il fust travaillé d'ailleurs " (*ibid.*, p. 297).

² *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*; *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158.

³ The royal pardon for the Pilgrimage of Grace, 9 December 1536, printed in *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 406.

⁴ *Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 158. Cf. *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 193.

⁵ The progress had been projected ever since the failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Cf. the references in *E.H.R.*, liii, 267.

⁶ Chapuys stresses this point in connection with the currency grievance already observed (*Span. Cal.*, vi (1), 163, pp. 327-8).

⁷ Cf. *E.H.R.*, liii, 271, *seqq.*

⁸ At York he heard complaints against the Council in the North itself (*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vii, 245-6).

visit to Yorkshire made by the King in the late summer of 1541 seems hence less of a triumphal progress than the formal inauguration of a system which was already evincing its practical value, a system destined to resolve that deep-set complex of the northern mind—"lack of governance."

The failure of the plot, and its sequel, the progress, certainly contributed to the comparative peace and good-feeling which prevailed in Yorkshire during the last five years of the reign. In sharp contrast with the state papers of the years 1537 to 1541, those of 1541-1546 yield, so far as our observation goes, not a single clear case of plotting or treasonous speaking in Yorkshire, though elsewhere in England such cases continued fairly numerous. On the one hand, during these last years, the gathering of seignorial liberties into the hands of the Crown proceeded apace¹; on the other hand the government relied upon the men, money and materials of Yorkshire as the mainstay of defence against Scotland.² While Yorkshire gentlemen like John Tempest and Francis Hastings were winning their knighthoods by Border service under Hertford,³ the minds of their tenants were doubtless being deflected from sedition by the revival of their old hatred for the Scots. If one had to choose the year when the tide of reaction first showed signs of ebbing in the North, that year would be not 1537 but 1541. At all events until 1545, when the first chantry commissioners made their survey, most Yorkshiremen must even have begun to suppose that the obnoxious policy of the previous decade would progress no further. Their main enemy, Cromwell, had passed from the scene, and his master was making short work of Protestant heretics. The King indeed seemed to have provoked a merely temporary break with traditional acceptance and loyalty, and had the Reformation been carried no further than by him, it seems probable that a large degree of religious unity would have been added to that political and social unity gradually fostered by the Council in the North.

¹ Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-3.

² The references to *L. & P.* are too numerous to be given here. The York House Books xvi-xviii show the municipality as constantly pre-occupied with military problems which from time to time practically ousted normal business. Some notion of the part played by Yorkshire in the Scots War may be gathered from the fact that in 1544 Yorkshire contributed 7,400 men to a total of only 16,600 for all six northern counties and Nottinghamshire, Cheshire and Derby (*L. & P.*, xix (1), 140 (2)).

³ *L. & P.*, xx (2), 458.

SOME POPULAR REACTIONS TO THE EDWARDIAN REFORMATION IN YORKSHIRE.

At no stage of the Reformation were there wanting in Yorkshire manifestations of that conservative outlook which viewed with apprehension the proceedings of the reformers in both church and state. The Edwardian Reformation, with its new liturgy, its dissolution of chantries, religious gilds, free chapels and other foundations, its later confiscation of church goods, inevitably provoked unrest in a society for which the institutions of the church had by no means relapsed into general discredit. The social and ecclesiastical effects of these reforming measures present broad fields for investigation, but our present purpose is to trace the evidences of popular reaction to such measures. Except in the case of the Yorkshire rising of 1549, to which we shall accord special attention, our concern will be with effects rather than with causes.

In passing from the previous reign to that of Edward VI we find source-problems become more acute. No guide remotely comparable with the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* is to hand; the domestic state papers are indeed not merely ill-calendared but very scanty. Nevertheless, scraps of evidence from a variety of other sources prove more numerous than might at first sight be assumed, and the resultant mosaic seems not without pattern or meaning.

The state of opinion in Yorkshire at the very outset of the reign is indicated in the correspondence between Lord President Holgate and the Privy Council, preserved in the Bodleian Library.¹ In its letter of 29 January, 1547, announcing the death of Henry VIII, the Privy Council, doubtless recalling the old troubles in the North, urges Holgate to "give such order and direction in all places within the limits of your commission as all things may continue in quiet and tranquillity, and have such a regard abroad as if any seditious persons would attempt any business, the same may be straight met withal at the first."² On the following 26 May the Council writes somewhat more definitely: "These shall be to signify

¹ Bodleian Tanner MSS. xc, fos. 145-6 *passim*. Several items are printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, ix, 542 *seqq.* ² *Ibid.*, ix, 543, from Tanner MSS. xc, fo. 143.

unto the same that it hath been brought to our knowledge that certain persons as well within York as in other places thereabouts have not only used very slanderous and naughty words against us but also very seditiously set forth the rancour and malice of their lewd intents, to the maintenance of their old naughty lives contrary to their duty to the king's majesty our most gracious sovereign lord in whose minority all our study and care is to have his people in due order of obedience, and amongst the rest would be sorry that those which after their naughtiness heretofore received such grace and favour as whereby they owe before others to be of honest conformity and obedience in all things, should now shew themselves of disposition to return to their naughtiness."¹ The remainder of the letter proceeds to remonstrate with Holgate for failing to keep the Council informed regarding these signs of disaffection.

Late in the following year a case somewhat petty in itself seems to have brought to light continued underground movements in York. On 5 December, 1548, the Mayor and his brethren agreed "that Nyccolson son at Bowh onie Barre shalbe commytt to my Lorde Mayor kydcote and to be kepte in the lowe prison unto a further order be takyn as consernyng a sclanderous bill that he confessith that he mayd and sett uppon the Mynster dore."² Two days later it was agreed "that a lettre shalbe sent to my Lorde Protector's grace as concernyng dyvers sclanderous billes that was set upp of dowers and wyndos within the said citie and that my Lorde Mayer shall appoynt one of the chamberleyns to ryde upp to London with the same lettre and coppies of the said billes."³ A reply signed by Protector Somerset and dated 16 December was dutifully copied into the House Book. It praises the vigilance of the authorities for the common quiet and prays them to continue punishing setters-forth of seditious bills and tales. "And as concerning the said scoler who haith confessyd his lewde demeanor contrary to the proclamacion laitlie setfurth agaynst suche sedicious billes, setting up or sowing of vayne rumors and tales, you shall uppon the next markett day or when you shall thynke mooste mete in mooste resorte, for somuche as we perceyve dyvers billes haith beyn sithe that tyme sediciously sett furth, to the terror of other, that they shall the rather be warr, sett hym uppon the pyllory for the space of one hower or two, with a paper declaryng

¹ *Ibid.*, ix, 547-8, from Tanner MSS. xc, fo. 149. The reference is clearly to the Pilgrimage of Grace and the pardons granted after it. Cf. the Yorkshire submissions of

1541 printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, liii, 272-5.

² York House Book xix, fo. 41v.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 42v.

the cause, kepyng hym in prison untill that tyme and so dymys hym at libertie."¹ The precise nature of the sedition is not disclosed; the identity of the other offenders and of those who inspired the youthful scapegoat apparently remained unknown to the authorities.

The vigorous undercurrent of recusancy in Elizabethan York forbids us to believe that the passivity of the city during the reign of Edward VI indicates universal contentment with religious change. Nevertheless York men, who lived immediately beneath the eye of authority, contrived to keep their opinions to themselves. The York physician Thomas Vavasour, under Elizabeth a prominent sufferer for religion along with his wife Dorothy, is perhaps the only recorded exception.

"Mr Doctor Vavasour, a man both grave, learned, and godly for his great and christian fortitude in defending the Catholic faith, was forced to fly, and was banished his country in King Edward's days, through the malice of heretics, who suborned one Mr Cheek,² schoolmaster to King Edward, to procure his banishment, which Cheek, after his return in Queen Mary's time, did ask him mercy, confessing his fault."³

Whereas the vast bulk of the monastic properties had been rural,⁴ the Edwardian dissolutions exerted a proportionally far greater effect upon town life. At least two examples of municipal resentment in Yorkshire are recorded, though in the case of Hull our evidence derives only from the town's late eighteenth-century historians Tickell and Hadley. They nevertheless write circumstantially and had access to municipal records which disappeared sometime during the last century.⁵ After a curious and detailed account of the destruction of images in Holy Trinity church, Hadley asserts that much murmuring followed amongst the inhabitants, who did not dare openly to express their disgust.⁶ Tickell

¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 42.

² Sir John Cheke, the famous humanist who "taught Cambridge and King Edward Greek." He was a keen Protestant; imprisoned 1553-4 for complicity with Northumberland and forcibly converted by the Marianists (*D.N.B.*; cf. C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 114-117). The story has hence an air of probability.

³ H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, iii, 237. The passage is a modernised transcript from the MS. 'P' of the

seventeenth century martyrologist Father Grene, now in the archives of the English College, Rome. Cf. *ibid.*, iii, 233-4, for a note on the Vavasours, and also the similar passage in Grene's MS. 'M' at Stonyhurst, printed in J. Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, iii, 317.

⁴ A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, p. 140.

⁵ Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 301.

⁶ G. Hadley, *History of Kingston upon Hull* (1788), pp. 88-9.

quotes from a vigorous protest against the Edwardian dissolutions made by the town, which secured the restoration to their original uses of certain hospitals, chapels and revenues. As might be expected in a place more open than the rest of Yorkshire to the influx of advanced ideas,¹ this protest seems to have been based on something other than mere conservative reaction. While complaining "that the church was ruined, the clergy beggared, all learning despised, and that the people began to grow barbarous, atheistical and rude," the corporation continued "that ignorance and popery would again soon overrun the nation, if they continued thus to ruin and destroy the church and religion; for that learned and pious ministers could scarce be either hoped for or expected, without a fit maintenance to support and encourage them."²

The grievances of another town are reflected in a later petition made by John Hamerton of Monkrode and Purston Jaglin³ to Cardinal Pole on behalf of Pontefract. The petitioner pleads for the rebuilding of the church belonging to the College and Hospital of the Trinity; and continues: "My lord, as I have sayd before, we had in that towne one abbay,⁴ too collegys,⁵ a house of freers prechers,⁶ one ancrys,⁷ one ermyt, four chanthe prestes,⁸ one gyld pryst.⁹ Of all thes the in abbytance of the towne of Pomfret ar nether releveyd bodely nor gostely. We have there lefte an unlernyd vecar, which hyryth too prestes, for in dede he ys not able to dyscharge the cure other wayys; . . . And every one catchyth apece, but the pore nedy members of Chryst catchyt none at all. But my sute to your noble grace at this present ys, most umble to desyer your grace that yow wyll have compassion of the great

¹ Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 308.

² J. Tickell, *History of Hull* (1798), p. 207, thus paraphrases a document, evidently a copy of the petition, in the municipal records. The present writer has been unable to find the document there.

³ Sub-comptroller of the household to Henry VIII and Mary; buried at Featherstone 23 February, 1575 (*J. Foster, Yorks. Pedigrees*, vol. i).

⁴ The Cluniac Priory of St. John, surrendered 23 November, 1539 (*Vict. Co. Hist.*, *Yorks.*, iii, 184-6).

⁵ The College of the Trinity, often known as Knolles Almshouses (*ibid.*, iii, 318-20); the almshouse part of the foundation being continued by Elizabeth in 1563 (*B. Boothroyd, History of Pontefract*, p. 390). The other college here intended is probably St. Clement's Collegiate Chapel,

suppressed under the Chantries Act (*Vict. Co. Hist.*, *Yorks.*, iii, 366-7). It was in the castle and contained chantries; it served the castle and parts nearby as a parish church (*Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, *Surtees Soc.*, xci, xcii, 323-5: these volumes are subsequently cited as *Y.C.S.*).

⁶ The Blackfriars Priory, surrendered 26 November, 1538 (*Vict. Co. Hist.*, *Yorks.*, iii, 271-3).

⁷ Ancress. The spellings are innumerable.

⁸ There were four chantries in the parish church (*Y.C.S.*, pp. 272-5).

⁹ Possibly the priest nominated by the mayor and his brethren (*ibid.*, p. 276). In this list of foundations the petition does not include the Hospital of St. Nicholas, which survived the Reformation (*Vict. Co. Hist.*, *Yorks.*, iii, 320).

mesery that this sayd towne of Pomfret ys fallyn into, both bodely and gostely, sence the godly fundacyons afore sayd hath bene so amysse orderyd, and mysse usyd, and the hole sanctures of God so petefully defilyd, and spoulyd," &c.¹

Yet this grudge against the process of spoliation did not prevent Yorkshiremen from realising that the changes of the time presented opportunities for personal gain. It has elsewhere been observed that for some years previously many patrons of chantries and wardens of guilds were trying to alienate or resume to themselves the lands and possessions of those foundations.² Instances of legal efforts by patrons to secure chantry lands during the process of dissolution are not lacking. Sir William Drury, Sir John Constable and others petitioned, probably in 1548, for the restoration of the fee intail of the manor of Wrenthorpe, which supported the Southill chantry of four priests in Wakefield parish church.³ Patrons sometimes successfully resisted on technical grounds the claims of the Crown. Although the chantry of St. Anne in Askrigg chapel had been supported by some kind of charge on his lands, Sir Christopher Metcalfe obtained a discharge by decree of the Court of Augmentations—apparently for lack of legal evidence that his ancestor had conveyed lands to, or settled rents upon the chantry.⁴ It would be interesting to know whether Metcalfe and the priest conspired to destroy the evidences.

In York the element of self-interest was as strong as elsewhere. On the one hand the Mayor, aldermen and officials are found purchasing, doubtless at advantageous rates, the lands of dissolved foundations.⁵ On the other hand it was declared before them on 3 April, 1551, "that the lead of diverse cherches within this citie have ben alate pulled downe by the parochians of the same cherches and melted and the same cherches thakked ageyne with tyle to the great defacyng of the hole citie and slaunder of my Lord Maiour and his brederne."⁶ Petition, intrigue and litigation were indeed

¹ Publ. Rec. Off. S.P. 15. 7, no. 51, p. 112.

² Y.C.S., i, x-xi. Examples are adduced not only from the Chantry Surveys themselves, but from Publ. Rec. Off., Star Chamber Proceedings (Hen. VIII, bdle. 18, nos. 73-4; bdle. 19, no. 264) and Exch. Special Commissions (2609). Several Yorkshire cases of tortious possession of chantry lands, disputed possession of chantry goods, etc., occur in the Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings.

³ Cal. S. P. Dom., 1547-80, p. 12; cf. Y.C.S., p. 307.

⁴ W. C. and G. Metcalfe, *Records of the Family of Metcalfe*, pp. 13-20, print the surviving documents *in extenso*. Letters Patent and an Inquisition regarding the foundation are extant, but no conveyance.

⁵ York House Book xix, fos. 46-7, 76, 98v. Full treatment of these and other complex problems involved by the Edwardian changes in York must be reserved for the future.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xx, fo. 51.

not the only methods employed to gain a share in the spoils. The correspondence previously cited between the Privy Council and Archbishop Holgate indicates that at the outset of the reign much unauthorised alienation of church plate and other goods had already taken place,¹ while commissions and inventories suggest the continuance of the process until the government seized what remained in 1553.²

This unofficial action is vividly recalled by the South Yorkshire writer Sherbrook in his *Falle of Religious Howses, Colleges, Chantreys, Hospitalls, &c.*, a tendentious account written many years later.³ "But yet some church wardens, wiser than other some, sold many things to the use of the parish: yea that thing for 1 d which cost xii d (as I myself can witness that bought part of the church goods) & many other persons there were then of the like consciences & condicions to the commissioners, which persons took many things away without commissions, seeing all things were put to the spoil. For they plucked up the brass of tombs & gravestones in the church, contrary to the very words of the Estatute. And some stole the bells forth of the steeple; as one gentleman, whose name was Boseville,⁴ dwelling then at Tyckell-Castle⁵ (a very shyfter, I will not say a theif, & sithence made a minister) stole the great bell forth of the steeple in St. Johnes⁶ & carried it away in the night."⁷ As in the case of the monastic dissolutions, the people of the North displayed throughout the Edwardian changes an attitude strangely compounded of self-interest and conservatism.

The inveterate if usually veiled conservatism which appears to have marked northern clerical opinion during these years finds its

¹ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, ix, 546-7, from Tanner MSS. xc, fos. 153-4.

² *Inventories of Church Goods*, Surtees Soc., xcvi, 1-2, 6, 9, 53, etc.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5813, fos. 5-29. Much of this narrative was written in 1591, though earlier passages bear striking evidence of the date 1567. Extracts have been printed by Ellis (*Original Letters*, third series, iii, 31-7) and Gasquet (*Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 317-22; 500-5).

⁴ Thomas Bosville (or Boswell), younger brother of Thomas of the Gunthwaite branch, is described as of Tickhill in visitations (Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, 345), and a Thomas Bosseville is mentioned as Deputy Steward of Tickhill Honor in a Duchy of Lancaster case, undated

but of the reign of Edward VI (*Ducatus Lancastriae, Cal. to Pleadings*, i, 262). Curiously enough he appears in this case as plaintiff against one Charles Graives and others over the detention of plate of chapels and churches in breach of the king's commission for return of inventories.

⁵ In an advanced state of decay in 1538 (*Y.A.J.*, ix, 221-2) but still belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster.

⁶ The only possible local church of this dedication appears to be St. John's in the parish of Laughton-en-le-Morthen (*cf.* Hunter, *op. cit.*, i, 287). It is not the parish church and "St. Johnes" would suffice without further qualification for those acquainted with the locality.

⁷ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5813, fo. 27.

outstanding expression in a short chronicle of the Reformation written about 1555 by Robert Parkyn, curate of Adwick-le-Street near Doncaster.¹ In vigorous and striking terms Parkyn expresses the disgust of his class at the English Prayer Books which displaced the "olde ceremonies laudable usyde before tyme in wholly church," at the dissolutions and confiscations and at the debasement of the coinage. Above all he abhorred those who affirmed "thatt it was leaffull for preastes to marie women usynge tham as ther wyffes, wich was veray pleasauntt to many, for they were maryede in veray deyde both byschopps & other inferiowres beynge so blyndide with carnall concupiscens that thay prechide & tawghtt the people oppenly that it was lawfull so to do by Gods law, and enactyde the same."² Foremost among the "carnall byschopps of this realme"³ was Archbishop Holgate himself, whose marriage provoked opposition in his own metropolitan church.⁴ The risings of 1549 appeared to Parkyn simply concerted "for maintenncance of Christ church with other highe grett weightie matteres aganst heretikes in the sowthe and such as wolde nott have Kynge Henrie the 8 testamentt and last will perfowrmyde."⁵ Protector Somerset, "a veray heretic & tratowr to God,"⁶ an "unnaturall man" who "conspiride the Kynges majestie his deathe beynge as then butt 13 years of aigge,"⁷ seemed scarcely to be distinguished from his successor Northumberland.⁸ Parkyn had no doubt that the latter was "culpable and fawttie of Kynge Edwards his deathe"⁹ and recounts the symptoms and rumours in vivid detail:

"In the saide monethe of May the King's Majestie, vz. Edwarde the Sixtt began to be sore seake, in so myche thatt bothe heare of his heade, and naylles of his fyngers and feytt wentt off, and his eares so sore cancride thatt pittie itt was to see, the cawsse wheroff was thrughe poosonynge, as the common voce was spredde abroad amonge people,¹⁰ and so he continewyde withe grett pean unto middsomer after."¹¹

¹ Bodleian MS. Lat. th. d. 15, fos. 133v-141v. Many particulars regarding Parkyn and his literary work are given in *Church Quarterly Rev.*, July, 1937, pp. 226-31.

² Fo. 135.

³ Fo. 137v.

⁴ Cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lii, 438.

⁵ Fo. 135v.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ Fo. 136.

⁸ He classes them together as "two cruell tirauntes and enemisseis to God and holly church" (fo. 136v)

and "two fals heretikes and tratowres to God & this realme" (fo. 137). The writer Sherbrook, representing the survival of this dark view of the leading politicians of Edward VI's reign, depicts them as quarrelling over their spoils from the church and hastening the death of the young king (B.M. Add. MS. 5813, fo. 27v).

⁹ Fo. 139v.

¹⁰ Cf. Machyn's *Diary*, Camden Soc., first series, xlii, 35; *Greyfriars Chronicle*, *ibid.*, liii, 78.

¹¹ Fo. 138v.

During the last months of the reign these sinister rumours regarding the dying king and his ministers were in all probability widely current in Yorkshire. On November 13, 1552, the Privy Council ordered the punishment of six offenders brought up from various parts of the country. Amongst them a certain John Burgh was sentenced "to stand uppon the pillorie there [in Westminster] the same day and to have his eare nayled to the same, and then to be delyvered to the Sheryf of Yorkeshier to suffer lyke punisshement at Richemonde." The prisoners were "at the tyme of theyr punisshement to have these woordes:—'Movers of Sedition and Spreaders of Falce Rumores' set uppon theyr backes or other part where it may be best sene and red, written in paper with great lettres." The Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to deliver Burgh to the Warden of the Fleet for punishment, while Lord Conyers was detailed to convey him subsequently to Richmond "for thintent before rehersed."¹ He was probably a mere scapegoat for many similar offenders in Yorkshire,² and it seems a fair deduction from negative evidence that such punishments were but rarely meted out. The normal experience of the malcontent is exemplified neither by Dr. Vavasour nor by John Burgh, but by our commentator Robert Parkyn, who concealed his repugnance sufficiently to remain curate of Adwick-le-Street until his death in 1570³ and thus worthily represented the popular attitude in general and the gradually acquired caution of the parish clergy in particular.⁴

If open resistance and governmental persecution thus proved the exception rather than the rule, there remained one region of the shire where the simmer of discontent actually burst into rebellion. The Yorkshire rising of 1549 seems to have had no repercussions outside a small area to the north of the wolds, along the bounds of the North and East Ridings—an area roughly limited inland by East Heslerton and Wintringham, and near the coast by Seamer and Hunmanby. That the rising should nevertheless be regarded as something more than an insignificant riot is indicated by various facts. It was contemporaneous, and intended to unite,

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1552-4, pp. 168-9.

² Burgh was clearly a native of Richmond, where the surname occurs fairly frequently.

³ His interesting will is in the York Probate Registry, vol. xix, fo. 54v.

⁴ The problem regarding continuity of personnel amongst the parish clergy during these years has not yet been adequately dealt with, but it may be asserted without fear of

contradiction that few clergy, apart from incumbents of the dissolved foundations, were displaced by the Edwardian changes. In Yorkshire, the many printed catalogues of parish incumbents; such surveys as those printed in *Y.A.J.*, xiv, 394 *seqq.*; and the evidence of the York registers so far as it exists (*cf.* W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, pp. 50, 217), all point in this direction.

with the revolts in East Anglia and the West¹; it probably lasted for some weeks before being totally suppressed,² and several thousand rebels, possibly as many as ten thousand, were assembled together.³

A passage in Foxe's *Actes and Monumentes* seems to be the source of all other extant narratives of the rising. It first appeared in the second edition—that of 1570⁴—and was embodied almost word for word in Holinshed's first *Chronicles* of 1577.⁵ In the second edition of Holinshed (1587) the editors added a reflective passage on the king's offer of pardon but made no factual additions.⁶ Stow has no mention of the rising in his *Summarie* of 1565 and gives an abbreviated account, from either Foxe or Holinshed, in his *Chronicles* of 1580.⁷ The contemporary Londoners like Wriothesley⁸ and the continuator of the *Greyfriar's Chronicle*⁹ have no specific mention of a Yorkshire rising. It seems at first sight much stranger that Robert Parkyn, who has so much to say on the East Anglian rising,¹⁰ should also pay no attention to the contemporary disturbances in his own shire.¹¹ Yet we should recall that Adwick-le-Street, while situated on the main road from the south, remained comparatively remote from the region north of the wolds. While Parkyn doubtless heard of the Seamer rising, it would not impress itself deeply on him as a local event.¹² On the other hand, a brief but independent and important notice, tending to stress the serious nature of the rising, occurs in the apology made by Archbishop Holgate to the Marian government.¹³ Again, Sir Thomas Gargrave, the famous Vice-President of the Council in the North, later cited the suppression of the rising as an argument in favour of the maintenance of that Council.¹⁴

¹ The date July–Sept., 1549, is of first-rate importance; *Y.C.S.*, i, p. xvi, curiously gives 1548 and is followed by the *Vict. Co. Hist.*, *Yorks.*, *North Riding*, ii, 485.

² How soon after the leaders' consultation of July 25 the actual rising began is not made clear by Foxe, but he suggests that the rising was in progress for some time before and after the king's offer of pardon on August 21. The leaders may have been captured some considerable time before their execution on Sept. 21.

³ *Cf.* below, p. 36, note 5.

⁴ Vol. ii, pp. 1500–1. Regarding Foxe's possible sources, *cf.* below, p. 38, note 2.

⁵ Pp. 1675–7.

⁶ Vol. iii, pp. 1040–1; *cf.* below, p. 167, note 2.

⁷ Pp. 1042–3.

⁸ Camden Soc., second series, xx.

⁹ *Ibid.*, first series, liii.

¹⁰ Fos. 135v–136.

¹¹ He merely says (fo. 135v) that "in the moneth of julii was many mo shyers rasside upp for maintenance of Christ church," etc.

¹² He recalls *per contra* the gathering of the Pilgrims of Grace on Scawsby Lees near his home (fo. 133v).

¹³ Publ. Rec. Off., S.P. 11, 6, fos. 133–6; *cf.* below, p. 36, note 5, and p. 38, note 1.

¹⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, *Addenda*, 1566–79, p. 52.

Under these circumstances it has seemed advisable to present the story by reprinting, with annotations, the passage from Foxe. One important aspect, the causes of the rising, would, however, seem to demand brief independent treatment.

It will be observed that Foxe, whose attitude to the reactionary northerner is inevitably hostile and contemptuous, ascribes the rising to two factors: the Yorkshiremen's hatred of "the kinges most godly procedinges, in advauncing and reforming the true honor of God, and his religion," and "a blind and phantasticall prophecie" to the effect that king, nobles and gentry should be swept away in favour of four governors supported by a parliament of the commons. This end was to be attained by risings beginning at the south and north seas of England, the Yorkshiremen taking the Devonshire revolt, already begun, as the prophesied southern rising.

It would be rash to question Foxe's account as far as it goes. Distaste for the new English service was a powerful incentive to revolt in the West,¹ while the magnetic influence upon the popular mind of those dark prophecies, so often prominent in Tudor rebellions,² should not be underestimated. Nevertheless more material incitements to revolt were not lacking. Foxe hints that poverty prepared the way for the agitators, and it is not unlikely that the latter, as in Devon and Cornwall,³ canalized economic discontents into religious and political channels. The notorious Sir John Yorke, against whose oppressions in the Liberty of Whitby Strand his tenants made such vigorous protest four years later,⁴ may well have had his counterparts a few miles further south. Having as yet, however, encountered no clear instances to this latter effect, we are inclined to search still further for our causes, and in particular to the effects of the Chantry Act. The local foundations dissolved by the latter appear to have been unusually numerous for such an area, and it seems certain that the rebels in Yorkshire had good reason to share the opinions of those in the West Country⁵ regarding the policy of dissolution.

There were two chantries in the castle at Seamer,⁶ three at

¹ Cf. the articles of the rebels printed and discussed in F. Rose-Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549*, ch. xiv.

² Cf. M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, index, s. v. "prophecies"; F. W. Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, pp. 142-3.

³ Cf. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, pp. 239-40.

⁴ *Select Cases in the Court of Requests*, Selden Soc., xii, 198-201.

⁵ Cf. Rose-Troup, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

⁶ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (below cited as *V. E.*), v, 125-6; *Y.C.S.*, p. 515.

Scarborough,¹ and others at Osgodby,² Kilham,³ Burton Agnes⁴ and Harpham.⁵ At Lowthorpe the collegiate church with its many chantries fell under the act,⁶ while in the south corner of the Dickering Deanery, farther from our district, were several other chantries.⁷ Across the Derwent, there were two chantries and a guild at Pickering⁸ and chantries at Wykeham,⁹ Brompton,¹⁰ Appleton-le-Street¹¹ and Kirkby Misperton.¹² At New Malton the chapel of St. Michael, a mile distant from the parish church, had already before the Edwardian survey lost a part of its landed endowment¹³; it contained a chantry¹⁴ and a service.¹⁵ The parish of Malton also had a service in the chapel of St. Leonard, three-quarters of a mile from the parish church,¹⁶ and a chantry in the castle, which served some of the inhabitants in place of the parish church a mile away.¹⁷ Six miles south of Winttringham was Towthorpe, in the parish of Wharram Percy, with its chapel serving thirty people and over two miles distant from the parish church.¹⁸ At the centre of the revolt was the chapel of Ayton, a mile distant from the parish church: the inhabitants for many years subsequent to the dissolution thought it worth while to maintain their chapel by a self-imposed rate.¹⁹ Altogether there seems little doubt that for many local people the

¹ *Y.C.S.*, pp. 137, 514; 135, 513; 138, 513. The *V. E.*, v, 124-5, mentions only two; a fourth chantry had been alienated in 25 Hen. VIII by a descendant of the founder (*Y.C.S.*, p. 139).

² *V. E.*, v, 125. Though the Chantry Surveys are tolerably complete for the North Riding, they do not include this chantry, which may not have survived until the Edwardian dissolution.

³ *V. E.*, v, 123; *Y.C.S.*, p. 139: it is said to be a thousand feet from the parish church.

⁴ *V. E.*, v, 124; cf. the reference in *Y.C.S.*, p. 554; but this chantry does not occur in the Chantry Surveys.

⁵ *V. E.*, v, 124; the Chantry Surveys do not include it, but they are fragmentary for the East Riding.

⁶ *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii, 365, and in addition *V. E.*, v, 126. The collegiate church was dissolved sometime before 1552 (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 85).

⁷ The chantry at Buckton, mentioned in *V. E.*, v, 121, as maintained by Bridlington Priory, had presumably disappeared with the latter. It does not occur in *Y.C.S.*

⁸ *V. E.*, v, 144-5; *Y.C.S.*, pp. 57-8, 511.

⁹ *V. E.*, v, 145; also absent from the Chantry Surveys.

¹⁰ *V. E.*, v, 145; *Y.C.S.*, p. 128. The duty of the incumbent is "to helpe the vicare, when necessitie shall requier, for because there be wythyn the parysshe of howselyng people to the nombre of xx score and above."

¹¹ *Y.C.S.*, pp. 129, 509.

¹² *V. E.*, v, 145; *Y.C.S.*, pp. 128-9 (an interesting note on its function), 515-6.

¹³ *Y.C.S.*, pp. 510-11.

¹⁴ *V. E.*, v, 144; *Y.C.S.*, pp. 131, 510. The priest was bound to maintain one arch of Malton Bridge.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 512.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 511.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 511. The loss of these chapels must have occasioned much inconvenience in a scattered parish of 900 communicants (*Ibid.*, p. 510).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, i, p. xv. Free chapels and chantries which performed the same function were numerous in Yorkshire. It is hoped in the future to discuss the question of their dissolution as a whole.

dissolution would entail not merely a sense of loss but material inconvenience. To palliate this the government did little or nothing. The commissioners appointed in June, 1548, to consider which foundations should be continued, went so far as to recommend that one of the Scarborough chantry priests should be engaged to assist in the cure at a salary of 13s. 4d. per annum,¹ and again, that the grammar school maintained by the Lady Guild funds at Pickering should be continued.² Otherwise they appear to have neglected the district. With these facts in mind we are hence unable to agree with Foxe that the rebels were "without cause or quarell" when they turned their wrath against Matthew White, the important chantry commissioner and speculator in chantry lands, and his associates.

Before turning to the text of Foxe, another factor which may well have affected local opinion should be noticed for what it is worth. The extreme importance of the Percy interest amongst the causes of the Pilgrimage of Grace has already been ably demonstrated.³ The Percys had long possessed a house at Seamer, and Sir Thomas Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, regarded by contemporaries as "the lock, key and wards" of the movement of 1536,⁴ is described as of Seamer at the time of his trial and attainder.⁵ The manors of Hunmanby and Seamer, with East Ayton and Irton, had been granted by the Percys to the Crown in 1537,⁶ but the circumstances of the transfer probably augmented rather than diminished the people's "olde good wyll, so depe grafted in ther harts, to their nobles and gentlemen."⁷

These brief observations, together with the notes below, will, it is hoped, conduce to a correct interpretation of the following passage from Foxe.

Moreover, besides these inordinate uprores and insurrections above mencioned, about the latter ende of the sayd moneth of Iulye, the same yeaere, whych was 1549. an other like sturre or commotion beganne at *Semer*, in the Northriding of Yorkshiere, and continued in the Eastriding of the same, and there ended. The principall

An other rebellion or tumult begon in Yorkshyre.

¹ *Ibid.*, i, p. xv.

² *Ibid.*, ii, p. vii. The salary appointed for the master was only £1 15s. per annum.

³ R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, pp. 133-5.

⁴ *Letters and Papers*, xii (1), 369, p. 166.

⁵ Cf. the references in *Vict. Co.*

Hist., Yorks., North Riding, ii, 484, note 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 485-7; *Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period* (Y.A.S., Record Ser., ii), p. 77.

⁷ The phrase used by Sir George Bowes in February, 1570 (*Sharp, Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, p. 179).

The chiefe
styrrers of this
rebellion
in the North.

doers and raysers up whereof was one *W. Ombler* of Eastheslerton yoman: and *Tho. Dale* parish Clarke of *Semer*, with one *Stevenson* of *Semer*, neighbour to *Dale*, and nevyte to *Ombler*.¹ Whych *Stevenson* was a meane or messenger betwene the sayd *Ombler* and *Dale*, being before not acquaynted together, and dwelling .vij. miles one from the other.² Who at last by the travayle of the sayd *Stevenson* and theyr own evill dispositions inclined to ungraciousnes and mischief, knowing before one the others mynde by secrete conference, were brought to talke together on Saint James day,³ an. 1549.

The causes
moving the
Yorkshyre men
to rebellion.

The causes moving them to raise this rebellion, were these: Fyrst & principally their traiterous hartes grudging at the kinges most godly procedinges, in advauncing and reforming the true honor of God, and his religion. An other cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a phantasticall prophecie,⁴ wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophecie shoulde shortlye come to passe, by hering the rebellions of Northfolke, of Devonshire, and other places.⁵

A blind pro-
-phesie amongst
the Northern
men.

The tenour of which prophecie, and purpose together of the traitours was, that there shoulde no kynge reigne in England: the noble men, and Gentlemen to be destroyed: And the Realme to be ruled by 4. governours to be elected and appointed by the Commons, holdyng a Parliament in commotion, to begyn at the South and North Seas of England. &c. supposing that this their rebellion in the North, and the oter of the Devonshyre

¹ "The principal raisers of this sedition were very inconsiderable fellows to have their names remembered in history" (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 128). I have discovered no details regarding them, or their accomplices named below, beyond those given by Foxe. The surnames, like those of Wright, Peacock, Wetherel and Buttry below, are common in such local parish registers as those of Settrington (Yorks. Par. Reg. Soc., xxxviii; begins 1559). Either Thomas Dale, or John Dale mentioned below, may conceivably, as coming from Seamer, be the Dale who on 18 October, 1536, asked permission from the rebels for the Earl of Northumberland to pass towards

Topcliffe (*Letters and Papers*, xi, p. 555). A Richard Stevenson occurs as churchwarden of Seamer in 1552 (Surtees Soc., xcvi, 31).

² The approximate distance between Seamer and East Heslerton.

³ 25 July.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 30.

⁵ The Devonshire rebellion began about 10 June and the Norfolk rebellion about 7 July. On the contrast between the aims of these two risings cf. F. Rose-Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549*, pp. 223, seqq. The Yorkshyren had much in common with Devon, very little with Norfolk, but like Parkyn (cf. above, p. 157) would not make the distinction.

men in the West, meeting (as they entended) at one place, to be the meane how to compasse this their traiterous devillishe devise.

The devise of the rebels how to compasse their purpose.

And therefore laying their studies together, how they might find out more company to ioyn with them in that detestable purpose, and to set forward the sturre, this devise they framed, to sturre in two places, the one distante vij. myles from the other,¹ and at the first rushe to kill and destroy such Gentlemen & men of substaunce about them, as were favourers of the kynges procedynges, or which woulde resiste them. But first of all, for the more spedy raising of men, they devised to burne Beacons, and therby to bryng the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea coastes,² and having the ignorant people assembled, then to poure out their poyson: first beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with povertie, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoyle of rich mens goods, blowing into their heades, that Gods service was layd aside, and new inventions neither good nor godly put in place, and so feedyng them with fayre promises to reduce into the church agayn their old ignoraunce and Idolatry, thought by that meanes soonest to allure them to rage and runne with them in this commotion. And furthermore to the intent they would geve the more terrour to the Gentlemen at their first rysing, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murdered in churches, some in their houses, some in servying the kyng in Commission, & other as they might be caught, and to pyke quarells to them by alteration of service on the holy dayes.³ And thus was the platteforme⁴ cast of their devise, accordyng as afterward by their confession at their examinations was testified, and remaineth in true recorde.

False lyes forged of Gods true religion.

Thus they beyng together agreed, *Ombler & Dale*, and others by their secrete appoyntement, so laboured

¹ Seamer and East Heslerton are possibly again intended.

² The usual method of raising the country and employed in other risings such as the Pilgrimage of Grace (Cf. Dodds, *op. cit.*, index, s. v. "beacons").

³ On these changes in the rite of 1549 see F. E. Brightman, *The*

English Rite, i, pp. xciii, *seqq.* The Western rebels specifically complain against such alterations in at least one set of articles (F. Rose-Troup, *op. cit.*, p. 220).

⁴ Commonly used by Tudor writers on political and ecclesiastical affairs to mean "scheme," "plan of action." Cf. *New Eng. Dict.*

The conspi-
racie of the
rebels ut-
tered in
dronkennes.

the matter in the parishe of Semer, Wintringham,¹ and the townes about, that they were infected with the poyson of this confederacie, in such sorte, that it was easie to understand wherunto they would incline if a comotion were begon. The accomplishment wherof did shortly folow. For although by the wordes of one dronken fellow of that conspiracie named *Calverd*, at the alehouse in Wintringham some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smelled before by the Lord President² and Gentlemen of those parties, and so prevented in that place where the rebelles thought to begin: yet they gave not over so, but drewe to an other place at Semer by the Sea coast, and there by night rode to the Beacon at Staxton,³ and set it on fire: and so gatheryng together a rude route of raskals out of the townes nere about beyng on a sturre, *Ombler*, *Tho. Dale*, *Barton*, and *Rob. Dale* hasted forthwith with the rebelles to *M. Whites*⁴ house to take him, who notwithstanding beyng on horsebacke, myndyng to have escaped their handes, *Dale*, *Ombler*, and the rest of the rebels tooke him and

¹ In the East Riding and nearly twelve miles from Seamer.

² Archbishop Holgate, Lord President of the Council in the North from June, 1538, to February, 1550 (R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 487).

³ The beacon on the wold above Staxton would be only about four miles from Seamer.

⁴ Matthew White, a chantry commissioner for Yorkshire (*Cal. Pat.*, *Edw. VI*, ii, 136; *Y.C.S.*, p. 371), and acted as surveyor and custodian of chantry goods (*Ibid.*, p. 519; cf. *Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 112, 113, 114, 120). On 26 October, 1548, the York corporation agreed "that Mr White one of the kinges commysioners for York shall have in reward for his paynes takyn for makynge a copy of the chaunterie landes of this said cite (iiiijth *eras.*) viijth" (York House Book, xix, fo. 35v). On 18 December a note is made of his enquiries regarding a York guild of St. Anthony, which did not exist (*ibid.*, fo. 44v). On 7 July, 1549, he and Edward Bury (cf. p. 166, note 3 below) received for £1,294 4s. 2½d. a large grant of chantry properties, mainly messuages in York, but comprising lands given for lamps,

lights and anniversaries in many Yorkshire churches, including Ayton (*Cal. Pat.*, *Edw. VI*, iii, 148-54). He had seized chantry goods at Ayton and Seamer before his death (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 114). White's will, proved in 1550 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, describes him as of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great and of Crayford, Kent, noting his death in the diocese of York (*Index Library*, xi, 569). His widow Dorothy was given special permission to retain chantry goods not exceeding sixty pounds in value (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 114 (note)). For particulars regarding his earlier life cf. *Letters and Papers of Hen. VIII*, xxviii (1), pp. 449, 558; xix (1), p. 506; xix (2), p. 354; xx (1), p. 679; xxi (1), pp. 769, 772. He does not appear to be connected with the famous Hampshire and London family of that name (W. Berry, *County Genealogies of Hants.*, p. 295), but he is often described as "gentleman" (*Y.C.S.*, p. 371; *Cal. Pat.*, *Edw. VI*, iii, 148; *Hasted, Kent*, i, 270, 517). He may be the Matthew White who took his B.A. at Cambridge in 1534 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

Four men
cruelly
murdered
by the re-
bels in the
North

Clopton his wives brother,¹ one *Savage* a Marchaunt of Yorke,² and one *Bery*³ servaunt to Syr *Walter Myldmay*,⁴ which iiij without cause or quarell, savyng to fulfill their seditious Prophecie in some part, and to give a terrour to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murdered after they had caryed them one myle from Semer towards the Wolde, and there after they had strypped them of their clothes and purses, left them naked behynd them in the playne fieldes for crowes to feede on, untill *Whytes* wife, and *Savages* wife then at Semer caused them to be buried.

The rebels
in Yorke-
shyre ga-
thered to
iij. thousand
per-sons.

Longe it were and tedious to recite what revell these rebelles kepte in their raging madnes, who raunging about the countrey from towne to towne to enlarge their ungratious and rebellious bande, takyng those wyth force which were not willyng to go, and leaving in no towne where they came, any man above the age of .xvj. yeares, so encreased thys number, that in short tyme they had gathered .iij. thousand⁵ to favour their wicked

¹ The present writer has not identified him with any certainty amongst the many families of the name.

² Taken by Drake (*op. cit.*, p. 128; cf. p. 364) to be Richard Savage, sheriff of York in 1540. This, however, seems to be the Richard Savage mentioned three times, lastly in 28 Hen. VIII, in the register of York freemen as parish clerk and chamberlain (Surtees Soc., xcvi, 235, 254, 255), and whose will was proved on August 6, 1544 (Y.A.S., Record Series, xi, 153). This Richard's son, William Savage, was admitted to the freedom of York in 26 Hen. VIII as a merchant (Surtees Soc., xcvi, 254), and the will of William Savage, merchant, of York, was proved on February 3, 1549/50 (Y.A.S., Record Series, xi, 234). Everything thus points to the fact that the son William was the victim of the rebels. The mention of William Savage in the Patent Roll for December, 1549 (*Cal. Pat., Edw. VI*, iii, 88), as holding a tenure in York may be either a reference to another person, or an anachronistic reference to our William Savage, who died some months earlier.

³ Not, of course, the Edward Bury of Eastwood and Rayleigh, who was

associated with White in purchases of chantry lands and who died in 1582 (*Cal. Pat., Edw. VI*, i, 212; iii, 148; P. Morant, *Essex*, i, 221).

⁴ *D.N.B.* One of the commissioners for the sale of chantry lands (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1547-50, p. 186), and also instructed to recommend which foundations should be continued (Y.C.S., i, p. xiv; ii, p. vii). He had a town house in Matthew White's parish, St. Bartholomew the Great, and his elaborate monument is preserved in the church.

⁵ Archbishop Holgate in his apology speaks of "another [commotion] at Seimer in Yorkeshier in Kinge Edwarde the Syxte tyme, whereas was tenne or twelve thowsand rebelles up at the same tyme the commocions was in Northfolke, Deaneshier, Cornewell and other placeis in manye partes of this realme" (Publ. Rec. Off., S.P. 11. 6, fo. 134). Holgate, who repressed the rising, admittedly had a motive for exaggerating its extent. On the other hand, his facts throughout are substantially accurate and his statements on matters of this kind could easily have been checked at the time of writing. His estimate is thus at least as acceptable as the second- or third-hand estimate of Foxe.

attempts, and had like to have gathered moe, had not the Lordes goodnes through prudent circumspection have interrupted the course of theyr furious beginning.

The kings
free pardon
sent to the
rebelles

Ombler
refused the
kings par-
don.

For fyrst came the Kings gracious and free pardon discharging and pardoning them, and the rest of the rebels of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Maiesty, before the xxj. of August, an. 1549.¹ Which pardon although *Ombler* contemptuously refused, persisting styll in his wyfull obstinacie, diswadyng also the rest from the humble accepting the kings so loving and liberall pardon, yet notwithstanding wyth some it dyd good.²

Ombler
captaine of
the rebells
taken.

To make short, it was not long after this, but *Ombler*, as he was riding from towne to towne .xij. myles from *Hunmanby*, to charge all the Cunstables³ and inhabitants where he came, in the kinges name to resort to *Hunmanby*, by the way he was espyed, and by the circum-spect diligence of *John Worde* the yonger⁴ *James Aslaby*,⁵ *Rafe Thwinge*,⁶ and *Thomas Constable*⁷

¹ No text of this pardon appears to have survived. For a list of extant proclamations connected with the risings of 1549 see R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, pp. 36-8. The Yorkshire pardon could scarcely have been a mere re-issue of the proclamation of 12 July, as suggested in Cattley's edition of Foxe, v, 740 (note), since this proclamation was not a pardon, but subsequent to the issue of a pardon.

² Holinshed (edn. 1587, iii, 1041) continues hence: "who of likelihood submitted themselves, assuredlie believing if they persevered in their enterprise, there was no way with them but one, namelie deserved death, wherewith there was no dispensing after the contempt of the princes pardon and refusall of his mercie; so that in this heaveie case they might verie well complaine and saie:

Funditus occidimus, nec habet fortuna regressum. Virgil.

To make short," etc.

³ Cf. a proclamation of the previous July, forbidding constables to assemble subjects for any unlawful purpose (Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 38, no. 363).

⁴ Cf. J. Foster, *Visitations of Yorkshire, 1584-5 and 1612*, p. 124: Wood of West Lutton and Kilnwick. There

are four Johns in direct line. This is probably John Wood of West Lutton and Thorpe near Rudston.

⁵ Apparently a reference to some member of the family of South Dalton. If James, the father of the well-known Francis Aslaby, was living in 1549, he must have been elderly. James, the third son of Francis, is impossible, as his elder brother was aged only 21 in 1558 (*cf.* Surtees Soc., cxxii, 3).

⁶ The various branches of the family appear to contain no Ralph between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, though members of the family resided at East Heslerton (J. Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 261, 370, 408, 581; Ord, *Cleveland*, p. 269; *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks., N.R.*, ii, 139-42, 396; Y.A.S., Record Series, xi, 179).

⁷ At least three Thomas Constables were living about this time. The present reference is probably to the younger brother of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough (*cf.* J. Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*; also *Visitations of Yorkshire, 1584-5 and 1612*, p. 306). None of these four gentlemen mentioned by Holinshed was on the Yorkshire commission of the peace issued in May, 1547 (*Cal. Pat., Edw. VI*, i, 91-2).

gentlemen, he was had in chace, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custodie unto the cite of Yorke to aunswere to hys demerites.

The names of the rebels taken and executed at Yorke.

Ex actis iudicialiis registro exceptis & notatis.

After whom within short time *Thomas Dale, Henry Barton*, the fyrst chieftaines and ringleaders of the former commotion, with *John Dale, Robert Wright, W. Peycocke, Wetherell*, and *Edmund Buttrye*, busye sturrers in thys sedition, as they travailed from place to place to draw people to their faction were likewise apprehended, committed to warde, lawfully convicted, and lastly executed at Yorke the .xxj. of September, an. 1549.¹ *Ex actis iudicij publici registro exceptis & notatis.*²

The one movement of rebellion thus collapsed ignominiously, failing to engage a large area in the North and hence to link up with the more formidable popular movements in Devon and East Anglia. For this failure conditions in the North itself were largely responsible, for there the position had undergone profound changes since the great revolt of 1536. The government, it is true, had not scrupled after 1547 to aggrieve the people by fresh burdens and confiscations, yet the power of northern society to react had been vastly curtailed. During the later years of Henry VIII seigniorial rights had been gathered into the hands of the Crown and the prestige of the Percys materially abased. More important still, a northern Council had been established as the rallying-point of loyalty and order. Using the weapons of self-interest and fear, it had converted the ruling classes into partners or accomplices of the Crown. When the people were deprived of their natural

¹ Archbishop Holgate's apology (fo. 134) speaks of "the other commocion at Semer staide with executing of eight parsons without anye charge to the Kinge or losse to the countrye." It will be seen that the number agrees with that given by Foxe. Stevenson of Seamer, though deeply involved in the early stages, may have claimed the pardon in time. The offenders would normally be tried and condemned by a special commission of oyer and terminer.

² A reference of uncertain bearing; Foxe again speaks somewhat vaguely regarding the rebels' "confession at their examinations" which "remaineth in true recorde." On the other hand, Foxe often referred to official documents and cites them at length

in such passages as his elaborate accounts of the proceedings against Bonner and Gardiner. Though by this date justices of oyer and terminer had abandoned the regular practice of sending their records to the Treasury of the Exchequer (Giuseppi, *Guide to the Public Records*, i, 236), many documents concerning the trials of East Anglian and western rebels of 1549 are preserved in the Publ. Rec. Off. Baga de Secretis (*D. K. Rep.*, iv, App. ii, pp. 213, 217-19). No judicial records of the Yorkshire rebellion appear, however, to be preserved. Many of the particulars given by Foxe might come from indictments similar to those found against the Ketts and printed in F. W. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-6,

leaders, their feudal habit of mind became a positive handicap to successful revolt; where D'Arcy and Aske had failed to maintain concerted resistance, leaders sprung from the populace were unlikely to succeed. For these reasons Edward VI's ministers, hampered by widespread rebellion, with less statesmanlike motives than Henry VIII and none of his hold on the southern imagination, nevertheless succeeded in forcing upon the unprepared mind of the North a series of confiscations detested with good reason by its people. But fragmentary and scattered as the extant records are, they strongly suggest that popular resentment, though partially checked by memories of 1537 and by the lure of private gain, was again on the rise. The history of conservative reaction in Yorkshire has few and narrow gaps between the pilgrims of 1536 and the recusants of Elizabeth's later years.

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THE TUDOR-PERCY EMBLEM IN ROYAL MS. 18 D ii

The subsequent enquiry aims to elucidate the meaning of the curious drawing in Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 18 Dii, fo. 200, illustrated herewith in Plate I.

The opulent manuscript book which contains it is a miscellany begun soon after the middle of the 15th century for Sir William Herbert and continued into the Tudor period for the Percies, to whom it probably passed in 1476 on the marriage of Maud Herbert to the fourth Earl of Northumberland.¹ The drawing itself shows no stylistic relation with either of the two 'professional' series of illuminations in the same book, even though it is roughly contemporaneous with those added early in the 16th century by an artist of the Flemish school.²

As will appear at a later stage of our argument, the Tudor rose with its Latin verses can only be a reference to Henry VIII, while the adjacent items of the book all point to a date quite early in his reign. A text of Lydgate's *Kyngis of Englande* beginning on fo. 181 has among its addenda a stanza written soon after his accession.³

On fo. 186 commences a long verse chronicle of the Percy family by William Peiris, priest and secretary to the 'Magnificent' fifth Earl;⁴ this contains clear internal evidence dating its composition between 1516 and 1523.⁵ Running from fo. 195b to fo. 210, both before and after our drawing, comes a series of didactic poems or 'proverbs', originally inscribed on the walls and ceilings of the Percy houses at Wressle and Leconfield for the edification of the fifth Earl's children,⁶ hence also very roughly attributable to the early years of Henry VIII.⁷

The drawing itself is described—inadequately, as will appear—in the catalogue of the Royal MSS:

'Picture in colours representing Christ, holding the sun, in the centre of a red and white rose emitting fire and drops of liquid, with verses 'Ex paterno trono radii splendoris | Ex matre candor virginii decoris | Ex patre flos rubii coloris | Ex utroque redemptio nostri amoris', and lower down on the page a scroll surmounted by an eye

¹ G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Royal and King's Collections*, ii. 309-310. On other dating-problems see Gavin Bone in *The Library*, 4th ser., xii. 292 n.

² Some are reproduced in Warner and Gilson, *op. cit.*, iv, plate 105.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 45.

⁴ Three other MS. versions are at Alnwick (*Hist. MSS. Comm. 3rd. Rep.*, p. 108) and in Bodleian Dodsworth MS 50, fo. 119 *seqq.* An incomplete text, from this last, is printed in J. Besly, *Reprints of Rare Tracts illustrative of the History of the Northern Counties* (Newcastle 1845), i. 9.

⁵ It mentions on fo. 194b the marriage of

Margaret, daughter of the fifth Earl, to Sir Henry Clifford, which took place c. 1516: he died, however, in 1523 (Warner and Gilson, *op. cit.*, ii. 309).

⁶ Mostly printed in F. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, edn. 1780-84, iii. 265, iv. 271, and in edn. 1809, iv *passim*. Cf. also Flügel in *Anglia*, xiv. 471 *seqq.* On the fifth Earl's household cf. *The Northumberland Household Book* (edns. 1770, 1827, 1905) and E. B. de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, i, ch. viii.

⁷ Some of the lines were 'on the roufe of my Lorde Percy closet' at Leconfield, a reference to the future sixth Earl, born 1502.

and underneath it drops falling on the letters COR.¹ On the scroll are verses :

' I receyue noo lighte but of thy bearmes (*sic*) bright,
The leight beneuolent causith cor to relent,
For remembrynge thy goodenes contenuall, which remanith
perpetuall,
Cor cannot but of dutie he muste distill ;
Yet he saith dutie cannot recompence a cordinge too his goode
will '.²

The verses are correctly transcribed, but on closer scrutiny the picture yields a different and a more mundane, if more interesting, significance. Though the human figure may just conceivably have a secondary symbolism,³ there seems no reason to envisage the improbability of a figure of Christ inside a Tudor Rose. In supposing with confidence that it symbolises the youthful King, we may find support in the close parallels occurring in the Plea Rolls of the King's Bench, several of which have representations closely resembling this in face, hair-style, and ermine cape.⁴ In such pictures the King is characterised rather by his insignia and letters giving his name than by any close attempt at portraiture ; we know, for example, that he already wore a beard during these early years, but in a recently reproduced series of these miniatures from the Plea Rolls I do not observe this feature earlier than 1527-8.⁵ Our own drawing seems less expert than these official but still anonymous miniatures ; we cannot ascribe it to any known artist, and it contains nothing beyond the powers of a provincial scribe with little or no training in the art of miniature. Its significance lies in subject-matter, not in technique.

Only one factor differentiates the human figure from a conventional picture of the young Henry VIII ; this is the substitution of a crown of flames (not a halo !) for the royal crown : this change harmonises, however, with the central theme of the sun, which appears, duly labelled *Sol*, in the young King's hand. In all its forms, this association of the sun with monarchical power antedates the Tudor age. Its origins recede not merely into the symbolism of medieval Empire, but back into classical antiquity.

Richard II had among his cognizances the sun in splendour and the

¹ A term probably derived from the still popular writings of the Rolle school, in which *cor* commonly signifies love. Cf. C. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers : Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers*, ii, pp. xi, xiv.

² Warner and Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 46.

⁴ Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (1954), plates 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35 and plate 11. In a part of King's College chapel begun in 1512 is a Tudor rose containing the rayed half-figure of a woman

in rich robes. Though without a halo, she has been accepted as the Virgin and an Ave painted on the open book which she holds. She is much more likely to be Elizabeth of York. Mr. Dufty, who draws my attention to this figure, also notes among the painted decorations of Henry VIII's palace of Nonsuch a Tudor rose containing the half-figure of a crowned woman. Obviously, a head enclosed in a flower can also occur at the mere whim of an artist, as in the Jesse Tree in Bibl. Nat. Paris MS Lat. 9584, an Italian MS of c. 1400.

'sun-burst',¹ while the second seal of Edward IV has a background diapered with quatrefoil spaces charged alternately with radiant suns and—similarly to our drawing—roses *en soleil*.² Suns and roses again appear in various combinations in his third and fourth seals.³ Richard III used, amongst other badges, the sun in splendour and placed his white Rose in the 'sun of York'.⁴

Among the badges of Henry VII the 'sun-burst' again figures:⁵ the Tudors also took over the *rose en soleil*, which occurs, for example, in Henry VIII's second seal.⁶ That in the upper part of our drawing might be described more accurately as the sun in splendour (with its customary wavy and straight beams indicative of heat and light) superimposed upon a Tudor rose.

So much for the royal sun. Extending our attention to the lower half of the picture, we may note a useful parallel in Brit. Mus. Cotton Faustina B ix, fos. 241b–242, a manuscript of Edward IV's reign, where in the course of Galfridian prophecy we find in antithesis to the royal *sol*, the use of *luna* to symbolise the house of Percy. Here *luna* is said to have suffered eclipse and to have lost *dua cornua*, i.e. Hotspur and his father, and then eventually to have recovered in conjunction with *sol*, typifying Edward IV.⁷ Referring back to our drawing with this earlier clue in mind, we perceive the familiar crescent of the Percies carefully depicted along the upper edge of the scroll, so as to make the Percy moon receive light from the Tudor sun.⁸

In Percy legend this silver crescent is provided with obviously fictitious crusading origins.⁹ With much more probability it seems to be linked in its earliest stages with the shire and earldom of Northumberland, perhaps even with ancient Northumbria.¹⁰ At all events, crescents appear on a Northumberland shrievalty seal of 1444, apparently unconnected with the Percies,¹¹ and they begin to figure among the Percy badges from the time of the first Earl, in fact from 1396, when one appears on the Earl's shrievalty seal.¹² Thenceforth the crescent occurs regularly upon the standards, seals, and armorial glass of the successive Earls, usually in combination with some other device placed between its horns, for example, a locket, a sprig of leaves, a lion, and a turret.¹³ It receives

¹ J. Woodward, *Heraldry, British and Foreign*, ii. 217; *Boutell's Heraldry*, ed. C. W. Scott-Giles, p. 164, fig. 329.

² W. de Grey Birch, *Catalogue of Seals . . . in the British Museum*, i. 36, no. 301.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–39, nos. 312–317.

⁴ A. C. Fox-Davies, *Complete Guide to Heraldry*, p. 468, fig. 678; compare Shakespeare, *Richard III*, i. 1. Sir Hilary Jenkinson. *The Later Court Hands*, p. 106, fig. 59 reproduces Richard's badge from a *Coram Rege* roll. His banner was powdered with golden suns (Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 222).

⁵ Fox-Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 468, fig. 681.

⁶ Birch, *op. cit.*, i. 43, no. 371.

⁷ H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the*

Dept. of MSS in the British Museum (1883), i. 319. A similar passage occurs in Cotton Vespasian E. vii, fo. 88b, the MS itself being of Percy provenance (*Ibid.*, i. 300).

⁸ The crescent is shaded blue, presumably to represent silver.

⁹ W. H. D. Longstaffe in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, iv (1860), p. 179. This article is still the most voluminous account of the old heraldry of the Percies.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 180–182.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 185–187, 191, 193–194, 196–197, 203–205, 211–214, 217–218, 223–224. Cf. de Fonblanque, *op. cit.*, i. 534.

prominent mention in the Elizabethan ballad *The Rising in the North* :

' Earl Percy there his ancyeut spred,
The Half-Moone shining all soe faire '.¹

In Tudor times the Percy moon was in fact no matter of recondite reference ; it mingled naturally with the Galfridian animal-prophecies, the usual background to popular sedition. In December 1537 the parishioners of Muston, Yorkshire, charged their vicar, John Dobson, that he quoted in the alehouse a rhyme about the fall of the hated Thomas Cromwell, and prophesied that ' the moon shall kindle again, and take light of the sun, meaning by the moon the blood of the Percies '.² This happened, of course, while the Percies lay under attainder for their share in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Appropriately illuminated by the sun and the moon, we may now turn to interpret the details. Some of them admit of argument. The word COR may mean not merely the heart of the Percy ' distilling ' duty under the Tudor sun's rays, but also conceivably carry a pun upon the ' horn ' of the Percy moon, or, indeed, upon the bugle-horn which, since the time of the fourth Earl, had been a Percy badge derived from earlier relationship with the Bryans.³ Another pun may be intended between ' I ' and ' eye ', since the words ' I receyue noo lighte ' are surmounted by an eye. The Percy locket, the most common object placed here in the crescent, sometimes bears close resemblance to a pair of eyes,⁴ and may conceivably have suggested this part of his design to the artist.

With the verses on the rose, ' Ex paterno trono ', we tread much more solid ground : these very clearly refer to the double descent of Henry VIII from the houses of Lancaster and York, the theme of so many contemporary adulators from Edward Hall downwards. They are actually paralleled in a passage earlier in the manuscript : the final stanza added to Lydgate's *Kyngis of Englande*, to which reference was made above.

' After the vij Henry the viij Henry his sone Kynge

By right and titill ij succedithe to the crowne, a prynce moste gracious.

Owte of the white rose and the rede his ryall byrthe dothe sprynge ;
The whyt most pure, the rede most varvant⁵ is,

Whiche Kinge from the Kinge & Quene of all flowres springeth with
flawr moste gracijs.

From all extremyte he hath delyverde us '.⁶

These rude verses are incidentally not unlike those of William Peiris ; the poor secretary may well have perpetrated them and, in addition, the verses upon our picture itself.

¹ Bishop T. Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, edn. 1847, i. 293.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii (2). 1212 (i).

³ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, iv. 199, 206, 211.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197. By a curious coincidence this

same resemblance gave rise to the Northumbrian expression ' The Duke of Northumberland's arms ', meaning a black eye (*Ibid.*, p. 186).

⁵ *Sic* for fervent. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v., recognises ' vervente ' and ' farvente '.

⁶ Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 18 D ii, fo. 183.

Much more significant, however, are the lines upon the scroll beginning 'I receyue noo lighte'. If the reader will now, with all the factors in mind, return to these lines and re-read them, the full political force of the emblem will become apparent. The Percy, whose forebears had shed so much blood in the Lancastrian cause, and whose father had virtually put the Tudor on the throne, is still conscious of the proud and defiant tradition of Hotspur. He is, nevertheless, constrained to 'relent' before the benevolence of the reigning dynasty, and in dramatic style avows his loyalty to the young king; he is the moon indeed, but one which shall henceforth draw light only from the greater luminary on the throne. We are looking upon a sepulchral monument of feudalism!

The immediate irony of this avowal will nevertheless be apparent to readers familiar with the subsequent story of the Percies. The fifth Earl's consistent loyalty was continued by his son, first bullied by Wolsey, then hopelessly in love with Anne Boleyn and plagued by an unhappy marriage. When, at the outset of the Pilgrimage of Grace, the sixth Earl's brothers went over to the rebels and were attainted; when the leadership of the revolt lay in the hands of his followers, the dying nobleman, who had already made the King his heir, refused to alter his allegiance.¹ Having been restored by Mary, the Percies once more went to ruin in 1569; their shadowed history during and beyond the remainder of Elizabeth's reign supplies the gloomy postscript of our theme. Better it would have been had this device of the Magnificent Earl graven itself more deeply upon the later generations of the house of Percy.

The foregoing primary interpretation does not necessarily exclude some secondary elements of meaning. In the fanciful deviser's mind the sun may also have stood for the Sun of Righteousness. William Peris, a possible author of the verses, accompanies his felicitations to his master with the wish that 'The most radiant sone of Righteousness . . . Give your good Lordship many good yeares, & send your Lordship grace & spetiall might | To overcome your enemies & longe to enjoy your right'.² These lines may also have a double significance. If, however, the same be true of our drawing, its religious sense can have been no more than partial and secondary, indeed an after-thought, since the greater part of the device, especially the Tudor rose and the verses, cannot be made to carry a religious symbolism.

A subsidiary yet distinct point of interest lies in the early date of this drawing. The recently revived interest in emblems has occasioned a too ready assumption that they were unknown in England until the times of Queen Elizabeth and Geoffrey Whitney, that they derive purely from the Italian work of Alciati, published in 1531.³ The subject of our enquiry surely contains the essential characteristics of an emblem, and might well encourage us to search native manuscript sources for further prototypes of this once important mode of expression.

¹ References in G.E.C., *The Complete Peerage*, ix. 721-2.

² Bodleian Dodsworth MS 50, fo. 119v.

³ Cf. Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, p. 37.

A MUNICIPAL DISSOLUTION OF CHANTRIES AT YORK, 1536.

When the ministers of Edward VI finally dissolved the chantries and similar foundations they were striking at a complex of institutions already in process of decay and liquidation. The chantry surveys compiled by the Edwardian commissioners indicate clearly enough that the conversion of chantry endowments to secular uses had been for some years increasingly common.¹ Founders' descendants and even incumbents themselves had taken a prominent part in this unofficial dissolution, their actions being characterised by varying degrees of legality. The transaction we are about to observe, though occurring nearly ten years before the first chantry act proper, was carried out publicly by the municipality of York and legalised by an elaborate act of parliament.

In York the decline of trade and of rental values made the earlier sixteenth century a period of acute financial stringency for the Common Chamber.² At every turn we encounter the word "decay" as applied to the wealth of the city and its common funds,³ until in 1553 the Privy Council sent a commission to York "to survey the decayes of the citie" and to consider how far the mitigation of tenths and fifteenths might be carried.⁴

That under these circumstances the Lord Mayor and his brethren should soon turn their eyes in the direction of redundant and indeed burdensome ecclesiastical foundations, will occasion no surprise to students familiar with the prosaic and utilitarian spirit of the Tudor citizen.

As early as January 1530 the city council, in putting into abeyance one chantry and an annuity, went on to bring the mayor's patronage of all chantries under the strict control of the council. This resolution alleges "dyverse cawsys and consideracons

¹ For a list of such surveys in print cf. *English Historical Review*, lv, 413, note 3. In addition an article in *Wilks. Archaeological Magazine*, xii, 354 yields further examples of interest.

² For hints as to the more purely economic factors cf. *Victoria County History, Yorkshire*, iii, 449 seqq.; *English Historical Review*, xii, 437 seqq.; H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*, sect. ii, *passim*. The monastic dissolution, involving eight houses in York, doubtless provided some additional impetus.

³ 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 32; 1 Edw. VI cap. 9 and other statutes; *York Civic Records*, iii, 137; York House Books (below abbreviated as Y.H.B.), xvi, fo. 20; xxi, fo. E, fo. 1; xxii, fo. 54, etc.; *Yorks. Chantry Surveys* (*Surtees Soc.*, xci, xcii below cited as Y.C.S.), *passim*.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council 1552-4*, p. 287. Though the young king died before this could take effect, the corporation ordered their burgesses early in the following reign to seek its renewal (Y.H.B., xxi, fo. 15v). The text of the commission is copied in Y.H.B., xxi, fo. 1.

movyng the said presens and specially for that the chambre of this City is in great dett and also the common lands of the said city in great ruyn and decay."¹ A more radical step followed in April 1536, when the city secured the passage of an act of parliament² foreshadowing on a small scale the national chantry acts of the subsequent decade. The contents of this statute we must observe in some detail, particularly as it has met with curious neglect at the hands of local historians. It is headed in the statute book "An Acte conteynyn a concord and agrement betwene the Erle of Rutlond & the Cyte of Yorke and others," a private-seeming title which may have helped to conceal its interesting contents.

The preamble points out that the city had long been unable to pay in full an annuity due to the Earl of Rutland, burdened as it was by other substantial annuities, salaries and maintenance of levies and fortifications. "And also," continues the text, "the said Maire and Commynaltie stonde charged for ever in the yerely some of xliij poundys sterlyng goyng out of the Chamber of the seid Cytye, yerely payable to and for the mayntenance of nyne Chauntreys and three Obettes." After particularising the founders of these,³ the act goes on to state that "all suche yerely and casuell profettes, wherof and wherby the seid yerely charge to and for the mayntenance of the seid chauntreys and obettes ought and shuld be levyed and borne, ben in maner consumed and utterly lost and gon, soo that the seid Maire and Comynaltie arre and have ben compelled by a long tyme to maynteyne and bere the seid yerely charges of the seid chauntreis and obettes of ther owen charges."⁴

The act then proceeds not only to reduce the annuities payable by the city,⁵ but also to discharge the latter from the maintenance of these decayed chantries and obits. Two only of the nine chantries—that in the chapel of St. William, Ousebridge, and the chantry of Nicholas Blackburn in St. Anne's Chapel, Fossbridge⁶—were to be still maintained by the corporation, which otherwise gained the right to "have hold and enjoye to them and ther successours for ever all suche londes, tenementes and heredytamentes that remayne and were gyven for the mayntenance of all the seid nyne chauntreis and three obettes."⁷ It may be

¹ *York Civic Records*, iii, 129-30. This suspended chantry was that of "Elewyse Wystowe," one of those dissolved in 1536. The annuity, of 30s. per annum, had been paid to John Birtby late chantry priest in St. Mary's, Castlegate.

² 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 32.

³ Cf. below, p. 52-5

⁴ *Stat. Realm*, iii, 583.

⁵ The Earl of Rutland, due to £100 per annum by an agreement of the reign of Edward II, had in fact been long receiving only 20 marks. He now agreed to accept £40. The annuity due to the Dean and Canons of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster was reduced from £35. 14s. 7d. to £30. Lord Darcy's life annuity of £9. 2s. 6d. was rescinded, while the remaining annuity, one of £7. 12s. 1d. to Sir William Fairfax in the right of his wife, appears to have been continued.

⁶ Cf. on these two below, p. 54.

⁷ *Stat. Realm*, iii, 584.

noted in passing that the income from these endowments was not in fact "utterly lost and gon," since property worth 30s. 8d. per annum belonging to one of the seven dissolved chantries is recorded in 1546 as now appropriated to the Common Chamber.¹

A considerable part of the £42 paid out by the Common Chamber may well have been covered by rents surviving from endowment. Indeed one is at liberty to doubt whether the Chamber was actually sustaining a flat loss of anything like £42 per annum. We print below a list of the seven suppressed chantries and three obits which was entered in the House Book in 1546. Payments totalling £39. 13s. 4d. are entered beside the other particulars of these foundations,² but one of these, for example, relates to the chantry placed in abeyance in 1530 and was not being paid out in 1536.³ At least one other payment had been reduced to correspond with the falling rents of the endowment.⁴ The city's claim to a loss doubtless possessed substantial justification. Nevertheless it remains difficult to avoid a shrewd suspicion that the story lost nothing in parliament for the telling.

A few effects of the transaction of 1536 may be traced in the House Books covering the subsequent decade. The chantry priest in Fossbridge chapel had lost under the act two of his three chantries;⁵ accordingly in January 1545 the council ordered him to "come and help to doe divyne servyce of the Sondayes and all other halledayes . . . in an honest surples" in the chapel of Ousebridge.⁶ A few months later came the first or Henrican chantry act and the issue of the corresponding chantry commission for Yorkshire.⁷ The city council at once saw the need for safeguarding their title to the endowments of the chantries dissolved ten years earlier. On 12 April 1546 they "agreyd that one shall ryde for Mr. Recorder to come to my lorde mayor & his bredren to gyve his advyse and counsell towching the certyficat of the chauntries, gylde, broderhedes and fraternyties belongyng

¹ " . . . a tenement xxvjs. viijd. (xls. *erased*) lieng in Petergate within the cite of York nowe in the tenure of Jamys Robert vyntener and also a close leing withoute Monkebarr nowe in the holding of John Wodd iijs. sometyme beyng the landes and tenementes of one Roger Marr and by the said Roger and his executors gevyn the amortised to a certain chauntre and nowe towards the mayntenance of the common charges of this cite the said landes ar nowe apprepriat to the Common Chambre of this said cite for ever . . ." (Y.H.B., xviii, fo. 48). Cf. on this chantry below, p. 54.

² In the case of the first item, the sum is said to be actually paid "furth of the Common Chambre" and the subsequent items are evidently also meant to be taken in the same sense.

³ Wystow's chantry. Cf. above, p. 48 and note.

⁴ The payment in respect of Marr's chantry has been reduced to 31s. 8d., apparently to correspond with the decline of its rents, seen elsewhere to amount to 30s. 8d.

⁵ Those founded by Robert Holme and Alan Hamerton (cf. below, p. 54 and Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 304). He retained until the general dissolution the reprieved chantry of Nicholas Blackburn (Y.C.S., 61, 468). This priest, Edward Sandall, suffered no great hardship; he was in addition an ex-monk of Kirkstall in receipt of a pension of £6. (Y.C.S., 468).

⁶ Y.H.B., xvii, fo. 77.

⁷ Printed in Y.C.S., 1-4, and dated 14 February, 1546.

to the commonaltie of this said citie" and the next day a letter was sent requiring the Recorder's presence at latest by next Friday.¹ A copy of the act of 1536 was secured and duly shown to the chantry commissioners when they came to York,² while the above-mentioned catalogue of the dissolved foundations was entered in the House Book.³ This we print in due course below.

The Council also belately set about clarifying certain details arising from the statute of 1536. The properties of Marr's chantry on Ousebridge were formally placed in the hands of the bridge-masters for inclusion in the rental of common lands.⁴ On 24 July Anthony Florence, "the morrowmasse preiste of the chapell of Ousebrige of this citie"⁵ signed an entry in the House Book surrendering any rights he had in "a chauntre callyd Saynt Loye chantré" granted to the city by act of parliament.⁶ This St. Loy chantry may be confidently identified with this same chantry of Roger Marr on Ousebridge.⁷ Florence agreed to accept a stipend of £4. 13s. 4d. for the period ending the subsequent Whit Sunday and to continue saying the morrow mass in the chapel. At that date, however, he was "lovingly to seas and departe frome the servyce of the said mayer and cominaltie."⁸

Also amongst the House Book entries for July 1546 are those concerning a certain chantry of St. James in Castlegate. It will be observed from the passages printed below that its incumbent, Christopher Paynter,⁹ surrenders all interest in its properties, worth only 38s., and is guaranteed an annual pension of two pounds on condition of saying a weekly mass in Ousebridge chapel. This chantry is here also alleged to have been granted to the city by act of parliament, though there are difficulties in identifying a chantry of this name and situation with any in the lists of 1536 and 1546.¹⁰

¹ Y.H.B., xviii, fos. 15v-16.

² The commissioners themselves note in their survey the previous dissolution of the two Fossbridge chantries "nowe taken away by acte of Parlyament, as appereth by thexemplifycacion of the sayd acte, dated xvmo die Aprilis, anno xxvijmo regni Henrici viijmo examyned by the Kynges Commyssion." (Y.C.S., 62).

³ Y.H.B., xviii, fos. 35v-36.

⁴ Y.H.B., xviii, fo. 48.

⁵ He had also a chantry a few yards distant in St. John's, Ousebridge End (Y.C.S., 79, 458).

⁶ Y.H.B., xviii, fo. 48v.

⁷ Drake (*Eboracum*, p. 280), who saw the original grants of all these Ousebridge chantries, says Marr's chantry was founded "ad altare S. Eligii" (St. Loy). The *V.E.* ascribes this chantry "ad altare Sancti Egidii" (St. Giles), and gives the clear value as only 24s. 3d. (*V.E.*, v, 28).

⁸ Y.H.B., xviii, fo. 49v.

⁹ In 1535 he held the chantry of St. Mary's in All Saints, Pavement, and in 1546, in addition, that of St. John and St. Katherine in the same church (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* (later cited as *V.E.*), v, 26; Y.C.S., 60, 61). He had previously, as Lord Mayor's chaplain, been the victim of a joke by certain citizens, who told him to take the Mayor a pike and were committed to ward for their disrespect (Y.H.B., xiii, fos. 121-121v.).

¹⁰ The writer prints the passages regarding this chantry in the hope that some student better-informed may enlighten him on this score. Three chantries appear in St. Mary's, Castlegate in the *V.E.* of 1535 and these survived until the general dissolution (Y.C.S., 466-7). There are hints that others were founded (Y.C.S., 466, note; Drake, *Eboracum*, 285). The writer has observed no enactment granting a Castlegate chantry to the city.

These House Book entries of 1546 serve to round off the story which we can now summarise in a few words. The city had at various times taken over the lands and management of certain privately endowed chantries and obits, several of the former being in the gift of the Mayor and Commonalty.¹ When the incomes of these institutions had so declined that the payment of salaries and charities involved the city in a loss it appealed to parliament. The Privy Council, well aware of the financial straits of the city, was doubtless the first to favour an act which in this and other particulars might lighten the burden. Hence the Common Chamber obtained release of any obligations in respect of those chantries and obits and the city had confirmed to it in perpetuity all their endowments. The doctrinal rejection of the chantry system as yet in 1536 played no part in such transactions, yet the lack of all scruple and superstition admirably exemplifies the new age. The interest of the York municipality in the city chantries remained strong and deep-rooted in tradition.² Thereby mayors and aldermen had for generations before Henry VIII exercised a remarkable measure of control over parish life. The chantries were, after all, the characteristic religious expression of the forefathers of these sixteenth century councillors, whose attitude was not destructive but much rather proprietary. They were in touch with public practice and opinion; even under Edward VI they clearly wished to retain certain chantries as useful to the people.³

Yet by 1530, a chantry as such, commanded little veneration, however ancient and well-attested its foundation might be. Chantries had come to be regarded as no mere memorial foundations but essentially things of use;⁴ no preserve of the priesthood but one of the instruments by which businessmen regulated parish affairs. They and their forefathers had given and had maintained; when occasion arose they would take away. A modern observer may perhaps be pardoned for preferring a local adaptation, like that of 1536 at York, to the sweeping but fruitless confiscation of chantries by the hapless ministers surrounding Edward VI. At the same time, transactions of this type explain better than any history of central government why the English Reformation became possible. Faced by the spectacle of reactionary northern England, we are often tempted to consider the process as one forced through by remote and unsympathetic politicians. Such a view cannot be upheld in respect of some of the larger northern municipalities, notably York and Hull. The charge, it is true,

¹ In 1496 they merged two chantries in Holy Trinity Goodramgate, one of them being in their own gift and the other in that of the parish (*York Civic Records*, ii, 123).

² Cf. *York Memorandum Book*, *Surtees Soc.*, cxx, introd., and *passim*; *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 237 *seqq.*

³ Cf. the information given to the Henrican commissioners regarding Blackburn's chantry on Foss Bridge (*Y.C.S.*, 61) and the parallel remarks in *Y.H.B.*, xvii, fo. 77v, dated January, 1545.

⁴ The writer hopes at some future date to examine the Yorkshire chantries from this new point. Such a survey will show how important they were, in the absence of modern curacies, to the normal conduct of parish life.

had its main support from political and social forces at work in south-eastern England. Yet a parallel transformation was gathering way throughout some influential sections of northern society well before the Privy Council harnessed it, by a memorable series of enactments, to the purposes of central government.

Below are printed :—(I) The list of foundations as enumerated in the Act of 1536 (II) The particulars of the dissolved chantries and obits as given in the House Book of 1546. Some of the other known facts regarding these institutes are given in the form of notes to this section.¹ (III) The House Book entries relating to the chantry of St. James, Castlegate mentioned above.² This body of material forms a not unimportant addition to our knowledge of York chantries on the eve of the Reformation, since, of course, these dissolved institutions found no place in the later Surveys.

It will be noted that two of the dissolved chantries were in the chapel of St. Anne (sometimes called St. Agnes) on Foss Bridge, and two others in the chapel of St. William, Ousebridge. Faced by the modern structures, with their ugly adjacent buildings, one realises with difficulty how picturesque and interesting they were with all their superstructures of four centuries ago. In Camden's time the Foss still had "a bridge set over it so set with buildings on both sides that a stranger would mistake it for a street."³ Its chapel stood on the north side of the bridge, being supported by wooden piles, some of which Drake saw removed in 1735.⁴ Old Ousebridge contained, of course, several public buildings, including the great council chamber of the city. Its appearance, though somewhat modified by the Elizabethan reconstruction may be well surmised from the charming plate in Drake's *Eboracum*.⁵ The chapel of St. William with its four chantries fell naturally under the especial surveillance of the Lord Mayor and his brethren.

I.

27 Hen. VIII, Cap. 32.⁶

"... nyne Chauntreys and three Obettes, wherof one Chauntrey & one yerely Obett was sumytyme amortysed and founded within the Cathedrall Church of Seynt Petir of Yorke by Master John Gylby and Sir Robert Semer somytyme subchaunter of the seid Cathedrall Church, Executors of the Testament and last will of Master Thomas Haxday, somtyme Treasurer of the forseid Cathedrall Church, And the Resydue of all the said Chauntries and Obettes were somytyme amortysed and foundyd

¹ The writer has not attempted an exhaustive account of their earlier history; a few obvious sources have been examined.

² Other relevant passages in the House Books have been omitted as they all doubtless appear in future volumes of the *York Civic Records*.

³ Camden, *Britannia* (edn. 1753), ii, 877.

⁴ *Eboracum*, p. 304.

⁵ Facing p. 281.

⁶ *Stat. Realm*, iii, 583.

in dyverce other places within the seid Cytie, that ys to saye¹ by Robert Hownie² somtyme of the seid Cytie Merchaunt.

Alane Hamerton somtyme of the seid Cytie merchaunt.

William Skelton late Citezen of Yorke.

John Catton late of the seid Cytie and Emote his wyf.

John Esshton late of the seid Cytie.

Helewyse de Wistow wydow somtyme wyff of Robert de Wistow late of the seid Cytie.

William Sothill John de Newton & Rauff Mar Executors of the Testament of Sir Roger de Mar, somtyme parson of the Church of Quayxley³ and somtyme Subchauntor of the seid Cathedrall Church,

Rychard Toller.⁴

John Fourbour Chapleyne

Roger de Selby son of Hewe de Selby.

Nycholas Blackburn thelder merchaunt⁵ and Adam Bauk Lytster⁶ or by any other person or persons by ther deryse and wylles . . .”

II

York House Book xviii, fos. 35v-36.

Citie of } Neyne chauntres and thre yerely obettes somtyme
York } founded within the said citie wherof vij of the said chauntres and the saides thre obettes was dyssolved by acte of parlyament the xvth day of Aprile in the xxvijth yere of the Kinges Majestie moste gracyous reign that now is, as it apperith now playnlie by a coppye of the same acte beyng exemplied under the Kinges Grace Great Seall of Englund. And byforce of the said acte the mayor and commonaltie of the said citie and ther successours ar clerely dyschargyd for ever for payment of the stypendes and wages that incumbentes of the saides vij chauntres hadd somtyme payd furth of the common chambre of the saide citie, and also of the yerely charges of the said thre obettes.

¹ The names of founders are here printed separately for the sake of clarity. Their several shares will appear below.

² Mistranscription of "Howme." Howom is also a common spelling of the name Holme.

³ Whixley, near Ripon.

⁴ One of the two chantries safeguarded and continued later in the Act is that "founded by the antecessors of Edmond Sandforthe Esquier within the Chappell of Seynt William of Ousebrigge." It survived until the general dissolution and is described in the Chantry Surveys as "of the foundation of Rychard Toller and Isabell, his wyffe, auncetores to Edmund Sandeforde, esquier" (*Y.C.S.*, 70; 458, where various other details of interest appear).

⁵ Also preserved until the general dissolution. A full account occurs in *ibid.*, 61, 468. It will be observed that the incumbents of these two chantries continued to receive their stipends from the Common Chamber until dissolved.

⁶ Dyer, "Bauk" is apparently a mistranscription of "Bank"; cf. below, p. 55.

- Furste the chauntre and one yerely obbet somtyme amorteshed¹ and founded within the cathedrall church of Saynt Peter of York by the executors of the testament and last will of Mr. Thomas Haxay² sometyme Tresorer of the said church, by yere furth of the Common Chambre } xijl.
- Item one chauntre within the chappell of Fossebrig of the said citie, whereof one Robert Holme³ of the said citie merchaunt was founder, by yere } vijli. xiijs. iiijd.
- Item a nother chauntre of the said brygg founded by one Allayne Hamerton,⁴ by yere } vl. vs.
- Item one chauntre within the chappell of Saynt William uppon Ousebrig aforesaid founded by Hawisse de Wystowe wyddo somtyme wyf of Robert de Wystowe⁵ lait of the said citie, by yere } iiyl. xiijs. iiijd.
- (fo. 36)
- Item one other chauntre of Owsebrig afforesaid somtyme founded by William Sothill, John de Newton and Rauf Marr, executors of the testament of Sir Roger Marr preist,⁶ by yere butt onely by reason of the decay of certeyn tenementes within the said citie that dydd somtyme belong to the said chauntre } xxxjs. viijd.

¹ Amortise: to convey property to a corporation: to alienate in mortmain.

² Treasurer of York from 1418 until his death in January 1425. His will is dated 29 February 1424. Warden of the Mint at York, prebendary of Beverley, Lincoln and Southwell, he founded also a chantry in the church of Southwell (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii, 161; *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, pp. 141, 271, 292, 338; *V.E.*, v, 196).

³ Drake, who saw the original grant, connects it with an Inquisition of 8 Hen. IV, num. 13 (*Eboracum*, p. 304). This does not appear to be the usual Inquisition *ad quod damnum*. The founder was presumably the Robert Holme who was Mayor of York in 1413 (*Cal. Pat.*, 1413-16, p. 125; *Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, *passim*). He is not to be confused with the founder at Holy Trinity Goodramgate in 1359-61 (*Y.C.S.*, 52, note). The *V.E.* (v, 27) agrees with the total of £6. 13s. 4d., but assigns 6s. 8d. of this as alms distributed annually on the death-day of the founder, i.e., an obit. The rest was received as salary by the then incumbent; Robert Tomlynson.

⁴ Freeman of York in 49 Edw. III and Chamberlain in 6 Hen. IV. (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 73, 108) Thomas Thackwray was incumbent in 1535, receiving a salary of £5 (*V.E.*, v, 28).

⁵ Robert de Wystow occurs several times in lists of York freemen between 27 Edw. I and 15 Edw. II (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 7-35 *passim*).

⁶ These executors, along with the vicar of Hunsingore, received permission to found this chantry in St. William's Chapel, Ousebridge in 12 Edw. II. *Y.C.S.*, 458 (note); cf. *Cal. Inquis. ad quod damnum*, p. 257). Further particulars regarding this chantry are given above, pp. 50, 52. It will be noted that the properties mentioned in note 1, p. 49 were worth only 30s. 8d.

Item one chauntre within the church of Allhallos in Northstreete founded by Allayn Hamerton somtyme of the said cite, merchaunt, William Skelton lait citizen of Yorke, John Catton of the said cite and Emott his wyf, by yere	} iiijli.
Item one other chauntre within the said church of Allhallos in Northstrete somtyme founded by Adam Banke ¹ lytster, by yere	} vli. vjs. viijd.
Item one yerelie obbet of John Esheton	xiijs. iiijd.
Item one other yerelye obbett founded by John Fourbor ² chapleyn, John Selby and Hewe Selby by yere	} xs.

III.

York House Book xviii fos. 48v-49.

St James Chauntre in Castlegate	Thes be the landes and tenementes somtyme belongyng to the chauntre of Saynt Jamys in Castelgaite and nowe belongyng to the Mayer and cominaltie of this cite.
------------------------------------	--

In primis one tenement in Coppergait in the holdyng of Thomas Luge by yere	} xjs.
Item one tenement in Castlegate in the holding of John Allaby by yere	} vijs.
Item one tenement in Castlegate in the holding of John Hewbanke by yere	} vjs.
Item one tenement uppon the Staith in the holding of Allayn Bowtheman by yere	} xs.
Item one tenement in Feasegate in the holdyng of John Norton by yere	} iiijjs.

(fo. 49).

(*Margin*)—St. James Chauntre surrendered by Sir Painter.

Willelmus Holme Assemblyd in the cownsaill chambre of maior, &c. &c.³ Owsebrig of this cite the day and yere abovesaides (24 July 1546) whan and wher Sir Christofer Paynter clerke cam personally before the said presentes and of his fre wyll haith gevyn upp releasyd and surrendryd all his right and intereyste of all suche landes and tenementes as he holdith at wyll of the Mayer and commonaltie of this cite whiche he haithe

¹ Adam del Banke, lyttester, was admitted a freemen of York in 45 Edw. III; became Chamberlain in 7 Ric. II and Mayor in 6 Hen. IV (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 68, 80, 108).

² John Fourbour also founded a chantry at the same altar as that of Roger Marr in Ousebridge chapel (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 280).

³ Those present of the Aldermen and twenty-four are enumerated here as usual.

in tymes paste clamyd to be as parcell of a chauntre whiche chauntre amonges other was grauntyd to the Mayer and cominaltie of this citie by acte of Parlyament. And in consideracion of suche good servyce as he haith done to the Mayer of this citie for the tyme beyng that he shall have payd yerely of the Common Chambre of this citie for the terme of his lyfe xls. sterlyng at Whytsonday and Martynmes by evyn porcions and he to have the same under the seall of office. And the said Sir Christofer shall ones every weeke say masse within the Chappell of Owsebrige at the commandment of my Lorde Mayer for the tyme beyng.

Item, it is agrede by the said presens that the brig maisters of Owsebrig of this citie shalbe chargyd with the saides landes and tenementes and to put the same in ther rentall, and the said brygmasters shall pay all maner of owterentes that ar dewe and oght to be payd furth of the said landes [and] tenementes.

Secular and Religious Motivation in the Pilgrimage of Grace

There can be few English historians still maintaining a lively interest in their fields over half a century after the publication of a major work, but this is happily true of the Misses Madeleine and Ruth Dodds, with whom I corresponded not many months ago. Their extensive two-volume work *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy*¹ disentangled with admirable system and discretion the huge deposit of evidence calendared (sometimes too summarily) in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*.² As a work of narrative history their book seems unlikely to call for major revisions, and it demands the warmest recognition from every student of Tudor history. Though its judgments are in general sober and well-grounded, its deep sympathies have possibly tended to encourage those who for various reasons wanted to idealise the Pilgrimage and over-estimate its creative possibilities.

Half a century ago—and for some students much more recently—the strong prejudices of Gairdner and Gasquet continued to affect almost all writing on this period: the soft mists of ecclesiastical Pre-Raphaelitism invaded not only religious but political and social history. Today we can still admire the strain of idealism and its chief begetter, Robert Aske, yet no longer can we think of the Pilgrimage or any other Tudor rising as the innocent equivalent of a general election. The Crown could not govern England, least of all its northern regions, on the basis of legalised revolts and treaties with their leaders. Public order remained fragile, government relatively weak, the

¹ Cambridge, 1915, cited below as Dodds.

² Cited below as *L. & P.*; these items occupy much of vols. XI and XII.

forces of chaos far too strong. If only because he was a rebel, Robert Aske could not be taken as an alternative minister to Thomas Cromwell. Henry VIII understood better than his modern critics the harsh realities of that world. Protected by no standing armies, merely by an invisible hedge of divine right, he could not survive if his prestige were once broken. Rebellion must be accounted the most perilous of crimes, and to that end he directed the great blast of state-propaganda during the thirties. If he could not suppress a rebellion by force, he had no weapon save deception, and like any prince in Christendom he did not feel bound to keep promises extracted by rebels. To accept a ministry imposed by them would have been equivalent to abdication, to reviving the Wars of the Roses and ushering in an age of tribulation for Englishmen. In such a context the moral dilemma propounded by Machiavelli had far sharper horns than modern moralists have ever acknowledged.

Since the basic work by the Misses Dodds, relatively little original research has been devoted to the Pilgrimage of Grace. In 1921 Dr Rachel Reid succinctly but massively reviewed its main features in the course of her accomplished work *The King's Council in the North*,¹ and she stressed the evidence for a predominantly secular and economic causation. From the outset it must still be insisted that secular causes bulk very large in the *gravamina* drawn up by the gentle and clerical leaders, even larger in the depositions and other sources more broadly representative of the proletarian rebels. Any study of the surrounding years emphasises the same features. The previous two years had been a time of bad weather, lean crops, and rising grain-prices. Indignation against landlords who raised gressoms proved widespread, and it stands prominently in the recorded grievances. In June 1535, over a year beforehand, a revolt against enclosures attracted three or four hundred malcontents in Craven, while in the same summer agrarian troubles were intermingled with family feuds in Westmorland.² In April-May 1536 enclosures

¹ London, 1921, cited as Reid.

² *L. & P.*, VIII, 863, 893, 984, 991-4; IX, 150, 196, 371; on other contemporaneous northern disorders see *ibid.* 1008, 1030, 1046.

occasioned riots both at York and in the Forest of Galtres.¹ The West Riding clothiers were reported to have joined the Pilgrimage because Parliament had just laid heavy penalties on their practice of 'flocking' cloth.² Even in the towns, especially in York and Beverley, the ancient conflict between the merchant-oligarchies on the councils and the unprivileged townsmen had again reached one of its acute phases. Quite apart from the Reformation-policy of the Crown, thought Dr Reid, there would have been a rising in the North about this time.³ This impression I cannot help sharing.

These contributions left me during the thirties with the rôle of a jackal: the publication of a few 'new' documents,⁴ a more detailed review of the royal tactics as revealed in the actual manuscript pardons,⁵ together with some researches on the sequels to the rising.⁶ In recent years I have attempted a survey from the viewpoint of that curious pilgrim Sir Francis Bigod, and have analysed our earliest literary source, the political poem by the interesting Lutheran and erastian Wilfrid Holme of Huntingdon.⁷ More recently still, the valuable essays of Mr M. E. James on the northern nobility have thrown additional light on the background of the Pilgrimage.⁸

Needless to add, at all stages these various detailed studies have been greatly outnumbered by the passages in general histories and textbooks which purport to summarise in brief space the

¹ *York Civic Records (Yorks. Archaeol. Soc. Record Series)*, IV, 1-3; *L. & P.*, X, 733.

² References in Reid, 129.

³ *Ibid.* 126.

⁴ *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal*, XXXIII (1937), 298-308.

⁵ *Ibid.* XXXIII (1938), 397-417.

⁶ *Ibid.* XXXIV (1939), 151-69, 379-98.

⁷ A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York* (London 1959) cited as *Lollards*, 53-131.

⁸ Three are especially relevant, *Change and Continuity in the Tudor North (Borthwick Papers*, no. 27, 1965) describes the rise of Lord Wharton. *A Tudor Magnate and the Tudor State* (*ibid.*, no. 30, 1966) is a study of the fifth Earl of Northumberland. *The First Earl of Cumberland and the Decline of northern Feudalism* is in *Northern History*, I (1966), 43-69. These are cited below respectively as *Change and Continuity*; *A Tudor Magnate*; *The First Earl of Cumberland*.

causes of a most complex revolt. The majority of these have continued to insist upon a heavily religious motivation, upon the ardent desire of northern society to preserve the Catholic religion and the monasteries. The aim of my present paper is to examine a little more precisely the religious and near-religious motives, to place them alongside the secular ones and within the proper local, national, and even European contexts.

Sixteenth-century rebels tended to think in terms of local needs and grievances. The English rebellions of 1536-7, like those of 1549 and like the great German risings of 1524-5, spread across large areas. Embracing numerous and varied local motives, they were all inadequately co-ordinated, and they all betrayed a certain indeterminacy of aim—military, political, psychological—which threatened to make them local demonstrations rather than national campaigns. Yet unlike the Holy Roman Empire, the Tudor state was not a beast without a heart, and any rising which could attain campaign status and then capture the centre of government had some chance of staging a real political revolution. Of all the Tudor risings, only the Pilgrimage of Grace assembled a force ostensibly large enough to dominate London and Westminster. Yet even when it had become a campaign, it distrusted its own powers, and instead of demonstrating its great military superiority over the royalist levies¹ and pressing on toward the capital, it preferred to negotiate on the Don and to credit the promises made on the King's behalf by the duke of Norfolk. Having done so, within two months it had dispersed beyond any hope of substantial reassembly. Even so, it still appears uniquely dangerous, in that it enlisted a large part of that military northern society—using the king's regular muster-rolls—under the accustomed and experienced leadership. It arose from the only English region where large numbers of men often went on active service. It meant that these formidable communities abandoned their age-old historic function as guardians against the Scot, faced right-about and sought to

¹ Norfolk had about 8000, and was possibly faced by as many as 40,000 northerners (*L. & P.*, XI, 759, 909).

force the Crown not only to solve their regional problems but to make sweeping ministerial and political changes.

The Pilgrims committed one of their early mistakes by choosing as their Grand Captain no great lord but a simple gentleman, no fierce Border chieftain but a religious idealist who did not want to beat the King too much. Even the more enterprising of Aske's followers were reluctant to wage civil war, and conscious that they lacked a prince of the blood royal able to become the focus of widespread national discontent, able to attract and control the powerful group of disloyal magnates in the West Country and the Welsh Marches. These magnates were indeed showing themselves more than half disposed to be organized by the indefatigable Imperial ambassador Eustache Chapuys. Yet the proud, irresolute Courtenays and Poles would not march under the banner of poor Robert Aske, and so they not only failed to register their protest but left the Crown free to pick them off at leisure in the subsequent years.

The one northern noble house able to command widespread loyalties and to boast a great political tradition had sadly declined since the days of its king-making and king-breaking.¹ In Wolsey's time the fifth earl of Northumberland had uneasily accepted Tudor rule; his son, dispirited by his miserable marriage and by quarrels with his brothers, had recently made the King heir to the Percy lands. Ailing, and anxious not to squander the royal gratitude earned by this supreme sacrifice, the young sixth earl hung aloof from the rising and did not seek to endow it with the old magic of Hotspur. Yet the earl's aggrieved brother Sir Thomas Percy, called by one observer 'the lock, key and wards of this matter',² rode prominently among the leaders, while a striking number of these leaders

¹ On this phase of the Percies see E. B. de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy* (London 1887), I, ch. viii, ix; Dodds, I, 31 ff.; Reid, 115 ff.; M. E. James in *Surtees Soc.*, CLXIII, pp. xiv-xvi, in *A Tudor Magnate* and in *The First Earl of Cumberland* (where, pp. 61-7, he has some fresh views on the sixth Earl's motives); J. M. W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family* (1958); A. G. Dickens in *Surtees Soc.*, CLXXII, 44-8, 104-11, and also in above, 41 seq.

² *L. & P.*, XII(1), 369 (p. 166).

were tied by offices and fees to the house of Percy.¹ For the latter the failure of the rising meant two decades of wretched obscurity, and except for a brief space in 1569, it never again wielded great power in the North. And when we speak of leadership and reflect on the declining position of the Percies as neo-feudalists or as brokers of Crown influence, we may suitably recall an earlier and very different failure: that of the surviving members of the house of York to maintain since Bosworth Field a footing in the North. It is sometimes said that if Reginald Pole had crossed the sea to northern England in the autumn of 1536, the Pilgrimage would have become a White Rose crusade, led by a cardinal of the House of York. But this notion may be anachronistic, for would not Pole have come forty years too late? He might have become a useful puppet of the Percy faction, but he could have added little save an ecclesiastical and an antiquarian flavour to the cause.

A still largely feudal society was hence debarred from employing to the full its feudal leaders, and for this reason alone it embarked upon revolt under dark auspices. Yet its flaws of leadership penetrated deeper still. To a remarkable extent the spontaneous uprisings were everywhere those of a disgruntled peasantry and yeomanry. This fact has been partly masked by the eventual emergence of an aristocratic leadership, and by the surprising fact that several of the King's councillors in the North either joined the revolt or allowed themselves to be swept along in its train. But when the adherence of the ordinary gentry is examined in detail, it is found in a great number of cases to have been enforced by the aggressive commons. A few, it is true, seem to have joined with alacrity, yet in the main it may be said that if the gentry were not fully conditioned to Tudor rule, they were at least half-conditioned. Some, like Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Bigod in Yorkshire, the Lumleys and Sir Thomas Hilton in Durham, sought to avoid complicity by flight. In the November Lord Dacre went to London and did not return until Cumberland and Westmorland had settled down. Sir Thomas

¹ References in Reid, 133-4; James, *Change and Continuity*, 21.

Wharton disappeared from mid-October 1536 until 12 January 1537, and to this day we do not know his whereabouts during that period. On the other hand the Cliffords resisted the rebels at Skipton and Carlisle, the Eures at Scarborough, the Carnabys and Greys at Chillingham, and Sir Thomas Clifford at Berwick.¹ Many others joined the march of the commons with fear and misgiving; they apparently felt only too relieved when at last able to treat with the duke of Norfolk, to dissociate themselves from rebellion, to demonstrate their loyalty to the King by crushing the secondary eruptions which followed in the early weeks of 1537.

This fundamental divergence of interests and attitudes between gentry and commons contained, it is true, many subtleties distinguishing the rising from the German revolts of the previous decade. In Germany the chasm between the knights and the peasants proved so deep that they rose quite separately (and years apart) against their common foes the princes. In northern England the social tensions were moderated by numerous factors. Men of all ranks continued to think in terms of kinship and traditional loyalties. Again, the system of primogeniture helped to make landlords less predatory and hence less unpopular than in Germany. Despite the family feuds—and those surrounding the Dacres were exceptionally bitter—the survival of lordship and affinity, paternalism and clientage, had doubtless been aided by the continuing need to mount common enterprises against the Scot. Hence, while the commons complained bitterly against enclosures and increased gressoms, in many areas they remained ready to follow the landlords whom they had just compelled by open menaces to become their captains. Here in fact there exist some German parallels in the plight of Götz von Berlichingen and other nobles forced to swear allegiance and to participate in the Peasants' Revolt.

This Gilbertian situation imperilled the cohesion of the Pilgrimage from the first, though for a time the gentry (some ever-reluctant, some developing a measure of enthusiasm) kept

¹ Ibid. 20-23; *The First Earl of Cumberland*, 46-57, *passim*.

moving under the stimulus of their own class-grievances.¹ They resented the disabilities threatened by the Statutes of Uses and of Treason; they were nettled by the punishment recently inflicted by Cromwell upon the Yorkshire grand jury; they hated several of the King's ministers and religious advisers; they felt that the North was economically weak, underweighted in Parliament, neglected by the King and overtaxed at Westminster. So long as a crude spirit of class-warfare is not attributed to Tudor society, it seems clear that there existed too little identity of aim to transcend the normal conflict of material interests between the classes, and that this fundamental tension remained the greatest single source of weakness to the Pilgrimage of Grace. Inevitably there came the nemesis, the moment when the Crown ruthlessly exploited this division to liquidate the whole movement.

While the early irresolution of the gentry owed something to divided loyalties, their deeper interest lay in coming to some compromise with the King, while yet avoiding trouble with their own tenants and husbandmen. The unsteadiness of the King's counsellors, still more the treason of Lord Darcy of Templehurst,² was by no means typical of the lesser men. Like the saintly Bishop Fisher, his fellow-survivor from the fifteenth century, Darcy was a frequenter of the back-room of Chapuys, yet it would seem impossible to attribute to him a similar degree of religious intent. More than two years before the rising, the elderly nobleman was urging Charles V to an invasion of England, and actively plotting with Chapuys to rally the North around the crucifix and the Imperial standard. He told Chapuys he could muster a force of 8,000 men from his own friends and tenants.³ Henry's problem is indeed vividly illustrated by the conduct of Darcy, a veritable pillar of the State, one who since

¹ On these see Reid, 130 ff.

² See *L. & P.*, VIII, *Preface*, pp. ii-iv; 1, 750 (p. 283), 1018; XII (1), 1080; and the references in the two subsequent notes.

³ He wanted to send an emissary to Charles V, bring over an Imperial force to the mouth of the Thames, and arrange for a Scots invasion (*L. & P.*, VII, 1206). On the parallel case of Lord Hussey, see Dodds, *Index*, s.v., especially i, 21-5.

the nineties had held innumerable military commands and offices of trust, one who stood bound by every possible oath of loyalty to the Crown. It was he who wrote so dutifully to Henry and others during the early days of the Pilgrimage,¹ yet only to surrender the King's key-fortress of Pontefract and to share the leadership with Aske when the moment came to abandon pretences. Despite his personal piety, his quite natural hatred for the upstart Cromwell and for the half-Lutheran group among the bishops, it is hard to see Darcy's gross and deliberate treason as justified, or even mainly motivated, by a sense of religious obligation. Henry had sanctioned no Protestant doctrines, while so far as the Supremacy was concerned, Darcy himself said of the exclusion of papal power, 'By my truth I think that is not against our Faith'.² Long ago Darcy had been ousted by Wolsey from various offices, and a cumulative sense of personal grievance may well have affected him over a long period.³ Moreover, he forms but an extreme example of that strong trend toward active disloyalty shown by several ancient baronial houses in other parts of the country. Not long ago Professor Garrett Mattingly stressed the seriousness of the neo-feudal conspiracy of the thirties,⁴ a feature long underestimated by romantic historians, notably by those who isolate religious history from the secular realities. But let us give the septuagenarian Darcy the last word. Examined before his trial by the Lord Chancellor and Thomas Cromwell, he turned on the latter with a prophetic intensity:

Cromwell it is thou that art the very original and chief causer of all this rebellion and mischief . . . and I trust that ere thou die, though thou wouldst procure all the noblemen's heads within the realm to be stricken off, yet shall there one head remain that shall strike off thy head.⁵

Nothing in Darcy's long, eventful, and ultimately irresponsible

¹ *L. & P.*, XI, 563, 605, 627, 664, 692, 739, 760, 761.

² See his conversation with Somerset Herald (14 Nov.) printed in Dodds, I, 304.

³ Reid, 138.

⁴ *Catherine of Aragon* (London 1963), 286-90 and references, 328-9.

⁵ *L. & P.*, XII (1), 976.

career became him better than this defiant farewell. Nevertheless, it also suggests a predominantly secular outlook.

I have hitherto generalized somewhat crudely concerning the secular aims of the Pilgrimage, and before turning to consider directly its religious motives I am first bound to indicate some local variations. The Pilgrimage was not a unitary movement: it is perhaps best envisaged as four risings rather loosely connected by a broad, inchoate spirit of resentment and opportunism. Irrespective of its purposes, rebellion was contagious. Once it started in a neighbouring area, aggrieved people were apt to feel that they themselves must snatch at this opportunity of gaining support; they must act now or never.

First came the Lincolnshire rebellion of 1-12 October 1536, a largely democratic and somewhat anticlerical movement to which we shall later revert. This had almost collapsed before the men of the North began to rise. What one might call the main Pilgrimage lasted from 9 October to 5 December; it was the one which in a strangely spontaneous manner chose as its captain Robert Aske, who had not previously been concerned with any disloyal activities. This main rising became broadly representative of northern society; it affected most of Yorkshire and Durham, parts of Lancashire and Northumberland.¹ It soon occupied the city of York and remustered at Pontefract. According to the variant contemporary estimates it involved from 20,000 to 40,000 men when at last it stood well-organized on the Don and negotiated with the duke of Norfolk. In the third place, the simultaneous rising in Cumberland and Westmorland² had a special character which it shared to a great extent with those in Craven³ and Richmondshire,⁴ the neighbouring Pennine areas

¹ On Durham and Northumberland, see Dodds, I, 192; on Lancashire, *ibid.* I, 212 ff.

² On Cumberland-Westmorland, see *ibid.* I, 192, 225-6, 370-72, and James, *Change and Continuity*, 19, 24-5.

³ Here the commons had little regard for the Church; they wandered about in bands, returning home at night (Dodds, I, 208-9).

⁴ Dodds, I, 226, compares Richmondshire with Cumberland-Westmorland and depicts it as a centre of the revolt against enclosures and rising rents.

of Yorkshire. This austere hill-country, its population pressing upon meagre resources, left little surplus to divide between lord and tenant. Here, while a few gentlemen like Sir Edward Musgrave and Sir John Lowther apparently joined without compulsion, the real leaders and their adherents were nearly all men of the people. Some admitted that they feared the influence of the gentry, and deliberately sought to exclude them from their counsels. Their demands proved almost wholly agrarian. It has never been claimed that here any 'religious rising' occurred, and the Misses Dodds were wholly justified in comparing the demands of Cumberland-Westmorland with the twelve Swabian articles, the famous manifesto of the German peasants.¹ These north-westerners, having dispersed with the rest in early December, fiercely renewed their rebellion in January 1537, and from this stage no gentry or clergy participated. Unexpectedly defeated by a sally of loyalists from Carlisle, they provided over 70 of the total 200 victims executed in Norfolk's reprisals. Finally, and also in January 1537, a separate revival of the Pilgrimage was attempted in eastern Yorkshire by Sir Francis Bigod and that 'cruel and fierce' yeoman Henry Hallam.² Assembling the tenants and neighbours of Sir Francis in the Settrington-Malton area, they launched a two-pronged attack on the strongholds of Hull and Scarborough, but failed ignominiously to capture either. More important still, they failed to re-engage the other Yorkshire gentry or to link with the rebels still active in Cumberland and Westmorland. This revolt collapsed after a short battle at Beverley against the now loyalist gentry of the East Riding.

Sir Francis Bigod is the strangest, most complex, most intellectual character in the whole story. A ward of Wolsey, an Oxford undergraduate, perhaps at protestant-infested Cardinal College, he had recently published a treatise violently denouncing monastic impropriations as destructive of an endowed preaching

¹ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, V (1890), 72-3.

² On this rising see Dodds, II, 55-98; *Lollards*, 92-106.

ministry.¹ Here he betrayed Lutheran influences; his phraseology also anticipated to a striking degree that of the English Puritans of later decades. Until the eve of the Pilgrimage he had been an intimate of Thomas Cromwell and had acted as the latter's chief agent in setting forth the Royal Supremacy in Yorkshire. Only a series of strange mischances had made this young aristocrat a rebel. At first seeking to escape by sea, driven ashore and forcibly enlisted by the commons, he seems to have seen a chance of turning the movement into 'progressive' channels. He showed a passion for reforming rather than abolishing the monasteries he had so bitterly attacked a year earlier. While he rejected the Papal Supremacy, he wrote during the revolt a treatise on Church and State, arguing from a standpoint of puritan ecclesiasticism that, whereas the archbishop of Canterbury might be head of the English Church, a layman like the King could not rightfully assume that office.² He ended by raising his own revolt in January 1537 because he did not believe in the sincerity or the legal force of the pardon whereby the King had allayed the main Pilgrimage. He supposed that by seizing Hull and Scarborough the northerners would be in a position to make a securer deal with the King. While his legal acumen and strategic sense can hardly be impugned, he grossly underestimated the fear, the eager desire to curry favour with the King, the worried and half-guilty emotions of the northern gentry, now that the main rebel host had dispersed, and they stood naked before the King's terrifying gaze.

What can be said regarding the nature and extent of religious motives within these four movements of revolt? In regard to three of them, the answer seems fairly clear. Simplest of all is Bigod's rising, a political sequel without apparent religious aims, a skin-saving affair led by a disgruntled and over-clever protestant Reformer. Not much more complicated is the north-western economic and social revolt. It showed little interest in the monasteries; it stood totally out of sympathy with the secular

¹ Bigod's *Treatise concerning Impropriations* (c. 1535) is reprinted and discussed in my volume *Tudor Treatises* (Yorks. Archaeol. Soc. Record Series, CXXV).

² *L. & P.*, XII (1), 201 (p. 92), 370 (p. 168). The original was lost.

clergy and they with it. The north-western men denounced enclosures, high rents and taxes, above all tithes, a massive source of resentment and litigation throughout early Tudor England.¹ A rebellion which plundered all the tithe-barns on which it could lay hands² could scarcely be inflated, even by the most romantic ecclesiast, into a crusade for the rights of Holy Church! The clergy of Cumberland and Westmorland also lacked conservative ardour. When Robert Aske demanded their opinions on the suppression of monasteries and on the Supremacy, they 'would determine nothing, but wrote to the archbishop of York, referring all to him'.³

It would be just as difficult to spiritualize the rather squalid, weakly-led, and ephemeral Lincolnshire rising.⁴ This was likewise almost wholly democratic in its origins: an affair of peasants, yeomen, and small-townsmen from Louth, Horncastle, Caistor, and other such places. Mob-law and meaningless violence bulked large. Most intelligibly, the local gentry showed themselves reluctant to be impressed, and eager to pacify the rebels, a task in which they quickly succeeded. The Lincolnshire men showed no interest in Papalism; so far as I have observed, throughout the voluminous Lincolnshire records the Royal Supremacy is mentioned only once, and then reported as actually accepted by the insurgents.⁵ On the other hand, the Lincolnshire monastic lands were extensive, and there can be no doubt that the people resented the dissolution or impending dissolution of the smaller Lincolnshire religious houses. They were also moved by persistent, though false, rumours to the effect that the King intended suppressing many parish churches and confiscating church plate.

As the Misses Dodds have shown, the Lincolnshire rising was sparked off by the arrival in the county of no less than three sets of royal commissioners. One came to dissolve the smaller

¹ See e.g. G. R. Elton, *Star Chamber Stories*, ch. vi; J. S. Purvis, *Select XVth Century Cases in Tithe* (*York. Archaeol. Soc. Record Series*, CXIV).

² *L. & P.*, XII (1), 18, 185.

³ *L. & P.*, XII (1), 687 (p. 304).

⁴ The Lincolnshire rising is well described by Dodds, I, 89-130.

⁵ *L. & P.*, XI, 853.

monasteries, another to assess and collect the subsidy, the third to enquire into the morals, education, and politics of the clergy. Dreading academic examination, the Lincolnshire clerics emphasized the perils besetting the Church, and they aroused the sympathies of many laymen. At Horncastle a frenzied mob battered to death poor Dr Raynes, the unpopular bishop's chancellor, and the miscreants later blamed the priests for inciting them to murder.¹ All in all, the Lincolnshire Pilgrimage seems by far the most confused and unattractive of these movements. We good Yorkshiremen can scarcely claim that our own ancestors were the cultural leaders of Renaissance Europe, yet we cannot resist a snigger over the King's address to these Calibans of Lincolnshire:

How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of least experience, to find fault with your Prince. . . .²

It may thus be said with confidence that anything in the nature of Catholic idealism played as negligible a rôle in Lincolnshire as in Cumberland-Westmorland. We are thus left with the main Pilgrimage, where a more complex situation emerges. Our investigation may begin with the evidence for the attitudes of Aske and his followers toward the monasteries, which in Yorkshire were both numerous and collectively rich. Their estates comprised in fact a large sector of the agrarian economy. One simple but neglected point should first be made: that the northern rebels were not rising to demonstrate their discontent with the actual economic or religious results of the monastic dissolution. Why not? Because at the time the vast majority of the monasteries has not even been dissolved. The process had indeed begun with some of the smaller houses affected by the Act of 1536, though in Yorkshire many even among these had already gained exemptions, probably because so many of the Yorkshire religious elected to remain in religion, and could not be accommodated in the larger houses.³ As for the greater monasteries, they had not, of course, been affected by the Act.

¹ Dodds, I, 101-2.

² *State Papers of Henry VIII*, I, p. 463.

³ G. W. O. Woodward in *EHR*, LXXI (1961), 385-401.

By far the most interesting comments on the dissolution-problem occur in the remarkable memoir¹ which the King caused Robert Aske to prepare. In the first of his two passages on this theme Aske offers his personal views on the usefulness of the monasteries and, eloquent lawyer as he must have been, he argues the case for them on the following grounds: that almsgiving, hospitality, and a great number of masses would be lost by suppression; that sacrilege would be offered to relics, ornaments, and tombs; that farmers of monastic lands would merely sub-let for cash, and keep no hospitality; that the North would be drained of money through payments to non-resident landlords; that many tenants also enjoyed fees as servants to monasteries, and would now become unemployed; that certain houses afforded spiritual benefits in desolate areas, where the people were 'rude of conditions and not well taught the law of God'; that some houses in the Pennine area gave hospitality to strangers and corn-merchants; that the monasteries were one of the 'beauties of this realm'; that they lent money to impoverished gentlemen, and looked after money left in trust to infants; that in nunneries gentlemen's daughters were brought up in virtue; that abbeys near the sea helped to maintain sea-walls and dykes.² Provided it be remembered that these points represent Aske's own 'case' for the monasteries, that they do not claim to be a judicial assessment of pros and cons, or to suggest that every monastery distinguished itself in all or many of these good deeds, the list may be granted to contain nothing very contentious. All such generalization must be seen in the light of the fact that the annual incomes of the Yorkshire monasteries varied from £ 10 to more than £ 2,000.³ Again, Aske's stress lies heavily upon the usefulness of the monasteries to the nobility, gentry, substantial tenants, and merchants; it involves no sentimental claim that they constituted the patrimony of the poor.

¹ Printed in full, *EHR*, V, 330-45; 550-73.

² *Ibid.* V, 561-2.

³ A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution* (Oxford 1909), 285-7.

How then, so far as one may generalize, did the mass of pilgrims view the dissolution?

Here again Aske is our most useful single informant, though modern commentators, fascinated by the above-mentioned passage, have seldom observed that earlier passage in his memoir¹ where he relates how in an interview at Pontefract, he had described to the lords and the gentry the grievances of the common people. Here one must quote, lest any reader be left in doubt that the religious idealist Aske provided an economic explanation of the Pilgrimage. The lords temporal, he had asserted, had not done their duty in declaring to the King the poverty of his realm,

for insomuch as in the north parts, much of the relief of the commons was by succour of abbeys, that before this last statute thereof made, the King's Highness had no money out of that shire, . . . for his Grace's revenues there yearly went to the finding of Berwick. And that now the profits of abbeys suppressed, tenths and first-fruits went out of those parts, neither the tenant to have to pay his rents to the lord, nor the lord to have money to do the King service withall, for so much as in those parts was neither the presence of his Grace, execution of his laws, nor yet but little recourse of merchandise, so that of necessity the said country should either 'patyssh' [i.e. make a treaty] with the Scots, or for very poverty [be] enforced to make commotions or rebellions; and that the lords knew the same to be true and had not done their duty'.

This prevalent fear that the North would be drained of money appears in other sources of the thirties and forties,² while the actual fact of coin-shortage, even among men who owned much stock, can be supported by the evidence of northern wills and other record-sources.³ During the decades following the dissolution, its social-economic influence seems to have exerted less sinister effects than the Pilgrims had feared. Though in some instances speculators briefly held northern ex-monastic lands, the latter were not to any considerable extent assigned to

¹ *EHR*, V, 335-6.

² It is given by Chapuys as a main cause of the Yorkshire plot of 1541 (*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, VI (1), 163).

³ E.g. *Knaresborough Wills* (*Surtees Soc.*, CIV), pp. xi, xxiii.

profiteering merchants or non-resident southerners.¹ Yet the fact remains that, in the clear submission of the religious idealist Aske, the mundane commons feared the suppression not as a present religious grievance but as a future economic one. As will be observed, their behaviour seems in general consonant with this view. On the other hand, it would be foolish to argue that there existed no ties of sentiment between the people and the religious houses. Everywhere and at all levels, men hobnobbed and quarrelled with monks, denounced their covetousness, waged countless lawsuits against them, joked about their supposedly easy life and their human misfits, sponged upon them when they had lucrative stewardships or leases to offer. Laymen had reason to know that in some sparsely-populated areas certain houses continued to offer valuable hospitality to travellers of all classes. In exceptional cases, as with the Carthusians at Mountgrace,² people still respected the holiness of monks. Monasteries were old members of the rural family; one took them for good or ill; in 1536 one did not envisage or desire their total liquidation. In after years, when death had claimed most or all of the ex-religious, one's sons or grandsons might seek to romanticise them in ways which would not have occurred to people who had known them at first hand, not even to Robert Aske when he put his gallant case for their preservation.

These unsentimental and realistic attitudes continue manifest when we turn from Aske's memoir to the actual behaviour of the rebels toward the local monasteries and their inmates. While in Lincolnshire no attempts were made to restore dispossessed monks, several such attempts occurred in the North, though in some cases the evidence is fragmentary and uncertain. In the six northern counties, reckons Dr Woodward, some 55 houses were suppressed or in process of suppression, and at sixteen of those places evidence of one sort or another proves or suggests that restorations took place.³ The most unquestionable instance

¹ Discussion and references in A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London 1964), 147-66.

² A. G. Dickens in *Surtees Soc.*, CLXXII, 34-7.

³ G. W. O. Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London 1966),

of a house restored amid genuine popular acclamation is that of Sawley on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire.¹ On the other hand, at several other houses the behaviour of the rebels was hostile, even predatory. At Watton Priory in the East Riding the canons had to bribe off the commons with a cash offer of £ 10, after the latter had already commandeered the horses of the Priory.² At many places monkish timidity evoked disrespectful fury. At the Greyfriars, Beverley (as at Kirkstead and Barlings in Lincolnshire) the rebels threatened to burn down the house unless the inmates cooperated in the rising.³ At Whitby during the preceding months a long feud between the Abbey and the local townsmen had resulted not only in lawsuits but in riot and bloodshed.⁴ Though after the rising the suspicious duke of Norfolk feared that Bridlington and Jervaulx were beloved by the people,⁵ during the revolt itself the local rebels threatened to burn Jervaulx unless the monks elected an abbot more favourable to the rising than the present one, Adam Sedber. The latter was in fact hiding from them on Witton Fell: the frightened monks sent a messenger, who found him 'in a great crag' and persuaded him to return. On his arrival at Jervaulx his friends saved him with difficulty from the commons, who, unrestrained by the presence of any gentlemen, shouted 'Down with that traitor Whoreson traitor, where hast thou been? Get a block to strike off his head upon'. Under this pressure poor Sedber took the oath, became further implicated, and finally suffered execution.⁶

The fact that a religious house became a storm-centre of the rising does not necessarily indicate its social popularity. All

93 ff.; references for most of these cases are scattered in Dodds. Aske encouraged restorations at the small houses in York city; he nevertheless took steps to record the rights of the new owners (Dodds, I, 178-9).

¹ On Sawley, see Woodward, *op. cit.*, 86, 94-7; Dodds, I, 213; II, 85-6; III, 129.

² *L. & P.*, XII (1), 201 (pp. 98-102).

³ Dodds, I, 147.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, 41-3; *Lollards*, 83-6.

⁵ *L. & P.*, XII (1), 1172.

⁶ *L. & P.*, XII (1), 1035, 1269.

over Europe monasteries were from one viewpoint landlords, and seldom popular ones. In Germany they had proved the chief targets of peasant rebels. Even in England the assembly of a mob of angry yeomen and labourers at the gates of a monastery looked to the worried inmates neither like a pro-monastic crusade nor like a deputation from the local union of farm-workers! In the North as elsewhere, disrespect toward the clergy both regular and secular occurred not infrequently before and during the Pilgrimage.¹ In Aske's words, rural northern working men were 'rude of conditions and not well taught the law of God'. Though often, as these depositions show, endowed with worldly shrewdness, they seem to have had little understanding of the spiritual purposes of monasticism. At this period laymen did little to help the monks maintain their discipline, and a great deal to drag them down. If their attitude to the dissolution was as mundane as Aske thought, this seems borne out by their behaviour during the rising. All things considered, one can only suggest that the preservation of the monasteries should be deleted from the list of religious motives in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and put into some largely secular category.

Charitably overlooking the demands of the leaders for the preservation of sanctuaries and benefit of clergy, we are left with two other religious motives of importance: the dislike of a still predominantly Catholic society for doctrinal heresy, and the problem of Royal *versus* Papal Supremacy. In the contemporary state-papers there are many recorded instances—not only in the rebellious areas but throughout England—where men of varied social backgrounds bewail the proliferation of heretics. The official list of grievances drawn up at Pontefract includes the demand 'to have the heresies of Luther, Wyclif, Husse, Melancton, Elicampadus (*sic*), Bucerus, Confessa Germanie [i.e., of Augsburg], Apologia Malanctons, the works of Tyndall, of Barnys, of Marshal, Raskell (*sic*), Seynt Germanyne and other such heresy of Anibaptist destroyed'. Of the several solecisms here, the classing of the anticlerical yet cautiously orthodox

¹ E.g. *L. & P.*, X, 186 (38); XI, 805, 1080; XII (1), 185, 687 (1) and (2).

jurist Christopher St German among the arch-heretics shows how much hearsay predominated over actual study in the minds of the men who drafted this article.¹ Another clause, 'to have the heretics, bishops and temporal, and their sect, to have condign punishment by fire', corresponds more closely with the actualities. From other passages² we know whom the northerners had in mind: Cromwell, Lord Chancellor Audley, the Speaker Sir Richard Rich, Cranmer, Latimer, Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, and Barlow, bishop of St David's.

The framers of these heresy-articles were not theologians. They heard of alarming Anabaptist beliefs—Münster had occurred only a year earlier—and tended to lump together all the heretics, moderate and extremist alike. Their protest should probably be linked with the great list of *mala dogmata* produced by the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation in the previous June.³ Though they cannot be expected to have foreseen that Hugh Latimer would later stand among the fiercer denouncers of Anabaptism, they should have known that the King disliked both Luther and the Anabaptists at least as much as they did. At the same time, they had truly sensed that men more than half Lutheran had gained a footing in the corridors of power, and with no little pathos they sought to warn their supposedly guileless and good-natured monarch of his peril. Apart from the sporadic extension of neo-Lollardy from the southern counties into the North, and a thin sprinkling of Lutheran ideas among the gentry and clergy, little evidence of Protestantism in the northern counties is forthcoming until after the Pilgrimage. These articles may well constitute a protest against heresy attributable not merely to Aske and the clerical leaders but to a large element among the gentry and the common people. On the other hand, during the years around the Pil-

¹ *L. & P.*, XI, 1246, article 1. On St German, see F. L. Van Baumer in *American Hist. Rev.*, XLII (1937), 631 ff.

² Article 7; compare article 8 and *L. & P.*, XII (1), 901 (31). In article 11 they demand the punishment of Legh and Layton.

³ R. W. Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England* (London 1884), I, 404-9. What appears to be the Melchiorite Christology was attributed in 1534 to one of Bigod's chaplains (*L. & P.*, XII (1), 899).

grimage the many miscellaneous recorded protests made against heresy do not derive in any remarkable degree from the North, and it would be hard to prove that feeling there was exceptionally intense. There seems not the slightest likelihood that such sentiments played any large part in stirring the North to revolt.¹ Even the well-known protestant prejudices of Sir Francis Bigod did not cause him to be coldshouldered by the Pilgrims.

The matter of the Supremacy seems rather more complex. The first of the Pontefract Articles demands that the supremacy of the Church 'touching *cura animarum*' should be reserved to the See of Rome as before. The consecration of bishops must be from the Pope, but without any firstfruits or pensions to be paid to him, except perhaps 'a reasonable pension' for the outward defence of the Faith. The purport is clear enough, yet on this issue northern opinion was by no means agreed. Fortunately we have detailed accounts of the negotiations which produced the Article.² The matter was first discussed by a group of divines, summoned by Archbishop Lee under pressure from the rebel leaders and meeting privately in the parlour of the Abbey at Pontefract. Here Dr Sherwood, chancellor of Beverley, is said to have taken the King's side, while Dr Marshall, archdeacon of Nottingham, spoke most for the papal claims. Dr Dakyn, rector of Kirkby Ravensworth and a prominent judge in the archbishop's consistory court at York,³ acted as secretary. The last-named—and it should be noted that he was anxious to keep out of trouble when he recounted these events—claims to have been highly dubious about the papal case, because his earlier experience in the Court of Arches had shown him that appeals to Rome occasioned great contention and delays. He thought that the matter of the Supremacy should be referred to a General Council.

While the clerics thus wrangled, Robert Aske butted into

¹ Of the many cases cited by Dodds (see Index, s.v. New Learning) the greater number come from other areas.

² Referenced accounts are in Dodds, I, 382-6 and in *Lollards*, 163-5.

³ On Dakyn, see A. G. Dickens, *The Marian Reaction in the Diocese of York*, below, pp.93 ff.

their meeting: he insisted that the Papal Supremacy must be upheld, and that he himself would fight to the death in this cause. The divines obeyed and the next day took their conclusions to Archbishop Lee, who was naturally disturbed by the one favouring the Papal Supremacy. Dr Marshall and the Dominican Dr Pickering then insisted on the necessity of this article, which Lee finally allowed to remain, as expressing 'the consent of Christian people'. Lord Darcy, on the other hand, did not consider the exclusion of the pope from England to be against the Faith, but Aske claims to have persuaded him and Sir Robert Constable to allow the inclusion of the papalist item among the official Articles.¹ Its presence there was certainly the work of a small pressure-group headed by Aske and certain clerics. It cannot be taken as proof of widespread feeling among the leaders. On Aske's own admission, the leaders had not troubled to debate this matter before the clerical meeting. Moreover, Aske himself was no fanatic; he was chiefly concerned to prevent a Royal Supremacy which should involve a royal claim to the cure of souls, and he claims personally to have qualified the Article by inserting the words '*touching cura animarum*'.² But even a Protestant like Bigod could resent such a spiritual interpretation of the King's obscure claim; at Pontefract at least five pertinent memoranda were handed to Aske, apart from that by Bigod: of these three were by priests and two may have been by laymen.³ Unfortunately, they were all lost, and their tenor cannot be guessed. Aske himself included the Act of Supremacy in the list of statutes against which men 'grudged chiefly'.⁴ It was thought, he says, that it should be a division from the Church. Nevertheless the rest of the voluminous sources contain extremely little to suggest, and a good deal to discourage, the notion that here was a matter of enthusiastic partisanship amongst either the lay leaders or the commons.

¹ *EHR*, V, 570.

² *Ibid.* V, 559.

³ References in Dodds, I, 343, 347.

⁴ *EHR*, V, 559.

The evidence concerning clerical views on this problem is too complex to be properly described in a few sentences. The regulars, with few exceptions, showed themselves timid and cautious. The Carthusians of Mountgrace had been plainly troubled by the royal claims, though in the end they had not embraced martyrdom alongside their heroic London brethren.¹ In 1535 one brave Cistercian of Rievaulx, George Lazenby, had deliberately done so, suffering condemnation to death at the York assizes.² During the rising there appear strong hints of resentment at Sawley and elsewhere, while a monk of Furness doubtless typified a widespread sentiment when, allegedly in his cups, he blurted out that 'there should be no lay knave Head of the Church'.³ On the other hand the stock of the Papacy had not yet risen throughout Europe, while the assumption of papal powers by Wolsey had scarcely endeared those powers to Wolsey's main victims, the English clergy. During the last four years even the Northern Convocation had evinced extremely little opposition to the Royal Supremacy. Some of the higher clergy like John Dakyn saw practical disadvantages in the Roman connection: others like Archdeacon Thomas Magnus were enthusiastic royal agents.⁴ It was probably amongst the northern parish clergy that the old loyalties flourished most, though very few risked martyrdom. And one may scarcely doubt that alongside the merely custom-ridden, there were some thoughtful priests who reflected that the unity of Christendom, and perhaps sacramental orthodoxy itself, might well depend on the survival of papal headship.

These seem the central aspects of religious motivation in the Pilgrimage of Grace, yet none of them can be properly assessed in isolation from personal and political issues. Then as now, public opinion was not deeply involved with abstract issues of theology and church government. Northern (and not only

¹ I give references in *Surtees Soc.*, CLXXII, 37, note 94.

² *Lollards*, 79-81; L. E. Whatmore in *Downside Review*, LX (1942), 325-8.

³ *L. & P.*, XII (1), 652.

⁴ On Magnus, see Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 44-5; *Lollards*, 155, 159.

northern) opinion tended to deplore the plight of Queen Katherine and the Princess Mary, to denounce the King's marriage to the lady whom one scandalised Suffolk woman described as 'that goggle-eyed whore Nan Bullen'. The restoration of the Princess—a matter of real importance to northerners who detested the possibility of a Scottish succession—is included among the Articles.¹ It can scarcely be doubted that the royal divorce helped to convince many people that the King had really fallen under evil and heretical influences. In some fields Henry's propaganda was making its impact, but in this vital matter his case might have been far more effectively presented. Again, the strange rumours and prophecies which accompanied this and other Tudor risings should reprove these historians who have treated Tudor society as wholly rational. The prophecies described by Wilfrid Holme and by numerous depositions in the state papers were not even religious or biblical in character.² They should be read alongside the fact that the mysterious popular leader in Craven went by the name of 'Merlioune'.

They derive in the main from the Merlin-prophecies descending from Geoffrey of Monmouth through the later middle ages. The chief of these is now usually styled 'The Prophecy of the Six Kings to follow King John', and it had long ago acquired political importance when used by the Percy-Glendower faction against Henry IV. In these Galfridian prophecies kings and magnates are represented by animals, whose identities and adventures could be applied by any generation to its own contemporaries. The credence still attaching to these venerable legends appears from the fact that even an educated man like Wilfrid Holme is concerned to prove, not that they are superstitious nonsense but that their details make them quite inapplicable to his present Grace, King Henry VIII. In addition the feuds of the great northern houses had their own animal farm; these also appear in the state papers to enrich that northern

¹ Article 3; Dodds, i. 355-6.

² Rupert Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England* (Columbia Univ. Press 1911); H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum* (London 1883); *Lollards*, 126-30.

world of balladry and romance which is so emphatically not yet the world of Reformation and Counter Reformation.

The more religious type of prophecy our Tudor rebellions cannot boast. The ideology of the German Peasants' Revolt had been much enlivened by visionaries like Thomas Müntzer¹ and the bearded prophets of Zwickau, who derived much of their vision of history from the prophetic teaching of Joachim of Fiore, transmitted by the Fraticelli and other sectarian movements. This millenarianism, which among the Münster Anabaptists degenerated into crude magical claims, gave useful aid when its adherents sought to move men into the perilous paths of rebellion, yet it was speedily deflated by military failure. It is true that the commons of Richmondshire addressed those of Westmorland as 'brethren in Christ', while at Penrith four captains of the commons took as their titles Poverty, Pity, Charity, and Faith.² But these were essays in the mild, unmilitant Piers Plowman tradition. The absence of genuine religious millenarianism from the English rebellions throws some light upon their notable freedom from bloodthirstiness and fanaticism. Better Merlinism than Joachism! Meanwhile, if one would see what the Pilgrimage of Grace might have been, but rather significantly was not, one should study Professor Norman Cohn's attractive work on revolutionary messianism in medieval and Reformation Europe.³

However the Pilgrimage may be regarded, it was not a war, not even a potential war, between Protestants and Catholics. The two leaders on the King's side, Norfolk and Shrewsbury, detested the Reformation, persecuted Protestants, and did all in their power to fight Cromwell and the politicians thought to favour religious change. The royal levies were neither manned nor led by Protestants. The spirit of the Pilgrimage had little if anything at all in common with the revived Catholicism of the

¹ On the ideas of Müntzer, see E. G. Rupp in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XLIX (1958), 13-26, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLIII (1961), 492-519, and also in *ibid.*, XLVIII (1966), 467-87.

² *L. & P.*, XII (1), 687 (1). See James, *The First Earl of Cumberland*, p. 59.

³ N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London 1957).

next generation. It might be reasonable to think of the Pilgrimage, the Western Rising of 1549, and the Revolt of the Northern Earls in 1569 as stages in a gradual development from the medieval agrarian revolt—1381 style—toward a more ideological revolt having something in common with the great movements occurring in France and the Netherlands. But if this interpretation be allowed, the Pilgrimage would seem nearer to the old style than to the new. The Pilgrimage and the Western Rising were, at their grass-roots, peasant-risings which some of the gentle and clerical leaders were trying with varying degrees of success to guide into political and religious courses. On the other hand, Ket's Revolt in Norfolk remained—despite the evidence of protestant sympathies—almost purely economic in character because its leaders were not doctrinaires and canalisers.

Referring to the Pilgrimage, Henry VIII spoke of the need 'to knit up this tragedy'. Yet in retrospect the rising should not be regarded as one of the great tragedies of that age. It did not develope into a sterile social war between the *Bundschuh* of the peasant and the riding-boot of the lord. And despite long provocation, Henry VIII took only 200 victims, whereas Elizabeth in 1569 took 800 for a much smaller revolt. Much more to the point, the German princes in 1525 may well have put to death in battle and execution some 100,000 peasants. Despite its apparent failure, the Pilgrimage had creative results, since it demonstrated the North's lack of governance, caused the King to reconstitute his Council at York and to apply those remedies which legitimate government could apply, and which a revolutionary junta could not. That future northern plots never again led to a rebellion on this scale was not solely due to terror; it was also due to governmental reform, to prompter and better justice, to the gradual conditioning of the once lawless North to that point when men lost the habit of taking the law into their own armed hands. The Pilgrimage and its accompanying changes do not mark the end of merry England. Allied with the subsequent disappearance of the Scottish threat, the end of the long centuries of bloodshed and mourning, it marked for the North the beginning of a less heroic but far less tragic world.

TWO MARIAN PETITIONS.

Both the following petitions, hitherto unprinted, represent in a very literal sense, the Marian Reaction in Yorkshire. The first, directed to Queen Mary by a young cleric, John Houseman, claims redress and damages against the reforming prelate Archbishop Holgate, who had refused the petitioner admission to the priesthood and in 1550 had excluded him from his living as being one of those in the Minster opposed to clerical marriage. The affair gains an added piquancy when we recall that Holgate, despite his advanced age, had in January 1550 married Barbara Wentworth of Elmsall and had been in the following year involved in a pre-contract suit by a Doncaster rival, Anthony Norman.¹ Matrimony stood pre-eminent in the list of offences on account of which the Archbishop was deprived by the Marians on 16th March 1554. The present undated petition, which speaks of him as 'nowe archbyssshope of Yorke' must at least be earlier than that date. Again, as will become apparent, its author John Houseman obtained a Yorkshire living in December 1553, a particular he would almost certainly have included in this brief biography had he been writing later than that date. The general terms of the document, especially its endorsement, suggest a date between the accession of Mary, 19th July 1553, and 4th October 1553. when Holgate was thrown into the Tower.

John Houseman tells us something of his earlier life in this petition and the present writer has succeeded in tracing several additional stages of a career in many respects very typical of the conservative clergy of Yorkshire. He first appears in Holgate's chantry survey of 1548 as a clerk of St. Sepulchre's chapel adjoining the Minster: 'John Howseman of the age of xxiiij yeres, of honest conversacion and qualities, having in lyving of the sayde chapell xiijs. iiijd., and besides the same, of the chürche of Yorke the yerely value, xlvjs.; in all, lixs. iiijd.'² In the petition he describes himself as a deacon in the church of York and as having enjoyed an annual stipend of five pounds for seven years prior to his expulsion by Holgate in the significant year 1550. After the events so tactfully described here, his allegiance to the old learning appears to have ensured rapid preferment and in all likelihood pluralism. In December 1553 he was ordained priest in Bonner's diocese of London and became curate of Bilbrough, near York.³

¹ Cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lii, 429 *seqq.*, below 323 *seqq.*

² *Yorks. Chantry Surveys* (*Surtees Soc.*, xcii), p. 429. The foundation included a master, twelve prebendaries, two priests conduct and two 'clerks'; the other of these last two juniors was only twenty-one.

³ W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, p. 263.

When the Marians in 1554 deprived Dr. William Clayborough of the mastership of St. Mary Magdalen Hospital at Bawtry, it was bestowed upon John Houseman, who held it until his resignation in 1584.¹ That we hear so little of him at Bawtry is probably due to the fact of his non-residence. In 1554 a John Houseman—it seems almost certainly he—was presented by Bonner to the vicarage of Canewdon, Essex.² An entry in the patent rolls dated 28 January 1555 shows him receiving a lease of the rectory of Canewdon during his vicariate for a nominal rent, on condition he repairs the chancel and tithe-barn, now in ruin by the rector's default.³ About this time too, Houseman stoutly championed the rights of his parish to the charitable residue of an obit, the lands of which had been purchased by an apparently grasping layman, and in 1557 he succeeded in obtaining a chancery award reserving a yearly rent of £2. 12s. 2d. to the use of the parish poor.⁴

He is alleged by an Essex historian⁵—on what evidence does not appear—to have taken a hand in persecuting Protestants during these years and the story is at least well in character. Nevertheless, like so many Yorkshire clergy of equally pronounced views, Houseman continued to hold his livings under Elizabeth. As late as 1585 he was in trouble with Bishop Aylmer concerning the validity of his tenure of Canewdon, having enjoyed it for thirty years.⁶ The outcome of this dispute remains obscure, but a new vicar was collated to the vicarage of Canewdon in 1588 while in the same year the will of a John Houseman 'clerke, person of Engellfeelde,' Berkshire, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.⁷

Two general observations seem appropriate to Houseman's petition of 1553. It provides but one of many examples of that distaste for clerical marriage shared by conservative northerners with Queen Elizabeth herself. Of our Yorkshire commentators on the Reformation, both the Marian Robert Parkyn⁸ and the Elizabethan Sherbrook⁹ voice the prejudice in strong terms. On the popular level appear several parallel evidences, including the visitation case (1586) of Anne Greycan of Seamer, who 'callethe the curate's children preiste's calves and sayth it was never good worlde sence mynisters must have wyves'.¹⁰ Again, Houseman's

¹ York Diocesan Registry, Reg. Heath and Act Book 2; Hunter, *South Yorks.*, i, 76-8; *Vict. Co. Hist., Notts.*, ii, 164.

² P. Benton, *History of Rochford Hundred*, p. 118.

³ *Cal. Pat., Philip and Mary, 1554-5*, p. 244.

⁴ Benton, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁶ Strype, *Life of Aylmer* (edn. 1821), p. 78. This account is obviously based on incomplete evidence.

⁷ *Index Library*, xxv, 223. The present writer has not verified this possible connection by inspecting the will itself.

⁸ Cf. his narrative of the Reformation printed below pp. 287 *seqq.* especially pp. 297, 311.

⁹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5813, fo. 23. Cf. on this treatise *An Elizabethan Defender of the Monasteries* in *Church Quarterly Rev.*, July-Sept., 1940.

¹⁰ York Diocesan Registry, R. vi, A. 9, fo. 105v.

plea will scarcely be accepted at its face value by students conversant with such petitions or—to cite parallel phenomena—with Star Chamber records. In petitioning against their adversaries, our Tudor forbears were not even expected to display impartiality. Always on their side stands a seraphic and immaculate innocence : on the other, what Houseman here calls 'extorte myghte and power, pretenced and malycious mind.' In this case it requires but little discernment to perceive the likelihood that Houseman gave great provocation to the Archbishop and that the latter would have little alternative to the use of disciplinary pressure against the opposition ringleaders inside his own metropolitan church.

Our second petition, of greater historical consequence, was made to Cardinal Pole by John Hamerton of Monkrode and Purston Jaglin, Sub-controller of the Household to Henry VIII and Mary, and the leading member of a family notable over a long period for its conservative opinions and affinities.¹ This document constitutes a moving plea for the town of Pontefract, which the writer regards as desolated by the loss of so many religious foundations. Its mayor and burgesses had apparently petitioned earlier to similar effect, but between the reigns of Henry VI and James I they lacked parliamentary representation and would naturally enough allow this conservative local gentleman, well known at court, to pursue the suit on their behalf.

The document is undated and contains no detailed evidence as to date. It was certainly an episode in a lengthy suit made by Hamerton to the cardinal and must hence have been presented to the latter some considerable time after his return to England in November 1554 ; it seems most unlikely to be earlier than 1556 and cannot be later than 17 November 1558, when Pole died a few hours after Queen Mary herself. Hamerton's petition yields a number of local particulars concerning Pontefract in transition. More important, it affords an interesting comparison with those many efforts made during the middle decades of the century by Yorkshire towns—among them York,² Hull,³ Beverley,⁴ Sheffield,⁵ Doncaster⁶ and Rotherham⁷—to alleviate the untoward effects of

¹ Cf. J. Foster, *Yorks. Pedigrees*, i. The elder branch had fallen with the execution and attainder of Sir Stephen Hamerton for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Sir Stephen's nephew John, who regained Hellifield in 3 Elizabeth is not to be confused with his distant cousin, our present John Hamerton, head of the younger branch which resided at Purston Jaglin Old Hall. Cf. B. Boothroyd, *Hist. Pontefract*, p. 153. Our John Hamerton is however described as 'of Pomfrete' by Sir Stephen's brother, Richard Hamerton of Slaidburn, whose will he supervised (*Testamenta Eboracensia* (*Surtees Soc.*), vi, 86).

² *Y.A.S., Rec. Ser.*, xxvii, pp. xxxiii seqq; *York Civic Records*, *passim*; above, pp. 47 seqq.

³ J. Tickell, *Hist. Hull*, pp. 207-8.

⁴ G. Oliver, *Hist. and Antiq. Beverley*, pp. 188-9.

⁵ J. Hunter, *Hallamshire*, pp. 239-42.

⁶ J. Hunter, *South Yorks.*, i, 20.

⁷ *Y.A.S., Rec. Ser.*, xxxiii, p. lxxii; Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5813, fos. 21-21v.

the dissolutions and to use dissolved or moribund foundations for the public benefit. Yet in the hands of social historians lacking a local background such a document could prove highly misleading. In particular, certain cautionary reflections should deter us from using it to support the blackest view of the material effects of the dissolutions.

The reader will observe that, though the writer alleges 'bodily' as well as 'ghostly' distress, his actual suit is not even remotely economic in character: he merely pleads for the repair of the church of the Trinity Hospital, otherwise called Knolles Almshouses.¹ Moreover, he writes at the darkest moment of the story, when the continuance of even schools and hospitals seemed gravely menaced, when the more benevolent and constructive Elizabethan spirit could not be foreseen. The reformation-process must be judged not by such documents seen in isolation, not solely by the Edwardian years, but in the light of the fact that Elizabethan and Jacobean laymen almost everywhere restored to charity and education far more than their immediate predecessors had withdrawn. Pontefract, an unlucky town both in this century and the next, presents in fact one of the examples least favourable to this non-tragic thesis. Yet even here the almshouse part of the Trinity College was continued, under full control of the corporation, by Queen Elizabeth's ordinance of 1563 under seal of her duchy of Lancaster. It was then considerably augmented by bequests of property under the will of John Mercer in 1574.² The other hospital, that of St. Nicholas, is alleged in James I's charter of 1605 to have been maladministered, in that the King's auditors and receivers had placed in it persons not being inhabitants. It had nevertheless survived and was also henceforth vested in the corporation.³

That even the Edwardians—they in fact destroyed more by ignorance than by actual rapacity—were anxious not to terminate the work of these almshouses appears in at least two documents. One of these, in the duchy of Lancaster records,⁴ recommends the continued yearly payment of 55s. to seven poor men and six poor

¹ Not 'for the reedifying of the college and hospital', as alleged in *Cal. S. P. Dom., Addenda, 1547-1565*, p. 442. A suit over the custody of lead and bells from the college had recently taken place between the king's Receiver of the Honor of Pontefract and John Bellow, Surveyor of the West Riding (*Ducatus Lancastriae, Cal. to the Pleadings*, i, 268).

² Copies of both ordinance and will are in the municipal archives. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm. 8th Rep., App.*, p. 271.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 273, prints the Latin text of this passage and G. Fox, *Hist. Pontefract* (1827) pp. 37-8, the English version. The Crown continued to nominate to some places. Cf. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1603-1610, p. 497.

⁴ It used to be in Class xxv, Q, no. 8 (Cf. *D. K. Rep.*, xxx, App., p. 13) and is printed in *Y.A.S., Rec. Ser.*, xxxiii, 28-42. Its present whereabouts seems effectively hidden by the new classification, so uninformatively set out in *P.R.O., Lists and Indexes*, xiv. This document also recommends the continuance of Pontefract Grammar School, but on an obviously inadequate basis. On the dispositions made by the Elizabethans to rectify this, cf. *Vic. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, i, 437; *Y.A.S., Rec. Ser.*, xxxiii, 42 *seqq.*

women in Knolles Almshouses. The other, in the West Riding pensions survey of 26 November 1552, gives fourteen names under the heading 'hospitale sancti Nicolai in Pontefracto' and the note: 'thes persons be callyd eremettes and be pore and agyd people and placyd in a house callyd seynt Nycoles hosspytall. And when any of them dyeth an other ys placyd in the dede's rowme; and ys very conveyent to be contynuyd aswell for the helpe of the pore and agyd people of the towne of Pontfrett, wher the same standyth, as for others. The pencons was payd furth of the revenewes of the late monastery of saynt Oswaldes.'¹ The pensions enumerated include one of 100s., one of 40s., the rest of 26s. 8d.²

Hamerton here records that some of the 'pensioners'—he presumably means these pensioned poor—were occupying the parsonage, an unsatisfactory arrangement which is unlikely to have been accorded more than temporary duration. It is even less satisfactory to note that the 'church' of the Trinity College, for which Hamerton pleads, and which had once apparently filled parochial as well as almshouse functions,³ ultimately became a cattle shed.⁴ Yet it should likewise be recalled that the town had already two parish churches and that Elizabeth herself rebuilt St. Clement's collegiate chapel, also of parochial significance, though inside the castle.⁵

Hamerton's account of the parish clergy—an unlearned vicar with an inadequate stipend hiring two assistants—has a note of tragedy which the facts scarcely justify, for in some respects the position was better, in others worse, than in the days when the Priory had been appropriator of the living. The best the house ever did for the town is expressed in the agreement made on 31 December 1533 between corporation and Priory, whereby the latter agreed to find two chaplains to serve the cure, one at All Saints', the other at St. Giles.⁶ We thus in 1535 find the Priory deriving £54. 5s. 4d. from the living and paying to the vicar, Robert Wermerslay, £13. 6s. 8d.; to John Kerver, cantarist in All Saints', £5.; and to Robert Adwick, 'perpetual cantarist' in St. Giles, £2. 10s.⁷ When the Crown succeeded the Priory as patron, it gave the vicar the small tithes in place of the £13. 6s. 8d.⁸ Though these tithes may, as Hamerton states, have for the time being produced less than forty marks, and though in fact Pontefract was less well endowed than the other great parishes of the West

¹ St. Oswald's of Nostell, which, profitably to itself, had appropriated the hospital (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 63).

² Publ. Rec. Off., Exch. T. R. Misc. Books of Receipt, lix (E/36/59), p. 45.

³ Cf. e.g. the will in *Test. Ebor.*, vi, 256.

⁴ Boothroyd, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 362. Cf. *infra*, p. 90, note 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-2.

⁷ *Valor Eccles.*, v, 65-6, 72. There were in addition two or three other small contributions to chantry priests, in connection with other agreements.

⁸ Boothroyd, *op. cit.*, p. 352; Fox, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-2.

Riding, the new endowment was nevertheless much handsomer than the total stipends paid by the Priory to all the parish and chantry priests put together. On the debit side, Pontefract lost such parochial ministrations—not inconsiderable so long as the roman rite continued—as were performed by the chantry priests.¹ Certainly the town should have been allowed some of the chantry properties—especially those of St. Giles²—to endow a fully-fledged second parish. Yet the fact remains that even in Pontefract there occurred no general collapse of parochial endowment but merely a decrease in the numbers of priests and masses.

By thus investigating the realities beneath Hamerton's petition, we are enabled to re-read it in a better light, to analyse with more certainty the nature of the grievance felt by the Yorkshire Marians. At every point we receive salutary reminders that in our zeal for social-economic investigation we too frequently neglect the psychological tensions imposed by the Reformation-changes upon provincial societies unprepared for their reception. Quite apart from the spectacle of towns defaced by ruins, the feature which obviously worried Hamerton and many likeminded Yorkshiremen was the disappearance from their midst of a whole clerical society, of monks to whom distance was already beginning to lend enchantment, of cantarists who had formed an integral part of corporate parish life and whose return seemed logically demanded by the return of the Mass and the confessional. At every point clerical and lay society had been closely interlocked; with all its shortcomings, the former had without question comprised the most spiritually and intellectually cultivated elements in northern England. To-day we are able to view this change in longer perspective, to see society achieving a large measure of readjustment in new forms of worship which permitted of a less numerous, if more select, clergy. But during these Marian years, conservative provincials might well be pardoned the sense that they were getting the worst of both worlds.

I.

(*Public Record Office. S.P. 15, 7, no. 8, p. 19*).

To the Queene's most excellent Maestie.

Most lamentable shewethe and pitiouslye compleynethe unto your highnes and most nobell grace, your subiecte and

¹ Pontefract, reputed to contain over 2,000 communicants (*Surtees Soc.*, xcii, 272) would need the extra priests during Lent to hear confessions and in holy week to administer the annual communion. The chantry surveys make this point clear in connection with the similar case of Doncaster (*Ibid.*, xci, 175).

² The clear value is £4. 5s. 10d. in the *Valor* (v, 72-3) and £6. 0s. 5½d. in the chantry surveys (*Surtees Soc.*, xcii, 277). This is said to have been totally confiscated (G. Lawton, *Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* p. 147). A pension or stipend of £6 per annum was being paid to the incumbent Roger Frickley in 1553 (Browne Willis, *Mitred Abbies*, ii, 295), whether or not on the strength of continued parochial work I am unaware. I see, however, no specific provision for St. Giles amongst the Crown's provisions for assistant stipendiary priests in the West Riding.

daylye orator John Housemanne, borne within the dyosses of Yorke, that whereas your sayde poore orator had occupied, peaceabell possessed and enioyed the office of a deacon within the church of York by the space of seaven yeares and more, and youre poore orator receaved yearely for doinge service in the sayde office the sum of fyve powndes with meate and drynke daylye of the recedensaries of the sayd church, so yt ys, moste drede soveraygne ladye, that in Lente three yeares paste and more, Roberte, nowe archebysshoppe of Yorke, of his extorte myghte and power, pretenced and malycious mynde, without anye juste cause, tytell or right so to do, dyd not onelye wrongfullye expulse your sayde poore orator from his sayde poore lyvinge, approvinge no facte againste your orator wherfore he shoulde so do.

But whereas, moste drede soveraygne ladye, your pore orator had proceaded in holye orders unto prystehood within the archebisshope dyossis and abelyd bothe for his learnynge and otherwyse, as by his testimonyals subscribed by dyvers of the counsell establisshed in the northe partes more playnelye maye appeare; and when your poore orator shoulde have bynne admytted and was presented abell to have receyved the holye order of prystehood, the sayde archebysshope of his former pretenced and malycious mynde wolde neyther admytte your orator to the same holye order of prystehood nor yet gyve your orator his lettres dymyssaries,¹ wherebye he myghte have bynne admytted to the sayde holye orders of anye other bysshoppe, dyd saye unto your poore orator that he was one of them in the Mynster that sayde that yt were better for prystes not to marye then for to marye. And for that cause the archebysshoppe sayde your poore orator neyther shoulde have his office nor yet be preeste so long as he was archebysshoppe of Yorke, because he was so sore againste the maredge of preestes, by meanes whereof your poore orator hathe not onelye lost his office and the yearely revenues and prosetes of the same, but hathe bynne constrayned to syke another habytacion, which hathe bynne to your sayd orator greate impoverysshinge, beinge a poore yonge manne and havinge no frendes to healpe hym and ys nowe without remedye at the archebysshope's handes, unless your grace's favoure for Gode's sake be unto your poore orator in this behalfe shewed.

In tender consideracion wherof, the premysse most tenderlye consydered, yt maye please your highnes of youre abundante grace and goodness to see redresse as shall stande with your majestie's plesur[e], that your poore orator maye have of the sayde archebysshoppe sum recompence, not onelye for the losse of his lyvinge, but for the yearely revenues and procetes thereof and for other wronges which the sayd archebysshoppe hathe caused your poore orator to susteyne. And your poore orator shall daylye praye unto Allmyghtie God for the moste nobell, prosperous and ryall estate of your maiestie longe in honower to endure.

¹ For an example of letters dimissory cf. E. Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici* (1761), p. 1340.

(*Endorsed*)

John Howseman versus Archiepiscopum Eboracensem. John Houseman desireth to have recompence of the archebisshope of York not only in the consideracon that he hath caused him to loose his lyving of deacon, but also woll not suffer hym to be prest for holdinge agenest the mariage of prestes.

II.

(*Public Record Office, S.P. 15, 7, no. 51, p. 112*).

To the ryght honerable and most reverent Father in God, the Lord Cardynall Poulle, to his good grace.

May yt please your honerable grace of your greate mercy, pety and abundant charyte, evyn accordyng to your accustomyd clemency, to reduce in to your devote memory my olde, long and contenuall sute to your noble grace tucchyng the reedyfying of the churche belongyng to the colege and osspytal fundid in the honer of the moste blyssyd trynetys in Pomfret withe in the countey of Yorke.

My Lord, what can I say there in that hathe not byn revelyd in former symplecyons (*sic*) to your grace exebytet, tucchyng the same sute, not as my only prevat sute, but by the sute of the mayor and all the hole in abbetance of the same towne, not onely exebetyd to your grace but also unto the Kyng and the hyghest, under there comman seale, over and besyd the supplecacyons of the poore bede peopyll of the same osspetall etc.² My Lord, as I have sayd before, we had in that towne one abbay,¹ too collegys,³ a house of freers prechers,³ one ancrys, one ermyt,⁴ four chantere prestes,⁵ one gyld pryst.⁶ Of all thes the in abbytance of the towne of Pomfret ar nether releveyd bodely nor gostly. We

¹ The Cluniac Priory of St. John, surrendered 23 November 1539 (*Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii, 184-6).

² St. Nicholas' Hospital, not mentioned here by name, was sometimes called a 'college': Hamerton may alternatively mean St. Clement's collegiate chapel, which, though in the castle, had parochial functions (Boothroyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-63; *Surtees Soc.*, xcii, 323-5; *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii, 366-7).

³ The Blackfriars Priory, surrendered 26 November 1538 (*Ibid.*, iii, 271-3).

⁴ On the curious hermitage in Southgate and some of its occupants cf. R. Holmes, *Sketches of Pontefract Topography* (1873), pp. 71 *seqq.* It appears to have been in active use c. 1368-1539. I know nothing of an ancriss in Pontefract.

⁵ Of the four 'chantries' listed by the surveys as in All Saints' (*Surtees Soc.*, xcii, 272-6) Hamerton counts one as the endowment of a gild priest (cf. subsequent note). He apparently counts as his fourth that in St. Giles.

⁶ Almost certainly a reference to the priest of the so-called Corpus Christi chantry in All Saints', who was nominated by the corporation and had as one of his duties 'to surveye the amendinge of the high wayes about the said towne.' (*Surtees Soc.*, xcii, 273). The gild of Corpus Christi, which had maintained the grammar school, seems to have survived until the Edwardian dissolutions (*Y.A.S., Rec. Ser.*, xxxiii, 33; *Valor Eccles.*, v. 66).

have there lefte an unlernyd vecar,¹ which hyryth too prestes;² for in dede he ys not able to dyscharge the cure other wayys, and I dar say the vecare's levyng ys under forte markys. The personage hath the pensshonares and suerly too partis of the prophety hath the procters,³ but this ys a generall infyrmyty and Lord amend yt. Truly, ther be sume hed procteres and petty procteres, etc., and every one catchyth apace, but the pore nedy members of Chryst catchyt none at all.

But my sute to your noble grace at this present ys, most umble to desyer your grace that yow wyll have compassion of the great mesery that this sayd towne of Pomfret ys fallyn into, bothe bodely and gostely, sence the godly fundacyons afore sayd hath bene so amysse orderyd, and mysse usyd, and the hole⁴ sanctures of God so petefully defilyd and spoulyd. Thes prymysys tenderly consederyd, yf it wold please your noble grace so to prefarre the contennuall sute afore sayd, to the adwansement of Gode's glory and to the comforth of his poore members both bodely and gostly, so that I youre poore supplicant and many other shall have cause contennually to pray accordyng to our abundant dewtes for the prosperus estate of our soverant Lord and Lade the Kyng and the Quene's hyghnes, with your honerable grace long to endure. By your supplicant and contynuall orator unworthee,

John Hamerton.

(*Endorsed*)

Beata benedicta et gloriosa sancta trinitas. The humble and petyfull supplication of John Hamerton to your noble grace.

Ponntfract in the county of Yorke.

¹ Boothroyd (p. 353, probably from Torre) gives John Barker as vicar 1538-1568. Fox is wrong in making the first date 1532, as Robert Wermersley still occurs in the *Valor Eccles.* of 1535.

² William Chamber occurs as 'my curate' in the will of John Wakefield, Mayor of Pontefract, dated 1543 and, with the same description, in that of Margery Conyers of Pontefract, dated 1547 (*Test. Ebor.*, vi, 180, 256). Roger Frikley, cantarist in St. Giles in 1548 (*Surtees Soc.*, xcii, 276) may have continued to serve there on his stipend after the loss of the endowment. Cf. *Supra* p. 88, note 2.

³ Tithe farmers or agents for the collection of tithes. Cf. the examples from Cowell and Moryson in *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. 'proctor' (2c). For the names of lessees and the amounts of various tithes under Elizabeth, cf. Boothroyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-50; Fox, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-2.

⁴ Holy.



The Coronation Medal of Mary (Obverse)

THE MARIAN REACTION IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK

PART I, THE CLERGY

I. THE NEW SOURCES¹

A PART from its final section,² the present essay is based almost entirely upon new factual information derived from manuscript sources formerly in the York Diocesan Registry and now at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. Before examining the contents of these sources we must attempt a brief account of their character, provenance and relationships.

Some sixty years ago the late Bishop Frere conducted an enterprising though necessarily somewhat hasty tour of the diocesan registries in order to assess the effects of the Marian Reaction upon the English clergy. He proved that in many areas, especially in the dioceses of London and Norwich, the Marian changes were of a far more sweeping character than those which took place among the clergy at any other phase of the Reformation. Nevertheless, the records of deprivations and institutions, without which a broad statistical picture could not be drawn, proved in several dioceses highly imperfect. Nowhere did this become more apparent than in the Northern Province. At Durham Frere found only six, at Chester four, cases of deprivation. In the York Registry the Vicar General's act book showed only eight cases of deprivation for the year 1554, and Archbishop Heath's Register only one – a negligible total for a vast diocese which then included Nottinghamshire and all Yorkshire except Richmondshire. The trouble at York arose mainly from the prolonged interval between Archbishop Holgate's deprivation in March 1554 and Heath's consecration in March 1555; indeed the gap was even wider, since Holgate's register understandably contains nothing of significance from the accession of Mary in September 1553. 'Unfortunately,' wrote Frere, 'the register of the dean and chapter for the long and critical vacancy of the see, 1554 – 5, is not now to be found, though it existed in the last century and was used by Wharton and by Wilkins in his *Concilia*'.³ Frere cannot have been well advised at York; one may be permitted to doubt whether the *Sede Vacante* registers were ever lost. At all events they have stood throughout living memory alongside the majestic series of archiepiscopal registers, bound together in an immense volume extending from the late thirteenth century to 1556.

This *Sede Vacante* Register does not in fact disappoint the hopes of Dr. Frere. From fo. 655v to fo. 666v there occurs a long schedule of institutions made between 4 March 1554 and about 23 March 1555.⁴ They number 97 and, in all save a dozen cases, some reason is given for the vacancy which necessitated the institution in question. Natural death had occasioned 23 vacancies and 'free resignation' seven, though

1. The writer wishes to acknowledge many helpful hints from Dr. J. S. Purvis, without whose labours we should still know extremely little about these sources.
2. i.e. the final section in Part II.
3. W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, p. 37.
4. This schedule will be found summarised in Appendix B, *infra*.

with some of these last the 'freedom' may have been relative. In no less than 53 cases the vacancy had occurred through the deprivation of the previous incumbent, while in two further ones the benefices are said to be 'already vacant by law', suggesting deprivation or enforced resignation.

Here was a substantial addition to Frere's meagre data. For many years the present writer naïvely supposed that further search in the archives would add relatively little else. In actual fact, however, this *Sede Vacante* Register reveals only a small part of the available picture. It gives no complete account of the deprivations and other punishments of the beneficed, let alone those of the considerable body of unbeneficed clerics then resident in the diocese. The great bulk of additional material is available exactly where it ought to be – in the act books of the Court of Audience, which, during the vacancy of the see, was being assiduously administered by the chapter. Most of it occurs in two books, R. VII. A. 33 and R. VII. A. 34, which run continuously from March 1554 to November 1555 – the crucial period during which nearly all the Marian deprivations took place. These volumes are followed by the court book A.B. 39, which begins toward the end of January 1556 and extends to April 1559. It contains some particulars of great interest, but is concerned mainly with instance, not with office cases; indeed, the 'crisis' of the Marian Reaction was over in this diocese by the end of 1555. Nevertheless, we should not accept the prevalent assumption that in the North the Marian Reaction merely involved the clergy. Many students of regional history will find of especial interest the second part of our essay, which deals with the rise, and the attempted repression, of Protestant heresy among the laity, since the diocese proved by no means so completely conservative and quiescent as historians have hitherto supposed. Needless to remark, the court books may be supplemented by other manuscript records of these momentous years, notably by Act Book ii, in effect an institution book covering the period 1553 – 1571, and throwing some light on various clergy and their benefices. It also yields the apparently unique case of William Chambre, related below.⁵

Many years will probably elapse before these books are printed *in extenso*, and their use in manuscript may involve even a careful worker in some inaccuracies. Extremely few cases were concluded at a single session. A given offender may occur many times at irregular intervals over a long period, and much tedious transcribing and indexing is involved if we would piece together the stories of the hundreds of people involved in the slow and tortuous proceedings of the Court of Audience. The partisans who have criticised the 'cat-and-mouse' tactics apparently pursued by Elizabethan courts against the Romanist recusants merely betray their unfamiliarity with the permanencies of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The very same characteristics appear here in the reign of Mary,

5. *Infra*, p95.

to the intense irritation, not merely of the victims, but of the modern historian intent upon piecing together their stories.

In the pages which follow we do not purpose a formal and definitive history of the diocese during the reign of Mary. Such an attempt would demand far more than our available space. Moreover, it would be premature without considerable further basic research – a process in which the diocesan records themselves may yield significant information as yet unknown to the present writer. On the other hand, it is possible to demonstrate in some detail the value of the new sources, and to provide some references to other promising materials.

II. THE DEPRIVATION OF THE MARRIED CLERGY

Apart from the arrest and imprisonment of Archbishop Holgate in October 1553, little attempt was made to eradicate unorthodoxy among the clergy of the diocese until April 1554. In his narrative of the Reformation,⁶ Robert Parkyn, the contemporary curate of Adwick-le-Street, relates that immediately on Mary's accession 'preastes was commandyde by lordes and knyghttes catholique to say masse in Lattin' and that 'in the begynninge of Septembre ther was veray few parishe churches in Yorkeshire but masse was songe or saide in Lattin on the fyrst Sonday of the said monethe or att furthest on the feast day of the Nativitie of our Blisside Ladie.'⁷ In the December a royal proclamation forbade ministration to married clergy,⁸ but until the March of 1554 the Dean and Chapter had little guidance upon which to base judicial procedure. Here and there, no doubt, official pressure was being exercised upon individuals. On 14 March William Chambre, clerk, exhibited before Dr. John Rokeby, vicar general of the diocese, a presentation by Sir Robert Stapleton to the vicarage of Wighill. Before granting his request for institution, Dr. Rokeby '*iniunxit Willelmo Chambre ut sequitur, viz.*, that he shall not frome hensfurthe sawe⁹ unto his parishioners any evill perniciousse or hereticall opynyons, speciallie againste the Blessid Sacrament of the Aultare nor any other newe opinions, the whiche may engendre any discorde or debate emonges the Queene's hieghnes subiectes and speciallie emonges that parishe wherupon he haith cure of soules, but that he shall endeavor himself to thuttermost of his power bothe by his conversacion, vertuose livinge and also holsome doctryne to edifye parishoners for discharge of his owne conscience and helth of there soules upon payne of depriv[acion]'.¹⁰

From this point, however, the interest shifts to the disciplining of those clergy who, taking advantage of permission by Convocation and

6. *Infra*, pp. 287 seqq.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 309.

8. *Diary of Henry Machyn (Camden Soc., xlii)*, p. 50.

9. Sow.

10. Act Book ii (1553 – 1571), fo. 1.

of the Edwardian Acts of Parliament,¹¹ had married. This disciplinary process had its origins in Mary's first Act of Repeal¹² and, more particularly, in the Queen's injunctions of March 1554. The latter ordered bishops and ecclesiastical judges to deprive married clergy 'with all celerity and speed', sequestering the profits of their benefices, but to use more clemency toward 'those whose wives be dead than with others whose women do yet remain in life.' Priests who, 'with the consent of their wives or women, openly in the presence of the bishop do prefer to abstain,' might, after penance, be restored to administration, 'so it be not in the same place.' As for ex-religious persons, 'having solemnly professed chastity,' they should in no case be suffered to continue in the married state, but 'be also divorced every one from his said woman and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.'¹³ Our York books show the Court of Audience hard at work implementing these commands well within a month of their issue: the married clergy continued to occupy the greater part of its attentions for several months. During 1555 such cases markedly declined in number, but even as late as 19 February 1557 there occurred the presentation of Thomas Bretton of Bolthby, a former Whitefriar of York, who had begotten divers children by his wife Ellen, (*née* Cuthberte), but had somehow contrived to avoid the attentions of the court until this late date.¹⁴ During this campaign against the married clergy, by far the most prominent judges in the York Court were Drs. John Rokeby and John Dakyn, who sat both singly and together, occasionally assisted or replaced by other resident-aries, notably by Drs. George Palmes¹⁵ and Richard Farley.

John Rokeby, second son of Ralph Rokeby of Mortham, had become eminent as a canonist twenty years earlier. He is said by his nephew Ralph Rokeby in the *Oeconomia Rokebiorum*¹⁶ to have been one of Henry VIII's counsel in the Divorce Case, but nevertheless a man of remarkable independence of view. If this claim be true, his ecclesiastical convictions cannot have been exceptionally fastidious, for he served many causes and many masters with efficiency and fidelity. Rokeby was Precentor

11. Convocation sanctioned clerical marriage in 1547 and the Commons sent up a bill to this effect which was defeated in the Lords (Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England*, ii. 475; Froude, *Hist. of England*, iv. 309). Early in 1549 the marriage of priests was legalised by 2 Edw. VI cap. 21: in 1551. 5 & 6 Edw. VI cap. 12 aimed to relieve such marriages from stigma and to legitimise their issue (E. Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (1761), pp. 438 seqq.).
12. 1 Mary, s. 2., cap. 2.
13. Probably written by Bonner: a transcript from his Register is printed in Gee & Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of Eng. Church Hist.*, pp. 380 seqq.
14. The references for these clerical cases will be found, not in the footnotes, but under the appropriate name in Appendix A.
15. Palmes, Prebendary of Langtoft since 1547 and Archdeacon of the West Riding since 1543 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii. 134, 199) was a prominent Marian, deprived by Elizabeth's Royal Commission after repeated examination in the Northern Visitation of 1559, (H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 78, 197, 227) and imprisoned in 1561 (*Cal. S. P. Foreign*, 1564-5. p. 168).
16. *Oeconomia Rokebiorum* (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 24470, fos. 294-333) is printed in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*: for the passage on our subject, cf. i. 172-3.

of York from 1545 and Vicar General of the diocese under several archbishops – ironically enough, in the closing years of his life, under the puritan Archbishop Grindal! The key to his outlook may rather be found in his service to the state: from 1548 to his death in 1573 he was a leading member of the Council in the North. Under Mary, when the daily administration of this Council fell into the capable hands of Sir Thomas Gargrave, Rokeby was clearly his second-in-command. On 3 January 1558 the Privy Council ordered Gargrave, when coming to London, ‘to see all thinges left in good order, and to leave the chardge of the Vicepreydensthipp there with Mr. Doctour Rookesby,’ sending also ‘a lettre to Mr. Doctour Rookesby to take that chardge uppon him.’¹⁷ When Elizabeth’s commissioners came to York in 1559, Rokeby acted as a spokesman for the chapter, and led them in taking the oath to the Royal Supremacy, the Act of Uniformity and the new Injunctions. His goodwill toward the proceedings was, however, doubted on this occasion.¹⁸ Altogether we may see in Rokeby an eminent administrator but not a fierce religious partisan: that he was also the chief exponent of archiepiscopal jurisdiction during the Reaction may go far to explain its locally moderate and cautious character.¹⁹

Dr. Dakyn, on the other hand, was a convinced Marian, and on one celebrated occasion at least, did not shrink from the ultimate measure against heresy. He is chiefly known through that passage in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* which relates how, having a commission from the Bishop of Chester, he tried by a mixture of flattery and threats to procure the recantation of the Richmond Protestants, John and Richard Snell, formerly of Bedale. It thus seems evident that Dakyn did his best to save them from the fire. After cruel imprisonment John submitted, but, according to Foxe, subsequently drowned himself in the Swale. Then ‘Dr. Dakins giving sentence that the other should be burnt, came home to his house and never joyed after, but died.’²⁰ Confirmation of the burning of Snell and of the share of Dakyn in his condemnation is in fact forthcoming;²¹ he was the only Marian martyr to suffer in Yorkshire or Nottinghamshire and, though he does not strictly belong to our diocese, his case will be more fully mentioned in the second part of this essay.

Again, as may be seen from Dakyn’s own monument at Kirkby Ravensworth,²² he himself died 9 November 1558, only eight days

17. *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1556-8, p. 228.

18. The record says ‘ipse bono spiritu ductus, ut pauci arbitrantur, voluntarie subscripsit.’ Cf. details and references in Gee, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8.

19. On John Rokeby see also *D.N.B.*; Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, i.319-20, 560; *Glover’s Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. J. Foster, p. 128; ‘Tudor Crookford’; Le Neve, *op. cit.*, iii. 156, 419. His chief livings were the Dunham Prebend at Southwell 1558-1573, and the rectories of Patrick Brompton (in 1557) and Wheldrake (c. 1547 - 1573).

20. Foxe, ed. Pratt, viii. 739.

21. In Publ. Rec. Office S.P. 12. 10, p. 283 and in the Richmond parish register.

22. Inscription printed in Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i. 118.

before Queen Mary herself. Dakyn's career had possessed a certain regional importance. Already Rector of Kirkby Ravensworth and Vicar General of the diocese, he had been considerably implicated in The Pilgrimage of Grace²³ and, though basically a loyalist, continued under suspicion until 1541.²⁴ Subsequently he rose again through the patronage of William Knight, Bishop of Bath and Wells;²⁵ in 1550 he became Prebendary of Fenton and in the following year Archdeacon of the East Riding.²⁶ In 1556, as executor of Bishop Knight and others, he founded the school and almshouses at Kirkby Ravensworth. Their statutes, written by Dakyn himself, significantly demanded this oath of the Schoolmaster: 'I, A.B. etc. do swear that I will not read to my scholars any reprobate or corrupt bookes or workes set forth at anie time contrarie to the determination of the universal or Catholic church, whereby they might be infected in their youth with anie kind of corrupt doctrine, or els be induced to insolent manner of living.' An account of the elaborate foundation ceremony conducted by Dakyn on 11 May 1556 has been preserved.²⁷ In theory at least, the almost constant presence of such a man should have hardened the spirit in which the Court of Audience proceeded against offenders. On the other hand, as we shall see, Dakyn encountered no determined candidates for martyrdom at York, while the court records, preserving little beyond decisions and formal acts, do not enable us to prove that he exceeded his colleagues in severity. Whatever be the case, these two, Rokeby and Dakyn, were the chief personalities of the Marian Reaction in the diocese, both during the vacancy of the see, and after the consecration of Archbishop Heath.

Concerning the personal influence of Nicholas Heath in these matters we have little direct evidence. He became Archbishop when the Reaction was already far advanced, and Lord Chancellor of England in January 1556, the very month of his enthronement. As a constant absentee in the high councils of the realm, he can have exercised little influence upon the day-to-day procedures at York. That his nature was mild and tolerant seems universally agreed, and we may reasonably regard this fact as an important negative element in the local situation.

In a few cases, conservative parish clergy may have taken an active part in the persecution of their neighbouring colleagues and of the laity. In 1561, for example, Thomas Fugall, vicar of Hessle, was charged as follows: 'whether you did trowble William Harland of Hull in the tyme

23. Cf. M. H. and R. Dodds. *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, index, s. v. Dakyn. He was one of the most important of the witnesses covering its events.

24. At Leconfield on 28-30 Sept. 1541 the Privy Council charged him with framing the articles of the clergy. He acknowledged the Royal Supremacy and was dismissed (*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. H. Nicolas, vii. 248-9).

25. After being Knight's chaplain, he became Chancellor and Treasurer of Wells in 1543.

26. Le Neve, *op. cit.*, iii. 143, 185.

27. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-121 gives full details and quotations. On Dakyn cf. also Cooper, *op. cit.*, i. 181-2, 551.

of Queen Mary for that he was a married priest or not, and whether you trowbled one Rowland Wilkinson and his wif of Hull for religion, so as they durst not tarie at Hull by the space of a yere together or not, and whether you refusyd to burye one Richard Allen at Hull because he had favoured the word of God in his time and whether the maior and his brethren did warne and commaunde you to burye him.'²⁸ A local campaign by Fugall certainly seems also hinted by our court records, since of the small group of unbeneficed clergy in trouble with the court, no less than four were from Hull, then in Fugall's parish.

The cases of the married clergy obviously aroused interest throughout the diocese. The ultra-conservatives like Robert Parkyn rejoiced vociferously. 'Hoo, it was ioye to here and see how thes carnall preastes (whiche had ledde ther lyffes in fornication with ther whores and harlots) dyd lowre and looke downe, when thay were commandyde to leave & forsyke the concubyns and harlots and to do oppen penance accordynge to the Canon Law, whiche then toyke effect.'²⁹

The process against a defendant might occupy several weeks, or even months. It involved many distinct stages, though few individuals are recorded as undergoing all of them. Summoned by an apparitor or other intermediary, some clergy at first showed contumacy, but only in one or two instances did they carry this attitude to the point of incurring excommunication, which, after forty days, involved the intervention of the secular arm.³⁰ On arrival before the judges in York Minster, the accused might have the articles of information 'objected' to him, or might merely be assigned a subsequent day for the hearing. Sometimes he requested time to answer them; more rarely, he might deny them in whole or in part. Generally, he confessed without further ado to their truth, and so admitted marriage when in priest's orders. At this stage some were ordered to abstain from sacerdotal functions while still cohabiting with their wives; others were ordered straightway to cease cohabitation.

A day was then assigned for their actual deprivation, and as a rule they reappeared for this ceremony and submitted to the law. As indicated in the Queen's Injunctions, the procedure then varied as between seculars and ex-regulars. If the accused were merely a secular he did not undergo divorce, but was asked whether he would undertake henceforth to live chastely and separately from his 'pretensed' wife. With extremely few exceptions, the clergy who had gone thus far proceeded to give this undertaking. Several introduced their wives into court, and these latter joined their husbands in giving express consent to separation and abstinence. Sometimes the submissive pair were solemnly adjured to re-

28. J. S. Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York*, pp. 204-5, Fugall was in court on 13 June 1554 to bring in a certificate of penance for Richard Wager.

29. *Infra*, p. 311.

30. An exceptional case where this happened was that of Thomas Wilson; cf. Appendix A *infra*.

frain from meeting except in church or market, and to avoid henceforth calling each other husband and wife. The court took no official interest in the future of these unfortunate women and their children; their position, in default of charitable relatives and neighbours, must have become extremely difficult.

In the cases of the ex-regular clergy, wives also frequently appeared and were sometimes questioned as to whether they had known of their husbands' monastic vows. Here a formal sentence of divorce was read³¹ with especially solemn adjurations against renewed contacts. I observe no record of penances performed by wives,³² but in every concluded case, both secular and regular, the man was ordered it, perhaps merely in York Minster, but often in his own parish or in both. Penance was of the type associated with common moral offences; the details are almost always prescribed in English, and usually ended with a public apology to the assembled congregation for the evil example given. After penance the offender normally returned to York, exhibited in court a certification of its due performance, received absolution and restoration to sacerdotal functions. In some instances an office of reconciliation is mentioned.³³ Thereafter the priest was free to seek another benefice and a number of those deprived in the diocese of York we shall observe to have been successful in the search.³⁴ The foregoing transactions and the apparent irregularities, omissions and complications, which are equally striking in our records,³⁵ can best be illustrated by a few actual examples.

On 6 April 1554, Thomas Judson, vicar of Whenby and of Barnby Dun since 1547 and a former regular canon of Marton, was assigned a day to hear the sentence of deprivation. On 29 May, having evidently been deprived in the meantime, he was ordered penance in the parish church of Whenby. '[He] shall knele before the myddyst of the highe alter all masse tyme, having a candell burnynge in his hande, and a slevesse sourplesse upon his backe, and that at the offertory tyme he shall goo downe into the body of the churche and say onthiswyse openly, Maisters, I have bene seducyd and deceyvid, thinkinge that I might lawfully marye, but now knowinge the trewth, I perceyve I have done unlawfully so to marry and am sory therefore, desyringe you not to be

31. The text of a divorce order is printed in Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

32. For a possible exception cf. Richard Lolly, p115 *infra*; but the wife is not recorded as performing it.

33. For a form of reconciliation of a married priest cf. Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

34. cf. *infra*, p. 195.

35. The court books frequently omit to record a vital step known from other clues to have actually taken place. I find it difficult to explain particular omissions by supposing that leaves may have been lost, still less by the theory that another book may have been kept 'in parallel' and then lost. We cannot exclude the possibility that another archiepiscopal court was also handling cases of similar type, yet even had its act books perished, traces of its actions would presumably occur in the *Sede Vacante* Register and elsewhere. I see no sign that cases were transferred from the Court of Audience to any other court.

offendyd with me, etc.' On 5 June he produced certification that he had performed this penance. Then came an inexplicably long interval, after which, on 4 April 1555, Judson reappeared in court and was absolved by Dr. Dakyn. This last transaction is headed *contra Thomas Judson regularem divorciatum*, so we may assume that divorce procedure had taken place during the interval. Turning to the *Sede Vacante* Register, we find William Bradley instituted to Whenby on 3 September 1554, and Thomas Johnson to Barnby Dun on the subsequent 5 November.

Another ex-regular was John Adams, rector of Hockerton. On 3 April 1554 he confessed to Dr. Rokeby that the articles of information were true, *submitit se*, and was ordered to return the next day to hear sentence of deprivation. The latter was then duly pronounced and preliminary steps taken for his divorce from his 'pretensed wife', Alice Askew, *alias* Adams. On 18 April they both attended the court, submitted themselves to justice, and were warned to attend next day to receive sentence of divorce. This they did; the sentence pronounced, Adams was next warned to return on Tuesday after the feast of the Trinity to receive penance, and again to bring his wife. On 22 May he complied and was assigned details of his penance to take place in York Minster.

Ralph Whitling, rector since 1548 of St. Michael's Ousebridge End York, had always been a secular priest. On 18 March 1554 an apparitor certified in court that he had presented Whitling with the charges, and had warned him to respond to them by the Friday following the first Sunday after Easter. When the time came, Whitling confessed to the articles and was deprived on 11 April. On 26 May the office proceeded *contra Ralph Whitlinge et Annam Malorje eius uxorem pretensam*. Whitling now actually *produxit* the lady in question, agreed to separate from her and live apart. What she said on this important occasion is not recorded. Whitling himself then petitioned for restoration to sacerdotal functions and was told to present himself at a later date. On 2 June he returned, but then merely received details of the penance to be done by him in his own church of St. Michael. Three days later he certified performance and was at last restored to the ministration of sacraments and sacramentals.

One of the rare exceptions to this conformist attitude was provided by Robert Thwenge, priest, of Beverley. He was summoned on 9 April 1554 and pronounced contumacious, penalty reserved. He avoided the latter by attending court on 13 April, to face the charge that he had been ordained priest and afterwards married. Thwenge then boldly averred 'that he hade rather continew with his wyf and lyve lyke a laman yf yt mighte so stand with the law.' The case recurred 11 May but was again postponed. On the 28th of the same month, interrogated as to whether he wanted to be restored to sacerdotal ministration, Thwenge stood his ground and *respondebat quod non*. At this interesting point the record ceases and, for all we know, the stubborn Beverley cleric may have

gratified his ambition to re-enter lay life. Another curious case, apparently indicating the self-conversion of a priest into a layman, is that of William Harper, *presbyterum de Hull*. On 9 April 1554 he failed to attend, but Thomas Glasyn of York exhibited letters in court, written, *ut asseruit*, by the hand of Master Robert Kemsey, one of the customers of Hull 'in which it is contenyd that the same William Harper is prest to serve the Quen's Highnes for a maryner.' Nevertheless, the judge unsympathetically pronounced him contumacious, '*reservata pena in diem Sabbati post festum Sancti Marci Evangeliste prox.*' We are thence left wondering whether Harper had consented to be pressed for naval service in order to join the ranks of the protestant exiles on the Continent.³⁶ The present writer, at all events, has failed to discover any further mention of him.

Several cases became subject to delays and complications greatly exceeding those we have so far observed. Anthony Blake, rector of Whiston and vicar of Doncaster, had married Elizabeth Metcalf; he confessed on 16 April 1554 to the charges and on 23 May suffered deprivation of his livings. Here matters ostensibly stayed until on 6 April 1555 he was warned to receive penance and reconciliation. On the subsequent 2 May he heard the penance to be undergone at Doncaster, but on 14 May, having failed to certify, Blake was declared contumacious and actually excommunicated. Four days later, doubtless much to everyone's surprise, he reappeared, flourishing letters dispensatory given him the previous month at Lambeth by Reginald Cardinal Pole. By these it transpired that he had been absolved from excommunications, suspensions, and interdicts imposed for his offences, and had been empowered to obtain a benefice in a place other than that where he had been married or where his wife lived. Faced by this formidable document, the judge proceeded to absolve him from excommunication. Blake's journey to the fountain-head failed, however, to terminate his personal problems. On 22 May 1556 he came again before Rokeby and Dakyn, who put it to him that 'he was divorced from Elizabeth Metcalf, with whome he was married before, and was commanded to abstain from here company.' When he acknowledged this, '*domini obiecerunt eidem* that diverse tymes sence, both nyght and daye, he hath kepte suspecte company with the said Elizabeth, sence Michaelmas last unto his proceedinge to London, and latelie did light at here house where she inhabiteth in Doncastre and ther contynued to the evell example of the inhabitantes of Doncastre.' To this charge Blake replied that 'sence the tyme he was reconciled and hade dispensacion by my Lorde Cardinall his grace, he hath not kepte suspecte company with the said Eliz[abeth] but in company of honeste persons, and never hath lien in that house wher the said Elizabeth inhabiteth sence his reconciliation, but at his beinge in Doncastre sence, he hath lien in the house of one [blank] Peke, which married his kynswoman, and sence his comynge frome London he hath lien in the house of one Edwards Awdus of Doncastre, merchante, but he

36. No one of this name occurs in C. H. Garrett's extensive census in *The Marian Exiles 1553-1559*.

confesseth that he lighted there by occasion of company which came with hyme to Doncastre when he came frome London.' The judges then ordered Blake to purge himself by producing eight compurgators and warned him afresh to abstain from Elizabeth's house and company. On 1 June he brought his eight honest men from Doncaster, protesting again that he 'came not at any tyme in company of the said Elizabeth but for such necessary thinges as was within his house, takinge sufficient company with him at all tymes when he so went.' The next day the now considerable party reassembled, but suddenly – or so it seems in the record – the judges '*ex causis rationabilibus*' remitted (*remiserunt*) the purgation assigned to him, presumably being satisfied without recourse to formal oath-taking.

Quite different complications served to prolong some processes. William Perpoincte LL.D. was an aristocratic pluralist: prebendary of Huthwaite, rector of Widmerpool and of Holme Pierrepont. On 5 April 1554 he was given notice to reply to the articles of information. We then hear nothing of him until the morning of 29 May, when, despite the repeated demands of the judges, he refused to answer the charges '*et hoc propter conscienciam, ut dixit*.' Evidence having been taken from various persons over his protests, he was told to return the same afternoon. The interval failed to soften his attitude, for on returning he refused again, and was then and there deprived. Later in the afternoon penance was assigned to him, including the apology to be made at Widmerpool: 'Maisters, I have been deprieved of this benefyce and others of my spirituall lyvinges for that yt haith apperyd to my ordinatyes that I have beene maryed and truethe ys I confesse, and I declare unto you that preistes' mariages be not lawfull but reprovyd by many authorities. Therefore, yf I have sayd or preachyd any thinge heretofore to the contrary, I am very sorry therefore and desyer you not to be offendyd therewith.' At this stage we are told that Perpoincte spontaneously took an oath to perform this penance, and was thereupon restored to sacerdotal ministration on the conditions: (1) that he would make a profession of chastity before Mr. Cressy, Official of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham, *in presencia mulieris sue*; (2) that he would fulfil the above penance humbly, and not otherwise or in any other manner, and certify the same. When, however, on 12 June he failed to certify, he was pronounced contumacious, *pena reservata*. The very next day his representative exhibited letters testimonial from Mr. Cressy, showing that he had humbly performed his penance and had been restored to ministration. In the course of a subsequent dispute on this day and on 20 July concerning a pension claimed by Perpoincte from the fruits of his prebend, the court asked for a copy of the professions of continence made by him and his wife Anne, *née* Malory, made before Mr. Cressy.

Few cases show this tedious prolixity, but those running to four or five separate sessions are not uncommon. The individual anecdotes can claim only minor historical interest, but in the mass they clearly indicate a judicial campaign of considerable proportions. How great was the

incidence of clerical marriage in the York diocese before the Marian Reaction came to check it? Clearly we must no longer be deceived by the horrified expressions of Robert Parkyn, or by Frere's figures, into the belief that a mere handful of the clergy married. Of the clergy recorded in the books of the Court of Audience no less than 77 were certainly married, while another ten may be regarded as in the 'virtually certain' or 'highly probable' category. Still further cases remain genuinely doubtful. Of the 77 'certainties', 20 are ex-regular clergy, and of the ten 'highly probables', a further one. These figures presumably comprise the great majority of the married clergy likely to be found in our records, though further research may well add some names to the list. Again, if we boldly assume ourselves now in possession of all the surviving sources, we still have to reckon with the possibilities of lost pages in our existing books, and of clerical omissions or other imperfections in the record. These chances apart, a number of unbeneficed married clergy must have avoided proceedings altogether by disappearing into lay life or by emigration. Others are known to have died just before the onset of the Reaction. Altogether, one might conservatively suppose that between 1549 and 1554 the number of married clerics in the diocese reached, and may very considerably have exceeded, the figure of one hundred. What proportion of the diocesan clergy does this represent?

In attempting to assess a total we run into even looser statistical approximations. Tudor estimates of the number of parishes and chapelries vary considerably, and, especially around this date, we often remain uncertain as to which of the latter boasted a separate priest. Moreover, numerous unbeneficed clergy resided in the diocese, not surprisingly when we recollect that by 1549 over 300 Yorkshire chantry priests had been thrown upon the ecclesiastical labour market. In the actual list of married clergy we note a number of such men who had not yet succeeded in obtaining a new benefice or cure. Under the differing conditions of the mid-eighteenth century, Archbishop Herring's visitation of the diocese shows at least 711 clergy in 903 parishes and chapelries.³⁷ In the mid-Tudor age, though pluralism was more widespread, most pluralists maintained curates in livings which they were unable to serve personally. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that at Mary's accession there must have been a thousand or more priests resident in the York diocese. Consequently, if a loose but reasonable estimate be permitted, one might suggest that rather more than a tenth of the diocesan clergy married between 1549 and 1554. Though probably lower than that of the south-eastern counties,³⁸ this proportion may easily correspond with the national average. It is, indeed, higher than the present writer initially expected to find in an area where public opinion was conservative and where a

37. *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Ser.*, LXXI, p. ix. On this subject cf. J. S. Purvis in *Tudor Parish Documents*, p. xvi.

38. Of 319 priests certainly beneficed in Essex, about 88 were deprived for marriage (H. Grieve in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser., xxii. 142-3), but the incidence of clerical marriage in Essex was exceptionally high.

relatively high proportion of the clergy seems to have consisted of middle-aged ex-monks. Of our 87 married, or probably married, clergy, some 62 were beneficed:—prebendaries, rectors, vicars and vicars choral. Only a dozen, or less, appear to have maintained a firm contumacy, five of them being prebendaries and three others distinguished by education or standing from the rank and file of the parish clergy.³⁹ What happened to the rest, who, after deprivation, were reconciled and restored to spiritual functions? Thus far, I have noted only ten or eleven who were certainly holding benefices again before the end of Mary's reign, though further search might materially increase this figure. Another seven were restored to their livings by the Royal Commission of 1559, while yet others are found beneficed once again during the early years of Elizabeth. It scarcely appears, however, that the purge was followed by a rapid and comfortable reshuffle of the livings. In the York diocese there must have been many uncompromised clergy without benefices and only too eager to occupy the places of the dispossessed. On the other hand, parish curacies, private chaplaincies and other inferior employments doubtless absorbed many of the latter and do not normally obtain mention in diocesan records. Again, assiduous search in other dioceses would reveal some of our ejected clergy migrating thither. Conversely, a few ex-married clergy came into the York diocese, having shed their wives elsewhere. Such a one was John Rudde, who brought letters from the Bishop of London and the Vicar General of the diocese of Lichfield to show that he had been divorced from Isabella Weldon, that he was penitent and had been restored to priestly functions. On 31 December 1554 Rudde was admitted to the vicarage of Dewsbury; he obviously rejoined his wife soon after Elizabeth's accession, since he had a child baptized in Dewsbury church on 15 October 1561.⁴⁰

III. CLERICAL MARRIAGE AND PROTESTANTISM

How far does the development of clerical marriage indicate a parallel growth of Protestant ways of thought? Our local chronicler Robert Parkyn more than once identifies the two tendencies. When Queen Mary was proclaimed, he tells us, 'all suche as were of hereticall opinions, withe bischoppes and preastes havinge wiffes, did nothings reioce, butt began to be asshamyde of tham selffes, for the common people wolde pontt tham with fyngers in places when they saw tham.' Again, in August 1553, 'in many places of Yorke shire preastes unmariede was veray

39. Clayborough, Cottesforde, Williams, Miles Wilson and Thomas Wilson were prebendaries. On this group, and on Simon Clerkson s.t.b., the well known preacher and vicar of Rotherham, cf. *infra*, p. 100. Amongst the resisters we may also note Hooe of Stokesley s.t.b., with two additional benefices in the diocese of Norwich; Howsyer of Handsworth also had Culmington in Hereford. The others with apparently bold records were John Gamble, William Latymer and Robert Wisdom, the latter two both being restored by the Royal Commission of 1559. Details of all these men will be found in Appendix A.

40. *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xx. 432-3.

glad to celebratt & say masse in Lattin withe mattings & evin songe therto, accordynge for veray ferventt zealle and luffe that thai had unto God & his lawes.⁴¹ On the other hand, Parkyn is a notable enthusiast and simplifier, who throughout his chronicle throws together all his adversaries into one boundless and indiscriminate condemnation. Our court records at York show singularly little sign of active Protestantism among the married clergy; had they been overt partisans, they would certainly have been presented for heresy as well as for marriage. Truly, clerical marriage and Protestant doctrine show strong historical links; a priest who married in 1550 displayed in one sphere at least an emancipation from tradition. We know that in Essex, where Protestantism was rife, clerical marriage also proved exceptionally widespread.⁴² All the same, the assumption that married priests necessarily held 'advanced' doctrinal opinions would carry us far beyond the evidence and beyond common-sense itself. Even in Essex it has been satisfactorily demonstrated that the deprived married clergy were an astonishingly mixed group: learned and ignorant, godly and disreputable. Their subsequent careers indicate, moreover, that few showed any special devotion to the Reformation.⁴³ Everywhere, when the clergy contemplated marriage, natural impulse and even economic convenience⁴⁴ must have weighed heavily. And if earlier evidence counts for anything, a considerable number of medieval parish clergy would have chosen marriage, had their way of life depended upon personal volition.

The York evidence clearly supports Frere's contention⁴⁵ that the Marian deprivations took place on account of marriage, not for ordination under the English ordinal of Edward VI or for other associations with Reforming activity. The Roman rejection of English orders does not date from the jurisdiction of Mary's Legate *a Latere*. The writer has encountered only one suit in which the validity of a priest's orders were questioned, and, no doubt, special circumstances obtained in this instance.⁴⁶ Needless to remark, the courts were investigating other clerical offences alongside the problem of marriage. Necromancy, association with drunkards, marrying people without asking banns and other run-of-the-mill offences did not cease during the Marian period. So far, however, as the clergy are concerned, the element of heresy remains

41. *Infra*, pp. 307 *seqq.* 78-9, 80.

42. *Supra*, p. 104, n. 38. On this analogy one might expect clerical marriage to have been commoner in Notts. and the West Riding than in the apparently more isolated and conservative North and East Ridings. This, however, is not markedly the case. Of the 81 married and 'probably married' clergy whose residences can be established, 23 came from Notts., 22 from the West Riding, 16 from the East Riding, 13 from the York diocese portion of the North Riding and 7 from York.

43. H. Grieve, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 159.

44. F. W. Brooks in *Journal of the British Archeological Association*, 3rd. ser., x. 23-37 shows that wives and families probably played a considerable part in the later prosperity of the country clergy, who were normally small farmers.

45. Supported by Miss Grieve, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-3.

46. Cf. the case of William Denman in Appendix A.

as exiguous as at any other time. William Newton, vicar of Scarborough and rector of Burythorpe, encountered complaints by his parishioners that the Sacrament was not suspended as in York Minster. He blasphemously answered, 'yf they wold make the gallows he would hang upp the thefe wherefore they doupted in there consciens that he was not catholyke.' Newton later did penance, but was then involved in a further series of charges, none clearly specified in the record, but apparently involving maladministration of his cures rather than Protestantism. Few clergymen are more frequently mentioned in these years, and in the later stages he figured alongside his curate at Burythorpe, Edmund Newton, who was charged with uncharitable behaviour, and with keeping a woman 'of evil condition and lyving.'⁴⁷ With the Newtons it scarcely seems as if we are ascending into the realms of Protestant martyrology!

On 14 July 1555 John Burton and John Browne brought charges against Henry Bruester vicar of Wawne, suspected of heresy. This case continued on 20, 23 and 24 July, but here we meet nothing save uninformative legal technicalities concerning the production of witnesses, the defendant having denied the offence. On 11 October Bruester appeared, submitted to judgment, and received the following penance, 'that upon Sunday the next, after the procession done in the parishe church of Waughan, to be redie with a candle in his hand of wax of iid price, and to go into the rode loft before his parishioners' sight and to make his petition there to Almighty God and to call to his remembrance the passion of our Lorde Jesus Christ etc., and that done to sette upe his candle.' Certificate of performance is noted on 30 October.⁴⁸ The punishment reads as if Bruester had been found guilty of irreverent speech, perhaps concerning the Sacrament of the Altar. Whatever the case, he had also failed to qualify for a paragraph in Foxe.

Beyond these we are left with a very small knot of contumacious upper clergy who certainly held the principles of the New Learning. Their connections with the diocese had in almost every case been brief. Of these Thomas Cottesforde has gained a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as an eminent Protestant exile and controversialist. As early as 1541 the Privy Council had committed him to the Fleet for setting forth an epistle of Melancthon in violation of the Six Articles, but he comes into the York picture by his presentation to the prebend of Apesthorpe four days after the death of Edward VI. Almost immediately he fled abroad, living successively at Copenhagen, Geneva and Frankfurt, at which last he died in December 1555. Some sixteen works are credited to him, mostly devotional rather than controversial, though they include two tracts against Anabaptism and a translation from Zwingli.⁴⁹ Of the Protestant clergy omitted from our act books, one of

47. The Newton cases will be found in R.vii. A.33, fos. 24v-26; A.34, fos. 21, 22v, 45, 45v, 53, 62v, 72, 74, 77v, 81-85v, 105v, 106v.

48. Bruester occurs in R.vii. A.34, fos. 129v - 132, 138v.

49. Garrett. *op. cit.*, p. 129; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Cooper, *op. cit.*, i. 140 all give useful references. Cf. also appendices A and B, *infra*.

the most distinguished was John Plough, a native of Nottingham and successor to his uncle in the rectory of St. Peter's there. Already prominent for his Reforming opinions, Plough was another of those who fled the country in 1553. During his residence at Bâle, he wrote three works, now lost but significantly described by their titles: *An Apology for the Protestants*; *A Treatise against the Mitred Men in the Popish Kingdom* and *The Sound of the Doleful Trumpet*.⁵⁰

Simon Clerkson s.t.b., vicar of Rotherham since 1539, had been licensed in 1542 to preach throughout the Kingdom and exempted from residential obligations. It seems likely, however, that he had passed beyond the Henrican position, since we find him married, contumacious and deprived in the Marian act books. The present writer has discovered nothing about his subsequent career.⁵¹ Edward Mawde m.a., deprived of Darfield for marriage, survived to hold the rectory of Blithe under Elizabeth and had a son notable among the Anglo-Puritan divines of later years. Likewise, the married prebendaries who had been appointed under Edward VI – William Clayborough, Miles Wilson and Thomas Wilson – may confidently be presumed active supporters of the Edwardian changes. We have already noted some half-dozen stubbornly contumacious incumbents who may also belong to this group.⁵² We find thus a small group of Reformers consisting mainly of university-trained clergy occupying prebends and good livings; in no sense do they represent the rank and file of the parish priests, married and unmarried. Their careers do not lack interest for historians of the diocese, yet they lend no real support to those who would identify clerical marriage with Protestant opinion.

Unquestionably, the proceedings of the York court must have entailed personal hardship, both mental and physical, for many of the married clergy; still more for their wives and children. The present writer finds neither wisdom nor common humanity in this persecution directed against clerical marriage, a practice legalized by Convocation and by statute law, and having no necessary connection with heresy, let alone with treason. Deprivation was in fact far severer than the penalties imposed on clerics for adultery.⁵³ We are evidently witnessing the operation not merely of legal rigidity but also of governmental alarm at the prevalence of clerical marriage, an alarm supported by a popular social taboo with emotional undertones. Even within the bounds of conservative orthodoxy it would have been possible, even logical, to deal with this problem by more humane and gradual methods. On the other hand, our records lend no support to the supposition that the York judges were doing any more than execute obligations imposed from above.

50. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 252; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* I have not, however, observed that he married.

51. See the references in Appendix A, *infra*. There were probably at least two other contemporary clergy named Simon Clerkson.

52. Cf. *supra*, p. 105, note 39.

53. Cf. H. Grieve, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

Their recorded actions show no sign of malice, impatience, or vindictiveness. They were slow, not merely in disposing of business, but also in excommunicating contumacious offenders, and so exposing them to the rigours of the secular arm. Here Rokeby and Dakyn do not figure as companion-pieces to the popular picture of Edmund Bonner; they look like conscientious lawyers enforcing the law, not so much in the spirit of the Inquisition as in that of their medieval predecessors. At York we feel ourselves in the presence of an ancient legal machine, not among the crueller politicians of the Counter Reformation.

How far the local atmosphere would have changed in the face of stiffer opposition it is difficult to conjecture, since, though we shall see the laity giving much more doctrinal trouble, even lay opposition did not seriously threaten the authority of the court. At York there was little provocation to a violent persecution. As for the clergy, they ran no risk of provoking one by open defiance or systematic contumacy. True, a larger number than we hitherto imagined had begun to shake off old beliefs, notably those inhibitions concerning clerical marriage. Among such men there were doubtless many who were very far from sharing Robert Parkyn's dislike of the Edwardian Prayer Books. In the diocese of York, however, such clerics do not seem to have had the strength of purpose and the evangelical impulse to organise themselves for mutual support. Again, we misrepresent the submissive clergy if we refuse to credit them with any sincerity when they expressed penitence for entering the married state. We are guilty of anachronism if we dismiss them all as dishonest weaklings. As exemplified in the Apology of Archbishop Holgate,⁵⁴ this generation was easily convinced of divine wrath by the experience of worldly misfortune. A conventional Tudor conscience could as easily turn a man from martyrdom as lead him toward it. Yet when we have made full allowance for this characteristic complex, it may scarcely be doubted that many of these clerics, in regaining priestly status by surrendering their marriages, were bowing to the force of public opinion, to fear of further persecution, to a distaste for the hardships of lay life. Their action may often have been 'the easy way out', and they seemingly accepted with quiet resignation whatever system would allow them to continue the clerical mode of life to which they were habituated. We are tempted to visualise the typical married priest of the York diocese as a clergyman first, an Edwardian second, a martyr not at all and, as a champion of clerical marriage, far from convinced, or convincing! It was, after all, John Foxe himself who sardonically noticed that some clergy, having embarked upon marriage without due circumspection, were afterwards contented of their own inconstant accord to be separated from their wives.⁵⁵

It remains to mention the clergy who were instituted to the vacancies created by deprivations, resignations and natural causes. We print belows

54. *Infra*, pp. 353 *seqq.* This document is further discussed *Infra*, pp. 348-9.

55. *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Pratt, vi. 439.

as Appendix B, a list of these institutions during the crucial period 1554–5 derived from the *Sede Vacante* Register. Apart from the obvious fact that most of these men had been cautious or conservative enough to avoid matrimony,⁵⁶ it may be doubted whether we shall succeed in making very significant group-generalisations concerning them, even though 40 out of the 95 were appointed to benefices in the patronage of the Crown. I see no strong probability that any large group of Marian extremists or activists were available for preferment in 1554–5 or, indeed, that patrons were concerned to select such men for preferment. The Elizabethan careers of these newcomers do not strictly form part of our present researches, but a glance in this direction has not encouraged the present writer to anticipate exciting discoveries concerning a 'resistance movement' after 1558. Rapid reference to the obvious sources of information has already shown just over half these 95 men occupying benefices in the diocese during Elizabeth's reign, and doubtless no very prolonged research inside and outside the diocesan records would be required to add many names to this list of those who conformed under Elizabeth. Among the parish clergy singularly few deprivations and resignations seem to have resulted either directly or indirectly from the imposition of the Elizabethan regime. Among the relatively few Marian parish clergy whose minds are known to us, some striking examples of tenacious continuity occur. One is that of Robert Parkyn of Adwick-le-Street, whose writings show that he combined mystical studies in the Rolle tradition with a hearty detestation of all Reforming practices and – at all events up to 1555 – an equally hearty approval of Queen Mary. This textbook exemplar of northern clerical conservatism nevertheless continued to hold his cure until his death in 1570.⁵⁷ In our own list of Marian appointees will be found the name of John Houseman, another Marian by conviction, and one concerning whose career and views we happen to know a good deal. As a young deacon among the Minster clergy Houseman had attacked Archbishop Holgate for his marriage and, according to his own account, had in 1550 been deprived of his stipend through the hostile influence of the Archbishop. On the accession of Mary, Houseman proceeded to petition the Queen, telling vividly the story of his innocence and hardships. Though the latter were not very harrowing, the petition seems to have attracted favourable notice. Gaining ordination to the priesthood in Bonner's diocese of London, he became initially curate of Bilbrough near York and was soon hunting bigger game in the field of preferment. As we see in the

56. Exceptions are those of William Perpointe (fo. 661) and, if the identification be correct, Thomas Johnson (fo. 664). Details of both these are given in Appendix A. Allowing for omissions, it would certainly appear that few of the deprived succeeded in obtaining another living in this diocese during Mary's reign.

57. On Parkyn see *infra*, pp. 245 *seqq.*; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lxxii. 58; *Notes and Queries*, 19 Feb., 1949, p. 73; *Bodleian Library Record*, iii, no. 29, p. 34 and iv, no. 2, p. 67; *Trans. of the Hunter Archaeological Soc.*, vi, no. 6, p. 278; *Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.*, xliii. 21; *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, Jahrgang 43, p. 54.

list of institutions⁵⁸, when in 1554 the Marians deprived Dr. William Clayborough of the Mastership of St. Mary Magdalen Hospital in Bawtry, the post fell to Houseman, who in the same year added to it the vicarage of Canewdon in Essex. There he gained a reputation for presenting Protestants, yet no pressure for his resignation or ejection seems to have arisen under Elizabeth, since he continued to hold Bawtry Hospital until 1584 and Canewdon until his death in 1588. And in fairness we should note that during this period Houseman proved a conscientious and strong-minded parish priest, quick to champion the rights of his parishioners and the welfare of the local poor⁵⁹. Hence we may for the moment conclude that, while further research into the biographies of the Marian appointees may reveal new features of interest, the careers of such men as Parkyn and Houseman scarcely presage the discovery of an impressive Marian opposition-party after 1558.

In Part II, also to be published in this series, the writer will describe the prosecution of laymen for heresy and of ex-nuns for marriage; also the attempt to enforce the restoration of church properties. The essay will conclude with a broad survey of miscellaneous sources and problems connected with the Marian Reaction.

58. *Infra*, p. 125.

59. Further details and references for Houseman are given by the present writer in *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xxxvii. 376 *seqq.*, where the text of his petition will also be found. Miss Grieve supplies more points in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser., xxii. 156.

APPENDIX A

A CENSUS OF THE MARRIED CLERGY IN THE YORK DIOCESE, AS REVEALED BY THE MARIAN PROCEEDINGS.

It is hoped that scholarly and exhaustive biographies of the clergy in the York diocese will some day be attempted. The following list of clergy who married before the Marian Reaction aims to support the statistics given above, and to supply the necessary references to R.vii A.33, 34 and the *Sede Vacante* Register. Here and there a few extraneous particulars are given, but complete biographies are emphatically not attempted. In almost every case many additional details could be produced from other diocesan documents, from parish registers, from the indexes of wills in the *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Record Series*, from *Testamenta Eboracensia*, the *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, and many other sources in both manuscript and print.

ABBREVIATIONS. V. = vicar of; R. = rector of; dep. = deprived; S.V. Reg. = *Sede Vacante* Register.

The date from which a benefice is said to have been held normally indicates the actual date of institution, but in a few cases it merely represents the date of the first known connection of the cleric with that benefice. I am indebted for many particulars to Dr. Purvis's extensive index to the Tudor clergy, known as 'Tudor Crockford.' Restorations by the Royal Commission are listed in H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 89.

MARRIED CLERGY

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| ADAMS, | John, R. Hockerton. Dep. 4 April '54. Regular. Divorced from Alice Aske or Askewe. Penance at York. Restored by Royal Commission, 1559 (A.33, fos. 5, 9, 34v; A. 34, fo. 14; S. V. Reg., fo. 657v). |
| BATHELEY, | William, priest. Regular canon of Newstead. Married Joan Seliocke. Assigned a day to receive penance and warned for divorce 5 April '54 (A.33, fo. 13; <i>Victoria County Hist., Notts.</i> , ii. 116). |
| BEST, | Robert, priest, of Heptonstall. Regular, probably monk of Selby. Married Anne [blank]. Ordered penance at York and Heptonstall (A.33, fo. 32; A.34, fo. 12). |
| BLAKE, | Anthony, M.A., S.T.B., V. Doncaster from 1535. R. Whiston. Other benefices earlier. Married Elizabeth Metcalf. Dep. 23 May '54. Warned to appear for penance and reconciliation. Later contumacious and excommunicated. Appeared 18 May '55 with letters of dispensation from Cardinal Pole allowing him to hold a benefice, and absolved. Charged in May '56 with renewed association with his wife. Produced compurgators and dismissed 2 June '56. Restored to Whiston and Doncaster by Royal Commission 1559. Died 1570 (A.33, fo. 32v; A.34, fos. 19, 115v, 118v, 121v, 122v; S.V.Reg., fos. 660v, 661v; A.B. 39, 22 May, 1 June, 2 June, '56; many other references in 'Tudor Crockford,' but there were other clergy of this name in the Elizabethan period). |

- BRETTON, Thomas, R. Boltby. Regular, a Whitefriar of York. Married Ellen Cuthberte and had divers children. On 19 Feb. '57 she denied knowledge of his vows, but they were divorced, he being ordered penance in York, she being pardoned (AB.39, 19 Feb. '57).
- BUTTERY, Thomas, V. Yeddingham from 1537. Charged, as Vicar, 9 April '54, but apparently dep. before 28 May '54, when he was ordered penance as *clericus coniugatus* (A.33, fo. 17v; A.34, fo. 28).
- CALVERD, Richard, priest, of Kelfield. Regular canon. Married Katherine Lowder; warned to abstain from clerical functions; certified 1 June '54 he had done penance at Stillingfleet. Referred to elsewhere as curate of Stillingfleet and later V. Askham Richard. Will proved 1564 (A.33, fos. 20, 26v, 36; A.34, fo. 35v. R.VII G. 1207).
- CARTER, Edmund. Regular. Married Isabella Thompson. Divorced 22 May '54, and ordered penance in the church of Scarborough (A.34, fos. 15, 18).
- CLAYBOROUGH, William, Prebendary of Ampleforth from 22 Sept. 1549, Master of Bawtry Hospital from 1549. V. Kinoulton from 1550. Dep. of prebend and vicarage 23 May '54; dep. of Bawtry 5 June '54. Office of reconciliation, but later contumacious and excommunicated 4 May '55 (A.33, fo. 7v; A.34, fos. 19, 31, 39v, 116v, 119v; S.V.Reg., fos. 658v, 659; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii. 169).
- CLAYTON, Ralph, priest, of Hutton Bushell. Ordained 1531-2. Regular. Married Emma [blank] and died early in 1554. His widow was charged with retention of church goods 16 June '54 (A.34, fo. 51v; ordination and will are in the Registers: see also R.As. 26/35).
- CLERKSON, Simon, s.t.b. V. Rotherham since 1539. Contumacious; dep. 29 Oct. 1554, still contumacious. (A.33, fo. 34; A.34, fo. 93; S.V.Reg., fo. 662v). Clerkson had been exempted from residential requirements and licenced to preach throughout the kingdom in 1542 (J. Guest, *Historic Notices of Rotherham*, pp. 73-4).
- COLLUMBYNE, Oliver, R. Stanford-upon-Soar from 1536-7. Dep. 23 May '54. Restored by Royal Commission, 1559 (A.33, fo. 12; A.34, fo. 20v).
- COTTESFORDE, Thomas, Prebendary of Apesthorpe from 10 July '53. Contumacious; dep. before 19 May '54, when Thomas Clemente was instituted (A.33, fo. 36v; S.V.Reg., fo. 658; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii. 167). An important Protestant divine and writer. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v.
- Cragges, Robert, R. All Saints, Pavement, York, from 1544, and vicar choral of York from 1553. Dep. of both benefices 7 April '54. Will proved 1566 (A.33, fos. 2v, 3, 15, 15v, 19v; S.V.Reg., fo. 658).
- CURWEN, Thomas, R. Screveton from 1533. Dep. 5 April '54 (A.33, fos. 11v, 13; S.V.Reg., fo. 661).
- DICKSON, William, priest, of Stainburn. Warned 14 May '55 to abstain from cohabitation with his wife, to wear priest's costume and to bring in his wife (A.34, fo. 22).
- GAMBLE, John, V. Sheriff Hutton. Regular. Married Margaret Dykson. Dep. 19 April '54. Divorced 22 May '54. Contumacious 15 June '54 (A.33, fos. 20, 35v, 37; A.34, fos. 13v, 50; S.V.Reg., fo. 656).

- GAMBLE,** William, R. South Otterington. Married Ellen Fisher. Dep. 12 April '54. He and his wife agreed to live apart. Did penance in York Minster and at South Otterington. Restored to sacerdotal functions 25 May '54 (A.33, fos. 19v, 23v, 35 : A.34, fos. 12v, 23v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 659).
- GUNNYSTON,** John, R. Winthorpe from 1540. Regular. Dep. 4 April '54 (A.33, fos. 6, 8v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 659v).
- GYLES,** William. R. Gedling. Regular. Married Anne Bradford. Warned 4 April '54 to appear for divorce. Dep. before 9 June, when Robert Collinson was instituted (A.33, fo. 12v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 659).
- HARLAND,** William, *clericus apud Hull*. Regular canon. Married Agnes Johnson ; at first contumacious, then after long delay brought wife into court. They were divorced 15 Feb. '55, when it was ordered '*quod dictus Harlande do not hereafter call the said Agnes Johnson wyf, and that she do not call him housband*' (A.33, fos. 18, 29v ; A.34, fos. 13, 107v, 108 ; J. S. Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents*, p. 204).
- HEWET,** Thomas, priest. Married Margaret Thomas. He and his wife consented 12 July '54 to separate. He did penance at Doncaster and Kellington ; was restored to sacerdotal functions 27 July '54 (A.33, fo. 30 ; A.34, fos. 68, 74v).
- HOCHONSON,** William, V. Colston Bassett. Dep. 5 April '54 (A.33, fos. 12, 13v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 659v).
- HOLGATE,** Anthony. R. Burnsall-in-Craven. Married Isabella [*blank*]. Dep. 14 April '54 ; office of reconciliation and was ordered penance 18 April '55 ; later contumacious, and 31 May '55 excommunicated along with his wife ; reappeared 11 June and certified had done penances, but on 21 June witnesses from Burnsall, Linton, and Skipton were to be cited regarding new, unspecified charges against him. Holgate was restored by Royal Commission 1559 and his will as Dean of Craven proved 27 May 1570 (A.33, fos. 26v, 31 ; A.34, fos. 116, 123, 124, 126 ; S.V.Reg., fo. 662).
- HOLME,** Nicholas, V. Stretton since 1540. Charged 3 April '54. Dep. before 4 Oct. '54 when Thomas Wilkyn was instituted. A cleric of this name became V. East Retford in 1556 and of Beeston in 1557 (A.33, fo. 6v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 663v ; several other references in 'Tudor Crockford.')
- HOLME,** Wolstan (Wolstanus), curate of Syerston. Warned 3 April '54 to abstain from all sacerdotal functions while cohabiting with his wife (A.33, fo. 5v).
- HOODE,** John, s.t.b., R. Stokesley. Contumacious. Letters were shown 26 July '54 indicating his deprivation of the benefices of Dallinghoo and Welby Ash, diocese of Norwich. Dep. of Stokesley 3 Aug. '54, still contumacious. Died 1555 (A.33, fos. 19, 27v ; A.34, fos. 74, 78 ; S.V.Reg., fo. 661).
- HOTTON,** William, of Ledsham. Regular, a Cluniac of Pontefract. Married Isabella Duffan, who on 5 April '55 denied knowledge that he had been professed. Ordered same day to do penance and apologise in Ledsham church ; then divorced (A.34, fos. 114-114v. A William Hutton became R. Stanton in 1556-7, and is called s.t.b.).
- HOUGHTON,** John, R. Trowell. Dep. 5 April '54. (A.33, fos. 12v, 13v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 659).

- HOWSYER,** John, R. Handsworth. Contumacious 16 April '54. Letters were shown 22 Aug. '54 indicating his deprivation of the rectory of Culmington, diocese of Hereford; dep. same day of Handsworth, still contumacious (A.33, fo. 34; A.34, fo. 80; S.V.Reg., fo. 661).
- JACKSON,** William, R. Darfield from 1534. Confessed to the charges 16 April '54, 'excepte that he accompanyd not with his wyf sens St. Thomas day before Christinmas last.' Dep. 23 May '54. Restored; recurs 1563, 1567 (A.33, fo. 33; A.34, fo. 19v; S.V.Reg., fo. 664).
- JOHNSON,** Thomas, V. Hunmanby. Dep. 22 May '54, his wife being then dead. Did penance in the church of Hunmanby and restored 30 May '54 to sacerdotal functions (A.33, fo. 19v; A.34, fos. 16v, 17, 34; S.V.Reg., fo. 659v; 'Tudor Crockford'). A cleric of this name was instituted to Barnby Dun 5 Nov. '54 (S.V.Reg., fo. 664).
- JUDSON,** Thomas, V. of Whenby and of Barnby Dun, both from 1547. Regular canon of Marton. Assigned a date to hear deprivation and his wife cited for divorce procedure 16 April '54. Having done penance at Whenby was absolved 4 April '55. William Bradley was instituted to Whenby 3 Sept. '54, and Thomas Johnson to Barnby Dun 5 Nov. '54 (A.33, fo. 33v; A.34, fos. 33, 40, 114; S.V.Reg., fos. 661v, 664; 'Tudor Crockford').
- LANCASTER,** Walter, vicar choral of York. Dep. 26 May '54. R. St. Michael's Ousebridge, 1557 (A.33, fos. 2v, 3, 15; A.34, fos. 11, 25v; 'Tudor Crockford').
- LANGDALE,** Richard, V. Sculcoates by 1545. Married Anne Warde. At first repeatedly contumacious; dep. before 17 July '54, when he and his wife consented to live apart. Did penance in York Minster and was restored 23 July to sacerdotal functions (A.33, fos. 18, 29v, 30v; A.34, fos. 72, 74).
- LATYMER,** William, R. Kirkby in Cleveland. Contumacious; dep. 22 May '54; restored by Royal Commission 1559 (A.33, fos. 19, 27; A.34, fos. 9, 13v; S.V.Reg., fo. 660).
- LAUNTE,** Thomas, R. Heselerton from 1538. Dep. 25 May '54. Ordered to do penance in the church of West Heselerton, 6 June '54. Occurs in 1556 as V. Normanby (A.33, fo. 17; A.34, fos. 11v, 24, 43; Several other references in 'Tudor Crockford').
- LOLLY,** Richard, curate of Thirsk. Regular canon of Newburgh. Married Dorothy Whitlocke. They appeared in court 18 April '54, and were divorced on the following day, both being ordered penance. He certified having performed it on 5 June. Said in 'Tudor Crockford' to have been at West Rasen, Lincs. from 1556 until his death in 1566 (A.33, fos. 20v, 23v, 35, 36; A.34, fos. 16, 18, 40).
- MARSHALL,** Thomas, priest. Regular. Married Joan Mawer. Warned 3 April '54 to abstain from clerical functions while cohabiting with his wife. Warned 21 May '54 to appear next day to hear sentence of divorce. On 4 April '55 reappeared and requested reconciliation. He produced letters showing that Mr. Robert Cressy, Official of the Archdeaonry of Nottingham, had imposed penance upon him; he was then absolved *simpliciter* (A.33, fos. 6, 10v, A.34, fos 12v, 113v).

- MAWDE,** Edward, M.A. V. Darfield from 1551. Confessed to charges 16 April '54 and a day assigned for deprivation. William Bygleskyrke instituted, after his deprivation, 5 May '54. Occurs as R. Blithe, 1558. Will proved 1570 (A.33, fo. 33; S.V.Reg., fo. 657v; other references in 'Tudor Crockford').
- MONSONNE,** (Mounson, Munson etc.) George. R. Clayworth from 1528. Dep. 29 May '54; ordered to apologise for marriage and other offences in Clayworth church,* and restored 27 Aug. '54 to sacerdotal functions (A.33, fos. 7v, 11; A.34, fos. 31, 80v; S.V.Reg., fo. 664v; 'Tudor Crockford').
- NORTHEND,** Richard, priest at Halifax. Charged 13 April '54 with marriage; replied that his wife was dead, and asked for restoration to sacerdotal functions. Also charged with marrying a couple without banns, while a matrimonial suit concerning them was pending. Confessed to the latter. Ordered 9 May '54 to do penance in York Minster and in the churches of Elland, Halifax, Batley, and Leeds (A.33, fo. 30; A.34, fo. 1; identified in 'Tudor Crockford' with Richard North, V. Whiston in early Elizabethan period).
- PALMER,** Nicholas, M.A., V. Rolleston. Confessed to charges 3 April '54, and dep. 4 April '54 (A.33, fos. 5, 9v; S.V.Reg., fo. 660v).
- PERPOINCTE,** William, LL.D., Prebendary of Husthwaite from 24 Sept. '51. Married Anne Martyn. Refused at first to answer charges; dep. and ordered penance 29 May '54. Certified, by the Official of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham 13 July '54 that he had done penance; he and his wife also made professions of continence before the Official. Instituted to the rectory of Grove 1 Sept. '54; resigned it 1558. Instituted to Cotgrave 1557 and to Torlaston 1558 (A.33, fo. 11v; A.34, fos. 30, 30v, 33, 33v, 48, 68v, 72v; S.V.Reg., fos. 658v, 661v, 662; many other references in 'Tudor Crockford').
- RAVEN,** Thomas, priest, of Constable Burton. Married Margery Hewson. Warned 14 April '54 to abstain from sacerdotal functions. He and his wife agreed 25 May '54 to live apart; he was ordered penance in St. Mary's, Beverley, and on 5 June '54 restored to sacerdotal functions (A.33, fo. 32v; A.34, fos. 22, 40).
- RAYNES,** Gabriel, V. Almondbury and of Huddersfield, both from 1552. Confessed to charges 13 April '54; dep. 23 May '54 (A.33, fo. 26v; A.34, fo. 20; S.V.Reg., fos. 659v, 662v).
- REDE,** Robert, V. Swine. Married Emmet [*blank*]. Confessed to charges 14 April '54, 'except that his wyf haith not bene with hym sens Lammas last past.' Dep. 16 April '54, when he and his wife agreed to live apart. Did penance in York Minster and at Swine. A cleric of this name was R. Warmsworth 1556 and of Hooton Roberts in 1558 (A.33, fos. 32, 33v; A.34, fos. 11v, 22; S.V.Reg., fo. 663v; 'Tudor Crockford').
- ROBINSON,** John, R. Grove. On 4 April '54 was assigned a day to hear sentence of deprivation; William Perpoincte instituted to Grove 1 Sept. '54. A cleric of this name was R. Treswell in 1555 and died 1558-9 (A.33, fos. 6v, 9v; S.V.Reg., fo. 661; 'Tudor Crockford').

* Monsonne's initial response to the charges included the entire process of the cause of matrimony and divorce between *dominus* George Ellyngthorpe of the one party and Margaret Serelby and George Mounson of the other party (A.33, fo. 11). It is to be hoped that further details of this case may be located.

- ROBINSON, Richard. Regular, '*coniugatus cum virg[ine] ut asseruit.* On 4 April '55 ordered to do penance in the church of Arksey. Later absolved and restored to sacerdotal functions (A.34, fo. 113v; 'Tudor Crockford' shows several clerics of the name in the diocese at this time, one of them a monk of Meaux. I have not certainly identified any with this man).
- RYVELEY, Robert, regular canon of Thornton Curteys. Married Joan Stanley. Ordered 3 April '54 to abstain from spiritual functions while cohabiting with his wife; warned same day for divorce procedure (A.33, fos. 6, 10v; A.34, fo. 12).
- SHIPPEN, Richard, V. Conisbrough from 1540. Confessed 16 April '54 to charges. Dep. 23 May '54 (A.33, fo. 34; A.34, fo. 20v).
- SONLEY, Nicholas, priest, probably curate of Kirkdale. Married Isabella Chapley. Confessed 5 April '55, and ordered to do penance and to abstain from consorting with her *sub pena juris*. Licensed to celebrate until first Sunday after Easter, to supply the needs of the cure (A.34, fo. 114v).
- SPOFFORTH, Brian, R. Barton in Ryedale from 1537. Married Agnes Aslaby, a professed nun. Confessed 11 April and dep. 12 April '54; did penance in York Minster and at Barton. Having been divorced at some previous date, he was absolved 4 April '55. Will proved 3 Jan. '56 (A.33, fos. 20v, 23; A.34, fos. 32, 46v, 114; S.V.Reg., fo. 660v; *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Series*, xiv. 151).
- STAPLETON, William, V. Eastington from 1549. Regular. Married Joan Raby. Dep. 11 May '54, and wife pronounced contumacious. Both appeared 21 May '54, and were divorced. Stapleton was ordered 31 May '54 to do penance at Eastington, and certified it 5 June (A.33, fo. 17v; A.34, fos. 6, 10v, 35v, 40v).
- SUGDEN, Christopher, V. Newark from 1550. Dep. 23 May '54. Absolved 18 April '55. Restored by Royal Commission 1559 (A.33, fo. 7v; A.34, fos. 19, 116, 132).
- TAYLOR, George, R. Bulmer. Dep. 14 April '54. Restored to sacerdotal functions 12 May '54. Assigned penance 22 May. Certified having performed it 12 June '54. Restored by Royal Commission 1559 (A.33, fos. 20, 25, 31; A.34, fos. 8v, 17, 18, 47; S.V.Reg., fo. 660).
- THORPE, John, R. Thorpe-by-Newark. Dep. 4 April '54 (A.33, fos. 7, 8v; S.V.Reg., fo. 658).
- THWENGE, Robert, priest (vicar choral) of Beverley. Asked leave 13 April '54 to continue with his wife and live as a layman. When questioned 25 May '54 whether he wanted restoration to sacerdotal functions, *respondebat quod non*. A cleric of this name was at Welton in 1557 and died in 1560 (A.33, fos. 18v, 26; A.34, fos. 4, 28v; 'Tudor Crockford').
- TURNER, Robert, priest, of Hedon. Married Elizabeth Craven. Promised to live apart from her 12 Jan. '55, and ordered to do penance in York Minster and at Hedon. Possibly identical with the Robert Turner who was R. Winestead in 1537 and resigned in 1567 (A.33, fo. 32; A.34, fo. 104; 'Tudor Crockford'; N. J. Miller, *Winestead and its Lords*, pp. 118-119).

- UTLEY, (Otley) William, Curate of Hull. Married [blank] Scholes. They both agreed 3 Oct. '54 to live apart. At the same time Utley was charged with consenting to the removal of the Sacrament from St. Mary's, Hull. He purged himself 9 Oct. '54 of this alleged offence by six compurgators from Hull, but was ordered to do penance at St. Mary's in respect of his marriage (A.33, fo. 17v ; A.34, fos. 84v, 87).
- VINCENT, John, R. Langton from 1535. Contumacious on 9, 13 and 14 April '54 ; dep. or resigned at some subsequent date (A.33, fos. 19, 29, 31v ; several other references in 'Tudor Crockford,' including evidence regarding his marriage in R. As. 4.10).
- WAGER, Richard, V. Kirk Ella from 1534. Regular, possibly canon of Haltemprice. Appeared 9 April '54. Dep. 23 May '54, then being contumacious. Ordered 6 June '54 to do penance at Kirk Ella. Pronounced contumacious again, *reservata pena*, 12 June '54 (A.33, fo. 17v ; A.34, fos. 20v, 42, 47v).
- WALKER, Miles, R. Leathley from 1549. Assigned penance in York Minster and at Leathley 22 May '54. Certified that he had done it at the former and undertook to do it at the latter 25 May '54. Thomas Holme instituted 27 June '54 to Leathley, vacant by deprivation of Miles Walker. Will proved 1569 (A.34, fos. 14v, 22 ; S.V.Reg., fo. 660. Other references in 'Tudor Crockford'. In 1540 he occurs as chaplain to Sir Thomas Jackson kt., near Barwick-in-Elmet).
- WALKER, Peter, vicar choral of York. On 6 April '54 assigned a day to hear sentence of deprivation. Restored 12 May '54 to sacerdotal functions. Ordered 22 May to do penance in York Minster (A.33, fos. 3, 15v ; A.34, fos. 1v, 8v, 18v).
- WALKER, Richard, priest. Married Janet Middleton. They agreed 22 May '54 to live apart ; the same day he was ordered to do penance in York Minster. Certified he had done it, 4 June '54, and was restored to sacerdotal functions (A.34, fos. 16v, 17v, 39. 'Tudor Crockford' has many references to a contemporary or contemporaries of this name. Two, or possibly three persons seem indicated).
- WATSON, Henry, priest. Married Joan Colson. Replied 13 April '54 that he would rather be restored to the office of priest than continue with his wife. He and she agreed 18 April '54 to live apart, and he was ordered to return the following Friday to receive penance (A.33, fos. 26, 36 ; a cleric of this common name occurs at Selby in 1545-6).
- WATSON, Robert, Prebendary of Strensall from 2 June, '52. Described as *nuper coniugatus*, he appeared 13 June '54 with certificate from the Official of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham, showing he had done penance. Restored to sacerdotal functions. Geoffrey Morley was instituted 5 May '54 to the prebend of Strensall, which Robert Watson *nuper habuit*. Watson died later in 1554 (A.34, fo. 49v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 656v ; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii. 216 ; 'Tudor Crockford').
- WHITE, Thomas, *clericus apud* Sutton-in-Holderness. Confessed to marriage, and ordered to abstain from clerical functions until licenced, 14 April '54. Assigned penance 22 May '54. Certified 25 May, along with Myles Walker and Robert Rede above (A.33, fo. 32 ; A.34, fos. 14v, 22 ; 'Tudor Crockford' has three clerics of this name, but none obviously identifiable with him).

- WHITLING, Ralph, R. St. Michael's, Ousebridge⁸ End, York from 1548. Married Anne Malorye. Dep. 11 April '54. Brought his wife into court 26 May '54, and agreed to separate from her. Ordered 2 June '54 to do penance in St. Michael's. Certified he had done so 5 June, and restored to sacerdotal functions (A.33, fos. 2v, 21 : A.34, fos. 26v, 38, 40).
- WIGHTE, Hugh, V. South Scarle from 1550. Regular. Married Joan Mennell. Warned 4 April '54 for divorce procedure. Dep. same date. Ordered 4 June to do penance in York Minster. Promising to live apart from his wife, he was restored to sacerdotal functions 31 Oct. '54 (A.33, fos. 5v, 10 ; A.34, fos. 38v, 94 ; S.V.Reg., fo. 657v ; one of these names was subsequently holding benefices at Shelton (1557-8), Gotham (1561), and Wollaton (1565) ; cf. 'Tudor Crockford').
- WILBORE, William, R. Bramwith and V. Arksey, the latter from 1553. Confessed to charges 16 April '54. Dep. 23 May '54 (A.33, fo. 33 ; A.34, fo. 19v).
- WILLIAMS, Henry, s.t.b., Prebendary of Fridaythorpe from 1535. Contumacious 18 April '54. Arthur Lowe instituted to Fridaythorpe 7 May '54, vacant by deprivation of Henry Williams. Presumably identical with Henry Williams s.t.b., who was canon of Windsor from 1537, and deprived 1554 (A.33, fo. 36v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 656v ; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii. 188, 207, 393, 430).
- WILSON, Miles, s.t.b., Prebendary of Ulleskelf from 1551. Assigned a day to reply to the charges, 7 April '54. John Seton instituted to Ulleskelf early in May '54, vacant by deprivation of Miles Wilson (A.33, fos. 16, 16v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 656v).
- WILSON, Thomas, Prebendary of Bilton from 1550, R. Badsworth from 1550, Master of Hospital of St. John, Ripon, from 1550, V. Silkstone from 1546. Regular, ex-monk of 'Burton' (Monk Bretton). Married [blank] Moreton. Contumacious 7, 11, 13 April '54. Appeared 16 April. Divorced 2 June '54. Again contumacious and excommunicated 9 June '54. Letters sent to the Crown 10 Sept. '54 for his arrest as having been excommunicated over 40 days. Successors instituted ; to Ripon 5 May, to Bilton 19 May, to Silkstone 1 Sept. '54. Wilson was Prebendary of Fenton 10 July 1560 to 1573 (A.33, fos. 16, 20v, 27, 32v ; A.34, fos. 25v, 37v, 46, 82v ; S.V.Reg., fos. 657v, 658v, 661 ; many other references in 'Tudor Crockford' ; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii. 173, 185).
- WISDOME, Robert, R. Settrington from 1550. Contumacious 7 and 13 April '54. Richard Thorneton instituted to Settrington 30 Sept. '54, vacant by deprivation of Robert Wisdome *clerici uxorati*. Restored by Royal Commission 1559. Died 1568 ; will proved as R. Settrington (A.33, fos. 18v, 27v ; S.V.Reg., fo. 662. 'Tudor Crockford' gives other references).
- WYET, John, s.t.b., R. Sutton Bonnington from 1541. Dep. 23 May '54 (A.33, fo. 12 ; A.34, fo. 20).
- YOKESALL, William, V. South Kirkby. Confessed to charges 16 April '54 ; dep. 23 May '54. Occurs as V. Batley in 1556. Died 1560 (A.33, fo. 33 ; A.34, fo. 20 ; 'Tudor Crockford' gives other references).

CLERGY PROBABLY MARRIED

- BANKE,** Thomas, priest. Alongside several married priests, he certified on 5 June '54 he had done penance (A.34, fo. 40).
- BONNELL,** Nicholas, LL.B., V. Southwell from 1550. Confessed to charges, apparently of marriage. Dep. 4 April '54. Almost certainly married (A.33, fos. 5v, 9).
- BRUMHEDDE,** Thomas, V. Rampton. Confessed to charges, apparently of marriage. Dep. 4 April '54. Almost certainly married (A.33, fos. 6v, 9v).
- CLARKE,** Thomas (alias Milner, alias Herrison), priest, of Wakefield. Warned 13 April '54 to abstain from sacerdotal functions (A.33, fo. 30).
- HALL,** Henry, R. Halsham. Contumacious 12 and 26 May '54. Dep. 28 May '54 (A.34, fos. 7v, 25v, 28).
- MANNORES,** John. R. Eakring. Contumacious 3 April '54. Appeared 13 April '54, and charged 14 April '54, apparently with marriage (A.33, fos. 7, 8, 30, 31v; several other references in 'Tudor Crockford', some possibly to a namesake).
- NEWETT,** John, assistant priest at Howden. On 9 April was assigned a day to answer charges. Confessed 18 April '54 they were true, 'except that he is not vicar there but an assistant'. Warned to abstain from sacerdotal functions until licensed. Almost certainly married (A.33, fos. 18, 35; 'Tudor Crockford' gives other references: he occurs as vicar choral at Howden 1543, later as curate of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor).
- WATSON,** Matthew, M.A., V. Helmsley from 1552. Contumacious 11 April '54; John Grenewodde instituted to Helmsley 7 Sept. '54, vacant by deprivation of Matthew Watson (A.33, fo. 21; S.V.Reg., fo. 662; 'Tudor Crockford'; ordained deacon at Lithe chapel a few days before institution to Helmsley, cf. Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 217).
- WHITBY,** Thomas, V. Hutton Cranswick. Summoned with married clergy, but contumacious, 9, 13, 14 April '54. Dep. by early Oct. '54 when Thomas Munkton instituted (A.33, fos. 18, 29v, 30v; S.V.Reg., fo. 663).
- WILLSON,** John. V. Dunham and of Sutton, Notts. Regular canon. Charged 3 and 4 April '54 similarly to known married clergy (A.33, fos. 7, 10).

DOUBTFUL CASES

- BRIGGES, Adam, R. Levisham. On 11 April '54, alongside married clergy, he was assigned a day to answer charges (A.33, fo. 21).
- DENMAN, William, R. Ordsall. Summoned 3 Aug. '54, but contumacious. Cited to exhibit letters of orders, the validity of which was questioned, but still contumacious on 26 April '55 and dep. at some subsequent date. Restored by Royal Commission, 1559. Denman had been ordained priest 1551 by Bishop of Hull at Grove Chapel. A cleric of this name was R. West Retford, 1578; will proved 1587 (A.33, fos. 7, 8; A.34, fo. 117v; Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 217).
- HARPER, William, priest, of Hull. The Customer of Hull certified he had been pressed for a mariner. Pronounced contumacious. The charge remains doubtful (A.33, fo. 18v).
- LYNLEY, Edward, priest. Charged as *presbyter coniugatus*, but brought four clergymen and four laymen as compurgators 29 May '54; was restored to sacerdotal status. Had he been unjustly suspected of matrimony? (A.34, fo. 32v).
- SMALLWOOD, Robert, V. Kirkburn; R. Foxholes. He was instituted to the latter 14 April '54, but William Bell was instituted to Kirkburn 7 Sept. '54, vacant by deprivation of Robert Smallwood. The latter appeared in court 9 Aug. '54 to show cause why the vicarage should not be pronounced vacant, since he was retaining it contrary to law. On 1 and 7 Sept. he was contumacious and hence deprived. The original problem is not illuminated here, but I see no evidence that it proceeded from marriage (S.V.Reg., fos. 656, 661v: Act Book ii (1553-1571), fos. 9v, 12v, 13; see 'Tudor Crockford' for later causes in which Smallwood was involved).
- WILSON, John, V. Gargrave from 1552. Charges, probably of marriage, brought against him 13 and 14 April '54. Having denied them he was on 12 May '54 dismissed from the case and restored to sacerdotal functions (A.33, fos. 27, 31v; A.34, fo. 8).

APPENDIX B.

THE MARLAN INSTITUTIONS OF 1554-5

On the character and limitations of the subsequent table, drawn from the Sede Vacante Register, fos. 655v - 666v, see *supra*, pp.93-4.

In the original, each item occupies several lines of Latin. The document is thus of a formal and repetitive nature ; a full transcription would add little and occupy an undue amount of space.

The Register lists the institutions in chronological order, which has, of course, been preserved below. Placenames and surnames are spelt as in the original.

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Benefice</i>	<i>Cleric Instituted</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Cause of vacancy</i>	<i>Patron</i>
655v.	Holme in Spaudinge ¹	Robert Johnson	5 Mar. 1553 /4	Natural death of previous incumbent	The Queen
655v.	Wilforde	Robert Crossley LL.B.	4 Mar.	Natural death of previous incumbent	Sir Gervase Clyfton
655v.	Hospital of Bl. Mary, Ripon <i>ad unam cantuariarum</i>	Ralph Steele	20 Mar.	Natural death of Edward Yngoo (<i>sic</i>)	Thos. Webster, clerk, Master of the Hospital
655v.	Hutton Bushell (vicarage)	John Newsome	13 Apl. 1554	Natural death of previous incumbent	The Queen
656	Acworth (rectory)	Thomas Huntingdon	14 Apl.	Free resignation of Richard Deane	The Queen
656	Foxholes (rectory)	Robert Smallwood	14 Apl.	Natural death of John Colteman	Robt. Abbot of Beverley
656	Kyrton (rectory)	Richard Taylor	23 Apl.	Natural death Robert Southworthe	Sir William Hollys
656	Sheriff Hutton (perpet. vicar.)	William Spencer	27 Apl.	Deprivation of John Gamble	The Queen
656v.	Strensall (canonry and prebend)	Geoffrey Morley	5 May	Already vacant by law : lately held by Robert Watson	—
656v.	Fridaythorpe (canonry and prebend)	Arthur Lowe (<i>domine nostre regine capellanus</i>)	May	Deprivation of Henry Williams	—
656v.	Ulleskelf (canonry and prebend)	John Seton S.T.P.	—	Deprivation of Miles Wilson	—
657	Heaton (rectory)	John Pullayne	30 Apl.	Natural death of William Wood	Ralph Shawe, clerk, who appointed feoffees.
657	Eperston (rectory)	William Wetherall	5 May	Natural death of last incumbent	Sir Thos. Nevell of Holte, co. Leicester

¹ Holme on Spalding Moor, E. Yorks.

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Benefice</i>	<i>Cleric Instituted</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Cause of Vacancy</i>	<i>Patrons</i>
657v.	Derfield 2 (perpet. vicar.)	William Bygleskyrke	5 May	Deprivation of Edward Mawde	John Christopherson s.r.B., Master of Trinity College Cambridge
657v.	Hospital of St. John Baptist, Ripon	Thomas Blackburn	5 May	Deprivation of Thomas Wilson	The Queen
657v.	Southskarle	William Harseley	9 May	Deprivation of Hugh Wighte	Wm. Robinson, Thos Shere- wood and Wm. Hethecote
657v.	Hokerton	Thomas Huddleston	10 May	Deprivation of John Adams	The Queen
658	Sutton super Trent (perpet. vicar.)	William Pyckarde	12 May	Vacant by Law	The Queen
658	All Saints Pavement, York	William Pecocke	18 May	Deprivation of Robert Cragges	The Queen
658	Thorpe juxta Newark	Thomas Shipman	18 May	Deprivation of John Thorpe	The Queen
658	Abesthorpe (canonry and prebend)	Thomas Clemente	19 May	Deprivation of Thomas Cottesforde	The Queen
658	Buttevant (canonry and prebend in metropolitan church of York)	James Busset (<i>litteratus</i>)	19 May	Free Resignation of Lawrence Sanders	The Queen
658v.	Bilton (canonry and prebend in metropolitan church of York)	William Bell	19 May	Deprivation of Thomas Wilson	The Queen
658v.	Amplefourth (prebend)	Alban Langdale s.r.P.,	26 May	Deprivation of William Claburghe	The Queen
658v.	Hospital of St. John in Ripon	John Jaques	29 May	Deprivation of Thomas Wilson	The Queen

² Darfield ; on the two moieties see *Fasti Parochiales* (Yorks. Archeol Soc. Rec. Ser., LXXXV) i. 73 seqq. The other moiety occurs below.

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Benefice</i>	<i>Cleric Instituted</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Cause of Vacancy</i>	<i>Patrons</i>
658v.	Husthwaite (prebend)	George Williamson	30 May	Deprivation of William Perepoynte	The Queen
658v.	Bracewell (vicarage)	John Catlyn	31 May	Natural death of Robert Stockdale	Sir John Tempest
659	South Ottrington (a moiety of the rectory)	Edward Ullye	1 June	Deprivation of William Gamble	Sir Christopher Aleyn
659	Hospital of Bawtrie	John Howseman	9 June	Deprivation of William Claybrough last Master or Warden. Already vacant in Law	The Queen
659	Gedlinge (rectory)	Robert Collynson	9 June	Deprivation of William Gyles	Anne, relict of Sir Michael Stanhope
659	Kyrksmeaton (rectory)	Richard Underwood	9 June	Free and spontaneous resignation of John Legg	Wm. Browne, <i>armiger</i> and Anne his wife ; Hamon Lee Strannge <i>armiger</i> and Elizabeth his wife
659	Trowell (one moiety of the rectory)	Roger Page	9 June	Deprivation of John Houghton	The Queen
659v.	Trowell (one moiety of the rectory)	Peter Mudde	9 June	Natural death of previous incumbent	Robert Brynsley <i>armiger</i>
659v.	Almondbury (vicarage)	Robert Norham	14 June	Deprivation of Gabriel Reynes	The Queen
659v.	Wynthorpe (rectory)	William Hallyday	16 June	Deprivation of John Gunnyston	The Queen
659v.	Colston Basset (vicarage)	William Mower	16 June	Deprivation of William Hochonson	Thomas Oliver (<i>hac vice</i>)
659v.	Hunmanby (vicarage)	Charles Deconson	21 June	Deprivation of Thomas Johnson	The Queen
660	Bulmer (rectory)	William Taylor M.A.	21 June	Deprivation of George Taylor	Sir Ralph Bulmer of Wilton
660	All Saints, North Street, York (rectory)	Christopher Asheton	25 June	Free and spontaneous resignation of Robert Morres	The Queen

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Benefice</i>	<i>Cleric Instituted</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Cause of Vacancy</i>	<i>Patrons</i>
660	Leythley (rectory)	Thomas Holme	27 June	Deprivation of Miles Walker	The Queen
660	Kyrkby in Cleve- land (rectory)	William Bery	28 June	Deprivation of William Latymer	The Queen
660	Wemersley (vicarage)	William Brogden	30 June	Natural death of last incumbent	The Queen
660v.	Roleston (vicarage)	John Thomson	30 June	Deprivation of Nicholas Palmer	John Swynnnhowe and Wm. Calverde, gents. (<i>hac vice</i>)
660v.	Garforde (rectory)	John Dawson	2 July	Natural death of last incumbent	Richard Whalley, gent.
660v.	Whiston (rectory)	John Atkyn	4 July	Deprivation of Anthony Blake	Francis Earl of Shrewsbury
660v.	Barton in Ridall (rectory)	Roland Goodsonne	6 July	Deprivation of Brian Spofford	Robt. Bulmer, Marmaduke Dawtrie and Thos. Ridley
661	Screveton (rectory)	Richard Blande	5 Aug.	Deprivation of Thomas Curwen	Wm. Condell of Longmel- forde, co. Suffolk and others ³
661	Stokesley (rectory)	Thomas Tennande	5 Aug.	Deprivation of [blank] Hooode	The Queen
661	Hannesworth ⁴ (rectory)	John Moreton	23 Aug.	Deprivation of John Howsyer	Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury
661	Leake (rectory)	Richard Walker	23 Aug.	Natural death of last incumbent	Sir John Porte
661	Grove (rectory)	William Perpointe LL.D.	1 Sep.	Deprivation of John Robinson	Sir John Hercye
661	Sylkeston (vicarage)	William Inkerfeld	1 Sep.	Deprivation of Thomas Wilson	The Queen
661v.	Whenby (perpet vicar.)	William Bradley	3 Sep.	Deprivation of Thomas Judson	The Queen
661v.	Kyrkbourne (vicarage)	William Bell	7 Sep.	Deprivation of Robert Smallwood	The Queen

³ Mary, his wife, Mary Worceley, *armiger*, Alice Poole, widow, and Francis More, gent.

⁴ Handsworth.

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Benefice</i>	<i>Cleric Instituted</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Cause of Vacancy</i>	<i>Patrons</i>
661v.	Ilkeley (vicarage)	John Pullayn	11 Sep.	No reason given	Christopher Mawde of Hol- linghall
661v.	Doncaster (vicarage)	Robert Hobson	14 Sep.	Deprivation of Anthony Blake	Richd. Ellerker and Leonard Metcalf, gents.
661v.	Wydmerpole (rectory)	Edmund Stubs	23 Sep.	Deprivation of William Perpoynte LL.D.	Sir George Perpoynte
662	Levesham (rectory)	William Watson	3 June	No reason given	Sir Philip Hobby and Eliza- beth his wife
662	Helmesley (perpet. vicar.)	John Grenewodde	7 Sep.	Deprivation of Matthew Watson	John Lewys of the City of London, gent.
662	Burnesall in Craven (a moiety of the rectory)	Richard Somerscales	10 Sep.	Deprivation of Anthony Holgate	John Lambert, junior, gent.
662	Holmeper- poynte	Roger Smythe	23 Sep.	Deprivation of William Pierponnte	Sir George Pierponnte
662	Settrington	Richard Thornteton	30 Sep.	Deprivation of Robert Wisdome <i>clerici uxorati</i>	Francis Stanley, <i>armiger</i> , and John Gervis gent. of the City of London
662v.	Scalby (perpet. vicarage)	Henry Kaye	2 Oct.	Death of Robert Storke	Robt. Doughtie of Langrake
662v.	Hyddersfeld (vicarage)	Edmund Baynes	26 Oct.	Deprivation of Gabriel Raynes	William Ramesden
662v.	Rotherham (vicarage)	Nicholas Bramhall	30 Oct.	Deprivation of Simon Clerkson	Francis Earl of Shrewsbury
663	St. Mary's, Not- tingham (vicarage)	Oliver Hewod	28 Sep.	Free Resignation of Richard Wilde	Philip and Mary
663	Kynnalton ⁵ (vicarage)	Thomas West	28 Sep.	No reason given	Philip and Mary

⁵ Kinoulton, Notts.

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Benefice</i>	<i>Cleric Instituted</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Cause of Vacancy</i>	<i>Patrons</i>
663	Connysburgh (vicarage)	Thomas Wright	4 Oct.	Deprivation of last incumbent	Robt. Chaloner of Standley, <i>armiger</i>
663	Hoton Crance- wicke (vicarage)	Thomas Munkton	– Oct.	Deprivation of Thomas Whitbie	Thos. Hungate, <i>armiger</i>
663v.	Elley (vicarage)	Philip Preston	4 Oct.	Deprivation of last incumbent	Sir Ralph Ellerker
663v.	Stretton (vicarage)	Thomas Wilkyn	4 Oct.	Deprivation of Nicholas Holme	George Palmes LL.D.
663v.	Dunham (vicarage)	John Collyer	4 Oct.	No reason given	Philip and Mary
663v.	Swyne (vicarage)	Thomas Smithe	15 Oct.	Deprivation of Roberte Rede	Sir John Gresham
664	Stanford (rectory)	Elezeus Umfraye	15 Oct.	Deprivation of last incumbent	Thos. Knevetonne of Lam- bleyn co. Nottingham
664	Darfeld (one moiety of the rectory)	John Draxe	3 Nov.	Removal of William Jacksonne <i>clerici coniugati</i>	Thos. Draxe of Woddall, co. York
664	Barneby super Done (vicarage)	Thomas Johnsonne	5 Nov.	Deprivation of Thomas Judson	Richard Whalley of Wel- becke, <i>armiger</i>
664	Kaingham ⁶ (vicarage)	Robert Towers	13 Nov.	No reason given	Philip and Mary
664	Stretton (vicarage)	Thomas Marche	15 Nov.	Natural death of Thomas Wilkin	George Palmes, LL.D.
664v.	Clawoorthe (rectory)	Thomas Thurlande	26 Nov.	Deprivation of George Monsonne	Richard Lee, gent.
664v.	Kirkbramwith (rectory)	William Powell	28 Nov.	No reason given	The Queen
664v.	Wharome (vicarage)	William Firbye	1 Dec.	Free Resignation of Marmaduke Atkinson	Philip and Mary
665	Sutton in Bon- nyngton ⁷ (rectory)	Thomas Thomsonne	2 Dec.	Deprivation of John Wyet	Cuthbert Scoote (<i>sic</i>) s.t.d., Master or Warden of Christ's College Cambridge

⁶ Keyingham, E. Yorks.

⁷ There were two rectories here, St. Andrew's and St. Michael's. The latter occurs below, the same cleric being instituted to it.

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Benefice</i>	<i>Cleric Instituted</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Cause of Vacancy</i>	<i>Patrons</i>
665	Rectory of Stooke, prebend in Cathedral Church of Lincoln	Rev. John, Bishop of Thetford ⁸	6 Dec.	Free Resignation of John Pope	John White, Bishop of Lincoln
665	Castellsowerby, Carlisle Diocese (vicarage)	John Briscoo	8 Dec.	No reason given	Dean and Chapter of Carlisle
665	St. Michael's, Stotton Bonnyngton (<i>sic</i>)	Thomas Thompson	22 Dec.	No reason given	Philip and Mary
665v.	Edenstowe ⁹ (vicarage)	Henry Tinker	22 Dec.	Natural death of Richard Hatefeld	Dean and Chapter of Lincoln
665v.	Dewesbury (vicarage)	John Rudde	31 Dec.	Natural death of Alan Cooke	Thomas Argall, <i>armiger</i> and Robt. Lee, gent. of the City of London
665v.	Atwicke (vicarage)	John Watsonne	3 Jan. 1554/5	No reason given	Philip and Mary
665v.	Ormesby (vicarage)	Oliver Watson	10 Jan.	Natural death of last incumbent	Philip and Mary
666	Carleton in Linricke (rectory)	Leonard Stafford	19 Jan.	No reason given	Philip and Mary
666	Sladeburn (rectory)	Thomas Abbot	24 Jan.	Natural death of last incumbent	Philip and Mary
666	Grindall (prebend)	Thomas Chestonne	25 Jan.	Natural death of last incumbent	Philip and Mary
666	Askham Richard (vicarage)	Nicholas Grenehooode	4 Feb.	Natural death of last incumbent	John Daken LL.D.
666v.	Hawkesworthe (rectory)	Brian Sanndford	20 Feb.	Natural death of Robert Pryde	Richard Whaley, <i>armiger</i>
666v.	Estrington (vicarage)	Richard Batte	8 Mar.	No reason given	Philip and Mary
666v.	Calverton (vicarage)	John Michell	23 Mar.	Natural death of last incumbent	Philip and Mary
666v.	St. Michael's, City of York	Richard Blanchard	— May	No reason given	Philip and Mary

⁸ John Salisbury, suffragan bishop of Thetford 1536–1571 (*Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. F. M. Powicke, p. 194)

⁹ Edwinstowe, Notts.

ADDENDA TO PART I

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It should in fairness be added that the Marian Injunctions of March 1554 had impugned the validity of ordinations under the Edwardian ordinal and had commanded the bishops to supply their recipients, if otherwise found suitable, with 'that thing which wanted in them before.' These injunctions were received at York and duly copied into the *Sede Vacante* Register, fos. 651v—652v. Owing to the manifest incompleteness of Holgate's Register and act books, we cannot assess the number of such Edwardian priests in the diocese. Unless and until we can form a clearer notion of the size of this problem, it will prove difficult to interpret and explain the apparent absence of any Marian campaign to reordain or oust the Edwardians.

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Mr. G. F. Willmot rightly draws to my attention the fact that Robert Cragges was already a vicar choral in 1546 (*Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, pp. 34, 448).

PART II

THE LAITY

I. INTRODUCTORY

The first part of the present essay¹ described the impact of the Marian Reaction upon the clergy of the diocese of York. In this second portion, the writer intends primarily to throw fresh light upon the Reaction as it affected the laity, particularly those charged with heretical beliefs and practices. In this connection, extensive use will be made of the same unprinted Act Books which proved so valuable in our former task. Subsequently they will help to illuminate two minor topics: the treatment of married ex-nuns and the enforced restoration of church properties. Finally, when we turn to attempt a summary assessment of the social and institutional effects of the Reaction, we shall pass outside the diocesan records at the Borthwick Institute and allow a miscellany of other sources to contribute toward a synthesis.

Before embarking upon the York heresy cases of Mary's reign, we must attempt to fit them into their historical context, since they form part of a larger and hitherto unwritten chapter of our diocesan history: the Rise of Protestantism. A reader well versed in printed histories and records might be pardoned for supposing that, since it belonged chiefly to the 'backward', 'conservative' and 'reactionary' North, the York diocese lacked any significant Protestant history until Puritanism bulked large in the days of James I. These epithets have been showered too promiscuously upon everything and everybody north of Trent. Modern historians, overwhelmed by rebellion and recusancy, have ended by simplifying north country society and by crediting this large and complex third of England with an intellectual, spiritual, social and economic homogeneity which in fact it never possessed. Even so great a work as Dr. Rachel Reid's *The King's Council in the North* has tended to reinforce this simplification; the very nature of its theme has lent too uniform a darkness to those shadows through which the Council bore the torch of law and governance. If, however, we feel tempted to over-generalise concerning northern society of the Tudor age, we should take up the study of one of its special aspects over a large area: perhaps recusancy, so highly localised in certain districts²; perhaps households and books, which would lead us to note some striking cultural disparities between the Borders and, say, South Yorkshire³.

The early story of Protestantism brings yet another complexity into this varied picture. It is a longer and more interesting story than we have

1. *Supra*, pp. 93 *seqq.*

2. Cf. the two articles on Yorkshire recusancy *infra*, pp. 159 *seqq.* *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal*, xxxv. 157 *seqq.* and xxxvii. 24 *seqq.* Likewise, the rebellion of 1569 scarcely touched any part of the diocese of York.

3. On the contemporary writers of South Yorkshire see the present writer in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, Jahrgang 43 (1952), 51 *seqq.* On the Borders, cf. e.g. D. L. W. Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, ch. ii, iii.

customarily supposed, for its origins do not date from the reign of Elizabeth, or even from that of Edward VI. Our Marian heresy cases have in fact close and fairly numerous prototypes in the reign of Henry VIII. The writer has almost completed a survey of Henrican heresy in the diocese of York, but the subject has proved too extensive to allow of its incorporation with this present essay. A few sentences of broad characterization must hence suffice to put our main theme into perspective.

Around 1530 the recorded heretics included several persons of Netherlandish birth or affinities, such as the Freez brothers of York, whose sufferings were recorded by Foxe, and Giles Vanbeller of Worksop, who abjured his heresies before Archbishop Lee's vicar general in 1534. During the rest of the reign, native Englishmen from various parts of Yorkshire incurred prosecution for similar beliefs. With certain exceptions, they seem illiterate or semi-literate, dependent upon oral transmission for their religious radicalism. We should not too readily assume that Lutheranism, let alone Calvinism, played a large or direct rôle at any stage of these popular movements before 1558. Lollardy continued as an active factor into the mid-Tudor age; as we shall shortly observe, even one of our Marian heretics was specifically charged with *crimen Lollardiae*. Such offenders were often dismissed in contemporary parlance as 'sacramentaries', their chief heresy being a denial of Transubstantiation. In addition to this basic offence, several of them rejected the confessional, especially when it meant confessing to impure priests. Holy bread, holy water, holy ground and holy buildings likewise received their share of condemnation; so did fast-days, the worship of saints, the practice of pilgrimage and belief in Purgatory. Before the Act of Supremacy made them orthodox, a few people were, not unnaturally, in trouble for denying Papal authority. The main conclusion is this: that we shall find very little amongst the Marian heresy cases which cannot be closely paralleled in the York courts in the reign of Henry VIII. In the present writer's view, the church courts of 1554-1558 were not primarily concerned to undo the effects of the Edwardian Prayer Books; they were still fighting an older, more radical and more popular attack upon the Church, an attack which a century and a half of persecution had failed to eradicate and which had been revitalized by contact with a number of continental movements.

Postponing closer analysis of the Henrican records, yet now mindful of their intimate association with our subject, we may turn to the lay cases of heresy which Dr. Rokeby, Dr. Dakyn and their associates were investigating alongside those of the married clergy. We shall become involved in a series of personal anecdotes, yet they have the merit of being fresh ones, conveying a vivid impression of a somewhat unfamiliar *milieu*.

II. HERETICS IN THE REIGN OF MARY

The commonest lay offence recorded in the Marian act books at York takes the form of contempt for orthodox eucharistic doctrine. Robert Bigott, 'kepinge an alehouse in Beverley,' was charged on 19 April 1554 that he 'dothe not only hym self rayle agaynst tholly and blessyd sacrament of thalter, but also haith many and sondry other evill disposyd persons resortinge to his howse that in lyke maner rale agaynst the same most holly sacrament.' He denied the charge and was ordered to purge himself by the oath of eight of his neighbours.⁴ The same offence, 'unreverent speaking of the sacrament', and similar sentences are recorded immediately afterwards in connection with seven other Beverley men.⁵ The trouble in Beverley did not, however, terminate with this episode. Three years later, on 10 June 1557, the judges accused Gawin Brakenrige of Beverley, 'that when the priest came to hyme, haveinge the sacrament of the altare to ministrate unto hyme, he said the priest brought the devell,' Brakenrige confessed and submitted himself to the correction of the law. The judge, Dr. Dakyn, thereupon enjoined him 'that upon Setterday next he shall go thorowe the markett of Beverley and ther to knell downe in the market and say that he was sorie that he had spoken such develishe wordes and desire God of forgiveness, and Sir Thomas Mitchell⁶ to declare the said wordes to be the cause of his penance, and such penance to do at Catwike the Sonday after and at Olorne the Sonday next after.'⁷ Beverley proved, indeed, a notable centre of unrest; we shall shortly observe other cases there of a somewhat different type.

Several Leeds people also attracted attention early in the reign. Christopher Jackson of that town was accused on 10 May 1554 'that he is one of the new sorte, for that he rayled agaynst the sacramentes and burnyd the image of Our Lady.' He confessed to the latter action, saying he had been sworn thereto by the commissioners appointed in that behalf. Along with him appeared thirteen other Leeds men described as 'bussy fellowes of the new sorte.'⁸ The curate of Leeds reported that they had 'usyd themselves well & godly' since Michaelmas last and, on their humble submission, they escaped with a warning which included the proviso 'that they do handle the church wardens of Ledes gently and other the inhabitantes that dyd present them, and that they gyve them no fowle wordes otherways than becomethe them from

4. R.VII. A.33, fo. 37v.

5. *Ibid.*, fos. 38-38v: Edward Smethley, Thomas Bothe, Nicholas Willimat, Thomas Settrington, John Jennison, Erkewald Shepperde.

6. This Thomas Mitchell's will, with its details of his own books, is printed in *Halifax Wills*, ed. E. W. Crossley, ii. 167-9. It was proved 20 Oct. 1558.

7. A. B. 39, 10 June 1557. Certification is demanded as usual.

8. Robert Wilson, Richard Gledell, — Strickland, Robert Jackson, Henry Ambler, Thomas Ambler, William Lyndall, John Kinge, William Taylor, Henry Fyshe, Alexander Richardson, Nicholas Jackson, Anthony Harrison.

hensfourth'.⁹ It would thus appear that the churchwardens and others of Leeds went so far as to present people whose main offences had in fact taken place before the accession of Mary. As for Christopher Jackson and two other serious offenders, William Taylor and Henry Ambler, they were admitted to purgation.¹⁰ A few days later, William Stable of Leeds was also ordered to produce compurgators.¹¹

On 12 May 1554 George Gower, gentleman,¹² was questioned '*quid sentit et credit de Sacramento altaris post verba consecrationis prolata?*' He hastened to reply 'that he belevith yt to be the very body and blode of Christe and for the transubstanciation, he belevith as the universall church teachith and haith taughte.'¹³ This presumably cleared him, since no sentence or any other sequel is recorded. George Walker of Oswaldkirk, detected along with William and Elizabeth Walker, denied on 16 June 1554 the charge that he had failed over a long period to do reverence to the sacrament 'in the tyme of the levacion thereof.'¹⁴

Later in the same year a more serious offence took place at Hull. Of William Utley, late curate of Hull, it was alleged on 3 October 'that he the said Utley was consenting and present to, and at the takinge awaye of, the blissed sacrament forth of [blank] in Hull apon Tuysday or Weddynsday in Witson weke last, betwixte six and tenne of the cloke before none the said day.' He denied the offence and was purged by six compurgators from Hull. Utley and his wife subsequently agreed to separate, and he was ordered penance in St. Mary's, this apparently being the church from which the sacrament had been abstracted.¹⁵ The actual offenders seem to have avoided detection.

On the previous 30 July certain similar cases of sacrilege at Halifax had been brought to trial. To Richard Best the judges objected 'that the same night that the sacrament was taken fourthe of the church of Hallifax, there came to his house aboute midnight the same nighte, and callyd of hym, twoo persons, and that he rose upp and went to the feldes, and that they three beinge in the feldes to gether, thone of the said persons saide to the other, "I must goo you know whither," and so departed.' Best corrected the alleged time of this mysterious behaviour to 2 a.m., but otherwise admitted that the conversation had taken place. He was ordered to reappear the following Thursday. Meanwhile William Dene of Halifax faced the accusation 'that he is sus-

9. A.34, fo.2.

10. *Ibid.*, fo. 1v.

11. *Ibid.*, fo. 23; 25 May 1554.

12. Apparently George Gower of Stittenham. (*Glover's Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. J. Foster, p. 226). He was thus related to Thomas Gower, one of the few Yorkshire gentry who went into exile under Mary. Thomas later turned informer to the government. (C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles, 1553-1558*, p. 165; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

13. A. 34, fo. 8.

14. *Ibid.*, fo. 50v.

15. *Ibid.*, fos. 84v, 87.

pectid within the parishe of Hallifax to be one of them that pullyd downe the crucifyx and took away the sacrament furthe of the churche there.' He denied this completely, and was also told to return on Thursday. When the day came, Best and Dene were both absent and pronounced contumacious, *pena reservata*. At this stage it would seem that the original charge collapsed, since on the Saturday, 4 August, both the accused were caught on other charges. Best admitted receiving the sacrament last Easter without first making confession; besides a similar admission, Dene abjectly called himself 'a grete swerer.' The penances awarded these two men were different: only in Best's case was attention clearly drawn to the suspicion of doctrinal unorthodoxy. Standing before the pulpit in Halifax church, he had to 'affyrme the contentes of a schedule, which the curate shall than rede, to be true and that he belevith them from the bothom of his harte.' Penance completed, if his conscience permitted, he was to receive the sacrament. In the case of William Dene, on the other hand, the priest had merely to declare 'that he dothe the same penance for common drunkennes and sweringe.' At the same time, Dene was compelled to repeat the performance in the church of Wakefield on the following Sunday—an exceptional elaboration of he were, in fact, no more than a foulmouthed drunkard. It could be, though the evidence remains far from conclusive, that he accepted these discrediting personal charges in order to avoid further and more dangerous investigations into heretical behaviour. Alongside these two men, Edward Ridinge of Ovenden Wood in Halifax parish received penance in the same forms as William Dene, the priest 'to declare in the pulpit that he dothe the same for lokinge downe at the tyme of the elevacion of the sacrament in tyme of masse and for refusinge of hallywater.'¹⁶ The offences against the sacrament both at Halifax and at Hull should be viewed alongside the subsequent reputation of these two places as centres of militant Protestantism.

One interesting and comparable case comes from Wakefield. On the afternoon of 28 June 1555 an office was held against John Nodder and his wife Isabella, evidence being given on oath by one Henry Watkinson of that town. The nature of Nodder's main offence may be gathered from the fact that the judges interrogated him 'whether he do beleve whether after the wordes of consecracion spoken by the preste over the brede be by the virtue of the said wordes of Christe turned into the verie bodie of Christe and no brede remanyng there after the wordes of consecracion so spoken.' Immediately hereafter the notary has written the words 'yea or naye': though he then struck them out of the official record, they no doubt represent the verbal actuality of the question in court. Nodder's immediate reply is omitted. The judges then, however, interrogated him concerning the other articles (*de ceteris articulis*) delivered to him in writing. To each article Nodder exhibited a written reply. So far as may be judged, these replies took the form of a submissive profession of orthodoxy, since we are told

16. The Halifax cases are in A. 34, fos. 77-77v, 78, 78v, 79, 79v.

that he read them publicly and confessed spontaneously to their contents. Mrs Nodder then underwent interrogation on the same articles and replied that she believed all and singular of them. The judges licensed them to renew mutual contact and ordered them to return at a subsequent date. Whether in fact they had been imprisoned does not appear. Nodder is next found in attendance on 26 August, when he was enjoined 'that upon Weddnisday the next he come into the church of Wakefeld and to bringe his wif with hym and there to be confessed of the curat...and...upon Sunday next after, at the offertorie tyme of high messe...he and his wif to declare ther faith accordinge to the articles maid in that behalfe godelie before the holl parishoners and after the messe be done to receyve the blissed sacrament of thaultare'. When, however, on 3 September the pair were duly summoned to certify performance, they failed to appear, were pronounced contumacious and excommunicated. Exceptionally, the actual form of the excommunication pronounced by Dr. George Palmes is given on a subsequent page. Possibly because the Act Book (R.VII.A.34) ends shortly after this date, the Nodders then vanish and the present writer has so far failed to recover the trail. Sacramentarian heresy presumably headed their offences; we may also from the above particulars deduce with certainty that they had been charged with denying Confession.¹⁷

Elsewhere, other Catholic rites and clergy performing them had obviously been subjected to acts of contempt. Last Whit Sunday Gabriel Walker of Rothwell, during the 'casting of sence at *Veni Creator*,' was alleged to have given evil example by saying "'What is yon? A Christinmas play in faythe. Yonder is a gay Yole layke!¹⁸ I wold my Jenne saw yonde; she wolde laugh at yt," and with laughinge he often tymes repetyd the said wordes.' On 22 May 1554 Walker tried hard to explain away this incident with a somewhat schoolboyish story. According to his own account, he saw 'a prest there in a cope and twoo boyes upon ether hand of hym, with twoo baskettes, and whan that the prest cast sence, the boyes cast flowers agaynst the sencers and that he, musinge what they ment thereby, demandyd of one William Taylor his neyghbore what it signified, and he answeyrd hym that it signified the comynge of tholly Gost; and he answeyrd him agayne that it was a praty pastyme and that he wished lytill Jen[ne] his doughter were theyr to see yt.'

Unimpressed, the judges adjourned the case and committed Walker 'to the archiepiscopal prison designated for heretics'. Back in court again on 25 May, doubtless sadder and wiser, Walker was assigned penance in the church of Rothwell, the curate to declare that he did it 'for disturbing of his neyghbours at the tyme of the insensing of thalter.'¹⁹

17. For the Nodder case see A. 34, fos. 127v, 128, 133v, 134, 135v.

18. Sport, play; northern form from O. N. *leikr* (*New. Eng. Dict.*, s.v. Lake).

19. For the Walker case, see A. 34, fos. 15v, 23.

The use of holy water provided another target for 'busy fellows of the new sort.' On July 7 1554, Leonard Worlesworth of Penistone received penance, the curate there to explain the reason: 'for that he did misuse hyme self in the same pulpite, and also that he did misuse hyme selfe otherwise in casting water in the church after the priest casting holie water, contrarie to the laudable use of the church, and then he, the said Leonarde, to saye openlie to the people, "It is trewe that the curate speaketh, and I shall desire youe all, for as much as I have offended in misusinge my self, as is afore, contrarie to the order of the church, to forgive me, desiringe youe all and most especially the youth to take example at me and so not to enterprise any such like hereafter, for I am verie sorie for my misdoinge herin, never by Godes grace intending to attempte the like."'20.

As in earlier times, refusal of Confession was another offence which occasionally brought people into conflict with the ecclesiastical courts. In the case (13 Dec. 1554) of Agnes Sampson of Abberforth, the York judge adopted a somewhat unusual procedure. The accusation was to the effect that 'she sayd that she wold never be confessyd of a prest'. She appeared, but what defence she made we are not told. The judge merely committed his powers to the vicar of Sherburn to enquire into the truth of the charge, and should the vicar find it true, 'then he to put hir to penance and to certifye the same *veneris post Pauli prox.*, and that she shall come to the parishe churche upon Sonday next come a seven[night], and there openlie to confesse hir self unto the preist.'21 Some other cases of failure to confess may represent either doctrinal objection or mere slackness. On 21 June 1555, for example, William Byns and John Burkynshay of Bingley admitted to receiving the Eucharist the previous Easter without confessing, and were immediately ordered to go on two Sundays in procession 'with either of theme a candle of a penny pece in ther hand and a booke or a paire of bedes in the other hand before the crosse'.22

The crucifix itself seems to have provoked some parishioners into crude expressions of scorn. Marmaduke Walker and John Wilson of Knapton in Wintringham parish appeared together on 6 May 1555. It was said that 'upon Easter daye last past at Evensong, when the prest came forth of the quere to the funte, havinge the crucifix of Christe in his armes, he [Walker] asked the said John Wilson and spake these wordes to the same. "Whether will he goo with that in his armes to christen it," the said John Wilson annsweringe and said to the said Marmaduke, "No, he will drowne it"'. Walker admitted the words attributed to him, but Wilson maintained 'that when the said Marmaduke did saye to hyme the wordes aforsaid, he badde hym hold his

20. A. 34, fo. 66v. He had then to do similar penance in Burton church and to certify.

21. A. 34, fo. 100.

22. A. 34, fo. 126v.

peax, he wist not what he said.' The judges remained unmoved, and assigned the same penance to both men, namely, 'that upon Sonday the next they both present in the parishe church of Wyntryngnam, bare-foted, bare-legged, bare-heded, havinge a candle of the price of iid in either of ther handes, at such tyme as the prest prepareth hyme self to go in procession, and so to go before the crose abowte the church and at the comyng into the church with procession to kneell in the channell before the altare unto thoffitorie tyme, and then to offer ther candles and to come downe with the prest to the pulpit, and ther the prest to declare that the said [Marma]duke [doth] the penance aforsaid for spekyng the wordes aforsaid, and that the said John did the said penance assigned before to hyme bie reason the said wordes now proved by hyme, and after the declaracion of the prest they shall confesse openlie as is afore, and desier forgiveness of God and of the con[gregation].'²³

Cases such as this last should, I think, teach us caution. They indicate that not everybody who got into trouble with the Marian authorities was a studious and informed Protestant, let alone a potential martyr. Our Tudor ancestors were often coarse, unrestrained, and indiscreet in both speech and deed. In addition, the legal records are usually cryptic and apt to leave unexplained the most vital motives and intentions. Under these circumstances we distinguish with difficulty between thoughtful rejection of tradition and mere crude irreverence. All the difference in the world lay between devout bibliolatry and, on the other hand, the scorn of the free-thinking layman which Lollardy, Anabaptism or some more 'orthodox' Protestantism had doubtless helped to trigger off, but had not always diverted into pious courses. At this interesting stage of the Reformation, neither Anglicanism nor Puritanism had taken form in the minds of ordinary parishioners: indeed, some of these laymen seem to represent third-hand derivatives of the old heresies, sometimes amounting to materialist rationalism. It would be presumptuous to connect their ideas too closely with those recent attacks made upon the Sacrament of the Altar by Thomas Becon and other learned Protestant contraversialists.²⁴ True, our records are likely to exhibit uneducated defendants in their worst light, yet the martyrology of Foxe can scarcely have avoided the converse idealization. It has at any rate provided a simplified pattern of apostolic and Biblical piety with which these popular adversaries of Marian clericalism signally fail to conform. The social historian of the Reformation deals with complex phenomena, too frequently hidden, not merely from religious gladiators, but also from those sober scholars who begin their thinking with doctrines and ideologies rather than with record-sources concerning the behaviour of actual human beings.

23. A. 34, fos. 120v-121.

24. For examples of anti-sacramentalism among the Edwardian Protestant scholars, see J. H. Blunt, *The Reformation of the Church of England*, ii. 394. *seqq.*

The foregoing cases, do not, however, quite exhaust the topic of heresy and sub-heresy as revealed in our act books for those years. Charges involving more distinctively Protestant doctrine are not entirely lacking. On 2 November 1555 Christopher Kelke, *armiger*, of the city of York, had to reply to certain articles touching the safety of his soul, '*ac crimen Lollardie*.' Two days later the court ordered proclamations to be affixed to the church doors of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, summoning Elizabeth Goodricke, Agnes Slater, and all other persons able to testify to the truth of this charge of Lollardy. On this day also Kelke appointed his proctors for the case. On 12 November a letter from William Garnett, rector of Holy Trinity, certified that the summons had been duly made; Elizabeth Goodricke, along with Agnes Halliday and Elizabeth Toller, was sworn and examined. The details of the charge are nevertheless irritatingly omitted, though the proceedings seem to have occupied both the morning and the afternoon. Four days later, Kelke produced as witnesses Mr. Stephen Tubley, Doctor of Medicine,²⁵ and John Clayby, priest: the case proceeded, still uninformatively recorded, on 19 and 20 November.²⁶ The judges on this last day read out a final decree '*in scriptis prout apparet per schedulam*', yet thus far the present writer has failed to discover its purport, or, for that matter, any precise account of the offence imputed to Christopher Kelke. Under these circumstances it would clearly seem imprudent to dogmatize concerning the degree of significance attributable to the term Lollardy, yet in all likelihood, the judges were not guilty of a pointless archaism. Theologically, the views entertained by mid-Tudor heretics were for the most part indistinguishable from those of the Lollards. More important, there seems every reason to suppose an actual continuity of Lollard influences into this period. When we turn from the statesmen and the theologians to the mass of Protestants; when we detach these latter from the subtle anachronisms of John Foxe, we are likely to find the Lollard tributary to the English Reformation a somewhat impressive river.

A far more attractively documented affair began on 20 April 1556, when John Bonsaye of Beverley confessed to the charge of speaking openly and publicly against transubstantiation, saying that the Body of Christ was *spiritually* present in the Sacrament, '*et ibi adest verbum et evangelium Dei*.' The judges asked him whether, after the words of consecration, any other substance remained besides that of Christ's Body. In reply Bonsaye said 'that he beleveth after the wordes of consecration spoken by the prest there remayneth the trewe substance of the bodie and blode of Christ and none other substance of brede or wyne.' They next asked him 'whether he beleveth that if a man beinge in

25. Tubley's will was proved 10 June 1558. (*Wills in the York Registry, 1554-1568, Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Ser.*, xiv, p. 167.) After showing insolence to other citizens, he and his family were bound over to good behaviour in 1555. (York House Book xxi, fos. 88v - 89).

26. For the Kelke case see A. 34, fos. 139, 139v, 140, 140v, 141.

dedlie syne receyveth the verie trewe bodie and blode of Christe in the sacrament', to which Bonsaye replied 'that he thinkes the man beinge in dedlie synne receyveth it not'. This answer implied disbelief in Transubstantiation and, as we shall see, entailed further consequences. To the question, 'What is a sacrament?' the accused cautiously answered 'that he cannot tell.' Here Dr. Dakyn showed him a certain book beginning 'The voice of the people,' and asked him whether it were his book or not. Bonsaye confessed 'that it is his book, and that he kepted the same a longe tyme, and after delyvered the same to John Pesegrave.' To the query 'What he beleveth of the Pope's holienes?' he answered, 'that he beleveth the Pope's holienes is Christe's vicare in erth and hath auctoritie to remite syne and to governe Christe church in erthe.' The unsatisfied judges warned Bonsaye to return, '*et hinc*,' records the notary Thomas Cowper, '*Mr. Johannes Dakyn deliveravit michi librum predictum et duos alios libros, unus incipiens, The Ymage of God, or laye mans booke, altar incipiens, The Governance of vertue, et postea dicti tres libri deliberati fuerunt domino Thome Mitchell comburendi apud Beverley.*' In striking corroboration, the Beverley governors' accounts for this year actually contain an item of 4d. paid for faggots for burning books in the Saturday market.²⁷

The three titles themselves throw interesting light upon the Protestant literature then circulating among 'advanced' laymen of the diocese. *Vox Populi or the people's Complaint* (1549) was by the well-known poet and dramatist Nicholas Grimald, chaplain to Ridley, a prisoner of the Marians in 1555, but finally one of those who recanted.²⁸ *The Governance of Vertue*, also first published in 1549, came from the pen of that famous Protestant divine, Thomas Becon, and was to remain very popular throughout the Elizabethan age and beyond.²⁹ *The Image of God or laie man's booke*, appearing first in 1550, was also destined to gain a wide circulation in more favourable times.³⁰ Its author was Roger Hutchinson, Fellow of Eton, deprived for marriage under Mary and dying about May 1555.³¹ Altogether, it occasions little surprise that a man who confessed to owning and circulating such books should have been subjected to rigorous inquisition.

It is clear that, after the proceedings on 20 April, Bonsaye was given some pointed instruction on the Real Presence. Upon his re-appearance in court on the morning of 22 April he was asked whether 'he beleveth that a man beinge in syne receyveth the blessed sacrament to his dampnation or no.' Significantly enough, he replied 'that he nowe being better instructe doth so beleve, and submittes hym self to

27. G. Poulson, *Beverlac*, p. 311.

28. It is not recorded in the *Short Title Catalogue*, and I am not aware that any copies have survived. Wood suggests that it was mainly directed against pluralism, but he may not have known much about it. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Grimald, Nicholas.)

29. Further editions, 1560, 1566, 1578, 1607 (*S.T.C.*, nos. 1725-1729).

30. Further editions 1560, 1573, 1580 (*Ibid.*, nos. 14019 - 14022).

31. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Hutchinson, Roger.

the catholike church and the judges of the same and to ther correction'. His case being then postponed until one o'clock in the afternoon, his friend John Peesgrave came forward to answer the charge 'that he hath hade in his custodie thre bokes written aganste the catholike faith of Christe.' Peesgrave admitted he had had them 'this half yere last,' and was immediately assigned the following penance: 'that upon Satterday come a sevenet he shulbe readie bare-foted, bare-legged, in his jackett with ij grete papers, the one apon his brest, the other apon his bake, contenyng the cause of his penance doinge, at Beverley in the marktett tyme, and so to go aboute the marketes;³² that done, he to stande after the same sorte at the marktett crose and ther Sir Thomas Mitchell, or els Sir Robert Robynson, the scholemaister ther, to declare the cause of his said penance doinge, and to cast the said iij bookes in the fier and see theme godelie burned accordingle. The contentes of the wordes to be written in the said papers followeth: "This man hath kept hereticall and sediciouse bookes contrarie to the lawes." A corporal oath was then imposed upon Peesgrave, binding him to execute the penance.

This subsidiary offender having been sentenced, John Bonsaye returned for the afternoon session and read a certain paper schedule of abjuration, covering all and singular charges made against him and confessed by him. He also took an oath on the gospels in accordance with the provisions of this schedule. The latter, originally kept with the Act Book, seems, like so many important loose papers, to have vanished, leaving us cheated of further details. The inevitable penance then follows: 'that to morrowe he shalbe redie in his gowne, bare-hedded with a faggot on his lefte shulder and a taper of wax in his right hande, in the Cathedrall Church of Yorke before the begynnynge of highe masse, and ther to knell all masse tyme, and when the ministers of the quier prepareth to go with procession and ther knelinge before the highe altare in godlie meditations and prayer unto the procession go forth, and then to go before the said procession as it shall go to the chapter doore and no farther.'³³ In these Beverley cases we admittedly do not encounter martyrs, yet we are now definitely in contact with 'informed' and literate Protestantism, maintained into the later years of the reign. On the basis of our present information, we have no right to suppose that activities of this type had become very common in the diocese, even in its larger centres of population. These latter, the reader will have observed, produced the vast majority of all types of oppositionists recorded in our Marian books.

With the Beverley men and their little Protestant library we may sense an atmosphere more characteristic of East Anglia than of the diocese of York. In this connection, some significance attaches to the case of Thomas Miles of Thorpe, Suffolk, who, while visiting Scar-

32. I.e. the two market-places of Beverley, still extant.

33. A.B. 39, under 20 and 22 April 1556.

borough, spoke against the sacrament. On 11 April 1554 he found himself before the court at York and rewarded with a humiliating penance.³⁴ Heresy perhaps reached Yorkshire by sea as well as by land, just as it had reached the south-eastern counties by sea from Low Countries.³⁵

This completes the list of Marian heresy cases at present known to the writer, who is now faced with further tasks of historical interpretation. As already indicated, it will not prove difficult to demonstrate their continuity from Henrican heresy. On the other hand, one dare not assume a further strong continuity between the Marian heretics and the Elizabethan Puritans of the diocese. True, both phenomena are impressive in the larger centres of population: Hull, York, Beverley, Leeds, Halifax and Wakefield. It thus seems *prima facie* reasonable to think of the earlier movement as at least preparing the ground for the later. On the other hand, we have relatively little solid evidence concerning lay puritanism until after 1603; the movement seems to have been developed by the increasing number of Elizabethan clergy with Calvinist theologies. As with the contemporary growth of Romanism, new leaders and new ideas now bulk larger than old survivals. Both problems should commend themselves to diocesan and regional historians throughout England.

One further generalisation may at this point be ventured. In this diocese the heretics remain unheroic and submissive. It is somewhat reassuring to leave Foxe's martyrs and return to the world of ordinary people, who, whatever their aspirations and rejections, lacked that iron assurance which led to a voluntary and painful death. The forces against which authority strove were more widespread and more complex than we have usually supposed. Beneath the forest trees lay a broad and tangled undergrowth. If the Marian Reaction showed some temporary effectiveness, it lay perhaps in diminishing this last.

Yorkshire readers of the present essay will presumably adjudge it incomplete if it omits the one Marian martyrdom of their county, that of Richard Snell, who lived and died only just outside the diocesan boundary and received his condemnation at the hands of Dr. Dakyn, a figure so often before us as one of the two chief judges in the court of York. We know little about Snell and his brother beyond the paragraph in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*³⁶ given below. Foxe himself remained uncertain as to which brother suffered burning; he fails also to provide doctrinal detail of Snell's heresies, leaving the probability that the martyr was a sacramentary of harder resolution than those we have encountered at York. On the other hand, the basic fact of the execution is supported by at least two independent documents. One

34. A. 33, fo. 21v.

35. And as Papalism returned to Yorkshire through the fishing villages of its north-east coast in later Elizabethan times.

36. Ed. Pratt, viii. 739.

of these is the official record of the Royal Visitation of 1559, preserved among the state papers at the Public Record Office: 'Richmonde... Item that Richard Snell was burned ther, beyng condemned by doctor dawkins for Religion xiiij Septembris Anno 1558.'³⁷ The other is the parish register of Richmond, which, even more laconically, records, 'Richard Snell, b'rnt bur. 9 Sept.'³⁸ It is also quite true that Dakyn's death occurred shortly after this event: to be precise, on 9 November 1558.³⁹ The statement that he actually condemned a man to burn must be technically incorrect of an ecclesiastical judge.⁴⁰ With these qualifications, Foxe may be left to tell his own story.

'The Martyrdom of one Snel, burnt about Richmond in Queen Mary's time omitted in this History.'

At Bedale a market town in Yorkshire were two men in the latter days of queen Mary, the one named John Snel and the other Richard Snel; who being suspected for religion were sent unto Richmond, where Dr. Dakins had commission from the bishop of Chester, to have the examination of them.

This Dr. Dakins many times conferred with them, sometimes threatening fire and faggot, if they would not recant and sometimes flattering them with fair fables if they would return into the holy catholic church. But they stood constantly to the sure rock Jesus Christ in whom they put their whole trust and confidence, whilst at last, being so sore imprisoned that their toes rotted off, and the one of them could not go without crutches, they brought them to the church by compulsion, where the one of them heard their abominable mass, having a certain sum of money given him by the benevolence of the people, and so departed thence: but the first news that was heard of him within three or four days, was that he had drowned himself in a river running by Richmond, called Swaile. Immediately after, Dr. Dakins giving sentence that the other should be burnt, came home to his house and never joyed after, but died. The commissary of Richmond, named Hillings,⁴¹ preached at his burning, exhorting him to return to the church; but his labour was in vain, the constant martyr standing strongly to the faith which he professed.

Then being brought to the stake, whereunto he was tied by a girdle of iron, there was given unto him gunpowder, and a little straw was laid under his feet and set round about with small wood and tar-barrels; the fire was put under the straw, which by and by flaming about his head he cried thrice together, "Christ help me" insomuch that one

37. Publ. Rec. Off., S. P. 12, 10, p. 283.

38. The Chester diocesan records have not yet been thoroughly explored: it is possible that further reference to the case may appear among them.

39. Inscription, printed in Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i. 118.

40. Perhaps the Royal Visitors themselves found it tactful to avoid precision as to the rôle of the secular arm!

41. Perhaps Giles Hilling, prebendary of Wells, who was a Marian: he received his prebend in 1554 and was deprived in 1561 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, i. 196.

Robert Atkinson being present said, " Hold fast there, and we will all pray for thee !" Thus the blessed martyr ended his life.'

Such scenes the diocese of York was mercifully spared during the reign of Mary. Not so easily did the next crisis of the Reformation pass. When, under Elizabeth, the crime of treason inevitably attached to the seminarist invasion, a new company of martyrs came to languish in the blockhouses of Hull and to meet an atrocious end upon the Knavesmire at York.

III. THE EX-NUNS

The small group of married ex-nuns who appeared in court at York during the Marian Reaction afford a spectacle of little social importance but one of warm human interest. The first was Margaret Basforth of Thornaby, charged along with her husband Roger Newsted on 11 April 1554. Having been a professed nun of Moxby, she was accused of having contracted, solemnized, and consummated matrimony with him. She confessed that at about the age of fourteen she was professed in that nunnery and there continued until the age of twenty, at which time the house was dissolved. ' She havinge no pencion appoyntid ne other lyving towarde hir fyndinge, and so contynewd unmarried to aboute a xiii yeres after and then for lacke of lyvinge she maryed with the same Roger Newsted in the face of the churche and consummate the same with carnall knowledge.' Newsted confessed to his part. On being summoned at a later date, they proved contumacious, but ostensibly escaped actual excommunication. At last on 25 April 1555 they reappeared in court, the case now being headed '*Officium domini pro reconciliatione Margarete Basfurthe nuper monialis de Mousbye.*' Dr. Rokeby proceeded to declare the marriage null and invalid *de jure*. '*Et monuit eosdem ut sequitur*, that they shall from hensfurthe lyve separatelie thone frome thother; and that they shall not accompany together by day nor by nighte, speciallie in one house, but in churche and market, and that without suspecte (*sic*); and that they shall not comon nor talke together except in the presence of three or foure persons at least; and that the said Margaret shall provide hir nunne's apparell⁴² & speciallie for her houde, betwixt this and Whitsontyde next, and the other apparell as shortlie after as ye (*sic*) may convenientlie.' The judge then absolved her '*et dispensavit cum eadem* that she may contynue & remayne in any honest place withoute the saide house of Mousby.'⁴³ No marriage,

42. Robert Parkyn tells us that 'Immediattely after Easter all suche as had ben closterers before tyme, yea as well women as men, was commandyde to tayk ther habytte or vestures unto tham agayne, such, I say, as they had uside in ther closters.' (*infra*, p. 312) I have encountered no general order to this effect, but it would seem that the order must have been widely given.

43. A. 33, fo. 22v; A. 34 fos. 13, 34v, 50, 117.

no pension, no monastic community, but compulsory uniform, self-provided, and kind permission to live outside the disused buildings of the dissolved nunnery. Here is an apparent rebuff to Mr. Baskerville's ebullient optimism concerning the fate of the ex-religious!⁴⁴ Nevertheless, this lady's story had a happy ending. At all events, she was destined to many years of renewed wedlock. During a tithe cause of 1586, Margaret, wife of Roger Newstead, gresman of Thornaby, described how she & the 'other yoounge nunns' of Moxby used to help with the haymaking during the 11 years she had been there before the Dissolution.⁴⁵

Despite this case, no general action against married nuns seems to have developed. We learn something of another through the case of Brian Spofforth, rector of Barton-in-Rydale, who had ventured into matrimony with Agnes Aslaby, a professed nun.⁴⁶ Spofforth himself was deprived on 12 April 1554, then divorced, put to penance, and ultimately absolved, but the case yields no details on Agnes herself.

Early in 1555 three other nuns occur in the court-book. Agnes Beckwith, formerly professed in the house of Thicket, had married a certain Gilbert of the city of York, as the parties themselves confessed before Dr. Dakyn. The latter, having on 5 April prescribed her a mild penance of fasting and prayer, divorced the pair and commanded them to abstain henceforth '*a mutuo consortio et cohabitatione*.'⁴⁷ From other sources we know that Agnes Beckwith had been last prioress of Thicket, and that she must already by this date have been about 62 years of age. Even so, she survived as late as 1573, when she was still drawing her pension.⁴⁸

Thomas Atterton of Scalby, '*qui duxit in matrimonium Katharinam Hunter monialem*' was reconciled by an office of 2 May⁴⁹ and ordered to abstain from consorting with her, yet again I see no record of her personal appearance in this court.

Much more sensational was the case of Jane Fairfax, whose story we have almost in her own words. She first came into court on 10 May 1555 and confessed 'that she did professe the religion of a none in Synnyngthwaite Abbey and after the dissolution of the house was removed to Nonapleton and ther contynued unto the dissolution therof, and that sence the dissolution therof she hath contynewed for the moste

44. Cf. for criticisms of over-optimism, the present writer *infra*, pp. 383 *seqq.*

45. Extracts from the case are printed by Dr. Purvis in *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Ser.*, cxiv. 149, from R.VII. G.2216.

46. A.34, fo. 32. Spofforth apparently died in the following year.

47. *Ibid.*, fo. 115.

48. References in *Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks.*, iii. 125.

49. A.34, fo. 118v.

parte with one Guye Fairfax at Laisthrope besides Gillinge⁵⁰ and with hyme hath committed incest⁵¹ and hath hade a childe with the same abouttes thre yeres sence, and sence hath contynued at Laisthrope aforesaid unto this instant.' The judges then assigned her penance, 'viz. that upon Sondaye the next she be redie in the parishe church of Stayngrave when the prest prepares hym self to messe, beinge bare-foted, bare-ledged (*sic*), with her haire lose aboute her hede and a vaill cast over here hede with here overmost garment of (off), with a wax candle of the price of a penny in thone hande and a prymer in thother hande, and so to go in procession abouttes the church before the cross and after here comynge into the chancell to knell in the channell behynde the prest executinge that daye unto the offertorie tyme and to offere upe her candle and to knell agayne unto messe be ended.' For the rest, she was to abstain '*a domo et consorcio dicti Guidonis Fairfax* excepte in church and markett and that not suspiciouslie.' On May 17 Jane produced certification from George Sympson, curate of Stonegrave, that she had executed the penance, and on her undertaking to abstain from the company of Guy Fairfax she was absolved.

Whatever their initial intentions, this couple proved not so easy to separate. On the following 24 July Guy Fairfax himself faced the charge that 'contrary to the commandment and iniunction heretofor given unto him by thorder of this courte, he dothe kepe in his house Jane Fairfax late a none, with whome he hath had a childe.' On his admission of the offence, Dr. Dakyn ordered 'that he shall put the said Jane from his house betwixte this and this daie sevensnighte nexte.' He must abstain from consorting with her on pain of excommunication, and return to receive penance. Jane herself subsequently proved contumacious on 31 July, but on 14 August the unhappy pair returned to court and were warned again 'that betwixte this and Sondaye after Michaelmas daye they do sever themselves and dwell not together by the space of tenne myles, or els that they do open penance thre severall Sondayes in the accustomed maner in the church of Alne and avoid suspicious company henceforth.' On 9 October Guy was again summoned and declared contumacious; a week later he reported and obtained final dismissal '*sub spe bene imposterum vivendi*.'⁵² But our curiosity as to the outcome of this optimism remains ungratified. The case, though so well documented, by no means typified the problem of the ex-nuns, for it involved parties who had failed to go through a form of marriage, and it concerned members of an influential family. The court was

50. Presumably the fifth son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Walton and Gilling (*Glover's Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. J. Foster, p. 39). His elder brother Sir Nicholas was sheriff of Yorkshire in 1532, 1545 and 1561. I fail to identify any of the Jane Fairfaxes with our subject.

51. This ugly word may mean that they stood within the prohibited degrees, but it was very commonly used to denote any sexual relation by or with a nun (*New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. gives examples).

52. The case of Jane and Guy Fairfax is in A. 34, fo. 120, and in A.B. 39 under the dates 24 July, 31 July, 14 Aug., 9 Oct., 16 Oct., 1556.

frequently long-suffering, yet one may be permitted to doubt whether this extreme gentleness would have been used had persons of less consequence than Fairfaxes been convicted.

The regional campaign to reimpose discipline upon former nuns thus assumes exiguous proportions. Except in the improbable event that some other authority was dealing much more effectively with them, these proceedings must appear little more than a gesture. The attempted revival of monasticism proved the dampest squib in the Marian arsenal, and at York it seemingly achieved but a feeble splutter. This outcome cannot purely be blamed upon the suspicions of the gentry who had bought monastic lands, for we have not the slightest evidence of any revivalist enthusiasm on the part of the populace or the ex-religious themselves. This fits the broad picture. The monastic element in the Pilgrimage of Grace itself has been commonly exaggerated and misinterpreted. We have, after all, Robert Aske's own word that popular interest in the monasteries was based chiefly upon economic and self-interested motives.⁵³ However deeply we deplore the policy of indiscriminate dissolution, however highly we value the contributions of monasticism to Christian life and culture, our sentiments give no excuse for exaggerating the influence of the religious houses in the sixteenth century. Unless some great and unexpected additions to our evidence should materialize, this aspect of the Marian Reaction will form a pathetic little postscript to the great theme of medieval monasticism in the diocese of York.

IV. THE RESTORATION OF CHURCH PROPERTIES

Before taking our leave of the Marian act books, we should not fail to extract from them another group of cases which, however undramatic, serves to underlie an important and well recognized limitation of the Reaction. These cases are concerned with the recovery of properties acquired by private persons under the Chancies Act, or during that last indefensible confiscation of 'surplus' church goods at the close of Edward's reign. Three of these cases occurred at York on 16 June 1554. Against William Bucketon, gentleman, it was urged 'that he haith the possession and occupacion of all suche landes as heretofore have been given to the fyndinge and mayntennance of lightes before the rode and other [blank] belonginge the Churche.' Bucketon swore, however, that he 'haith such landes as is before obiected in his occupacion to ferme of the Quene's Majestie, and that he paythe rent for the same to hir Highnes officers.' Not unnaturally, Dr. Rokeby *tunc dimisit eum ab officio*. Thomas Beswicke had a cope 'of blue damaske,

53. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, v. 335-6. Aske's confession carefully distinguishes between his own more idealistic case for the monasteries and the popular view, which was based upon the fear that the North would be drained of currency when the Dissolution took effect.

a handbell, and other goods, yet extracted himself by an oath that he had 'boughte the premisses of the late Kinge's commissioners and haith restoryd the same to the parishe churche.' Emma, wife of Ralph Clayton, regular clerk defunct, was charged 'that she dothe retene and kepe one handbell and a greate barr of iron which dyd stand under as a stay, and upholde the rode.' She admitted only to possessing this formidable iron bar, and was ordered to restore it to the church of Hutton Bushel under pain of excommunication.⁵⁴ The day's work hence yielded singularly little in the way of former ecclesiastical properties. The subsequent 13 December, three more such cases occurred. William Barton, gentleman of the chapelry of Ludderton (Lotherton) in Sherburn parish confessed 'that he haith in his custodie belonginge to the said chappele of Ludderton twoo belles, one westment with all maner of thinges thereunto belonginge, one towell, one challice and a candlesticke of iron.' The judge ordered him 'that the said parcells shall not be alienet nor put away, but always to be redy for the service of God whan soever that any preste in tymes convenient doys minister in the said chappell *et hoc sub pena excommunicationis*.'⁵⁵ This laudable desire to restore disused chapelries also finds illustration in the office against Henry Gascoigne, gentleman, and the vicar of Sherburn. Gascoigne and the other inhabitants of the chapelry of Micklefield, also in Sherburn, were enjoined to repair their chapel *decenter, ita ut administracio divinorum habeatur ibidem citra diem Purificationis*, while the vicar received the order to minister there, according to ancient usage, when the repairs had been completed.⁵⁶ Attention then returned to Lotherton chapelry, whence a certain John Wright had been summoned. He was represented by his natural son Wilfrid, who explained that his father was detained by such infirmity of old age that he could not appear without peril of his body. He confessed 'that his father haith a vestment belonginge to the chappell of Lotherton with all thinges thereunto belonginge.' The judge then commanded him to ensure that the property 'shalbe fourthcomynge at all tymes that it shalbe required for divine service to be ministred in the said chappell; *quam iniunctionem promisit perimplere*.'⁵⁷

So far as the present writer's researches have extended, these few cases complete the extremely modest tale of recorded restitution at the hands of the court of York.⁵⁸ The latter apparently did no more than take cognizance of a few chance presentations. It failed to initiate or to encourage any general campaign for the return of the great quantity

54. For these three cases see A. 34, fos. 50v, 51, 51v.

55. *Ibid.*, fo. 99.

56. *Ibid.*, fo. 99v.

57. *Ibid.*, fo. 100.

58. In a somewhat different category were the accusations of fraud and embezzlement made in 1556-7 by Sir John Constable against John Bellow, surveyor of Crown Lands in the East Riding (*Acts of the Privy Council, 1554-6*, pp. 271, 276; *ibid.*, 1556-8, pp. 49, 62, 65, 106, 166). This resulted in a lengthy local enquiry, the evidence from which is preserved in a ms. book now in the East Riding County Record Office.

of church goods which must have remained in private hands. As for the preservation of the chapels themselves—a vital element of church life in the great sprawling parishes of Yorkshire—this clearly owed more to the grudging second thoughts of the Edwardians⁵⁹ than to the zeal of the Marians! If the latter conducted no very ferocious persecution in this diocese, neither did they pursue any impressive policy of restitution and reconstruction. We shall shortly, however, examine a broader selection of sources concerning these and related problems.

Altogether, viewed from the diocese of York, the action of the Marian *régime* appears weak. So far as Yorkshire and the North generally were concerned, Henry VIII and the ministers of his son had not bequeathed a type of government suited to execute a theocratic reaction. It had been built up by men like Holgate, Gargrave, and Rokeby, prepared to serve efficiently under any efficient Privy Council, by practical administrators of justice most unlikely to forget that the loyalty of the gentry and middle classes, upon which the whole structure depended, would not be proof against governmental interference with their material possessions. Nowhere more than in the diocese of York had the administrative classes a more deeply-rooted interest in the territorial results of the Reformation, or less desire to see the newly found quiescence of society disturbed by ideological persecution. These men were mostly conservative in belief, yet they remained essentially out of tune with the circle of Mary, Pole and Edmund Bonner. If I interpret their mood aright, they opposed to persecution not Protestantism but secularism—their desire to enjoy the blessings of the Tudor Age. And even the ecclesiastical courts at York cannot rightly be regarded as operating outside the political and social atmosphere of the day.

V. SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES AND PROBLEMS

The diocesan records are unquestionably our most informative source for the nature and reception of the Marian Reaction in this region of England. While they are usefully supplemented by a number of other sources, many of these latter prove unusually dull, or else too fragmentary to warrant generalisation. The notion, for example, that regional history can be rewritten from the contents of the parish chest would here, as so often, prove a fallacy. True, in the few parishes where churchwardens' accounts survive from these years, we can tell when altars were replaced, organs mended, and old vestments refurbished.⁶⁰ Yet such entries prove nothing more exciting than that certain

59. For lists of chapels and other foundations continued in Yorkshire by the Edwardian government see *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys* (Surtees Soc., xci, xcii), i, pp. xiv *seqq*; ii, pp. vii *seqq*. We need, however, detailed local research on this important topic.

60. For the Marian changes as shown in the churchwardens' book at Sheriff Hutton, cf. *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xxxvi. 188. For a striking example just outside the diocese see J. Fisher, *Hist. and Antiq. of Masham*, p. 580.

incumbents and churchwardens obeyed the orders they received from above !

Contemporary wills in the York Probate Registry show some testators returning to the pre-Reformation forms, bequeathing their souls to the Virgin and the saints.⁶¹ It should, however, be noted that this practice had never been entirely relinquished throughout the reign of Edward VI,⁶² while Protestant forms remain not uncommon in the reign of Mary.⁶³ Testamentary fashions proved in fact not very sensitive to national changes ; more important, they provided no very satisfactory cross-section of public opinion. A few testators, again as might be anticipated, return vestments to the church, or make bequests for masses.

This last feature may furnish a clue to a widespread psychological factor. For many pious traditionalists, the cessation of masses for the dead must have occasioned a major spiritual scandal. We should do well to picture the state of one who, despite official denials, continued implicitly to believe that his soul, or those of his parents and dearest friends, would linger for want of masses amid the torments of purgatory. Among the papers of our chronicler Robert Parkyn, now in the Bodleian, the present writer discovered and subsequently printed three letters from a close friend and neighbour, William Watson, curate of Melton-on-the-Hill.⁶⁴ In one of these, (15 Nov. 1555) it emerges that the two priests, who were belated adherents of the *devotio moderna*, had made a private agreement to say a trental of masses for their relatives and benefactors. Watson bids Parkyn 'to have in your devoutt remembrance in our first memento : W. Watson, my uncle Christofer Huscroft, and then generally all suche as Godes his law and nature byndeth me to pray for.....And in the second memento *pro mortuis* remember, I praye you, the solles of Nycholas Watson and Agnes Ynshe laitt prioresse of Hampoll.....most interelie desyring Gode the heavynly Father that they may be soyner releassid frome the peanes of purgatory thugh thoblation of the blyssid body and bloode of his only sone, Jesus Christ..... and so finally to be of thelectte number att the dreadfull day of dome, which shall stand on Christe ryghtt hand.' We may legitimately doubt whether, by this date, many of the lay people of the diocese regarded the matter with comparable fervour, yet only an unfeeling reader of history would fail to regret that even a small minority of sensitive traditionalists suffered such a spiritual discomfort through the precipitate and intolerant action of the Reformers. Here, indeed, we find a major reason why men like Parkyn and Watson wel-

61. The revival seems marked in North Yorkshire. Cf. *Richmondshire Wills* (*Surtees Soc.*, xxvi), pp. 79 *seqq.*

62. *Testamenta Leodiensia* (*Thoresby Soc.*, xix) pt. ii, pp. 190 *seqq.* ; *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vi (*Surtees Soc.*, cvi), pp. 281-307 *passim*.

63. Especially in the Halifax area ; cf. J. Horsfall Turner, *Hist. of Brighouse, Rastrick and Hipperholme*, pp. 219-220.

64. Printed in *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, vi, pt. 6, 278 *seqq.*

comed the Marian Reaction. We should not, however, fail to recall that they were readers and students whose books and personal writings show an intimate continuity with pre-Reformation exegesis and mysticism.⁶⁵ They were in no sense 'typical Yorkshiremen' of their period, and our sources leave us highly uncertain as to the prevalence of such sentiments outside clerical literary circles.

One regional aspect of the Reaction may be rapidly dismissed. To that body of Englishmen who went into Continental exile during the Marian years, the diocese of York contributed exceedingly few. In 1938 Miss Garrett published a painstaking biographical census of 472 Marian exiles. Only 22 of these called themselves Yorkshiremen, or had obvious Yorkshire connections, while two others can be definitely linked with Nottinghamshire. Even so, the great majority of these men had of late years resided outside the diocese, the actual exodus from which must hence have been negligible.⁶⁶

Further research upon the Marian Reaction might well accord more careful attention to its corporate and institutional aspects, especially those revealed in our municipal records. The Edwardian Reformation had struck down a complex of institutions—chantries, colleges, religious guilds and the like—which, despite widespread decay, indifference, and embezzlement, still played an important part in town life. How far did the Marians restore, or attempt to restore, such endowments to their original uses, or to educational and charitable activities? The subsequent brief notes concerning this problem claim no exhaustive knowledge of contemporary town-records: they suggest no more than a provisional answer and one which may need modification as our knowledge advances.

It should be noted at the outset that by far the greatest local concession of the Marian government was the return of Ripon, Southwell, and some other manors to the Archbishopric of York⁶⁷, a testimony to the Queen's piety and to the influence of Archbishop Heath, but not a transaction likely to have exerted significant influence upon the spiritual and educational life of the diocese, let alone upon its social problems or political opinions. The second reinstatement of the Chapter of Southwell, later regularized by Elizabeth and James I,⁶⁸ was likewise an act of ecclesiastical rather than of broader importance.

65. Cf. on Watson, *ibid.*, pp. 278 - 280; on Parkyn, *Eng. Hist., Rev.*, Lxii. 58-64; *Notes and Queries*, vol. 194, no. 4 (19 Feb. 1949), pp. 73-4.

66. C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles, 1553 - 1558*, pp. 67 *seqq.*

67. F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), p. 453; *Cal. Pat. Philip and Mary, 1555 - 1557*, pp. 264-5. In compensation for the loss of York Place, Heath received Suffolk Place, Southwark (*ibid.*, p. 187). He also obtained numerous advowsons (*ibid.*, 1557-8, pp. 401, 420).

68. On the complicated surrenders and refoundations at Southwell, see R. M. Beaumont, *The Chapter of Southwell Minster* (1956), pp. 16-20.

On the other hand, the type of transaction we are seeking seems admirably illustrated by the restitutions made by the Marian Government at Sheffield. There the church lands had been deemed by the Edwardian officials to be appropriated to superstitious uses. On the town's petition, these lands were restored by Letters Patent of 8 June 1554, and put into the hands of the newly incorporated burgesses.⁶⁹ This action corrected an unusually flagrant abuse of the Chantries Act; it certainly owed much to the local magnate, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was Mary's Lord President, and the most powerful figure in the North.

Elsewhere the Marian achievement looks less impressive, the restorations and adjustments occurring, as a rule, under the Edwardian government itself or else in the reign of Elizabeth. At Doncaster the important dissolved chapel of St. Mary Magdalene and its land came back into the hands of the Corporation, which used it as a court of justice and a grammar school. This step was nevertheless arranged by private grantees in 1557.⁷⁰ Rotherham had suffered from the Chantries Act to the extent of losing permanently its song and writing schools. The Marian government simply made matters worse by ceasing to pay the salary of the grammar school master, conceivably, but not certainly, on account of his Protestant sympathies. In 1561 this pedagogue Thomas Snell unsuccessfully instituted a suit to recover his arrears, and it was left to the Elizabethans to re-endow the school.⁷¹ Beverley, it is true, obtained one of its charters under Philip and Mary, but the substantial grants to the town—the former Minster lands and those of certain chantries—had been made by a decree of the Exchequer in 6 Edward VI.⁷²

At Hull the townsmen had protested in vigorous terms to the Edwardian government concerning the untoward results of the dissolutions; as a consequence, that government spared or refounded the Charter House, the Trinity House, Gregg's and Riplingham's Hospitals. The Hull historians even insist that Holy Trinity and St. Mary's, as legally mere chapels of ease, were endangered, though we cannot believe that even the most rapacious governmental sharks of the period could have seriously planned to dissolve the only two parish churches of an important town.⁷³ The Hull Bench Books contain, incidentally, a sidelight upon another aspect of the Reaction. A long entry under 8 Oct. 1555 tells how Walter Flynton, merchant, had been totally disfranch-

69. J. Hunter, *Hallamshire*, ed. Gatty, pp. 239-243 gives details and prints the petition and letters patent.

70. J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i. 20.

71. *Yorkshire Schools*, ii. (Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Ser., xxxiii), pp. Lxxi-Lxxii.

72. G. Poulson, *Beverlac*, pp. 298-300; G. Oliver, *Hist. of Beverley*, p. 189. The Marian Charter permitted the governors to receive the tolls for an annual rent.

73. G. Hadley, *Hist. of Hull*, pp. 87 seqq; J. Tickell, *Hist. of Kingston-upon-Hull*, pp. 207 seqq.

ised for speaking opprobrious words to the Mayor, and because he had also 'sclaundryd dyvers of the towne that they were berers of suche as neyther favored the Kyng or Quene's procedynges, with dyvers other thynges.' Flynton had taken his case to the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Council in the North, but the former, though a Marian, had obviously been careful not to challenge the Hull civic authorities. He appointed a commission of enquiry, which persuaded Flynton to submit. After further intercession by Shrewsbury and a humble submission by the offender, the latter was restored on payment of a fine.⁷⁵ The story gives us a glimpse of the cross-currents within a town already impregnated by the new ideas; it also illustrates the caution, perhaps the weakness, of the Marian régime at York.

Events at Pontefract have already been discussed by the present writer in some detail.⁷⁵ John Hamerton of Monkrode and Purston Jaglin, sub-controller of the Household to Henry VIII, prepared on behalf of Pontefract an interesting petition which may be dated 1556 or 1557.⁷⁶ In this document he pleads for the repair of the church of the Trinity Hospital and, though he alleges 'bodily' as well as 'ghostly' distress in the town, his suit contains no economic designs. And while it certainly appears that the Edwardians took inadequate measures to safeguard the almshouses of the town, the Marians did nothing, while under Elizabeth the Crown, private donors, and the corporation all joined to maintain the almshouse portion of the Trinity College and the Hospital of St. Nicholas.⁷⁷ As for Hamerton, who may typify many conservative but public-spirited men, he seems chiefly to have been disturbed by the decline of public devotional life and the disappearance of chantry priests, whose return seemed so logically demanded when the government restored the mass and the confessional.

At Wakefield, Henry Savile, Crown Surveyor of former Chantry properties in the West Riding, was owner of the famous Bridge Chapel when, on 28 November 1555, he wrote that in it 'Goddess service is daylie mayntayned.'⁷⁸ This indicates, though it does not prove, a revival of services under Marian influence, but it represents at most the action of a private individual who had good reason to stress his conformity with the spirit of the Reaction.

At Mansfield we find a distinct indication of Marian policy, even though it ultimately lacked decisive results. On 23 February 1557 the

74. Hull Corporation Bench Book iv, fos. 2v-4. Walter Flynton seems to have settled down, as he was an alderman in 1563.

75. In *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xxxvii. 378 *seqq.* *Infra*, *seqq.*

76. Printed in *ibid.*, pp. 383-4.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 379-80.

78. J. W. Walker, *Wakefield, its History and People* (edn. 1934), pp. 195, 212. The rent of the lands was paid as pension to the cantarist Edward Hoppay, who died in 1557 (*Halifax Wills*, ed. E. W. Crossley, ii. 139-40), and who may have been officiating in 1555.

vicar and churchwardens of Mansfield were incorporated by letters patent as governors of the lands and possessions of the parish church, receiving also an endowment of former chantry lands to find a chaplain who should celebrate in the church. In 1561, however, Elizabeth incorporated the vicar and wardens as governors of the newly-founded school, and the lands granted by Mary seem to have gone toward this other laudable design.⁷⁹

The problems of the impoverished northern capital city do not compare very closely with those of other towns in the diocese. The story of York has nevertheless its brighter aspects, particularly in the field of education, where neither religious party proved lacking in a sense of duty. Framing his statutes along the lines of the New Learning, Archbishop Holgate had placed there one of the three grammar schools which he had founded in 1546 by letters patent.⁸⁰ The Cathedral School itself lingered in parlous condition, since with the dissolution of St. Mary's Abbey it had lost the boarding house for fifty boys formerly maintained by that rich monastery. In 1557 the Marian Dean and Chapter prevailed upon the Crown to licence the Master of St. Mary's Hospital to grant them his new decayed foundation. They then proceeded to convert it to the uses of the school of St. Peter: their deed in fact speaks somewhat grandiloquently in terms of a new foundation⁸¹ and makes no secret of their orthodox intentions.⁸² The refounded school was to be a weapon against heresy; it should educate pastors able to 'ward off and put to flight the ravening wolves, the devilish men with ill understanding of the Catholic faith, from the sheepfolds committed to them'.⁸³ In contrast with this enthusiasm (emanating, no doubt, from Dr. Dakyn and the small knot of activist residentiaries) the York municipality showed a marked lack of ardour. It petitioned Cardinal Pole in vain for the restoration of St. Leonard's Hospital and continued its efforts to gain a grant of the former chantry lands in the city.⁸⁴

The mid-century civic records are strongly preoccupied with declining trade, taxational burdens, pauperism, and disease. The Edwardian and Marian changes read like irrelevances in a predominantly economic story; indeed, only brief and intermittent references, mostly to material incidentals, appear in the Housebooks. Compliance seems mingled with utter lack of enthusiasm. On 9 February 1554 it was decided to restore to the Corpus Christi Play 'thois pageants that of late were left forth'.⁸⁵ The Queen's orders against 'vague prophecies, sediciouse, false and untrue rumours' are dutifully copied into the minutes.⁸⁶ The point at which the ardours of the Queen overran the stolid conserva-

79. *Vict. Co. Hist., Notts.*, ii. 245.

80. References in *St. Anthony's Hall Publications*, no. 8, pp. 22-3.

81. *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Ser.*, xxvii. 40 *seqq.* prints the relevant documents.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

83. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

84. *York Civic Records (Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Ser. cx)*, v. 137, 139.

85. *Ibid.*, v. 100; for the omissions see *ibid.*, iv. 176.

86. *Ibid.*, v. 107.

tism of the city fathers may, however, be sensed in the attitude of the latter toward Pole's formal reconciliation of the realm with Rome. On this occasion the Lord President transmitted to York Mary's long and enthusiastic order to light bonfires, 'soo beying desyrus that all our subjects of every degre myght so exercise theym selves in prayer, fastyng and works of charytie as they may showe theym selfs trewe children of the holy Catholick Church wher unto they be now reconsyled.' It can surely not lack significance that the city council added only this brief and vague minute:— 'After whiche lettre openly redde it was agreed that warnyng shall be gyven for bonefiers to be made within this Citie on Sonday at night next accordyngly *with rejoysying and thanksgyvyng to God for his mercyfullnesses nowe and alle tymes*.'⁸⁷ This apparent lack of interest in the enthusiastic Romanist proclamation should not, I think, be construed as showing Protestant sympathies, or even hostility toward the Papacy. York aldermen were neither theologians nor theorists concerning the unity of Christendom. Only old men could remember the pre-Wolsey era of papal jurisdiction, and English policy had long since converted the Papacy into a somewhat remote and foreign spectacle. Even a Marian extremist like Robert Parkyn is enormously more concerned with ritual changes than with Papal jurisdiction. In other words, it needed Seminary Priests and Jesuits fresh from the Continent and from the living Counter-Reformation to recreate in these provincial minds the image of papalism. And the linking of reconciliation with the Spanish Match did nothing to popularise it. Henceforth several generations were to pass before the majority of Englishmen could visualise the Pope unaccompanied by the sinister figure of the King of Spain.

In the remoter areas of the realm anti-Spanish sentiment may, however, have been slow to crystallise. Throughout the diocese of York the number of sympathisers with Sir Thomas Wyatt must have been negligible.⁸⁸ In April 1557 the issue came to the test when Thomas Stafford and his band of adventurers took possession of Scarborough Castle, calling upon Englishmen to rise and overthrow an 'unrightful and most unworthy queen' who had delivered over the realm to Spaniards. Though Stafford's party contained a few people with Yorkshire connections,⁸⁹ it was in no way equipped, personally or ideologically, to attract the partisanship of either gentry or commons. The government, for its part, reaped the fruits of its own moderation in Yorkshire. No rising materialised and within a few days Stafford was on his way

87. *Ibid.*, v. 112–113; italics mine.

88. Cf. a case of 'lewde wordes', apparently against the government, in Nottinghamshire, 5 June 1556 (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1554–6, p. 279).

89. *History of Scarborough*, ed. A. Rowntree, pp. 214 *seqq.* gives an account of the affair. For those with Yorkshire connections see the note on pp. 216–217: it will be seen that none of these are Yorkshire names of consequence. On Richard Saunders, see also *Cal. Pat. Philip & Mary*, 1557–8, p. 106. On John Bradford, Roger Reynolds, John Proctor, and Stafford himself, see Garrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 262, 271, 294.

to trial and execution. Some arrests, possibly for sedition, were proceeding in Yorkshire in the following July and September,⁹⁰ but I see no evidence that they were connected with the attempted *coup* of Stafford. The affair revealed not merely the quiescence of Yorkshire, but the astonishing incompetence of the government, which, though warned by its ambassador in France that Scarborough was a likely objective,⁹¹ allowed the invaders to walk into the castle unimpeded.

In general, the foregoing miscellaneous sources of information support our conclusions from the York diocesan records. Our picture of the diocese remains undramatic, but in that very fact it typifies a large portion of the realm. In the Protestant south-east the Marian persecution became a grim enough reality and, despite Foxe's occasional lapses, it would be flying in the face of reason to doubt the substantial truth of the great majority of his stories. Even an unscrupulous Protestant partisan would not have needed to invent factual untruths concerning an episode so bizarre and so un-English⁹²; the mere facts about the Spanish Tudor could safely be left to doom her cause. All the same, the impression left by Foxe upon an unwary reader remains exaggerated and foreshortened. In the North, the West, even in the Midlands, daily life can have had little in common with the drama of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

Certainly in the diocese of York Protestantism was neither heroic nor cruelly persecuted. It was not always dignified or well informed; it had failed to develop very notably since its inception in the thirties. On the other side the church courts continued their slow and relatively gentle pressures, ironing out clerical marriage and heretical activities among laymen with the age-old instruments and procedures, generally amid as little excitement as might have been provoked by a belated but minor outbreak of Lollardy. To most men and women of the diocese, fire and the stake became neither a personal terror nor a serious challenge to loyalty. On the other hand, it seems most improbable that active enthusiasm for the *régime* extended beyond a minority of extremists. The Marian policy lacked the constructive and creative touch. It failed to provide, along with repression, any schooling in the genuine spirituality of the Counter Reformation. It came a little too early in European history; it lacked great divines; it centred about a neurotic and embittered Queen surrounded by Spanish advisers, but with a very imperfect understanding of her own people. Moreover, if our examples from the York diocese are in any way typical, it may prove difficult for the most sympathetic of regional historians to credit Mary's government and supporters with any consistent or systematic attempt to undo the Reformation's untoward effects, both material and spiritual,

90. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1556-8*, pp. 123, 169.

91. *Foreign Calendar, 1553-8*, pp. 293, 294-5, 298.

92. For the case against the Spanish advisers, cf. J. H. Blunt, *The Reformation of the Church of England*, ii. 245 *seqq.*

upon the remoter and loyaller provinces. Both in the struggling towns and in the great rural parishes of our diocese a strong case existed for governmental intervention along this line. Moreover, as at Sheffield and at Mansfield, indications appear that sympathy was not lacking in high quarters. Yet Mary, and still more her unenterprising northern adviser Shrewsbury, proved understandably reluctant to frighten influential purchasers of church property. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the Privy Council devoted much time and thought to the cultivation of the 'safer' provinces. Like all her dynasty, Mary tended to be London-tethered. While, unlike the other Tudors, she quarrelled with the most progressive of her subjects, she failed to enhance her inherited popularity throughout the conservative provinces of the realm.

Nowhere more clearly than in the diocese of York may we observe those fundamental reasons for the failure of the Reaction which the flaming pages of Foxe too often throw into obscurity. Here we witness its lack of a positive religious policy, its failure to enter the mission field and revivify the old religion by means of fresh minds and ideals. Many a Yorkshireman, if I judge him aright, had reached a notably unspiritual phase: his mood was cautious, materialistic, probably not a little bewildered by the succession of charges he had witnessed. Throughout England, signs of inward fervour seem limited to small groups of Protestants and of ultra-conservatives. It is no paradox to suggest that, even while Englishmen were dying at the stake for religion, England stood badly in need of a fresh injection of religion and religious culture. Such influences, as we now see, needed to prove themselves distinct from mere legalist impositions; they must show a quality of newness as well as one of tradition. Our Englishman was soon going forward to Seminarism and Recusancy; to Puritanism, both individualist and hierarchic; even to Anglicanism, which was not created by statute in 1559, yet began to acquire inner reality before the end of the century. Yet the years 1553-1558 lie in something of a limbo between the old world and the new. In England none of these great causes had then begun to win mass-allegiance. Spain herself contributed to the English Marians only the repressive, not the creative, aspects of her own interpretation of the new age. Hence the Marian Reaction, through its sheer lack of spiritual resources, of creativity, of 'instinct' for the potentialities of the English mind, did more than any agency to kill the chances of the Counter-Reformation in England.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF RECUSANCY IN YORKSHIRE 1582-1590

DEANERY BOUNDARIES ————

RIDING BOUNDARIES ————

BOUNDARIES OF PECULIARS ARE NOT GIVEN

Places with 20 or more presentments in any of the visitations, 1582, 1586, 1590 ■

Places with 10-19 presentments ●

Places with 5-9 presentments ○

AG.

A.G.P.

THE FIRST STAGES OF ROMANIST RECUSANCY IN YORKSHIRE, 1560-1590.

The phenomenon of Romanist recusancy in England has hitherto been little studied save as a branch of martyrology or religious polemics. This gap in our studies seems indeed regrettable, since recusancy without doubt exerted most important effects upon English social, ecclesiastical and administrative history during the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries. The subject will be thoroughly elucidated only as a result of the exploration of extensive record sources as yet virtually untouched by scholars: the aim of the present essay is necessarily limited and largely avoids administrative, legal and financial problems. Recusancy regarded merely as a problem in social history likewise lends itself to no rapid generalisations; so regarded, its development and significance alike remain incomprehensible except when against the varying backgrounds of regional and local history, for such phrases as "Tudor Society" and "Elizabethan England" do but obscure the complex realities of a society not only developing in time but geographically heterogeneous.

On this account alone it would seem unfitting to attempt, in the course of a brief essay, more than a sketch of the development of recusancy throughout a limited region and over a comparatively brief period. For such enquiry a peculiarly suitable sphere is provided by Yorkshire during the crucial first three decades of the Elizabethan settlement; the pertinent sources for the period prove unusually informative, while the shire itself included many of the principal centres of religious reaction in the kingdom. From the first, however, the distinction between actual recusancy and mere religious conservatism must carefully be made. The latter included many shades of opinion and practice, ranging from vague and passive sympathy with proscribed rites and doctrines to active and treasonable support of the seminarist movement. That common expression "the English Romanists" remains yet another of those cloudy and misleading terms which historians would do well to avoid. Recusancy, on the other hand, was a concrete, and usually a recorded, phenomenon. The English recusants

formed a clear-cut and easily distinguishable section of society: historians can deal with them in terms of solid facts and, frequently, of more or less precise statistics. With this defineable and comparatively narrow aspect of religious reaction the present essay is primarily concerned.

The early development of recusancy in many regions of England remains shrouded in obscurity through lack of sources. Exchequer records, so important at later periods, are here at a discount, since a nationally-operated system of financial penalties for recusancy came into being only in 1581,¹ and for some time afterwards deposited few extensive and definitive records. The period selected for our present enquiry ends, for example, two years before the date of the first extant recusant roll in the Pipe Office series.² In the case of Yorkshire, however, this want is largely made good from a purely ecclesiastical source:—the magnificent series of visitation books in the York Diocesan Registry, a series as yet unprinted but clearly destined to form a prime authority for the social and ecclesiastical history of the Elizabethan north.

Before proceeding to examine the evidence of the visitation books, it is obviously important to have in mind some rough notion of their validity as a source. Insofar as their parochial returns to the archiepiscopal enquiries are incomplete, they provide insufficient evidence regarding the extent, distribution and character of recusancy in this region. Such an objection cannot, in the case of the York books, be sustained to a very large degree. It seems indeed probable that most Elizabethan ecclesiastical courts exerted but slight reformatory influences upon either church or people.³ These York visitation courts clearly made no very shattering impact upon the recusant problem,⁴ which was being simultaneously tackled with greater powers, resolution and success

¹ 23 Eliz. cap. 1, supplemented by 28 Eliz. cap. 6.

² Printed in full in *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii. Some receipts for earlier dates occur in the Pipe Rolls themselves (cf. Gasquet, *Hampshire Recusants*, p. 24). Useful references on this topic will be found in F. C. Dietz, *English Public Finance, 1558-1641* (index, s.v. "recusants").

³ This view has been strongly supported by the present writer's friend and former pupil, Mr. F. D. Price, in a thesis on the ecclesiastical courts of the Gloucester diocese. Some indications regarding the evidence may be found in his articles in *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Archeol. Soc.*, lix, lx, and in *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1939.

⁴ Practically all the offenders at the big centres of recusancy in Yorkshire were flatly contumacious when summoned to attend the visitation. But, of 326 recusants charged in the enquiry of 1582, about 50 appeared and submitted. It was practically unknown for an offender to appear and then refuse submission.

by the Ecclesiastical Commission for the northern province.¹ Nevertheless the visitation continued to prove a useful informative, if an inadequate corrective, institution, and in several highly interesting cases the archbishop's commissaries may be observed in the act of transferring notorious offenders to the Ecclesiastical Commission,² thus vividly illustrating that co-operation of church and state so characteristic of the Elizabethan regime.

Altogether, the net of visitation swept fairly deeply through society, and the character of contemporary parish life must have rendered it difficult for clergy and churchwardens to conspire in concealing so public an offence as recusancy. Omissions are most likely to have occurred in the cases of those reactionary gentry who for special reasons were not easily amenable to parochial presentation. In remoter regions where such families had no counterbalances in the form of protestant rivals, fear and favouritism occasionally rendered concealment possible. In other cases, where members of gentle families frequently left the parish or worshipped in the seclusion of private chapels, evidence sometimes proved insufficient to warrant their presentation in the church courts.³ Hence, while gentry and even representatives of the nobility were frequently, as we shall observe, presented for recusancy, a full tale of such recusants may scarcely be expected from the visitation books. How far the totals of all recusant, gleaned from these books, and set forth in the table on page 180 may be accredited as accurate, we shall have occasion to enquire in the instances which follow.

The geographical completeness of the visitational survey is little impaired by the peculiar jurisdictions with which the county of York was riddled.⁴ Most types of peculiars were subject to

¹ The act books of this important body have mysteriously disappeared since about 1875; if rediscovered they would constitute a source of prime importance for the contemporary history of the north. Much regarding the work of the Northern Commission may be gleaned from scattered sources. Cf., *inter alia*, R. G. Usher, *Rise and Fall of the High Commission*, ch. xiii and p. 364; R. R. Reid, *King's Council in the North*, *passim*; *Memorials of Ripon*, iii (*Surtees Soc.*, lxxxix), 346-51; *The Month*, Oct., 1875, pp. 192 *seqq.*; J. Morris, *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, iii, 213-19; *Notes and Queries* ser. xii, vol. iii, 416-7.

² York Registry, R. vi. A. 3, fo. 39; R. vi. A. 5, fos. 5, 10; R. vi. A. 6, fos. 192, 204 v, 234; R. vi. A. 9, fos. 141 v, 216 v. Almost all transfers are in cases of recusancy.

³ These of course are quite apart from those fairly numerous gentlemen whose wives were recusant, but who themselves, while generally known to hold reactionary sympathies, avoided temporal penalties by putting in the minimum of attendances at church.

⁴ For a catalogue of the peculiars within the county, see *Victoria Co. Hist.*, *Yorks.*, iii, 80-88.

episcopal visitation,¹ and actually, with very few irregularities,² the York books cover all the great peculiar jurisdictions such as Ripon, Allertonshire, Selby, Howdenshire and Hemingborough, besides several lesser peculiars.³ It will, of course, be recalled that the archdeaconry of Richmondshire, though three of its deaneries lay within Yorkshire, was outside the diocese of York. Nevertheless, two visitation books from the Chester diocese go far to complete our survey of the shire. Such jurisdictional complications probably do not exclude any major centres of recusancy from our view.⁴

A final limitation of the York books springs from the intermittent character of visitation itself. Bishops visited at best every three years, and even so, one important visitation⁵ is omitted from the York series, leaving an irritating gap between the years 1568 and 1575. Again, as will become apparent, there was a minor resurgence and decline of recusancy between 1575 and 1578 recorded by neither of the visitation books of those two dates and dealt with by the Ecclesiastical Commission.⁶ This feature compels us to make careful use of the scattered records outside the York books and to avoid assuming that the latter give more than a series of cross-sections of ever-developing tendencies. With all these various factors in mind, we are enabled to begin an examination of our visitational sources with the assurance that, cautiously interpreted in the light of all available evidence, they will do much to elucidate our subject.

The earliest book accounted to belong to our series⁷ is not in actual fact a visitation book. Though curiously lacking in precise title-headings or other indisputable clues to its provenance, it is with little doubt the consistory court book for the period 1561-7.⁸ Though occupied mainly by disciplinary suits brought against

¹ E. Gibson, *Codex Juris Eccles. Angl.* (edn. 1761), p. 978.

² I observe no entries for Ripon in 1575 and 1582, and none for Snaith until 1590.

³ Many extracts from the register (kept at Pickering) of Elizabethan visitations of the Dean of York's peculiar are given by T. M. Fallow in *Y.A.J.*, xviii, 197 *seqq.* The early entries, of 1568-70, do not appear to include cases of recusancy; the rest are from 1590 onwards and include many such cases.

⁴ The stretch of fell-country to the north-west of Craven, lying in Kirkby Lonsdale deanery (see map), has not been taken account of in the present article, its population was very small and remote from the rest of Yorkshire.

⁵ That of Archbishop Grindal in 1571. Cf. below, p. 167.

⁶ Cf. below, p. 169.

⁷ York Registry, R. vi. A. 1.

⁸ September, 1561—October, 1567. The book is now incomplete, containing no cases between November, 1564, and September, 1566.

both clergy and laity, it significantly lacks evidence regarding any recusancy or religious discontent in the diocese.

The first two visitation books proper¹ contain interesting material emerging from the visitation of Archbishop Thomas Young in 1567-8. The evidence of these years points, not in the direction of actual recusancy, but towards a vague conservatism, an uncertainty in the popular mind regarding the reformed religious practice of the established church.

These characteristics are most admirably illustrated in the district of Holderness, a backwater where the Queen's injunctions were still being largely disregarded. Henry Jackson, vicar of Easington, Edmund Bowes, vicar of Owthorne, Richard Simson, rector of Sproatley, and the vicars of Beeford and Frodingham, all continued to say the communion for the dead.² The men of Kilnsea, it is presented, "do reserve a holie water stock³ and two tabernacles,"⁴ while at Skeffling "a holie water stock, an image with a crosse that the roode hanged on is reserved, an altar yet standing, the pulpit undecentlie kept, no collection for the pore, nor chest for the registre boke."⁵ At Welwick "the bible is not serviceable, ther is one image of John, two holiewater fattes, pictures, paintinges, a cope with imageis, candlestickes, clappirs, a gilden tabernacle reserved and kept, no wekelie collection for the pore."⁶ The parishioners of Halsham, Roos, Withernsea, Burton Pidsea, Tunstall, Preston, Rise, Sproatley, Skirlaugh, Swine, Garton, Leven and Wawne are all presented at this visitation for similar offences.⁷ At Swine the old badge of the Pilgrims of Grace remained in evidence: "ther is a crosse of woode standinge over the northe ile with a scutcheon having the figure of v. woondes and other superstitious thinges therin."⁸ At Hedon one William Bolton "useth to praie upon a Latine primer and did not communicate at Easter last."⁹

¹ R. vi. A. 2 (August—December 1567) and R. vi. A. 3 (January—June 1568).

² *Ibid.*, fos. 187, 188 v, 194 v, 206, 207. Bowes and Simson had testamentary burials in the chancels of their respective churches, both in 1570 (Poulson, *Signory of Holderness*, ii, 278, 406).

³ Stoup (*New Eng. Dict.*).

⁴ R. vi. A. 2, fo. 187.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 187 v. Complaints such as the last three, reflecting mere inefficiency or apathy, are very common throughout the diocese at this period and especially in Holderness.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fo. 190 v. The parishioners admit the recent existence of these "superstitious monumentes" but say they are now burnt or defaced.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fos. 191-211 *passim*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fo. 210.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fo. 193.

At this date, almost a decade after the accession of Elizabeth, such survivals were *far* from uncommon even in less remote portions of the shire. The two curates of Howden, Peter Hartforthe¹ and Thomas Place, "do not reade the homilies as they ought to do. They do rashelie conne over ther service and went on procession about the churche on the Ascention Daie last. They use to christen children on the worke (*sic*) daies, and to saie the communion for the deade, and do not communicate together when the communion is ministred in the church of Hoveden."² Gabriel Morland, the priest at Hemingborough nearby, also said the communion for the dead,³ while in the same neighbourhood John Dodding, parish clerk of Eastrington, "is of corrupt judgement in matters of religion and useth to saie at the recytall of the commandment, 'Lord, &c., to kepe *thy* law,' and not '*thes* lawes,' puttyng a difference as it were, and teacheth his schollers the lyke. He is suspected to have in his chamber certeyn old bookes and many other monumentes of supersticion and idolatrie."⁴ Edward Sandall, clerk, of the parish of St. Martin's, Micklegate, York, was charged with truculent opposition to the established religion "sayenge that he trusted to se the daie when he shall have xx^{ti}e of the heretikes' heades that now be in auctoritye under his girdle." Sandall had also openly maintained "the erroniewse opinion of prayenge unto saintes" and continued teaching the local children despite a command to the contrary.⁵ At Bugthorpe three men are charged with failing to make regular communion and with praying "upon Latine bokes forbidden by publique authoritie."⁶ The Ripon entries yield several examples of reactionary survival. Edmund Browne, clerk, "is commonlie reputed and taken for a misliker of Christe's religion now established in this realme and lurketh about Rippon and is commonlie harbored at the house of one Roberte Kettlewood."⁷ John Jackson, parish clerk of Ripon, "usethe still to make bread for the holie communion with the

¹ Hartforthe is also styled 'vicar of Whixley and parson of Cowthorpe.'

² R. vi. A. 3, fo. 36. These offenders confessed to the possession and, typically enough, escaped with a warning.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 83. Amongst the other charges brought against him was the fact that he had served as curate at Tadcaster without admission. He was almost certainly the Edward Sandall who had been chantry priest on Fossbridge, York, and who was ordered by the corporation of York in January 1545 to serve on Ousebridge in view of the dissolution of the Fossbridge chantries (York House Book xvii, fo. 77).

⁶ R. vi. A. 2, fo. 158.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 105 v.

picture of the crucifixe and other pictures upon the same contrarie to the Quene's Majestie's injunctions . . . he usethe manie times to scoffe and scorne at the Quene's proceedings in the state of religion.'¹ The reactionary vicars of Ripon, who were simultaneously in trouble with the Ecclesiastical Commission, and soon to be involved in the revolt of the Northern Earls,² were in this visitation charged with concealing all kinds of forbidden ornaments.³

In several remoter villages of the North Riding parallel offences proved common. A widow of Danby Wiske 'kepethe in hir howse certayne vestments and other supersticious idolatry.'⁴ Several men of Rillington, Duggleby and Westow retained vestments, candlesticks, a censer, a handbell and similar relics.⁵ William Burton of Kirby Grindalythe 'will not suffer his childe to be enstructed in the catechisme by the vicar ther, but disobediently and as a misliker thereof utterlie refuseth to suffer his child to be enstructed therein.'⁶

The foregoing somewhat trivial detail⁷ from the visitation book of 1567-8 suffices to typify popular reaction in Yorkshire during the early years of the Elizabethan settlement. The significant feature is that such reaction scarcely ever extended to actual recusancy. Alongside a multiplicity of offenders such as those we have noted, it is possible to trace no more than a handful of recusants. Mr. Gabriel St. Quintin of Harpham in the East Riding was charged with wilful absence from sermons⁸ and with hindering his tenants from attendance. He denied the charge

¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 105. He confessed to the first charge and denied the second. After compurgation by four witnesses he was let off with a lecture and a warning to 'reforme his makinge of breade' (*ibid.*, fo. 148v).

² *Memorials of Ripon*, iii, 346-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 344-5. These entries, transcribed by Canon Raine, are almost the only ones from the visitation books to have been printed.

⁴ R. vi. A. 2, fo. 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fos. 150 v-154 v.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fo. 153.

⁷ It could be supported from other sources if space permitted. The churchwardens' accounts of Masham, for example, show them taking down the tabernacles in 1570, and making a communion table only in 1572. (J. Fisher, *Hist. and Antiq. of Masham and Mashamshire*, p. 582.) Even the Sheffield burgesses, dutiful in most respects, did not remove their rood-lofts until 1570 (Hunter, *Hallamshire*, ed. Gatty, p. 248).

⁸ His dislike did not apparently extend to all services, and some of the numerous northern clergy presented at this period for failure to preach their quarterly sermons may have been guilty, not merely of slackness, but of actual distaste for the emphasis placed upon preaching by reformed opinion. William Midgeleye, vicar of Foston, is presented in 1567 as 'a misliker of Christe's religion nowe established in this realme; he haihte not maide his quarterlie sermons' (R. vi. A. 2, fo. 167).

and was utterly submissive to the visitors.¹ John Sharpe, in the same parish of Burton Agnes, "wilfullie absentethe himselfe from his parishe churche and from devine service" and apparently stood contumacious.² Michael Bolton, clerk, and George Bolton, both of Hedon parish, "ar men which utterlie mislike the estate of religion now established and never use to come to the church, but do speake verie unseamelie wordes against Christe's word and the ministers therof, and disswade the people from the same."³ These two were contumacious and excommunicated; they are mentioned as "two papistes" in a case brought against a relative for harbouring them.⁴ On the other hand, about twenty York people, charged with non-attendance at church, show no clear signs of Romanist recusancy and are all, with two or three exceptions, submissive.⁵ The churchwardens of Bubwith, presented for failing in a number of duties, including church attendance, may or may not have been affected by conscientious motives.⁶ Besides this small handful of actual or possible recusants there is a still smaller number of people charged with not receiving communion.

Altogether, in the face of this extensive and careful survey, it may be asserted with confidence that, even assuming that a number of offenders escaped detection, there existed no recusant problem in the diocese of York during the years 1567-8. The survival of medieval customs, the retention of proscribed relics of the old religion, a complete lack of enthusiasm for reformed doctrines and practices, a general conservatism and a reluctance to obey the Elizabethan injunctions, these were widespread and particularly strong in certain districts, notably in Holderness. Such a general conclusion regarding these years finds clear support in two letters written during 1564-5 by Archbishop Young. In the first of these he assured the Queen that both the common people and clergy were tractable in religious matters, while even the gentry were showing signs of reform. The example of the deprivation and imprisonment of Archdeacon Palmes had not

¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 162 v. Sir Thomas Gargrave classed him in 1572 as doubtful in religion (J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters in Yorkshire History*, p. 70).

² *Ibid.*, fo. 163 v.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 193.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ R. vi. A. 3, fos. 76-82.

⁶ They had failed to send their children and servants to learn the catechism, had "commonly absented them selves from the churche in tyme of devyne servyce, accompanying such as have shooting and gamyng," besides failing to collect for the poor. They confessed to being "offenders in some respect" and were dismissed with a warning (*ibid.*, fo. 38).

been without strong effect.¹ In the second letter Young told Cecil that the proceedings taken against Sir William Babthorpe, a leading Yorkshire reactionary of this period, for his unseemly talk had further cowed the neighbouring gentry: "It seemeth to me that they are now in great awe and good obedience, wherein it is meet they be kept."²

The two visitation books to which attention must next be turned contain the findings of Archbishop Grindal in his ordinary visitation of 1575.³ The effects of this distinguished Puritan to carry the Reformation into the northern province have been described by Strype and later writers, who unfortunately had no access to the York sources and hence concentrated upon the metropolitan visitation of 1571, by comparison a very scantily recorded episode.⁴

In respect of recusancy the disclosures of 1575 are unsensational in character and primarily of interest insofar as they form a contrast with later conditions. Two observations naturally arise from the figures as given in our table. The totals of recusants and non-communicants⁵ remain utterly insignificant. They are, however, perhaps the most difficult in the visitation books to confirm, and in the light of the much greater total revealed, as we shall soon see, by the enquiry of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1577, they should be regarded with caution. It is in this connection also worthy of note that in 1572 Sir Thomas Gargrave's well-known classification of Yorkshire gentry included eighteen papists of "the worste sorte," besides 22 "meane or less evyll."⁶

¹ *Cal. S. P. Foreign*, 1564-5, pp. 168-9 (June 30, 1564). Dr. George Palmes lost his two York prebends and the archdeaconry in 1559 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii, 134, 199, 223).

² *Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz. Addenda*, 1547-65, pp. 564-5 (29 April 1565); the original is quoted in H. N. Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, p. 325. In 1580 Sir W. Babthorpe appeared before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at Beverley and acknowledged a recognizance that he and his family should attend church and communicate (*The Month*, 1875 (Oct.) p. 194).

³ R. vi. A. 4 and 5.

⁴ Strype, *Grindal* (edn. 1821), pp. 246 *seqq.*; Grindal's *Remains* (*Parker Soc.*, 1843), pp. 123 *seqq.*; W. H. Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, iii (*Alcuin Club*, xvi), 253, 274, 294.

⁵ This distinction between total absentees and mere avoiders of the communion is carefully made in many official surveys, such as the great census of 1604 for Yorkshire (Bodleian Rawlinson MS. B. 452, printed in *Roman Catholics in the County of York*, ed. Peacock: this work is subsequently referred to as "Peacock").

⁶ Printed in Cartwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-72. Gargrave does not say which, if any, of either class were actually recusant. None of them has been observed in our visitation book for 1575, though some of their relatives appear.

The second interesting feature of the recusancy of 1575 is its lack of organisation or consolidation into large groups. Scarcely any place or district shows even an incipient concentration of offenders; the latter appear everywhere by ones and twos. Virtually every one of those towns and villages which in later visitations show big recusant followings remains in 1575 free or virtually free from recusancy,¹ a fact which it is difficult to explain away by any contention that the return may be incomplete. The single and dubious exception occurs at Scarborough, where thirty-three men are presented "for cominge slowlie to the churche, morninge praier being halfe doone, and have bene demaunded their fynes and refuse to paie the same, making light accompte of the same."² This reluctance possibly marks the incipient stages of open reaction in Scarborough. Though recusancy proper is in 1575 represented only by scattered individuals, the latter include some figures well known to readers of the martyrological collections of Father Grene, the seventeenth century source for our more intimate knowledge of the Elizabethan recusants.³ Lady Wilstropp, Mrs. Oldcorne and Mrs. Vavasour, all of York,⁴ Michael Tirrye, the York schoolmaster,⁵ Mrs. Thwaites of Marston,⁶ Mrs. Anne Calverley of Calverley,⁷ George and Richard Tocketts of Guis-

¹ The following places, all noted centres of recusancy at later dates, are given as entirely free in 1575: Drax, Kippax, Ledsham, Hampsthwaite, Hemingborough, Huntington, Hovingham, Lythe, Eskdale, Appleton Wiske, Hinderwell and Whitby. In Craven, Gargrave has only three non-communicants, and Mitton only: "William Hawkesworth Esq. doth not come to the churche at all" (R. vi. A. 5, fo. 18).

² R. vi. A. 5, fos. 86 v-87.

³ The Yorkshire material of this character, naturally very abundant, comes mainly from Grene's MSS. "E," "F," and "M," respectively at St. Mary's College, Oscott; the English College, Rome, and Stonyhurst. These collections are printed, more or less completely, but in modernised and ill-arranged form, in two places: H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, iii, and J. Morris, *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, iii. The present writer has observed some similar Yorkshire material in Stonyhurst MS. Anglia A, especially in volume i, letters 3, 73, 74, 83, and volume ii, letter 12. It is impossible in the course of the present article to accord more than passing mention to individual recusants. Regarding the better known, valuable references will be found in J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*.

⁴ R. vi. A. 5, fos. 4 v, 5, 7 v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 6; parish of St. Mary, Castlegate. The main references to his long record of resistance are in *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xxii, 19, 353.

⁶ R. vi. A. 5, fo. 10. The note "Comiss." occurs in the margin, apparently indicating that her case had been summoned to the Ecclesiastical Commission. Cf., besides the authorities in note 3 above, the pedigree in *Visitations of Yorkshire, 1584-5 and 1612*, ed. Foster (later cited as *Visitations*), p. 93.

⁷ R. vi. A. 5, fo. 23. Cf. *Visitations*, p. 9. She was the daughter of Sir Christopher Danby.

borough,¹ these are all presented for recusancy as early as 1575.

Other evidences of reactionary opinion were by no means lacking at this date, yet the mere survival of old beliefs and practices was distinctly less impressive than in 1567-8. None of the Holderness parishes, for example, incurred the charge of retaining superstitious relics and furniture; almost the only representative of reaction in this deanery was Richard Halome, parish clerk of Swine, who "is presented to be a defender and mainteyner of the Romishe religion and saieth it will never from his harte."² Elsewhere, John Troughton of St. Margaret's York retained a variety of popish vestments,³ while one Christopher Dixon of Guisborough "prayed upon a Latine primer."⁴ Such cases were nevertheless becoming quite infrequent by 1575.⁵ At this time we stand between the two principal episodes of the story. The more outstanding relics of the old religion had been swept away, largely through the efforts of Archbishop Grindal, while on the other hand recusancy, the offspring of new agencies, had scarcely come into being.

Two years subsequent to this visitation, the principal piece of evidence outside the York books breaks into the picture. On October 28, 1577, Archbishop Sandys, assisted by his colleagues on the Ecclesiastical Commission for the northern province, sent the Privy Council a list of "the names and abilities,⁶ of such within my dioces as refuse to come to churche."⁷ This list with its total of 178 offenders in Yorkshire⁸ would appear at first sight startling

¹ R. vi. A. 5, fo. 54 v. On this well-known recusant family cf. *Victoria Co. Hist.*, *Yorks.*, *North Riding*, ii, 361. Richard does not appear in the pedigree in *Visitations*, p. 195. Roger Tocketts, father of George, is given by Sir Thomas Gargrave in 1572 as a papist "of the worst sort" (Cartwright, p. 67); in 1577 he was in prison at Hull for recusancy (*ibid.*, p. 150).

² R. vi. A. 5, fo. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 5 v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 54 v.

⁵ Another charge we may conveniently note at this point was that alleging failure to levy the shilling fine for absence from church. This was made in 1575, for example, at Barwick in Elmet, Acaster, Bolton in Craven and Gargrave. Amidst so much negligence, this common omission can scarcely be taken to indicate systematic collusion between churchwardens and recusants.

⁶ Wealth, pecuniary powers (cf. *New Eng. Dict.*). For the result of this side of the enquiry see below, note ⁸.

⁷ This list (S. P. Dom. Eliz., cxvii, 23) is printed, with Sandys' covering letter, in *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xxii, 3-4, 12-36, 38. The full notes given here on the more important recusants renders it unnecessary to discuss them in the present article.

⁸ 169 in the York diocese and 9 for the part of Yorkshire in the Chester diocese. There are doubtless a number of omissions, but it remains impossible to dismiss this list as one of wealthy notables, compiled with a view to the heavier fines planned by the government. Of the 178, about 80 are given as worth £5 or less in goods, and many as possessing no means.

evidence regarding the incompleteness of the York visitation of 1575, but a gross underestimate by the latter is actually far from being proved. Archbishop Sandys, in his covering letter of 1577, apologises for any incompleteness in the census on the grounds that he had not yet made his visitation; he clearly continues to regard the traditional enquiry as the prime source of information and not as superseded by the separate enquiries of the commissioners. Again, students familiar with the problems of recusancy will experience no surprise at sudden fluctuations in the extent of the offence within limited areas or indeed throughout the kingdom as a whole. In this case of Yorkshire between 1575 and 1577 the phenomenon of a few score conversions, a large part of them limited to York and Ripon, can be very easily ascribed to the presence of Henry Cumberford and a few other seminary priests, to whom, in two separate letters, Sandys expressly ascribes practically the whole of the trouble.¹ In the third place, the visitation returns of 1575 bear, as a whole, every sign of a completeness at least as great as those of the later returns, which are much better supported by external evidence. Altogether the probability would seem to remain that a minor outburst of recusancy, embracing two or three hundred persons in Yorkshire, actually did develop between 1575 and 1577.

The drive of 1577 made by the northern commissioners in common with authorities elsewhere in the kingdom appears to have momentarily checked this increase and possibly to have cowed many recusants into submission.² In view of this stronger governmental policy adopted in 1577 towards recusancy, it occasions little surprise to find that Sandys, when he came to visit his diocese between February and October, 1578, heard little about recusancy, though the inquiry seems to have been conducted with great care. Of the twenty-one recusants charged, seven appear at Ripon, five at Strensall,³ the rest very thinly scattered. To obtain a just view of the position we should, however, probably add to these a number of prisoners larger than the thirty-one recorded in Sandys' list of 1577, and also, in all likelihood, many

¹ Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 148 (28 Oct. 1577); Strype, *Annals* (edn. 1824), ii (2), 166 (16 April 1578).

² The writer was at first tempted to accept as confirmation of this view Lord President Huntingdon's letter of May 1578, in which he writes that the diocese of York is "clear of thys faulte" (*Hutton Correspondence, Surtees Soc.*, xvii, 59). The letter is obscurely expressed, but it would appear that Huntingdon's phrase refers, not to papistry, but to the Puritanism mentioned earlier in his letter.

³ R. vi. A. 6, fos. 55, 65 v, respectively.

of the recusants on that list now being dealt with, through recognizances and otherwise, by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. These would naturally escape further presentation by the parish authorities. Non-communicants, it will be observed from our table, number even less than heretofore. Two or three irregular attenders at church and one or two suspected papists complete the meagre total of resistance to the Settlement.

The three Richmondshire deaneries, lying as they did outside the York diocese, were naturally excluded from the three York visitations we have so far considered. They occur for the first time in our York archives¹ in a visitation book for the diocese of Chester containing cases dealt with in December, 1578.² Richmondshire, prominent at various periods, and especially during the revolt of 1569,³ for its adherence to the old faith, makes no more impressive display of actual recusancy in 1578 than in the return of 1577. Of the eleven recusants in this area, six come from Aysgarth⁴ and one, William Gargest, is described as 'a vagrante preist.'⁵ These, with ten non-communicants and three irregular attenders, comprise practically all the cases of religious reaction in Richmondshire, a notable contrast with the state of affairs shortly to be noted as obtaining there in 1590.

From this ostensibly quiet and submissive state of affairs the change was rapid and striking. It came during the three years following 1578 and finds very clear reflection in the *detecta* of the visitation begun by Sandys in June, 1582.⁶ From the outset the visitors now encountered recusancy at every turn. As the sub-joined table indicates, the number of charges of recusancy mounts from only 21 in 1578 to 329 in 1582 and the number of non-communicants from 20 to 151. Even if the view be taken that the earlier records present a considerable underestimate of numbers, the change remains spectacular, particularly as there seems no

¹ The Ripon registry has several act books of the commissory court of the Archdeacon of Richmond, the first Elizabethan book dated 1581 (*cf.* for a list, *Northern Genealogist*, i, 167). The writer has not yet inspected these books.

² R. vi. A. 8. The previous item in the series (A. 7) is a Chester visitation book falling outside our province.

³ Some caution remains, however, necessary in characterising the popular attitude during the Rising of the Northern Earls. *Cf.* Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion*, especially pp. 39-49, 59 (note), 143. Sharp's particulars on the distributions of executions have been superseded by H. B. McCall in *Y.A.J.*, xviii, 74 *seqq.*

⁴ R. vi. A. 8, fo. 89 v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 81 v.

⁶ This visitation follows that of 1578 in the same book (R. vi. A. 6), the *detecta* beginning on fo. 153.

reason to believe that between 1578 and 1582 there had been any improvement in the methods of enquiry. There can, indeed, be no reasonable doubt that a portentous growth of recusancy occurred in the York diocese between 1578 and 1582.

In these records of 1582, as in those of the two subsequent visitations in 1586¹ and 1590,² a notable decline in the number of cases indicating mere survival of old rituals and beliefs is accompanied by a corresponding increase of such offences as we associate with recusant society acting under the influence of seminarists and Jesuits³:—refusal to bring children to baptism and catechism, clandestine marriages and the harbouring of suspicious persons.⁴ At the same time churchwardens are found incurring ever more frequently charges of failure to levy the shilling fine imposed upon absentees from church by the Statute of Uniformity. Here we find interesting confirmation that this small parish fine was still held to apply to the rank and file of the recusants, even after the act of 1581 had imposed the Exchequer fine of £20 per month. In the later years of the reign the vast majority of recusants were certainly far too poor to meet, even for a brief period, so enormous a penalty.⁵

The two last visitations of the York diocese in the series examined by the present writer show a steady rise in the recusant totals, though no growth comparable in rapidity with that between 1578 and 1582. Recusancy cases, it will be observed from the table, increase from 329 in 1582, to 417 in 1586, and to 587 in 1590. Cases of refusal to communicate are but slightly more numerous in 1586 than in 1582, but in 1590 they increase considerably to 277. That this rapid growth after 1578 is no mere freak of the York diocese records finds strong support in a Chester visitation book of 1590,⁶ which, along with the figures for Ripon in the York book of that year, indicates an immense growth of the problem in

¹ R. vi. A. 9.

² R. vi. A. 10.

³ Jesuit influence in Yorkshire dates from the first mission in 1581. For the Yorkshire receivers of Campion, who included Sir William Babthorpe, cf. Strype, *Annals*, ii (2), 359.

⁴ The writer has a numerous list of references to these offences in R. vi. A. 8, 9, and 10. They are likewise numerous in the census of 1604 edited by Peacock.

⁵ When 121 recusants of the wapentake of Claro were indicted before the West Riding justices in 1598, they were charged, not under 23 Eliz., cap. 1, but simply under the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz., cap. 2), which would presumably mean that on conviction they would be liable to fines of one shilling per week, not £20 per month (*West Riding Sessions Rolls*, Y.A.S. Rec. Ser., iii, pp. xx-xxiii, 51-5).

⁶ R. vi. A. 11.

Richmondshire since our last inspection of that region in 1578. The eleven Richmondshire recusants of the latter year have increased to 219 by 1590.

These being the general aspects of our later visitations, we may now proceed to what may well be considered the most interesting part of our enquiry: that regarding the development of local centres of recusancy within a shire of vast extent and highly varied geographical and social conditions. This topic clearly demands detailed and lengthy treatment in the light of personal, family and parish history, a treatment altogether beyond our present scope.¹ The mere hints which follow may, however, prove useful as a basis for eventual fuller enquiry. They will be illustrated, and sometimes amplified in detail, by reference to the map.

As already explained, no evidence has been found regarding any considerable centres of recusancy previous to 1577, and in that year Archbishop Sandys' list reveals concentrations of offenders only in York, and to a lesser extent in Ripon.² More interesting and important is the situation seen to develop in the York books of 1582, 1586 and 1590, a situation which may perhaps be best clarified if we survey in turn the affected districts in each Riding of the shire.

Though marked by so many signs of reactionary survival during the earlier years of Elizabeth, the East Riding shows no recusant problem in these visitations, except insofar as it includes the peculiar of Howdenshire, situated in its south-western extremity. In this limited area Hemingborough, with 33 recusants in 1582, 26 in 1586 and 24 in 1590, proves the major centre of dissent, while Howden itself shows a number of recusants at each visitation. Here two great reactionary families exercised much local influence: those of Metham³ and Babthorpe,⁴ several members of which

¹ One may scarcely hope that no case of mistaken identity has crept into the notes on prominent recusant families given below. Those familiar with the profusion and complications of contemporary Yorkshire genealogical sources will prove sympathetic critics.

² 54 of the offenders are York people, including the five wives of York tradesmen imprisoned in the castle there. Ripon shows 14 recusants, Tadcaster 5, and all other places less.

³ On the leading position of the wealthy Sir Thomas Metham and his family amongst the Yorkshire reactionaries of 1570 see Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 143. His heir, Thomas, appears as recusant in 1582 and in 1590 the family is represented by Mrs. Metham of Eastrington and Elizabeth wife of Thomas Metham of Howden, recusants, and by Bartholomew Metham, non-communicant. Two ladies of the family appear under Rawcliffe and Snaith parishes in a list of recusants dated 1597 (*Northern Genealogist*, vi, 35).

⁴ Lady Frances Babthorpe, widow of Sir William, headed the Hemingborough recusants in 1582, but submitted and was absolved (R. vi. A. 6, fos. 194 v, 195). Cf. many other details in Burton, *Hist. Hemingborough*,

appear in our visitation records. The ancient family of Saltmarsh is represented in 1582,¹ while Richard Hammond, gentleman, was a prominent recusant in 1590.²

Close by, but in the West Riding, the parish of Drax shows in 1582 thirteen recusants led by another branch of the Babthorpe family.³ Fifteen or twenty miles further west lies the extensive group of parishes constituting the main West Riding centre of recusancy in 1582: of these the chief are Ledsham, Kippax, Garforth, Sandall Magna, Water Frystone and Cawthorne. In this year Ledsham has no less than 27 recusants, Kippax 20 and Garforth 19; the whole group, however, shows a marked decline in 1586, when only Cawthorne, with 13, and Sandall, with 11 recusants, remain centres worthy of mention. In 1590 Ledsham, with 12, remains the only considerable recusant parish in this district, where the Romanist movement appears then to have been suffering a severe, if temporary, decline.⁴ Here several gentle families are found heading the movement. Thomas Waterton of Sandall,⁵ Arthur Mallet of Water Frystone,⁶ Thomas Barnby of Cawthorne,⁷ Francis Jackson of Warmfield⁸ and Paul Hamerton of Feather-ed. Raine, p. 314. Ralph Babthorpe and Grace his wife were both recusants in 1586; in 1590 she remained recusant, but he was merely non-communicant. Cf. their story in *ibid.*, pp. 315-20.

¹ Robert Saltmarsh and his wife were non-communicants then. He was head of the family from 1578 and may have been retained in romanism by his mother's connections;—she was a daughter of Sir Robert Constable of Everingham (Foster, *Yorks. Pedigrees*, iii).

² Proceedings resulting in his imprisonment at Hull were also taken against him before the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1590 (Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 319).

³ Christopher Babthorpe and Katherine his wife.

⁴ The district is well represented in the survey of 1604, when Barwick, Leeds, Saxton, Sherburn, Pontefract, Birkin, Drax and Carlton all showed communities of recusants more or less considerable.

⁵ The seat was at Walton in Sandall and some of the lands in Cawthorne. This Thomas, noted in 1582 as recusant with his wife Mary, was the grandson of Sir Thomas Waterton, sheriff of Yorkshire in 1 Mary, and the son of the Thomas noted as a safe protestant in 1564 and in 1572. He and Francis Jackson (*cf.* below) held themselves aloof when required in 1585 to contribute, with other recusants, to furnishing horsemen (*Visitations*, p. 105; Cartwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 160-2; *Camden Miscellany*, ix, 70; *Yorks. Fines and York Wills, Y.A.S. Record Ser.*, *passim*). Mary Waterton occurs in the recusant roll for 1592-3 as having her lands farmed by the Crown for non-payment of fines (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 45, 78).

⁶ Recusant in 1582 with his wife Anne. He was in addition charged with having a child unbaptised, but did not answer to either charge. Cf. *Visitations*, p. 326.

⁷ Cf. on the genealogy, lands and recusant tradition of this family Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, 233-4. The recusant roll for 1592-3 shows that a part of Thomas' lands was being farmed by the Crown for non-payment of fines, and that he owed £50 on account of a special fine imposed in 27 Eliz. for contempt of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 53, 55, 77).

⁸ *Visitations*, p. 308. Some of his lands were farmed similarly (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 44, 49, 59).

stone,¹ were all, though somewhat below the greatest in the county, gentlemen of considerable local standing. An ancient family more famous than these in the chronicle of Yorkshire recusancy, the Annes of Frickley, are found, along with a small knot of followers, in the York books from 1582 onwards.² Frickley did not, however, become until much later an important centre of reaction from the viewpoint of numbers. At Kippax in 1590 Isabella Pulleyne, widow,³ and Dorothy, wife of Christopher Ledes,⁴ were both recusant members of well-known roman catholic families.

By 1590 the main interest is transferred from this south-eastern district of the West Riding to one further north, which is almost entirely comprised by the Chester deanery of Boroughbridge and the peculiar of Ripon. In this area the most noteworthy contingents of recusants occur at Boroughbridge (12), Stainley (12), Ripley (12), Knaresborough (10), Hampsthwaite (15) and Nidd (16).⁵ At Boroughbridge the well-known family of Tankard is represented by two younger sons, Thomas and James,⁶ while it was sworn on behalf of their father, Thomas, the head of the family, that illness prevented him from attending the court to answer a charge of recusancy.⁷ John Ingleby, a younger son of the family of Ripley and brother of the martyr Francis,⁸ occurs in

¹ Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, i. His grandfather, John, had been placed amongst papists of "the worste sorte" by Sir Thomas Gargrave in 1572 (Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 71). In 1592-3 Paul's lands were also being farmed (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 58), though he had submitted for a time in 1587 and obtained absolution along with his wife (R. vi. A. 9, fo. 196).

² Cf. especially *Visitations*, pp. 360-61; Foley, *op. cit.*, iii, 142-4; 761; *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 51, 55, 67, 68.

³ She appears on the recusant roll for 1597 (C. Pullein, *The Pulleyns of Yorkshire*, p. 779. One of the many branches of this family was at Kippax before 1541 (*ibid.*, p. 745).

⁴ Christopher Ledes, gentleman, of Kippax, was included in a list of recusants remaining at liberty in the York diocese in 1592 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Cecil, iv, 273). The present writer has noticed no satisfactory genealogy of this family and remains at present uncertain as to his relationship with the much better known recusant Thomas Ledes.

⁵ For an astonishing pre-Reformation survival at Nidd, see H. Speight, *Upper Nidderdale*, p. 127.

⁶ Cf. *Visitations*, p. 271; Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, ii.

⁷ The romanist priests, Thomas Mudde and John Dobson, had been captured by Sir William Mallory, the active protestant J. P., at the Boroughbridge house of Thomas Tankard in 1579 (Foley, *Records of the English Province*, iii, 239-40). Ralph Tankard, brother of this Thomas, is charged at Hawnby, together with members of his family, for recusancy and failure to communicate in 1586 (A. 9, fos. 106 v-107).

⁸ Cf. *Visitations*, p. 283; Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, i; *Knaresborough Wills, Surtees Soc.*, civ, pp. 129-35. Francis was executed at York in June 1586 as a seminarist; John married Catherine, daughter of Sir William Babbthorpe and widow of George Vavasour, while David, the second brother and a much-sought papalist fugitive, married Lady Anne Neville, herself a recusant (cf. below, p. 179) and daughter of the attainted Earl of Westmorland.

1590 amongst the Ripley recusants. The latter also include Samuel Pulleyne of Killinghall in Ripley parish, two of whose brothers are noted by a contemporary herald as "popish priests."¹ At Hunsingore the names of Thomas Fairfax² and George Dawson³ represent younger sons of well-known families. The town of Ripon itself, though falling distinctly within the area, shows less numerous and notable recusants in 1586 and 1590 than it had done in 1577.⁴

The third, and least important, West Riding district to claim our attention consists of a few parishes in the south of Craven. In 1582 Gisburn had 19 recusants, Mitton seven and Gargrave 10, some with their families. In 1586 Mitton with sixteen is the only important centre, while in 1590 Mitton shows only seven and Broughton six recusants. These parishes, substantially to the west of the Pennine barrier, are connected with Lancashire, rather than with Yorkshire, recusancy. On closer examination, the story of romanism in Craven may well be found to have connections with the Percy tradition, always coincident with religious and political reaction in the sixteenth century north, and doubtless in some measure corresponding with great territorial possessions in Craven.⁵ The most notable Craven family appearing in the York books is that of Tempest of Broughton. Isabella, wife of Henry, head of the family, was a natural daughter of Sir Ingram Percy, sixth Earl of Northumberland, and her example of recusancy was apparently followed by her two sons.⁶ In addition, a

These marriages, like most others of this numerous family, typify those complexes of recusant families so common in Yorksire. Cf. on Ingleby lands farmed for recusancy (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 52-3, 56-8).

¹ *Visitations*, p. 280.

² The writer is uncertain as to which of the many contemporary Thomas Fairfaxes is meant. Cuthbert Fairfax of Acaster Malbis and his daughter Mary were apparently reputed recusants in 1567 (Foster, *Yorks. Pedigrees*, i). In the visitation of 1590 Mary and Ralph Fairfax, together with the wife of George Fairfax, are given as recusants under Snainton.

³ *Visitations*, p. 512.

⁴ In 1586 the Ripon list includes 14 persons, who, in some cases together with their families, "do wilfullie resist to here devyne service and to communicate and so have done by the space of one halfe yere and more." (R. vi. A. 9, fos. 98-99 v). In 1590 Ripon had only six recusants (R. vi. A. 10, circa fo. 260).

⁵ On the history of the Percy fee there, cf. Whitaker, *Craven* (ed. Morant), *passim*.

⁶ Cf. the genealogy in *ibid.*, p. 106. Stephen Tempest, junior, a non-communicant in 1590, was presumably her son, the later Sir Stephen. Henry Tempest minor, recusant, was a younger son. All three appeared in court and were ordered to communicate and certify the visitors of their submission. Henry Tempest, senior, had been described as "doubtful" in 1572 (Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

certain George Ashe, gentleman, appears twice in the Mitton lists. The aristocratic element remains, however, much less impressive in Craven than in the two more notable recusant districts of the West Riding.¹

In the North Riding recusancy is largely confined to two distinct areas. One, which may be called the Richmondshire-Allertonshire area, runs from the north-western dales into the upper end of the Vale of York, from Forcett, Grinton and Aysgarth across to Appleton Wiske. The other, perhaps the most remarkable in the whole shire, embraces the eastern strip of Cleveland lying between the high moors and the sea.

It has already been observed that in the first of these areas the numbers of recusants and non-communicants, though still trifling in 1578, became considerable in 1590. At this latter date the principal centres were Forcett (27 recusants), Grinton (37), Stanwick (12) and Appleton Wiske (17),² while small groups existed at Aysgarth, Bolton-on-Swale, Middleton Tyas, Yafforth, Kirkby Ravensworth, Hutton, Rokeby, Muker and Gilling. The local gentry, who with their tenants had afforded much support to the Northern Earls in 1569, are not unrepresented in our visitation book. At Gilling near Richmond appear George Markenfield³ and Jane, wife of Richard Gascoigne.⁴ At Stanwick, George Catterick was in 1590 the only recusant member of a romanist family which figures very prominently in the census of 1604.⁵ At Rokeby all the recusants presented in 1590 were gentlefolk: William

¹ Certain romanist traditions seem to attach to the famous contemporary Sir Richard Sherburn of Stonyhurst, whose magnificent tomb survives in Mitton church. His actions and official career seem clearly, however, to place him on the side of the Settlement (A. Hewitson, *Stonyhurst College*, pp. 6-7; Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5).

² Appleton Wiske, being just inside Cleveland deanery, appears in the York diocese visitation of 1586, when it shows no fewer than 28 recusants.

³ I have noticed no genealogy of this well-known family except that in *Harleian Soc.*, xvi, 196-7, which has inaccuracies and ceases at the previous generation. This George Markenfield may be a son or nephew of the brothers Thomas and John who were attainted (the former executed) for their share in the rising of 1569 (Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 226). William Markenfield, gentleman, appears as a Richmondshire recusant in the list of 1577 (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 38).

⁴ She was the daughter of Richard Norton, famous for his part in 1569, for which he was attainted and died in exile. Her husband Richard was the son of Sir Henry Gascoigne of Sedbury, and father of Sir William Gascoigne (*Visitations*, p. 385). "Jane Gascoigne and her husband," of Sedbury, appear in the list of 1577 (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 38), while the former appears as a widow in the survey of 1604 (Peacock, p. 82).

⁵ His lands were farmed for recusancy in 1592-3 (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 47-9). Cf. *Visitations*, p. 255, and Peacock, pp. 81-2.

and Elizabeth Pudsey¹ and John Rokeby, with his two daughters, Anne and Dorothy.² In the final recusant district, that of eastern Cleveland, the resistance appears to have developed comparatively late in the reign and to have speedily attained considerable significance. In 1582 reaction was not especially marked, Egton with nine recusants being its only centre.³ In 1586, however, Brotton had 19 presentations for recusancy, Egton 13, Hinderwell 10 and Skelton 8. By 1590 the district had become the most reactionary in the shire, Lythe heading the list with 36 recusants, Egton showing 30, Guisborough 14, Eskdale and Hinderwell 12 each, Whitby 10, and Brotton, Skelton and Loftus 8 each. There is abundant evidence outside the York books to indicate that the principal family influence throughout the Elizabethan period was that of the Cholmleys, lords of the Liberty of Whitby Strand.⁴ Their influence, paramount throughout eastern Cleveland, was particularly strong in the Whitby-Eskdaleside-Egton area, where they resided, and was exercised consistently, though not always openly, on the side of reaction.⁵

Heading the list of Whitby recusants in 1590 we find *Domina Katherina Scropp, vidua*. This lady, the daughter of Henry, first Earl of Cumberland, was distinguished alike for her birth, beauty and piety. She had married, first, John Lord Scrope of Bolton, and

¹ William was ostensibly the son of Thomas Pudsey, who died in 1576 as a recusant prisoner in York Castle. For the somewhat complicated religious history of the family see Foley, *op. cit.*, v, 767-70; *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 48; Peacock, pp. 19, 20, 83-5; Nicholls, *Collect. Topog. & Geneal.*, ii, 176-8, and compare the fuller genealogies in Foster, *Yorks. Pedigrees*, ii, and Plantagenet-Harrison, *Hist. Yorks.*, p. 483.

² I suppose this to be the eldest son of Christopher Rokeby of Mortham. This John Rokeby was in the Fleet for his religion in 1584 (*Visitations*, p. 128), but the genealogies assign no daughters to him. John, youngest son of Ralph Rokeby, councillor in the North, had two daughters, but their names are given otherwise in the *Oeconomia Rokebiorum* (Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 177).

³ Here Robert Burton was bound to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the charge that he "dyd contemptuouslie spytt out the wyne att the communion" (R. vi. A. 6, fo. 234); cf. for a similar case, Peacock, p. 1. At Stokesley in 1582 there were ten people who failed to communicate at Easter, but all were dismissed at the instance of the rector, Thomas Cole, who certified that they had by now (July 1582) complied (*ibid.*, fo. 224).

⁴ On the history of the Liberty during this period and the Cholmleys' subsequent struggle against Sir Thomas Hoby for the exercise of its lordship, cf. *Vict. Co. Hist.*, *Yorks.*, *North Riding*, ii, 503-4.

⁵ On the interesting neo-feudal position of the Cholmleys and their attitude to the Elizabethan Settlement, cf. especially R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, pp. 198, 231; Cartwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-3; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Cecil*, xi, 39-40; *Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley* (edn. 1870), pp. 7 seqq. The Brandsby branch of the family in 1604 headed a large knot of recusants (Peacock, p. 120).

secondly, Sir Richard Cholmley, "the great black knight of the North," whose infidelities she had tolerated patiently until his death in 1579.¹ Her son Henry now ruled at Whitby, and while himself attending church, connived at the active recusancy, not only of his mother, but of his wife Margaret, at this period of her life a true daughter of Sir William Babthorpe. Margaret Cholmley fittingly appears next on the Whitby list of 1590 after her august mother-in-law, and was probably already by this time busily engaged in smuggling seminarists wholesale into the country.² Lower down the same list are two minor members of the Fairfax family,³ while closely allied with the Cholmleys is the handful of recusants at Sneaton, led by Margaret, wife of James Strangeways, Esq., and daughter of Sir Richard Cholmley.⁴ The large community of recusants at Lythe appears again to have been led by gentlewomen. They were Lady Anne Neville, youngest daughter of Charles, sixth Earl of Westmorland, now attainted and in exile for his share in the rising of 1569,⁵ and the two daughters of Roger Radcliffe of Mulgrave, Katherine and Jane.⁶ With these names, though they are far from completing a catalogue of gentry presented at the visitations of 1582-90,⁷ we may conclude our brief survey of the recusant districts of Elizabethan Yorkshire and attempt, however tentatively and provisionally, to draw some conclusions as to the causes and character of the phenomenon as a whole.

Despite many survivals of old religious usage, no recusant problem existed during the early years of the reign, when the

¹ *Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley*, pp. 8-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10. Both she and her husband subsequently turned, and remained, protestant.

³ Henry Fairfax and Ursula his wife. I have not yet been able to identify them with complete certainty in the pedigrees.

⁴ Cf. *Visitations*, p. 203. She appears as a recusant as early as 1586.

⁵ She married David Ingleby of Ripley, the well-known recusant and fugitive (Cf. J. W. Clay, *Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties*, p. 149; Cartwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-164; Foley, *op. cit.*, iii, 731; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Cecil*, vii, 105, 300). Her elder sister Margaret, who married Nicholas Pudsey of Barforth, was in 1594 charged with maintaining the seminarist John Bost, but relapsed, under pressure, from romanism (Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, iii, 185-7, 190-1).

⁶ They were half-sisters, Katherine's grandfather being the famous Sir Francis Bigod, executed for his attempt to revive the Pilgrimage of Grace (*Visitations*, p. 206). Her house at Ugthorpe was the haunt of notorious fugitives (Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 171) and her lands were farmed for recusancy in 1592-3 (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 69). Her father Roger was reported on as favourable to the Settlement in 1564 (*Camden Miscellany*, ix, 71).

⁷ We have confined our attentions to gentry who were obviously leaders of local reaction. Many scattered representatives of gentle families whose examples of recusancy were not being in 1582-90 widely followed, we have for the present left out of account.

Papacy had made no pronouncement regarding attendance at the established worship. Even in 1575 there is little evidence of recusancy, though an enquiry made by the Archbishop and Commissioners in 1577 revealed the beginnings of a movement represented in all probability by more than 200 recusants in the shire. This first small development was adequately dealt with by the Ecclesiastical Commission for the northern province, and the outstanding recusants proved negligible in 1578. Between this year, however, and 1582, recusancy spread much more rapidly than hitherto, and from 1582 to 1590 it showed a steady increase in most, though not all, of the districts affected.

During this latter decade recusancy remained in every sense a severely limited phenomenon. Geographically it was to a very large extent limited to the six small districts of the shire above examined. This fact takes more striking form when it is pointed out that, in 1590, 365 recusants out of a total of 806 were concentrated in only 21 parishes out of a total of about 600 parishes. Again, the recusant proportion of the total population undoubtedly remained very small, even within the very parishes which constituted the main centres of recusancy.¹ If the view, a very uncertain view, be adopted that these visitational records omit a fair proportion of actual recusants, a brief comparison with slightly later sources of different origin will indicate that such possible omissions cannot materially affect our argument. The York books for 1590 yield 806 recusants and 302 non-communicants. During the last years of Elizabeth's reign recusancy quite certainly grew with fair rapidity in most regions of England, Yorkshire included. In 1592-3 the recusant roll (which included many persons quite unable to pay the twenty pounds fine with regularity, but probably did not include the poorest recusants, from whom no sort of fine could be hoped) shows just over 800 names.² A return of 1603 gives 720 recusants for the *diocese* of York,³ and one of 1606 1,000 for Yorkshire.⁴ More trustworthy than any of these surveys is that of 1604, which bears every mark of minute care and checking

¹ Even the 37 recusants reported for Grinton in 1590 must have formed a trivial proportion of the population of so large a parish.

² *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xviii, 41 *seqq.* Of these about 788 are on the roll of fines and 34 included as having their lands farmed by the Crown. Cf. on the failure to levy fines B. Magee, *The English Recusants*, ch. v. This work has many useful references, but the present writer would dissent from many of its conclusions.

³ *Brit. Mus. Harleian MS.* 280, pp. 157-72, tabulated in Magee, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁴ *S. P. Dom.*, James I, vol. xiii (52), in Magee, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

sufficient to exclude any possibility of major fraud or blackmail. It includes all save the two wapentakes of Birdforth and Osgoldcross, neither of which was remarkable for recusancy,¹ and was compiled in a peak-year when recusancy showed immense increases.² Nevertheless the total of recusants and non-communicants together stands at only 2,412. These are hard facts and figures beside which the violent impressions of interested contemporaries cut little ice; they should make it impossible for modern controversialist writers to claim that as much as two per cent. of the population of Elizabethan Yorkshire was recusant, since the total communicant population probably lay somewhere in the region of 200,000.³ As Yorkshire was one of the most strongly romanist shires in the country, this minute proportion constitutes a factor of considerable significance for the history of Elizabethan England.

On the causes and character of the movement we may permit ourselves no more than some brief suggestions, mostly implicit in the foregoing examination of the evidence. In 1582-1590, just as in 1604, there existed practically no considerable centres of recusancy where the active support of the local gentry was lacking. Yorkshire recusancy was essentially a resistance of landowners, their tenants and servants; it had insignificant manifestations in the town life and middle classes of the shire.⁴ This feature should occasion no surprise in view of the oft-testified reverence of Tudor northerners for their aristocracy, yet alone it is manifestly insufficient to explain the growth of recusancy in the years following 1578. Abundant evidence is forthcoming to indicate that this growth was substantially the work of the seminary priests and Jesuits, much

¹ Staincross wapentake is also incomplete in the MS., but the omissions are again unlikely to have been of great importance. Pontefract, the place of first importance within Osgoldcross, is actually included as a separate borough. Altogether it is unlikely that the original total can have much exceeded 2,500 recusants and non-communicants.

² Magee, *op. cit.*, p. 38. The main cause was, of course, the relaxation of penalties on the accession of James I.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 83, from Harleian MS. 280. This estimate, doubtless highly approximate, gives 214, 470 communicants for the *diocese* of York, which included Nottinghamshire but not Richmondshire. Half a century previously the chantry surveyors had estimated the communicant population of Doncaster, Sheffield and Rotherham at 2,000 each, Otley at 1,700 and Skipton at 1,300 (*Surtees Soc.*, xcii, 380, 390, 396, 400, 403).

⁴ The steady undercurrent of reaction in Elizabethan York came, of course, from a minute fraction of the citizens. Hull had a dozen recusants in 1586, and probably never many more in our period. Sheffield had 16 non-communicants, probably not all romanists, in 1586, and 9 recusants in 1590. The other larger towns like Pontefract, Wakefield, Halifax, Beverley and Richmond, all show inconsiderable numbers in these visitations.

as these latter doubtless owed to their supporters and harbourers among the gentry. However powerful the influence of the northern aristocracy upon its tenants, however deep-rooted its tradition of resistance to central government, such factors could provide no more than a foundation for the active builders of the Counter Reformation in England. Only in its later stages did the movement become in any large degree a circular one, when the roman catholic families of Yorkshire and Lancashire began themselves to pay a regular tribute of their younger sons to the colleges of Douai and Rome.

On the other hand the seminarist infiltration met in the north an opposition powerful in temporal resources, but weak in spiritual appeal. The Ecclesiastical Commission at York, with its prisons and its financial penalties, certainly deterred all but the boldest from recusancy. Yet the subtler prophylactic of a rival religion remained almost entirely lacking. In the north, the influence of Puritanism had as yet proved slight in the extreme; the precepts and policies of Archbishop Grindal had stirred at most a few isolated echoes in clergy and people; with almost equally few touches of relief, the story of the established church had hitherto proved one of apathy, neglect and decay, of too poor endowments, too few preachers, too many pluralists, too many impropiators allowing chancels to collapse for want of repair. The disciples of Hooker, like those of Cartwright, had not yet come to replace vanished medieval forms with new versions of ancient Christianity. Meanwhile in several hundred Yorkshire households, and more still in Lancashire, another new-old religion, springing from other continental sources, took root through the labours of those heroic missionaries so many of whom suffered in the foul dungeons under the Hull blockhouses or upon the gibbets of Knavesmire.

A final aspect shining out most clearly from our study of Yorkshire recusancy is its lack of organic connection with medieval tradition. Almost unbroken as our northern story of reaction would appear, only the slenderest of threads connect the old reaction with the new. It was primarily to illustrate this fact that we examined in some detail those survivals of medieval religion which came to light in the visitation of 1567-8. Such survivals, we observed, had already almost vanished before the seminary priests got to work in the later 'seventies, and they had been much the most impressive in remote regions like Holderness, where the seminarists made practically no impression and where

recusancy scarcely existed. The districts most prominent for their retention of the relics of medieval religion were actually not those where the Counter Reformation romanist movement had its later successes,¹ while the recusant districts were almost entirely quiescent as late as 1575. Between survivalism and seminarism little or no connection existed; arduous proselytism, not the weight of tradition, accounted for the romanist revival.

Such are the main considerations to which a fairly prolonged, but admittedly incomplete, study of Yorkshire recusancy has led the writer. Insofar as we apply or reject such criteria to the society of other portions of England, our knowledge of Elizabethan, indeed of all modern English, society will have been appreciably advanced. The key to these mysteries we may find in the stories of regions and districts. The all-important saga of Tudor England is not the one we already know, the one constantly retold with wearisome reiteration, the saga of monarchs and theologians, dramatists and seadogs. It is rather the story of a very varied society, grouped on the broad face of the land in a complex of medieval communities and as often as not massively unresponsive to the still small voices of kings, councils, bishops, convocations and parliaments, voices we so often mistake for those of Tudor England.²

¹ It is likewise noteworthy that the areas most prominent in the stirrings of 1536 and 1549 had scarcely any recusants in 1582-90 or in 1604.

² Thirty years ago the German scholar A. O. Meyer wrote of such matters: "Völlig befriedigende Aufklärung kann allerdings nur von der lokal- und provincialgeschichtlichen Einzeluntersuchung kommen." (*England und die Katholische Kirche unter Elizabeth und den Stuarts* (Rome, 1911), p. 48). Our future Tudor studies are indeed likely to show most development along this line.

Table showing numbers of presentations for recusancy (Rec.) and non-communicancy (N.C.) in Yorkshire during the visitations of 1575, 1578, 1582, 1586 and 1590.

DEANERY OR PECULIAR		1575		1578		1582		1586		1590	
		REC.	N.C.	REC.	N.C.	REC.	N.C.	REC.	N.C.	REC.	N.C.
DIOCESE OF YORK	YORK	4	4	0	0	15	4	20	32	14	40
	AINSTY, including Howdenshire	3	0	0	2	144	16	76	29	116	71
	PONTEFRACT, including Snaith in 1590	1	3	2	2	42	23	38	12	32	28
	DONCASTER	0	2	2	3	23	11	20	28	31	19
	CRAVEN	2	5	0	3	41	20	39	11	23	14
	RIPON	—	—	7	0	—	—	16	6	35	1
	CLEVELAND, including Allertonshire	0	6	0	7	26	19	103	13	180	16
	BULMER	1	2	7	0	19	0	31	15	61	16
	RYEDALE	0	2	0	0	1	11	5	4	36	16
	DICKERING	0	0	2	0	2	7	8	3	3	18
	BUCKROSE	0	4	0	0	9	2	1	2	4	4
	HARTHILL, including Hull and Beverley	3	2	1	1	5	26	37	12	34	24
	HOLDERNESS	0	0	0	2	2	12	13	4	18	10
DIOC. OF CHESTER	RICHMOND	—	—	2	8	—	—	—	—	131	12
	CATTERICK	—	—	7	1	—	—	—	—	22	11
	BOROUGHBRIDGE	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	66	2
TOTALS FOR YORK DIOCESE ALONE		14	30	21	20	329	151	417	171	587	277
TOTALS WHERE CHESTER DEANERIES INCLUDED		—	—	32	30	—	—	—	—	806	302

THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF RECUSANCY IN YORKSHIRE, 1604

I. VALIDITY OF THE CENSUS OF 1604.

Yorkshire historians are fortunate indeed to possess one early census of roman catholic recusants probably unique for its period in respect of careful and detailed compilation. It is extant in Bodleian Rawlinson MS. B.452 and was printed with tolerable accuracy by Edward Peacock as early as 1872.¹ Though quite the outstanding Yorkshire document of its period, it has found strangely little utilisation save by those primarily interested in its personal and genealogical aspects. The present article is concerned rather to discover what generalisations may be based upon this survey, to employ its data along the broader lines of social and religious history. The writer desires in particular to answer the questions as to how many recusants and non-communicants lived in Yorkshire at this date 1604, what proportion of the total population they are likely to have constituted, what regions of this extensive shire proved most remarkable for recusancy, what hints may be gleaned regarding the social structure and organisation, if any, of the recusant body. Such matters as these, so vital to English social history, have long been acrimoniously debated in the light of sectarian controversy, to which indeed they remain so largely irrelevant. The fact, for example, as to whether at any period a greater or a lesser number of Englishmen were romanist recusants, or convinced anglicans, seems to my uninstructed mind a singularly naïve type of argument for the validity of either communion. This present enquiry will *per contra* largely concern itself with the pedestrian business of counting and analysing.

Yet before we can handle statistics, we need to clear the ground of certain difficulties which suggest themselves at the very outset to any cautious student. Of such issues the most vital concerns the statistical validity of the survey itself. How far does this document really furnish what it purports to furnish—a full and reliable census of Yorkshire recusants and communicants in the year 1604? The problem proves a trifle more involved than might at first sight appear likely, yet it seems to me not especially difficult to demonstrate that, when certain slight allowances have been made, a reasonably complete and definitive statistical picture

¹ *A List of Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604*, ed. E. Peacock. This printed version is hereafter referred to simply as "Peacock." I have checked some passages against the original and found no cause for complaint except a few mistranscriptions or misprints of proper names unlikely to mislead knowledgeable students.

emerges. For the sake of clarity, I enumerate my reasons for this belief as follows :—

(1) We know little regarding the origins of this census, which, so far as I am aware, deposited no parallel documents for other shires. Gardiner appears to connect it with Whitgift's order of June 1603 to the bishops,¹ while the editor of the West Riding Sessions Rolls thinks it to have been compiled in obedience to Canon 114 of 1603.² Yet this is surely no ecclesiastical survey by dioceses and deaneries; it is a lay survey carried out in April 1604³ by the justices of the peace for each wapentake of the shire. The whole is carefully divided into wapentakes and liberties, each of these concluding with the names of the local justices who certified the correctness of the return in question. These justices had clearly based their returns upon the evidence submitted by the parish officials throughout their jurisdictions and in most cases they had forwarded these actual parish certifications to higher authority for consolidation. Some slight irregularities are carefully noted by the compiler of this final version, now constituting our Bodleian manuscript. In three of these cases the justices had failed to forward the actual signed certifications of their parish officials,⁴ while in a fourth case the presentments were "not certified by anie Justices of peace, but by the ministers, constables and churchwardens under there owne handes."⁵ Now it appears highly unlikely, that, by the year 1604, justices or parish officials could under these conditions have accomplished violent falsifications of their returns. With but few exceptions, justices suspected of favouritism had long been excluded from the commission of the peace. It would likewise prove difficult to build up a case of evasion against any particular suspect. Few families, for example, had used their territorial influence more pointedly for romanism than the Cholmleys. Yet Sir Henry Cholmley joins as local J.P. in the return for Whitby; despite his recusant relatives, he had probably by this time thoroughly conformed⁶ and in any case he here presents 23 recusants, one 'retainer' of recusants, three cases of secret marriage and a private baptism.⁷ Meanwhile at Bransby the recusant members of the Cholmley family are themselves duly presented as offenders, together with a number of their servants, and the intriguing notes :

"*Strang persons reteyned* : Memorandum that many straining persons repaire to the house of Mrs Ursaley Cholmley, which come not to the church and there hath bene seminaries kept in her house.

¹ *History of England*, i, 144. Whitgift's order is printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 368 and seems connected with the diocesan surveys in Harleian MS. 280, mentioned below.

² *Y.A.S., Rec. Ser.*, iii, p. xxv.

³ The East Riding return is headed 'April xxiiij, 1604' (Peacock, p. 122).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 114, 122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁶ Cf. below p. 192.

⁷ Peacock, pp. 109-110. Questions of marriage and baptism by catholic priests are discussed below.

Secret marriage: Richard Cholmley Esquier maryed with Mary Hungate in the presence of John Wilson, William Martin, Hugh Hope & Christopher Danyell in a fell with a popishe priest, as they here."¹

Elsewhere we find the Lord Mayor of York Thomas Herbert² joining to present his recusant brother Cristopher, "sometymes remayning at the Lord Maior his house, but cometh not to church."³ The Allertonshire justices dutifully report that they dare not deal with certain places owing to the plague then raging,⁴ while those of Langbargh are careful to report the evasion of a Stokesley churchwarden, who "being sworne refused to ioyne in the presentment because he knew more than the rest as is supposed."⁵ Even sojourners and visitors to the parish were liable to be reported. We thus find that at Hooton Pagnell "they present John Gifford of Chichester Esqr. being lord of that manor of Hutton Pannell, that he remayned there from the 2 of Aprill till the 17 of the same and came not to the church"⁶ Altogether it seems quite impossible to peruse these presentments without acquiring the conviction that, in those areas included, the picture is as fully and carefully drawn as any we could hope to find.

(2) At this point it may well be objected that certain wapentakes are actually omitted from the survey. Which are these, and what difference to the result would their inclusion have made? Those missing are Birdforth and Pickering Lythe⁷ in the North Riding, together with Osgoldcross⁸ and part of Staincross⁹ in the West Riding. Yet, as it happens, none of these areas was ever significant for its romanist leanings: none of them possessed a single one of the major centres of recusancy in our Elizabethan episcopal visitations.¹⁰ Indeed, applying this useful test, I discovered that of all the 29 Yorkshire parishes most notable for recusancy in these visitations of 1575-1590, no less than 26 are fully represented in our survey of 1604, while the remainder might well have ceased to produce any recusants in the meantime.¹¹ As

¹ Peacock, p. 121.

² On Herbert's brave conduct during the plague of this year 1604, cf. *Y.A.J.*, i, 186-7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 59. A Whitby man even presented his wife for recusancy; on second thoughts, I refrain from citing this as an example of impartiality!

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Cf. p. 24, the even more pointed case of William Blackstone, gent.

⁷ Fyling, Eskdale, Ugglebarnby and Sneaton are given (pp. 114-17) under the heading "Pickering Lythe," whereas they more properly belong to Whitby Strand. Meanwhile the actual parishes of Pickering Lythe are missing.

⁸ Pontefract, geographically within it, is actually given as a separate liberty.

⁹ Part of these entries, being on the first leaves of the MS., have been lost or injured.

¹⁰ Kilvington in Birdforth actually shows a handful of recusants in these visitations.

¹¹ The Elizabethan visitations are dealt with above, pp. 159 seqq.

regards these wapentakes or portions of wapentakes missing from the survey, they represent, in respect of area and population, say about three out of 27 comparable portions of Yorkshire. In respect of actual *recusant population* they certainly represent a great deal less: the recovery of their presentments would be most unlikely to increase our total of recusants by more than a few scores.

(3) A criticism less formidable, yet one which might conceivably be used to impugn the completeness of the survey, is the fact that less than two thirds of the parishes of Yorkshire are specifically mentioned or otherwise clearly accounted for. Yet this fact does not arise from the mere omission of such parishes from the purview of the justices. In the North Riding, where the tale of parishes proves singularly complete, its completeness is clearly accounted for by the specific mention of the numerous blameless parishes under the heading of *omnia bene*. Yet in the other two Ridings, which both, incidentally, contained a far smaller proportion of recusants than the North Riding, these *omnia bene* parishes simply do not occur at all. It is quite impossible to explain the omission of so many parishes other than by the suggestion that they were *omnia bene*, especially so in the East Riding, where most omissions occur, since we know from a multitude of sources that recusancy always remained negligible throughout the East Riding.¹ We must recall in this connection that our Bodleian manuscript is a book compiled, seemingly in the hand of one official, from the presentments of the Yorkshire justices and their parish officials. It does not consist of the actual presentments themselves. In one place, for example, the scribe, or the justices themselves, summarise the evidence by saying, "the rest of the parsons, viccars &c. within the other parishes of the wapontack of Langbarghe certifie *omnia bene*."² Again, we hear that "the certificate for Holdernes before mentioned was made by Sir Lancelot Alford knight and John Alred Esquier under theire handes, being by them reduced into a breife noote, but not any of thoriginall presentmentes themselves being certefied."³ The missing *omnia bene* parishes presumably vanished even at this early stage of compilation. All these features, added to the fact that practically all the known earlier centres of Yorkshire recusancy do actually appear, distinctly forbid any theory that prominent recusant parishes may have been omitted through the carelessness or intrepid favouritism of the justices—such theory being in itself, we need hardly add, of a most improbable order.

(4) If our hypothesis of a tolerably complete return be correct, we should expect to find in this census a very considerably larger number of recusants and non-communicants than we find in other lists made with less elaborate machinery or at periods when recusants were less numerous than in 1604. This

¹ With the exception of the Hemingborough area, of which more below.

² Peacock, p. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

anticipation is definitely satisfied by all the comparisons I have been enabled to make. Three such parallels immediately suggest themselves.

(a) With the episcopal Visitation Books in the York Diocesan Registry. The fullest visitations of which I possess at present accurate statistics are those of 1590, which included all the deaneries of Yorkshire, even the three which lay in Chester diocese. They appear to attempt completeness, comprising all parishes and all types of recusants, not merely the more notable ones. They yield a total of 806 recusants and 302 non-communicants.¹

(b) With the Recusant Roll of 1592-3,² from which we can only expect a list of those upon whom the exchequer was seriously endeavouring to impose the enormous monthly fine of £20, or alternatively to sequesterate, under 28 Eliz. cap. 6, two-thirds of their lands. From the various Yorkshire sections of this roll I count a grand total of some 812 names of both classes, but a number of duplications appear and this number may have to be materially reduced.

(c) With the diocesan returns of recusants made in 1603 and now extant in B.M. Harleian MS. 280, pp. 157-172. According to the calculation of another writer,³ there were then found to be 720 recusants (300 men; 420 women) in the diocese of York, which, though lacking Richmondshire, did include the presumably more populous, if less romanist, shire of Nottingham.⁴

Now the above surveys, with the exception of the Recusant Roll, are intended to be full and careful censuses for their dates and areas. Yet they are vastly exceeded by our census of 1604, which, as we shall shortly calculate, includes about 2454 recusants and non-communicants together, of whom 622 are only non-communicants.

In making such comparisons we should, however, keep in mind one other factor, namely that the early months of the year 1604 probably represent a peak-period of recusancy, various events since the accession of the new monarch having greatly increased catholic hope and confidence.⁵ Indeed, a leading objective of this survey was clearly to assess the *recent* growth of recusancy; the character of the returns proves that the articles of enquiry demanded the separate listing of *new* recusants, i.e., those commencing their refusal since the accession of King James, just over a year ago. It is hence possible to calculate the number of these recent additions to the recusant body—they total about 569,

¹ Cf. above, p. 184.

² Printed in *Catholic Record Society*, xviii.

³ B. Magee, *The English Recusants*, p. 83. This book gives a mass of useful references, but accepts tendentious reports and elaborates involved calculations, which should be regarded with every reserve.

⁴ Limited comparison is also afforded by the West Riding Sessions Rolls. Cf. below, p. 191. The indictments of 1598 appear a strong local drive, but the total falls short of that attained for the same locality in the census of 1604.

⁵ On this topic, cf. Gardiner, *History of England*, i, chap. iii.

of whom 170 were non-communicant only. Seen thus in isolation the survey might thus lead us to exaggerate, rather than to minimise, the strength of recusancy viewed as a permanent problem of the age, since, if my contentions be justified, we find here a reliable and tolerably complete census of Yorkshire recusancy at one of the more pronounced periods of its earlier development.

II. RECUSANT FIGURES AND PERCENTAGES.

Armed with the foregoing knowledge, we may now turn with the right degree of confidence to the specific figures, which may perhaps find clearest presentation in tabular form. In perusing or checking these figures it should be recalled that they have been compiled by laborious counting and the consideration of individual doubtful cases, since Jacobean administrators, though far beyond those gross 'medieval' inaccuracies over large figures, did not always reduce their information to the symmetry (perhaps illusory) which marks the labours of modern bureaucracy. Hence, though no major deviations are possible, no two calculators would be likely to attain precisely identical figures. A good many equivocal cases appear, for example, amongst the non-communicants, a fair proportion of whom were probably not romanists. In all really doubtful cases, I have given the recusant body the benefit of the doubt, since I wished to envisage the maximum possible, rather than the minimum possible, scope of the recusant problem in Yorkshire.

In the left-hand column of the Table we find the several wapentakes and liberties, in the order of the document itself. In the next column appear the totals of mere non-communicants, those who while attending mattins and evensong to avoid the grievous penalties of recusancy,¹ nevertheless could not overcome their scruples sufficiently to participate in actual Communion, which to more than one exacerbated victim seemed no less than "the cup of devils." In the third column appears the most important figure, the total of both recusants and non-communicants *together*. The fourth column contains the numbers of "new" offenders, i.e., those described as recusant or non-communicant only since the accession of King James in March 1603 or "for one year." Finally the right-hand column notes the main centres of romanism—those parishes which show ten or more offenders, together with the actual figure for each.

Thus we arrive at our totals for the whole shire: 2461 recusants and non-communicants *together*, of whom 622 are non-communicants only, and some 569 have broken the law only since the setting of that bright Occidental Star, Queen Elizabeth. These totals need but a small estimated addition to compensate for the missing wapentakes, which, as already indicated, comprised a very small proportion of the shire and contained no major centres of recusancy. All things considered, I should be inclined to

¹ The test of actual communion was established in 1605 by 3 Jac. cap. 4.

WEST RIDING AND YORK.

Wapentakes, etc.	N.Cs.	Recs. and N.Cs.	Since 1603	Main Centres of Recusancy
Staincross	2	25	—	Cawthorne 14.
Strafforth and Tickhill ..	12	60	—	(Unnamed, 16). Sheffield 13.
Agbrigg and Morley ..	12	48	13	
Skyrack	12	57	20	Barwick 31, Leeds 14.
Staincliffe and Ewcross ..	27	81	7	Mitton 18, Thornton 15.
Barkstone Ash	35	117	11	Carlton 25, Drax 14, Saxton 13, Birkin 11, Fenton 10, Sherburn 10, Ledsham 10.
Claro (including Ripon Liberty)	151	483	93	Ripon 120, Kirkby Malzeard 92, Ripley 64, Spoforth 27, Knaresborough 24, Farnham 20, Burton Leonard 12, Staveley 10, Pateley Bridge 12, Boroughbridge 10.
Pontefract .. .	11	12	11	
Doncaster	—	4	1	
York and Ainsty ..	26	81	27	
TOTAL	288	968	183	

EAST RIDING.

Wapentakes, etc.	N.Cs.	Recs. and N.Cs.	Since 1603	Main Centres of Recusancy
Holderness	11	50	13	Skeckling and Burstwick 10.
Hedon	—	2	—	
Hull and Liberties ..	9	23	11	
Beverley	3	4	1	
Harthill	2	66	31	Bubwith 25.
Howdenshire	3	22	8	
Ouse and Derwent ..	24	81	3	Hemingborough, 61. ¹
Buckrose	1	5	—	
Dickering	3	6	2	
TOTAL	56	259	69	

¹ Including all the townships of the parish, Cliffe cum Lund, Osgodby, Barlby, South Duffield, Woodhall, etc., given separately in the survey (Peacock, pp. 139-40).

NORTH RIDING.

Wapentakes, etc.	N.Cs.	Recs. and N.Cs.	Since 1603	Main Centres of Recusancy
Richmond Parish ..	—	15	3	
Hang West	49	121	18	Grinton with Muker 70, Wensley 14.
Gilling East	12	54	15	Manfield 19, Danby Wiske 17, Middleton Tyas 16.
Hang East	46	109	21	Masham 86.
Gilling West	115	271	41	Stanwick St. John 106, Forcett 53, Melsonby 31, Kirkby Ravensworth 27, Barningham 21.
Halikeld	8	19	7	
Allertonshire	18	77	4	Thornton-le-Street 19, Worsall 14.
Langbargh	10	341	128	Egton 55, Guisborough 39, Lythe 30, Stokesley 29, Brotton 28, Kirk Leaving- ton 26, Loftus 20, Cra- thorne 18, Skelton 18, Whorlton 11, Appleton-on- Wiske 10.
Whitby	—	23	2	
Ryedale	11	65	33	Hovingham 37.
"Pickering Lythe" ¹ ..	2	72	21	Eskdale 30, Fylingdales 27
Bulmer	7	67	24	Brandsby 20.
TOTAL	278	1234	317	

suggest an amended grand total of about 2600 offenders. Hence, speaking in the broadest terms and allowing for all possible inaccuracies, concealments and clerical omissions I find it impossible to escape the overwhelming probability that the *actual* total of Yorkshire recusants and communicants in that peak year 1604 must have lain well below a figure of 3,000.

How does this figure compare with the whole population of Yorkshire during those earliest years of the seventeenth century? Here we enter upon ground where angels might fear to tread, and I do not recall off hand any serious attempt by Yorkshire archaeologists (who usually lack anything like angelic temerity!) to assess the population of their shire at so early a date. So long, however, as we realise that it professes only the widest approxima-

¹ But cf. above p. 187.

tion, an estimate should not at this stage be shirked.¹ Two rough and ready, yet quite independent lines of approach suggest themselves to me: should they converge, we may at least be on the right track.

(1) Various sources point to a figure between three and four millions as likely for the total population of England in 1600.² What proportion of this whole is Yorkshire likely to have contributed? This Yorkshire proportion becomes computable in the Hearth Books of 1690 when the shire, out of a total of 1,319,215 *houses* in England and Wales, has 121,052 or nearly a tenth.³ I see no reason to suppose that Yorkshire's proportion radically altered between 1604 and 1690⁴ and this approach would suggest 300-350,000 as a conservative estimate for the total population of Yorkshire at the date of our recusancy survey.

(2) We have already referred to the diocesan returns of 1603 in Harleian MS. 280. They appear to have been compiled with some care from parish data and yield the very sensible total of 2,250,765 *communicants* in England and Wales.⁵ Of these communicants 214,470 are given to the diocese of York, which, as already observed, may have been a trifle more populous than the actual shire. Now the difference between the number of communicants (mainly persons over or approaching 16) and the total population would then be very considerable—probably an addition of more than 50 per cent. would be necessary to arrive at a total population figure. Accepting, as I think we must, some addition of this order, we again arrive at a figure somewhat in excess of 300,000 as the population of Yorkshire at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Hence, our two independent lines of investigation do in fact coincide admirably. Rough as they are, it is unlikely that by further investigation we can much better them at this early period and they will serve our present purpose well enough. And now what of our recusant and non-communicant figures? With what sort of overall population figure would it be appropriate to

¹ The writer, who would be grateful to receive any additional suggestions, reserves the right to modify these passages in the light of fuller information and maturer thought.

² Cunningham (*English Industry and Commerce*, i, 331 note) follows cautious calculations when he speaks of the population as between 2 and 3 millions from Henry VII to Elizabeth. On the other hand, by the end of the 17th century several more or less scientific contemporary estimates are available. King says 5½ millions, Petty from 6 to over 7 millions, Davenant, 7-8 millions and Barbon 7 millions (Lipson, *Econ. Hist. Eng.*, iii, 165). The period between these calculators and Elizabeth had been one of steady growth and one would hazard a conjecture that in 1604 the English numbered nearer 4 millions than 3. The Spanish Ambassador Gondomar estimated our population in 1618 as 3,600,000.

³ Cf. the table in Cunningham, *op. cit.*, iii, 936. Yorkshire's total exceeds that of London (111, 215) and more than doubles that of either of the next two counties, Devon and Norfolk.

⁴ Allowing for such factors as the rapid growth of Stuart London, the Yorkshire proportion may have been higher, rather than less, in 1604.

⁵ I rely again on the figures as tabulated by Mr. Magee (*op. cit.*, p. 83).

compare them? Surely not with the gross total population of over 300,000, since, though our survey does occasionally mention offenders as young as 10 or 11 years of age,¹ we cannot suppose it to comprise any significant part of the younger children of recusant families. Hence it would surely seem fairer to the recusants to compare their total with some such figure as 200,000, the approximate total of *communicants* in the shire. And let us also be liberal to the point of rashness at the other end of the scale;—let us suppose our recusants and non-communicants approached 3,000 in number. What then do we find? That even on such a basis of comparison the Yorkshire recusants and non-communicants at that peak-year 1604 cannot have comprised as much as 1½ per cent. of the people of Yorkshire! Certain recent writers, after very complicated and, in my opinion, very flimsy calculations on the basis of estimates infinitely more shadowy in character than our Yorkshire survey, have argued for percentages vastly in excess of this. Whether, approximate as they are, the above sources and deductions are more solid than theirs, I am very content to leave students to judge for themselves. A recusant plus non-communicant population of only 1½ per cent. in Yorkshire in 1604 proves no doctrinal or spiritual truths. Yet it does throw real light upon the social and political history of England, since this shire stood in respect of its romanist intensity among the first half-dozen of the kingdom.

III. THE DISTRIBUTION OF RECUSANCY.

To historians of Yorkshire, such considerations as this last remain in one sense matters of subsidiary importance, since an area so large and so diverse in its religious and social history cannot very profitably be regarded as a homogeneous whole. As indicated by the present writer on a previous occasion, Yorkshire romanism remained throughout the Elizabethan period strikingly localised within certain limited portions of the shire. And such we still find to be the case in the year 1604. A comparison between my earlier map based on the Elizabethan visitations and the map herewith printed shows that the hard core of resistance existed as before only in four areas:

(1) The north-eastern coastal strip—the moorland and fishing parishes in Langbargh and Whitby Strand. Hereabouts we observe the piquant spectacle of a rivalry between the puritan Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby of Hackness and the Cholmleys, who, though for the most part catholics or crypto-catholics, vigorously defended against him their hereditary rights to the bailiwick of Whitby Strand,² an area notorious as a place of entry into the kingdom for seminarists and of egress for catholic refugees. In February 1599 Hoby wrote to his cousin Cecil, 'the place I

¹ "John Holmes gent. of the age of x or xj yeres, son to Mres Holmes of Brampton in the parish of Wathe. A recusant" (Peacock, p. 2; I have verified this item in the original).

² For an account, cf. *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks., North Riding*, ii, 503-4.

have referred to, being situated along the sea coast, is of the more danger, having in it sundry creeks fit to receive such persons as come for evil intents, who do ever shun great ports.¹ In a subsequent letter (February, 1601) Hoby sketches the neo-feudal position still maintained by the Cholmleys in this liberty, 'all which lieth in the most dangerous parts of Yorkshire for hollow hearts, for popery.'² These contentions of a hostile observer are partially confirmed by Sir Hugh Cholmley's later memoirs of his own family, in a passage we propose to quote later in another connection. Yet even in this area, we should beware of exaggerating the recusant problem beyond its due proportions, remembering that it suited not only the religious views but the temporal interests of men like Hoby to exaggerate the recusant peril in their reports to the government. If, for example, we turn from Sir Thomas Hoby to his wife Lady Margaret, whose highly informative diary covering the period 1599-1605 was published a few years ago,³ we certainly fail to receive the impression that this peril dominated the everyday life of Hackness manor house. Here if anywhere we should expect to hear much of the problem, yet during these years of its climax, Lady Hoby, so far as I observe, only mentions it once in 1599, when her husband searched a house for papists,⁴ and again only in April-May 1605 when Hoby received letters from the Privy Council concerning recusants,⁵ attended a meeting at "Fyling church" to take order against them and sat on a recusant commission at Snainton.⁶ Otherwise the wife of this Puritan notable walked daily apparently unattended, in the lonely dales of this allegedly dangerous area; the manifold struggles of material existence and the constant spiritual disciplines of strict puritanism fill almost the whole of her very detailed picture. Even in the Liberty of Whitby Strand the texture of everyday life was emphatically not woven of religious plots and feuds.

(2) A part of Richmondshire, mainly speaking certain rather obscure parishes in the Gilling West wapentake between Richmond and the borders of Durham, but also extending into Swaledale. Thirty-five years previously this area had become deeply involved in the Revolt of the Northern Earls and had then been described by one of Burghley's correspondents as "above the residew of the shire" in its reactionary efforts.⁷ Now in all probability it was much

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., Cecil*, ix, 68.

² *Ibid.*, xi, 39-40. Compare also the important letter in S. P. Dom. Eliz., cclxxvii, no 99, where Cecil's informant says that "twenty miles along the coast the people are wholly defected from religion and resist all warrants and officers that come amongst them." Cf. also the passages quoted regarding Grosmont Priory in *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks., North Riding*, ii, 345.

³ *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, ed. D. M. Meads (1930).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁷ J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters of Yorkshire History*, p. 144. This correspondent is referring to Richmond, Thirsk, "and the townes adioyninge." On the distribution of rebels and executions in 1569-70, see H. B. McCall in *Y.A.J.*, xviii.

less solidly defiant than some writers suppose. In this connection account should be taken of the enormous size of many of these Richmondshire parishes. The total of 70 offenders in Grinton parish¹ may appear at first sight impressive, yet it extended over 52,081 acres, included the townships of Grinton, Melbecks, Muker and Reeth, which in turn contained the hamlets and villages of Feetham, Gunnerside, Kearton, Lodge Green, Low Row, Pot Ing, Angram, Keld, Thwaite, Birkdale, East and West Stonesdale, Oxhop, Ravneseat, Satron, Fremington and Healaugh.² Though in the last century the parishioners numbered only about 2,000, they may well have attained some comparable figure in the seventeenth century. Seventy recusants and non-communicants among a scattered population numbering at least several hundreds represent a thin sprinkling over a great area. The same principle applies to such great parishes as Kirkby Ravensworth and Barn-ingham, though it may be conceded that Stanwick St. John, a smaller parish strongly influenced by the Catterick family, was then perhaps the most distinctly romanist village in Yorkshire.

A striking aspect of the Richmondshire figures remains the local tendency towards non-communicancy as opposed to total recusancy. It will be observed that 222 out of a total of 278 North Riding non-communicants are to be found in the four Richmondshire wapentakes, whereas in Langbargh, where the incidence of recusancy proved on the whole heavier, the number of non-communicants appears quite negligible. In this latter area there is reason to suppose that the recent influx and success of the seminarists, who would undoubtedly press for complete rejection of the state church, was at this moment exceptionally strong.

(3) A district between Masham to the north and Spofforth to the south, nearly all of it in the wapentake of Claro, an area described to Cecil in 1598 as "the worst part of Yorkshire for recusancy."³ Here again non-communicants are very numerous in certain parishes. All save six of the 92 offenders at Kirkby Malzeard are content with this form of resistance, presumably following the example of the many local gentry who appear there. Likewise at Spofforth, half the offenders imitate their leader Sir Edward Plumptre, a non-communicant, and not his recusant wife.

In this area again, we should beware of over-estimating the density of the actively romanist population.

Ripon, Boroughbridge, Knaresborough, Stainley, Nidd, Ripley and Hampsthwaite had all shown a fair number of recusants in the Elizabethan period, but again many of these were populous parishes wherein actual recusants can at no period be

¹ Including those of Muker, given separately.

² *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks., N.R., i., 236.*

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., Cecil, viii, 173.* The writer is pleading for the appointment of preaching clergy to the Ripon prebends, as "the people continue in extreme obstinacy and are feared to become very dangerous."

shown to have constituted more than a tiny proportion of the population. Interesting light on prosecutions for recusancy in this area is thrown by the West Riding Sessions Rolls of 1598,¹ which show 121 persons from Claro parishes being indicted for recusancy at Wetherby Sessions. With four exceptions these are all common people, yeomen, artisans, labourers and their womenfolk, the general picture in most parishes corresponding fairly closely with that in our survey of 1604. This is clearly another full list for certain parishes at least, not a mere attack on romanist notabilities; the indictments are actually laid not under 23 Eliz. cap. 1 with its £20 fine, but merely under the Act of Uniformity entailing on conviction a fine of one shilling per week²

(4) An area between Leeds and Howdenshire, largely consisting of certain parishes in Barkston Ash, but including a major and long-standing knot of recusants in the great parish of Hemingborough, the home of the famous Babthorpe family and the only remarkable centre of resistance in the East Riding.³ Here again we are dealing with large, populous places and with this latter exception the actual communities of recusants remain small and scattered.

Throughout the vast remainder of Yorkshire, recusancy shows but the thinnest distribution—its sparsity may already have been observed from the fact that just over half the total number of offenders are to be found in the four wapentakes of Barkston Ash (plus Hemingborough), Claro, Gilling West and Langbargh, even though these four do not very neatly comprise the actual four recusant areas. Again, it might be observed that 824 offenders, or more than one-third of the total, came from only 15 of the 600 or so parishes of the shire. Such localisation we should bear in mind when making those rather loose statements to the effect that "Yorkshire" stood among the most strongly romanist counties. In so many of its historical aspects, Yorkshire proves so large and so heterogeneous as to defy the type of generalisation that one makes of the average-sized shires of England. To explain this localisation of recusancy would lead us into involved local and personal considerations; we should need to trace the development of communities in individual parishes, the activities of particular seminary priests, above all the active or covert support given to missionary work by the great catholic families of Yorkshire. Yet to embark fully upon these matters can be no part of the present essay, which must conclude by mention of a few notable factors in recusant society revealed by our survey of 1604.

¹ *Y.A.S., Rec. Ser.*, iii.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xx-xxv, 51. In the same year odd recusants, even though poor men, might be charged under *both* statutes. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 91, 122. I presume the justices were anxious to avoid the embarrassment of having to imprison very large batches of convicted persons for non-payment of fines.

³ Much will be found on the religious and personal history of the Babthorpes in Burton's *History and Antiquities of Hemingborough*, ed. Raine.

IV. SOME FEATURES OF RECUSANT SOCIETY

The latter document yields in fact a good deal more than mere lists of recusants and non-communicants, the articles of enquiry having demanded reports on clandestine baptisms and marriages, on notable proselytisers and active agents of romanism, on unlicensed schoolmasters suspected of romanist tendencies.

Some 85 or more children, in some places several from one family, are reported as secretly baptised, though at what precise time is seldom stated. Nearly all these were the children of actual recusants who had either baptised their offspring privately or were suspected of procuring their baptism by seminary priests. Bartholomew George of Stokesley for example, "had a childe borne in January last which he refused to bring to the church to be baptized and since, as they heare, it was baptized secretlie at Mr. Barthram house, with some popish priest, for two strangers were sene ther in the night tyme suspected to be preistes."¹ Marriages thought to have been secretly solemnized by catholic priests also proved comparatively common, some 47 cases, a few of doubtful authenticity, being reported in the survey. After the Cholmley marriage to which reference has already been made, perhaps the most interesting of these suspect marriages is reported under Naburne parish, where Sir George and Lady Katherine Palmes have been cited into the Consistory Court at York "to prove there mariage, vehemently suspected to have bene married by some popishe priest."² One would gladly learn the result of this citation, the more so since Lady Katherine was none other than Katherine Babthorpe, daughter of those famous witnesses to the roman catholic faith, Sir Ralph and Lady Grace Babthorpe.³ In our survey, Sir Ralph and his son Sir William both appear at Osgodby as non-communicants, their wives Grace and Ursula⁴ as recusants. The times were still comparatively distant when Ralph and Grace, the latter in her widowhood a nun, were both to die in the Low Countries and when Sir William, crippled by fines and forfeitures, would sell the family estates and perish overseas fighting for the Spaniards.⁵ Of all the great catholic families of Yorkshire this one presents the most picturesque and exemplary tale.

The survey likewise presents a number of persons as "seducers" of others or as "maintainers" of known recusants. In a handful of cases, these last are noted as likely to be seminarists in disguise. In Ripley parish "they present that there hath bene at dyvers tymes within these xij monethes resort of strangers as

¹ Peacock, p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, p. 141. Sir George, his wife and mother are also presented as recusants and his father John Palmes Esq. as a non-communicant.

³ Cf. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 316 *seqq.*

⁴ *Née* Tyrwhitt of Kettleby, Lincs., a well-known catholic family with whom Sir Ralph occasionally took refuge.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, gives the details. Sir William actually sold the manor of Osgodby to Sir Guy Palmes of the other and junior branch of that family. For both branches see *Glover's Visitation of Yorks.*, ed. Foster, pp. 90-91.

it is verily thought of semynary priests to Newton Hall. And one of the priestes is named by the name of Salter and to that house do resort in great companys many of the recusantes aforesaid. In which house it is thought there be sundry conveyances and secret dennes."¹ Needless to say, the Ingleby family and their kinsmen the Yorkes are prominent in this strongly romanist parish. John Ingleby, whose elder brother Francis had been executed as a seminary priest in 1586, had married Katherine sister of Sir Ralph Babthorpe² and both appear here as long-standing recusants together with several of their servants.

More interesting still are the returns regarding unlicensed schoolmasters, since they afford some hints on that numerous but very obscure class of teachers outside the endowed grammar schools, which latter usually absorb all the attentions of historians of education. Staincliff and Ewcross wapentake for example presented the names of various schoolmasters who may have been unlicensed, but are not stated to be recusants. From this fortunate chance we learn that recognised schoolmasters were in action at Burnsall,³ Kirkby, Gargave, Thornton-in-Craven, Bolton and Slaidburn, at which last place three schoolmasters are enumerated.⁴ At Sheffield are named no less than six schoolmasters who "come not to the church,"⁵ a curious phenomenon not necessarily connected with romanism, since the offending pedagogues show no apparent relationships with the trivially small list of Sheffield recusants. Throughout the whole shire, ten teachers, one of them a woman,⁶ are definitely noted as recusants and of these six were private tutors employed by catholic gentlemen.⁷ "George Egleseme a Scottishe man, a scolemaster wich teacheth the children of Sir Thomas Reresby"⁸ at Thribergh was identified by Peacock—perhaps rather precipitately—with George Eglisam, the turbulent and quarrelsome Scottish physician and poet who later accused Buckingham of poisoning James I.⁹ Another schoolmaster, Christopher Newstead, presented as non-communicant at Hutton Bonville, occupied an interesting intermediate position, being "by Richard Stockdale retheyned to teach the youth of the parishe."¹⁰

¹ Peacock, p. 49.

² *Glover's Visitation*, p. 600. John and Francis were sons of the elder Sir William Ingleby (*ibid.*, p. 283).

³ Sir William Craven founded the Grammar School here in 1612.

⁴ Peacock, pp. 20-21. We also find at Minskip "Francis Barwick being a poor man doth teach children to write and rede" (*ibid.*, p. 51).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ Lucy, wife of Thomas Scaife of Huntington: "she also teacheth children; a recusant since 25 Marcii 1603 and not before" (*ibid.*, p. 118).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 13, 43, 78, 86, 97 (probably an ancestor of the martyr Nicholas Postgate), 128.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6. Reresby himself was a J.P. during the later years of Elizabeth, but his wife is here represented as evading communion.

⁹ Eglisam has since been the subject of an article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He spent his early years largely in Scotland and at Louvain but owing to extreme lack of evidence before about 1612 it seems impossible definitely to confirm or to deny this tempting identification.

¹⁰ Peacock, p. 93. Stockdale also had a recusant wife.

Much other miscellaneous information regarding the catholic gentry and their households might be gleaned from the survey, which requires, of course, integration with other sources, with the state papers, with family histories and genealogies, with the valuable collections of the seventeenth-century martyrologist Father Grene.¹

Again, our survey confirms previous evidence that in the principal recusant districts of Yorkshire, the catholics did not offer resistance merely in small isolated groups, but had effected some degree of organisation. At Birkin, for example, we hear of "a running recusant: John Baxter, alias John of no parish, he resorteth often to the houses of John Cowper and Henry Watkyn of West Hadlesey. See presentment of Shereburne for him."² Turning hence to Sherburn, we find, "Running recusant or messenger among them. They also present that there is one John, a Tayler whose surname they cannot lerne, but commonly is called John of no parish, which hath resorted to the house of the said Agnes Rawson for those 7 years or more and is thought to be a dangerous fellow and a common messenger from one recusant to an other, and never came to the church."³ These very active agents may as commonly have been women, like this notorious widow Agnes Rawson, who "hath had semynaries or Jesuytes dyvers tymes resorting to her house and that some of her servants have confessed that they found dyvers things in her barne, as cope, chalice, bookes and such like thinges as they use for masse, but the names of the priestes they know not."⁴

At Asselby in Howdenshire there lived Ellen Nutburne, servaunt unto the said Laurence Craven (himself a "new" recusant) . . . a pestilent seducer of others and a common intelligencer."⁵ Such cases serve to remind us of the fact—one obvious in almost every recusant community in our survey—that women recusants far outnumbered the men, a phenomenon due perhaps in part to a certain uncompromising piety and religious conservatism characteristic rather of the female mind, but also in large measure to more mundane motives. For whereas the male recusant stood liable to forfeit two-thirds of his lands on the non-payment of £20 per month, no very regular forfeitures seem to have been exacted in respect of recusant wives until the passage of the act of 1609, by which their husbands were made liable to one half of these penalties for their recusancy.⁶ We are reminded of those passages in which Sir Hugh Cholmley later described the affairs of his ancestor Sir Henry, whom we have already noticed

¹ Cf. above p. 168 note.

² Peacock, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁶ 7 Jac. I, cap. 6. s. 28. Wives appear actually liable by the original act 23 Eliz. cap. 1 and husbands sometimes made composition. In so many families the wives were obviously the leading spirits; it is refreshing to find at Stokesley the wife of a cordwainer who "dare not communicate for her husband" (Peacock, p. 95).

as the adversary of Sir Thomas Hoby and as taking part in our survey:

"He married Margaret, daughter to Sir William Babthorpe,¹ of Babthorpe, Knt. His wife at this time was a Roman Catholic, and he living at Whitby, it was a receptacle to the seminary priests coming from beyond the seas, and landing frequently at that port; insomuch as, I have been told, there have been in his house three or four of them together at a time, and most coming both bare of cloaths and money, have, at his lady's charge, been sent away with a very great supply of both; some in scarlet and sattin, with their men and horses, the better to disguise their professions. All which Sir Henry connived at, being a little then in his heart inclining that way, though he went to church. And as the prosecution of Papists was then severe, so was he put to much trouble and charge for his lady, not only in respect to impositions, but that she was often carried to and kept long in prison, as were most of the eminent Papists in those times . . .² After the death of his mother, the Lady Scroope³ he changed his residence from Whitby to Roxby, where he lived most in the middle part of his age. He was knighted at York by King James, at his first coming into England. About this time it pleased God that he became to be confirmed in the Protestant religion, and his wife absolutely converted to it; and ever after, both of them lived and died very zealous Protestants."⁴

In discussing the Elizabethan visitations, the present writer has previously been at pains to point out the dependence of Yorkshire recusancy upon the support of the gentry. This feature remains almost as impressive in 1604 as earlier; it is still the dominating element in romanist society. Many of the medium-sized and smaller knots of recusants are virtually constituted by the servants and immediate dependents of some catholic gentleman. At Barwick, for example, the list is headed by John Gascoigne Esq., followed by his wife Anne (*née* Ingleby), Laurence Wilson "master of his colemyngs," Edward Bennet "his milner at Hillome" and four of his women servants, one of them Elizabeth Wortley, "an antient servant there, she is thought to be a dangerous recusant in persuading." After these come Gascoign's shepherd Thomas Thompson, Joan his wife, "Barbury" Robinson and Ellyne Vevers, wives of Gascoigne's menservants, and finally Gascoigne's mother Maud (*née* Ardington, a Yorkshire family boasting several well-known recusants).⁵ After this we are not surprised to learn that "Mr. John Gascoigne his children weare all secretlye baptized and

¹ And sister to Sir Ralph whom we have noticed above.

² Sir Henry's family were expensive in other respects, his son Richard's complicity in the rising of Essex costing him £3,000. His career into debt was also accelerated by expensive outings with his cousin George, third Earl of Cumberland.

³ Her first husband had been John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, and she heads the list of Whitby recusants in the visitation of 1590. (*Cf.* above, p. 178-9).

⁴ *Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley* (edn. 1870), pp. 10 *seqq.*

⁵ Peacock, pp. 14-15.

none of them came to the church nether is it knowne where they were baptized." Gascoigne like his mother lived to ripe old age and saw most of his numerous children develope along the intended lines—John became abbot of Lamspring in Saxony, Francis a secular priest, Michael a monk and Katherine, one of his six daughters, Lady Abbess of Cambrai.¹ Meanwhile at Barwick in 1604 almost the whole body of recusants were his family or employees and the rest very probably his tenants.

To illustrate the predominant part played by the catholic gentry we need no very elaborate process of research and theory—the document speaks clearly enough for itself, though naturally not accounting for the covert encouragement given by many gentry who themselves did not venture open defiance. I have compiled and printed as an appendix to the present article a list of all those parishes where 15 or more offenders were presented and under each parish noted the names of gentry who were themselves actually presented in 1604 as offenders. Genealogists will at once recognise most of these names as representing leading families of the shire and as readily identifiable in the heralds' visitations.

The list, it will probably be agreed, illustrates strikingly enough the importance of regional and territorial influence in the greater centres of recusancy in Yorkshire, influence which nevertheless could still more strikingly and consistently be illustrated did space allow us to survey the *lesser* recusant communities. And questions of influence apart, gentlefolk were, absolutely speaking, very numerous among the active romanists at this time. Though the census, as we have remarked, is far from being a mere list of notables—it includes hundreds of persons explicitly described as labourers, poor men, yeomen, fishermen and tradesmen—it includes a far higher proportion of gentry than would have been the case in any chance section of the population. Traditions died hard. In the North the gentry had, even at this date, been less uniformly conditioned to blind obedience than elsewhere. And as so many anecdotes show, these Yorkshire gentry produced womenfolk of exceptional pertinacity and strength of character, women who knew how to exploit the privileges of their sex and station, even in relation to the King's Council in the North. Perhaps the most important fact of all, the aristocracy, who were the hosts of the seminarists, remained much the most likely to be affected by their arguments and persuasions. A priest who enjoyed by far the greater part of his contacts in the retired chambers and out-buildings of the manor house would obviously accomplish there most of his conversions. And that the maintenance and revival of English romanism owed everything to

¹ Cf. the pedigrees in Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis* (ed. Whitaker, 1816), pp. 179-80 and in Foster, *Yorks. Pedigrees*, i. Gascoigne, a baronet in 1635, died within a few days of his wife in 1637, but he is said elsewhere (*Glover's Visitation*, p. 239) to have been 30 in 1584. His uncle William was a Carthusian monk at Brussels.

these few hundreds of intrepid missionaries, no serious student of our religious history would question.

The partial exceptions to this all-but-universal aristocratic domination of recusant society would seem to be of two kinds. In York, Ripon and, to a lesser extent, Richmond there existed a recusancy of townspeople in which resident gentry played a slight but not predominant part. Our list for Ripon—not very large considering the size of the liberties—contains, for example, only four gentlefolk, the rest being persons of all classes, several described simply as poor people, others more specifically as websters, glovers, tailors, fletchers, yeomen, teachers, and one as a chirurgeon. Our other apparent exception lies in certain north-eastern parishes where few or no gentry appear on the recusant list—notably at Brotton, Kirk Leavington and Lofthouse. This whole area includes indeed many more “new” recusants than most others and these we find very frequently described as poor labourers, fishermen or tradesmen. It would be dangerous to postulate from this rather meagre evidence any local wave of “democratic” recusancy, since many influential romanist or crypto-romanist gentry lived at no great distance from these parishes. With most probability we may ascribe these local developments once again to the special activities of the seminarians, who were now entering hereabouts in greater numbers than ever and who, in this area most accessible to themselves yet most remote from the seat of government, would find some of their best opportunities to influence the populace. We can at least argue that in this limited area catholicism was in 1603-4 making some progress *outside* the immediate entourage of the aristocracy.

V. CONCLUSION

Our general conclusions hence run somewhat as follows. The census of 1604 is one of the fullest and most reliable of earlier surveys of recusancy and when all reasonable allowances have been made for possible omissions, it suggests that Yorkshire recusants and non-communicants together numbered less than 3,000 in a total communicant population of about 200,000. Mere non-communicants constituted about a quarter of the total of offenders. The vast majority lived inside four circumscribed groups of parishes, the distribution of recusancy being extremely sparse outside these areas. And even in the recusant districts of Yorkshire we cannot suppose that anything approaching a majority of the inhabitants were in any sense active romanists. Yet amid hopes of the relaxation of the penal laws, recusancy had clearly increased since the death of the late Queen, nearly a quarter of the recusants and non-communicants having offended only since that date. Recusant society appears to have been to some extent organised and information to have been exchanged between communities.

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. Members of these families, Constables, Babthorpes, Inglebys, Cholmleys, Tankards and the rest, many of them local magnates and landowners, figure personally among the offenders at almost every place where recusant communities existed, though in the north-east there appear certain slight signs of more popular movements of conversion.

Two final notes of caution need to be sounded. The present writer is not arguing that the Yorkshire catholic revival was "an aristocratic movement," since such terminology would seem at best otiose. Yorkshire society was then predominantly rural and every development in that society was still necessarily based upon its essentially aristocratic and patriarchal structure. The growth of the Counter Reformation in England was no more and no less aristocratic in leadership than that other contemporary religious phenomenon, the growth of a genuine and heartfelt anglicanism which eventually supervened upon the mere establishment of a state church.

In the second place, the foregoing essay concerns itself little with romanism as a whole, but rather with recusancy and non-communicancy, with those overt if negative actions by which some roman catholics contravened the laws of the land and placed themselves in a new juridical relationship with society. Now recusancy is not synonymous or coterminous with roman catholicism, that much more impalpable and protean phenomenon. A roman catholic might be one or more of many characters; he might be a plotter and a supporter of foreign invasion plans, an active concealer of Jesuits, a frequent hearer of masses, a consistent absentee from church, whether or not suffering penalties thereby, a non-communicant only, a type of church-papist who attended even communion but was known or suspected to despise the Anglican Establishment; he might—though this once numerous class cannot have remained so by 1604—be a mere admirer of ancient liturgies and observances, so to speak a "medievalist" rather than a "counter-reformationist."

In his *magnum opus* that outstanding ecclesiastical historian Professor R. G. Usher prints a map entitled "The Distribution of Catholic Laymen, 1603" with percentage figures for each shire showing "approximately what proportion of the population were open or secret catholics in 1603."¹ From this we learn that the proportion was 30 per cent. in south-west Yorkshire, 45 per cent. in the East Riding, 60 per cent. in the north-east and 70 per cent. in the north-west. However we define a "catholic layman" and with whatever hardihood we permit of guessing at these percentages, I would argue that these figures are monstrously too large, especially in respect of the East Riding, where not the faintest evidence for any considerable percentage exists at this date. It may well have been the case that everywhere the

¹ *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, i, 135.

romanists-at-heart greatly outnumbered the actual recusants. Yet even this contention, in view of the growing crystallisation of religious interests, of the increasing acceptance of anglicanism, of the growing isolation of the recusants as a separate society, of the dying-out of those vague "medievalists," even this contention cannot very lightly be assumed correct. Yet the more formidable objection to such figures consists in the fact that *any* percentage—estimates of "catholic laymen" remain so completely a matter of guesswork that historians are scarcely entitled to venture them. The Elizabethan settlement did not even, in the words of the great Queen, "open windows into men's souls," much less record the results of such psychological research. In assessing these percentages Professor Usher may well have had access to sources of which the present writer remains ignorant, yet he is unlikely to have possessed a psychologist's report on every adult inhabitant of Yorkshire in 1603 ! And jesting apart, some such elaborate documentation would prove necessary before we ventured upon percentages of that complex variable, the "catholic layman." One would indeed prefer to regard this map as a *jeu d'esprit*, little related as it is to the Professor's admirably cautious text, which might, incidentally, be studied with profit by more than one religious gladiator unsuitably attired in the *toga civilis* of the historian ! Meanwhile, however dangerous it may be to attach, at this period, figures and percentages to "catholics," we may attach them with much greater confidence to actual recusants and non-communicants, in Yorkshire perhaps with more confidence than anywhere.

APPENDIX

The following is a list of all parishes showing 15 or more recusants and non-communicants, the actual number of such offenders being given in the bracketed figure which follows. The names in italics are those of gentry who were themselves actually presented as offenders. The accompanying notes are far from comprehensive but may provide a starting-point for further investigation regarding individual families.

BARWICK (21). *John Gascoigne, Esq., Anne his wife, Maud his mother; Mary, wife of John Ellys, Esq.* This place is discussed above.

MITTON (18). *Wife of Bartholomew Shereburne.* Presumably only a minor member of the great local family.¹

THORNTON IN LONSDALE (15). *Marmaduke Readman, Esq., and several of his family,* one with a very active romanist record.²

¹ above, p. 177, note 1.

² *Y.A.S. Rec. Ser.*, iii, 112-14.

CARLTON (25). *Richard Stapleton, Esq., George and Robert Stapleton, gents.* Those were sons of Sir Brian Stapleton of Carlton and his wife Elizabeth daughter of George Lord Darcy. The family present a consistent recusant policy.¹

SPOFFORTH (27). *Sir Edward Plumpton and his wife* (née Ardington)²; *George Gelstrop, gent. and wife; Jane, wife of Richard Paver, gent.; Jane Ingleby, widow.*

KNARESBOROUGH (24). *Sir Francis and Lady Trapps;*³ *William Slingsby and Edward Burnard, gents.*

KIRKBY MALZEARD (92). *Henry Conyers 'of Aserley';*⁴ *Stephen and Christopher Malham;*⁵ *Robert Dykes, gents., their wives and other gentlewomen.*

RIPON (120). *William Wakworth, gent. and wife; wife of William Norton, gent.;*⁶ *wife of Christopher Frank, gent.*

RIPLEY (64). *John Ingleby, gent. and wife; Thomas Yorke, gent. and wife.* These are discussed above.

FARNHAM (20). *Wife and sister of Edward Bickardye, gent.* These were presumably related to the martyr Robert Bickerdike and the recusant prisoner Bernard Bickerdike.⁷ *John Pullayn of Scotton, Esq. and wife;*—the Killinghall branch of this complicated family was still more notorious for recusancy.⁸ *Denis Baynbrig, gent. and wife.*

RICHMOND (15). *Lady Gascoigne, wife of Sir William;*⁹ *wife of Leonard Beckwith, gent.,* the latter being probably Leonard of Handale, nephew of the famous Sir Leonard Beckwith who had built for the family fortunes on monastic lands. Despite this, the family remained conservative in religion and allied with several catholic families.¹⁰

GRINTON (63). *Solomon Swaile, gent. and wife.* They were the prominent family here for centuries;¹¹ Solomon was still recusant in 12 James I.¹²

¹ Cf. Chetwynd-Stapylton, *The Stapletons of Yorkshire, passim.*

² Transcriber of the famous Plumpton correspondence, printed in *Camden Soc.*, iv, which contains a good pedigree and history of this typical roman catholic family.

³ Cf. Peacock's note, pp. 32-3.

⁴ Possibly youngest son of John Lord Conyers of Hornby (*Glover's Visitation*, p. 72).

⁵ Malham of Elslack had connection with Kirkby Malzeard (*ibid.*, p. 295; positive identification of these two presents difficulties).

⁶ Probably a grandson of Richard Norton, the famous rebel of 1569. Cf. Peacock's note, p. 41.

⁷ Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, i, 203; Foley, *Records of the English Province*, iii, 764.

⁸ Cf. C. Pullein, *The Pulleyns of Yorkshire, passim.*

⁹ Of Gawthorpe, a family significantly related to Percy, Cholmley, Norton, Plumpton, Markenfield and Tunstall (Foster, *Pedigrees of Yorks.*, i, gives a good account).

¹⁰ *Glover's Visitation*, p. 101; Morrell, *Hist. of Selby*, pp. 134 *seqq.*

¹¹ *Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks., N.R.*, i, 239 and cf. Peacock's note, p. 67.

¹² He was then 40 and had been recusant 10 years (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.*, ix, pt. i, *App.* p. 331).

DANBY WISKE (17). *Thomas Conyers and Katherine his wife, Christopher Conyers, gent. and Frances his wife, Marmaduke and George Conyers, gents.*¹

MANSFIELD (19). *Nil.*

MIDDLETON TYERS (16). *George Franke and Elizabeth his wife (née Beckwith), Margaret Franke his mother and Jane Franke, these of the old family of Knighton.*²

MASHAM (86). *Isabel, wife of Christopher Danby, gent., James Danby 'of Ellinton,' gent., Marmaduke Danby of Masham, gent., his wife Margaret and son Christopher;*³ *Robert Norton, gent.*⁴ *and Katherine his wife; John Normanvell 'of Swinton,' gent.;*⁵ *Lady Anne, wife of Sir Marmaduke Wivell, "possessed with a palsie,"*⁶ *Jane wife of Christopher Wivell, Esq.* The last, a daughter of Sir Robert Stapleton of Wighill, married Christopher, son of Sir Marmaduke.⁷ Here presented as a non-communicant, she had been recusant three years in 12 James I⁸ and was in 1618 presented at the peculiar court of Masham for harbouring recusants.⁹ *Robert Dodsworth, gent.,* probably related to the great antiquary.¹⁰

STANWICK (106). *Anthony Catterick Esq. and Joyce his wife. William and John Catterick, gents.* They had been the leading family here for five generations, holding the manor till 1638.¹¹ Anthony was heir to his uncle and namesake, one of the suspect justices of 1564. *Anthony Metcalfe, gent.*¹²

FORCETT (53). *Ambrose Pudsey of Barforth, gent. and Mrs. Elizabeth Pudsey.* The family held the manor of Barforth in this parish from the early 15th century until 1660.¹³ Elizabeth appears as recusant in the York Visitation Books; Ambrose was probably her brother-in-law and brother to the Thomas Pudsey who died in York Castle.¹⁴

¹ I am ignorant of any connection of the Conyers family with Danby Wiske at this particular date. Its pedigrees are numerous but rather fragmentary. Thomas and Christopher were possibly younger sons of Sir George Conyers of Sockburne (*Glover's Visitation*, p. 165).

² *Ibid.*, p. 619.

³ On the reactionary activities and corrections of the Danbys, cf. Fisher's *Hist. Masham*, *passim*, especially pp. 260 *seqq.*; *Glover's Visitation*, p. 264.

⁴ Another grandson of Richard Norton (cf. Peacock's note, p. 74).

⁵ Presumably a cadet of the Kirkham family (*Glover's Visitation*, p. 168).

⁶ Glover (p. 380) gives Sir Marmaduke's wife as *Magdalen Danby*. He was still living in 1612 when his son was 50. This family was second only to the Danbys in local importance.

⁷ Glover, *loc. cit.*

⁸ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.*, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Fisher, *Hist. Masham*, p. 544.

¹⁰ Cf. Foster, *Yorks. Pedigrees*, iii.

¹¹ *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks., N.R.*, i, 129; *Glover's Visitation*, pp. 255-6. William and John might be either brothers or sons.

¹² Recusant 12 years in 12 James I (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.*, *loc. cit.*).

¹³ *Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks., N.R.*, i, 68.

¹⁴ *Surtees Soc.*, xxvi, 241; *Glover's Visitation*, p. 564.

KIRKBY RAVENSWORTH (27). *Richard Mennell, gent.* Of the Kilvington family, probably the Richard Mennell of Dalton-cum-Gailes who died in 1612.¹ The Markenfields, prime movers in 1569, had once been important here.

BARNINGHAM (21). *Francis Tunstall, Esq. and wife*, lords of the manor of Scargill here since the mid-16th century.² *Cuthbert Pudsey, gent.*

MELSONBY (31). *Nil.* The *Gaterd* family, not gentry but apparently of some substance, obviously led the recusancy in this parish.

THORNTON-LE-STREET (19). *Thomas Mennell of North Kilvington, Esq.* appears in innumerable recusant lists, being repeatedly imprisoned and fined.³ *Leonard Brackenbury, gent.*

STOKESLEY (29). *Nil.*

GUISBOROUGH (39). *George Tocketts, Esq. and daughter Isabel.* The family had held the manor of Tocketts in this parish since the 13th century; it was leased in 1599 to pay their recusancy-fines.⁴ George, who had earlier tried to temporise, had now been an open recusant for two years and was being repeatedly presented 1609-1616. Roger his father, Thomas (?) his brother and Roger and William his sons were all prominent sufferers for their religion,⁵ but the family finally recovered its lands by conformity in 1653.

EGTON (55). *Dorothy, wife of Ralph Salvin the elder, Esq.* The manor of Newbiggin here was in the hands of the Salvins throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.⁶ Grosmont Priory in this parish belonged to the Cholmleys and was the most notorious centre of seminarist activities in Yorkshire.

CRATHORNE (18). *Thomas Crathorne, Esq., Katherine his wife, Bridgett Crathorne widow, his mother.* A very ancient family tracing its ancestry to the Conquest. Thomas lived c. 1582-1637.⁷

KIRK LEAVINGTON (26). *Nil*, but the parish had, successively, close relations with the Percies and the Constables.⁸ Amongst the 1604 recusants one *Thomas Man* appears of substance.

¹ George Meynell (? his nephew) held the manor of Dalton in this parish in 1627, when it had probably been long in the family. Roger Meynell (? his half-brother) held the manor of Dalton Norris c. 1584-94 (*Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks., N.R.*, i, 91).

² This Francis was still acquiring property in 1617, the family flourishing here for some generations later (*ibid.*, i, 42).

³ J. H. Hirst, *Blockhouses of Hull*, p. 123. He married a daughter of Thomas Pudsey of Barforth and was otherwise related to numerous leading recusant families (Foster, *Pedigrees of Yorks.*, iii).

⁴ *Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks., N.R.*, ii, 361 gives a documented account.

⁵ Foley, *op. cit.*, iii, 766; Hirst, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-3; *Glover's Visitation*, p. 195.

⁶ *Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks., N.R.*, ii, 347.

⁷ *Glover's Visitation*, pp. 207-9; neither of these women came of Yorkshire families.

⁸ *Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks., N.R.*, ii, 258-62.

- SKELTON (18). *Robert Trotter, Esq. and Margaret his wife.*¹
- BROTTON (28). *Nil*, but the Constables, Conyers, Darcys, Lumleys and other reactionary families had recently been, or actually were, the main landowners in the parish.²
- LOFTUS (20). *Nil*, but Leonard Beckwith was lord of the manor of Handale here.³
- LYTHE (30). *Mrs. Katherine Radcliffe of Ugthorpe.* This lady, a daughter of Roger Radcliffe of Mulgrave, Esq.⁴ had been prominent amongst Yorkshire women recusants in earlier years⁵ and was now in 1604 also charged with "retaining" six other recusants. In 12 James I she was said to be 60 years of age and to have been a recusant 24 years.⁶ *Ralph and Dorothy Harding, Ralph Radcliffe, Anne, wife of William Radcliffe, gents. Isabel wife of Thomas Readman, "a poore gentleman."*
- HOVINGHAM (37). *Nicholas Bullock, gent., Elizabeth wife of Thomas Bullock of South Holme, gent., his sister-in-law.*⁷ This family had been lords of the manor of South Holme since 1553.⁸
- FYLINGDALES (27). *Francis Aislaby, gent. and Bridgett his wife.* The former was said to be 80 years of age and recusant 20 years in 12 James I.⁹ *Thomas Aislaby and Susan his wife.*
- ESKDALE (30). *Nil.* The *Postgate* family, ancestors of the martyr Nicholas Postgate, are prominent here as also at Egton, where one taught children, though a recusant.¹⁰ I presume them to have been of the yeoman class.
- BRANDSBY (20). *Mrs. Ursula Cholmley*, daughter and sole heir of Ralph Aislaby of South Dalton and widow of Marmaduke Cholmley of the Brandsby branch. *Richard Cholmley, Esq.,* perhaps her brother in law.¹¹ Most of the Brandsby recusants were their servants, much in the manner of the Gascoignes at Barwick.
- BUBWITH (25). *Nil*, and to be regarded as part of the same recusant-complex as the contiguous parish of Hemingborough.
- HEMINGBOROUGH (63) (including all its townships). *Sir Ralph Babthorpe and Grace his wife, Sir William Babthorpe and Ursula his wife, Francis Babthorpe.* See above.

¹ Trotter of Skelton Castle. She was Margaret, daughter of Thomas Pudsey (*Glover's Visitation*, p. 582).

² *Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks., N.R.*, ii, 329-31.

³ *Vict. Co. Hist. Yorks., N.R.*, ii, 387; cf. above under Richmond.

⁴ *Glover's Visitation*, p. 206. Her mother was a daughter of Sir Francis Bigod.

⁵ Foley, op. cit., iii, 762.

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.*, ix, pt. i, App. p. 330.

⁷ *Glover's Visitation*, p. 498.

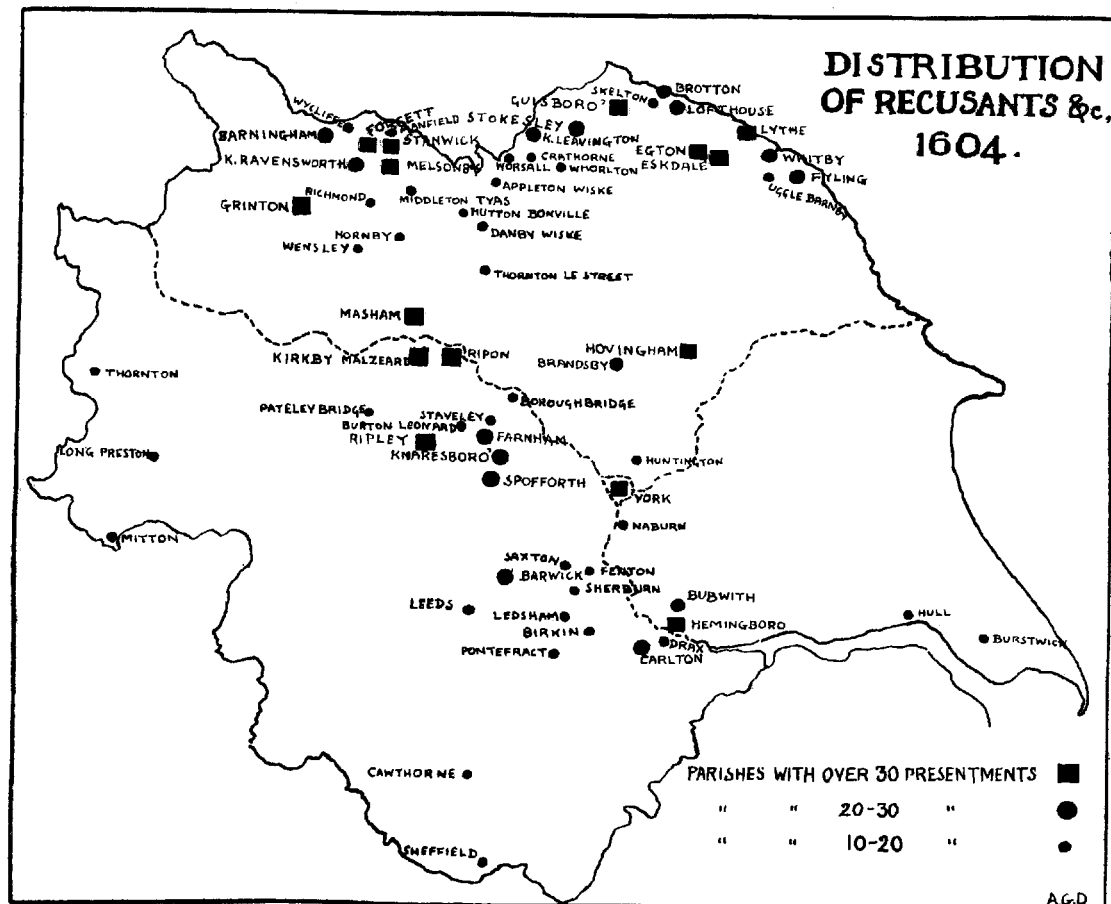
⁸ *Vict. Co. Hist., N.R.*, i, 508.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.*, loc. cit.

¹⁰ Peacock, p. 97.

¹¹ *Glover's Visitation*, p. 221. Several Richards were living at this date.

DISTRIBUTION OF RECUSANTS &c. 1604.



FURTHER LIGHT ON THE SCOPE OF YORKSHIRE RECUSANCY IN 1604.

With John Newton

In any attempt to estimate the extent of recusancy in Yorkshire at the beginning of James I's reign, the 1604 Survey¹ must obviously form the chief basis of calculation. Its comprehensiveness has already been stressed;² it has been assumed a reliable basis for gauging recusant strength. The present writers have now proceeded to compare this Survey with the Yorkshire sections of the Recusant Roll for 1604/5,³ and the comparison, while broadly vindicating the confidence placed in the Survey, nevertheless supplements it in certain significant ways.

Between the Survey and the Roll, some interesting discrepancies emerge, notably a total of about 300 individuals, who appear in the Recusant Roll, but not in the otherwise much more extensive Survey. This estimate is reached thus: 254 names definitely cannot be identified in the Survey; for those concerning whom it is doubtful whether they appear in the Survey or not, 27 (half of the total) is taken as a conservative figure; and there are 23 men who may possibly be on the Roll because of their wives' recusancy. These figures yield a round 300.⁴

Various factors may be suggested to account for this discrepancy. In the first place, it is important to remember that the 1604 Survey includes only recusants and non-communicants who were actually resident in Yorkshire at that date. On the Roll, however, there appear names of recusants, and among them some of the most prominent Yorkshire Catholics, who are known to have lived at times outside the county. This practice may explain, for example, the absence from the Survey of the name of Anne, wife of William Babthorpe of Menthorp. She and her husband were presented for their Catholicism in the 1600 and 1615 visitations,⁵ but not in the intervening one of 1607. A clue to their whereabouts is given in February, 1607, when in the Court Book of the York High Commission it was recorded that William Babthorpe was 'abiding in Lincolnshire'.⁶ Other members of this family left the county on occasion because of their recusancy. Sir Ralph Babthorpe occurs in both Roll and Survey, but his

¹ *A List of the Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604*, ed. E. Peacock (1872).

² above, pp. 175 *seqq.*

³ P.R.O. E/377.13. Recusant Rolls (Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer Pipe Office Series).

⁴ Cf. the full figures p. 214 *infra*.

⁵ York Diocesan Registry, R. VI, B.2; R. VI, A. 18 (under Hemingborough).

⁶ York Diocesan Registry, Court Book of High Commission, 1607-12, AB. 12, f.21.

wife, Lady Grace, described how frequently he 'was obliged to fly from home upon the hearing of the warrants coming forth against him . . . he always got intelligence, and then, to avoid the penalty, he must needs be forth of the country'.¹

In the High Commission Court Book, it was recorded in July 1607 that he 'was not in Yorkshire since May day, about which time he went to London'.²

Similarly, absence or imprisonment undoubtedly accounts for the neglect which the Annes of Frickley receive from the Survey, although three of them (George, his wife Margaret, and his brother Gervase) appear in the Roll. Gervase was in fact presented in 1604 as a 'manifest recusant' under Bigby (Lincoln and Stow Archdeaconry), in the visitation of the Lincoln diocese,³ while James Cawood, a servant of George, swore in March, 1607, that 'his Master George Ann is not at home'.⁴

The records of the Northern High Commission show that recusants were liable to summary arrest and imprisonment for varying periods. The striking fluidity of seventeenth century society, particularly toward the ends of the social scale, must also be taken into account in considering this problem. Hence there remains a strong probability that a considerable number of the 300 persons were either out of the county or in prison.

There are also stray cases in the Roll of the inclusion of people who, from the Survey, are known to have been dead, cases typifying the reluctance with which authority strikes a name off a fiscal list. One such was Edward Vessey (or Percy), whom the Survey describes as deceased. Several of those recusants whose lands are noted as confiscated are marked in the Roll as defunct. It seems then likely that a few of the 300 were dead, and for this reason omitted from the Survey.

Again, there are certain men who, with or without their wives, appear in the Roll, but who do not appear in the Survey, where their wives are nevertheless found. Although it was only by the statute 7 & 8 James I, c. VI, that financial responsibility for their wives' recusancy was imposed upon husbands, it is possible that in some areas they were forced to undertake it before the enactment of the statute. The President of the Council in the North took a step in this direction in 1592, when he made gentlemen blessed with Catholic wives 'enter into bond of recognition, for the bringing in of their wives, or else to go to prison themselves'. In Yorkshire, as a result of this policy, 'a great sort of gentlemen, of the best wealth and worship . . . delivered their wives to the will of the tyrant'.⁵

¹ Burton, *History of Hemingborough*, p. 317.

² Court Book of High Commission, AB.12, f. 70.

³ *Lincoln Record Society Publications*, xxiii, p. lxxxviii.

⁴ Court Book of High Commission, 1607-12, AB. 12, f. 139v. In July 1608, he had still not returned from London. (*Ibid.*, f. 170).

⁵ C. Dodd, *The Church History of England*, ed. M. A. Tierney, iii, 106, 121-2.

As previously observed, the Survey is not geographically complete in its present form. Defects in the manuscript have left us without the returns for the wapentakes of Birdforth, Pickering Lythe, Osgoldcross, and part of Staincross. Even in the complete sections of the Survey, not all parishes sent in returns, in at least one case (Ainderby Steeple) because of the plague. The Survey groups recusants variously, now under townships and now under parishes, so that it is difficult to decide whether a township, under which some recusants are listed in the Roll, can be counted as covered by the Survey, when this latter includes only the parish of which the township is a part. Yet, neglecting all the dubious instances, there remain several North and East Riding parishes,¹ which can each claim one or two recusants in the Roll, but find no place in the Survey. Nor does the latter offer any explanation of their failure to make returns. Again, the notorious inaccuracy of all such contemporary censuses in the matter of Christian names, and the common use of aliases, probably accounts for some of the recusants included in the dubious category, who may in fact have been listed in the Survey, but under a different name.

A final possible reason for the discrepancy is the difference in date between the Survey, compiled in May 1604, and the Roll, extending in its composition to the end of March 1605. No doubt the recusant body continued to increase in the short interval between the two, since Catholicism, as the Survey itself clearly shows, had blossomed rapidly in the sunshine of the new reign. Nevertheless, since the most marked phase of expansion was presumably over by the time the Survey was compiled, this factor may not account for a large proportion of the 300.

The fundamental difference between the two sources is, of course, that the Roll has a much smaller total of recusants than the Survey. The Roll, with some 900 recusants as against about 2,500 in the Survey, obviously provides anything but a full census of recusants. This is natural, in so far as only convicted recusants were liable to financial penalties, and thus appeared on the Roll. But the evidence suggests that the Roll is not even a full list of convicted recusants.² Comparison with the records of convictions for recusancy at Quarter Sessions illustrates this contention. Only one recusant appears under Hovingham in the Roll; yet in April and July Sessions of 1605, 40 Hovingham recusants were convicted. Under Stokesley, the Roll has only four names; yet 26 were convicted there in April 1605. The Roll has seven under Kirkleavington, whereas 21 convictions

¹ E.g. in the East Riding, Elvington (1), Skipwith (2) and in the North Riding, Marrick (2) and Croft (2).

² Of course, some recusants were 'granted' out to private persons who took their fines as a perquisite, provided they could collect them; and the names of persons thus 'granted' would not appear on the Roll. Yet recusants do not seem to have been 'granted' on a scale large enough to account for a significant proportion of the convicted who do not appear on the Roll.

occur in the same April Sessions.¹ An analysis of the social status of the recusants in the 1604/5 Roll suggests that the reason for their inclusion may have been that, broadly, they were the well-to-do recusants, who could reasonably be expected to pay fines.

The figures extracted from the data discussed above may be tabulated thus :

Total of recusants and non-communicants in Survey	2454
Non-communicants alone	622
Total of recusants in the 1604/5 Recusant Roll ..	c.930 ²
Number of recusants in Roll who definitely cannot be identified in Survey	254
Number of those who cannot be identified in Survey, but who are under places in the area covered by missing parts of Survey	39
Number of those in Roll, about whom there is doubt as to whether they are in Survey or not	54
Number of men (not in Survey), who may be in Roll because of their wives, who <i>are</i> in Survey ..	23

The distribution of the recusants in the Roll according to their class, where this is indicated, or known from other evidence, is : gentry, 233; yeomen, 269; the husbandman/artificer grade, 48. Lest it should be thought that the 300 found in the Roll who are yet not in the Survey were drawn exclusively from one or other of the ends of the social scale, their class distribution, so far as it is determinable, is : gentry, 96; yeomen, 100; husbandmen/artificer grade, 16.

Thus an analysis of the Recusant Roll does not materially alter our previous picture of the extent of recusancy in early Jacobean Yorkshire, but it enables us to add at least 254 new names to the total of Yorkshire recusants for this date, as most fully given in the 1604 Survey. On the basis of the ratio of the totals in the Roll and in the Survey,—something like 1 : 2·5—every recusant listed in the Roll would seem to imply at least one other who had escaped the fiscal net.³ In other words, the full significance of the 300 discrepancy is that it may conceivably represent a total between two and three times its own size, which must be added to our grand total of Yorkshire recusants.

Professor Dickens' conclusion, in the article referred to above, thus needs some slight revision. He there considered it : 'an overwhelming probability that the actual total of Yorkshire recusants and non-communicants in that peak year 1604 must have lain well below a figure of 3000'.

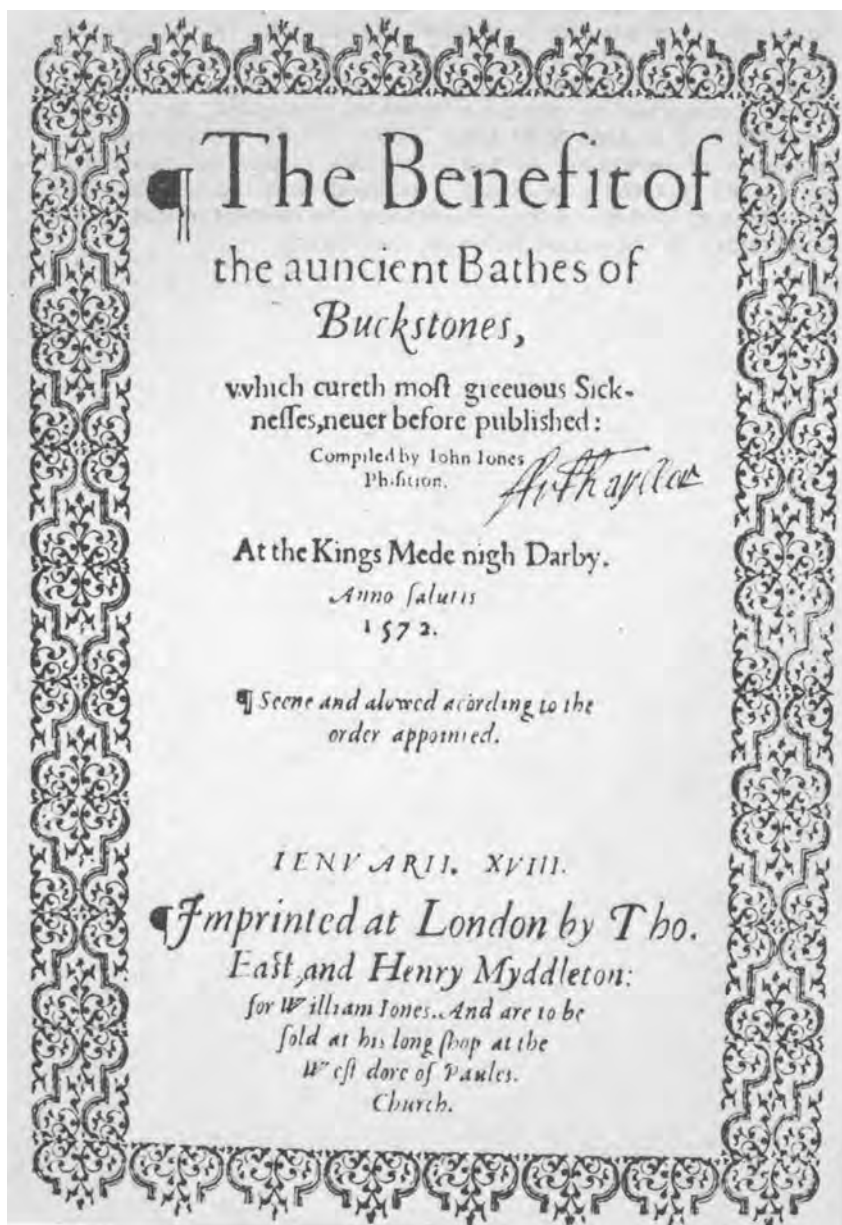
This estimate was, of course, based on the Survey total 2454; to this figure were added some allowances for the missing wapentakes and for the omissions inevitable even to a Survey so

¹ *North Riding Records*, i, pp. 5, 10.

² A maximum, since some duplication occurs.

³ The actual ratio would be slightly less, since recusants granted out to individuals do not appear on the Recusant Rolls.

carefully made and checked as that of 1604. In the event, the present writers are inclined to think that this indeterminate factor might reasonably be somewhat enlarged. In the light of the additional evidence from the Roll, they suppose that the figure 3000 may not greatly, if at all, exceed a *minimum* estimate, while, if compelled to venture a 'generous maximum', they would now place it nearer 3500 than 3000. Hence the percentage-incidence of recusancy in the Yorkshire population continues very small, yet the new evidence suggests that the figures were still rising in 1604-5 and thus accentuates the element of statistical uncertainty in the period following the Survey.



Title-page of John Jones, *The Benefit of the Auncient Bathes Buckstones (Buxton)*, 1572. S.T.C. 14725; Freemantle, W.T., *Bibliography of Sheffield*, p. 131; See above, pp. 234-5.

THE WRITERS OF TUDOR YORKSHIRE

THE title of my paper may well seem to threaten a mere essay in local antiquarianism, yet I shall have failed to achieve my main purpose should nothing more than this emerge. The purpose at least does not lack ambition, since I seek to outline a fresh scheme of attack upon some important and neglected problems of Tudor social history. No one would dispute our need to know more of the nation's mental interests, of the dissemination of ideas, of Tudor culture within its social setting, than may be gleaned from the histories of English literature. Of their nature, such works afford relatively little provender to the social historian. From the many hundreds of Tudor writers, they must select meagre samples upon an aesthetic basis, whereas to the historian the great mass of mediocre literature reveals more than do the few works of genius. Knowing the ordinary Elizabethans, one finds 'the Age of Shakespeare' among the more misleading of labels. Again, the literary observers tend to unbalance a period by concentrating upon its forward-looking as opposed to its declining elements. For similar reasons, their attentions stray too seldom from the letters of the metropolis and hence must underweight that majority of literate Englishmen who read and wrote in the provinces. Yet from our viewpoint, the most serious of all their limitations is their tendency to focus too narrowly upon vernacular literature. For the historian of ideas, the very concept 'English literature' represents a most violent abstraction from an age when so many readers and writers still operated in the Latin language. We need hence to look afresh at the Tudor mind through a far wider range of sources, many of them still unprinted. Our concern must often be with obscure men of letters, with compilers scarcely original enough to be called authors, with unfashionable social backgrounds quite unknown to Gloriana. Upon our texts we must bring to bear those local records which national historians neglect, and from which local

historians ask such materialist, such antiquarian questions. Our information can appear in the least likely places; we often encounter it more or less accidentally when working in some related field, and for this reason it will not yield itself readily to the direct attack of the thesis-writer with the crash-programme.

Though our subjects and materials will be earthy, our questions may nevertheless remain exalted. When, and among what people, do humanist Latin, Italianate reading, Justification by Faith, first appear? Through what channels does the Copernican system infiltrate to the educated classes? How long does the *devotio moderna* survive, and what links has it with Counter-Reformation Catholicism? What contributions were made by neo-Lollardy to anticlericalism and Protestantism? How far can the Elizabethan medical writers be numbered among the precursors of seventeenth-century science? How lively were regional literary traditions in the remoter provinces, and what resistance did they offer to the new ideas from London, from the south-east, from the Continent? What evidence remains of direct mental contacts between English ports and continental centres of the Reformation? Educationally speaking, what sorts of laymen seem to be drawing abreast of the clergy as the century advances? Who were the leading puritan propagandists in a given area, and what were their studies? Whom did they attract? To what extent did their advent arrest the decline of clerical ascendancy over laymen? What significance can we give the term 'literacy' amongst the gentry, the town oligarchies, the working classes? How far did the noble households constitute centres of provincial culture? In what senses can we properly speak of a proletarian or a *bourgeois* culture, and how far were the lower groups stirred by intellectual movements among their social superiors?

Few of us would care to face an examination-paper along these lines, yet such questions lie near the heart of Tudor history. That our books neglect them may spring from our traditional anxiety to bury the English people below their political crust, yet with more likelihood we are possessed by the wistful feeling that, in the provinces at least, insufficient evidence has survived. The rest of my paper has one simple object: to suggest that defeatism is unjustified, that the magnificent documentation of Tudor England may still enable us to assemble fairly detailed maps of its intellectual life. I hope at least to induce a mild optimism by outlining

one minute section of the evidence. I propose to take Yorkshire, concentrate upon its writers, as distinct from its reading public, and merely characterize these writers with extreme brevity. Such a list must differ from a local *florilegium*. Concerned as we are with provincial society, we can ignore such prominent authors as John Fisher, Miles Coverdale, Roger Ascham and the Savile brothers, who spent their youth in Yorkshire, but who were not in settled residence during their creative and influential years. On the other hand, we cannot neglect humbler people who made no pretensions to being publicists, yet wrote to edify or interest themselves, their households, their parishioners. Yorkshiremen unfamiliar with London probably never entered a printer's shop. Only six books are known for certain to have been printed in Tudor Yorkshire: all of them at York between 1510 and 1516, and none of them written by a local author. Little if any printing took place there between these early years and 1557, when the Stationers' Charter centralized the whole trade in London. Thereafter the first presses to operate in the north were those brought to York by Charles I to issue his war-propaganda.¹

Writing in early Tudor Yorkshire adheres almost solely to religious and ecclesiastical themes. Taken as a whole, it displays to perfection that dichotomy between the saint-cults and the *devotio moderna* which then marked north European Catholicism, and which left its central position open to assault. A first-rate source for the cult-religion is afforded by the commonplace book² of Thomas Ashby, an Augustinian canon of Bridlington, who dates his activities by a reference to Julius II as the reigning pope. Even so, it contains little which would have startled an early medieval reader, and the most modern author it cites is the twelfth-century theologian Jean Belet. A large share of these meditations, verses, miracles and didactic anecdotes centre upon two saints, the Blessed Virgin and St John of Bridlington. In honour of the latter, Ashby retells the familiar stories of the miraculous rescue of the five mariners of Hartlepool, the resuscitation of the dead carpenter, and of a certain murdered man who luckily happened to lie unburied owing to the slack habits of the local coroner. Ashby also adds a new miracle by transcribing a formal acknowledgement

¹ E. G. Duff, *The English Provincial Printers* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 51-58.

² Durham Univ. Library, Cosin MS. V.V. 19.

made back in 1406 by a Gascon visitor to Bridlington. This presumptuous tourist had rashly opened the *capsula* containing the venerated head, and had been smitten with appalling pains by the irascible saint. Reaching Huntingdon on his journey southward, the Gascon feared death, and was persuaded by his companions to return to Bridlington on an expiatory pilgrimage. Regaining the shrine, he was miraculously cured, and in this declaration he apotheosizes St John in terms which doubtless reflect the exuberant latinity of some canon of Bridlington a century before Ashby's time.

The rest of the book consists largely of short but varied devotional and liturgical items: an exposition of Psalm 50; notes on reading in church, on papal indulgences, on the symbolic meaning of the episcopal mitre, on guardian angels. A series of amusing anecdotes illustrates the miracle-working properties of the text *In principio erat verbum*, while a scholastic *quaestio* poses the problem: on the Day of Judgement, will men be bare or clothed? The only item in English is a poem on the Eucharist, enjoining the avoidance of curious speculation and promising eternal torments to those who question the doctrine of Transubstantiation. From this wide-ranging mass of Christian materials, the lives, personalities and direct teachings of Jesus and of St Paul have totally evaporated, and in so far as Ashby's book typifies the popular religion, it does at least help to explain the excitement created by Tyndale's New Testament.

Ashby's is one of several such clerical manuscripts, presumably scattered survivors from a far greater number. A comparable book¹ is that compiled by his younger contemporary John Gysborn, who first occurs as a Premonstratensian of Coverham. Later on, about 1520–30, Gysborn was serving as parish priest at Allington in Lincolnshire, a benefice appropriated to Newbo, another house of his order. Though his range coincides in part with Ashby's, he seems more companionable and less superstitious; his notes also suggest that he took his duties as a confessor very seriously, and that regular canons serving cures were not necessarily the hireling shepherds depicted by anti-monastic propaganda.

Yet another expositor of the cults is Robert Langton, treasurer of York Minster, who in November 1522 published in Fleet

¹ B[ritish] M[useum], Sloane MS. 1584.

Street an account of his continental pilgrimages.¹ He derived from a more opulent background, since his uncle Thomas Langton had been successively bishop of Salisbury and of Winchester. Beginning when Robert reached the age of thirteen, a series of handsome preferments took him through Queen's College, Oxford, where his invaluable uncle also happened to be provost, and then to a doctorate of Civil Law at Bologna. Having held the treasurership at York from 1509 to 1514, he continued until his death (ten years later) in possession of a York prebend, alongside others at Southwell and Salisbury.² If he justified these emoluments, it was not by literary achievement, for it would be difficult to find a duller or more constricted book of travel. His journeys in Spain and Italy were of astounding length and complexity, but he tells us almost nothing of the adventures of the road, the people, the customs, the buildings, the observances of his fellow-pilgrims, even of his own reflections. He devotes a mere eight lines to Compostella, and on reaching Rome he evades his duty by referring the reader to another guide-book. He is mainly concerned to enumerate shrines and relics, though he admittedly turns aside to visit the tombs of Dante and Petrarch, takes a mild interest in the excavations at Puteoli, and inspects the statue of Laocoön 'with his ii sones by hym wrapped with serpents'.

A more substantial figure amongst the early Tudor dignitaries was William Melton, chancellor of York. A native of the diocese, he tutored his fellow-countryman John Fisher at Michaelhouse, and took his D.D. in 1496, the year he left Cambridge for the chancellorship. This office he held until his death in 1528.³ His remarkable probate-inventories⁴ show that Melton possessed one of the major clerical libraries of his day. The incomplete catalogue

¹ *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, ed. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave . . . (London, Bibliographical Soc., 1956), [henceforth cited as *S.T.C.*], no. 15206; *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton*, ed. E. M. Blackie (Cambridge, Mass., 1924).

² A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, ii (Oxford, 1958), 'Langton, Robert'.

³ J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922-27), iii, p. 175; A. E. Stamp, *Michaelhouse* (1924), p. 50; E. E. Reynolds, *St John Fisher* (London, 1955), pp. 5-6; York Dioc. Records, Index of Tudor Clergy, 'Melton'; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv (2), no. 4291.

⁴ *Test[amenta] Ebor[acensia]*, v (Surtees Soc., lxxix), pp. 258 ff.

includes about 110 recognizable titles, mainly biblical and patristic, but with certain classical authors and some humanists, such as Valla, Pico, Erasmus and More.

Melton's own Latin bears clear traces of humanist influence, as may be observed in his only printed work, the *Sermo Exhortatorius Cancellarii Ebor.*, published about 1510 by Wynkyn de Worde.¹ Here Melton discusses what should then have been a vital concern of the English Church: the professional and spiritual education of its over-numerous and too often ill-qualified clergy. The Church must, he avers, be delivered from this host of *rudium et stolidorum clericorum*. Every priest should be capable of expounding the spiritual sense of the Scriptures. Yet when priests are ordained without an accurate and fluent reading-knowledge of Latin, they lack the necessary basis for that scriptural and doctrinal self-education which they are thenceforth expected to undertake. Moreover, experience in rural areas shows that priests without the habit of study tend to relapse into the secular background, into hunting, dicing, tavern-haunting, wenching and making money by unclerical pursuits. Not unexpectedly, we find Melton to be an adherent of Colet. He obtained Colet's *imprimatur* for this sermon, while his inventory shows that in his private chapel at York he treasured furniture which had once belonged to the famous dean. He also had his contacts with the pious Carthusians of Mountgrace, to whose devotional activities we may immediately turn.

Until the Dissolution, Mountgrace stood amongst the most flourishing and respected of English religious houses. In 1523, well-qualified applicants of mature age were still contending for each vacant cell. This fame owed much to two recent monks, Richard Methley, born in 1452² and still living in 1509,³ and John Norton, who entered the order about 1482,⁴ became prior of Mountgrace in 1509-10,⁵ and died in 1521-22.⁶ Methley wrote at least five Latin mystical treatises, three of which survive.⁷ In

¹ *S.T.C.*, no. 17806. ² Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 1160, fo. 30.

³ *Test. Ebor.*, v, p. 5. ⁴ Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS. A.6.8, fo. 79v.

⁵ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, i (1), p. 210, m. 15.

⁶ References and further detail on both are given in *Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century* (Surtees Soc., clxxi), pp. 34-37. Brief assessments are in D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, ii (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 224-26; iii (Cambridge, 1959), p. 239.

⁷ All in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 1160, fos 1-70v.

addition, he translated into Latin *The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Mirror of Simple Souls*.¹ His only surviving English piece is a charming little epistle addressed to Hugh the Hermit,² probably the recluse who dwelt in the hermitage on the wooded hill above the Priory. In his original treatises Methley describes certain ecstatic states, which, beginning about 1485, he attained from time to time. In these passages, he appears as a straightforward, though not advanced, exponent of the so-called sensory mysticism. By his colleague Prior Norton we also have three surviving contemplative treatises,³ describing personal experiences. On the strength of a cursory reading it would seem presumptuous to dismiss Norton by some stock definition. He provides graciously-phrased but trite dialogues between his own soul and God, and between his soul and his good angel. These he clearly believes divinely inspired, though they occurred *in spiritu*, a phrase which seems to exclude quasi-physical audition and precise verbal inspiration. Norton saw, also in the spirit, certain visions, including the spectacle of a deceased Carthusian before Our Lady and the heavenly host. Concerning such outer fringes of contemplation we have still much to learn: in this no-man's-land neither the great mystical directors nor the modern psychologists prove very helpful guides. Each of Norton's treatises is preceded by a commendatory epistle from Chancellor Melton, who sums up in a few masterly sentences the many diffuse chapters of the original. He prescribes Norton's works as suitable reading for Carthusians; he obviously did not regard them as appropriate nourishment for the outer world. Even so, the reputations of Methley and Norton spread widely and attracted gifts to their house. Moreover, their tradition was maintained by the final generation of monks at Mountgrace, who transcribed and edited these surviving manuscripts. Melton's letters are addressed to one of the editors, Robert Fletcher, a monk reported in 1534 to the government by a Carthusian renegade as one claiming to enjoy visions.⁴ Fortunately, he survived to receive his pension.

¹ Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS. 221, fos 1^v-47^v, 49-107.

² P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], S.P. 1/239, fos 226-227^v; the same MS. has (fos 262-265^v) chapters xiv-xxvii of another work by Methley, *Experimentum Veritatis*.

³ All in Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS. A.6.8.

⁴ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vii, no. 1047 (ii).

These contemplative activities were firmly based upon regional tradition, since the three greatest of English contemplative writers—Rolle, Hilton and the author of *The Cloud*—belonged to the diocese of York. However prolonged its survival amongst Catholic exiles, the tradition virtually ceased upon its native soil with Robert Parkyn, a secular priest of south Yorkshire, whose manuscript books¹ afford a wide conspectus of his interests in the Bible, the Fathers, the medieval commentators, the English poets, historians and mystics. Parkyn first appears in 1541 as a priest employed by a local pluralist, but soon afterwards he became curate of Adwick-le-Street near Doncaster, and there he remained, writing indefatigably, until his death in 1569. He venerated More and Fisher, compiled a Concordance and wrote a 10,000-line metrical life of Christ arranged for public readings. Under Mary he composed a narrative of the Reformation, regarding it as an unpleasant parenthesis. But in the course of twenty years even this conservative moved far. He began his literary life by transcribing works of Richard Rolle, whose shrine at Hampole lay in his parish of Adwick. He ended by copying a treatise of the Catholic *émigré* Thomas Stapleton and by bequeathing a copy of Calvin to the local squire. The most attractive of his own treatises are those in the mystical tradition, and one of them, *A Brief Rule*,² forms a quite admirable compendium of the contemplative arts. Parkyn did not inhabit an intellectual vacuum, and his studies seem to have differed little from those of his clerical neighbours. For all that, he was not quite an ordinary parish priest. His brother John, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge,³ sent him scholarly books by the Kendal carrier. Again, he did not depend solely upon the wretched annual stipend of £4-13-4, which the nuns of Hampole (and presumably their immediate successors) paid the curate of Adwick. As revealed by his inquisition *post mortem*,⁴ he had inherited over 73 acres of land and several houses:

¹ Listed in *Tudor Treatises* (Yorkshire Archaeol. Soc., Record Series, cxxv), pp. 18 ff. The introduction gives references to my various articles on Parkyn. One correction may here be made. Mr N. Ker has now convinced me that the Mirk MS. at Southwell should not be attributed to Parkyn. The numerous, but individually inconclusive, grounds on which I claimed it for him cannot stand against certain significant divergences from Parkyn's hand.

² Printed in *Tudor Treatises*, pp. 67-84.

³ Cf. below, pp. 313 ff.

⁴ P.R.O., C. 142/151/28.

a useful precaution if one hoped to live a cultivated life in a world of parochial endowments devoured by monks and squires.

Amongst our earlier clerical writers are two who recall the intimate relation between the northern clergy and the great feudal houses. About 1520 William Peeris, 'clerke and preste, secretary to the right nobel Erle, Henry the Vth Erle of Northumbreland', contributed an enormous metrical history of the Percies to the most splendid of all their family manuscripts.¹ This prolix affair, based upon the medieval chronicles, also incorporates some independent traditions and pays special regard to the ecclesiastical foundations and benefactions of the Percies. Concerning the author, we sense little save a dog-like devotion, though his background at Wressle and Leconfield can easily be supplied from the contemporary *Percy Household Book*. A mid-century parallel is the verse-history of the Stanleys² written by Thomas Stanley, son of Sir Edward, the hero of Flodden. A pluralist who became bishop of Sodor and Man, Thomas Stanley held several northern benefices, the chief of them being Badsworth in south Yorkshire. Even so, one claims a Stanley for Yorkshire with ill-concealed embarrassment, the more so since the extent of his actual residence cannot be verified. With even less propriety might one claim John Skelton, yet he worked for the Percies and composed one of his best poems at Sheriff Hutton.³

Of the early Reformist writers in Yorkshire, Sir Francis Bigod and Wilfrid Holme can both claim a significance more than local. They stand among the anticlericals of the thirties, but unlike so many of their tribe, both had a genuine fund of idealism and a positive message. I have elsewhere⁴ attempted to explain the

¹ B.M., Royal MS. 18 D.ii, fos 186-95. It mentions the marriage of Sir Henry Clifford and Margaret Percy, c. 1516, but writes of his father Lord Clifford, who died 1523, as still alive. Three other versions are at Alnwick and a fourth in the Bodleian Library, Dodsworth MS. 50, fos 119 ff.

² Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. Poet. 143, printed in *The Palatine Anthology*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (1850), pp. 208-71. Other versions are in B.M., Add. MS. 5830 and Harl. MS. 541. The writer refers to the second Lord Mounteagle (d. 1560) as dead, but much of the poem could be earlier. On Stanley and his livings, see *Thoresby Soc.*, xvii, pp. 64-65.

³ *A ryght delectable traytise upon a goodly Garlande, or Chapelet of Laurell . . . studyously dyrvysed at Sheryfhotton Castell* (R. Fawkes, 1523).

⁴ A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1959), pp. 90 ff.

complex mental processes whereby Sir Francis, a humanist from Wolsey's household and from Oxford, embraced the Protestant cause, but then attempted to revive the Pilgrimage of Grace. During the first rising he penned a fundamental, individualist memorandum¹ on the relations of Church and State, which argued that only a cleric, such as the archbishop of Canterbury, could be head of the Church, and that Henry VIII should content himself with the rôle of a secular protector. Bigod's single printed work *A Treatise of Impropropriations*² dates from 1534 to 1535, when he was still working obediently for Thomas Cromwell, yet it does not fail to suggest why Bigod was soon to part company with Henricianism. From behind the conventional attack of the *Treatise* upon monkish avarice and sloth, there emerges the plea that ill-gotten monastic endowments should be devoted to founding a new race of learned and painful ministers of the Gospel. This demand for a preaching theocracy clearly formed the basis for Bigod's subsequent deviation, and his *Treatise* anticipates not merely some of the proposals but the very phrases beloved by Elizabethan puritans.

Wilfrid Holme of Huntington³ was also a squire of ancient family, but may well have imbibed his advanced views at the Inns of Court. Had he not died young in 1538, he would doubtless also have been disillusioned by Henry's failure to follow the light of the Gospel. Holme's book *The Fall and Evil Success of Rebellion*⁴ is no mere versified account of the Pilgrimage of Grace; it is an advanced manifesto of anti-clericalism, a wholesale onslaught upon monasticism, scholasticism and saint-worship, with a towering scorn for fusty superstitions and an exultant belief in the coming miracles of Bible-Christianity under the Godly Prince. Beneath the gothic structure of a dream-allegory and the turbulence of an over-latinized vocabulary there lies a radicalism and a ruthlessness startling indeed at this early date and in this conservative background. On the other side, the Pilgrimage produced many rebel-

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

² *S.T.C.*, no. 4240; reprinted in *Tudor Treatises*, pp. 41-58; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 9-17.

³ For Holme and his poem, see Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants* . . . , pp. 114-31.

⁴ *S.T.C.*, nos 13602-03; written 1537, published in two edns 1572-73.

lions memoranda and political poems, a few of which have survived.¹

From about 1538, the wills of Yorkshire gentry and clothiers indicate a steady expansion of Protestant ideas,² but these converts remained unsupported by any local group of publicists, such as that which gathered in Edwardian Ipswich about the printing presses of Anthony Scoloker and John Oswen.³ Again, the successive governments, Edwardian, Marian and early Elizabethan, failed to organize religious and political propaganda in the north. Their failures are illustrated by the local ineffectiveness of the non-native scholars and writers hopefully introduced about the mid-century to occupy prebends at York. Of these men, Thomas Cottesford, the translator of Zwingli and Melancthon, was a prolific Edwardian devotional writer.⁴ William Turner, the great naturalist, was so convinced a puritan that he trained his dog to snatch off the square cap of an Elizabethan bishop having the misfortune to dine with him. Alban Langdale was a well-known Marian controversialist, and Laurence Nowell a distinguished pioneer of Anglo-Saxon studies.⁵ Yet none of these men stayed long, and none played a striking part in evangelizing or educating the city and the diocese. If rapid advances were to be made by either Reformation or Counter-Reformation, the need was for travelling preachers and pamphleteers, not for learned scholars in the prebendal houses round the Minster. The intellectuals who made a real impact upon the Elizabethan north were neither divines nor professional publicists: they were the civilian and common lawyers on the Queen's Council in the North, men like the two Ralph Rokebys, Sir John Gibson, Sir Edward Stanhope, Sir John Ferne and Sir John Bennet.⁶ Their rôle was judicial and

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii (1), no. 1021 (3, 5); cf. M. H. Dodds in *The Library*, 3rd Series, iv, p. 399; also *English Historical Review*, v, pp. 344-45.

² Cf. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants* . . . , pp. 172-73, 215-17.

³ Duff, *The English Provincial Printers*, pp. 106-11; *S.T.C.*, nos 18055-56, 20661-63.

⁴ *[Dictionary of] N[ational] B[iography]*; *The Library*, 5th Series, xi, pp. 44-47.

⁵ References in Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants* . . . , pp. 192-94; *Victoria County History*; *City of York*, p. 157.

⁶ All except Gibson are in *D.N.B.*; R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (London, 1921), pp. 490 ff., gives their periods of service.

administrative, but together with the doctors, ecclesiastical lawyers and married upper clergy they also gave the city of York something it had not previously contained: an educated and predominantly lay professional class, distinct from the old merchant oligarchy.

After the relative sterility of the mid-century, a striking diversification and dissemination of literature followed upon Elizabeth's accession. Whereas hitherto secular writing scarcely existed, now the Elizabethans cover the gamut of human affairs: the law; political, economic and social problems; astronomy, mathematics, medicine, horticulture, botany; genealogy and family history. They also include a heterogeneous assembly of poets and versifiers. Religion admittedly continues to bulk large, and in two militant forms: Calvinist Anglicanism and seminarist Catholicism, the latter of which catered for minorities largely localized in four or five limited areas of the shire.¹ Here as elsewhere, Elizabethan religion in the field supplies Arminianism with no recognizable prehistory.

The theological writings of our three most notable archbishops, Grindal,² Sandys³ and Hutton,⁴ are all deeply impregnated by Calvinist doctrine. Sandys, who of the three tried hardest to impose a minimum of ritual conformity upon his puritans, held doctrinal views almost as wholeheartedly Calvinistic as those of Hutton. Behind them all loomed the maternal presence of the University of Cambridge, giving birth alike to the establishment and to the opposition. Of the latter, a prominent northern member was Giles Wigginton, who came from a fellowship at Trinity to the vicarage of Sedbergh in 1579. He was not indeed the first Protestant writer to hold a living in conservative Richmondshire. This distinction belongs to William Turner's Cambridge pupil Robert Hutton, the translator of Spangenberg⁵ and a prominent

¹ Cf. above, pp. 159 ff.
pp. 24 ff. ² *Remains* (Parker Soc., 1843).

³ Works listed in *D.N.B.*; his will in York Dioc. Records, R. I. xxxi, fo. 103, contains doctrinal affirmations.

⁴ *D.N.B.*; C. H. and T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1858-1913), ii, p. 421; *Correspondence of Dr Matthew Hutton* (Surtees Soc., xvii); R. A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York* (London, 1960), pp. 22-23; J. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York' (London Ph.D. thesis, 1955), pp. 69-70.

⁵ *S.T.C.*, nos 23004-07.

Marian exile, who was vicar of Catterick at his death in 1568. Yet while there is no evidence that the pluralist Hutton¹ made any local impact, it is known that at Sedbergh Wigginton drew large congregations, especially after his first imprisonment by Whitgift in 1585-86. Two years later he again suffered imprisonment on account of his complicity with Martin Marprelate. Finally in 1592 he was restored to his vicarage by Burghley, who had been influenced by Whitgift's enemies.² Chief among these was Henry Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, who was not only the greatest president of Elizabeth's Council at York but occupied the centre of the web of northern puritanism.

A more attractive writer than Giles Wigginton was his friend Edmund Bunney, from 1575 rector of Bolton Percy near York.³ He had renounced his family estates near Wakefield in order to become a peripatetic, though quite handsomely beneficed, evangelist. This Yorkshire counterpart of Bernard Gilpin published between 1576 and 1585 five widely-read devotional works, including a compendium of Calvin's *Institutes*. A third figure in the puritan gallery is the diarist Lady Margaret Hoby,⁴ who imbibed in Huntingdon's household⁵ those strict principles and routines which she subsequently practised at Hackness alongside her equally precise husband Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby. Rightly interpreted, this bald and repetitive diary becomes an eloquent document of English puritanism, of the living actuality as distinct from the abstractions of economic historians. Alongside the ascetic processes of self-examination, she reveals a life of practical beneficence, of unfailing responsibility, of arduous service to the poor.

Amongst the many impressions derived from a study of these

¹ He went to Catterick in or after 1562 (H. B. McCall, *Richmondshire Churches* (London, 1910), p. 33), and continued to hold two rectories in Essex (*D.N.B.*).

² *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. A. Peel (Cambridge, 1915), ii, pp. 238 ff.; *The Marprelate Tracts*, ed. W. Pierce (London, 1911), pp. 57 ff.; works listed in *D.N.B.* and Cooper, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 329-31; B. Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans* (London, 1813), i, pp. 418 ff.

³ *D.N.B.*; J. Newton, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 244-45; Marchant, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 24, 236; Brook, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 252.

⁴ *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, ed. D. M. Meads (London, 1930).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Calvinists is one of methodological kinship with their Catholic opponents. The relation between Lady Hoby and her godly chaplains inevitably recalls that between Margaret Clitheroe and her seminarist confessors. Again, Edmund Bunney actually adapted for Protestant use a book by Father Parsons,¹ while Giles Wigginton urged upon Burghley the establishment of a seminary to train ministers capable of disputation with their rivals of Douai and Rome.² These opposites shared at least a common zeal to propagate the Christian faith in a lukewarm nation. From time to time, they grappled in direct conflict, yet in the strong efforts of both Wigginton and Bunney to protect and reconvert Margaret Clitheroe may clearly be detected no little admiration and compassion. These latter stories we read in the life of Mrs Clitheroe by her confessor John Mush,³ which, despite its rhetorical padding, enjoys a certain pre-eminence amid early northern recusant literature.⁴ Its author, himself a Yorkshireman, also wrote a general account of the sufferings of northern Catholics⁵ and later became a prominent literary champion of the seculars in their struggle with the Jesuits.

Amongst the many Elizabethan legal writers, two of the first rank were natives of Yorkshire and prominent figures in its public life. William West, of an old family in Aston parish and son of a rector of Hooton Roberts, joined the Inner Temple in 1568 and made a fortune in legal practice. In 1581 he edited *Littleton's Tenures* and soon afterwards returned home, bought the manor of Firbeck, and built the hall there. He then embarked upon further legal writing, while managing the affairs of the town of Rotherham and the earls of Shrewsbury.⁶ In 1590 he published his

¹ *D.N.B.*, 'Bunney, Edmund'; *S.T.C.*, no. 19355.

² B.M., Lansdowne MS. 84, no. 105.

³ J. Morris, *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers* (London, 1872-77), iii, pp. 416 ff.

⁴ Other Yorkshire Catholic writers were Fr. Richard Holtby (*ibid.*, iii, pp. 118-230); William Hutton (*ibid.*, iii, pp. 299-330); Thomas Harwood (*ibid.*, iii, p. 301); and possibly the anthologist Elizabeth Grymston (R. Hughey and P. Hereford in *The Library*, 4th Series, xv, pp. 61-91).

⁵ Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 359; perhaps the *Yorkshire Recusant's Relation*, printed *ibid.*, pp. 65 ff.

⁶ *D.N.B.*; *Test. Ebor.*, vi (Surtees Soc., cvi), pp. 142-43; *Fasti Parochiales*, i (Yorkshire Archaeol. Soc., Record Series, lxxxv), p. 149; J. Guest, *Historic Notices of Rotherham* (Worksop, 1879), pp. 374-89 *passim*; J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire* (London, 1828-31), i, pp. 300, 401; ii, p. 173.

famous book *Symbolaegraphia*, which may be termed the *Art, Description or Image of Instruments, Covenants, Contracts etc.*, or the *Notarie or Scrivener*. Such was its success that West immediately undertook a second edition, pruning the classical quotations and making it the perfectly functional handbook for practitioners. So adapted, the two parts together attained twenty-one editions by 1647.¹

Another eminent legal author was Henry Swinburne, who entered Broadgates Hall at the age of fifteen, but after graduating disqualified himself from college fellowships by marrying the daughter of an Oxford citizen. Returning to his native city of York, he flourished as a proctor, and at length as a judge in the archbishop's consistory court. His *Brief Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills* went through ten editions between 1595 and 1803. Swinburne died in 1623, but his *Treatise of Spousals or Matrimonial Contracts* was published in 1686 and 1711; it informs us that the author had planned a work on tithes, which he did not live to complete.² His fine monument, with its lifelike kneeling effigy, adorns the north choir aisle of the Minster, prominent in that series which epitomizes so much of northern public life in Elizabethan and Stuart times.

In the field of social criticism our two most interesting writers were both eccentrics, but in the case of Henry Arthington one would scarcely deduce it from his sober little book *Provision for the Poor now in Penury* (1597).³ This attempts a systematic analysis of the causes of pauperism, together with some proposals for its alleviation. Though its economic thinking is a little clouded by pious moralization, it has deservedly gained a place in the standard modern collection of Tudor economic documents.⁴ Arthington was a gentleman of small substance living at Wakefield, then probably the largest town in the West Riding, and he proves informative concerning the local self-help which both preceded and accompanied the national code. Six years earlier he had been a lieutenant of the fanatic William Hacket, who had

¹ W. T. Freemantle, *A Bibliography of Sheffield* . . . (Sheffield, 1911), pp. 251-54.

² *D.N.B.*; A. Wood, *Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss (Oxford, 1813-20), ii, p. 289; F. Drake, *Eboracum* (London, 1736), p. 377.

³ *S.T.C.*, no. 798.

⁴ R. H. Tawney and E. Power, *Tudor Economic Documents* (London, 1924), iii, pp. 444-58.

already impressed Giles Wigginton but had been whipped out of York. About Easter 1591 Arthington stood alongside Hacket when the latter mounted a cart in Cheapside and not only proclaimed himself to be Christ, but proposed to replace the queen and the Anglican Settlement by a divine kingdom based upon improved Presbyterian principles. The platform-party was soon constrained to escape an enraged audience by a hasty withdrawal into the Mermaid Tavern. Hacket's obvious madness did not save him from the scaffold, while Arthington's year (or thereabouts) in Bridewell helped to restore his sense of realities. Some time in 1592 he published an apologetic narrative, suitably entitled *The Seduction of Arthington by Hacket*.¹ He further demonstrated his essential sanity by dedicating it to the Privy Council, which charitably permitted him to go home and research on pauperism in Wakefield.²

Another curious social writer was Michael Sherbrook, who held the rectory of Wickersley near Rotherham for no less than forty-three years before his death in 1610. His book, *The Fall of Religious Houses*, though incautiously utilized by modern propagandists, remained unprinted until a couple of years ago.³ This opinionated but leisurely cleric began the work in 1567 but did not add the later passages until 1591. He has left us a mordant, fluently-written and sometimes witty account of the English Reformation. He idealizes monastic virtues and benefactions, being among the first writers to propound the 'catastrophic' view of the Dissolution. In 1539 he had been a small boy and (though he tells two or three anecdotes related by his father and uncle) his pro-monastic arguments are largely based on medieval sources. Here he discovered a wealth of wild statistics: he imagined that there were 10,000 religious houses in England and that they held some 30,000 of 40,000 parishes in the country! Like so many Tudor writers, he exaggerates the whole problem of enclosures and their contribution to pauperism. He duly observes the Elizabethan increase in population, which expanded the supply of cheap labour and depressed wages; yet even as we pause to ad-

¹ *S.T.C.*, no. 799.

² *D.N.B.* gives references, 'Hacket, William'; 'Coppinger, Edmund'; 'Arthington, Henry'; 'Wigginton, Giles'.

³ B.M., Add. MS. 5813, fos 5-29, printed in *Tudor Treatises*, pp. 89-142; for the succeeding points, see *ibid.*, pp. 27-40.

mire his percipience, he goes on to blame this phenomenon upon the procreative efforts of the married clergy! And so far is he out of touch with Tudor reasoning that he thinks the monastic lands should have been handed over to the nobility and the bishops. Sherbrook was a doctrinaire medievalist, not a genuine survivor from the Middle Ages, yet his sense of the monastic achievement shows a refreshing independence in the face of John Foxe's hostile propaganda. The rector of Wickersley was a poor economist; as a monastic antiquarian he seems a very humble precursor of Dugdale and Willis; yet he realized more clearly than they that the Dissolution deserved investigation as an event in the economic and social history of England.

Historians of Tudor thought should not allow their minds to be unduly dominated by the Reformation. Of the many developments which ran in parallel, at least one might well be accorded an equal significance. An enhanced curiosity concerning the universe, the world of nature and the mind of man became widely apparent, even in the provinces, during the reign of Elizabeth. Already in 1556-58, when Robert Parkyn was still writing mystical treatises, John Field of East Ardsley published the first English astronomical tables based upon the Copernican system.¹ Unlike his friend Dr John Dee (who contributed a preface), Field had no taste for publicity, and soon settled down on his small West Riding estate: nearly thirty years later he modestly described himself in his will as 'farmer, sometymes studente in the mathymaticales sciences.'² Not all his neighbours with similar interests showed a similar discretion. Roger Ascham's brother Anthony took his M.B. at Cambridge in 1540, was ordained deacon under the Edwardian ordinal at Egton Chapel in 1552,³ and for the next fifteen years served as rector of Methley.⁴ Between 1548 and 1558 he emitted numerous publications, most of them almanacs with prognostications for the

¹ *S.T.C.*, nos 10749-50; *Ephemeris anni 1557 currentis iuxta Copernici et Reinholdi canones . . . ad Meridianum Londoniensem . . . supputata* (London, 1556). The edition of 1558 covered the years 1558-59-60. On the relations of Field, Recorde and Dee, see F. R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* (Baltimore, 1937).

² York Dioc. Records, R.I. xxiii, fo. 435, dated 28 Dec. 1586, proved 3 May 1587; cf. also *D.N.B.*; *Yorkshire Archaeol. Journal*, xiv, p. 81.

³ W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction . . .* (Church Hist. Soc., xviii, 1896), p. 218.

⁴ T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (London, 1816), p. 273.

year.¹ His first book was innocently entitled *A Little Herbal*, but he allowed both medicine and botany to be stifled by astrology, or so I deduce from a *Treatise of Astronomie, declaring what Herbs and all kinde of Medicines are appropriate, and also under the influence of the Planets, Signs and Constellations*.

A more secure place in the history of medical writing was attained by Timothy Bright, rector of Barwick in Elmet and of Methley, who has attained the prestige of a full-scale modern biography.² He published five medical books, including *Hygieina* (1582), *Therapeutica* (1583) and *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586). He also invented the first English system of shorthand in his *Characterie* (1588) and published an abridgement (1589) of Foxe.³ Along with Anthony Hunton (a younger local physician who contributed erudite verses to Gerard's *Herbal*), Bright popularized the curative waters of Harrogate.⁴ Like that of Harvey's other English predecessors, his medicine is bookish and dominated by Galenic principles. The *Melancholie* can claim a greater importance, both as literature and as an early essay in psycho-therapy. It was written to help an afflicted friend and has not undeservedly been called 'a wise and tender book'. It contributed substantially to Burton's famous work, and may well have enlarged Shakespeare's psychological concepts.⁵ Altogether, even in Elizabethan circles, Bright commands attention as a man of outstanding intellectual versatility.⁶

An older contemporary physician was Dr John Jones, who practised in many places⁷ before accepting in 1581 the benefice of Treeton, conveniently near his patron the earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield. His first work, *A Dial for all Agues*, appeared in 1566

¹ Listed in *D.N.B.*; *S.T.C.*, nos 410, 856-59.

² W. J. Carlton, *Timothe Bright, Doctor of Phisicke* (London, 1911); *D.N.B.*; *Thoresby Soc.*, xv, pp. 30-37.

³ Best bibliography in Carlton, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-94.

⁴ W. J. Kaye, *Anthony Hunton M.D.*, in *Thoresby Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 212-25.

⁵ Carlton, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.; P. H. Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (San Marino, 1953), pp. 302-03; M. Levy, *William Shakespeare and Timothy Bright* (London, 1910).

⁶ His recondite library and musical interests appear in his will, printed by Carlton, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-64.

⁷ He married at Louth in 1561 and kept his family there until 1581 (R. W. Goulding, *Four Louth Men* (Louth, 1913), p. 5, gives parish register references). He also worked in Bath and Derbyshire. *A Dial for All Agues* gives several biographical details unnoticed by *D.N.B.*

and was followed in 1572 by treatises on the waters of Bath and Buxton.¹ The latter were in fact being developed by Shrewsbury, to whom Jones dedicated a further book in 1574.² Like Bright, he was no innovator and he strongly championed Galen against Paracelsus, yet in a more practical spirit he often describes cures in his own experience. Alongside the deluded medical theories of the age, he displays abundant common sense, and especially in his last book, *The Arte and Science of preserving Bodie and Soule in Healthe, Wisdome & Catholike Religion*, dedicated in 1579 to the Queen. Despite the title, this is in fact a pioneer work on pediatrics. Its teaching on breast-feeding, weaning, cleanliness, warmth and mild laxatives is careful and sound, while the concluding sections on the moral education of the child are not only high-minded but strikingly humane by the harsh standards of that age.³

Alongside these intelligent clerics stands John Favour, vicar of Halifax from 1594 until his death in 1623. He had the reputation of being 'a good divine, a good physician and a good lawyer'; he claims to have practised all three professions in the preface to his one solid work of learning, *Antiquitie triumphing over Noveltie* (1619). A Wykehamist, a former fellow of New College and a LL.D. of Oxford,⁴ Favour entertained Calvinist views, served as chaplain to the earl of Huntingdon, held 'exercises' at Halifax and protected clergyman in trouble for non-conformity.⁵ He also kept lurid memoranda concerning the less puritanical of his parishioners.⁶ Not many years ago he was discovered to be the author of a book called *Northerne Poems* (1603), which warmly welcomed James I and called for a close union of the kingdoms.⁷

¹ Bibliography in W. T. Freemantle, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-32; *S.T.C.*, nos 14724-26.

² *A Brieve excellent and profitable discourse of the naturall beginning of all growing & living things*. His translation of Galen's *Booke of Elementes* also belongs to this year.

³ S. X. Radbill, 'John Jones Phisition, The Second Writer on Pediatrics in English', *Bulletin of the Institute of the Hist. of Medicine*, vi, no. 3 (1938), pp. 145-62. Cf. also P. H. Kocher, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

⁴ *D.N.B.*; W. J. Walker, *The Early Registers of Halifax Parish Church* (1885), Introd.; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1591-94, pp. 417, 474.

⁵ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 36; J. Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁶ Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.

⁷ T. W. Hanson, *Halifax Antiquarian Soc. Papers*, 2 April 1946. His will, proved 29 July 1600, is in York Dioc. Records, R.I. xxxi, fo. 137v.

This new Elizabethan versatility was also demonstrated by certain of the Yorkshire gentry, for example by Richard Shanne of Methley, who kept and catalogued an extensive botanical garden, compiled a herbal, analysed the distribution of flora in the north, recorded natural phenomena, and planted three orchards between 1577 and 1617.¹ Such activities by no means exhausted the resources of this provincial polymath. According to his friend, the Hampshire naturalist John Goodyear, 'he did practise both in Phisicke and specially in Chirurgerie and did cure verie manie daungerouse wounds and ulcers . . . He made two large bookes dialogge wyse of Phisicke and Chirurgerie. He delited much in reding Granado's meditations, and was verie seldome seene in anie rude companie, but avoyded companie as much as he could and took much pleasure to walke in woods and to be solitarie'. Shanne seems indeed an authentic prototype of Walton, Evelyn and White; we can only regret that so many of his writings have disappeared. The British Museum has, however, one of his large commonplace books,² from which I hope to print some selections.

In a county which by 1600 contained over 600 gentle families, much genealogical and heraldic writing inevitably occurred. Of the formal authors, the most learned was Sir John Ferne, who came of a gentle family of Doncaster and Temple Belwood, and who rose through Oxford, the Inner Temple and the recordership of Doncaster to be secretary of the Council in the North.³ His chief work (1586) has two parts: *The Glorie of Generositie*, a general discussion, and *Lacie's Nobility*, an erudite essay on this particular medieval family arising from a commission by Albert à Lasco.⁴ This adventurer claimed kinship with the Lacys, successfully imposed upon the court and the equally gullible University of Oxford, at last disappearing amid a cloud of debts. Ferne then hastened to publish his own researches in order to show that, so far from supporting à Lasco's claims, he had in fact disproved them. The broader interest of his work arises from a spirited

¹ R. W. T. Gunther, *Early British Botanists and their Gardens* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 264-65.

² B.M., Add. MS. 38599: cf. *Catalogue of Add. MSS.*, 1911-15, p. 159; H. E. Rollins, 'Ballads from Add. MS. 38599', *Publications of the Modern Lang. Assoc. of America*, xxxviii, no. 1.

³ *D.N.B.*; Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 489, 496; Hunter, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 31-32.

⁴ *S.T.C.*, nos 10824-25.

dialogue between speakers of several social classes, a realistic ploughman being introduced and assigned some speeches (clearly dictated by Ferne's protestant ardour) concerning the superstitions imposed by the medieval priesthood on an ignorant peasantry. A far less solid genealogist was the south Yorkshire gentleman John Bossewell,¹ who published his *Workes of Armourie* in 1572.² He owes an obvious discipleship to Gerard Legh, that exploiter of the fabulous and the allegorical for a gentry which compensated for lack of antiquity by a taste for high-flown conceits. Of the Yorkshire family memoirs, the most readable is the *Oekonomia Rokebiorum*³ by the younger Ralph Rokeby, a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, and a predecessor of his brother-in-law John Ferne as secretary (1589-95) to the Northern Council.⁴ Rokeby originally addressed his essay in 1565 to his four nephews, but rewrote it nearly thirty years later, still aiming to preserve the fine traditions of public service and beneficence which had so long distinguished his line. His narrative is splendidly uplifting; it helps to explain why Tudor England was the best-managed state in Europe, and it provides a necessary corrective to economists' concepts of the Tudor gentry. Rokeby has fully assimilated Renaissance doctrine: he would have his nephews reared on the Bible, Polybius, Tacitus, Plutarch, Commynes, Guicciardini, Castiglione and 'that sweet Frenchman' Innocent Gentillet, the opponent of Macchiavelli. He quotes elegant verses sent him by Camden, but as easily he turns to the Yorkshire homespun and incorporates the ballad of the *Felon Sow*, in which the early Tudor Rokebys figure so prominently.

Finally, we must glance at the Elizabethan poets, one of whom, though provincial by any definition, occupies a rather exalted place in the literary history of England. Edward Fairfax was the natural son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton near Ilkley, and thus great-uncle to the Parliamentary general. The date of his birth and the manner of his education are unknown. He lived in scholarly seclusion at Newhall, near Denton, where he died in

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, i, p. 32; *D.N.B.*

² *S.T.C.*, nos 3393-94, dedicated to Burghley and sponsored by Nicholas Roscarrock.

³ B.M., Add. MS. 24470, fos 294-328, a copy by Hunter, printed in T. D. Whitaker, *A General History of the County of York* (London, 1821-22), (*Richmondshire*), pp. 158-80.

⁴ *D.N.B.*; Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

1635.¹ Here he helped to manage the affairs and educate the children of his brother Thomas, later first Lord Fairfax, who himself wrote treatises on horsemanship, the militia, and other practical matters.² Edward Fairfax's minor works included twelve eclogues³ and a curious *Discourse of Witchcraft* (1621),⁴ based on the belief that two of his own daughters had been bewitched. His fame is wholly based upon his admirable translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, published in 1600 under the title *Godfrey of Bulloigne*.⁵ Unlike his predecessor, the Cornish antiquary Richard Carew, he treated his original with great freedom and often developed a conceit with more audacity than did his original. Courthope remarks that his work 'bears in every stanza the impress of an original and poetic mind', and that here 'for the first time . . . the English language was made to prove its capacity as the vehicle for a subject of epic greatness'.⁶ James I valued this work above all English poetry, while Dryden relates that 'many besides myself have heard our famous Waller own that he derived the harmony of his numbers from the Godfrey of Bulloigne, which was turned into English by Mr Fairfax'.⁷

Two lesser writers of verse were members of the Shrewsbury household at Sheffield. Thomas Howell, one of the scattered amateurs who 'maintained the tradition of English poetry in the barren years between the death of Surrey and the rise of Spenser',⁸ wrote three volumes of verse bristling with compliments to the Talbot family: *The Arbor of Amitie* (1568), *New Sonets and Pretie Pamphlets* (1567-68) and *Howell his Devises* (1581).⁹ He is a pathetic creature, a typical Elizabethan pessimist, for ever tormented by poverty and by unrequited love for a lady above his station; in his last volume he has become sick and enfeebled, 'mine ancors

¹ *D.N.B.*; T. D. Whitaker, *Ducatus Leodiensis* (Leeds and Wakefield, 1816), p. 39.

² *D.N.B.*, 'Fairfax, Thomas, first Baron'.

³ Of which three have survived; cf. *D.N.B.*, 'Fairfax, Edward'.

⁴ Printed in *Philobiblon Soc. Miscellanies*, v (1858).

⁵ *S.T.C.*, nos 23698-99.

⁶ W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry* (London, 1885-1910), iii, pp. 81-86.

⁷ *Preface to Fables*; but cf. Courthope, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 274-75.

⁸ *Howell's Devises*, ed. W. Raleigh (Tudor and Stuart Library, i, 1906), Introduction; A. B. Grosart edited *The Poems of Thomas Howell, 1568-1581* ([Manchester], 1879).

⁹ *S.T.C.*, nos 13874-76.

worne, my sayles and tackling donne', and so he vanishes obscurely. A more cheerful and vulgar figure in the Talbot household was Richard Robinson, who in his preface to *The Reward of Wickedness* (1574)¹ relates that he composed the poem while doing guard-duty at Sheffield over the queen of Scots. Not surprisingly, Robinson's work has a violently protestant theme. In a dream, he visits the realms of Pluto, meets many distinguished inmates, and finds the authorities preparing a warm welcome for the late Bishop Bonner. Robinson appears to have gone to his own account before the publication in 1589 of his other book, *The Golden Mirror*,² a further anti-papal and patriotic manifesto in verse. It adapts not only the medieval dream-allegory but the fanciful personification of historical figures by animals, a tradition deriving from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Here the earl of Derby appears as an eagle (which occurred in his arms), the Talbots as hunting dogs, and, one need scarcely add, Sir Francis Drake as an aggressive bird of that species, whose victories over the papist animals bring the poem to a triumphant climax. Yet this *naïveté* makes excellent reading for modern intellectuals, illustrating as it does the cheap, wartime jingoism which underlay the dynamic of Elizabeth's England.

On the death of Sir Thomas More, his dull son John settled upon Anne Cresacre's estate at Barnborough, and among their children was Edward, whose great abilities and conceit are described by his nephew Cresacre More.³ In 1557, as a promising youth of twenty, he wrote a versified *Defence of Women*⁴ against the satirical attacks made by *The Schoolhouse*. Yet with this sole printed work to his name, Edward More died an undistinguished octogenarian and was buried in 1620 at Barnborough.⁵ When such country gentlemen aspired to verse, they unfortunately

¹ S.T.C., no. 21120.

² S.T.C., no. 21119, reprinted in *Chetham Soc.*, xxiii.

³ *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1828), p. xlviii.

⁴ J. Kynge, 1560 (S.T.C., no. 18067); cf. H. Stein in *The Library*, 4th Series, xv, p. 43. On *The Schoolhouse* (S.T.C., nos 12104-07), no longer attributed to Edward Gosynhyll, see B. White in *Huntingdon Library Bulletin*, ii, pp. 165 ff.

⁵ *D.N.B.*; J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire* (London, 1828-31), i, p. 376; he frequently appears as defendant and litigant in the Act Books of the Northern Ecclesiastical Commission.

turned too seldom to rural life and landscape. One who at least made the attempt was John Kaye, of an old family seated at Woodsome Hall near Huddersfield,¹ a prolific versifier who had at least one volume in print. He called this *A Fatherly Farewell* (1576), and larded it heavily with sententious advice to his children and readers. Another of his longer poems is described by Joseph Hunter as 'a large piece of Georgic concerning the husbandry operations of each month, intended especially for the guidance of his heirs in the management of their lands at Woodsome'. Along with it were several smaller poems, including his reflections on Thomas Tusser and other agricultural writers.²

Of far greater literary interest are the ballads, which continued to form a link between all classes of northern men throughout the Tudor period. We know all too little concerning that element of personal authorship which so often seems to bulk large. Amongst those items certainly emanating from Tudor Yorkshire stands the long *Ballad of Flodden Field*,³ composed, says a very probable tradition, during the sixties by Richard Jackson, schoolmaster of Ingleton. This man knew the dialect of Craven, but he matriculated from Clare Hall in 1567, and proceeded B.A. in 1570.⁴ The heavy stress placed by his ballad on the prowess of the Stanleys suggests that Jackson may have been one of their clients.⁵ By the later years of Elizabeth the days of Border balladry were numbered, and even northerners began to envisage a time when one would no longer insult a man by simply calling him a Scot. In 1603 Vicar Favour of Halifax greeted the new era with some resonant if prosaic phrases which mark the end of an era in northern English history:

‘Olde Albion is but one by nature’s lore
Invirond round with the vast Ocean shore.

¹ *Glover’s Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. J. Foster, p. 320.

² J. Hunter, ‘Chorus Vatum . . .’ (B.M., Add. MS. 24487, pp. 254–60). For further verses by Kaye on the Woodsome portraits, see T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (London, 1816), pp. 331–35.

³ Best edition by C. A. Federer, *The Ballad of Flodden Field* (Manchester, 1884). The text in B.M. Harl. MS. 3526 dates from c. 1636; the earliest printed edition, 1664. Cf. Federer, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–37.

⁴ *D.N.B.*; Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, ii, p. 118.

⁵ Another topical Yorkshire ballad is that on the murder of the West brothers by the Darcys, printed in J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, pp. 173–75.

To make it two, nature denies it bounds,
It is united fast by solid grounds.
The peoples' manners do resemble each,
There is small difference in their mother speech.
As for religion it hath profest but one,
One God, one truth, one faith in Christ alone.' ¹

Our list of writers in Tudor Yorkshire now numbers almost fifty, and since new candidates constantly appear, it seems likely to be further extended. Yet, however many names may be added, the severe mortality amongst manuscript materials is bound to have rendered any modern catalogue very incomplete. Under these conditions, the figure seems not unimpressive, and it suggests that social historians may well find a rewarding field in the mental history of the provinces. Those many able young men who came out of the remoter counties to sustain the life of London, Oxford and Cambridge did not derive from wholly rude or quiescent backgrounds. Alongside our list we might place the numerous extant book-catalogues in wills and inventories, or again, the list of about a hundred grammar schools existing in Elizabethan Yorkshire.² Charges of backwardness and barbarity should hence not be aimed indiscriminately at the Tudor north, for little resemblance existed between the rough-riding marches and the more populous parts of Yorkshire, where social and cultural conditions were largely comparable with those of the Midlands and most parts of southern England. This impression could readily be illustrated through a comparison between these Yorkshire writers and a parallel list of thirty which I have compiled for the county of Suffolk. In East Anglia, it is true, the old elements of feudalism, balladry and mysticism seem to evaporate more swiftly, and puritanism to make earlier headway, yet the general pattern of development, and many of the individuals encountered, bear close analogies with their Yorkshire counterparts.

In the latter area we have discovered in the first two decades of Elizabeth not only a waning of regional survivals but a sweeping process of assimilation to the dominant national patterns. The new ideas spread rapidly north of Trent and give birth to their

¹ *Northerne Poems*; cf. *supra*, p. 67.

² P. J. Wallis and W. E. Tate, *A Register of Old Yorkshire Grammar Schools* (Univ. of Leeds Inst. of Education, Researches and Studies, no. 13).

appropriate human types: the clerical physician and polymath, the ingenious gentleman-naturalist, the polite but introspective poet, the Italian-reading lawyer, the Anglo-Puritan missionary and his seminarist counterpart, the sectarian pamphleteer, the disgruntled social critic, the travelling player from London, the antiquarian, the popular genealogist, the secular professional class. If the reign of Henry VIII appears slow to shake off the spirit of the fifteenth century, that of Elizabeth soon seems from the first to be heading toward the seventeenth. For a few years, minds almost medieval co-exist with minds almost modern. In any time of accelerated mental change, this interlocking of diverse generations presents a fascinating spectacle, and nowhere in our provincial history does it prove more fascinating than in the early Elizabethan decades.

Surveying the broad course of European civilization, historians no longer regard the sixteenth century as unique in its revolutionary character. Humanism is seen to have its origins back in the lifetime of Dante, while at the other extreme it was only by gradual stages that the contemporaries of Galileo and of Newton saw the consequences of the new natural philosophy. Even so, I am here suggesting that in provincial England the reign of Elizabeth represents a major watershed. The laicizing and diversification of thought become so dramatic as to leave no doubts on that score. Before the mid-century there appears in Yorkshire virtually no secular literature; thereafter it increasingly abounds. For the first time, the world of letters completely bursts the banks laid by the professional interests of clergymen. If in terms of absolute quantity, religious writing shows little if any diminution, it now occupies a rather modest share of a greatly enhanced output. This phenomenon is but partially associated with the rising number of lay writers; it becomes as strikingly apparent among the clerical authors, who show themselves true children of their age, and deeply impregnated by its hybrid character. The quasi-scientific figures like Bright, Jones and Favour are interesting for their breadth rather than for their independence; they did not anticipate the discoveries of Harvey and of Galileo, yet they belonged to a new climate of thought which facilitated and accepted discovery.

In this larger context we should surely now review the Reformation. For the most part these men of the Elizabethan transition professed a Calvinist theology, but it proved quite powerless

to curb the expansiveness of the age or to repress its more intelligent devotees into scholasticism, fundamentalism or fatalism. Inevitably enough in a nation distracted by sectarian arrogance, by the dread of anarchy, by memories of Smithfield, by the fear of Spain, this freedom of spirit had some grave limitations. Nevertheless, it remains the great achievement of the Elizabethans. The clerical physicians and social thinkers understood the interdependence of soul and body as no Englishman had hitherto understood it. The puritan cleric Favour set out to be also a good physician and a good lawyer. Edward Fairfax rewrote the *Gerusalemme Liberata* with a far freer use of pagan mythology than Tasso, with one eye on the Inquisition, could allow himself. Aided by a truly English pragmatism, such men had in effect anticipated that profound saying of Sir Thomas Browne: 'Thus is Man that great and true Amphibium whose nature is disposed to live, not only like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds.' On this periphery of Europe and England we witness change all the more clearly. Our foreground is not filled by great figures like Shakespeare, Spenser and Hooker, whose individual achievements tend to obscure the general movement in the vast majority of educated minds. Already the Elizabethans are seen breaking free, not only from clerical professionalism, from interest in saint-cults, celibate communities and mystical techniques, but from the whole routine of question and answer current among metaphysicians and scholastic theologians. The day was not far distant when Bacon would define for them the idols they were bent on destroying, yet without that prophetic vision his countrymen had proceeded apace with a good deal of quiet iconoclasm; they had in some sense begun to build temples to the unknown gods of a future age.

Our generalizations will nevertheless acquire precision as we expand our regional studies and grope our way toward a sound methodology. In so doing, we must stand on guard against any form of regional chauvinism, any tendency to stretch the notion of provincial independence further than the facts allow. In the area we have examined, the indigenous elements seem from the first enfeebled and uncreative, for in relation to the rest of England, Tudor Northumbria was assuredly not the Northumbria of Bede. More important, Tudor society was essentially mobile: writing on religious change, I have illustrated elsewhere the free

flow of ideas between the north and the rest of England.¹ That mobility which marked so many men of unprivileged status was even more characteristic of the educated classes. Nearly three-quarters of our Yorkshire writers were natives of the county, yet nearly three-quarters of them received education in London, or at one or both of the universities. With only four or five exceptions (mainly among the early clerical writers) every one can be shown to have enjoyed frequent or prolonged experience of metropolitan or university life at some stage in his career. As the Plumpton Correspondence also powerfully suggests, to those who mattered in the public and cultural life of this area every mile of the Great North Road must have been painfully familiar. In at least one other sense, undue localism of outlook would certainly hamper study along the lines envisaged. If local history enjoys too little esteem amongst general readers, this springs in some measure from the fatal ease with which it can lapse into parish-pump antiquarianism. A single parish will yield no significant cultural trends and patterns: even a small county seems unlikely to produce readers and writers in such numbers as to warrant generalization. The mental history of England will be more satisfactorily written when the gap between local and national history has been closed: when regional units of intermediate size are subjected to careful examination. In all its forms, local history remains a discipline in its own right and with its peculiar values, yet when it remains too rigidly local it loses in spiritual content, and thereby renounces a vast contribution to the history of the English people.

¹ Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants* . . . , p. 246.

THE LAST MEDIEVAL ENGLISHMAN

THE PRESENT ESSAY attempts to reconstruct from manuscript sources the life and mind of a hitherto obscure mid-Tudor parish priest. In comparison with the great majority of such men, Robert Parkyn may well seem almost miraculously recorded. Of the average rural incumbent of that day we can commonly discover when he was appointed to his livings and when he died. An exiguous minority left manuscript memoranda which have happened to survive,¹ or even managed to get a book or two printed. Fairly often we can locate their wills, or find a few scrappy references to their dealings with some ecclesiastical court or official. In many cases even these fragments cannot be located, though during the last forty years research into diocesan archives has paid remarkable dividends to social and intellectual historians. In Parkyn's case, it seems possible that further biographical detail may still emerge from unexplored inquisitions, wills, ecclesiastical courtbooks and papers. It is just conceivable that more of his devotional and historical writings may come to light, over and beyond the four manuscript volumes² in which we can now explore his mental interests. Though our present factual knowledge leaves certain irritating gaps, it remains so voluminous that one would find it easier to write a short book rather than the following selective pages. Furthermore such a book might easily be made to furnish the background for a period novel, since elaborate personal and physical detail accompanies the literary and mental data. Some of the facts and ideas will seem humdrum to those who have never had the task of drilling shafts into Tudor society. But these pages should be interpreted alongside that conspiracy

¹ For example Brit. Lib. Sloane MS 1584 and Durham University Library Cosin MS VV 19, described by the present writer in *The English Reformation*, Batsford 1964, p. 4.

² Three are now in the Bodleian Library: MS Lat. Th. d. 15; MS Eng. Poet. e. 59; MS Eng. Poet. b. 1. The fourth is Aberdeen University Library MS 185.

of fate which has obscured the minds of the middle and lower orders of society, leaving their members to be regarded as mere economic functionaries, as demographic units, as the faceless pawns of historical controversy. Here at least is one of the happy cases well outside the Tudor textbooks, where undistinguished people can be observed doing something beyond routine duties and legal acts, can be seen actually thinking archaic thoughts within their provincial setting, remote from capital, court, great households, printing presses.

The deanery of Doncaster, that rather prosaic area of the West Riding which protrudes to the south of the Humber, contained in the early Tudor period not only sixty-seven 'normal' parishes but also some twenty chapelries enjoying a virtually independent parochial life.³ The area did not belong to the romantic, feudal, pastoral, rebellious 'north country' of the history book. In those days as in our own, the north was very far from homogeneous, despite the simplifications commonly arising – then as now – in the southern mind. Apart from forming the final assembly-point for the Pilgrimage of Grace, the Doncaster area did not stage the dramas of Tudor history. It did not obey the proud Percies and Nevilles: its one great noble house – the Talbots, earls of Shrewsbury – remained ever loyal to the ruling dynasty. The social structure and atmosphere resembled those of the Midlands far more than those of the Border counties. From an industrial viewpoint the area was more 'advanced' than most of northern England. The cutlery of Sheffield had been renowned in Chaucer's time. In the Elizabethan period coalmines were being worked at Barnsley, Cudworth, Monk Bretton, Ardsley, Silkstone, Thurnscoe, Greasborough, Rotherham, Wales and Woodsetts. Judging from the amount of coal burned in Sheffield, collieries were probably numerous in its surrounding district of Hallamshire.⁴ Though Henry VIII visited it only once, and his children not at all, it cannot be thought isolated from the south; and from much remoter districts of Yorkshire the leaders of local society often visited London. Doncaster formed the point where the old Roman highway entered Yorkshire, and four miles northward Robert Parkyn's parish of Adwick-le-Street owed its name to the fact that it lay upon this main artery of the kingdom: the old road, known locally as the

³ The fullest topographical history of the area is still Joseph Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, 2 vols, London 1828–31.

⁴ J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, 2 vols, Routledge 1932, I, pp. 57–8.

Rig, which can easily be traced to this day. When we enter the village and inspect its one important antique, the church, our Tudor parish priest seems not so very distant in time, the building having changed relatively little since his day. Indeed the south doorway and other nearby features were over 350 years old when Parkyn said the Catholic mass and then the Anglican communion-service, and when in 1569 he was buried just outside the choir door. The rest of the church, including the sedilia he used at mass, dates from various periods between the thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries while nearby in the choir there bulk large the altar tombs of Parkyn's friends James Washington and Leonard Wray. Washington's effigy, clad in fashionable ruff, lies alongside that of his wife Margaret Anlaby and below kneel their brood of ten children: the armorial bearings of both their families are prominent and the inscriptions relate that she died in 1579 aged thirty-six, he in 1580 aged forty-five.

Until the dissolution of the monasteries the parish had been somewhat overshadowed by Hampole Priory, a couple of miles distant from the village. A poor and otherwise undistinguished house of Cistercian nuns, it had become the cult-centre of that renowned mystical writer Richard Rolle (d. 1349), who had lived there throughout his later years, giving spiritual guidance to the community. Treating his canonization almost as a *fait accompli*, the Priory had soon boasted miracles. Richard restored to life a child buried in a haystack, others choked by apples, bitten by snakes or drowned in ponds. Men and women coming from as far as Durham and Leicester were cured by further miracles. Legacies accrued; special offices were composed in Richard's honour at the more famous houses of Shene and Syon; yet few of those who created his cult can have grasped his real importance, which lay in his writings.⁵ Appreciation of the latter grew gradually, even as the cause for canonization faded. Between 1500 and the Reformation Rolle was read more assiduously than ever, Robert Parkyn being among his later and more creative disciples.

By modern standards, even by reforming standards of that day, the relation of Hampole Priory with its neighbouring parishes could not be

⁵ H. E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle* (*Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series* III, 1927) gives detailed guidance, including some other late holders of Rolle MSS. These included (p. 408) the famous Elizabethan collector Henry Savile of Banke. A convenient collection of the Rolle school is in C. Horstmann (ed.), *Torkshire Writers. Richard Rolle . . . and his followers*, 2 vols, London 1895-6.

judged fortunate. Given by early patrons the three churches of Adwick, Marr and High Melton, the nuns lacked other substantial resources. Like others in their plight they had to live on the proceeds: they refrained from creating vicarages and appointed removable chaplains, each at a minimal salary of less than five pounds.⁶ This situation, relatively common in Yorkshire,⁷ was bewailed by Archbishop Lee in 1535 as productive of an ignorant clergy, unable to preach.⁸ Here the position improved but slowly after the dissolution, and Robert Parkyn – unlike his intimate friend William Watson at High Melton – was lucky to possess a private landed income. Regarding his family and early years our knowledge remains relatively slight, yet again it is more plentiful than we normally glean in such a case. For many famous men of the day – including Erasmus himself – it is hard or impossible to secure a certain date of birth. In this case approximations can be attempted. Parkyn inherited the family lands – detailed later on in his inquisition *post mortem* – and he must have been the eldest son among six recorded children.⁹ His younger brother John took the degree of B.A. at Cambridge in 1539–40, at a time when the great majority of graduands were aged about twenty.¹⁰ This would suggest that Robert was born during the second decade of the century or not much earlier, an estimate in accord with other facts: that their

⁶ J. Caley and J. Hunter (eds), *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Record Commission, 6 vols, London 1810–34, V, pp. 51–2.

⁷ A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages*, Clarendon Press 1947, pp. 115ff.; D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols, Cambridge University Press 1948–59, II, p. 291. P. Heath, *English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1969, has much information on their financial problems.

⁸ J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 3 vols, Clarendon Press 1822, I, pp. 291–2.

⁹ Public Record Office, C.142/151/28. Robert received various bequests from his brothers William and Christopher, respectively dated August 1558 and April 1560 (Borthwick Institute, York, Prob. Reg. 15, pt. 3, fos 45v–46; 16, fo 81). The former left him a ‘gray ambling horse’ and a young cow. William’s conservative piety also made him bequeathe all his bees and hives to maintaining the light ‘before the picture of the roode & the Virgyn Marie within Owston church’.

¹⁰ John’s academic career, to which further allusion will be made, is summarized in J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge University Press 1924, III, p. 310. I take this ‘average age’ from some 32 roughly contemporaneous bachelors whose birthdates happen to be known and are recorded in C. H. and T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 2 vols, Cambridge and London 1858–61.

mother was still alive in 1555, and that Robert himself emerges in 1541 as already a priest, yet working in a junior capacity. This last solid fact appears in the will, dated 21 January 1541, of Humphrey Gascoigne,¹¹ a rich pluralist cleric of a famous West Riding family. Here Gascoigne refers to him as 'Sir Robert Parkyn, my servant', and leaves him 'a fetherbedde with bolster therto appertaining, neither the best nor the worst, and also one messe book in paper of a large volume, beinge of Yorke's use'. Gascoigne refers to another cleric as 'my parishe preste', while Parkyn himself is designated among the witnesses as holding priests' orders. He may have been serving as assistant in Gascoigne's chief benefice at Barnborough, since the testator also provides that

Sir Roberte Parkin my servant shall singe at Barnburghe churche for the healthe of my sowle one hole yere next and immediately folowinge the daye of my buriall, and to have for the said yere serves [service] vij markes of lawfull money sterlinge; and if it fortune the said Sir Roberte to be promoted to another livinge, being a perpetuite, within the said yere, than I will that my brother Sir Peter Dynlinge have the said service.

Among the beneficiaries there also appear Gascoigne's sister Jane, late prioress of Hampole, and 'Sir William Watson curet of Melton on the Hill', a character we shall encounter later in this essay.

Not long after the death of his patron Parkyn accepted the curacy at Adwick, recently fallen into lay gift on the dissolution of Hampole Priory. The date of his appointment does not seem to be recorded. Nevertheless a good deal more concerning his early background can be deduced from his inquisition *post mortem*. This document shows that he came of a substantial yeoman family resident in the neighbouring parish of Owston. This village, less than three miles north of Adwick, is actually mentioned by John Parkyn as his own birthplace, and doubtless it was Robert's also. Though possibly related to the gentry-family of Perkins or Parkyns – at Fishlake,¹² they were accounted yeomen – a term of notoriously indefinite economic meaning – and owned numerous smallish properties.

¹¹ Borthwick Institute, R. I. xxviii, fos 182v–183v. On Humphrey Gascoigne see J. Hunter, *op. cit.*, I, p. 379.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, p. 178; J. Foster (ed.), *The Visitation of Yorkshire . . . by Robert Glover*, London 1875, p. 558.

Their central holding was a capital messuage at Busby in Owston, with over twenty-four acres. They had also twelve acres in Brodsworth and thirty-two at Moseley in Campsall parish. Altogether Robert inherited some seventy-three acres of land, plus a number of houses, closes and crofts, all in nearby parishes. The profits of this estate would enable him to live in greater comfort than the average Yorkshire vicar, a surmise for which we shall find support in the household described by his will. And had he accepted a proper vicarage with a glebe, he might have been tempted to spend his weekdays – as so many parish clerics did – living the life of a small farmer instead of following his scholarly pursuits.

Containing also the township of Skellow, Owston was a relatively populous parish with several gentle families.¹³ Its chantry school is first recorded in a certificate for continuance issued in 1548,¹⁴ but it had probably functioned much earlier. Perhaps its master gave both Robert and John their early grounding in Latin, though it should also be recalled that quite nearby the more famous Doncaster Grammar School, founded before 1350, was functioning in their youth.¹⁵ While John went on to a career of distinction at Cambridge – where he became in 1546 one of the original Fellows of Trinity College – no evidence proves or suggests that Robert attended a university. His *démodé* Latin, his rugged northern English, the deep-rooted provincialism of his interests would in themselves render the possibility remote. I have often wondered whether he can have spent a few years in a religious house just before the dissolution, but in that case some positive evidence ought to be forthcoming. All the same, his wide reading in Latin suggests a period of systematic study beyond that of the grammar school. Later on John Parkyn is seen sending him parcels of books from Cambridge, yet there appear marked differences between the booklists given in their respective wills. The lists distinguish the studious cleric who stayed near home from the more adventurous one who pro-

¹³ During a tithe-case of 1582–4 the vicar of Owston deposed that his parish had ‘about xiiij score communicants’ compared with about four score at Burghwallis (Borthwick Institute, R. VII, G. 2604).

¹⁴ *Early Yorkshire Schools*, II (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series XXXIII), 1903, pp. 34, 40, 45–7.

¹⁵ P. J. Wallis and W. E. Tate (eds), *A Register of Old Yorkshire Grammar Schools*, University of Leeds Institute of Education 1956, p. 15. It appears in bequests of 1524 and 1528, maintaining boys at the school (Borthwick Institute, Prob. Reg. 9, fo 335; R.I. xxvii, fo 163).

ceeded to Cambridge, there to encounter both the old and the new studies current among professional scholars. At this point one may perhaps be allowed a glance forward to John Parkyn's will, made on 21 September 1558.¹⁶ It shows that John's later studies lay in philosophy and theology. His books were all published on the Continent, though they reflect the Thomist and anti-Lutheran tendencies of a Catholic intellectual. He bequeathes to his brother Robert those volumes which the latter would obviously desire: the works of Denis the Carthusian in many volumes, an epitome of St Augustine, the Latin dictionary of Calepino and a Bible concordance. John also left him a gold sovereign, a silver spoon with an 'antique face' upon it, the usual bedding and 'a payr of gret wood beades'. But to John's Cambridge colleagues went his Greek dictionary, a wide selection of the works of Aquinas, three polemical books by John Fisher (1525-7) directed against Luther and Oecolampadius, the biblical commentaries of the Netherlandish Capuchin Franciscus Titelman, a commentary on Aristotle by Johannes Bernardi of Feldkirch, Anselm on the Pauline Epistles, Eusebius in three volumes, the letters of Cicero. Despite the conservative theological standpoint shared by the brothers, John's interests overlapped only to a minor degree with those of Robert, for the latter was concerned with English history and literature, in particular with English mystical or contemplative writings.

The earliest evidence of these interests appears in the largest and most varied of Robert Parkyn's commonplace books, where transcripts of three treatises by Richard Rolle occupy the first hundred folios or more.¹⁷ There are the *novem lectiones*, a commentary on the readings from Job which occur in the office for the dead, followed by two shorter items: *De vita activa et contemplativa* and a commentary on the twentieth Psalm. Though the first had already been printed thrice and the last once, Parkyn's copy seems to have been taken from manuscripts coming from Hampole or some other local source. He specifically claims to have written the whole of this volume, but his handwriting in these first items – most likely dating from the earlier forties – is still large and archaic, ostensibly modelled upon that of the much older manuscript which he was copying.

¹⁶ Cambridge University Library, University Archives, V.C.C. Wills, II, fo 5, edited by the present writer together with letters by John Parkyn below, pp. 313 f.

¹⁷ Bodleian MS Lat. Th. d. 15, fos 1-105v.

By the fifties, his hand has become notably smaller and more cursive. In themselves these transcripts can add little to Rolle scholarship, but they indicate one of the main foundations of Parkyn's own intellectual life. At this date an interest in Rolle cannot be regarded as esoteric or even outstandingly archaic, since numerous printed editions of the hermit's works, or of writings attributed to him, appeared between 1483 and 1542, mostly from the presses of Continental publishers.¹⁸

Little else is known of Parkyn's activities during the later years of Henry VIII. When in 1555 he came to compose his narrative of the Reformation,¹⁹ he covered the events of 1532-47 within a couple of large pages, and with such small inaccuracies as to suggest that hearsay or distant memory were his main guides. Writing amid the deceptive stability of the Marian reaction, he saw 1532 as the year when 'thes grevus matteres ensewyng first began to tayke roote', being thenceforward brought to pass 'to the grett discomforth of all suche as was trew christians'. Then he rapidly describes how Henry had been 'wrongusly devorcid' from his lawful wife, papal authority 'abolischide qwytt owtt of this realme', the royal supremacy declared and the religious houses dissolved. He notes the execution of those 'two verteus men & greatt clerkes', More and Fisher, for their refusal to acknowledge the king's supremacy over the English church. There followed the fall of Queen Anne, 'beheadyde for hir wretchide carnall lyffinge', and the 'grett commotions for mayntenance of holly Churche' in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Having almost certainly been an eye-witness of the climax of the Pilgrimage, he remarks of the rebels that 'disceattfully they were broughtt downe with treattie, withowtt bloode sheddyng, specially att a grownde namyde Scawsbie Leas nott farre from Doncaster'. Meanwhile religious houses continued to be suppressed furiously under foot, even as the holy temple of Jerusalem was handled by the Chaldees, and virtuous religious persons were shamefully executed in divers places of the realm. All this ungraciousness came through the counsel of 'one wreatche and heretike Thomas Cromwell and suche other of his affinitie'. Neglecting the Six Articles reaction, Parkyn then summarizes the proclamation of July 1541, which had abolished the 'superstitious' customs

¹⁸ For a list of early printed editions of Rolle, see W. T. Freemantle, *A Bibliography of Sheffield and Vicinity*, Sheffield 1911, pp. 164-80.

¹⁹ Edited by the present writer below, pp. 287 f.

observed on certain saints' days.²⁰ Thus in King Henry's days 'began holly Church in Englande to be in greatt ruyn as it appearide daly'.

Parkyn's much more elaborate account of the reign of Edward VI is historically valuable as a picture of the reception of religious change in the deanery of Doncaster. With no little charm and pathos he recounts the abolition of the picturesque and time-honoured rites of Lent and Easter, the silencing of organs, the introduction of Cranmer's Prayer Books, the confiscation of church goods.

In the begynnyng of Lentt all such suffragies as perteanyde to the sanctifyng of thasshes was omytt & lefft undoyne & so no asshes was gyven to any persons. In the sayme Lentt all ymages, pictures, tables, crucifixes, tabernacles, was utterly abolishide & takyn away furth of churches within this realme of Englande, and all searges of wax (exceptt two standynge uppon highe alters).

Item on Palme Sondag, beyng Our Lady Day Annunciation, no palmes was sanctifide nor borne in men's handes, no procession, no passion redde in Lattin at measse, but in Englishe only in the pulpitt.

Item on Shyrethursday at evin (anno domini 1548) no allters was waschide nor Mawndy gevin. And on Good Friday no sepulcre was preparide nor any mention mayde thatt day in holly church of Christ Jesus bitter passion, death and beriall (as of longe tyme before was uside) the passion only exceptt, wiche was redde in Englishe. All other ceremonyes, as creappinge before the crosse, 24 candylls, & disciplyne was utterly omittide.

On Easter evin no fyre was sanctifide, no paschall candle, no procession unto the foont, no candle presentt att sanctifyng thereof, no wordes songe ne saide from the foontt unto the qweare (as laudablie was uside before tyme), butt immediattelie dide proceade unto tholly masse, at wiche masse the people was communicatte with both kyndes. . . .²¹

Protector Somerset, 'a veray heretike & tratowr to God' is not distinguished from his unattractive successor Northumberland. Parkyn places the whole reign under the lugubrious text *Ve tibi terra cujus rex puer est*. Thus was the realm of England in great division and unquietness,

²⁰ On 23 August 1541 Henry was met by the Archbishop of York and over 300 priests at Barnesdale, only a few miles from Parkyn's home (*EHR* LIII, 1938, pp. 268-9). One would expect him to have been present, but he does not even record the king's visit.

²¹ See below, pp. 295-6.

sore plagued with enemies in the north parts by sword, and in the south with pestilence. But in the writer's mind the most extreme scandal arose from the advocates of clerical marriage,

. . . affirmynge also thatt it was leaffull for preastes to marie women, usynge tham as ther wyffes, wich was veray pleasanntt to many, for thay were maryede in verray deyde, both byschopps & other inferiowres, beynge so blyndide with carnall concupiscens thatt thay prechide & taughtt the people oppenly, that it was lawfull so to do by God's law, and enactyde the sayme.

Amongst these lecherous bishops was none other than Parkyn's own diocesan, Archbishop Robert Holgate, who from being Master of the Order of Sempringham had risen to become a successful President of the King's Council in the North and had achieved promotion to the see of York in 1545.²² More sensationally, Holgate had given 'lewde exemple' by marrying a young gentlewoman named Barbara Wentworth, whose father resided at Hamthwaite in Parkyn's own parish of Adwick-le-Street. Though the ceremony took place at Bishopthorpe, the writer tells us that the banns were also put up at Adwick, where he himself ostensibly performed this uncongenial duty. He also reveals in his narrative that Barbara had been married in her childhood to a young local gentleman named Anthony Norman, and that her subsequent union with the elderly Holgate 'turnyde to grett trouble & besynes after wardes'. Parkyn further alleges that 'the heretic' Dr Roger Tongue, a chaplain of Edward VI, later reported that he [Tongue] had secretly married Holgate and Barbara Wentworth at an earlier date. That Parkyn's prejudices left him a far from impartial witness to these events can be proved from other documents. For example, surviving cause papers at York²³ show that a nullity-suit had been brought by Barbara against Anthony Norman in May 1549, evidence being given that the 'marriage' between them had taken place when Barbara had been five and Norman seven years of age.

²² A brief but referenced life is A. G. Dickens, *Robert Holgate: Archbishop of York and President of the King's Council in the North*, below, pp. 32? f.

²³ Borthwick Institute, R. VII, G. 404. On the marriage see also *Robert Holgate* (note 22 above) and my two articles in *EHR* LII, 1937, pp. 428-42 and LV below, pp. 353-62.

Witnesses testified that since reaching the age of twelve Barbara had consistently refused to accept Norman as husband, a fact which in canon law would have invalidated any claim to *marrimonium*. The 'trouble and business' probably refers to a later plea made by Norman – who was then in debt and probably intent to extract damages from Holgate – to the Privy Council. Late in 1551 this august body summoned Holgate and his wife to London, yet three days later it cancelled the order and left the enquiry in the hands of his former colleagues in the King's Council in the North. Their subsequent report must have been favourable, since the Privy Council continued to smile on Holgate's marriage, and authorized two substantial grants of land to him and his wife in survivorship. Still later, in an apology made to the Marian government, Holgate ungallantly claimed that he had transacted the marriage by the counsel of the Duke of Somerset 'and for feare of the laite Duke of Northumberlande using to call him papiste'. The excuse did not avail to prevent his deprivation and the seizure of his properties by the state.

Examined in the light of archival research, this passage of Parkyn provides a cautionary example for historians who rest content with unsupported 'contemporary' narratives. Yet though he wanted to believe the worst about Holgate, he should not be presumed guilty of deliberate falsification. In all likelihood he did not have access to the evidence given in the ecclesiastical court at York, let alone to that which came before the Privy Council. As one witness in the former process conceded, the child-marriage between Barbara Wentworth and Anthony Norman had been accepted as valid by local opinion: the 'lowe pepill thereaboutes' thought of them as man and wife, because 'they were married in the face of the churche'. On the broad issue between Parkyn and the archbishop, one need hardly add that the scandalized Marian priest accorded no credit to Holgate for his good works, such as the foundation of three grammar schools and a hospital, still less for his devoted labours in the civil administration of the north.

Parkyn's narrative, we must constantly recall, was written at the height of the Marian reaction. During the reign of Edward VI did its author really feel the white-hot indignation which he was to express amid the very different atmosphere of 1555? To this question a categorical answer would involve risks, for he did not leave a day-to-day Edwardian diary. There remains every reason to suppose from his own account that

he complied with the Protestant government well enough to keep out of trouble, while later on he was to display the same obedience throughout a whole decade of Elizabeth's reign. In other words, he exemplifies that unheroic submission to the commands of authority which characterized almost the whole of the English parish clergy throughout the vicissitudes of the mid-Tudor period. At the same time, he appears never to have changed his fundamental convictions. As it happens, we know a great deal about some aspects of his mind during the reign of Edward VI and they all lie within a quite positively Catholic context.

Parkyn's main commonplace book contains a number of items dating from these years.²⁴ Many have a routine character: a genealogy of the kings of Israel, a survey of the Pauline Epistles by chapters, a sermon partly based on a commentary of St Jerome, a Latin catalogue of the English kings drawn from Geoffrey of Monmouth and continued by Parkyn to the accession of Elizabeth. Hereabouts he has also two devotional poems, apparently original; the one of twelve seven-line stanzas beginning 'O holy God of dreadful majesty', the other a curious but unattractive *tour de force* of twenty-two lines, all upon one rhyme, beginning 'I thank the Lord with gratulation'. A verse-chronicle of the kings of England he dates as 'lattly wrettyn by Robert Parkyn curett of Aithewike by the Streatt, anno domini 1551 ac anno regis Edwardi 6 quinto, vz. 27 die mensis Aprilis'. It consists of forty-eight eight-line stanzas closely similar to those of Lydgate's *Dietary* or versified rules of health, a portion of which latter poem does in fact follow in the commonplace book. But the general form and certain recurrent phrases of Parkyn's historical poem derive from another work of Lydgate, *The Kings of England sithen William the Conqueror*. Naturally, when he reaches the Tudor kings, Parkyn expresses his own views. Henry VII he compares with Solomon, Hector, Cato and Cicero:

He studiede ever to mayke peece and accorde.
 Debaitte and stryves in his tyme dyde cease,
 For warre and stryffe he utterly abhorde.
 He myght be callyde well the prince of peace.

In marked contrast, Henry VIII receives some rough treatment. Having referred to this monarch's famous 'martiall actes', Parkyn continues:

²⁴ Listed and referenced below, pp. 287-99.

Nevertheles yf ye notte all his actes well,
 Ye shall fynde in his tyme myche evill doyne,
 For he deposside Religion & many a man did qwell
 By cawsse thay consenttyde nott to his abusion.
 Supreme heade of the Churche withowtt contradiction
 Next under God, he wold be proclamyde.
 Eighte & twentie yeare he reignyde to the utter destruction
 Of holly Churche, and att Wyndesore was buriede.

This was strong stuff for the year 1551, when presumably one did not publicise such sentiments. Of Robert's more original literary works, one is a metrical *Life of Christ*²⁵ and another a series of brief mystical treatises. Both these he began under Edward VI and finished in the reign of Mary. In the case of the former, there have survived not merely the fair copy but rough drafts of extensive passages made by the economical priest upon the books, margins and interlinear spaces of letters he received from his brother John and from his friend William Watson. This *Life of Christ* is written in seven-line stanzas of rhyme-royal, probably derived from Lydgate. As with far more accomplished English verse of the period, the metre, scansion and syllabic content of the lines show striking irregularities. The fair copy, written on 191 folios, numbers more than 10,000 lines, being divided into a prologue, thirteen chapters, and some valedictory stanzas. The prologue notes that the whole work was begun in May 1549, while chapters 6 to 13 are variously dated from 1551 to May 1554. Beginning with the Annunciation and ending with Pentecost, the narrative roughly follows the four gospels and the Acts, conflating the former with some considerable skill. In the prologue Parkyn claims that he does not intend to include anything

But such as is in Scripture trewlye
 Allegyde, provide [proved] and so browghtt abowtt
 With doctowres sayngs, wherein is no doubt.

By modern or even by contemporary humanist standards, Parkyn was indeed afflicted by too few doubts: he perpetrated many apocryphal

²⁵ Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e. 59 is the fair copy while the rough drafts are in MS Eng. Poet. b. 1. These are described by the present writer in 'Yorkshire Clerical Documents, 1554-6' in *Bodleian Library Record* III, 1950-1, pp. 34-40 and in 'Robert Parkyn's *Life of Christ*', *ibid.*, IV, 1952-3, pp. 67-76.

passages, granting authenticity to pious legends and to the airier speculations of several patristic and medieval writers. He repeats the story of Cassiodorus to the effect that the idols fell down and a tree bowed to the ground when the Virgin and the infant Christ passed by. Again, he makes angels inform the Virgin of the temptation in the wilderness, inviting her to send food to her son. This she does, but economically requests them to return the fragments! In this latter passage, the author admits that the story does not occur in the gospels, but urges that it might well have been true. Inspired by the Spanish Dominican St Vincent Ferrer, he debates the precise number of places in which the crown of thorns pierced the head of Christ, and he devotes no less than thirty-one highly imaginative stanzas to the disputations in the temple. Another long and largely fictional passage on the waiting of the apostles for Pentecost violently enhances the pre-eminence of the Blessed Virgin over the rest of the company. Yet these are extreme examples, and again Parkyn can be exonerated from deliberate misrepresentation. In general he takes the Bible more seriously than many of his medieval predecessors, and quite frequently he ascribes his non-scriptural passages to specific authorities, or marks them *Authoris verba*. He cites Vincent Ferrer about fourteen times, and less often Gregory, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Bede, Isidore, Albertus, Aquinas, Bonaventura and Lyra. Some of these references he may have culled at first hand, but his known library-list suggests that most came to him through biblical commentaries then in standard use. Needless to add, his Bible is the Vulgate, tags from which occasionally invade the poem's English text:

O stulti, ye foolles, wherfor wore ye dismaide?

In regard to literary form, his debts are to the flat-footed Lydgate rather than to Richard Rolle, or to the earlier metrical gospels following the *Cursor Mundi*. But the poem's main interest lies in the fact that it was intended for a series of readings to lay audiences. Each chapter opens with a stanza demanding silence and concentration, and each closes with valedictory lines, sometimes adjuring the audience to rest awhile before reassembling for a further instalment. Himself a student of the art of contemplation, Parkyn makes frequent reference to the problem of the wandering mind:

Still as a stoyne, looke thatt ye sitte,

Nott sufferynge yowr hertts unstable to be
Waveringe or runnyng, of mundiall vanite.

From the first the intention was pedagogic and there appears every likelihood that the writer actually held these recitals for the instruction of his parishioners. Moreover, during these years 1548–54 he can hardly have avoided a sense of competition with the Protestant biblicism of the day: hence perhaps the force with which he seeks to retain the patristic and later contributions to the life of Christ. That he knew his Bible broadly if rather superficially appears not only from this poem but from his Latin concordance, which occupies folios 1 to 210 of his manuscript book now at Aberdeen. This covers both Testaments and has over 26,000 entries. He was compiling it alongside the *Life of Christ*, since he notes that he finished the work on 18 April 1551. In sum, his inadequacy lies in his absorption with the factual detail concerning the career of Jesus, as opposed to the theological and evangelical propositions of early Christianity. Too often do we treat the priesthood of the Reformation-age as if they were capable of comparing the various partisan claims with something resembling the intellectual apparatus of a modern theologian. Like that of most other parish priests, Parkyn's earlier education had not equipped him to examine those great issues of justification and grace which Luther – and some Catholic theologians – had come to regard as most relevant to the salvation of man.

Parkyn's unflagging devotion to Catholic tradition during the Edwardian years is once more suggested by his transcription (c. 1550) of four prayers by St Thomas More, which Rastell was to publish in 1557.²⁶ Apart from Parkyn's northern spelling there remain a few verbal variants, but the manuscript used by Parkyn must closely have resembled that used later by Rastell. Whence did it come so early to a country priest in the north? My conjectural answer involves the fact that Adwick lies only five miles from Barnborough, the home of Ann Cresacre, whom John More had married in 1529 and who is said by Rastell to have laughed at her father-in-law's famous hair shirt. The tombs of her ancestors are still to be seen in Barnborough church, where Ann herself was ultimately buried in 1577. After his father's execution John is thought to have

²⁶ Bodleian MS Lat. Th. d. 15, fos 116v–118v. Compare *The Workes of Sir T. More* (London 1557), where these items are respectively on pp. 1417–18, 1418, 1405 and 1416–17.

retired to the privacy of this country house, with which the More family maintained later connections. At least in safer years, local venerators of the martyr's memory may here have seen some of his papers. Whatever the case, Parkyn's collection includes with these Moreana a fourth and much longer meditation, 'compiled by Sir Thomas Moore soomtyme Lorde Chawnceler of Englande'.²⁷ This one is not in Rastell's edition of More's works, but forty years ago, having searched widely and consulted senior scholars, I ended by accepting Parkyn's attribution. Unfortunately I had failed to search in the right place – a seemingly improbable yet after all far from impossible place. In the Public Record Office are original drafts of the very same prayer in the hand of St John Fisher and remaining amongst the bishop's papers seized by the government. These original drafts are nevertheless hard to decipher in some places, and therefore Parkyn's clearly written copy provides the most accurate text.²⁸ The meditation itself is an austere and touching document, perhaps the product of Fisher's last days: he petitions that he may be granted strength to rid his mind of the love of creatures, and to gain serenity through meditation upon the universal fatherhood of God. Its style and subject matter may have influenced Parkyn's own writings, though he does not make sustained use of either Fisher's or More's phraseology.

The most attractive writings of Robert Parkyn are a group of short devotional treatises, in large part edited by the present writer in 1959.²⁹ As the case of the Fisher meditation suggests, one should not be dogmatic about the authorship and sources of ascetical and contemplative writings, which all contain such extensive common elements. But while Parkyn usually supplies attributions to other authors copied by him, he gives none here. Occasionally one may feel that a passage is a shade too well

²⁷ 'A New Prayer of Sir Thomas More' in *Church Quarterly Review* CXXIV, 1937, pp.224–37. This prints (from fo 115) Parkyn's text of the prayer now attributed to Fisher, together with a parallel between Parkyn's and Rastell's versions of More's prayer 'Give me thy grace, good Lord'. On the connections of the Mores with Barnborough see J. Hunter, *op. cit.*, I, pp.374–6. On other manuscripts of More's devotional works written around the mid-century see C. Kirchberger in *Bodleian Library Record* III, 1950–I, pp.161–2.

²⁸ A text – unavoidably imperfect – was printed from these difficult drafts in *The Month*, February 1952, pp.108–11.

²⁹ *Tudor Treatises, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* CXXV, 1959, pp.17–27, 59–88.

written for Parkyn, but nothing in this group of writings seems foreign to his known sources or stylistic habits. Though most of the treatises have been in print for a good many years – and presumably read by specialists in this field – no rival claims to authorship have so far been made. All these treatises occur in the Aberdeen manuscript, which seems from the beginning to have been bound in its present order. The first seven (fos 210v–217) were apparently written between April 1551 – the completion date of the preceding item, the concordance – and July 1555, when Parkyn copied the subsequent item, which is a transcript of More's *Treatise to receive the blessed body of our Lord*. But the longest of Parkyn's treatises, *A Brief Rule*, together with its appendage *Thirteen Precepts*, comes alone (fos 220–26) after this More item and cannot be exactly dated. Though it must have been added after July 1555, its serene and confident tone suggests that it belongs to the Marian years, not to the disappointing Elizabethan *dénouement*. In this matter of dating one should add that we are dealing in every case with the fair copies; for all we know, actual composition in rough copy could have occurred a good deal earlier.

Of these nine treatises, five may well be rapidly dismissed as of minor interest. One contains brief observations on the works of penance, recalling similar passages in Rolle and in more recent authors like More, Fisher and Bonde. Another dull item is a homily *Of bells*, deriving in part from St Anthoninus of Florence (d. 1459). A third *Off bevin* describes the angelic hierarchies in terms which could have come from a number of treatises based on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of the Pseudo-Areopagite Dionysius. The latter's works Parkyn doubtless knew through one of his favourite authors, Denis the Carthusian. The fourth minor treatise described the attributes of the Holy Trinity, ostensibly coming down from the *Divine Names* of the Pseudo-Areopagite, but perhaps through the same intermediary. The fifth, *Of Death*, distinguishes between criminal death, corporal death, the death of the soul and infernal death: it uses many expressions and references traceable also in fourteenth-century English writers, and it tritely concludes with man's constant need to prepare himself lest death take him unawares. After that, his use of free will has gone, and God will proceed against him by justice and no longer by mercy.

Parkyn's treatises derive most obviously from the English mystical or contemplative tradition, and they form an important example of its

survival beyond the mid-sixteenth century. So far as the systems and techniques are concerned, Parkyn broadly follows the common Dionysian pattern with its three basic phases: the purgative, illuminative and unitive ways. The first proceeds by penance and works of mercy, the second by various stages of spiritual experience, while the third is begun by advanced practitioners here on earth, yet even by them is perfected only in heaven. This scheme is most lucidly outlined in the short essay *Four Lives*.³⁰ Here the writer follows his predecessors in envisaging three of these ways of life: the active, the mixed, the contemplative. The first demands the execution of worldly and moral duties with patience and honesty. The mixed life, suited to prelates and secular priests, is the life of preaching and charity, that lived by Christ and his apostles. The contemplative life, normally that of the monk, consists of prayer, mortification, elevation of mind, ecstasy and rapture. Parkyn clearly grasped the difference between mere meditative prayer on a theme and these indescribable states. After briefly dismissing the two elementary stages of mortification (i.e. purgation) and vocal prayer, he describes these higher reaches:

The thirde thinge is excesse or elevation of mynde, the wiche comithe of a admiration of the bownttie & goodnes of God, and of a ferventt desire of the sowlle to God. The 4 thinge is a extasye, the wiche is a drowynge of a man's spritte in God by love, alyenatide from him self for a space or tyme, the wiche thinge no man can expresse, nor thay tham selffe thatt is in itt can nott shew whatt thai fealle. The fyfft is raptture, which is when a ghostlie man is ravisshide in to the sightt & presence of God, as S. Paull was. Blisside be thay thatt can cum to any of thes fealynges of the a fore said thynges.

Before describing these three ways of life – active, mixed and contemplative – Parkyn introduced a fourth way, ‘miserable living’, a notion I have not encountered in his medieval forbears. He sub-divides it into two sorts:

The one is by penurye, the other is by visius & synful lyffinge. The lyff of penury is to lyve in povertie, or by beggyng as beggers & vacabundes do usse, the which is a miserable lyffing, specially yf thay be nott contentyde withe ther poverttie, butt grudge & murmure aganst God,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–61.

or aganst tham thatt wyll gyve tham nothings, or else dothe covitt and desire to have goodes & riches; such be wreches, for thay shall have no meade nor rewarde of God for ther povertie, but besyde, the wretchide lyffing shall be punyshide in tyme to cum, so thatt thay shall have duple peane and sorow, exceptt amendentt in this lyffe by patience. The other lyffinge is to lyffe viciouslye or synfully in pompe & pride, in voluptuousnes & sensuall pleassure, delytinge in synne, regardinge nott the commandementtes of God, carynge nather for God nor for the devill, nather for hevin nor hell; suche be the children of the devill.

Tudor men, whether Catholic or Protestant, often made sympathetic provision for the poor, yet they knew too much about realities to idealize pauperism or hark back to Franciscan socialism. How deeply this passage would have disappointed the expectations of Cardinal Gasquet! Further and more familiar aspects of the contemplative life are developed in the brief essay called *The Highest Learning*.³¹ It pursues a favourite theme of the *Imitatio Christi*: the vanity of secular knowledge: again, the need for self-examination, a plea common to so many writers, from *The Mirror of St Edmund* to the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus – though I perceive no evidence that Parkyn ever read the latter.

When a man haithe perscrutide, studiende and learnide all maner of arttes, sciences & faculties, knowynge bothe good and evill, yitt he is to learne, for the highest & most cheaffe learnynge is for a man to know him selffe, for by the knowledge of a man's owne selffe, he shall learne to cum to the knowledge off the bownttie and goodnes of God. Whatt dothe all maner of sciences, arttes and faculties profite withowtt the knowledge of a man's owne selffe; his frealltie & wretchidness. . . . Withe owtt this trew knowledge, all other knowledges be butt frustratte matters & litle worthe. For yf a plowman or a pore begger or a sheappherde can cum and obteane the feallynge of this knowledge, he may be callide a man of highe perfection & learnynge. . . . This inwarde or spirituall knowledge bryngithe a man to have a cleane conscience, so thatt ther shall no darke clowde of synne be bitwix God and the lovinge sowlle. And than man is in liberttie of sprytte, and free fro thraldom and bondaige of imperfection. . . . Than burnithe the sowlle in love, the hertt and the wholle bodie is repleattide with supernaturall joye, the mynde is raptt from all terrestriall thinges in to God. Than whatt joye

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61–3. Full title: 'Off the highest learnynge or the highest perfection th. . . can be'.

and cumfurthe, whatt gladnes and spirituall myrthe the sowlle and bodie, the hertt and mynde dothe fealle in God, no hertt can thinke, nor townge can tell.

We cannot assume from these and other elevated passages that Parkyn himself was an advanced practitioner of the contemplative arts, since there is little or nothing in them which he could not have derived from that extensive mystical literature with which his familiarity is apparent. Indeed, in the next breath he admits that the higher states are sealed off from almost everyone in his own day.

Few or none lyffinge applyethe tham selff to cum to this knowledge. Itt is a tedious thinge for a carnall man repleatt with carnall love & affection to cum to this love, nor he shall never have itt, for carnall love and ghostlie love can not be in one hertt. He thatt haithe this love or this perfection haithe a supernaturall grace, the which begynnythe in this worlde & lyffe, and shall never have ende in the lyffe nor in the worlde to cum. And suche lovinge sowles the which do burne in the ardentt fire of gostlie and godly love shall be locatyde & placide in hevin amonge the highest ordre of angells, the which be callyde the Seraphins. . . .

The longest of the treatises in this group has the title *A Breave rulle veray profitable for all suche to reye as intende to lyffe a Christian lyffe*.³² This is really an ascetical tract not concerned with mystical experience, though in accordance with English tradition the author draws no very hard lines between ascetical and mystical theology. While the *Brief Rule* does not quote passages *verbatim*, its ideas move closely alongside certain passages of the *Imitatio*, of Walter Hilton, of the *Scale of Perfection*, of Rolle and his school, especially *The Form of Perfect Living*. It begins with some doctrinal imperatives. To please God and make any increase in spiritual life, a man must

detest and abhor all heresies and scismes, strongly stickynge & humbly submitte him selffe unto the Catholique chirche, for who so ever goethe frome the Catholike churche, yea, thowghe thay seyme to lyffe never so virtuously, yet ar they parttide & devidyde from God & the company of sanctts. . . . Let him serve God & honour & call uppon the blisse virgin Marie, the mother of God, and the wholly sancttes and cittizins of hevin, nott negligenttlye or of a drie or undevoutt custome,

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 67–84.

butt diligenttlye and devouttly. The lyffe of our saveyor Christ, most specially his blisside passion, lett him remembre with a godlye and a thankfull mynde and herтт.

The Christian must repress his self-will, avoid inordinate affection toward worldly creatures. Using moderation in all things, let him curb his appetites, but without hurtful and excessive self-mortification. He must avoid lying, flattery, contentiousness, say little and that circumspectly. Let him eschew light manners and inordinate laughter, loving to be alone: let him obey his superiors, even though they be faulty. Submitting meekly to reproof, a Christian must ascribe all his achievements to God alone, since we do nothing good whatsoever, except through divine grace. All men and women must be taken as brothers and sisters: they are not to be esteemed after the miserable corruption of the flesh, but after the incomprehensible dignity of their immortal souls. Hate the sin but love the sinner. Take all men's remarks in the best sense. Give thanks to God for the chastening brought by adversity. Consider God's high providence in all things, for without it not so much as a leaf falleth from the tree. Do not let foul fantasies discourage you, for temptations beset even the saints and are not sins, provided you reject them. Holiness of life does not depend upon inward comfort and the sweetness of spiritual experience – a point made long before by the *Imitatio*, which had also put rapturous 'states' in their due place. The true devotion, continues Parkyn, is a good will and the offering of the self to God, even though the heart be never so dry and the mind so barren. Likewise, do not be troubled by wandering inattentiveness during your devotions, but commit this problem to God. Take delight in reading the holy scriptures, yet remember that prayer is to be valued still more highly. Perhaps the author did not stop to wonder how many English laymen would now have been reading the scriptures without the help of Tyndale, Coverdale and, above all, the 'wretch' Thomas Cromwell.

These passages are succeeded by practical guidance upon self-examination, both before sleep and upon awakening. The attainment of inward calm through conscious resignation and trust remains the objective:

Butt yf he by reasson of confusion or hevines of herтт can nott frealy lyfft upp his mynde unto God, or else yf he in his sleappe (reasson than beyng nott att liberttie) haithe hade any fowlle and uncleane dreames,

lett him nott be overcum withe to myche sorow therfor, butt as soyne as sleappe is passide and he haith the usse and fredome of reasson agayne, lett him deteste and abhorre suche filthinesse, and have truste and confidence in the mercy of our Lorde, bearinge patienttlye the greaffe that he fealithe hereof.

For sin in general the Christian will offer to God the passion and death of Christ. However vile and imperfect men's good works may be, they take 'unspeakable worthenesse and dignitie' from the works of Christ, 'evin as a droppe of watter thatt is myxtt & unityde with wyne receavithe the excellentt colowr and tayste of the wyne'. This concrete simile is followed by an even better one, when the writer bids the Christian drive out temporal images from his mind with the image of the Crucified. This latter will 'putt owtt of memorye all strange phantasies & unprofitable thowghttes & cogitations, as one naille drivithe owtt an other'. From this hint he continued to recall another practical device of the contemplatives: learning by heart many brief sayings,

lyke darters, full of godly affection, which we caste (as it were) [lovingly] at God, as when we say O good Jesu. O gentle Jesu. . . . O the most deare beluffide of all beluffide. . . . O the swettness of my herтт. O the lyffe of my sowlle. When shall I please the in all things? When shall I be perfecttlie mortifiede unto my selffe and unto all creatures? When shall ther be nothing alyve in me, butt thow only?. . . . Go to, good Lorde, vouchesaffe to shoote my herтт thrughe with the darter of thy love. Vouchesaffe to knytte and ioigne me unto the, withe owtt any meane bitwix us, and to mayke me one spiritt and gost withe the.

To be sure, pious ejaculations were not in themselves a modern idea: they occur for example in the Rolle group, in *A Talking of the Love of God*. Yet this passage on 'aspirations' or dart-prayers may somehow be related to the *Spiritual Exercises* published in 1557 by the Dominican friar William Peryn, who was in the main translating from the work of his Flemish associate Nicholas van Ess. This last had appeared in 1548, the same year as Loyola's *Exercises*.³³ During the forties both Peryn and van Ess had enjoyed contacts with the Society of Jesus, and they do not fail to show signs of that influence. Parkyn's debt to them – and hence his indirect

³³ A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (eds), *Short Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475–1640* (later cited as *STC*), nos. 19784–5; C. Kirchberger (ed.), *The Spiritual Exercises of a Dominican Friar*, Sheed and Ward 1929.

debt to a new system of devotion so different from that of his old English models – appears arguable and at most fragmentary. But it remains interesting that Peryn also appends such ‘aspirations’ to each of his exercises, and explains their use in extremely similar terms.

In conclusion, Parkyn reverts to the theme of the mortification of the will and the rooting out of sinful affections. The current of euphoric Platonism had not in fact led the devotional writers of the time away from the concept of the ceaseless struggle, the painful apprenticeship. Erasmus himself, perhaps harder hit by Platonism than any Englishman, insists as strongly as anyone upon the policing of the spirit: he cannot for a moment be dismissed as a quietist floating upon the easy stream of divine grace. Like Erasmus, Parkyn dodges the philosophical problems in phraseology which seeks to strike a balance between Augustine and Pelagius:

And thowghe he feylle in him selffe grevus immortification, thowghe he fantt [faint] and fall veray off, thowghe he sholde be att striffe & warre aganst him selffe many yeares, yett lett him not dispeire nor be trowblide therwithe, for he thatt dothe learne any handie crafft or facultie, he must labowre a grett whylle or he can [ere he knows] itt perfittelye. . . . And yett not withstandinge, he must labowre here in suche sortt, thatt he putt his trust and confidence in the only mercy and grace of God, and nott in his owne endevoire and labowre.

This substantial work of guidance he follows with a four-page summary called ‘13 preceptes necessarie for him thatt entendithe to lyve a contemplatyve lyffe’.³⁴ Erasmus had ended his *Enchiridion* with a similar numbered list of precepts, but Parkyn no doubt based the device on models in the Rolle school: *Six Things in Prayer*; *Nine Points*, and so forth.

Something remains to be done in order to place these and other English devotional writings of the period in their right historical and international context. The categories and terminology are less clear-cut than those of modern writers. For example, Parkyn freely applies the term ‘contemplative’ to this largely ascetical and meditative programme. Its modern application to the religion of mystical ‘states’, culminating in the great Spanish Carmelites, is far from helpful in regard to the mixed Catholic pietism of northern Europe. And it might be worth recalling that the northerners were the parents of Spanish mysticism, and that the

³⁴ *Tudor Treatises* (note 29 above), pp.85–8.

charge of luxuriating in 'experiences' of dubious validity is the last charge to bring against them, in particular against the English.

But however we may regard this *devotio moderna anglicana*, the fact remains that it continued to impress a dwindling yet by no means negligible group of Englishmen of the mid-Tudor period. And despite some recent influences like those of Fisher and More, this survival was based – immediately at least – upon the two pillars of the *Imitatio* and the Rolle-Hilton school, but predominantly upon the latter. Like the culture of the Brethren of the Common Life – and that of their descendant Erasmus – it may seem to us clerically prim, obsessed by the impurity of the natural affections and the material world, over-playing the images of the strained apprentice and the Christian soldier. Yet drawing directly upon Paul and Augustine, it stresses almost as strongly as Luther the vanity of self-salvation by works and the utter necessity of unearned grace to salvation. Had its practitioners not taken fright at the threat to the unity of Christendom, they might have realized that they stood in certain respects nearer to the world of the reformers than to that of Tetzels and the Curia: the alien world of shrines, miraculous images, indulgences, observance-religion and bureaucratic fund-raising. With all this automation a writer like Parkyn has extremely little in common. Our rediscovery of northern spiritual life and its survival into the sixteenth century should be disturbing to indiscriminate Protestant historians: it might also disturb admirers of the sixteenth-century Roman tradition, which replaced mundane irresponsibility by canonist, Thomist and Jesuit revivals at the expense of these north European spiritual traditions. On the other hand, the northern nations which embraced Protestantism might also be regarded as cutting adrift from their own spiritual past with an unnecessary radicalism. Yet the weakness of the *devotio moderna* had become more apparent by the early years of the sixteenth century.

If Parkyn be a typical figure of northern piety, his deficient biblical approach – deficient by Catholic as well as by Protestant standards – helps to account for the weakness of his position under sixteenth-century pressures. From a modern and less doctrinal viewpoint his shortcomings may well seem to lie in his clericalism. He shows little interest in the impinging of family ties upon the life of religion. In his *Epistle to a Devout Man in Temporal Estate*, Walter Hilton (d. 1396) had shown a greater awareness of the spiritual needs of the laity, and his work had been

printed early in the century.³⁵ It may well be that the scandal and alarm aroused by sexual irregularities among the clergy had helped during the fifteenth century to strain relations between clerics faithful to the celibate ideal and their lay neighbours. When the tension is felt so often in Erasmus, one may well expect to find it in these small men. While Parkyn's relations with his female relatives bear every sign of affection and cordiality, he had no doubt that for men of his profession woman remained the snare. Following a short poem on mortality, *The saynge of a deyde man*, he appends with little immediate relevance:

Peccati forma femina est
Et mortis conditio.³⁶

Parkyn's three most sustained works, the *Life of Christ*, the concordance and the set of devotional treatises were all begun under Edward VI but carried on well into the reign of Mary. Whatever old-fashioned ecclesiastical history may suggest, many aspects of popular religion both Catholic and Protestant developed with little attention to regnal dates and official policies. When we return to Parkyn's Reformation narrative we see him in 1555 as a straightforward Marian partisan.³⁷ He relates with enthusiasm the proclamation and public acceptance of Mary and the condemnation of Northumberland, whom he regarded as responsible for the death of Edward VI. A more personal and even autobiographical note occurs when he describes the reaction of conservative areas to the Queen's accession:

In the meane tyme in many places of the realme preastes was commandyde by lordes and knyghttes catholique to say masse in Lattin withe consecration & elevation of the bodie and bloode of Christ under forme of breade and wyne with a decentt ordre as haithe ben uside before tyme, but suche as was of hereticall opinions myghtt nott away therwithe butte spayke evill thereof, for as then ther was no actt, statutte, proclamation or commandementt sett furthe for the sayme; therefor many [a] one durst nott be bolde to celebratte in Latten, thowghe ther hertts was wholly enclynede thatt way.

³⁵ *STC*, no. 14041. Again, four editions of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* appeared between 1494 and 1533: *ibid.*, nos. 14042–5.

³⁶ Bodleian MS Lat. Th. d. 15, fo 133.

³⁷ See below, p. 307–12.

Even before gracious Queen Mary sanctioned such changes, holy bread and water were given once more, altars, pictures and images restored. Thus through divine grace the state of holy church began to amend and arise from heresy. Parkyn then provides a reasonably accurate account of the collapse of Wyatt's rebellion, wherein Almighty God preserved his true servant Queen Mary from the hands of her enemies. The Spanish marriage, he hardily claims, occasioned 'grett joye and cumfurthe to all good people in the realme'. Having hitherto barely mentioned the papacy, Parkyn now reveals hearty support for the restoration of England to the Roman jurisdiction. With speed it was proclaimed in every shire that the pope

sholde be callide (as he awghtt of rightt) our Wholly Father the Pope Julius the Thirde of thatt name. Then began wholly Church to reioice in God, synginge both with hertt & towng Te Deum laudamus, but hereticall persons (as ther was many) reioyce nothinge theratt.

As for the writer himself, he reserved his highest jubilation for the discomfiture of the married clergy:

Hoo it was ioye to here and see how thes carnall preastes (which had ledde ther lyffes in fornication with ther whores & harlotts) dyd lowre and looke downe, when thay were commandyde to leave & forsayke the concubyns and harlotts and to do oppen penance accordynge to the Canon Law, whiche then toyke effectt.

With the absolution of the realm by Cardinal Pole – and a rumour that monks and nuns had been commanded to resume their vestures – Parkyn brings his narrative to an end. He finished abruptly, yet at a logical point. The good man believed the Protestant aberration to be over: he had told his story. And since he stops early in 1555 we cannot say with entire confidence what he thought about the later and more sombre phases of the Marian reaction. No burnings occurred in his part of England, and it would appear that what he heard of the persecution did not alienate him from the Marian government. At all events, a little lower on his last page he added a postscript over three years later:

This gratius Qweyne Marie continewally preserving & mayntenynge wholly Church att last departtide this transitorie lyffe in the 6 yere of her reigne, anno domini 1558.

Over and above this narrative, numerous scraps of information survive concerning his parochial activities and personal life during the Marian years. We have in his hand a portion of an address to his parishioners.³⁸ It begins by quoting a hitherto unknown order – apparently from Archbishop Heath – dated at York on 8 February 1555 and ordering processions and prayers in thanksgiving for the restoration of England to the unity of the church. Having read this order, Parkyn continued as follows:

I certifie yow, good neighbors, thatt I am strattely commandyde to move and exhortt yow to gyffe honor, lawde and prayse to Allmightie God bycawsse this realme of Englande be now laittely restoride by the Popes his holynes to the unities of the catholique churche with other Christian realmes, wher as before it was dissevearide from tham. For lyke as a branche of a tre is cutt of and cast from the tre, so this reallme was disseveride from the catholique faithe of other Christian realmes thugh suche persons as cawsside fals hereticall doctrine and pestiferus teachinge to be sett furth by Luther and Zvinglus (*sic*), two notable heretykes, to be sown within this realme, but now thugh goodnes of Almighty God which haith gyven grace to our soveraigne lord King Philippe and Qw[ene] Marie and also ther honorable Counsell, this realme is unityde and knytte agane to the catholique faithe as all other Christian realmes be, whereof our holly father the Pope [is] the supreme heade. Then seyng this weighttie matter is thus browghtt to passe [with]owtt sheddyng of Christian man's blode, we have cawsse to gyffe honour, laud and pr[aise] to Almyghtie God: therfor I will exhortt yow al to gyffe God herttie thanks.

I am not certain whether these words were original or prescribed by authority. Two sermon-fragments of this time also remain – hitherto unprinted – among his papers. One consists of a few lines explaining the 'three high mysteries' of the Epiphany; the other seeks to impart a correct attitude toward images.³⁹ Here is the Marian priest trying to dissociate his church from the charges of superstition aimed at it by the Protestants:

Bycawsse many ignorantt people in diversse places beleaves thatt ymages

³⁸ Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. b. 1, fo 13. Compare for example Bonner's Declaration of 19 February in D. Wilkins (ed.), *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, London 1737, IV, pp. 114–15.

³⁹ Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. b. 1, fo 4v.

or pictures in churches be veray sancttes, and so folyshely gyffes godly honor unto tham contrary to God's comandement, therfor accordynge to my dewttie and in discheargynge conscience, brevely I will shew unto yow for whatt ententt thay ar sett upp in churches. Though I have spoken of the matter before tyme, nevertheless I think it convenientt to putt yow in remembrance of it bothe now and other tymes.

This is one speciall cawsse why thay are sett upp in churches, to thentent, I say, thatt ignorantt people, beynge unlearnede, havynge smalle gostly wytt (but peradventure to myche worldly wytte) may call to remembrance, when thai se the pictures and ymages, the manyfolde examples of vertues, as meknes, chastitie and charitie, whiche were in the sanctes whom thos pictures or ymages do representt. . . . Wherfor th[ay] be calde a lay mans or unlernide mans his boyke. . . .

Though Parkyn does not acknowledge the debt, certain resemblances of phraseology make it almost certain that he had been reading Bishop Bonner's exposition of the second commandment in his recent *Profitable and necessarye doctryne* (1555).⁴⁰ Altogether this group of documents would support the view that in an already conservative area, the Marian reaction proceeded rather smoothly, Edmund Bonner himself figuring as spokesman of an enlightened Catholicism.

Under these same years 1554–6 appear some of our most intimate glimpses of Parkyn's friends and social background. They occur in the accidentally-preserved letters from his brother John and from his opposite number William Watson, curate of High Melton, one of the three former churches of Hampole Priory.⁴¹ John Parkyn, writing from Cambridge early in 1554, reveals that he had offered Robert the vicarage of Darfield, some eight miles west of Adwick, a moiety of the benefice belonging to Trinity College. John remarks that Robert had shown 'no grett affectyon therunto', preferring to stay at Adwick. John also recalls that Robert had previously remonstrated with him, because he (John) had made no attempt to get the neighbouring benefice of Campsall – a Cambridge University living we know to have been vacant in 1552. John concludes that 'ye byd me let that matter rest, and becawse ye are soo mynded, soo I shall dooy'. He then alludes to a coolness between Robert and one of the fellows of Trinity, Thomas Metham, arising from Robert's refusal to visit

⁴⁰ For example, Sig. kkii has a passage resembling Parkyn's.

⁴¹ See note 16 above

Metham's father in Yorkshire. John thanks his brother for distributing a number of articles 'as I dyd send over in a fardell by a Kendall man called Atkynson'. He refuses to accept money for these things but reports he has bought a copy of Hardyng's chronicle for Robert, which will cost four shillings. In addition, he will provide the Acts of Parliament as soon as they are published. The rudimentary postal service between Cambridge and Yorkshire is mentioned not only by reference to the Kendal cloth-merchant, but also in a final sentence showing that Robert's last letter had been brought to John by Thomas Redman, another Yorkshire fellow of Trinity whom we shall shortly mention in a different context. Redman had picked up the letter, previously left by Robert at 'Myn ost Shawys', the reference being to John Shaw, a substantial burgess of Doncaster from 1531 to his death in 1556. He was presumably an innkeeper acting as a regular postmaster, since John Parkyn's second letter is endorsed 'To hys loving frend John Shaw be this delyveredd in Doncaster, desiring hym to delyver it unto Robert Parkyn, Aythwick by Strett'.

The second letter, written on 24 April 1555, shows how deeply bachelor priests could be affected by the domestic quarrels of relatives. Robert had recently written to him about the troubles besetting their married sister Isabel Ambler, her husband and children. John now replies:

Ye dyd ones wrytt a long letter unto me, and whether the children in the howsse have att any time been trubled with suche terrible visiones or not. I pray yow of all these matters, wrytt unto me fullye. Often tymes yt comyth to passe that where as the husband ys soo malyschuslye bent agaynst hys owne wiffe that ther nothing can well gooy fore ward, but all thinges to rowle in truble, miserey and wretchednesse. I pray God yt may be better with them booth. I reckyn hym (that villayn hyr husband, I mean) to be in a mutche worse case and takyn then she ys in – but I render upp all these thinges unto the mercye of God. Also and yff ye shall thinke yt so meytt and convenient, I wole ye shuld reyd this my letter unto owr good mother, that she may know my desyre thatt she doo not hurtt hyr selfe with to mutche care and sorowyng as concernyng this matter.

Despite this anxiety, John had sent off the Acts of the last parliament along with 'Dio Carth.', which later on we encounter in Robert's will as seven large volumes of the biblical commentaries of Denis the Carthusian: these presumably formed part of the elaborate twenty-volume series

published at Cologne between 1534 and 1540. Further volumes of the set were soon to come to him by his brother's will, John surviving little more than three years after writing this sad letter. The text of the will, dated 21 September 1558, we have already examined from a bibliographical viewpoint. In addition it shows that John Parkyn acknowledged as 'my good master' the distinguished Henrician and Marian diplomat Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, who had in the previous year presented him to the well-endowed rectory of Shipdam in Norfolk. Moreover the will shows John as standing among that group of Cambridge Catholics, mostly northerners, who in so many cases were to suffer deprivation and hardship for their beliefs under Elizabeth: amongst his legatees were Thirlby, Thomas Metham, Thomas Sedgwick, Edward Godsalue, and above all Thomas Redman, a nephew of Cuthbert Tunstall, briefly to become Master of Jesus College and then to be deprived in 1561 as a papist. At least John did not live into the troubled later world of these unfortunate men, for he died a month or so before Elizabeth's accession. Assuming his will was duly executed, he lies buried in an august place: 'in the queer [choir] of Trinity Colledge Chapell betwixte the standyng of the lectron and the first greceyng [steps] and step which makyth towardes the blessyd sacrament of the aulter'.

In mildly comic anticlimax, the letters of William Watson⁴² reflect the trivia of the rural parish, yet they do not lack some broader implications. Indeed one would surrender not a few items from the vast bulk of official and semi-official correspondence in exchange for more of these fugitive and ephemeral letters which our Tudor ancestors doubtless wrote in large numbers and soon destroyed. The two curates lived only five or six miles apart, but they seem to have exchanged frequent letters. Watson had also been among the clerical 'servants' of Humphrey Gascoigne, who had left him a copy of the *Sermones discipuli* by the fifteenth-century Dominican Johannes Herolt, a collection still very popular among the English clergy. Watson was another clerical bachelor cursed by even more trying family problems. Excusing himself from accompanying Robert to Doncaster, he writes:

I have of laitte suche busynes as I never had in all my lyfe, for my suster children whiche was sent to me all att ones to my greatt busynes, vexe-

⁴² Edited by the present author in 'South Yorkshire Letters, 1555' in *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* VI, pt 6, 1950, pp.278-84.

tion and trowble, they haveyng no other speciall frende bott me, for suche as shoulde have hellpyd them arre the ferreste frome them, so that I am putte to my shifft, otherwysse then ever I was in all my lyffe – I thanke God of itt.

Amid other agitated expressions, Watson cherishes the hope that God 'will nott se the ryghtteous forsakyng (*sic*) nor ther seyde to seyke ther breade'.⁴³ Unlike his friend at Adwick, he lacked private means. This family explosion befell him sometime in 1555, a second letter being dated 20 September in that year. This shows that Parkyn had reprovved Watson by letter for failing to report an offensive remark by a third unnamed person. Watson now urges Parkyn to pacify himself and take such remarks in the best sense – a piece of advice which the recipient should not have needed, since he had recently uttered it in almost identical words in one of his treatises! Watson purposes to attend 'the marriage of Grace'⁴⁴ either on the first or the second day of the celebrations: if he comes on the first day he would like Robert to give him lodging for the night. He will take the opportunity of this visit to return the '3 exhortacions de fide', which he would have returned earlier, but during the last three weeks he has had 'more bussynes then ever I hade in all my lyffe, so that I have scarcelie left me 3 pence in my pursse'. He had not attended the feast week at Marr, since Robert Fox (the curate there) 'woulde nott woutche-save to drynke with me in owre feste weyke, as other honest men dyde, I thanke them'. It then emerges that Parkyn has lent him money, Watson promising to repay Parkyn before any other creditor. He has commended Parkyn to the vicar of Conisborough – who had lent Watson a book recommended by Parkyn – and has given to 'Mr Metham and his wyffe in yowr name height thanks for owre pygeons and other owre cheare'. This meagre but welcome squirearchic generosity came either from Sir Thomas Metham of Marr or from his relative at Cadeby, the branch to which John Parkyn's colleague at Trinity probably belonged.

This epistolary small beer gives some welcome secular background,

⁴³ The children who came to him appear to have been Elizabeth, Alice and Frances Campion, who figure in his will (note 47 below). Here he makes provision to pay Frances the 'filial portion' left by her deceased father, Richard Campion of Marr.

⁴⁴ The Adwick parish register duly shows the wedding of Grace Ashton to (?) James Savile on 30 September.

but Watson's third letter, written on 15 November 1555, has within its period-context a distinct religious interest. Last Saturday night Watson had received a letter from Parkyn which had rejoiced him, since it had agreed with Watson's proposal to collaborate in saying a series of thirty masses (a 'trental') for Watson's parents Nicholas and Agnes, for his uncle Christopher Huscroft (who occurs in 1535 as bailiff of Hampole Priory)⁴⁵ and for Agnes Ynshe, who had been prioress of Hampole from 1512 to 1517.⁴⁶ The two priests worked out the liturgical detail, and though we have other examples of the revival of this usage under Mary, this was clearly an act of spontaneous piety, showing a fervent belief in the saving efficacy of special masses. In contrast with more modern Catholic practice, the two included also their own souls and those of living friends,

inwardly desyring God the hevinly Father that we may be indewyd with grace of the hevynly spyrett thrughe the merittes of the Sone his passion, that we may so use owr sellffes in this transitorient (*sic*) lyffe with trew catholicke feith, chaistitie and charitie, bryngyng furth good workes accordyng to holly scripture, wherby we may be enheritowres of the kyngdome of hevin by adoption and grace.

The last paragraph of Watson's third letter reverts to his mundane necessities, which compel him to postpone a social visit to Hampole, where the two were to have been entertained by mutual friends. 'Money is now skant; I spende of other folkes purssies'. He has lately been spending 3s. 4d. a week 'at weddynges, ayles and meattyngs, and I holde to it a whill. Itt will make me have a thridebaire goyne [gown], as knoweth our lorde'. So, no doubt, poor Watson struggled on until 1569, when he died almost contemporaneously with Parkyn, their wills being proved on the same day. Despite his modest income, he still possessed some books of value, and of a type which supports the hints elsewhere that he had been studying under Parkyn's literary influence.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (note 6 above), V, p. 44. Several wills of the period place this family at Campsall. Watson's father Nicholas had died in 1537, being buried at Marr (Borthwick Institute, Prob. Reg. 11, fo 288v).

⁴⁶ *Victoria County History, Yorkshire*, Constable 1913, III, p. 165.

⁴⁷ Watson's will, dated 28 April 1569 and proved 5 October 1570 is in Borthwick Institute, Prob. Reg. 19, fos 52v-3. Though more modest than Parkyn's, it does not suggest that he was poverty-stricken.

Of Robert Parkyn's decade of life under Elizabeth our information is less full than that covering the Marian years. His chief commonplace book has as its last item a transcript of five letters by St Cyprian, including the long *Libellus ad Fortunatum* directed against idolatry. The numbering corresponds with that of Erasmus in his Paris edition of 1541, from which Parkyn may have made his copy. Though not precisely dated, this item is followed by an inscription recording the completion of the whole manuscript book of more than 300 capacious pages: 'Conscriptus per manum domini Roberti Parkin curatus de Aithewyk super Stratum anno domini 1565 ac anno reginae Elizabethae 7^o mense Julii, cuius animae propicietur Deus'. With confidence it can be assumed that during the Elizabethan years he was once again using the English Prayer Book, yet without abandoning his Catholic beliefs. The main reason for this last assumption lies in the final item of the Aberdeen manuscript: a transcript of a very substantial portion of Thomas Stapleton's translation, *The Apologie of Fredericus Staphylus, Counsellor to the late Emperor Ferdinandus*. Of that work Parkyn copies the dedicatory epistle, the prologue, books i and ii, together with a brief selection from book iii.⁴⁸ Though the whole is in Parkyn's usual northern spelling, these passages seem to be taken from the printed Antwerp edition of 1565.

For many years a Wittenberg Lutheran, but re-converted before the mid-century, Friedrich Staphylus (d. 1564) had moved to Ingolstadt and become a prominent champion of Catholicism.⁴⁹ His able *Apology* was composed in Latin by the end of 1560.⁵⁰ Its first two books attack Lutheran biblical translation and lay scripture-reading, except for the passages given in the Breviary. Its much longer third book displays the fissiparous character of Protestantism. When Thomas Stapleton translated this work at Louvain he was still relatively unknown, but within a few years he would become notorious in England as the most formidable *émigré* propagandist for his faith.⁵¹ To his translation of Staphylus he added a number of marginal notes applying the author's criticisms to the

⁴⁸ Aberdeen University Library MS 185, fos 228v-251v.

⁴⁹ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig 1875-1912, XXXV, pp. 457-61.

⁵⁰ A copy of Stapleton's translation is in Brit. Lib., 698 d. 1. It includes the two prefaces by Staphylus, the first being dated (fo 28v) Ingolstadt, Christmas Eve 1560.

⁵¹ M. R. O'Donnell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation, Yale Publications in Religion* IX, Yale University Press 1964.

current Anglican heresy. He then almost doubled the size of the publication by adding a long discourse of his own directed against Luther, Melancthon and especially Calvin. Like Staphylus, Stapleton was a hard-liner: he exposed Protestant inconsistencies with more verve than discrimination and refused to grant the slightest merit to any view of even the most moderate reformer. What then was Robert Parkyn's relation to these writers? Had he by his last years accepted Tridentine doctrine in its purest forms? We may not be entitled to give a simple affirmative answer: for example, in the Marian period he was allowing that the laity should read the scriptures. On the other hand, he would surely not have taken the trouble to transcribe forty-six large pages from Stapleton's translation had he not accepted it as a contribution of outstanding relevance. During these years a good many Marian clerics appear to have retained their benefices without abating their views: though the thought may have remained unspoken, they must have hoped against hope for another religious reversal on the early death or deposition of Elizabeth. Mr Aveling has calculated that between 1558 and 1572 some 87 beneficed clergy in the West Riding showed in varying degrees dissent from the Elizabethan religious settlement.⁵²

Robert Parkyn dated his will 16 March 1569,⁵³ describing himself as 'in good prosperitie of body', though in fact he had only a week to live. The inquisition *post mortem* gives his date of death as 23 March in that year, the Adwick parish register confirms this with an entry giving 24 March as his date of burial.⁵⁴ In the will he does not revert to the traditional Catholic phraseology concerning the Virgin and the saints: he simply bequeathes his soul to almighty God, his body to be buried in the churchyard of Adwick 'nighe and before the south queere doore of the said churche'. In the manner of any prosperous cleric he begins with bequests to the poor, to his godchildren, to each priest present at his burial, to the village schoolmaster and parish clerk George Milner, who in fact took orders and became his successor.⁵⁵ His chief beneficiary was

⁵² J. Aveling, *The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790*, *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 1963, pp. 200-3, examines the Elizabethan experiences of the 'old priests', i.e. Marians as distinct from seminarists.

⁵³ Borthwick Institute, Prob. Reg. 19, fos 54v-55.

⁵⁴ Adwick parish register, under deaths, 1568/9; it is the last item under that year: 'Robert Parkyn preast sepultus fuit 24 Martii'.

⁵⁵ George Milner appears as schoolmaster at Adwick in 1563 and as curate there

his brother Edward's son Robert, still 'very yonge and tender of aige'. This boy he obviously envisaged as a future priest, leaving him a Vulgate, his seven volumes of Denis the Carthusian, a concordance and an epitome of the works of Augustine. His friend William Bayerd is bidden to take custody of 'my lesser chist bound with yron, wherin my evidence of landes do remayne', and safely keep it until his heir should come of lawful age. In the meantime the younger Robert is to be brought up in virtue and learning on an annuity of forty shillings a year, paid out of the proceeds of these lands. Though he did survive to inherit, he failed to fulfil his uncle's expectations by dying still young and unordained in May 1572.⁵⁶

The rest of Parkyn's will provides quite a vivid impression of his household. We learn more about his books, among them manuscript collections which would include the ones we have been using. Such manuscripts he leaves to the dean of Doncaster, to William Watson and to Robert Scholaye, vicar of Brodsworth. To the last of these clerics Parkyn bequeathed a copy of the *Sermones* (Cologne 1535) of Luther's famous Parisian opponent Josse Clichtove, one-time pupil of Lefèvre and always a biblical humanist, yet critical of Erasmus. In the words of his recent biographer Clichtove was 'tridentin avant la lettre'.⁵⁷ His sermons, containing much Catholic exegesis, may have done much to fortify Parkyn's conservatism: it is notable also that another volume of this influential author belonged to William Watson.

Amongst the laymen Leonard Wray – the younger brother of a Chief Justice – receives an English Bible of a large volume, while Parkyn's god-son Francis Arthington⁵⁸ is bequeathed Hardyng's chronicle. To James Washington he leaves a startling item: 'Mr Calvin's booke in print', but this hardly entitles us to conjecture that he had begun to study

at Grindal's visitation of April 1575 (Borthwick Institute, R. VI, A.1, fo 86; R. VI, A.5, fo 32v).

⁵⁶ Public Record Office, C.142/160/63, dated 26 June 14 Elizabeth. It records that the younger Robert had died at Skellow the previous 7 May, his sister Elizabeth being his heir. The list of his lands corresponds with that of his uncle.

⁵⁷ Jean-Pierre Massaut, *Josse Clichtove: l'humanisme et la réforme du clergé*, 2 vols, Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', Paris 1968.

⁵⁸ Apparently Francis Arthington of Castley, living in 1585. J. Foster (ed.), *The Visitation of Yorksbire* (see note 12 above), p.273.

sympathetically the views of the opposing side. One finds it hard to banish the suspicion that he was courteously giving back a book which the Protestant squire had pressed upon him not many years earlier! A different sort of contact with the local gentry appears in the clause respecting Mr Leonard West of Burghwallis.⁵⁹ This son of a peer had borrowed three pounds from Parkyn on 15 March 1563 'by John Dynnes his servant, who promysed the payment thereof at Whitsunday next after the borrowing of the same'. Now Parkyn shrewdly leaves this money towards the building of the steeple at Adwick, urging the churchwardens to demand it from the long-winded debtor Leonard West. The other provisions depict a household well furnished with chests, coffers, tables, painted cloths and beds, together with large quantities of linen, bedding and silver. These goods are bequeathed mostly to his three nieces and two nephews of the Ambler family, the children who had suffered from 'terrible visions' during the quarrels of 1555 between their parents. By the standards of that day their clerical uncle lived in considerable comfort. He slept on a feather bed, used his silver spoons 'daily' as well as having several other sets in reserve, and he burned coal in his fireplaces. The clothes he deemed worthy of bequest were a cloth jacket, a hempen shirt, a pair of hose, a camlet doublet, a girdle mounted with silver and a fur-lined gown. The last he appropriately left to William Watson, who in former years had feared to be left with a threadbare gown. Watson should also have inherited his friend's best three-cornered cap and best tippet. Parkyn's domestic staff seem to have commanded little of his generosity. 'Margaret Buttery my servant' received twelve pence and one measure ('met') of barley. 'Wyddowe Jackeson', who merely got the unconsumed coal in his chamber, may have been an indigent neighbour or a charwoman. Altogether, though in modern eyes this may seem a simple establishment, one cannot doubt that it would have inspired envy in the great majority of local yeomen and priests.

In the foregoing essay we have shown how much of one Tudor man's world – given some major strokes of luck – can be reassembled. To enlarge the picture, to enquire in detail how far Parkyn typifies or fails to typify the provincial clergy of the day, would lead into a large territory, one in

⁵⁹ Leonard West, a younger son of Thomas West, Lord de la War, married Barbara Gascoigne (of the Gawthorp branch) and thereby acquired the manor of Burghwallis. J. Hunter, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 484–5.

part already explored by Mrs Bowker and Mr Heath.⁶⁰ The present writer has made a big enough collection of northern clerical book-lists to show that Parkyn did not inhabit an eccentric world of his own. Even though few of his contemporaries worked so hard to restore a devotional tradition, a great many exchanged and bequeathed books of similar type. The parish clergy remained by far the most literate large social group of that day, and, despite Archbishop Lee's complaints about the relation between clerical poverty and ignorance, we must obviously beware of the assumption that every poor curate lacked a mental life. Problems of greater interest concern the position of Parkyn's brand of piety – one hitherto unduly neglected – in the context of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, indeed within the whole rich pattern of classical studies, superstitions, witchcraft, astrology and rudimentary science which occupied the minds of European society during that period.

In regard to ecclesiastical reform, we have already observed that Parkyn does not stand with the extreme reactionaries, who peddled indulgences and operated wonder-working images. He shows no regard for pilgrimages, in contrast with the crazed enthusiasm still so common around 1500.⁶¹ His contemporary inspiration and affinities lie with More and Fisher, not with Medici popes and the religion of the bankers. On the other hand it would simplify his tradition to call it 'mystical'. It was indirectly but not very intimately linked with Bonde⁶² and Whitford,⁶³ with Syon,⁶⁴ Mountgrace⁶⁵ and that aspect of the London Charterhouse

⁶⁰ Margaret Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495–1520*, Cambridge University Press 1968, has much fresh material on the discipline and problems of the clergy. So has P. Heath (note 7 above): in the present context see his section on 'the mentality of the clergy', pp. 86–90.

⁶¹ For example E. M. Blackie (ed.), *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton*, Harvard University Press 1924; also Richard Torkington's pilgrimage to Jerusalem in W. J. Loftis (ed.), *Te Oldest Diarie of Englysche Travell*, London 1884.

⁶² J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* I, p. 177; *STC*, nos. 3275–8.

⁶³ On Whitford, also a brother of Syon, see *DNB*, which has an account of his works; *STC*, nos. 14563–4, 17532, 17542, 23961, 25412–26.

⁶⁴ On Syon in general see D. Knowles, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 212–21. A significant book-list is in N. R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society 1964, pp. 184–7.

⁶⁵ On Methley and Norton at Mountgrace, see D. Knowles, *op. cit.*, II, p. 224–6; III, p. 239; and some further references in A. G. Dickens, 'The Writers of Tudor Yorkshire', above, pp. 22–3

so luridly described by Maurice Chauncy.⁶⁶ It partook little of the *Schwärmerei* of 'experiences' we encounter first in Germany, then in Spain. At its basis it derived not merely from Richard Rolle but from older and more substantial sources: Augustine, Bernard and Denis the Carthusian. Upon such mid-Tudor Catholics neither Lutheranism nor Tridentine reformism could make much impact, the more especially since their idiom had been sharpened by these still living traditions of English and Continental *devotio moderna*. Had Philip and Mary been blessed with any sense for social and historical religion, they would have done well to sponsor this convergence of paths between their respective territories. At the mid-century, but before the closure of Trent, Catholicism might have continued to pursue a variety of paths throughout the varied regions of Europe, and the humble but pensive life we have just traced may help us to shed the illusion of a monolithic religion once so popular both with Catholic historians and their critics. The Catholicism of the earlier sixteenth century was compounded of many ingredients and emphases, some of which triumphed at last over others, yet at a heavy cost. We should be justified in regarding the English devotional writings of that day – including those of the belated Parkyn – less as a dead end, more as an interesting 'might-have-been'. At the parish level there survived foundations upon which a more spiritual, less state-dominated leadership might have rebuilt English Catholicism. Given creative patronage by crown and bishops, less cumbered by the dead hand of university scholasticism, conservative piety might have merged naturally enough with biblical humanism to produce a viable and competitive Catholicism with a distinctly English flavour, a Catholicism different in ethos from that which the seminarists and Jesuits were so heroically to keep alive in penal times. But of this opportunity a man like Parkyn may well seem little more than a ghost. By his day had not the chance already come and gone? And should we lay so much of the blame upon unlearned parish priests? Was it not rather the 'civil service bishops' and the stodgy leaders both among the secular and the regular clergy who lost the last real battle around the years 1490–1510? And must not their appointer and patron the 'pious' Henry VII shoulder at least as much blame as his unfortunate son for the disasters which beset English Catholicism? These

⁶⁶ *Historia aliquot . . . martyrum*, Mainz 1550, translated anonymously as *The History of the Sufferings of Eighreen Carthusians*, London 1890.

are but speculative queries arising from a glance at one corner of England: perhaps we shall be able to supply more confident answers when we have done massive research upon the spiritual and mental history of the earlier Tudor period. Meanwhile I leave Robert Parkyn – an old friend of more than forty years' standing – with the wish that he and the greater men of his day, all too avid for certainty and verbal definition, had been given the grace to unite around the core of their faith. Of this central truth he has indeed not failed to remind us. After recording that he had finished his biggest manuscript book on 7 July 1565, he put at the end two lines which should serve as epitaph both for himself and for all Christians who love knowledge:

Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire.

Si Christum bene scis, parum est si cetera nescis.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Bodleian MS Lat. Th. d. 15, fo 157v.

Rycharde Rolle hermyte of Hampull in
 his contemplacyons of the drede and loue of
 god With other dyuerse tytles as it the weth
 in his table.



Title-page of Richard Rolle, *Contemplacyons of the Drede and Love of God*. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1506. S.T.C. 21259; Freemantle, W.T., *A Bibliography of Sheffield*, p. 175.



Title-page of Richard Rolle, *Explanations Notabiles ... super Lectiones Beati Job*, Paris, 1510. Freemantle, W.T., *A Bibliography of Sheffield*, p. 175.

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Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation

THIS hitherto unpublished account of the Reformation forms one item of a commonplace book compiled at various dates about the middle of the sixteenth century by Robert Parkyn, curate of Adwick-le-Street near Doncaster.¹ This book, supplemented by certain other materials, affords a fairly satisfying picture of the conservative opinions and archaic culture of this curious writer, copyist, and bibliophile. The following table of contents appears in itself not unrevealing as regards the literary tastes of the educated minority of the contemporary northern parish clergy. Especially attractive is Parkyn's position as a late representative of the cult of Richard Rolle, whose shrine remained nearby at Hampole,² and also as an early devotee of Sir Thomas More, whose family had at this period close connexions with the immediate locality.³

Fo. 1. *Novem lectiones de exequiis mortuorum*, by Richard Rolle.⁴

Fo. 86v. *De vita activa et contemplativa*, by the same.⁵

Fo. 89v. *Super psalmum vicesimum*, by the same.⁶

Fo. 106. A genealogy of the Kings of Israel from the death of Solomon to the Babylonian Captivity.

¹ Bodleian MS. Lat. Th. d. 15, acquired by the library in 1931 from the collection of G. E. Cooke-Yarborough. A note on fo. iii^v says 'Iste liber pertinet ad dominum Robert Byard', but it is in Parkyn's own handwriting, the name 'Byard' apart, which is written over an erasure, presumably of 'Parkyn'. Robert Byard or Bayerd, the son of William Bayerd mentioned *infra*, was related to Parkyn by marriage. In 1736 Francis Drake clearly refers to this book as then belonging to Sir Brian Cooke (*Eboracum*, p. 452) but almost a century later Joseph Hunter failed to trace it (*South Yorkshire*, i. 354).

² On the cult of Rolle at Hampole during the later years of the nunnery cf. H. E. Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, p. 523. Fifteenth-century northern clergy frequently bequeath Rolle MSS. Hampole Priory stood only about two miles from Adwick, the living of which, along with those of Marr and Melton, being appropriated to the house, which profited handsomely. In 1535, when Thomas Gyll was incumbent, the stipend of the curate of Adwick was only £4 13s. 4d. (*Valor Eccles.* v. 51). The Saviles of Methley succeeded as lay impropiators; it is not known whether they increased the stipend in Parkyn's time. He happened to possess considerable private means.

³ John More married Anne Cresacre of Barnborough and probably retired thither after his father's fall (Hunter, *op. cit.* i. 374).

⁴ This commentary on the nine readings from the Book of Job which occur in the Office for the Dead had already been printed in three editions (Oxford, c. 1483; Paris, 1510; Cologne, 1536).

⁵ The short treatise or sermon usually called *Super 'mulierem fortem quis inveniet'* (Prov. xxxi. 10).

⁶ Also printed in the Cologne edn. of 1536. H. E. Allen does not include these or any other sixteenth-century texts of these three treatises in her lists (*op. cit.* pp. 130, 159, 194), but their discovery is unlikely to contribute materially to Rolle scholarship as such.

- Fo. 108. A brief survey of the Pauline Epistles, by chapters.
- Fo. 115. A lengthy prayer or meditation, beginning 'Helppe me dere father', ascribed by Parkyn, probably correctly, to Sir Thomas More.¹
- Fos. 116^v–18^v. Three shorter English prayers by More, showing a few minor variations from Rastell's text of 1557.²
- Fo. 119. An English poem of twelve 7-line stanzas, beginning 'O holy God of dreadful majesty'.
- Fo. 120. Another of 22 lines on one rhyme, beginning 'I thank the Lord with gratulation'.
- Fo. 120^v. 'Sermo ex commentario beati Hieronimi presbyteri', based partially on St. Jerome's commentary on St. Matthew.³
- Fo. 121^v. A Latin catalogue of the kings of England drawn from Geoffrey of Monmouth and continued by Parkyn to the first year of Queen Elizabeth.⁴
- Fo. 126. 'Here after followithe certen Englishe verses in metre compiled furthe of the Cronicle, concernyng the Kyngs of Englande sithen the Conquest, wich was in the yeare of our Lord God 1067 and lattly wrettyn by Robert Parkyn curett of Aithewike by the Streatt anno domini 1551 ac anno regis Edwardi 6 quinto vz. 27 die mensis Aprilis'. This rhyming history consists of 42 8-line stanzas closely similar in form to Lydgate's *Dietary* (*infra*) but the general form of the poem and recurrent phrases are inspired by Lydgate's *Kings of England sithen William the Conqueror*.⁵ The stanzas on Henry VII and Henry VIII (fos. 131–131^v) have independent significance.⁶ After a concluding stanza in conventional praise of Edward VI, Parkyn inserts (fo. 132, margin) a brief prose note on Mary's reign.
- Fo. 132. *Dietarium Salutis*, versified rules of health by John Lydgate beginning 'For healthe of bodie cover from colde thy heade'. Like other late versions, Parkyn's shows many variations from the best texts; he included only stanzas 4 and 13–21 of the version printed by the Early English Text Society.⁷
- Fo. 133 (margin). 'The saynge of a deyde man', an English poem of twelve lines. This is followed by the words, 'Peccati

¹ Printed by the present writer with explanatory material in *Church Quarterly Review*, July-September 1937.

² Cf. for parallel passages *loc. cit.* p. 229. Parkyn's texts of all these prayers remain in his normal northern spelling; they were copied some years previous to 1557.

³ Cf. *Bibl. Pat. Lat.* xxvi, c. 138–9.

⁴ A bald summary containing little save regnal dates. As one would anticipate from the date of the succeeding item, the entries for Mary and Elizabeth show signs of interpolation at a later date.

⁵ Minor Poems of John Lydgate, pt. ii (*Early Eng. Text Soc.*, no. 92), pp. 710 *seqq.*

⁶ Despite the date, he boldly criticizes 'the utter destruction of holly churche' by Henry VIII.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 703 *seqq.*

forma femina est / Et mortis conditio', and subsequently by the inscription, 'Orate pro anima domini Roberti Parkini qui hunc librum totaliter exaravit'.

Fo. 133^v. The Reformation Narrative, printed *infra*.

Fo. 142. Five letters of Cyprian: the long *Libellus ad Fortunatum*, together with Book ii, ep. 3, 4, 5, 6, these references being given as in the Paris edition of 1541 by Erasmus.

Fo. 157^v. A concluding note, 'Conscriptus per manum domini Roberti Parkini curatus de Aithewyk super Stratum anno domini 1565 ac anno reginae Elizabethæ 7^o mense Julii cuius animæ propicietur Deus.

Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire.

Si Christum bene scis, parum est si cetera nescis'.

All these items appear to be in Parkyn's own archaic handwriting,¹ though it varies in size and regularity, becoming notably smaller and more cursive in the later entries. The above-quoted inscriptions on fos. iii^v, 133 and 157^v strengthen the likelihood that the book has come down to us as Parkyn left it and remains, apart from a brief and later Table of Contents, entirely his work.² All the English items, whatever their origins, are rendered in Parkyn's northern orthography and grammar.

It remains to consider briefly what we know of the writer from sources external to this manuscript. The catalogue of the library of Ralph Thoresby the Leeds antiquary (1658-1725) includes the following item amongst the manuscripts in quarto: 'The History of the blessed Jesus, from the Evangelists, and ancient Doctors, in English verse, compiled by Robert Parkynn Curate at Adwick in the Street (Athewike super stratum), near Doncaster, An. 1548'.³ The present writer has so far failed to locate this obviously characteristic manuscript, though it was sold to Thorpe the London bookseller at the dispersal of Richard Heber's great library in 1836.⁴

Though we know so little of Parkyn's earlier life, his lengthy will, very luckily extant in the manuscript register at the York Probate Registry,⁵ provides a remarkably complete picture of his

¹ It is an 'artificial' hand, apparently much influenced by his study of earlier manuscripts.

² The book is of parchment to fo. 92 and of paper from fo. 93 onwards, but the hand does not alter at the break; the whole shows every sign of being used in its present form by Parkyn.

³ Catalogue of manuscripts in Whitaker's edn. (1816) of Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 84.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Heberiana* (1836) part xi., p. 94. The poem was in 7-line stanzas and, according to its prologue, begun in 1548 and finished in 1554. Parkyn used some of his rough manuscripts to thicken the binding.

⁵ York Probate Registry, vol. 19, fos. 54^v-5.

last years. At the date of its drafting, 16 March 1568, he had modified, or was concealing, his once violent conservatism sufficiently to retain the living of Adwick. Leaving money to repair the steeple of his church, he willed 'to be buryed in the church yeard of the said Adwicke nighe before the south qweare doore of the said church'. He possessed lands, lived in a well-furnished household with a servant, stood on obviously good terms with the leading local gentry and clergy, was surrounded by a tribe of nephews and nieces who inherited the greater part of his furniture, plate and other effects. More important, the will contains so full an inventory of his books as to provide another useful index to Parkyn's intellectual life. With the entertaining exception of one work, which he may not have acquired through his own initiative, the following excerpts remain well in character and, like our list from the Bodleian MS., show how little meaning we may attach at this time and place to the terms 'medieval' and 'modern'. Parkyn cannot indeed be classed with the antiquaries of the next generation: he makes no self-conscious return to an older world of thought and culture but rather preserves organic connection with it.

'Item I gyve and bequithe to Robert Parkyn my brother sonne . . . the holle Byble booke in Latin and Dionisius Carthusianus his worke uppon the Byble in seven large volumes; ¹ an other fayre booke called Opera Divi Hillarii, ² a great booke viz. Concordantia Biblie and also an other fayre prynted booke called Epitome Omnium Operum Divi Aurillii Augustini, ³ whiche xj bookes I will that William Bayerd his uncle have in his custodie untill the said Robert Parkin be haible to order them hym self (yf he be lyving untill that tyme) and yf the said Robert departe this worlde or he come to lawfull age, then I will that the said bookes be solde and the money rec[eived] to be destributed emonge the most poore people of Owston parishe at twoo severall tymes in one yeare. . . . Item I gyve and bequithe to Mr Hudson, Deane of Doncaster ⁴ a great thicke wrytten booke in parchement which begynneth thus, Incipit tractatus moralis de 7 vitiis capitalibus &c. ⁵ . . . Item I gyve and bequithe to Mr Vicar of Brodeworthe,

¹ Presumably the printed works of this favourite commentator (1394-1471). An elaborate 20-volume series, without collective title but consisting mostly of scriptural commentaries, had been published at Cologne between 1534 and 1540. In addition, certain volumes of the commentaries appeared at Paris in 1542-4-7.

² Various printed editions of St. Hilary's works, including that of Erasmus (Basle, 1530), had appeared.

³ *Epitome Omnium Operum A. Augustini* (Cologne, 1549).

⁴ Presumably the John Hudson who appears as vicar of Doncaster in a charter of 10 October 1557 (*Fasti Parochiales, Yorks. Archeol. Soc., Record Series*, lxxxv. 85).

⁵ This might be any one of a number of thirteenth, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century treatises. Cf. for a list, *Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum*, iii. 274, s.v. 'Virtues and Vices'.

vz. Sir Robert Skolaye ¹ one prynted booke called Sermones Judoci Chichtovei (*sic*) ² and to Sir William Watson curaite of Melton uppon the Hill ³ a wrytten booke profitable and easye to fynd sentences of the Byble by letters, with other thre wrytten bookes in bourdes ⁴ whiche he lyketh best. . . . Item I gyve and bequithe to Mr James Wasshington ⁵ Mr Calvin's booke in print ⁶ and to Mr Leonard Wraye ⁷ the Englysche Byble of a large volume. . . . Item I gyve and bequithe to my godsonne Francis Arthinton ⁸ John Hardyng his cronicle in print ⁹ and bound in paist with blacke lether.'

At the outset of this will, Parkyn describes himself as 'in good prosperitie of bodye, prasyd be God', yet he survived but a further few days, the will being proved on 5 October 1570.

The foregoing notes provide the most necessary background to our Reformation Narrative, the text of which requires only brief introduction. The questions of date, method of composition and sources are closely involved with each other; the most salient evidence may be stated somewhat as follows. The narrative, it will be observed, breaks off somewhat suddenly in 1555 without any clear peroration but with the final addition of a brief note regarding Queen Mary's death in 1558, a note which, like the similar interpolation on fo. 132 bears every appearance of having been added some little time after the conclusion of the body of the work. The earliest passages likewise yield clues as to date of composition. The events of the years 1532 to 1547 are covered most sketchily in a page and a half of the manuscript and with

¹ Robert Scholey was vicar of Brodsworth, an immediately adjoining parish, from 1550 to 1579 (Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i. 319). Both Parkyn and Scholey are mentioned as receiving some of the books of John Rodger, the previous vicar of Brodsworth, in the latter's will, February 1550 (*Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xxxvi. 320).

² Jodocus Clichtoveus (1473-1543), professor of Paris and canon of Chartres, a voluminous author and commentator who wrote an able but moderate *Anti Lutherus* (Paris, 1524; Cologne, 1525). A collection of about 180 of his *Sermones* was published at Cologne in 1535, and consists mainly of exegesis along traditional lines (cf. the published thesis of J. A. Clerval, Paris, 1894).

³ Watson's will, proved on the same day as Parkyn's, is also extant in the York Probate Registry and contains mention of several books similar in type to those of his friend (*Notes from Wills*, p. 16, in the York volume of the Archaeological Institute, 1847).

⁴ The Bodleian MS. and the manuscript poem, once in Thoresby's collection, may have been amongst these.

⁵ James Washington of Adwick-le-Street, head of the most notable family resident in Parkyn's parish; a J.P. in 22 Eliz. and died in 1580 (Hunter, *op. cit.* i. 353). Washington, Watson and Scholey all witnessed Parkyn's will.

⁶ Many of Calvin's works had been published in England by this date (cf. Pollard and Redgrave, *Short Title Catalogue*, nos. 4372-468, *passim*).

⁷ Leonard Wray of Adwick died in 1590; he was younger brother of Sir Christopher, C.J. of the King's Bench (Hunter, *op. cit.* i. 349). His altar tomb, along with that of James Washington, is preserved in Adwick church.

⁸ Perhaps Francis Arthington of Castley, living in 1585, whose aunt married a Gascoign of Adwick (*Glover's Visitation of Yorks.*, ed. J. Foster, p. 273). The family was notable for recusancy during the later Elizabethan period.

⁹ Probably Hardyng's chronicle as printed, with a continuation, by Grafton in 1543.

such numerous inaccuracies as to suggest composition from distant memory or hearsay. Yet from 1547 onwards the element of personal observation grows rapidly more apparent, the treatment far more exhaustive and accurate. On the other hand the prose remains connected, displaying few of the verbal habits of the diarist. Sometimes the writer even makes anticipatory mention of events he will discuss later. Having, for example, described the inventories of church goods made in 1549 he remarks, 'Butt for wattu ententt this was doyne, it schall be declaride here after more at large (yf it please God to grantt lyffe unto the compilowr herof)'. He then speaks of another inventory made early in 1553, 'the people not yitt knowynge the certantie & trewth the whatt suche longe processe wolde cum unto'. Finally he fulfils his original promise and recounts the actual confiscation of church goods. Throughout, the personal and independent note predominates. No evidence appears that chronicles or analogous materials have been utilized.¹ Altogether the most reasonable supposition must be that Parkyn compiled his narrative not as a diary but as a connected essay, probably in 1555 or very shortly afterwards. Theories purporting to explain his failure to continue the narrative to a neater conclusion might prove unwise.²

Written probably in a short space of time, the piece is marked by a deliberate limitation and singleness of aim; it is a short history, independent in origin, of the 'grevus matters' through which the church has recently passed and which are now happily concluded through the triumph of 'gratius Quene Marie'. Essentially a clerical document, it breathes on every page the revulsion of the northern parish priest against heretical change. Of this viewpoint, it seems indeed destined to become the classic exemplar, its emphases being very much what the remainder of the evidence regarding such clerics would lead one to anticipate. It is a pre-Reformation, not a counter-Reformation, outburst. Writing in the year 1555, Parkyn cannot altogether neglect the question of the Roman obedience, yet he reserves all his lengthiest and most violent criticisms for matters more immediate: the abrogation of traditional eucharistic doctrine and 'olde ceremonies laudable usyde before tyme', the confiscation of ecclesiastical properties, the presumption of 'thes carnall prestes' who

¹ It seems unlikely indeed that, at the date of composition, any narrative sources for the years 1547-55 could have been available, except, of course, memoranda kept by the author or his friends. Parkyn quotes (fo. 139) the correct passage of an Act of Parliament to substantiate the exact date of Edward VI's death.

² The final note on Mary's death forbids us to imagine, for example, that Parkyn experienced disillusion amid the extremism of the years 1555-8. He may indeed have intended in 1555 to continue or to round off his narrative, but, having fulfilled his main purpose, possibly allowed his interest to be captured by other tasks. After 1558, however, he could scarcely have resumed the narrative without a grave sense of incongruity.

'marie women, usynge tham as ther wyffes'. Without hesitation, Parkyn centres all the problems of his time around that of heresy, which he imagines to have constituted a leading issue throughout all popular troubles, even including Kett's Revolt. He likewise advances no fine distinctions as between the Edwardian politicians; Somerset and Warwick he classes together as 'two cruell tiranntes & enemisseis to God & Holy Churche'. Though fairly well acquainted with events in London and other distant parts of the kingdom, he shows little comprehension of the political intrigues underlying the vicissitudes of the reign of Edward VI.

Our narrative is, moreover, a South Yorkshire document, providing some useful and original hints as to the introduction of Reformation changes into that area. It is also an original authority for the career and marriage of Archbishop Holgate, a topic with local ramifications and one already investigated by the present writer.¹ Yet as a source of factual information Parkyn adds little to our knowledge of events outside his own locality, even of those in other parts of Yorkshire.² In short, the narrative indicates to perfection the response to contemporary history of a literary Marian clergyman who lived at the focal point where Ermine Street enters the North Country. And for such glimpses we should not lack gratitude; as significantly as any London chronicle they reveal the inwardness of English history.

(fo. 133^v.) Regnantibus impiis: ruina hominum. Prov. 28.³

Be itt knowne to all men to whome this presentt writtinge schall cum, se, heare or reade, thatt in the yeare of our Lorde God 1532 and in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Kynge Henrie the 8 thes grevus matteres ensewynge first began to tayke roote; and after by processe of tym was accomplisshide and browghtt to passe in veray deade within this realme of Englande, to the grett discomforth of all suche as was trew christians.

Fyrst the Kyngs Maiestie vz. Henrie the 8 in the 24 yeare of his reign was wrongusly devoreide from his lawfull wyffe gratius Qweane Katheryn and mariede Ladye An Bullan, wich was crownyde Queyne of Englande on Whitsunday.⁴ Butt in the yeare followynge (anno domini 1533) the Pope of Rome with all his autoritie & powre was abolischide qwyttte owtt of

¹ *Ante*, lii. 428-42.

² He contributes a rather detailed and accurate account of Kett's Revolt, but does not even mention the contemporary, and not utterly insignificant, rising in North Yorkshire (cf. *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xxxiv. 151-69). It would seem well to avoid such titles as 'Northern Narrative', since Parkyn is not notably informative regarding contemporary aspects of the North proper.

³ Proverbs xxviii. 12.

⁴ Roughly accurate chronology. The secret Boleyn marriage took place about 25 January 1533; the 24th regnal year expired 21 April; Cranmer pronounced Henry's first marriage null and void 23 May, found the Boleyn marriage valid 28 May. Anne was crowned on Whitsunday, 1 June.

this realme, & then the Kyngs Majestie was proclamyde Supreme Heade nextt & immediatly under God of the Churche of Englande & Irelande,¹ thurgh the authoritie wherof he began to deposse religious howsses. And the fyrst wich was dissolvide in Yorke shire was Sawllay and Rwallay (*sic*), two notable howsses.²

¶ Then in the yeare followynge vz. 1534 was granntide to the Kynge fyrst fructtes and tentts of al spirituall possessions.³ And by cause the good bischoppe of Rochester and Sir Thomas Moore two verteus men & greatt clerkes wolde nott consentt to the Kynge thatt he scholde be Supreme Heade of holly churche, therfor thay were both headyde in the monethe of Junii at London⁴ with thre monkes of the Charterhowsse for the sayme,⁵ with many others in diverse places.

¶ The yeare followynge vz. 1535 was the abovesaide Queyne Anne beheadyde for hir wretchide carnall lyffinge,⁶ and in Septembre & Octobre⁷ was grett commotions (for mayntenance of holly churche⁸) both in Lyncolne shire and Yorke shyre, butt disceattfully thay were browghtt downe with treattie, withowtt bloode sheddynge, specially att a grownde namyde Scawsbie leas nott farre from Doncaster.⁹

¶ This past then on S. Edwardes evin in Octobre anno domini 1536 Prince Edward was borne at Hampton Cowrte &c. Continewynge the saide tymes, religious howsses was nothings favorable, but yearly parte dissolvde, but anno domini 1539 all was suppresside furiously under footte (evin as tholly temple of Hierusalem was handlyde when the Chaldees had dominion therof)¹⁰ and many abbottes & other <fo. 134> vertuus religious persons shamefully was putt to deathe in diverse places of this realme. And all this ungratiusnes cam thurgh the cowncell of one wreatche and heretike Thomas Crumwell, and such other of his affinitie, wich Crumwell was headyde for highe treasson in the yeare after.¹²

Edwardus
6tus
natus
fuit

4 Reg. 25
et Hier. 52

Quum impij
sumperint
principa-
tum, gemet
populus.
Proverbs
29.11

¹ Again roughly correct; 24 Hen. VIII, cap. 12, prohibiting appeals to Rome was passed as early as February 1533.

² Inaccurate statements. Marton Priory, for example, surrendered 9 February 1536 before the passing of the Smaller Monasteries Act (*Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Record Series*, xlviii. 9). Sawley, with an annual valuation of £147, was admittedly among the early dissolutions, but Rievaulx escaped the act of 1536, having a valuation of £278. It was not dissolved until December 1538 (*Letters and Papers*, xiii (2), 1064).

³ 26 Hen. VIII, cap. 3, passed November 1534.

⁴ Parkyn antedates these events by a year, hence erring with several later dates. Fisher suffered 22 June and More 6 July 1535.

⁵ Probably a reference, not to the three Carthusian priors, but to the three London Carthusians executed 19 June 1535 (Wriothesley, *Chronicle, Camden Soc., New Series*, xi, xx, i. 28-9).

⁶ Actually 19 May 1536.

⁷ The Lincolnshire rising began 1 October 1536, the Yorkshire rising at Beverley 8 October.

⁸ Parkyn shows no comprehension of the vast complex of grievances, many of them quite non-religious, underlying the Pilgrimage of Grace (cf. R. R. Reid, *King's Council in the North*, pp. 121 *seqq.*).

⁹ Scawsby Lees, only four miles distant from Adwick-le-Street, is frequently mentioned as the main assembly-point of the insurgents at the end of October. The delusive pardon of 6 December was read there to a part of the host (*Letters and Papers*, xii (1), 201, p. 102).

¹⁰ Vulg., 4 Kings xxv. 9; Jeremiah lii. 13.

¹¹ Proverbs xxix. 2.

¹² 28 July 1540. The northerners, Aske had said, hated Cromwell 'that in maner they wold eat him' (*ante*, v. 340).

¶ Then a proclamation wentt furthe, anno domini 1540, thatt no holly day scholde be keptt exceptt feastes of Our Lady, thapostles, Evangelistes & Marie Magdalen. And thatt S. Marke day scholde nott be takyn as a fastinge day, nor yitt S. Laurence evin, nather that children sholde be deckyde, nor go abowtt uppon Sanctt Nicholes, S. Katherin, S. Clementt, S. Edmonde evins or days, butt all suche childishe fations (as thay namyde it) to ceasse.¹ Thus in Kyng Henrie days began holly churche in Englande to be in greatt ruyne as it appeareide daly.

Henricus
8 rex
mortuus

Butt when the said Kyng Henrie was departtide to God's mercy in the 38 yeare of his reigne & in the yeare of our Lorde God 1546,² ther dyd succede his only sone Prince Edward and was proclamyde thrughe all his father dominions Kynge of Englande, France & Irelande, Defendowr of the Faithe and of the Churche of Englande & Irelande Supreme Heade nextt & immediately under God. And in the first yeare of his reigne was straitte iniunctions gyven to all the spiritualltie of Englande, wherin specially was deposite all processions and thatt noyne sholde be uside, butt only to knealle in the mydde alee of the churche unto certayn suffragies in Englishe were songe or saide on holly days.³

¶ Also in the begynnyng of the seconde yeare of his reigne, anno domini 1547⁴ on the Purification Day of Our Lady (vz. Candylmes Day), ther was no candylls sanctifide, born or holden in mens' handes, as before tymes laudable was accustomed, butt utterly omitte.

¶ In the begynnyng of Lentt all such suffragies as perteanyde to the sanctifyng of thasshes⁵ was omytt & lefft undoyne & so no asshes was gyven to any persons.⁶ ¶ In the sayme Lentt all ymages, pictures, tables, crucifixes, tabernacles, was utterly abolischide & takyn away furth of churches within this realme of Englande, and all searges of wax (exceptt two standyng uppon highe alters).⁷

¹ For a summary of the complicated series of changes in the observance of holy days, cf. Brightman, *The English Rite*, I. lvii, and for some of the documents Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, *passim*. Parkyn here seems to give an incomplete and rather inaccurate recollection of the proclamation of 22 July 1541, which actually uses the phrase 'many superstitions and childyshe observations' (*ibid.* iii. 860 and cf. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, no. 195).

² 28 January 1546-7.

³ On the abolition of processions and the origins of the English Litany, see Brightman, *op. cit.* i, pp. lix *seqq.* Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i. 14 prints the royal injunctions of August 1547 to which Parkyn here refers. English suffrages had appeared in 1544 but none are likely to have been used in the north until 1547-8 when, for example, the Doncaster injunctions insist on their use (*Aleuin Club Collections*, xv. 171).

⁴ 1547-8.

⁵ On Ash Wednesday, the first day in Lent. Regarding the numerous liturgical references from this point, annotations have been largely limited to involved points. Routine information on the various observances may conveniently be obtained from the York and Sarum Missals and from such works as Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*; Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*; Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*.

⁶ Cranmer transferred to the bishops on 27 January 1548 the Council's order forbidding candles, ashes and palms (Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 37). Candlemas falls on 2 February; the order hence seems to have been obeyed with promptitude in Parkyn's deanery.

⁷ The royal injunctions of 1547 abolished only 'abused' images, allowed two lights on the high altar and instructed the clergy to destroy all shrines, tables, candlesticks, &c. On 21 February 1548 the Council ordered *all* images to be removed (*ibid.* i. 7, 17, 39-40). Another apparent instance of prompt obedience.

¶ Item on Palme Sondag, beyng Our Lady Day Annunciation, no palmes was sanctifide nor borne in men's handes, no procession, no passion redde in Lattin att measse, but in Englishe only in the pulpitt.¹

¶ Item on Shyrethursday² at evin (anno domini 1548) no allters was waschide nor Mawndy gevin.³ ¶ And on Good <fo. 134v> Friday no sepulcre was preparide nor any mention mayde thatt day in holly churche of Christ Jesus bitter passion, death and beriall (as of longe tyme before was uside) the passion only exceptt, wich was redde in Englishe.⁵ All other ceremonyes, as creappinge before the crosse,⁶ 24 candylls, & disciplyne was utterly omittide.

¶ 1548.
¶ Ve tibi
terra culus
rex puer est
Eccles. 10.⁴

¶ On Easter evin no fyre was sanctifide, no paschall candle, no procession unto the foont, no candle presentt att sanctifyinge therof, no wordes songe ne saide from the foontt unto the qweare (as laudable was uside before tyme),⁷ butt immediattellie dide proceade unto tholly masse, at wich masse the people was communicatte with both kyndes, vz. thay receaide Christ blisside bodie under forme of breade, and his blisside bloode under forme of wyne, and thatt consequenttly after the prieste his selfe had receaide the saide blisside sacramentt. And thus thay uside other days, when the people was well myндыde to be communicatte or partt takers of thatt holly misterie.⁸

¶ Item on Easter Day att morow (beynge the first day of Aprill),⁹ no mention was mayde of Jesus Christ mightti resurrection, nor any procession thatt day before masse nor at evin songe abowt the foontt, nor any other day in the weake. And within 2 weakes after, all prebendaries, hospitalls, chawntrees & fre chappills within Yorke schire & other the Kyngs dominions was gyven upp by compulsion in to His Majestie handes, with all maner of jewells, chalesseis, boykes, bells, vestimentts, with all other ornamenttes perteanynge therto.¹⁰

¶ Item Sanctt Marke day was nott keptt as a day off abstinence, butt every man to be att liberttie & eat all kyndes of meatt at his pleassure.

¶ Item Rogation Days no procession was mayde abowt the fealdes,¹¹ butt cruell tiranntes dyd cast downe all crosses standynge in open ways dispitefully.¹²

¹ This according to the royal injunctions (*ibid.* i. 13). The Passion (Matthew xxvi, xxvii) was sung at mass on Palm Sunday.

² Maundy Thursday. For the many forms, cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. 'sheer Thursday'.

³ Maundy alms were not forbidden by the royal injunctions, which actually made ample provision for charity (Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 11, 18).

⁴ A favourite medieval text for minorities, quoted, e.g. in favour of Richard III (More, *Works*, edn. 1557, p. 63h). Note its curious use by Latimer in a sermon before Edward VI himself (*Sermons, Everyman* edn. p. 232).

⁵ The Passion, Death and Burial in John xviii-xix. 1-37.

⁶ Abolished by the proclamation of 6 February 1548, printed in Burnet, *Reformation*, ed. Pocock, v. 188-90.

⁷ The *benedictio fontium* was an elaborate rite in the use of York; cf. *York Missal, Surtees Soc.* lix. 121.

⁸ Communion in both kinds for the laity was legalized by I Edw. VI, cap. 1 in December 1547 and administered according to the Order of Communion issued on 8 March 1548 (cf. Brightman, *op. cit.* I. lxxi-ii).

⁹ The correct date for 1548.

¹⁰ By 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 4, under which few actual dissolutions occurred.

¹¹ The royal injunctions of 1547 had forbidden processions 'about the church or churchyard, or other place' (Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 14).

¹² In actual fact, an offence deliberately excepted from the royal pardon as early as 1529 (Burnet, *op. cit.* i. 146).

¶ Item in many places of this realme (butt specially in the sowth partes, as Suffolke, Norffolke, Kentt & Waylles &c.) nather breade or watter was sanctifide or distributte emonge Christian people on Sondays, butt clerely omittide as thinges tendenge to idolatrie.¹ Yea, & also the pixes hangynge over thallters (wherin was remanyng Christ blisside bodie under forme of breade) was dispittfully cast away as thinges most abominable,² and dyd nott passe of the blisside oystes therin conteanyd butt vilanusly dispiesside tham, utterynge such wordes therby as it dyd abhorre trew christian eares for to heare;³ butt only thatt Christ mercy is so myche, it was marvell that the earth did nott oppen & swallow upp suche vilanus persons, as it dyd Dathan and Abiron.⁴ The saide vilanus persons denyede thatt most blisside sacramentt <fo. 135> and so wolde have had no masse uside within this realme; yea, & stiffely affirmyde thatt Messias was nott yitt born,⁵ and so finally denyede all sacramentes, exceptt matrimonie, by cawse itt was fyrst institutte in paradise terrestrie, affirmyng also thatt it was leaffull for preastes to marie women, usynge tham as ther wyffes, wich was veray pleasanntt to many, for thay were maryede in veray deyde both byschoppes & other inferiowres, beyng so blyndide with carnall concupiscens thatt thay prechide & tawghtt the people oppenly, that it was lawfull so to do by God's law, and enactyde the sayme.⁷ Wich preastes so mariede when thai dyd celebratt wolde mayke no elevation at masse after consecration, butt all other honest preastes dyd accordinge to tholde laudable faction in remembrance how Our Saveyor Christ Jesus was elewaitte uppon a crosse of tree for mankynde redemption.⁸ Thus was this realme of Englande in greatt division & unquiettnes, sore plagide with enemyes in the north partts by swearde⁹ & in the sowthe with pestilence.

¶ Of All Sowilles Day¹⁰ (anno ubi supra) was the pixe with the most

Numerl 16.

¶ Viri mali
non cogitant
iudicium.
Prov. 28.⁵

¹ Hallowed bread and holy water were finally abolished by the proclamation of 6 February 1548. Parkyn implies less prompt obedience in the north.

² Pyxes were at this time being removed by reforming bishops, who frowned upon perpetual reservation. The western insurgents demanded their retention in 1549. Except perhaps in London, they seem to have been commonly retained as late as 1552 (cf. *Liturgy and Worship*, ed. Clarke and Harris, p. 555).

³ Despising the sacrament of the altar by such names as 'Jack in the Box' and 'Round Robin' was common during these years (cf., e.g., *Greyfriars Chronicle*, *Camden Soc.*, liii. 48, 55, 57, 63, 67). Elaborate measures to suppress these abuses were taken by 1 Edw. VI, cap. 1, which was followed up by a proclamation (Wilkins, *op. cit.* iv. 18). Parkyn, while giving no credit to the government, characteristically borrows his own horrified expressions from the text of 1 Edw. VI, cap. 1, which contains the phrase, 'name or call it by such vile and, unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed' (Gee and Hardy, *Docs. of Eng. Church Hist.* p. 324).

⁴ Numbers xvi. 31-3. Abiron is the Vulgate spelling. This passage, of course, was contemporaneously cited in the reverse direction (Froude, *Hist. Eng.* iv. 424).

⁵ Proverbs xxviii. 5.

⁶ A tendentious account of the heretical argument that the sacrament could not be Christ's flesh and blood, since he was in heaven and had not yet come a second time. Cf. the case of Joan Bette, the Essex sacramentarian, in *Letters and Papers*, xxi (1), 836, where other similar cases will be observed.

⁷ By 2 and 3 Edw. VI, cap. 21, early in 1549.

⁸ The Prayer Book of 1549 expressly forbade elevation. As here asserted, diversity of practice obtained for some time previously.

⁹ Despite the English mastery of the Lowlands following Pinkie, the Scots scored some successes during the winter of 1548-9 (Froude, *op. cit.* iv. 327).

¹⁰ 2 November.

blisside sacramentt therin taken down in Yorke Mynstre and sett uppon ¶ 1548
the highe alter ; lykewyse dyde all parysche churches in Yorke and diversse
deanries within the shire.

¶ Then was ther a greatt parliamentt holden att Westmynster att
London the sayme wyntter, begynnynge the 4 day of Novembre and ther
continewyde & keptt to the 14 day of Martii in the thirde yeare of the
reigne of Kyng Edward the Sextt,¹ wherin tholly masse was subdewyde
and deposside by actt of parliamentt, and noyne to be uside, butt only
a communion.²

Butt as it pleasside God (who seith every mans hertt), grett division
arosse amonge the lordes of the parliamentt, for the Kyng's Majestie unce
callyde Sir Thomas Semayre, Lorde Admirall, was appeatchide of highe
treasson, & so putt in to the Towre att London, with many others tratowrus
persons.³ And so ther erronius purposse dyd nott consequenttly proceade,
butt was for the tyme stayde thurgh lords & pears of the realme beyng
catholique & faithfull unto God.

How be it, it dyd nott longe endewre (& more pittie) for all ecclesias-
ticall persons, as persons, vicars, cures & church wardens was straittely
commandyde to bringe in a trew inventorie (unto the Kyng's Majestie unce
officers) of all jewells & goodes perteanyng to every parishe church ;
butt for watt ententt this was doyne it schall be declaride here after more
att large (yf it please God to granntt lyffe unto the compilowr herof),
<fo. 135v> he havinge perfitt knowledge therof lykewyse, for the matter
last proceedinge was in the begynnynge of Martii (anno ubi supra).⁵

¶ Butt after the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady [¶] (anno domini
1549) the Kyng's Majestie his actes was proclamyed declaryng how it was
leafful by God's law preasts to marye women, & so many was maryede in
deyde (after that Robertt Hollegaytte, Lorde Archebyschoppe of Yorke
was maryede, gyffinge suche lewde exemple).⁷

Consequently folowyde straitte monition, yea, and commandementt
(accordinge to the Kyng's Majestie his actes) at visitacions after Easter,
thatt no preaste scholde celebratte or say mase in Lattin, or minister any
sacramentt in Lattin wordes after the feast of Penticoste then next
followynge, butt only in Englishe [¶] (as thay wolde avoide the Kyng's his
highe displeasure & such penalties as was manifest in the saide actes [¶]).
And so tholly masse was utterly deposside thurgh owtt all this realme of
Englande & other the Kyng's dominions att the saide Penticoste, and in
place therof a communion to be saide in Englishe withowtt any elevation

¹ Actually 24 November 1548 to 14 March 1549. The previous and subsequent sessions both commenced on 4 November—hence, probably, the slip.

² 2 and 3 Edw. VI, cap. 1, passed 21 January 1549, required general use of the First Prayer Book by Whitsunday, 9 June.

³ 17 January 1549.

⁴ Proverbs xxviii. 4.

⁵ This set of commissions was addressed to the sheriffs and justices about 15 February 1549; the clergy and churchwardens would hence receive their orders about the beginning of March (*Surtees Soc.* xvii, xi–xii).

⁶ 25 March.

⁷ For a full discussion of Archbishop Holgate's marriage, with its curious sequels, cf. *ante*, lii. 428 *seqq.*

⁸ A royal visitation enforced the Prayer Book and Act of Uniformity early in 1549. Cf. the articles in Burnet, *op. cit.* v. 243.

⁹ Penalties for first, second, and third offences are manifest in secs. 2 and 3 of the Act of Uniformity (2 and 3 Edw. VI, cap. 1).

Qui dere-
linquunt
legem,
laudent
inipium.
Prov. 4 28
¶ 1549

of Christ bodie and bloode under forme of breade & wyne, or adoration, or reservation in the pixe, for a certayne Englishe boyk was sett furth in printt, conteanyng all such service as scholde be uside in the Church of God & no other (entittlyde the Boyke of Common Prayer ¹).

And all the premisses cam to passe thurgh the Kyng's Majestie his uncle (beyng a veray hertike & tratowr to God) callyde Edwarde Semayre, Duke of Somersett & Protectowr of all the Kyng's his dominions, whos brother, vz. Thomas Semare, dyed also a tratowr, as ye have herde laitte before.

¶ Consequently after the saide Penticost in the moneth of Junii began a commotion or insurrection of people in the sowth partts as Cornewaylle & Deynschyre with other therto annexide,² butt in the moneth of July was many mo schyers rasside upp for maintenenance of Christ church, with other highe grett weighttie matteres aganst heretikes in the sowthe,³ and such as wolde nott have Kynge Henrie the 8 testamentt & last will perfowrmyde, butt soyne thay were browghtt downe thurgh the treattie ⁴ & ther perdon promisside. How be itt the comons in Norffolke & Essex with ther adherentes wolde nott be intreattide, butt manfully stakke to ther matter for on the first day of August was a sore fightt mayde betwix the Kyngs armye & tham with owt the cittie of Norwiche, wheratt was slayne Lorde Sheffelde ⁵ with many of the Kynges <fo. 136> his armye and ther goons taken by force with commons.⁶

Then thearle of Warwike cam aganst tham with a gretter powr, & camppt neighe unto the saide cittie off Norwiche on S. Barthilmew evin,⁷ butt Robertt Keatt, grande captain of the commons, lay on the mowntt ⁸ with a goodlie armye,⁹ and on Sanctt Barthilmew day at 5 of the klokke at after nowne had a sore fightt with the said Earl Warwike, wherin many a man was selane, butt Keatt with his comons had the victorie, and so myche of the Kyng's ordinance was takyn with force.¹⁰ Nevertheles,

¹ The earliest known printed copy is dated 7 March 1549, and at least five other editions appeared during the year (Brightman, *op. cit.* i, lxxviii). Cf. Parkyn's perfunctory treatment of this book with his elaborate account *infra* of the Second Prayer Book, a more recent memory.

² The western rising began 10 June, the day after the introduction of the new liturgy.

³ This series of simplifications concerning the rebellions of 1549 typifies Parkyn's outlook on contemporary events. On the role of ecclesiastical grievances in the western and Yorkshire risings, cf. respectively Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, chap. xi, *passim*, and *supra*, pp. 21 *seqq.* In East Anglia the evidence for any other than economic motivation remains negligible.

⁴ Parkyn repeats the phrase used of the Pilgrimage of Grace, but this time with scant applicability to the facts.

⁵ Edmund Sheffield, created Baron Sheffield by letters patent 16 February 1547. Cf. Burke, *Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, p. 490; F. W. Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, pp. 97-8.

⁶ On the battle of 1 August, cf. Russell, *loc. cit.* It resulted in the capture by the rebels of Norwich and its numerous cannon. The rebel camp was fortified with ordinance obtained from various places (*ibid.* pp. 60, 78, 81, 92).

⁷ Warwick camped at Intwood, three miles from Norwich, on St. Bartholomew's Eve, 23 August (*ibid.* p. 123).

⁸ Mount Surrey, adjoining Mousehold Heath.

⁹ About 16,000 gathered in the Mousehold camp (*ibid.* p. 60).

¹⁰ An accurate account of the events of 24 August, when Warwick began by penetrating into the city and slaying numerous insurgents. Late in the day, however, others intercepted his wagons and carried off to their camp a quantity of guns and ammunition (*ibid.* pp. 131-7).

within two days after (vz. the 27 of August) thearle sturmyde agayne with a hughe mayne powre of greatt barryde¹ horsses & lightt speare men² aganst Keatt & his comons, butt then Keatt with his comons havinge meatt corporall sufficient, butt skarsse of beare, ayle or watter, forsoyke the hill or mownttayne & wentt into the playne vaylle redie to fightt.³ And then with all haist thearle toyke the mowntt and so cam veray furiously downe uppon Keatt, settinge his greatt horses on the one syde & lightt speare men on the other,⁴ and so ther was a hughe vehementt sore fightt or battell & grett murder on both partts to the nombre off 7000 and above, as thay were esteamyde.⁵ And ther the commons was overthrowen, Keatt taken on lyffe & after wardes putt to death att the saide cittie of Norwiche (whos sowlle Jesus pardon).

¶ Schorttly after, ther was a marvulus sodayn cheange in this realme, for on the sextt day of Octobre⁶ (anno ubi supra) the Lorde Protectowr ¶ 1549 abovesaide (vz. Edwarde Semayre Duke of Somersett the Kyng's uncle) was proclamyde tratowr thrughe all the Kyng's Majestie his dominions & putt in to the Towre att London with certan of his adherentes, for as a unnaturall man he conspire the Kyng's Majestie his deathe, beyng as then butt 13 years of aigge.⁷

¶ Consequently then after, was holden a greatt parliamentt att Westminster, wherin was enactyde no goodnes towards the churche of Good,⁸ butt in Christumesse weake after was publishide the bandes of matrimony both in the parishe churches of Bischoppethorpe and Aithwyk by the streatt in Yorke shire bitwix Robertt Ebor. (alias Hollegaitte) Archebischoppe of Yorke of the one parttie and Barbara Wenttworthe, dowghtter of Roger Wenttworthe Esqwyer of the other parttie, wich Barbara was before tyme maryede in hir childeheade unto a yunge gentillman namyde Anthony Norman (wich mariaige turnyde to grett trouble & besynes after wardes). How be itt, <fo. 136v> the saide Archebischoppe and Barbara was jonyde to gether in mariage at Byschoppthorpe the 15 day of Ianuary (anno ubi supra), vz. feria 4 post octavos epiphaniae, though thay were

¹ From 'bard', a protective covering for the breast and flank of a war-horse. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbyon*, xii. 206, 'Armed cap-à-pie upon their barred horse'.

² The German *Lanzknechts* (cf. Russell, *op. cit.* p. 141).

³ On 26 August the rebels abandoned their camp and came down to Dussindale. Rhyming prophecies, so common in Tudor rebellions, are said by the 'official' narrators to have influenced this fatal decision, but Parkyn finds support for his contention that lack of provisions provided a motive. Protector Somerset's letter of 1 September to Sir Philip Hoby says that Warwick 'cut off their victuals, as they were fain to live three days with water for drink, and eat their meat without bread' (Strype, *Memorials*, edn. 1822, ii, pt. ii, p. 427).

⁴ The other narratives do not use this expression but make it clear that, after the *Lanzknechts* had broken the rebels' ranks with arquebus and pike, a cavalry charge completed the rout (Russell, *op. cit.* pp. 145-6).

⁵ Probably an exaggerated report. The accepted contemporary estimate gives 3500 rebels slain and about 300 as suffering subsequent execution, while Warwick's losses appear to have been insignificant.

⁶ *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 64, gives 7 October and Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 26, 8 October.

⁷ On 9 October the Council heard testimony to the effect that Somerset had openly said 'that if the Lordes intended his death that the Kinges Majestie should dye before him' (*Acts of Privy Council, 1547-50*, pp. 341-2).

⁸ The session 4 November 1549-1 February 1550, which dashed conservative hopes, with 3 and 4 Edw. VI, cap 10, directed against images and ancient service books.

maryede before secreattly, as the heretyk Doctor Tonge reporttyde in the Kyngs Majestie his cowrtt, yea, & that he dyd solemnizaitt the sacramentt of matrimony unto tham his selffe.¹

¶ Betwix the said mariage & the feast of Purification of Our Ladie ² was directt furthe from tharchebishoppe a sore commission unto all the deanries within Yorke schire, straittely commandynge thatt al ecclesiasticall boykes, as masse boykes, graylles,³ antiphoneres,⁴ cowtchers, processioneres,⁵ manuells,⁶ portesses⁷ & primers &c., scholde be conveyde unto the Bischopp's Palace in Yorke,⁸ and ther to be defacyde and putt owtt of knowledge, the penalties wherof for the contrarie to ryne in the Kyngs highe displeassowr & dannger.⁹

11550

¶ But shortly after (anno gratie .1550), the above saide Edwardes Semayre Duke of Somersett obteanyde pardon of the Kyng's Majestie and so was brougtht owtt of the Towre of London,¹⁰ and restoride unto his authorities agayne (butt nott namyde Protector).¹¹ Then consequently was directide furthe certayn iniunctions (noyne good) commandynge all lighttes or seargeis with all alters in churches & chappells to be takyne away & a littill boorde to be sett in myddest of the qweare, callide the Lorde's Boorde or Table, straittely commandinge also thatt no man scholde maynteane Purgatorie, Invocation of Sancttes, the 6 Articles, beaderolles, ymages, reliques, holly breade, holly watter, asshes & pallmes &c, vz. all other ceremonyes before tyme uside in the church of God, in dannger of the Kyngs highe displeassor, and this was exequite first in the sowthe partts consequently after Easter (anno ubi supra).¹²

¶ Butt in the monethe of Decembre the sayme yeare all allters of stoyne was taken away also furthe of the churches & chappels from Trentt northewards and a table of woode sett in the qweare.¹³ The cawssers theroff

¹ Much is now known regarding Norman's unsuccessful plea of a precontract with Barbara Wentworth (*ante*, lii. 429 *seqq.*). Parkyn, though a hostile witness, seems accurate in his facts; he possessed special knowledge, as the bride's father resided in his parish. It will be observed, *ante*, that his reference to Dr. Tongue is at present only partially clarified.

² 2 February 1550.

³ Or gradual, a book of antiphons, mainly those sung between Epistle and Gospel. Cf. Maskell, *op. cit.* i, xxxviii.

⁴ On the distinction between this and the gradual, cf. *ibid.* i, xxxviii-ix.

⁵ An office book containing litanies and hymns for use in processions. Cf. *ibid.* i, cxxi *seqq.*

⁶ A handbook used by priests containing the forms used in administering the sacraments and other normal duties. Cf. *ibid.* i, lxxxvii.

⁷ Portiforium, portuary: a type of breviary. Cf. *ibid.* xcvi.

⁸ Probably the King's Manor, York, where Holgate resided as Lord President.

⁹ A southern parallel to this order has survived. The royal instructions for the collection of these service books, dated 25 December 1549, were reissued by Cranmer to the archdeacon of Canterbury on 14 February 1550 (printed in Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 73-7). They give a list of books similar to this of Parkyn's and to the list in 3 and 4 Edw. VI, cap. 10.

¹⁰ 6 February 1550.

¹¹ He received a free pardon 18 February; was readmitted member of the Privy Council 10 April.

¹² Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 41, records the removal of all altars from the London parish churches in June 1550. This step followed from Ridley's visitation articles of that month, which also stipulated 'that none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles', &c., &c., as in Parkyn (Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 83-4).

¹³ The final order to the bishops to remove all remaining altars was issued by the Council in November 1550. It states that already 'the altars within the more part of the churches of the realm . . . are taken down' (*ibid.* i. 89).

(as the common voce wentt abrode) was the saide Edwarde Semayre & thearle of Warkwike (*sic*) two cruell tiranntes & enemisseis to God & holly church. ¶ Thay continewynge still in ther ungratius purposes, expresside more of ther tirannicall ententes in the yeare followynge (vz. anno Domini 1551), thowghe God thrughe veray justice (considerynge the wrettchide lyffinge of the people) dyde sende his grett fearefull punyschmentt, both of darthe with owtt neade, of all necessities for man and also his plaige or scowrge with owtt dreade, vz. a sore sweatt, wher uppon many one sodenly dyede, and this was universall thrughe tholle realme of Englande.¹

<fo. 137> Contynewynge the sayme tyme, ther was a proclamation sett furthe concernynge dimynyschinge of currentt money before mydsomer, the tenowre wherof was thatt a testure, beyng currentt 12d., sholde go butt for 9d. and a grotte for thre pence. And the saide proclamation sholde begyn to tayke effectt the last day of August the sayme yeare.² Butt on the 18 day of July (or neighe ther unto) the saide matter was anteferde, & was proclamyde in Yorke, thatt fro thatt day forwards a testure scholde be currentt but for ix d., & a grotte for thre pence, wherby many a man had grett losse.³ Then on the first day of August a other proclamation was sett furth in markettes straittely cheargeynge & commandinge in peane of deathe thatt no man sholde common therof, vz. nather of augmentynge or mynischinge of the saide coyne, butt thatt itt scholde continew accordynge to the proclamation aforesaide, vz. a testure ix d. and a grotte thre pence.⁴

Butt marke well (good redare) the grett mutabilitie of the Cowncell of this realme, specially thrughe the procurementt of two fals heretikes & tratowres to God & this realme prenamyde, vz. Edware (*sic*) Semaire and thearle of Warwyke, how thay cawsside a other ungratius proclamation to be sett furthe & proclamyde in every heade shyre, cittie or towne on the 17 day of August (anno ubi supra) that a testure sholde be currentt but sex pence & a grotte two pence, two pence for a peny, a peny for a halffe peny, and a halffe peny for a ferthinge.⁵ Hoo, how abominable a actt was

¹ The London chroniclers similarly couple together the sweating sickness and the inflationary shortage (Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 50; *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 70; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, edn. 1808, iii. 1031). 'Dearth without need' may refer to the belief that mere human selfishness was responsible; e.g. Bishop Scory ascribes it to the sheepmasters (Styrye, *op. cit.* ii, pt. ii, p. 482) while the part played by debasement was obvious. 'Scourge without dread' probably refers to the extreme suddenness with which victims succumbed to the sweat, a feature stressed by several contemporaries (cf. Machyn, *Diary*, *Camden Soc.*, xlii. 319). The disease affected West Yorks. in August 1551 (Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 98).

² Steele, *op. cit.* no. 396.

³ *Ibid.* no. 400; cf. Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 48, on the general discontent. The Council was compelled to 'antefere' the charge owing to the rise of prices, this second proclamation being made in London 8 July. It was almost certainly made in Yorkshire too on that date, not on 18 July, since letters to this effect were sent out to the sheriffs as early as 1 July (*Cal. S. P. Dom. 1547-80*, p. 33).

⁴ I observe no proclamation in precisely these terms, but a multitude of such proclamations appeared, some of which may have perished. On 17-18 July proclamations were made (1) against regrators and forestallers who enhanced prices, and (2) against rumours regarding further abatement of the coinage. Neither mentions the death penalty (Steele, *op. cit.* nos. 402, 403).

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* no. 404. The printed proclamation is dated 16 August when the sheriffs were directed to open the writs (*Cal. S. P. Dom. 1547-80*, p. 34), but Wriothesley and *Greyfriars Chronicle* both agree with Parkyn on the date 17 August.

this, to enpoveryshe the poore comonalltie of this realme, wherby many a man utterly was undoyne. Yitt the Devyll, the grett master & lorde to the abovesaydes heretikes, so wroghtt betwix tham thatt the oft prenamyde Edwarde Semaire, trattowre and heretyke, with many of his adherentts was putt agayne the seconde tyme in to the Towre at London the 16 day of Octobre (anno ubi supra, vz. 1551) and ther contynewyde unto the 22 day of January then nextt folowyng, on the wiche day he was headyde with owtt the Towre gaytte att London thurgh the procurementt of the said Earle Warwyk.¹ And then the sayde Earle (other wisse callyde Duke of Northumberlande) rewlyde this realme ungratiously, & putt many noble men to death wrongusly, with knyghttes & gentillmen beyng of affinitie & consanguinitie unto the saide Lorde Edward Semaire, &c.²

<fo. 137v> ¶ Immediattlye followyde a grett parliamentt holden att Westminster and begonne the 23 day of January and then continewyde and keptt unto the 15 day of Aprill in the sixtt yeare of the Kyngs Majestie his reigne, and in the yeare of Our Lorde God 1552, wherin no goodnes towards holly churche proceadyde, butt all thinges contrarie. For in the parliamentt was depoisside by actt thes thre holly days before accustomed to have been keptt holly, vz. Conversion of S. Paull, S. Barnabe & Marie Magdalen;³ and thatt a new Communion Boyke in Englishe (callide the Boyke of Common Prayer) sholde tayke effectt att All Hallows Day nextt ensewyng daytte hereof (vz. first day of Novembre),⁴ and so the Communion Boyke in Englishe (wiche is above mentiouyde) to be of none effectt. Hoo, notte the grett instabilitie and newfanglenes of therityke Warwyke (alias Duce of Northumberlande) withe his adherentts, vz. carnall byschoppes of this realme and veray tratowres to God. For consequenttlye after thatt Robertt Hollegaytte Archebischoppe of Yorke was cum from the saide parliamentt, he sentt straitte commandementt in begynninge of Junii thurgh all his diocesse that the table in the qweare wher uppon tholly Communion was ministride, itt stondynge withe thendes towarde sowthe & northe, sholde be uside contrarie, vz. to be sett in the qweare by neathe the lowest stare or greace, havinge thendes therof towards the east and west, and the preast his face towarde the northe all the Communion tyme, wich was nothinge semyng nor after any good ordre.⁵

¶ Item, itt was commandyde thatt no organs sholde be uside in the churche, wherby any melodie sholde be maide to Gods his honowr, laude & prayse, butt utterly forbodden.⁶

¹ The correct dates.

² Of the four principal accomplices executed 26 February 1552, Sir Michael Stanhope was brother of the duchess of Somerset, Sir Thomas Arundel her half-brother.

³ 5 and 6 Edw. VI, cap. 3 abrogates all holy days except a specified list, omitting the feasts mentioned here.

⁴ The Second Prayer Book, commanded by 5 and 6 Edw. VI, cap. 1, and taking effect as from 1 November 1552.

⁵ The Second Prayer Book rubric actually orders that the table 'shall stande in the body of the Church, or in the chauncell, where Morninge prayer and Eveninge prayer be appoynted to bee sayde. And the Priest standing at the north syde of the Table, shal saye', &c. Parkyn correctly states the position *infra*. In this period of confusion, however, some clergy did officiate standing 'on the south side of the bord' (Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 47).

⁶ Parkyn is supported here by another set of injunctions—that given by Holgate 15 August 1552 to the dean and chapter of York. Here he restricts music to plain

¶ The tyme proceadynge, with all cruellnes thatt of heretykes cowlde be ymaginede, itt came to passe in the monethe of August and Septembre (anno ubi supra) thatt all parsons, vicars, curetts & churche wardons was straittlye commandyde to gyve in trew inventories indentide of all the churches' goodes, as leade, belles, chalices, playtte and other ornamentes unto the Kyng's Majestie his commissioner es apponttide for the sayme, in lyke maner as is above saide (vz. anno Domini 1548 ac anno Regis Edwardi sexti tertio),¹ not yitt certainly knowynge whatt wolde cum therof.²

Butt in the first weake of Novembre the above saide boyke (callide the Boyke of Common Prayer) cam furthe and was abroide to be solde, wherin many thinges was alteride from the other Englishe boyke before uside,³ for the table (wheratt tholly Communion was ministride in the qweare) was had downe in to the bodie of the churche in many places, & sett in the mydde allee (fo. 138) emonge the people, thendes wherof stode east and west, and the preast on the northe syde, his face turnyde toward the sowth, uppon wich table (after itt was coveryde with a lynnyn clothe att Communion tyme) a loffe of whytte breade (such as men useis in ther howasses with meatt)⁴ and a cuppe of wyne was sett with owtt any corporax.⁵ And partt of the loffe was kytt of and layde ather uppon the loffe or by itt, and after words of consecration was saide, the ministere brake the sayme breade, & eatt therof first his selffe, and then gave to every person thatt wolde be partakers a partt or peace therof in to ther owne handes,⁶ saynge thus to every one of tham, 'Tayke and eatt this in remembrance thatt Christ dyede for the, and feade of him in thi hertt by faithe with thankes-giffynge'. Thatt done, the preast or ministere dyd gyve unto tham also the chalice or cuppe in to ther owne handes, saynge, 'Drynke this in remembrance thatt Christ bloode was shede for the and be thankefull'. strattely forbiddynge thatt any adoration sholde be done ther unto, for thatt were idolatrie (said the boke) and to be abhorride of al faithfull Christians. And as concernynge the naturall bodie and bloode of Our Saveyor Jesus Christ (saide the boyke also), thay ar in hevin and nott here in earth, for itt were aganst the trewth of Christ trew naturall bodie to be in mo places then in one att one tyme.⁷ Oh, how abhominable heresie and unsemyngne ordre was this, lett every man pondre in his owne conscience.

¶ Item, from the sacramentt of baptysme was takyn bothe chrisom att uncttynge att breast & forheade,⁸ brynginge the childe att fyrst evin unto song and silences organs, enjoining 'that the said playing do utterly cease and be left the time of divine service within the said Church' (*Alcuin Club Collections*, xv. 320).

¹ *Supra*, fo. 135.

² The new commissioners appointed 16 May 1552 were ordered to make fresh inventories of church goods and return them to the Council, having first compared their findings with the old inventories and imprisoned persons guilty of alienation. The inventories for the West Riding were made October-November, that for Parkyn's own church having survived, though somewhat incompletely (*Surtees Soc.* XCvii, xiv, 96, 105-6).

³ The Book was appointed to be used as from 1 November but would not be procurable everywhere by that date (cf. Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England*, iii. 474).

⁴ Cf. the rubric at the end of Communion in the Book of 1552 (Brightman, *op. cit.* ii. 717).

⁵ The linen cloth upon which the elements are consecrated.

⁶ Not, as still in 1549, into the mouth (*ibid.* ii. 701, 718).

⁷ A close rendering of a part of the rubric at the end of Communion (*ibid.* ii. 721).

⁸ The 'whyte vesture, commonly called the Chrisome', which the minister put on the child before anointing it, had been retained in the Book of 1549 but forbidden by

the foontt, and nothings to be saide att church doore as lawdablye was uside a foretyme,¹ and thatt no children sholde be baptizide butt only on Sondays & holly days when myche people was presentt, excepte thay were veray feble & weake, then thay to be baptizede att home.² And lykewisse no childe to be confirmyde att bischopps' handes unto itt cowde say by hertt tholle cathachisme, and so partt was nott able to be confirmyde skaresly att 7, 8 or 9 years of aige.³ ¶ And also no golde or silver to be layde on the boyke att ministringe of holly matrimony, but a rynge only with preast & clerke dewttie, wiche rynge was putt uppon the woman's 4 fynger of her lefftt hande.⁴ ¶ Item, extreme unction was utterly abolis-
 ac. 5. chide & none to be uside contrarie tholly appostle S. James doctrine.⁵ And no diriges or other devoutt prayers to be songe or saide for suche as was departide this transitorie worlde, for *thai* nedyde none <fo. 138v> (saide the boyke). Why? By cawsse ther sowles was immediattlye in blisse & joy after the departtynge from the bodies, and therfor thay nedyde no prayer,⁶ with many other usemynge ryttes in the saide Englishe boyke. And all thes was doyne and browghtt to passe only to subdew the most blisside sacramentt of Christ bodie & bloode under forme of breade and wyne.⁷

553 ¶ The yeare followynge, after Easter, in the monethe of Aprill, anno domini 1553 ac anno Regis Edwardi 6ti 7^o, all parsons, vicars, curets & church wardons with many other honest parochioneres was straittlye commandyde in the Kyng's Majestie his name to gyffe in a trew inventorie agayne of all goodes and ornamentts perteanynge to every church and chapell, unto certayne commissioneres apponttyde for the Ducherie of Loncastre,⁸ nott yitt knowynge the certantie & trewtbe whatt suche longe processe wolde cum unto. Butt att visitations in the saide monethe of Aprill, itt was oppenly declaride, how thatt chrisoms att baptizinge of children awghtt to be hade, and so thay were browghtt unto the church with children continewally after.⁹

the Royal Injunctions of that year and omitted from the Book of 1552 (*ibid.* ii. 742-3; Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 64).

¹ The rite was no longer in 1552, as in 1549, begun at the church door (Brightman, *op. cit.* ii. 726-7, 734-5).

² This rule appears in two rubrics common to both Prayer Books (*ibid.* ii. 724-5, 748-9).

³ The rubric of 1552 is identical with that of 1549 (*ibid.* ii. 790-1).
⁴ The Book of 1549 mentions 'other tokens of spousage, as gold or silver', that of 1552 omitting the phrase. The fourth finger is mentioned in both (*ibid.* ii. 804-7).

⁵ James, v. 14. Unction, retained in 1549 as part of the Visitation of the Sick, was omitted in 1552 (*ibid.* ii. 834-7).

⁶ On the omission of all prayers for the dead in 1552, cf. *ibid.* ii. 860-1, 872-9.

⁷ Cf. the same contention, e.g. in a papalist sermon of 1553, printed in Strype, *op. cit.* iii. pt. i. 122.

⁸ I am at present unacquainted with further detail regarding this survey, but Parkyn's story regarding local activity by duchy of Lancaster commissioners bears every mark of probability. The greater part of South Yorkshire belonged to the honors of Tickhill (in which Adwick was situated) and Pontefract, members of the duchy, the organization of which had just played so large a part in the survey and disposal of chantry lands (cf. *P.R.O. Lists and Indexes*, xiv. 30-7; *D. K. Rep.*, xlv. 80-2; Bodleian, Dodsworth MS. cxvii, fo. 105 has a list of Yorkshire chantry lands annexed to the duchy of Lancaster).

⁹ I observe no confirmation of this reversal and Pole specifically *restored* chrisms in 1555 (Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 147). Holgate's scanty register (York Diocesan Registry, no. 29) unfortunately yields no data regarding visitations in 1553.

¶ How be itt in the monethe of May followinge ther was a straitte com-myssion directt furthe, commandynge all churche wardones to brynge in all suche ornamenttes off ther churches and other thinges as was expresse in ther inventories, or els the price therof in monea, unto the King's Majestie his commissioneres ther unto apponttide, butt all lynnyn ornamenttes & corporaxes was also by tham commandyde to be gyven unto poore people of ther parishes. And all chalices was weighyde to know whatt unces thay were, and deliveryde agayne unto the saide churchewardones, butt bells and leade was nott callide for at thatt tyme.¹

¶ In the saide monethe of May the King's Majestie vz. Edwarde the Sixtt begane to be sore seake, in so myche thatt bothe heare of his heade, & naylles of his fyngers and feytt wentt off, and his eares so sore cancride thatt pittie itt was to see, the cawsse wherof was thrughe poosonyng, as the common voce was spredde abroad amonge people,² and so he contine- wyde withe grett pean unto middsomer after, butt whatt tyme as he de- parttide to God's his mercy itt was nott certainly known abroide in thes northe partts unto the 13 day of July. And then itt was oppenly publis- chide att Yorke thatt he was departide (whos sowlle Jesus pardon) (butt undowbttidly he departide fro this vaille <fo. 139> off miserie on the sixtt day of July, as planely is mentionyde in thacttes of the nextt parliamentt Ca9 4)³ and afterwarde was beryede att Westmynster on the 4 day of August in the 7 yeare of his reigne.⁴

Hic moritur
Edwardus
sextus.
Anno regni
sui septimo.

¶ Immediattly after thatt his departinge was oppenly known, itt was proclamyde in Yorke on the said 13 day of July thatt Lady Jayne his awntt her dowghtter, wiffe unto Lorde Gilfurthe Dudlay, one of the Duke of Northumberlande his sons, sholde be taken as princes of this realme and vertuus Lady Marie the saide Kinge Edwarde naturall suster to be de pois- side & reiecttide.⁵ And all this came to passe thrughe the procurementt of the saide Duke (otherwise callide Sir John Dudlay) whos father was beheadide for highe treasson, anno domini 1509,⁶ wiche Duke was bothe a heretike and enemy to God and wholly church, withe many other of his adherenttes.

¶ Butt ther began grett troble and besynes amonge nobles of this

¹ On 16 February 1553 the Council directed the Lord Chancellor to appoint local commissioners for the collection of church goods. Documents are preserved illustrating their activities in Yorkshire in May 1553. A chalice and from one to four bells was normally left by indenture with the clergy and churchwardens. It was permitted to distribute surplus ecclesiastical linen to the poor (*Surtees Soc.* xcvii, pp. xv, 87).

² This rumour was widespread (cf. Machyn, *op. cit.* p. 35; *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 78 and *infra*, p. 308, n. 5).

³ 1 Mary, St. 2, cap. 4, has the phrase 'where it hath pleased Almighty God, the syxte daye of Julye last paste, to call out of this transitorie lyfe unto his Mercie, Our Late Sovereine Lorde', &c.

⁴ Machyn and *Greyfriars Chronicle* both give the date as 8 August.

⁵ The York House Books indicate that information of Edward's death reached the city by 14 July. The Lord Mayor and Council cautiously altered the date not as usual to the regnal year of a new sovereign, but to 'anno domini 1553'. This novel method of dating is again employed on 18 July (York House Book, xxi, fos. 2-3). Nevertheless Jane may well have been proclaimed at York on or about 13 July by a passing govern- ment messenger—perhaps by one Frenyngham, who at Grantham on 15 July told an acquaintance he had just come down from Berwick 'wher he hade byne to proclame Lady Jane' (B.M. Harleian MS. 6222, printed in *Archaeologia*, xxiii. 36).

⁶ Edmund Dudley, beheaded 18 August 1510.

realme, for diverse off tham toyk partt with the Duke, and thother with vertuus Lady Marie, butt tholle Comonalltie (certayne heretikes exceptt) dyd apply unto the saide Lady Marie,¹ wiche toyke her yornay towards the Cittie off Norwiche in Norffolke, and thether dyd resortt many a valianntt man and ther dyd proclame for to be rightt inheritor to the crowne of Englande.²

¶ When the seide Duke herde theroff he proceadyde thether wardes with a hughe grett hoist and powr of men for to have subdewyde the vertuus Lady Marie, butt Allmighttie God wich ever defendithe his trew servanntes ordride the matter so, thatt he putt grace in to the Cowncell heades (keapinge the Towre of London the sayme tyme) to proclame Ladie Marie withe in the Cittie of London. And when the Duke his campe had knowledge theroff, then many fledde away from hym in so myche thatt his powre was subdewyde and he taken and putt in durance for the tyme within the castle att Cambridge, and from thence removide in to the Towre att London.³ Butt or he was tayke, the saide Ladie Marie was proclamyd on the 19 day of July (by the good Earle of Arundell,⁴ thearle of Penbroyke, thearle of Shrewsberie, the Lorde Chamberlaine,⁵ the Lorde of Synke Porttes,⁶ with diverse other noble men) in Cheappe syde att London and att Powlles, thatt she was rightt enheritor and Quene by the grace of God of Englande, France and Irelande, Defender of the Faithe and of the Church of Englande <fo. 139v> and Irelande in earthe the Supreme Heade, att wiche proclamation all good people ther beyng presentt highelie reiocyte, gyffinge thanks, honor and praysse unto Allmighttie God, and so wentt synginge Te Deum laudamus in to Powlles church. ¶ The good Earle of Arundell, for veray zealle and luffe thatt he baire to God and the vertuus Quene Marie, dyd cast grett soomes of monea by handefulles in streattes att London emonge people, and grett fyers was made in prayssinge God.⁷

¶ Immediattly after, commandementt was sentt by poste from the Cowncell at London unto the Cittie of Yorke to do lykewisse. And so the saide Quene Marie was proclamyde ther on the xxi day of July⁸ and att Ponttfractt, Doncaster, Rotheram and many other markett townes on the 22 of July (vz. Sanct Marie Magdalean day), she to be rightt enheritowr and Quene of Englande and Irelande as is above saide, wheratt tholle comonalltie in all places in the northe parttes grettly reiocide, makynge grett fyers, drynkinge wyne and ayle, prayssing God. But all suche as

¹ Parkyn is not guilty of partisanship here (cf. Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 87; *Acts of Privy Council, 1552-4*, p. 416).

² On Mary's movements in East Anglia and the people resorting thither, cf. *Chronicle of Queen Jane, Camden Soc.* xlviii. 3-8; Holinshed, *op. cit.* iii. 1069-70.

³ Northumberland was finally arrested at Cambridge by Arundel 21 July and brought to the Tower 25 July.

⁴ Cf. Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 89.

⁵ George Lord Darcy (*loc. cit.*).

⁶ Sir Thomas Cheney (Machyn, *op. cit.* p. 37).

⁷ Parkyn is well supported here by the London witnesses. 'The earle of Pembroke threwe awaye his cape full of angelletes' (*Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 11). 'Where cappes and sylver plenteously about the stretes dyd flye' (*Old English Ballads, 1553-1625*, ed. Rollins, p. 6). The imperial ambassadors reported that the proclamation took place 'avec la plus grande resjouissance du peuple que l'on scauroit extimer, criant vive ladite dame, faisans feugs de joye par toute la ville' (*Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granvelle*, ed. Weiss, iv. 41).

⁸ This date is substantiated by the York House Book, which contains (xxi, fo. 4) a copy of the proclamation 'made the xxjth and xxijth of July'.

were of heriticall opinions, withe bischopps and preastes havinge wiffes, dyd nothinge reioce, butt began to be asshamyde of tham selffes, for the common people wolde pontt tham withe fyngers in places when thay saw tham.

¶ Schorttlie after¹ was the gratius Quene Marie browgght in to the Cittie of London withe grett honowr and reverence and so unto the Towre. And ther she toyke furthe off durance suche auncientt fathers of holly churche, beyng byschoppes as had continewyde ther longe space (nott for any offences commyttide aganst the Crowne of Englande, but only by cawse thay maynttenyde rightt of wholly churche and specially defendyng with God's his wholly worde the most blisside sacramentt of thallter, beyng the veray bodie and bloode of Christ really under forme of breade and wyne), thatt is to say, Doctor Stephen, Bischoppe of Wynchester, Doctor Boyner, Bischoppe of London, Doctor Day, Bischoppe of Chechester and Doctor Cuthebertt Tunstall, tholde Bischoppe of Durame² with diverse others all beyng famows clerks and vertuus men.³ The sayme tyme was also tholde noble Duke of Norffolke restoride unto liberttie and his pardon gywen &c.⁴ And in ther places in the Towre was put all suche persons as was fownde culpable and fawttie off Kyng Edward's his deathe⁵ accordinge to rightt. And so the abovesaide Duke of Northumberland with certayne other, as Sir John Gayttes, Sir Thomas Palmer, Knighttes, was beheadyde on the 22 day of August anno domini 1553.⁶

¶ In <fo. 140> the meane tyme in many places of the realme preastes was commandyde by lordes and knyghttes catholique to say masse in Lattin withe consecration & elevation of the bodie and bloode of Christ under forme of breade and wyne with a decentt ordre as haithe ben uside beforen tyme, butt suche as was of hereticall opinions myghtt nott away therwithe butt spayke evill theroff, for as then ther was no actt, statutte, proclamation or commandementt sett furthe for the sayme; therfor many one durst nott be bolde to celebratte in Latten, thowghe ther hertts was wholly enclynede thatt way.⁷ How be itt, in August ther was a proclamation sett furthe declaryng how the gratius Quene Marie dyd lycence preastes to say masse in Lattine after tholde annient custome, as was uside in here

¹ 3 August.

² Stephen Gardiner, Day, and Tunstall were released on 5 and 6 August (cf. *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 82, with Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 96-7 and Machyn, *op. cit.* p. 39).

³ The most important of them, Heath of Worcester, was soon to be translated to York.

⁴ Norfolk, who had been in the Tower since 1546, received his pardon 4 August (Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 95-6). The London chronicles vary slightly over the dates of some of these releases.

⁵ The imperial ambassadors reported 6 August that the accusations against the duke were being made out with all possible diligence and enquiries were being conducted into the nature of the late King Edward's illness. It was found that his big toes dropped off and that he was poisoned (*Span. Cal. 1553*, p. 152). Actually the charge of murdering the king was not maintained.

⁶ The correct date and names.

⁷ The chroniclers all depict the situation at this moment as highly confused. An example of conflict in the provinces appears in Thomas Hancoek's account of events at Poole (*Narratives of the Reformation*, Camden Soc., lxxvii. 81-4). Parkyn's account of the action taken by 'lordes and knyghtes catholique' is probably based on northern examples, while, in view of his own career, his mention of clerical caution has a strangely personal ring.

father's his days, yitt nott constreanyng any man therunto, butt to be att liberttie unto suche tyme as she and her Cowncell had establishide the matter withe tholle consentt of the Lordes spirituall and temporall of this realme.¹

¶ Thus thrughe grace of tholly Gost the straitte of holly churche sumthinge begane to amende and to arysse from tholde heresseis before uside in this realme, for tholly masse in Lattin was putt downe totally from the feast of Penticost anno domini 1549 unto the begynnynge of August anno domini 1553, butt then in many places of Yorke shire preastes unmariede was veray glade to celebratt & say masse in Lattin withe mattinges & evin songe therto, accordynge for veray ferventt zealle and luffe that thai had unto God & his lawes. ¶ And so in the begynninge of Septembre ther was veray few parishe churches in Yorke shire but masse was songe or saide in Lattin on the fyrst Sunday of the said monethe or att furthest on the feast day of the Nativitie of our Blisside Ladie.²

¶ Holly breade and holly watter was gyven, alteres was reedefide,³ pictures or ymages sett upp,⁴ the crosse with the crucifixe theron redye to be borne in procession, and with the same wentt procession.⁵ And in conclusion all thenglishe service of laitte uside in the churche of God was voluntarilie layde away and the Lattin taken upp agayne (nott only with mattynges, masse and evin songe, but also in mynistration of sacramentes) and yitt all thes cam to passe with owtt compulsion of any actt, statutte, proclamation or law, butt only thatt the gratius Queene Marie in her proclamation dyd utter thes wordes: vz. Her Majestie dyde wishe and myche desire thatt the sayme religion wiche ever she professide from her infancie hitherto, & still was amyndyde to observe and manteyne the sayme for her selfe, (thrughe <fo. 140v> God's his grace, endewringe her tyme) were of all her subiectes quietlyt & charitable enbracide, &c.,⁶ wiche wordes consideryde, all her luffinge subiectes was veray well contenttide withe her godly proceedinges and sett forwarde the matter (as is above saide) withe all speyde thatt myghtt bee, to the highe honor, lawde & praysse of Almightye God, the Virgin Marie and all sancttes in hevin. Butt suche as was of hereticall opinions spake evill therof, and dyd as myche as in tham was to for do the sayme; how be itt, the premisses was quiettlye browghtt to passe from Trentt northewardes in the above saithe monethe off Septembre. In the wiche monethe bothe Lorde Thomas Cranmer and Lorde Robert Hollegaitte, Archebischoppes of Canterberye & Yorke was putt in the Towre at London.⁷

¶ Then on the first day of Octobre beyng Sunday (littera dominica A, anno domini 1553) the gratius Quene Marie was crownyde att London. And on the 4 day after, began the Parliamentt holden att Westminster

¹ The proclamation of 18 August, printed in Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.* pp. 373-6.

² These passages, well in accordance with local conservative tradition, do not lack significance for Yorkshire history.

³ Strype, *op. cit.* iii, pt. i, p. 79, mentions a proclamation of 20 December 1553, ordering these changes.

⁴ 1 Mary St. 2, cap. 2 repealed the Edwardian act against images.

⁵ On processions in London in 1554, cf. Dixon, *op. cit.* iv. 130-1.

⁶ A paraphrase of the first section of the proclamation (Gee and Hardy, *loc. cit.*).

⁷ Cranmer on 14 September; Holgate on 4 October.

in the first year of her most gratius reigne,¹ wherein many godly statutts or acttes was well concludye uppon, establisshinge the laws and faith of holy church, so thatt all sacramentes and ceremonies of the church sholde be frequenttide & uside in all degrees as thay were in the last yeare of the reign of Kyng Henrie the Eightt her father.² ¶ The tyme quietly proceadyng all the wyntter after unto the begynninge of February, in wiche monethe was grett commotion³ in the sowth partts of suche as was of hereticall opinions, specially aganst tholly masse,⁴ whos capitan was Sir Thomas Wyett, Knyght, for wiche cause thay wolde have subdewyde and made away the gratius Quene Marie. And so of Ashe Wendynsday, beyng the 7 of February, the said Wyeatt cam to Chearinge Crosse, wher he was floghtten with all, and lost off his men aboutt the nombre of fiftie, and in the fealde two hundrethe and vi of bothe partts was slayne,⁵ wheratt was takin the said Sir T. Wyett. And on the thirde day after, the noble Earle of Huntingtong toyke the Duke of Suffolke, beyng a Capitan in this conspiracie,⁶ and browghtt him to the Towre att London, wher as the Lorde Curtnay was then placye agayne with Wyeatt⁷ and many other capitanes of this conspiracy. ¶ Thus Almighty God preserue att this tyme also his trew servannt Quene Marie from her enemyes handes, for wiche cause all her trew luffing subiecttes gaffe honor, lawde and prayse unto him, goyinge in procession, <fo. 141> synginge Te Deum, makynge bone fyres &c. ¶ Schortly after, accordyng to the law, the saides capitanes her enemisseis sufferyde execution and peans of deathe,⁸ with Gilfurthe Dudlay Esquier and Jayne his wiffe, wiche Jayne was before proclamyde Queene thrughe authoritie of John Dudlay laytte Duke of Northumberlande, as ye have herde before, &c.

¶ In the seconde day of the monethe of Aprill nextt followyng (anno domini 1554), began the Parliamentt holden att Westminster & ther continewyde & keptt to the dissolution of the sayme, beyng the 5 day of May,⁹ wherein was conteanide many godlie actes as towchinge ordinances & rewles in cathedrall churches and scoilles,¹⁰ and also as towchinge the

¹ The session lasted 5 October–21 October.

² The first Act of Repeal, 1 Mary St. 2, cap. 2.

³ The brief account of Wyatt's rebellion which follows is substantially accurate. Cf., in addition to the usual chroniclers, the narratives of Underhill and Proctor in *Tudor Tracts*, ed. Pollard, pp. 170 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*

⁴ On the debateable religious element in the rebellion, cf. Pollard, *Pol. Hist. Eng.* vi, 107–8. Proctor, like Parkyn, stresses the element of heresy (*Tudor Tracts*, pp. 207–8).

⁵ Probably a rather exaggerated total estimate. Cf. *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 51: 'At this battell was slayne in the felde, by estymacion, on both sydes, not past xly persons, as far as could be lerned by certayne that viewed the same; but ther was many sore hurt; and some thinke ther was many slayne in houses'. Wriothesley (ii. 111) speaks of a Te Deum 'for ioye of the sayde victorie, and so few slayne', while Machyn comments that the rising was overcome 'with lytyll blud-shed' (*op. cit.* p. 55).

⁶ Regarding Suffolk's complicity and capture by Huntingdon near Coventry, cf. *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, Appendix vii.

⁷ Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, was re-committed to the Tower, 15 March 1554.

⁸ On the rejoicings, executions, and pardons, of Machyn, *loc. cit.*; Wriothesley, *op. cit.* ii. 111–13; *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 59; *Tudor Tracts*, pp. 253–6.

⁹ The correct dates.

¹⁰ 1 Mary, St. iii, cap. 9 enabled the queen to make or alter ordinances for the governance of cathedral churches and grammar schools erected by her father or brother.

Quenes her highnes most noble mariaige unto the noble prince Philippe of Spayne, sone unto the moste victorius prince Charles thempror of Rome,¹ wiche Philippe entride this realme with a goodly companie in the monethe of July, and so was browgtht withe grett honor and rialltie unto Wynchestre, wher as he and the gratius Quen Marie was conionyde in wholly matrimonye on S. James his day (anno ubi supra),² wiche was grett joye and cumfurthe to all good people in the realme.

¶ Curetts was they straitly commandyde by ther ordinaries to say thus in the common prayer oppenly on Sondays in the pulpett, 'Ye shall pray for Philippe and Marie by grace of God Kynge & Quene off Englande, France, Napleis, Hierusalem, Irelande, Defendors of the Faithe, Princeys of Spayne & Cecilie, Archedukes of Austriche, Duckes of Millan, Burgondie & Brabantt, Cowntteis of Haspurge, Flawnders and Tirolle'.³

¶ And so to proceade furthe with the matter, in the monethe of Octobre then nextt followinge was also a grett parliamentt holden att Westminster⁴ wherin all suche actes was utterly abolishide and fordoyne as hade ben made afore tyme aganst the Pope of Rome, and he to have fro thatt tyme as highe authoritie & jurisdiction within this realme & dominions therof as ever had any of his predicessowres.⁵ And so with speyde it was publishide & proclamyde in every shire within this realme, and straitly commandyde that he sholde be callide (as he awgtht of rightt) our Wholly Father the Pope Julius the Thirde of the thatt name.⁶ Then began wholly churche to reioice in God, synginge bothe with hertt & towng (Te Deum laudamus), butt hereticall persons (as ther was many) reiocyde nothings theratt. Hoo, it was ioye to here and see how thes carnall preastes <fo. 141v> (wiche had ledde ther lyffes in fornication with ther whores & harlotts) dyd lowre and looke downe, when thay were commandyde to leave & forsayeke the concubyns and harlotts and to do oppen penance accordyng to the Canon Law, wiche then toyke effect.⁷

¶ So to be breave all olde ceremonies laudable usyde before tyme in wholly churche was then revivyde, daly frequentide & uside, after thatt the rightt reverende Father in God, the Lorde Cardinall Poolle, Legaitte a Latere, was enteride this realme in the monethe of Novembre brynginge withe him the Pop's his powre and auctoritie.⁸ And after thatt he had made a goodly oration in the parliamentt howsse before the Kinge and

¹ 1 Mary, St. iii, cap. 2 ratified the articles of the marriage.

² 25 July 1554.

³ The full regnal style, which seems to have stirred the imagination of several other contemporary chroniclers.

⁴ It actually sat 12 November 1554–16 January 1555.

⁵ The second Act of Repeal, 1 and 2 P. and M., cap. 8.

⁶ Possibly a reference to the Proclamation of 10 November 1554 (Steele, *op. cit.* no. 455a).

⁷ The Marian injunctions of March 1554 (Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.* pp. 380–3) show the old canon law still operative in respect of married clergy: cf. especially arts. 1, 7, 8, 9. Compulsory separation and punishment apply only to married religious persons, seculars being merely deprived. The bishops are allowed, however, to readmit to benefices those seculars who, with the consent of their wives, 'do profess to abstain' and perform penance.

⁸ Pole landed at Dover 20 November 1554. On the scope of his mission as *legatus a latere*, cf. the bulls printed in Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 106, 117; and Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, chap. v.

Quene Majesties and the nobles of this realme, he dyd absolve tham, and after all other that wolde forsake ther erronius opinions (then was Te Deum solennly songe).¹ Whiche done, gratius Quene Marie gaffe thanks to all the lordes ther presentt and saide, ' My Lordes all, I thanke yow, and for my partt I giffe unto God herttie thanks thatt ever I have liffyde to se this day ', and so departtde withe grett joye & gladnes.²

¶ Schortly after, messingeres was sentt withe hast unto Rome to declare how luffinglye this realme of England had receaived the Pop's his Grace his messinger, thatt is the Lorde Cardinall Poolle, and how itt was convertt to the rightt catholike faithe agayne, wheroff the saide Pope Julius withe all Romans grettly reioyce, giffing thanks unto God.³ And so streight withe owt any tarynge he sentt a free absolution in to this realme of Englande to every man thatt penitenttly wolde receive itt, and so in the Lentt followynge all the spiritualtie was absolvyde of ther ordinaries, and the laittie of ther curets, exhorttinge tham to be penitentt for ther fall (*sic*) & erronius opinions wich of laytte thay had uside, and to fast Weddynsday, Friday & Settday nextt after thay had knowledge hereof by ther pastres & curets, and then to receive the blisside bodie of Christ Jesus in forme of breade, wich was grett cumfurthe to every faithfull creature.⁴

¶ Immediattely after Easter all suche as had ben closterers before tyme, yea as well women as men, was commandyde to tayk ther habytte or vestures unto tham agayne, such, I say, as thay had uside in ther closters, (and yff thay were mariede to be devorcyde) yea, and thatt with owtt delay (as thay wolde answere to the contrarie) before the feaste of S. Marke the Evangelist, anno domini 1555 ac anno Regis Philippi et Marie 1555 primo et secundo.⁵

This gratius Qweyne Marie continewally preserving & mayntenynge wholly churche att last departtde this transitorie lyffe in the 6 yeaere of her reigne, anno domini 1558.

¹ This ceremony of reconciliation took place 30 November and was followed by a Te Deum (Dixon, *op. cit.* iv. 271 *seqq.*).

² I do not observe elsewhere this very characteristic speech.

³ Pole and Philip both wrote despatches to the pope on the same day. On this and the rejoicings in Rome, cf. the authorities cited in *ibid.* iv. 274-5.

⁴ On these arrangements, cf. *ibid.* iv. 326 *seqq.*, and the declaration and form of absolution printed in Cardwell, *op. cit.* i. 137 *seqq.*

⁵ On the very limited scope of the monastic revival under Mary, cf. Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii. 483; Dixon, *op. cit.* iv. 358, 616, 679, 705. The Marian injunctions order married religious to be 'divorced', but I observe no general order to resume monastic habits.

Note:

For *ante* read E. H. R.

JOHN PARKYN, FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

THE documents printed herewith concern John Parkyn, a foundation fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, but they were encountered during an investigation of the literary pursuits of his brother, Robert Parkyn, curate of Adwick-le-Street, near Doncaster. This latter cleric compiled during the middle years of the sixteenth century a series of manuscript books, several of which have survived. From the most interesting of these¹ the present writer has extracted and printed a hitherto unknown prayer of Sir Thomas More² and a violently Marian narrative of the Reformation.³ In addition it contains some original poems, some imitations from Lydgate, various historical and scriptural memoranda, and three treatises of Richard Rolle, still apparently a cult in this Hampole district. A second manuscript book⁴ by Robert Parkyn comprises an original concordance of both Testaments, some minor homiletic writings influenced by Rolle, and extracts from known works by More⁵ and Thomas Stapleton.⁶ A third contains a metrical life of Christ extending to more than 10,000 lines; it has very recently been acquired by the Bodleian Library from a private collection.⁷ A fourth manuscript, in part related to this last, will demand consideration below.

Their respective wills⁸ indicate that John and Robert Parkyn were born of substantial yeoman stock in Owston parish, also near Doncaster. In all likelihood they learned their Latin in the chantry school of Owston, one of four local schools, which, falling on evil days as a result of the Edwardian changes, were ultimately incorporated into Pontefract Grammar School.⁹ I observe no evidence that Robert ever attended the university; his inelegant Latin, his rugged northern English, the deep-rooted provincialism of his approach and interests combine to render the possibility

¹ Bodleian MS. Lat. th. d. 15. A full list of its contents is printed *supra*, pp. 287-9.

² *Church Quarterly Review*, July-September 1937.

³ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXII, 64-83.

⁴ Aberdeen University Library, MS. 185, described by the present writer in *Notes and Queries*, 19 Feb. 1949, pp. 73-4.

⁵ *Ibid.* fols. 217-220, has More's *Treatise to Receive the blessed Body of our Lorde*, copied by Parkyn in 1555. It was unprinted until Rastell's edition of 1557.

⁶ Fols. 228v-251v contain the first two books of Stapleton's translation, *The Apologie of Fridericus Staphylus* (Antwerp, 1565).

⁷ It was in the Thoresby, Heber and Phillipps collections; the best description being in Sotheby's catalogue of the last-named, dated March 1895. The present writer has not yet had opportunity to inspect this MS, which only reached the Bodleian at the end of December, 1949.

⁸ John Parkyn's is printed *infra*; Robert Parkyn's is in York Probate Registry, xix, fols. 54v-55.

⁹ *Early Yorkshire Schools*, II (*Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Series*, xxxiii), 34, 40, 45-47.

remote.¹ Concerning John Parkyn's academic career, university and college records yield the customary bald minimum. The Grace Books show that he took his B.A. in 1539-40,² his M.A. in 1545-6³ and B.D. in 1556-7.⁴ Meanwhile his name appears in the patent by which Henry VIII in December 1546 nominated the foundation fellows of Trinity.⁵ In the college records he figures as Junior Bursar in 1552-5.⁶ It is now, however, possible to add some significant information to these mere dates, degrees and offices, which so often constitute the sole memorials of our minor academic notabilities of the sixteenth century.

The fourth manuscript of Robert Parkyn, now Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. B. 1, is a collection of seven detached leaves, used principally by this indefatigable rural priest to draft what is probably a sequel to his metrical life of Christ:—a narrative in rime royal recounting the events of sacred history from the Passion to the early acts of the apostles.⁷ For these rough versions he economically used the backs, margins and interlinear spaces of his correspondence, a happy chance which has preserved five letters much exceeding in interest the stiff-jointed, pietistic verses of their recipient. Three are from his close friend and neighbour William Watson, curate of High Melton; two from his brother John, doubtless writing from Cambridge. All are fugitive, ephemeral letters of a type occurring all too infrequently amid the enormous mass of Tudor official and semi-official correspondence.

Of John Parkyn's two letters, the first lacks a concluding passage and hence, despite some tantalizing half-clues, cannot be precisely dated. It belongs to the years 1554-5, more probably to the former, and illustrates the close local ties preserved both by John Parkyn and by his undergraduate friend Thomas Metham, whose family then occupied a notable position in South Yorkshire society.⁸ Again, like the subsequent letter, it shows the good fortune of a studious country clergyman who had a brother at the university, where both learned works and copies of recent parliamentary enactments—these latter very vital amid religious vicissitudes—could readily be obtained.

¹ He first appears in January 1541, already a priest and in the service of Humphrey Gascoigne, a well-known northern pluralist (*York Diocesan Registry*, R.I. 28, fols. 182v-183v).

² Grace Book Γ, ed. W. G. Searle, p. 342.

³ Grace Book Δ, ed. J. Venn, p. 32. The christian name does not appear, but other possibilities seem to be excluded.

⁴ Ibid. p. 120. 'In primis conceditur magistro Parkyn ut studium 7 annorum in theologia postquam rexerit in artibus cum duobus sermonibus uno ad clerum altero ad crucem Pauli et cum una responsione vel pluribus si exigantur sufficiant ei ad intrandum in libros sententiarum sic quod admittatur ad opponendum citra festum omnium sanctorum et stet opponens usque ad festum Barnabe.'

⁵ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XXI (2), p. 340. His bequests (*infra*) make possible an earlier connection with St John's.

⁶ *Admissions, Trinity College*, ed. Rouse Ball and Venn, I, 43.

⁷ Some 131 stanzas, a few imperfect, are preserved on these sheets, but this extant portion covers only the respective last chapters of all four gospels and the first two of Acts. This work will be discussed in detail by the present writer in a forthcoming number of the *Bodleian Library Record*.

⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 315, note 3. One of William Watson's letters ends (fol. 8v): 'I have hade yow comendyd to Mr Vicare of Cunysbrughe and also gyffen unto Mr Metham and his wyffe heighe thankses for owre pygeons and other owre cheare, as knoweth our Lorde, who have yow allway in his keppeng.'

I. JOHN PARKYN TO ROBERT PARKYN, ? 1554¹

(Bodl. MS. Eng. Poet. B.1, fo. 10)

As concernyng the vicaredge of Darfeylde, for soo yt ys cawled, I trow, I perceyve that ye have no grett affectyon therunto. I pray you remember what cawse ye had justlye with me, because that I dyd not desyre Camsall² and make sute and labour for the sayme. I cowyth.(peradventure) give unto yow the vicaredge of Darfeyld (by my frend) but ye byd me let that matter rest, and because ye are soo myndyd, soo I shall dooy.

Ye say that ye dyd receyve no letter from Mr Mettam³ unto hys frendes, whereupon I dyd requyre of him to know the cawse, and he mayd unto me this answer: that neyther he durst, neyther he wold or cowlde be so bowld upon yow to put yow unto any suche payn, seing that ye mayd unto hym soo flatt and earnest a denyall in a matter of lesse import: hys most [ern]jest and desyrusse requ[est] unto yow that y[ow w]old visett and see [? hys] father's hows[e], when he wold most gladlye that wold have pleased yow soo to have doyne. Unto this I dyd make but smayll answer, but sayd unto hym, 'Lett all suche tryfflyng matters passe.'

<fo. 10 v.> I thanke yow, good brother, for the dystributyng of suche thynges as I dyd send over in a fardell by a Kendall man named Atkynson and I am glad that ye have ordred the matter according unto my desyre and wrytting. But as for to pay and send over unto me for any part theroff, I am not content therwith, for and yf ye shuld send over unto me any money therfore, I shuld but send yt over unto yow agayn, and therfore send over noo money unto me for that matter, for I wyll not take any therfore. I dyd send all those thinges unto yow frelye—sic etenim stat sententia.

As for the bellowys, thei are myne owne, and ye shall have them of me by the way of borowyng. All other thinges in the fardell I have gyven unto yow and emongst yow frelye with the carryedge therof also.

As for Harding Cronicles⁴ whytch I have provided for you, when I shall send them over, then ye shall send to me for them iiij.s., for soo thei have cost me. And soo lykewysse what as the Actes of the Parlement⁵ shall cost after thei be cumyd furth that I may provide them for you,

¹ The offer of the vicarage of Darfield suggests a date early in 1554, when the two Protestant incumbents had been deprived. One moiety belonged to Trinity and a presentation was made to it on 5 May 1554. The other moiety was presented to by John Drax of Woodhall on 3 November 1554 (*Fasti Parochiales, Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Series*, 1, 78, 80). Obviously the former of these two occasions would seem the likelier, in which case the subsequent allusion to forthcoming acts of parliament would probably apply to the session 2 April–5 May 1554. Nevertheless, the Darfield passage could conceivably refer to a surmised vacancy which did not in fact occur. Parliamentary sessions also ended on 16 January and 9 December 1555. The final reference to a letter left for the writer before 1 November scarcely clinches the issue, but supports a date either very early in 1554, or late in 1555.

² A vacancy had occurred not long before. John Lommas, A.B., was presented by the University of Cambridge to the living of Campsall 16 July 1552 (*Fasti Parochiales*, 1, 63).

³ Thomas Metham matriculated from Trinity in 1551, was elected fellow in 1555, and will appear *infra* as a beneficiary under John Parkyn's will. He has been tentatively identified (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*) with the Yorkshire Thomas Metham who was admitted to Douay in 1574 and died at Wisbech after 17 years' imprisonment in 1592 (cf. Foley, *Records of the English Province*, 11, 608). If the seminarist identification be correct, the Cambridge man cannot have been the son of Sir Thomas Metham, as usually stated, but may have been a younger son of the Cadeby branch, also very close neighbours of Robert Parkyn and William Watson in Yorkshire (cf. *Visitations of Yorks.*, 1584–5 and 1612, ed. J. Foster, pp. 253, 364).

⁴ Hardyng's chronicle as printed, with a continuation, by Grafton in 1543.

⁵ For a list of contemporary editions of session-laws cf. J. H. Beale, *Bibliography of Early English Law Books*, pp. 40–43.

what as thei shall cost me I wyll regreytt agayne of yow. Mr Redmayn¹ dyd bryng your letter unto me, whytch ye left at myn ost Shawys² for me before the fest omnium sanctor[um].³

With fair confidence we may date John Parkyn's second letter 24 April 1555.⁴ It again affords information on the transfer of books from Cambridge to Yorkshire. More strikingly it shows the warm and affectionate interest maintained by the writer in the affairs of his Yorkshire relatives. The sister Isabel to whose unhappy married life he alludes was married to one Ambler: their children, here thought to be 'trubled with suche terrible visiones' nevertheless attained maturity and appear in 1569-70 as beneficiaries under the will of their uncle Robert Parkyn.⁵

II. THE SAME TO THE SAME, 24 APRIL 1555

(Bodl. MS. Eng. Poet. B 1, fol. 17)

Ye dyd ones wrytt a long letter unto me, and whether the children in the howse have att any time bene trubled with suche terrible visiones or not. I pray yow of all those matters, wrytt unto me fullye.

Often tymes yt comyth to passe that where as the husband ys soo malyschuslye bent agaynst hys owne wiffe, that ther nothing can well gooy fore ward, but all thinges to rowle in truble, miserey and wretchednesse. I pray God yt may be better with them booth. I reckyn hym (that villayn hyr husband, I mean) to be in a mutche worse case and takyn, then she ys in—but I render upp all those thinges unto the mercye of God.

Also and yff ye shall thinke yt soo meytt and convenient, I wole ye shuld reyd this my letter unto owr good mother, that she may know my desyre that she doo not hurtt hyr selfe with to mutche care and sorowy[ng] as concernyng this matter.

Item I pray yow seayll yowr letters well unto me, for this yowr letter as concernyng owr suster Isabell was openyd before that yt came unto my handes. Ye shall receyve with this letter (God willing) Dio. Carth.⁶ and thactes of this last parlyament wrapped in a kanvest cloth. I pray you let

¹ The various Yorkshire branches of the Redmans had several connections with Cambridge about this date; the family was always remarkable for its adherence to the old religion. The present reference is probably to Thomas Redman, later Master of Jesus; he was a beneficiary under Parkyn's will and receives further notice *infra*.

² John Shaw appears in the endorsement of the subsequent letter as the intermediary in Doncaster to whom John Parkyn sent his letters for onward transmission to Adwick. Reference to him occurs with extreme frequency in the Doncaster borough records between 1531 and his death early in 1556. His will indicates a substantial burgess (*Calendar to the Records of Doncaster*, II, *passim*, IV, 73).

³ The letter is unsigned, but in the same hand as John Parkyn's signed letter which follows. It may have been continued on another sheet, though room remains for several more lines on this sheet. A mere physical examination of the two sheets might indicate that both sheets formed part of one letter, but several pieces of internal evidence—especially the lack of harmony between the two passages on the despatch of books—renders this unlikely.

⁴ It is dated 24 April and records the despatch of 'thactes of this last parlyament'. This could not refer to the 1554 session, which ended 5 May, but would admirably suit the session ending 10 January 1555.

⁵ Robert Parkyn includes as major legatees and specifically mentions as his sister's daughters, Isabel, Margaret and Alice Ambler, the first being his executrix. Christopher and John Ambler, who also occur, were probably their brothers.

⁶ Robert Parkyn subsequently bequeathed seven large volumes of 'Dionisius Carthusianus his worke uppon the Byble'. An elaborate 20-volume series, without collective title, but consisting mostly of the scriptural commentaries of Denis the Carthusian (1394-1471) had been published at Cologne between 1534 and 1540. In addition certain volumes of commentaries appeared at Paris in 1542-4-7.

mee be commendyd unto all my good brethren and syst[ers] with all other my good frendes there.

Scribelid in haist this present 24 Aprill by yowr

Jo. Parkyn.

⟨Endorsed:⟩ To hys loving frend John Shaw be this delyveredd in Doncaster, desyring hym to delyver yt unto Robert Parkyn, Aythwick by Strett.

The last and most important of our three documents comes from the V.C.C. Wills at Peterborough, a collection of great interest but hitherto little utilized by college and university historians. Certainly when we develop a wider and more penetrating attack on the mid-Tudor phase, we should derive from such documents as the following a wealth of information extending beyond individuals to build a broad picture of contemporary intellectual and social life. John Parkyn's will provides an unusually copious account of a don's working library. Taken in conjunction with the even better-known activities of Robert Parkyn, it suggests some instructive contrasts between the brother who stayed at home in Yorkshire and the one who attained a fellowship at Cambridge. The latter's interests are primarily philosophical and theological. His books are all published on the Continent; they are strongly Thomist and strongly, though intellectually rather than polemically, anti-protestant. If he shared his provincial brother's taste for English poetry, history and local traditions, this extensive book-list betrays no sign of the fact. His expression seems plainer and more lucid than that of Robert, to whose mind we might almost pardonably apply the abused word 'medieval'. John Parkyn would perhaps have felt more at home in that Counter Reformation world, the rigours of which several of his Marian colleagues at Trinity survived to experience. His loyalties range widely between family, parishes, colleges and university associates. On the one hand he maintains a poor scholar, on the other he acknowledges as his 'master' the distinguished Henrician and Marian diplomat—prelate Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, who had in 1557 presented him to the rectory of Shipdham in Norfolk. He shows signs of discipleship to the memory and opinions of that great Cambridge conservative John Fisher and altogether stands clearly amid the ill-fated papalist group at Trinity.

John Parkyn did not long survive either to enjoy his rich benefice or—with more probability—to follow his patron Thirlby and his friends Sedgwick, Godsalue and Metham into imprisonment, exile or obscurity. He was unwell when drafting this will in September 1558 and must have died very shortly afterwards, since it was proved in January 1558–9. Its personal element includes a distinct impression of heartfelt, unaffected piety passing beyond the normal testamentary forms, a piety marked by the utmost reverence for the eucharist, yet by none of the traces of saint-veneration which so commonly reappear in Marian wills. As often elsewhere, we are forcibly reminded that the cultured elements of mid-Tudor conservatism are very unfavourably represented by the unattractive figures of Mary Tudor and Edmund Bonner.

III. WILL OF JOHN PARKYN, 21 SEPTEMBER 1558

(Peterborough Probate Registry; *Wills proved in the Vice-Chancellor's Court of Cambridge*, vol. 2, fol. 5)

Anno domini 1558, Die autem mensis Septembri 21.

JOHN PARKYN
PRIEST

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen. This is the last wyll and testament of me John Parkyn, prest and Fellow of Trinitie College in Cambrydg, thanks be to Almightye God at this present somethynge diseasyd in bodie, but whole in mynde. First my self whole, bodye and solle, I put in to the handes of our Saviour Jesus Christ in whoes mercye I trust to atteyne everlastyng salvacion. Also concernyng such worldlye and temporall goodes as God hath sent me in thys worlde of his bountifull goodnes, for the mispendyng wherof and other his benefittes I crave hym hartelye mercye, first I wyll that myne exequutors paye all my debtes.

Item I bequeth unto Trinitie Colledge in Cambrydg fyve powndes, that it maye be bestowed about the hie aluter, ayther a challess, vestiment, coope or some good ornament for the better maynetaynyng of God his service in that place. Item Petrus Lombardus his Exposition upon S. Paulis Epistles being wryten in one large volume in parchement.¹ Item the Bible in Englishe, the which Bible I did receyve it of the colledge.

Item I doe bequeth unto S. John's Colledge in Cambridge to be bestowed about the hie aluter fortie shyllynges.

Item I doe bequeth unto the hie aluter in the churche of Shipdham² xxs., and also, to be bestowed emongst the power people of the same pariseners of Shipdham, I give and bequeth xiijs. iiijd.

Item I do bequeth unto the hie aluter and queer in Auston³ churche where I was borne and christened, for the better mayntaynyng of God his service there, xls. And secondarielye I bequeth xxvjs. viijd., that there maye be dirige and messe doon in the same churche of Auston for my sowlle, for my father and mother sowllis, for my bretherne and sisters' sowllis and that the vicar and curet then being present have xijd. a pece and every other prist then there being present to have vjd., everye scoller of the parishe of Auston that can syng to have iiijd., and thother younger scollars of the same parishe of Auston to have every one being then present ijd. And if so be that eny of this afore sayed xxvjs. viijd. then be remaynyng, I wyll that that remayneth be bestowed in like sorte, so far as it wyll goe, at the same tyme in the yere nexte folowyng that there maye be messe doon, etc. And thyrlye I doe bequeth unto the (fol. 5v) poore people within the sayed parishe of Auston, to be gyven and distributyd unto theim at their owne houses, xls. accordyng as my brother Sir Robert, my brother Edward and my brother Christopher⁴ shall thynke mete and convenient, some more and some lesse accordyng unto their necessitie, so that the whole summe of xls. therin be bestowed and distributed.

¹ Though the output of printed editions declined markedly as the century advanced, the active use of Peter Lombard in mid-Tudor clerical and academic circles is indicated in many wills and other documents.

² The rectory of Shipdham, Norfolk, had a gross value of £33. 8s. 2d. in 1535 (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, III, 324). It seems, however, to have been held by Parkyn only during the last months of his life. Blomefield mistakenly writes (*Norfolk*, x, 247) that John Parker, S.T.B., prebendary of Ely, was presented by the Bishop of Ely in 1557. He doubtless confused John Parkyn, who does not appear in the lists of Ely prebendaries, with John Parker, rector of Fen Ditton, who was a prebendary 1565-1592 (cf. J. Benthams, *Hist. and Antiq. Ely*, p. 241).

³ Owston, near Doncaster, a parish with which several wills connect the Parkyn family.

⁴ Will of Christopher Parkyn of Owston, proved 8 June 1560 (York Probate Registry, xvi, fol. 81).

Item I bequeth unto my brother Sir Robert Parkyn a soverayng of golde in valewe xxs., a silver spoon with an antique face upon it, a new featherbedde and bolster edgyd with a red silke lace, a pillowe and pillowe beer with a blew coveryng, my best gowne, Opera Dionisii Carthusiani in 7 voluminibus,¹ item Dionisii Carthusiani de 4^{or} Novissimis,² Epitome Divi Augustini in uno volumine,³ my Calepine⁴ and Concordantia Biblie⁵ with a payr of gret wood beades.

Item I bequeth unto my brother Edward Parkyn a duble ducket with a Frenche crowne booth of them in valewe xxs. or there aboutes, a sylver spoon, a feather bed, a bolster edgyd with a blew sylke lace, a pillowe and pillow beare with a coverlet, a blanket and also my best dublet. Item I bequeth unto my brother Christopher Parkyn twoo old angells of golde in valew xxs., a silver spoon, a feather beadd and bolster edgyd with a partie cooloure lace, a pillow and pillowbeere, a coverlet with a blanket, a payr of shetis and also my best cote with a dublet. Item I bequeth unto my god dawghter Margret Amler xxs. in gold, a silver spoin, one of the best mattressis with a coverlet, my best hed kercher, my twee best candlestyckes, and I desier of my brother Sir Robert Parkyn that if she shall survive hym, that he wyll bequeth a feather bedde unto her with a bolster at my desier.

Item I do bequeth unto my good master, my lorde of Elye, byshoppe Thurlbye⁶ my (fol. 6) picture and table⁷ of S. Jerome with the cost for the cariage of the same. Item I doe bequeth unto Mr. Thomas Redmayn⁸ my best sarcenet tippet. Item I bequeth unto Mr Richard Burton⁹ one soverayne of gold in valew xxs. and I bequeth unto Mr George Redmayn one sylver spooyne. Item I bequeth unto Mr Metham¹⁰ an old angell in valewe xs., my Greke Dictionarie, Thomas Aquinas Super Epistulas Pauli et Canonicas,¹¹ Assertionis Lutherane Confutatio per Johannem Roffensem.¹²

Item I do bequeth unto Mr Hudson¹³ an old angell in valewe xs., Cathena Aurea,¹⁴ Thomas Aquinas Super Evangelium Johannis, Roffensis Adversus Ecolampadium de Veritate Corporis

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 316, note 6.

² Probably the Paris edition of 1551, though this treatise had been printed at Antwerp as early as 1486. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Printed Books*, s.v. 'Lewwis'.

³ *Epitome Omnium Operum A. Augustini*, Cologne 1549.

⁴ The Latin dictionary of Ambrogio Calepino (1435–1511), gradually improved and made polyglot in successive editions, was in universal use throughout the century. The Aldine press published eighteen editions, 1542–1592.

⁵ Robert Parkyn had himself compiled a manuscript concordance of both Testaments, finishing it on 18 April 1551 (Aberdeen University Library, MS. 185, fol. 210). It is in Latin, covers 418 pages and contains more than 26,000 entries.

⁶ Thomas Thirlby (c. 1506–1570) had been translated from Norwich to Ely in 1554. Though not an active persecutor in his diocese, he presided at some important heresy trials, went as special ambassador to Rome in 1555 and was deposed in 1559 for refusing the oath of supremacy (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

⁷ Commonly used for the board on which the picture was painted and also extended to mean the picture itself (*New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. 'table (3)').

⁸ Thomas Redman, B.D., original fellow of Trinity and Master of Jesus 1559–60. Deprived as a papist, he was limited in 1561 to the counties of York, Westmorland and Cumberland (Venn, *op. cit.*; Strype, *Annals*, I, i, 413). He was a member of the Twisleton branch of this complicated family, his elder brother John a distinguished scholar and first Master of Trinity, his younger brother George mentioned immediately *infra*. They were nephews of Cuthbert Tunstall (W. Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood*, pp. 196, 202).

⁹ Almost certainly Richard Burton of Kinsley in Hemsworth parish and hence a neighbour of the Parkyns (*Visitations of Yorks.*, 1584–5 and 1612, p. 7). This executor and trusted friend was probably an earlier Cambridge associate of the testator; one of this name was B.A. in 1538–9 and M.A. in 1542 (Venn, *op. cit.*).

¹⁰ Cf. *ante*, p. 315, note 3.

¹¹ The Brit. Mus. has six printed editions, 1481–1548.

¹² John Fisher's work, first printed at Antwerp in 1523 and in at least seven other editions, the last in 1564.

¹³ William Hudson matriculated from Trinity in 1550 and was elected fellow in 1555 (Venn, *op. cit.*).

¹⁴ The commentaries of St Thomas on the Gospels. The Brit. Mus. has nine printed editions, 1475–1532.

et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia.¹ Item I do bequeth unto Sir Longe a noble, hoc est vjs. viij*d*, Titelmanus Super Evangelia Matthei et Johannis,² Thomas Aquinas Super Apocalipsim,³ Roffensis Contra Lutherum de Captivitate Babilonica.⁴ Item I do bequeth unto Richard Thornton⁵ an noble, vj. viij*d*, Anselmus Super Epistulas Pauli,⁶ Secunda Secunde Thome Aquinatis,⁷ Roffensis de Fiducia et Misericordia Dei.⁸

Item I do bequeth unto Riplay my pooer scolar vs. in money, Tully his Familier Epistles with a payr of my hose and one of my dublettes. Item I bequeth unto Mr. Dr. Sedgewicke,⁹ Mr Pember,¹⁰ Mr Rudde,¹¹ Mr Godsalf¹² and unto Mr Atkynson,¹³ every one of theim in their senioritie to chuse fourthe and take one boke, not breakyng eny whole wourke therfore, of thees my bokes (I meane) which be not bequethed. Item I bequeth unto Mr Wylson Eusebius, being in three litle volumes.

Item I wyll that the red hangynges in my chambre be there styll remaynyng and belongyng unto the chambre, the which hangyngs I did receyve of the colledge. And if so be that eny thyng shalbe founde in my chambre that is belongyng unto the colledge, as ayther anye bourdes, naylis, lock and keye or eny hynge of yron for doores, I wyll that all suche be restored unto the colledge agayn. Item I wyll that what so ever thyng shalbe founde in my chambre and knowen to be belongyng unto eny other man, that it be diligently restored unto thoner.

Item I <fo. 6v.> doe bequith unto Matthew Matthew¹⁴ vjs. viij*d*. in money, Prima Secunde Thome Aquinatis,¹⁵ Welcurio,¹⁶ my psalter bownde with Salamoness Proverbis and apayr of my hose.

¹ Fisher's work published in three editions at Cologne, all in 1527, and in German translation, probably at Mainz, in 1528.

² Commentaries by the Capuchin Franciscus Titelman of Hasselt, d. 1537. His *Elucidationes* of St John and St Matthew were published respectively in 1543 and 1545 (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biog.*, xxxviii, 377).

³ Florence, 1549.

⁴ Cologne, 1525.

⁵ Probably a pupil or undergraduate friend. A Richard Thornton matriculated as pensioner from Trinity in 1557 (Venn, op. cit.) and a possible identification occurs in the pedigree of the Thorntons of Tyersall, Bradford (*Visitations of Yorks.* 1584-5 and 1612, p. 579).

⁶ Editions at Paris 1533, 1544, 1549; Venice, 1547; Cologne, 1533, 1545 (Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Rares et Précieux*, i, 140).

⁷ The *Secunda Secundae* had been published, separately, in at least fourteen editions previous to this date.

⁸ *Opusculum de fiducia et misericordia Dei* (Cologne, 1556).

⁹ Thomas Sedgwick, D.D., fellow of Trinity and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity 1554; one of the divines selected to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer at Oxford, and a commissioner for the examination of heretical books. Under Elizabeth he was confined to the vicinity of Richmond, Yorks, where his relatives were also recusant (Cooper, *Athenae Cantab.*, i, 213, 553; Strype, *Annals*, i, i, 412; J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the Hist. of Yorks.*, p. 41; York Diocesan Registry, Visitation Book R. vi, A. 8, fol. 82).

¹⁰ Robert Pember, the tutor of Ascham; original fellow of Trinity and reader there in Greek 1546-60 (Cooper, op. cit., i, 208; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

¹¹ Along with Godsalf and Atkinson who follow, Richard Rudd was also an original fellow of Trinity. These three, together with Thomas Redman, were all ordained in December 1553 in the London diocese (Frere, *Marian Reaction*, pp. 254, 261, 268, 269). Rudd was a Cumberland man; B.D. in 1554 and probably vicar of Ashwell, Herts, dying in 1559-60 (Venn, op. cit.).

¹² Edward Godsalf, prebendary of Chichester 1558; deprived under Elizabeth, he retired to Antwerp, where he was professor of divinity at St Michael's monastery (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Cf. the previous note.

¹³ Thomas Atkinson, B.A. 1541-2; M.A. from Trinity 1547; fellow 1546; B.D. 1554 (Venn, op. cit.). Cf. note 11, *supra*.

¹⁴ Mathias Mathew, matriculated as sizar from Peterhouse 1556; subsequently fellow of Clare (Venn, op. cit.).

¹⁵ Published separately in at least seven editions by this date.

¹⁶ Welcurio or Velcurio was the pseudonym of Johannes Bernardi of Feldkirch, who is so frequently confused with the Lutheran theologian Dölsch and with other natives of his town. Cf. on these distinctions F. Kropatscheck, *Johannes Dölsch aus Feldkirch* (Greifswald, 1898), especially pp. 12-13. The present reference is probably either to his epitome of Aristotle's *De Anima* (Basel, 1537) or to his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (Tübingen, 1553).

Item I desier most earnestlye of myn exequutors that they wyll so faythfullye provide for me that I maye be buried in the queer of Trinitie Colledge Chapell betwixte the standyng of the lectron and the first greceyng¹ and step which makyth towardes the blessyd sacrament of the aulter, yf so be that it shall please Almightye God to call me unto his gret mercie here within thuniversitye of Cambrydg. And then I wyll that my exequutors bestowe emonge the poore people xiijs. iiij*d*. and the same daye xs. to be bestowed at the dyner in Trinitie Colledge to amende the fare of the felowes and scolars that daye and all other studentes in the same colledge. Item that xs. be gyven and distributed emongst 20 of the most poorest students of this same Trinitie Colledg in Cambridge.

And if so bee that eny good man wyll take so much paynes as that daye of my buriall to make a sermone exhortyng the people to remembre deathe, where unto wee be all subiecte propter peccatum (*mors enim peccati est stipendium*), then I wyll that that preacher have for his paynes xs. in gold.

Item for to see the iust perfourmannce of this my last wyll and testament I wyll that my trustie freend Mr Richard Burton, my brother Sir Robert Parkyn and my brother Edward Parkyn be myne exequutors to provide and see that every thyng in this my will and testament be perfourmyd and doon iustlye and trulie so neare as may be, accordyng as I have here declaryd in wrightyng. I do desier and pray yow three to satisfie this my wyll and testament, for yow three in especyallye I do trust, as knowyth Jesus Christ my Savior and Redemer, unto whom be all honor and glorie world without ende. Amen.

<fol. 7> In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum: redemisti me Domine Deus veritatis, amen.

Ego Johannes Parkyn sacerdos et socius Collegii Sancte Trinitatis Cantabrigiensis hec scripsi manu mea propria anno Domini 1558, die autem mensis Septembris 21.²

¹ Steps in a flight. Cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. 'greceing'.

² A subsequent note records probate on 27 January 1558-9 before John Pore, S.T.P., Vice-Chancellor of the University, administration being granted to the three executors through their proctors Thomas Metham and William Hudson, Masters of Arts. An inventory to the sum of £60. 7*s*. 7*d*. was exhibited, but its details are not included in the MS.



Engraved from an Original Picture in the College of Hemsworth.

ROBERT HOLGATE

BISHOP OF

March 29th

ARCHBISHOP

Jan^y 10th



LLANDAFF,

D. 1537.

OF YORK,

1544.

AND LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL

in the North;

Deprived of the See of York by

QUEEN MARY, 1553.

Died at Hemsworth, in Yorkshire,

the place of his Nativity,

1555,

and was there buried.

ROBERT HOLGATE

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AND PRESIDENT OF THE KING'S COUNCIL IN THE NORTH*

I. EARLIER LIFE

IN the conventional pageant of Tudor England, the monarchs, the saints, the seadogs and the dramatists have dominated the stage too long. We have concentrated our gaze upon too few, and too untypical, figures. Especially does this seem true of the mid-Tudor years, when the capacious form of Henry VIII effectively hides most of the men who stood behind him, men whose devoted labours gave an extraordinary impulse to the history of our nation. This is an account of one of them, called to some of the highest offices in both church and state, falling with tragic finality, bequeathing signal memorials of zeal for charity and education, yet greeted by later generations with undeserved neglect, sometimes even with obloquy. It is a life of usefulness and service, perhaps devoid of spiritual grandeur, yet affording, equally with greater lives, a loophole through which we may observe the most vital phases of the English Reformation and the centralization of the English state.

Like so many prelates, Robert Holgate came from an established family of small gentry. He was born in or very near the year 1481,¹ his being the fifth of the recorded generations of Holgates, each of which married into Yorkshire families of similar standing. From his elder brother John stemmed a line which preserved this status long afterwards. Their father Thomas and their uncle both married daughters of Thomas Champernowne, but apart from her Christian name Elizabeth, nothing else is known of their mother.² Hemsworth was almost certainly Robert's birthplace: we have in evidence not merely the school and almshouse he founded there, but also the words 'of Helmesworth' in his grant of arms.³ At some unknown date he became a canon of the order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham and, despite his later rejection of the cloister, we are not entitled to speculate concerning the genuinity of his original vocation. That his real interests became academic rather than ascetic

* I acknowledge with gratitude the help of my friend F. H. Woodward, who read my typescript and made valuable suggestions and corrections.

1. Cf. *infra*, p. 344.

2. A detailed, but incomplete and probably untrustworthy pedigree is in J. Hunter, *Familiae Minorum Gentium* (*Harleian Soc.*, xi), pp. 1282-3. Cf. also *Harleian Soc.*, xiv, 666; lv, 1260.

3. *Archbishop Holgate Soc.*, *Record Series*, no. 2, p. 25; *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* (*New Series*), i, 336. The arms, granted 29 June 1539, interestingly combine those of Holgate with those of the Gilbertine Order.

might well be deduced from his long and distinguished career at Cambridge, where he is thought to have resided at the old Gilbertine house of studies near Peterhouse.⁴

Always poor in material possessions, the order had by this time greatly diminished in numbers.⁵ Moreover, though relatively free from scandal, it preserved no very strong educational or cultural traditions.⁶ In the University at large, however, stagnation was then by no means the order of the day. Holgate must have been in residence several years before he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity in 1523-4⁷; he can scarcely have avoided acquaintance, during this period of intellectual and moral ferment, with many contemporaries destined to share his eminence and notoriety during the impending crisis of the Reformation. Throughout the second and third decades of the sixteenth century Cambridge became the nursery of both revolution and reaction. The early martyrs, Barnes, Lambert and Little Bilney were all Holgate's contemporaries; so were their successors Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. Other future Reforming bishops such as Salcot, Hilsey, Hooper and Holbeach were not only fellow university men but fellow monks. Almost all these future Protestants underwent a theological training. On the other side, the conservatives, like Gardiner, Bonner and Sampson, were lawyers, canonists and civilians.⁸ In the early training of most Henrican bishops we may find the clue to their later positions, yet Holgate proves something of a hybrid. A monk and a theologian - he proceeded D.D. in 1536-7⁹ - he naturally gravitated toward the Reformers. On the other hand, he came to display many traits associated with the legalist group: he was by temperament administrative rather than revolutionary, a Henrican who believed in civil order, conciliar justice and the pre-eminent rôle of the secular arm. The long obscure years of teaching and study at Cambridge must in some measure have proved an intellectual watershed: there seems every sign that, when the call to the great world came his way, it fell upon a mind prepared for sweeping rejections and changes.

In 1529 Holgate was summoned to Convocation as Prior of St. Catherine's without Lincoln;¹⁰ he may also around this time have held the vicarage of Cadney near Brigg. The interesting anecdote of his encounter

4. Cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 981-2. T. Baker, *Hist. of the College of St. John*, i. 242, rightly rejects the absurd assumptions making him a member of St. John's.
5. R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, pp. 166-7.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 131.
7. *Grace Book B2*, ed. M. Bateson, p. 115.
8. Cf. L. B. Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics* (Princeton, 1953). Of the conservative leaders only Heath was a D.D.
9. *Grace Book F*, ed. W. G. Searle, p. 319. Holgate was also preacher to the University in 1524. In Hilary Term 1541-2 the University entertained Holgate, spending 16d. on a flagon of wine and apples (*Grace Book B2*, p. 238).
10. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (later cited as *L. & P.*), iv (3). 6047, p. 2698. This prior 'Robert' must have been Holgate, since a subsequent prior, William Griffith, in 1538 charged Holgate with possessing a chalice of gold and a pair of censers belonging to him. Griffith was a notably violent

with the local magnate Sir Francis Ayscough was first recorded by that garrulous purveyor of racy stories about bishops, Sir John Harington. A vexatious lawsuit brought against Holgate by Ayscough is said to have caused the former to quit his benefice and go up to London. Soon afterwards, he found means to be made a royal chaplain and so rose to high office. In later years, when Holgate was Lord President of the North, Ayscough happened to have a suit depending before the court. Expecting hard treatment from his former adversary, he gave up his cause for lost. On the contrary, Holgate stood up for him as justice demanded, and he thus won the case, 'the prelate saying merrily to some of his friends, that he was more obliged to Sir Francis than any man in England; for had it not been for his pushing him to London, he had lived a poor priest all his life.' Many of Harington's stories are true, or substantially so: we may take this one for what it is worth!¹¹

In or before 1534, Holgate was appointed Master of Sempringham¹² and by Gilbertine statute and tradition he now exercised an almost absolute concentration of powers. In his Apology, written twenty years later, he calls himself 'sole master and pryor of the same, all other being priors datyve and removeable'. The Master was indispensable to all legal actions by or against the Order; he alone could admit members and appoint officials; no deed of any prior or convent was valid unless he joined in it; at the end of the story Holgate himself joined personally in the surrender of certain individual houses.¹³ Thus from the standpoint of the Crown the Mastership of Sempringham must have appeared a crucial office and one cannot believe that Holgate attained it without the active goodwill of Thomas Cromwell.¹⁴

The Master was not prior of the mother-house of Sempringham, but moved from place to place in perpetual visitation, the order being exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.¹⁵ Nevertheless, by 1536 Holgate had become prior of another major house, that of Watton in East Yorkshire, a locality with which he was long to retain intimate contact. This fact emerges in a letter written about July 1536 by John Hilsey, formerly Provincial of the Dominicans and now the active Reforming Bishop of Rochester.

character. Expelled (probably by Holgate, then Master of Sempringham) for taking part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, he then repossessed his office by force. It hence seems absurd to believe his unsupported accusation and still more absurd to charge (cf. *Victoria Co. Hist., Lincs.*, ii. 190) Holgate as Master of Sempringham with theft of these articles from his own order. (*L. & P.*, xiii (i). 397, 1103).

11. I take this from F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736) pp. 452-3, where it is clearly ascribed to Harington. The latter's papers were subsequently printed as *Nugae Antiquae*, but I cannot find the anecdote in the edn. of 1792. Harington also told a story of Wolsey with a similar opening but the reverse ending (Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 439).
12. Cf. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
13. Dugdale, *op. cit.*, vi. 945, p. iii.
14. Amongst Holgate's enemies, the story went that Holgate was 'Lord Cromwell's chaplain and admitted by him, having only been elected by three or four of his religion' (*L. & P.*, xii(i). 201, p. 92).
15. Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-3.

Hilsey asked Thomas Cromwell to allow the Master of the Gilbertines, the Prior of Watton, to enjoy his office, with all *in commendam*, doubting not that he would do the King a good service.¹⁶ On 10th August Hilsey wrote again, this time to remind Cromwell of the Master of the Gilbertines, 'towards Landaffe'.¹⁷ Accordingly, Holgate obtained election as bishop of that diocese on the resignation of the Spanish Dominican George de Athequa early in 1537; he was on 25 March duly consecrated by Hilsey himself in the lady chapel of the London Blackfriars Church.¹⁸ The man to whose patronage the new Bishop of Llandaff owed so much had pursued a career not unlike his own. A Dominican friar and a D.D. of Oxford, he had been appointed Provincial of his order in April 1534 and in the following year had succeeded the martyred John Fisher in the see of Rochester. Notorious among old believers as the expositor of the Blood of Hales, the Rood of Boxley and other time-honoured frauds, Hilsey was soon to become, like Holgate himself, one of the men most hated by reactionary elements in the North. But for his early death in 1538, he would in all likelihood have been an outstanding figure in the history of the Reformation.

Hilsey, Holgate and the other monks who rose to high office upon the ruins of their orders have provided conspicuous targets for the older school of ecclesiastical historians. To writers who saw all periods of monasticism through the golden haze of its early greatness, Holgate became inevitably the 'creature of Cromwell'; the very Judas of the Gilbertine Order. Such observers seemingly find it impossible to envisage a very simple but extremely probable hypothesis: that the Reforming ex-monks believed in what they were doing. Knowing late monasticism as intimately as we do, we should certainly marvel if many thoughtful and intelligent religious persons had not already, long before 1536, rejected it and all its works. An American scholar recently tabulated a list of 22 conservative and 24 Reforming bishops of this period; among the conservatives only one was a regular clergyman by origin, while among the Reformers there were no less than sixteen.¹⁹ So far from creating complacency, membership of a religious order must surely have forced many a critical mind into new and radical ways of thought. In conventional terminology, we are dealing with the High Renaissance, when, for good or ill, the scales were falling from men's eyes, when the idea of re-birth might have a variety of personal connotations. Those who, in the flood-tide of this great European change, cast aside the vows they had taken in their raw, provincial youth will be termed renegades only by critics who have never traversed, never even imagined, an age of mental crises and revisions.

16. *L. & P.*, xi. 188.

17. *Ibid.*, xi. 260.

18. He was elected and obtained the royal assent 19 March 1537 (Pat. 28 Hen. VIII, p. 2, m. 2). For his consecration see Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, ii. 251 (cites Reg. Cranmer, fo. 200) and Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer* (edn. 1848), i. 135. The assisting bishops were Salcot and Shaxton.

19. L. B. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-7.

During the months between Hilsey's letters and the day when he consecrated Holgate Bishop of Llandaff, the supreme crisis of the Tudor monarchy had come and gone. For the Prior of Watton the Pilgrimage of Grace proved something of a personal crisis, since Watton itself developed into a storm-centre of the revolt and everyone in that country knew the Prior as a friend of the hated Cromwell. Holgate's conduct during the Pilgrimage is usually presented in the light of the contemptuous passage in Aske's confession. 'And on the morow (1 Nov. 1536) the said Aske went to the abbay of Watton xiii myles distant, for to stay the comyns ther, wich wold have chosyn a new Prior ther, for so much as the said prior was fled to the Lord Cromwell, and being one of his promocion and had left behind bretheryn and sustren of the same hows nigh iiiiix or iiiixx and not xls. to sucur them.'²⁰ If this be the sole evidence, and the romanticisers of the Pilgrimage have their way, we are left with the spectacle of Holgate deserting his post, running to his wicked master, letting down the monastic cause, decamping with the monastic funds and allowing the poor monks and nuns to starve. When, however, this passage is analysed in the light of numerous cold facts derived from other sources, a very different impression remains.

Since the Priory surrendered with only seven canons, two prioresses and twelve nuns, it remains difficult to imagine how this great concourse of 60-80 religious persons had gathered at Watton;²¹ even more untrue is the statement that they were left with forty shillings. After Holgate's 'flight,' the Pilgrims confiscated the horses at Watton, sent a threatening message to the house and were bribed off with ten pounds, 'to them that they thought might do most for the safeguard of our house'.²² In other words, the religious had more ready money than was needed in a well-stocked monastery over any considerable period, and had to use it to buy off Aske's own followers! Again, according to the ringleader, Sir Francis Bigot, it was the commons who stopped the canons of Watton from receiving their rents and the tenants who refused to pay until a new prior were elected.²³ So far as Holgate's withdrawal itself is concerned, it must also be considered in the light of contemporary fact. Cuthbert Tunstall of Durham, who was far from being a Cromwellian, also fled to the South. Archbishop Edward Lee was captured, and later suspected of treason for acceding to the rebels' demands. Bishop Longland happened to be absent when the Lincolnshire mob attacked his palace; they proceeded to murder his chancellor, and being reproved by a servant of Cromwell, they bound and gagged him, wrapped him in the hide of a newly killed cow and threw him to be eaten by a horde of starving dogs.²⁴ It would thus seem a trifle quixotic, even on the part

20. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, v. 338-9.

21. *Victoria Co. Hist., Yorks.*, iii. 255.

22. *L. & P.*, xii (i). 201, p. 98; cf. p. 100. They nevertheless received further threats that their plate would be seized; their hay and corn at Hessleskew was actually destroyed (*ibid.*, p. 100).

23. *L. & P.*, xii (i). 65.

24. *L. & P.*, xi. 714.

of our modern romantics, to demand that Holgate, a known Cromwellian, should have staunchly awaited the arrival of the Pilgrims at Watton!

The evidence concerning Holgate's local relationships remains somewhat difficult to assess. John Hallom, who helped Bigot to raise the second insurrection, testified against Holgate that 'he was good to no man and took of this excommunicate twenty marks in money where he should have been paid in corn when God should send it; and he gives many unkind words to his tenants in his court more like a judge than a religious man'.²⁵

This attack falls, however, into its true context before the testimony of the Sub-Prior of Watton, who related how 'Hallom being greatly incensed against the Prior for putting him beside a farmhold, came at the time of the first insurrection with a number of his soldiers and with bills and clubs into the infirmary of Watton, where the brethren were bound to dinner; and there in the presence of the Priors of Ellerton and of St. Andrew's, York, charged the brethren to elect a new Prior. They said it was against their statutes, their Prior being alive and not lawfully removed. He then said, that if they did not he would spoil their house, and he would nominate one himself'. Faced by this threat, the canons nominated the Prior of Ellerton, but he would not assume the title and they themselves 'wanted him to bear the name only for fear of the commons'.²⁶ Evidence exists elsewhere that Holgate was a good and considerate landlord;²⁷ it would be absurd to accept the vague charges of a rebel with so powerful a personal grudge. Watton had not, meanwhile, seen the last of the Pilgrims. Shortly before the second insurrection, Sir Francis Bigot, the leading self-appointed monastic reformer, went with Hallom to Watton and 'kindled him' to move the brethren to a new election of a prior in Holgate's place, 'saying they might lawfully do so'. Bigot even drew up a nomination of the Prior of Ellerton, and the canons apparently accepted this, thinking it would safeguard their property 'and be shown to the commons for the saving of the house goods'.²⁸ So far from joining the Pilgrims against their absent prior, the canons of Watton were principally concerned to avoid the pillage of their house, 'especially because our Master was gone, who was always named a traitor among the commons'.²⁹

As usual with any religious community, their views of their superior probably varied widely. William Horsekey, a loyalist yeoman of Watton, testified maliciously that 'there is never a good one of all the canons of that house, and that they all bear a grudge to their Prior and would fain have a new one'. But so far as Horsekey's detailed accusations go, the implacable group seems to have been small. The Sub-Prior, the confessor of the nuns, and the vicar of Watton were, according to this

25. From the paraphrase in *ibid.*, xii (i). 201, p. 92.

26. *L. & P.*, xii (i). 201, pp. 99-100.

27. *Infra*, p. 339; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lvi. 458.

28. *L. & P.*, xii (i). 201, p. 100; cf. *ibid.*, xii (i). 65.

29. *Ibid.*, xii (i). 201, p. 100.

dubious witness, 'great setters forth' of sedition, since Horsekey had heard them say several times since Christmas that it would never be well as long as the King was Supreme Head of the church and that it would not be reformed unless the people set forward again with a new insurrection.³⁰

In general, amid the conflicting evidence upon the chaotic and farcical transactions at Watton, we may clearly observe that the commons, doubtless worked upon by his personal enemy Hallom, detested Holgate as a Cromwellian. Hallom's charges are neither substantial, nor substantiated, while the crank Bigot saw in Watton a suitable sphere for his private Reformation. The canons were restive, but afraid of treason, still more afraid of the mob. Altogether the confusion, self-interest and stupidity which marked the Pilgrimage upon its average level found admirable illustration at Watton. The only charge which could fairly be levelled at Holgate was that he had already taken his stand on the other side, that he believed in Henry VIII and Cromwell rather than in Sir Francis Bigot and the Percy faction,³¹ in centralisation and conciliar administration rather than in a return to neo-feudalism and 'affinity'. Does not the verdict of history uphold him? What serious English patriot can wish that the Pilgrimage of Grace, with its complex and self-contradictory welter of aspirations and ambitions, had succeeded? It would have been ill service to Englishmen to destroy the patient work of Henry VII, to shatter the weaponless magic of the dynasty, to thrust government into the hands of a clique of northern magnates, leaving impossible the great work of social conditioning later accomplished by the King's Council in the North. It is surely high time we stopped viewing the Pilgrimage in terms of that romantic but untypical figurehead Robert Aske; it is time we studied the so-called Wars of Religion on the continent, where neo-feudalism cloaked itself more successfully and more disastrously in the trappings of religious crusade. If we make so salutary a comparison, we shall end by giving thanks that our island history diverged from this path of horror; we shall see behind the unpleasing personalities of Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell the tremendous political and humanitarian logic of their cause.

Fundamentally, it was the cause of the common Englishman, the process whereby his fate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries became so enormously happier than that of his continental neighbours. The present writer does not presume to say which side of the controversy found favour in heaven; he cannot exactly assess how far such men as Robert Holgate made their choice from vulgar motives of ambition and fear, how far out of a sincere and sagacious conviction that the cause of the Crown was the cause of English society. More tangible and more impressive is the judgment of the generation which had most

30. *Ibid.*, xii (i). 201, p. 87.

31. Most of the leaders were fee'd servants of the Percies. Cf. R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, pp. 133-4.

directly to accept the consequences of this choice. Its judgment was all but universally favourable. Shakespeare and his contemporaries did not, like some of our moderns, romanticise anarchy. They could not take for granted the blessings of the order newly won for them by England's greatest dynasty.

II THE LORD PRESIDENT

The most significant result of the Pilgrimage of Grace was the re-organisation and strengthening of northern government which it forced the King to undertake. New instructions were issued to the northern Council as early as January 1537.³² In the autumn, the Duke of Norfolk gave way to Bishop Tunstall as Lord President, but the need for a younger and more vigorous leader became increasingly apparent. Shortly after the Pilgrimage, Holgate was appointed a member of the Council and from the first he seems to have been its mainstay. 'My Lord of Llandaff,' wrote Tunstall in November 1537, 'can enforce your Lordship (Cromwell) of all particularytes in all thinges, who hath bene present at all our sittinge and doynge, to whome it may like your Lordship to gyff full credence therin. Surely, he is a man veray mete to serve the Kinge in these partes, of whose company I do take great comfort, seinge I have so wise a man to aske advise of, and so hole and intier to the Kinge, as he is.'³³ In the June of 1538 Holgate received promotion to the Presidency itself, which he continued to hold for more than eleven years. Having no suitable house of his own, he had to be assigned a residence in York. Thus the old house of the Abbot of St. Mary's, henceforth known as the King's Manor, came into service as the headquarters of the northern Council.

The acceptance of such high office by a relatively uninfluential and locally controversial cleric may well be regarded as a bold step. Seldom had so vital, so intricate a task faced an English administrator. As the Pilgrimage had shown, the North had the military strength appropriate to a marcher-province, yet unrest reigned there, ancient and deep-seated. Suspicion of heresy in high places; economic and religious objections to the dissolution of the monasteries; these were merely the latest reinforcements of that unrest. Poverty, isolation, poor roads, loyalty to ancient families, confederacy and affinity among the gentry, a dearth of social and legal training, a sense of neglect and lack of governance: such factors were of unequal incidence in so large and diverse an area, yet altogether they had long exerted a cumulative influence and served to differentiate the North from regions more amenable to political central-

32. For a list of instructions and commissions, see R. R. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 499; for the dates of the Lords President, p. 487, and of the Councillors, p. 490. On the Council see, besides the great work of R. R. Reid, two good brief accounts by F. W. Brooks, *The Council of the North* (Historical Association, 1953) and *York and the Council of the North* (St. Anthony's Hall Publications, No. 5).

33. *State Papers of Henry VIII*, v. 122. During this period Holgate was receiving a salary of £20 p.a. and his diet. (*L. & P., Addenda*, i. 1270).

isation. Upon the solution of this regional problem, the survival of the Tudor dynasty and the integrity of the nation-state might well depend. That Holgate successfully grappled with it during a long and vital presidency under exacting masters must always remain his most signal achievement; furthermore, the results stand out among the major triumphs of Tudor Kingship. 'The rule of the Council in the North', wrote its pioneer historian, 'was singularly successful; and at the end of life Henry VIII could count at least one task well done... one by one the great franchises and liberties north of the Trent had been united with the Crown; the lands of the Nevilles and the Percies had become Crown lands; the justiciary rights they had once enjoyed had been merged with those of the Crown; and their Councils had given place to the King's Council in the North parts... The problem of the North had been solved at last'.³⁴ In view of the unquestionable truth of these statements, it often seems strange that our London-centred political histories still assign so minute a proportion of their attentions to the northern Council and seldom deign to mention the man who held its presidency during these decisive and momentous years.

The two sets of instructions issued to Holgate, one on his appointment³⁵, the other on his preferment to the see of York in 1545,³⁶ may be laid alongside his extant correspondence to form a fairly comprehensive picture of his accomplishment. He was the King's representative, entitled to the same deferences as the monarch, kneeling only excepted.³⁷ Both during and between the official sessions of the Council, he and his small knot of permanent councillors performed a variety of functions resembling those of the Privy Council, the Star Chamber and the Court of Requests. Their chief aim was to provide efficient and impartial justice in both criminal and civil cases. In addition they constituted the major link between the central government and the justices of the peace. They had to supervise and drill these amateur administrators, to repress papalism and internal conspiracy, to hold the Scots at bay, to recover by all possible devices the feudal franchises which still clogged the machine of justice, to check the growth of enclosures, the enhancing of gressoms and other sources of economic distress. Our knowledge of their work is most defective in this last sphere; we cannot expect to picture it adequately, since the Council's books of decrees are now unfortunately lost. That all these tasks were faithfully done must owe not a little to Holgate's genius for equity and justice; toward the end of his life he felt able to boast without fear of contradiction 'that there was never anye man that had cause to compleane for lacke of justice or for corruption in the same of his behalfe'.³⁸

If, as the first of the great Lords President, he was confronted by some of the hardest tasks, he also enjoyed some fortunate advantages. The

34. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

35. Cf. *L. & P.*, xiii (i). 1269.

36. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

37. Printed in *State Papers of Henry VIII*, v, pp. 402 *seqq.*

38. *Infra*, p. 357

King's one personal visit to the North in 1541 did something to maintain a sense of the awful consequences of the Prince's wrath.³⁹ Throughout the greater part of Holgate's presidency, a war was in progress against the Scots: it entailed hard work, but it helped to keep northern Englishmen from turning their attentions southward. Indeed, the progress of the Tudor state owed much to the fact that these two threats cancelled each other. Again, a rise in the price of wool brought currency into the North, where complaints were heard both during and after the revolt that the country was denuded of silver by absentee landlords and speculators in monastic lands.⁴⁰ The war itself, by increasing the demand for provisions and horses, presumably stimulated the sluggish trade of the northern shires. Finally, Holgate had the advice and help of such colleagues as Bishop Tunstall, Archdeacon Magnus, Lord Eure, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir William Babthorpe, Robert Chaloner, John Uvedale, Lord Wharton, Sir Henry Savile and Sir Thomas Gargrave,⁴¹ who were among the most devoted and experienced public servants of the time.

An elaborate chronological account of this presidency clearly lies beyond our present scope. In selecting a few significant themes, we may first note the two rebellions⁴² which Holgate and his colleagues suppressed and to which he gave strong emphasis in his Apology.⁴³ The Imperial ambassador Chapuys wrote that the Wakefield conspiracy of 1541 was due to the executions following the Pilgrimage and to the seizure of monastic and Percy rentals, so that money formerly circulating in the North now came up to London. The conspirators, emboldened by the King's liabilities in France, hoped also for Scottish support. Forty or fifty of them planned to start their rising at Pontefract Fair, kill the Lord President and seize Pontefract castle, the key to the North. The extant bills of expenses indicate that the Council in the North and the High Sheriff surprised the plotters on 22 March, a few days before the fair. The French Ambassador Marillac thought that the design would have succeeded had not one of them revealed the secret, whereupon the rest sought safety in flight, some to Scotland, some to the 'mountains and desert places'. Holgate himself recorded that this 'commocion' was 'appaissed with the executinge of fifteen persons without anye chargeis to the Kinge and mucche to his advantaige'. The chief sufferer was Sir John Nevile of Chevet, a pushing and acquisitive landlord, who went to the block merely for failure to report the conspiracy. Those caught and executed included the substantial William Leigh of Middleton, Robert Boxe, gentleman, Thomas Tattershall a 'cloth man of that countrey', Gilbert Thornton a yeoman, half-a-dozen chantry priests of the Wakefield district and the late prior of Croxton Abbey. This

39. *Ibid.*, liii. 267 seqq.

40. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 123; *infra* p. 13.

41. Cf. Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 490-492.

42. For full and documented accounts see the present writer in *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xxxiv. 151 seqq.; 379 seqq.

43. *Infra*, p. 357.

Wakefield plot, though nipped in the bud, gave Henry further inducement to visit the North and accord close personal attention and encouragement to the work of the northern government.

The Seamer rebellion in the summer of 1549 progressed further, but it occurred in a less crucial district and proved dangerous only because it synchronised with the greater risings in Norfolk and the West Country. We learn little about it except from Foxe, who ascribed it to the Yorkshiremen's hatred of Edward VI's 'godly proceedinges, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his religion'; also to 'a blind and phantasticall prophecie', that King, nobles and gentry should be swept away in favour of four governors, supported by a parliament of the commons. This end, said the prophecy, was to be attained by risings beginning at the south and north seas of England, the Devonshire rising being greeted in Yorkshire as the promised southern contribution. It may be added that in the critical area, the parishes of Seamer and Winttringham, an exceptional number of chantries and chapels were then being dissolved, while some local ties with the Percies can also be traced. The leaders were William Ombler a yeoman of East Heslerton, Thomas Dale parish clerk of Seamer, and one Stevenson, Dale's neighbour and Ombler's nephew. Owing, says Foxe, to the words of a 'drogken fellow of that conspiracie named *Calverd*, at the alehouse in Winttringham, some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smelled by the Lord President and Gentlemen of those parties, and so prevented in that place where the rebelles thought to begin.' They nevertheless gathered at Seamer, lit the beacon at Staxton and murdered Matthew White, a chantry commissioner and speculator, together with three others, White's brother-in-law, a York merchant and a servant of Sir Walter Mildmay. Leaving the bodies 'naked behynde them in the playne fieldes for crowes to feede on', the rebels moved from one township to another, gathering several thousand followers.⁴⁴ Holgate and his Council at this stage detached many by the offer of a free pardon, while the local gentry captured Ombler as he attempted to reassemble his forces at Hunmanby. Foxe and Holgate agree that only he and seven others were executed at York, the latter characteristically adding, 'without anye charge to the Kinge or losse to the countrye'.

We have sketched the broad objects of the northern Council during Holgate's presidency, but our records, especially the State Papers and the York Housebooks, also contain much illuminating detail concerning his daily life and administrative action. We see him reporting from various places his routine judicial sessions,⁴⁵ consigning silver acquired under the Chantries Act to the Privy Council, preventing the unauthorised alienation of church goods,⁴⁶ helping to collect taxes and bene-

44. Foxe says 3,000: Holgate claims 10,000 or 12,000.

45. *State Papers of Henry VIII*, v, pp. 139, 142, 577; *L. & P.*, xviii. 272; xx(2). 109.

46. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, ix. 545 *seqq.*

volences,⁴⁷ thwarting engrossers of grain,⁴⁸ reporting on the character and reliability of northern officials⁴⁹ and preparing for the King's visit.⁵⁰ Above all, he appears as an active organiser of those campaigns against Scotland which dominated the international scene throughout the last years of Henry VIII and the administration of Somerset. Looking back at this aspect of his work, Holgate wrote that 'all the tyme of the warres he servyd in settinge furthe of men, provision for victuall, settinge furthe of cariages and draughte horseis, that every one of the cheftenes of the warres was content with him and had cause so to bee. And his chargeis for the warres stoide him in foure thowsande poundes and more as he can decayre by the particulers thereof'.⁵¹ This provision of transport seems to have been his especial duty; it proved a difficult task and occasioned the only known allegation of inefficiency brought against him, one which he skilfully rebutted. On 29 October 1542 the Duke of Norfolk complained that he had commanded the President to have certain carts and wains at Newcastle on the 18th, yet few came, nor was there bread and drink to load them.⁵² On 2 November Wriothesley passed on this complaint to Holgate; the latter's reply of 6 November recounts his whole proceedings and carefully documents them. He had sent for the bailiffs of the wapentakes assigned to provide this transport, given them placards (copies enclosed) and charged them to assemble it by a certain day (bill enclosed to this effect); he had also caused the clerk of his Council to write every order as soon as it was made, and put them all in a book which he kept himself. Along with this letter, he also enclosed extracts from the minutes of the Council, recording in detail the orders to the bailiffs, lists of wapentakes with the number of carts demanded from each, and a copy of a commission from the Council to the bailiff of Bulmer.⁵³ All this forms a strikingly modern example of an administrator 'covering' himself through orderly filing of minutes, documents and correspondence. A good deal of material concerning transport survives from subsequent years, when matters seem to have gone smoothly.⁵⁴

The Council's difficulties in raising troops from unwilling communities finds vivid illustration in the York Housebooks, which naturally represent the situation from the viewpoint of the mayor and corporation. An order from the Lord President in November 1548 was directed merely to a small committee of which the mayor was an ordinary member. It demanded that fifty York recruits should report to Newcastle to train with the harquebus. This order is duly copied in the Housebook, but it is followed by an obviously irate instruction to the city's Members of Parliament to use their endeavours 'that from hensfurth the Lorde Pres-

47. *York Civic Records* (Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Record Series, later cited as Y.C.R.), v. 40; L. & P., xx(i) 434.

48. Y.C.R., v. 25-6.

49. L. & P., xiv (i). 50.

50. *Ibid.*, xvi. 1099.

51. *Infra*, p. 358.

52. L. & P., xvii. 1000.

53. *Ibid.*, xvii. 1040.

54. *Ibid.*, xix (i). 189, 193, 202; xx (i). 555; Y.C.R., v. 17.

ident in the Northe parties may dyrecte the Kings grace is Commyssions onelie to the said Mayer and his Brethren in all thyngs concerning the Kings affayres within the Countie of the saide Citie as was ever accustomed and used before the establishment of the Courte of requeste in the North parties'.⁵⁵ Shortly afterwards the Mayor wrote to Sir Michael Stanhope, asking him to consult with the Lord President, 'that we shall have no cause reasonable eftsones farther to compleane of his grace for suche injuries and wrongs as he hath commyted and done to the said Citie. We are desierous to have hym to be good and gracyous lord unto us, whiche we know and do consyder that we cannot opteigne withoute your specyall helpe.' The President, so they urged, was impoverishing the city 'as in setting furth of light horsemen, takying of laborers apprentices and journamen to be furnyshed as souldyours to lie in garysons, whiche is muche above the nombre that the said Citie in auncyent tyme was wonte to fynd when it was a Citie in great ryches and prosperytie... and nott onelie in takying the said men by force of suche commyssions as he makith, but wold by extreme words cause the said power inhabitaunts to pay to the capitane for every man xx s., whiche they ought not to do of right or custome... Moreover the saide Lorde Presydent dothe take suche parte his servaunts⁵⁶ agaynste the Mayor and Commonaltie of the said Citie that they ar nott able for to enjoy and mayntene the auncyent right of the said Citie.'⁵⁷ On 25 January 1549 the M.P.'s were again instructed to press these points,⁵⁸ but on 1 February, Protector Somerset, prompted by Holgate, wrote charging the city fathers with negligence and sternly ordering them to obey the Lord President.⁵⁹ The levies and musters went on;⁶⁰ such manoeuvres were merely a phase in the perennial game of wits which York played against several Presidents.⁶¹

Many other wartime activities are illustrated in our records. Holgate and his Council ordered a census of mariners, whom they commanded to remain near their homes on the renewal of hostilities in April 1547.⁶² Both in that year, when the Scots landed at Flamborough,⁶³ and previously in September 1544, the defence of the East Coast called forth the energies of the Council. On the earlier occasion the President, hearing of the presence of 25 Scots and French ships off Flamborough, toured the East Riding to supervise its preparations; he wrote an interesting account of these and of the damage inflicted by the raiders upon coastal shipping.⁶⁴ Intelligences concerning Scotland and the activities of Eng-

55. *Y.C.R.*, iv. 181-2.

56. See the details of Holgate's request on behalf of his servant John Dawson, refused by the city, in *Y.C.R.*, iv. 164-5; v. 7.

57. *Ibid.*, v. 1-2.

58. *Ibid.*, v. 7-8.

59. *Ibid.*, v. 12-13.

60. *Ibid.*, v. 15-16, 17, 18 *seqq.*

61. Cf. on the topic Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 322 *seqq.*

62. *Y.C.R.*, iv. 152-3.

63. *Ibid.*, iv. 158.

64. *L. & P.*, xix (2). 255, 256, 538.

lish fugitives beyond the Border formed an important part of the work.⁶⁵ In 1545 Holgate took an active share in the northern campaign. On 21 April he wrote from Darlington to Henry VIII concerning the grain situation and methods of bringing up supplies from the eastern counties to the forces.⁶⁶ On 5 September, Hertford, Holgate and others reported from Newcastle that the whole army had arrived and that the attack on the enemy would soon begin; Holgate and Bishop Tunstall would remain in Newcastle to expedite affairs until the Earl's return.⁶⁷

During these years Holgate must have spent a considerable amount of his time in the saddle, riding frequently between York and his houses at Bishopthorpe, Watton, and Old Malton; further afield to the Borders, or down to London, where he was bound, unless specifically excused, to attend every parliamentary session.⁶⁸ Some of these missions could be immensely expensive. When the Admiral of France visited the King in 1546 Holgate was summoned to Hampton Court to help the young Prince Edward to receive this distinguished visitor. He later claimed to have brought up about seventy horse and to have spent a thousand pounds.⁶⁹ If we add to this figure the £4,000 of his own money which he spent in connection with the wars and also his innumerable obligations and charities,⁷⁰ we shall see his acquisitiveness in another light. The Tudor state tended to impose upon its magnates all the financial burdens which it knew them capable of supporting.

Holgate had long worked in harmony with Hertford, the King's Lieutenant General in the North, and he continued to do so when Hertford had become Protector Somerset. When, however, in October 1549 Somerset fell before John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and later Duke of Northumberland, his position underwent an immediate change. Later on, he told the story of his quarrel with Dudley at considerable length. 'When he was the Warden of the Marcheis in the North⁷¹ he wrote to me in causes of dyvers light parsons offenders that I shulde forbear the ordre of justice, which I might not doo. And so I wrote to him accordinglye, and then he touke such displeasure with me, that for that and other suche like matters he put me furth of the rowme of the President and could laye no offence to my charge.'⁷²

65. *State Papers of Henry VIII*, v. 143-4, 148, 151, 168, 173; *L. & P.*, xiv (i) 147, (2). 684, 723-4; xv. 26; xvii. 622.

66. *L. & P.*, xx (i). 555.

67. *State Papers of Henry VIII*, v. 509. He is previously seen in Newcastle in 1539 (*L. & P.*, xiv (2). 249).

68. His attendances are duly attested in the *Lord's Journals*, but they contain little biographical information.

69. *Infra*, p. 358.

70. Cf. *infra*, p. 343.

71. Holgate's memory possibly betrayed him here. Dudley was appointed to the East and Middle Marches 20 April 1550, long after Holgate's fall. Bowes was referred to as Warden of the East March as late as 17 February 1550. (*Acts of the Privy Council, 1550-1552*, p. 6; 1547-1550, p. 393).

72. *Infra*, p. 359.

Somerset went to the Tower on 14 October 1549 and four days later Sir Richard Cotton was despatched to survey the North on behalf of the new party. By 29 November the Earl of Shrewsbury was already repairing the King's Manor and acting in effect as Lord President; he was spoken of as actually holding that office on 19 February 1550.⁷³

For the rest, Holgate's account seems probable enough. The suggestion offered by one modern historian that Dudley made a pretext of the rebellion of 1549 to remove Holgate has little basis; there is no reason for supposing that the 'light persons' were the Seamer rebels. At all events, Holgate proved completely powerless to resist a Privy Council dominated by Dudley, while the latter had clearly determined to remove Somerset's *protégés*, even at the cost of giving the Presidency as a bribe to the Catholic leader Shrewsbury, with whom he had formed a temporary cabal. Irrespective of his own actions, Holgate's tenure of the Presidency lay doomed from the day Dudley ousted Somerset: he was merely the victim of a reshuffle found necessary by an insecure and singularly unprincipled régime. With his fall the first great period of the northern Council came to an end. Under the absentee Shrewsbury, it relapsed into feeble ineffectiveness, from which it was only rescued in later years by the patient devotion of one of Holgate's former lieutenants, Sir Thomas Gargrave.⁷⁴

III THE ARCHBISHOP

During the last five years of his Presidency, Holgate had also held the Archbishopric of York. Having left him in 1537 as Bishop of Llandaff,⁷⁴ we must thence resume the thread of his ecclesiastical career. Initially he continued to enjoy the Priory of Watton *in commendam*, but between July 1538 and December 1539 he was called upon to co-operate in the surrender of the Gilbertine Order.⁷⁵ Like other eminent ex-monks, the Master of Sempringham - this office alone had been worth over £68 per annum⁷⁶ - was handsomely pensioned, receiving on 16 July 1541 a life grant of the Priory of Watton, eight of its manors and the Master's London 'headhouse' in the parish of St. Sepulchre's⁷⁷. Previously, on 26 June 1540 he had paid £276 for the house, the site and certain lands of Malton Priory⁷⁸. These two substantial acquisitions laid the foundations of his personal fortune.

73. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1547-1550*, pp. 344, 346, 363, 396.

74. Cf. Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-5.

74A. For interesting particulars of Llandaff diocesan affairs during Holgate's episcopate, cf. Lawrence Thomas, *The Reformation in the Old Diocese of Llandaff* (Cardiff, 1930), pp. 60-77. Holgate did his best to keep in touch with Llandaff through his Commissary William Baker and his Chancellor John Broxholme. John Bird, formerly provincial of the Carmelites and later Bishop of Chester, was his suffragan in Llandaff 1537-9. There seems no substance in the insinuation that Holgate profited from the destruction of the shrine of St. Teilo.

75. Dates and references in Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-4.

76. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v. 126.

77. *L. & P.*, xvi, p. 715.

78. *Ibid.*, xv. 831 (73) gives details.

To the liturgies and formularies compiled about this time, Holgate probably contributed little, since he was immersed in northern administration. In 1537 he appears with his episcopal colleagues on the commission which produced and signed the *Bishops' Book*, while three years later he joined the committee of six bishops which compiled the *Rationale of Ceremonial*⁷⁹. In 1542, amid the abortive plans for a revised version of the Scriptures, the writings of St. Peter were assigned to him, an interesting evidence of his academic standing, since the other contributors were scholars of known eminence.⁸⁰

Whatever Holgate's status among his brother ecclesiastics, his elevation to the See of York was prompted by considerations of royal service and royal economy. On 16 September 1544 Shrewsbury, then Lieutenant General in the North, Tunstall and Sadler notified the Privy Council of Archbishop Lee's death and suggested Holgate as his successor, since the King would thus promote an honest and painstaking man, while saving the Lord President's stipend: the archbishopric 'with the small things he enjoys in this country' would enable him to maintain the office of President⁸¹. Henry accepted these powerful arguments and in January 1545 renewed Holgate's presidential commission, while reducing his salary from £1000 to £300.⁸² During the same month he received consecration as Archbishop of York in Lambeth Chapel, Cranmer and the Bishops of Westminster and Chichester being present. The ceremony was liturgically unique, since Cranmer delivered to the Archbishop-elect a pall, the symbol of metropolitan jurisdiction normally given by the Pope - an unworldly anachronism rather than a conscious claim to exercise papal functions⁸³. At this service Holgate also took the lengthy oath accepting the Royal Supremacy and renouncing the authority of Rome; he was the first bishop to do so⁸⁴.

There followed the more mundane transactions which have called down upon Holgate the heated censures of several fierce ecclesiasts. In February 1545 he surrendered to the Crown the remaining jurisdictional franchises of the See of York and over sixty of its manors⁸⁵. Apart from the facts that he had no choice, and that similar transactions were forced on other new bishops, this surrender did not go unrequited; it remains strictly in accordance with Holgate's principles of state and his

79. Account and references in H. Maynard Smith, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, pp. 158-164, 386-394.

80. References in R. W. Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England*, ii. 286.

81. *L. & P.*, xix (2). 239.

82. *State Papers of Henry VIII*, v. 405. The £300 can scarcely have sufficed to provide the 'diets' of the Councillors and their servants as required here.

83. Stubbs in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1860, pt. ii, pp. 522-4 argues that Empereors and Kings of France had permitted Popes to bestow the *pallium*, originally an imperial, not a sacerdotal robe. The authority for the ceremony is Cranmer's Register, fo. 309. For the *congé d'élire* and other documents of the translation see Rymer, *Foedera*, xv. 60.

84. Printed in Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer* (edn. 1848), i. 289-293.

85. List in *L. & P.*, xx (i). 465 (39).

subsequent actions. The process had begun at York under his predecessor.⁸⁶ It was no mere spoliation but an exchange, since in return the Archbishops received very substantial grants of tithes, patronages and revenues which materially increased their power over their clergy and the whole ecclesiastical system of the North. In addition to this first exchange, a further grant of the same type was made by the Crown on 22 October, 1546⁸⁷, while in the same year the archbishop obtained release from the payment of firstfruits to the very large sum of £1,831, in consideration that his lands had been diminished.⁸⁸ The surrender of feudal franchises was a beneficent contribution to the work of state-building, which it was Holgate's specific duty, as President, to pursue. On the other hand, the acquisition of patronages seems to have appealed to him as a legitimate extension of his ecclesiastical powers, since he continued to pursue them. And few readers familiar with sumptuous Elizabethan or Georgian Bishopthorpe will shed bitter tears over this particular 'impoverishment' of the see. To the present writer, the transactions of 1545-6 seem defensible and indeed laudable: the Tudor state was intent upon a severe modification of prelatial as well as lay feudalism. Moreover, it was labouring through an expensive war and an inflationary spiral; it had little alternative to a series of capital levies upon the great and the wealthy, nobles, bishops and monasteries alike. It is in this light rather than in the parrot-phrase 'he impoverished his see' that we should view the exchanges made by the new prelate.

As archbishop and Lord President, Holgate inevitably became involved in both the destructive and the constructive actions of the Edwardian Reformation. He served on both the Yorkshire chantry commissions.⁸⁹ Though the schools and a number of endowments for assistant curates were there retained,⁹⁰ the general results of the confiscation cannot have gratified his proved zeal for education and preaching. Neither he nor any other bishop exercised control over the uses to which financially desperate politicians devoted the chantry lands, yet we should like information concerning his personal attitude toward this disappointing spectacle. The obedient civil servant supplying information to his opportunist chiefs; the munificent donor of schools and charities; these two may already have found it difficult to coexist in the person of Robert Holgate.

In the Journals of the House of Lords, he stands among those bishops ostensibly in favour of the First Edwardian Prayer Book.⁹¹ In 1551 he appears on a committee of Convocation to revise the Prayer Book, but again nothing is known of his participation. For the last and least de-

86. *L. & P.*, xviii (i). 266 (66).

87. *Ibid.*, xx (2). 332 (63).

88. *L. & P.*, *Addenda*, i. 1737.

89. *Surtees Soc.*, xci. 1-4; xcii. 371-2.

90. *Ibid.*, xci, pp. xiv-xv; xcii, pp. vii-x. These lists are incomplete: e.g. in P.R.O., E/36/59, p. 51 is a list of 'assystentes alowyd and appoyntyd to serve in certen grett cures in the Westr. of Yorkshyre.'

91. *Lords Journals*, i. 331.

fensible of the confiscatory acts - that concerning 'surplus' church goods - he and his brother clergy managed to avoid serving on the commissions.⁹²

There remain two other documents which throw more light on the difficult problem concerning his relationship with the Edwardian Reformers. In 1548 a committee of bishops and doctors were examined upon the offices of the church, particularly on the eucharist; they gave replies to a questionnaire, the resulting papers being annotated by Cranmer and ultimately printed by Burnet.⁹³ To questions on the central doctrine of the eucharist, Holgate's replies were distinctly more conservative than those of Cranmer. 'The oblation and sacrifice of Xte in the mass, is the presenting of the very body and blood of Christe to the heavenly Father, under the forms of bread and wine, consecrated in the remembrance of his passion with prayer and thanksgiving for the universal church'.⁹⁴ On the other hand, he wholeheartedly agreed that 'the gospel should be taught at the time of the mass' and that for this reason 'it were convenient to use such speech in the mass, as the people might well understand'.⁹⁵

This evangelical and scriptural emphasis finds still clearer expression in the archbishop's thirty injunctions for York Minster issued on 15 August, 1552.⁹⁶ The vicars choral and other junior clergy are bidden to 'give diligent ear' to the divinity lecture and to undergo examination by the prebendaries or by the reader, 'who shall examine them every month once at the least.' A schedule of preachers is drawn up and the rules of residence re-stated. The vicars and deacons are ordered to commit to memory every week 'one chapter of S. Paul's epistles in Latin after the translation of Erasmus, beginning at the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans'. The choristers must fortnightly learn one chapter of the Gospels or Acts, in English. Prebendaries, vicars and others are earnestly exhorted 'to prepare themselves affectuously' to receive the Lord's Supper. Every one of the vicars must have a New Testament and read a chapter after dinner and another after supper. Deacons refusing to study are to be expelled. Singing is to be plain and distinct, without repetitions; organ-playing is forbidden during divine service, but not at other times. The archbishop here shows no puritanical morosity; these rules are merely intended 'so that which shall be sung or read may be well heard and understood of the lay and ignorant people.' With similar scriptural zeal, he ordered the replacement of the tabernacles over the high altar by sentences of Holy Scripture. Particularly interesting is his attempt to modernize the Minster Library, since this article indicates the range of studies which he regarded at

92. *Surtees Soc.*, xcvi. 3.

93. *History of the Reformation*, ed. Pocock, v. 197 seqq. Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 127.

94. *Ibid.*, v. 201; cf. also his reply on p. 203, with its list of N.T. texts.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12. The spelling is obviously not original.

96. Holgate's Register, fos. 58-60, printed in *Alcuin Club Collections*, xv. 310 seqq., and in *York Cathedral Statutes* (1900), pp. 67 seqq.

this stage as essential to the New Learning. 'Also we will and command that the ancient doctors of the Church (those we call ancient that did write within 600 years after Christ's Ascension), Musculus' Commentaries upon Matthew and John⁹⁷, Brentius upon Luke⁹⁸, Calvin and Bullinger upon the Epistles, Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament be provided with all convenient speed so that they be placed in the Library on this side of the feast of Pentecost next ensuing by the Dean and Residentiaries of the Church of York, to the end that such as be not of ability to provide them, or that by other occasion have them not in readiness, may resort to the Common Library and there peruse them accordingly.'

These documents shed a little light upon the *via media* pursued by Holgate during the Edwardian Reformation. Dudley taunted him with papistry; Latimer did not approve of such statesmen-bishops, of whom, he significantly said in his *Sermon of the Plough*,⁹⁹ 'some are presidents'. On the other hand Holgate's attitude remained basically evangelical. He saw that conservative eucharistic doctrine could be maintained, while yet the manifest ignorance of clergy and laity might be attacked by the vernacular Scriptures. Very sensibly, he wanted the best of both worlds. Had others in authority proved capable of this good English common sense, the story of our Reformation would have been happier. At each stage, Holgate's words and actions suggest a reasonable and pious mind, yet one whose ambitions were governed by a statesmanlike sense of duty, rather than by any ardent religious experience, past or present. Had he arrived thirty years later, he would have made an excellent Elizabethan bishop.

The Injunctions of 1552 form the most attractive item of an otherwise singularly scrappy and jejune Register, which, like so many of its period, gives a most incomplete picture of diocesan administration. The latter was in fact adapted to function in the absence of these civil service bishops, who, after all, had been fairly common phenomena for several centuries. Holgate's secular duties did not mean that the diocese went untended, for he had a whole galaxy of subordinates: suffragans¹⁰⁰, vicars-general, receivers-general, official principals, notaries and apparitors. Clergy were ordained and instituted, wills proved, children confirmed, courts held, sinners ordered penance, while the notaries scribbled it all down in their spidery hands over thousands of pages. The ancient mechanism continued to grind along through these

97. Published first in 1544 and 1545 respectively, by Wolfgang Musculus, the Lutheran exegete (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s.v.).

98. By the Lutheran Johann Brenz, who published several commentaries. I suspect this refers to his homilies on the Acts, not to a work on St. Luke's Gospel (edns. 1535, 1541; cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Printed Books*, s.v. Brentz).

99. Latimer, *Sermons* (*Everyman*), p. 62.

100. Robert Pursglove was active in the diocese between his appointment as Bishop of Hull, 29 December 1538, to his death 2 May 1579 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). On bishops with titles *in partibus* see *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xxiv. 248-9.

decades of strife and change, which altered it so little: no individual life in the diocese lay immune from its working.¹⁰¹

Holgate's most fruitful action as archbishop was the foundation by letters patent in 1546 of his three schools at York, Hemsworth and Old Malton.¹⁰² Their respective foundation-deeds are similar, but variously dated and by no means identical.¹⁰³ They constitute an important monument of the New Learning and are drafted with such extreme care and forethought as to suggest close personal attention and excellent legal advice. The statutes of the York School may conveniently be used to illustrate some aspects of the founder's educational doctrine. He expressly states that the mastership may be granted 'as well to temporal or lay persons, married or unmarried, as to priests or other within orders, being apt and meet for the same'. Such a provision cannot in fact claim originality, for laymen had sometimes served as schoolmasters in the previous century; Colet in founding St. Paul's had provided similarly to Holgate; at Sevenoaks, priests, and at Manchester, monks, were explicitly debarred from serving¹⁰⁴. Under Holgate's statutes the master had to have 'understanding in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin tongues' and teach them to scholars whom he judged apt. This is claimed as the first school statute to prescribe Hebrew, though its inclusion in the curriculum was fairly widespread from about this period down to the Restoration¹⁰⁵.

The master's chief duty remained, of course, to teach Latin to all his pupils. The limitation of these schools to secondary, as distinct from primary, education is made perfectly clear. Both the master and the usher are expressly ordered to teach written Latin and exonerated from obligation to instruct any scholar who cannot read. Between 25 March and 29 September school is to begin within half-an-hour of six o'clock, continue until eleven, recommence at one and close at six. During the remainder of the year it ran, with a similar break for dinner, from seven until five. The schoolmaster and usher are bound to continual presence in school, except for 'honest, necessary or reasonable causes'. The daily psalms and collects are meticulously prescribed. On Sundays the schoolmaster must sit with his charges in the Minster or the local parish

101. On the history of diocesan institutions in the York diocese see J. S. Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York* and *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Records* (St. Anthony's Press, 1953).

102. Pat. Hen. VIII p. 12 m. 30; *L. & P.* xxi (2), p. 332 (72). The York deed is dated 10 January 1547; that of Malton 4 May 1547; that of Hemsworth 24 May 1548.

103. The York deed is printed in *Archbishop Holgate Soc. Record Series*, no. 1. For an account of all three documents cf. Nicholas Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales* (1818), ii, 817, 858, 919. Thomas Norman the first master of Malton was almost certainly the former prior of Mattersey, hence an old fellow-Gilbertine of the founder.

104. A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 55-7, 90.

105. Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice*, ch. xxxii.

church and 'cause his said Scholars (except such as shall sing in the choir) two and two of them devoutly to say their matins together and seven psalms or to be reading of Scriptures and that done to be reciting over such things as they have learned and to be other ways well occupied during the time of Service in the said Church'. The school's business-management is no less sedulously controlled: leases of its property are not to exceed twelve years.¹⁰⁶ Rents and gressoms due from tenants are not to be enhanced. The proceeds from these latter are to be placed in a strong-box with four keys, held respectively by the Dean and Chapter, the Mayor, the Sub-Treasurer and the Schoolmaster. This fund is specially earmarked for repairs and maintenance.

The varied histories of these three useful foundations cannot detain us here; in general it may be said that they did good service according to the founder's plan for more than a couple of centuries, after which they suffered a period of neglect in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before being restored in recent times.

In his Apology Holgate asserts that 'further he haith erecte three free scholes, for every one of theme a scole maister and an ussher, of his owne purchaised landes graunted in mortemayne by Kinge Henrye the Eight and haith bene an occasion to sett up two moo in the dyocis of Yorke.'¹⁰⁷ Of those which he assisted to found or preserve, one was East Retford¹⁰⁸; another which he probably helped over difficult days was Sedbergh, since St. John's, Cambridge, sent him a letter composed by Roger Ascham on 12 September 1544, soliciting his help for the master of Sedbergh, whose endowment was then being threatened.¹⁰⁹ It would not be surprising to learn that the refoundation of Pocklington School by Act of Parliament in 1551 owed something to Holgate's help: the Archbishop and St. John's College are again associated in its control.¹¹⁰ He was also a benefactor of Kirby Ravensworth School and Hospital.^{110a}

In addition to his admirable work for the schools of Yorkshire, Holgate claimed in his Apology to have spent considerable sums on alms, on 'distribucion to boith the universities', to the inns of court and 'for fyndinge poore men's children meate, drinke, cloith, lodginge, lernynge' and he concluded, 'I refer that to theme that haith laid owte such chargies for me, for bycause I delight not in talke of no such matters for vanytie'.¹¹¹

Concerning his friendships with men of learning and eminence we know a little and may possibly discover more. A letter (11 June 1549)

106. Except to 'some of my kinsmen or servants', and 'to them not above 21 years'.

107. *Infra*, p. 358.

108. Cf. *Victoria Co. Hist., Notts.*, ii. 240; Holgate's Register, fos. 53-57v has a copy of the school's foundation charter.

109. Printed in *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Record Series*, xxxiii. 337-8.

110. Cf. P. C. Sands and C. M. Haworth, *A History of Pocklington School*, pp. 20-21; A. F. Leach in *Transactions, East Riding Antiq. Soc.*, v. 85 *seqq.*

110a. T. D. Whitaker, *Hist. of Richmondshire*, i. 120-21.

111. *Infra*. p. 358

of the famous naturalist William Turner, later Dean of Wells, relates that he had been invited by the archbishop to stay with him in Yorkshire. In February 1550 Turner was in fact given the prebend of Botevant and held it for over two years before settling down in Wells¹¹². Among Holgate's executors was another famous naturalist and physician, Edward Wotton, President of the Royal College of Physicians, who acquired a European reputation by his *De Differentiis Animalium* (1552) and died in the same year as Holgate.¹¹³

The present writer can now add a few particulars to his former account¹¹⁴ of Holgate's marriage and its curious sequels. In his Apology to the Marians, the archbishop sought to depict it as an official *mariage de convenance*: 'that he being of the aige of threescore and eight yeares married a gentilwoman called Barbara Wenteworth¹¹⁵ by the counsell of Edwarde then Duke of Somersett and for feare of the laite Duke of Northumberlande using to call him papiste, and he thought verelye then that he myght have done soo by Godes lawes and the Kinges'.¹¹⁶ Robert Parkyn, curate of Adwick-le-Street, tells us in his reactionary narrative of the Reformation that the banns were published at Bishopthorpe, and at Adwick, the bride's parish, in Christmas week 1549, and that 'the saide Archebishoppe and Barbara was jonyde to gether in mariage at Byschoppthorpe the 15 day of Ianuary... though they were maryede before secreattly, as the heretyk Doctor Tonge reportyde in the Kynges Majestie his cowrte, yea and that he dyd solemnizaitt the sacramentt of matrimony unto tham his selffe'.¹¹⁷ Parkyn also correctly remarks that 'Barbara was before tyme maryede in her childheade unto a yunge gentilman namyde Anthony Norman' and that the Holgate marriage consequently 'turnyde to grett trouble and besynes after wardes'. We have very recently located among the York Diocesan Records some of the cause papers¹¹⁸ of a nullity suit brought by Barbara Wentworth against her 'husband' Anthony Norman, gentleman, of Arksey. This suit was being heard, presumably in the Chancery Court of York, by Dr. John Rokeby on 2 and 4 May 1549. Three rolls survive: (1) the responses of Norman to the depositions in the *libellum* made against him on behalf of Barbara, (2) questions put on Norman's behalf to the witnesses produced for Barbara, and (3) the lengthy and repetitive evidence of these witnesses in reply. Unfortunately we have no actual *libellum* for either party, and no sentence concluding the case.

112. Further details and references in C. E. Raven, *English Naturalists from Neckham to Ray*, p. 99.

113. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

114. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lii. 428 *seqq.*

115. Daughter of Roger Wentworth of Hamthwaite, Adwick-le-Street, a younger son of Wentworth of Elmsall. For references to him in visitations, etc., cf. *ibid.*, lii. 430, n.4. His will, proved 27 October 1551, is in York Probate Registry, xiii, fo. 790; main particulars in Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i. 356.

116. *Infra*. p. 355.

117. Parkyn's narrative is fully printed *supra*, pp. 287 *seqq.* For these passages see pp. 300-1.

118. R. VII. G. 404.

Under these circumstances our new evidence comes from the replies of Barbara's uncles, Thomas and Christopher Wentworth, her brother Thomas, Thomas Cavell an ex-servant of the family, Robert Johnson a present servant, Barnaby Skeyr of Brodsworth, John Robinson of Doncaster and Richard Binkes of Adwick. Amid the endless repetitions and differences of emphasis, the following facts are clearly agreed by all, or several witnesses. A marriage - though under what forms is not specified - had been duly solemnised before numerous witnesses in the parish church of Adwick eighteen years since, when Barbara was only five and Anthony Norman seven years of age. Thereafter they had lived together in her father's house at Adwick until five or six years ago. Since attaining twelve years, the age of discretion, Barbara had been several times urged and 'examined' by her relatives, but had consistently refused to regard Anthony as her husband, saying repeatedly before several witnesses that she would never do so 'because she coulde not fynde in hir harte to love hym'. Evidence appeared that he had accepted this position. There was no evidence of consummation, or that she had ever treated him differently from other persons. Cavell had indeed seen Anthony kiss Barbara, 'but it was whan that he had bene fourth of the Towne'. Of late years, Norman had lived at Arksey, visiting the Wentworths from time to time. On the other hand, the 'lowe pepill ther-aboutes' thought of them as man and wife, because 'they were married in the face of the churche'.

On the extant evidence, Norman's case looks very weak in canon law, which stated unequivocally that marriages of infants were null, unless consented to by the parties after reaching the age of discretion. This age is given by Lyndwood as seven, but only *quoad sponsalia*; *quoad matrimonium*, the boy's consent had to be given after fourteen, and the girl's after twelve¹¹⁹. Hence came the strenuous attempt of Norman to obtain evidence that they had lived together and had been regarded as married persons after attaining these latter ages. Yet so far as this evidence goes, he could scarcely have proved valid *sponsalia*, let alone *matrimonium*, since he himself admitted that she was under seven when the church ceremony took place. At all events, this case must have gone against Norman: otherwise the archbishop would never have married her openly a few months later. Parkyn's story about a previous secret marriage by Dr. Tongue may be true. It seems likely that Tongue visited South Yorkshire in 1547-8,¹²⁰ though he was buried on 2 September 1549, and we know of no case in the 'Kyngs Majestie his cowrtt', previous to that date.

Less than two years later, Anthony Norman re-entered the fray by taking his case up to the Privy Council. If we identify him with a man of that unusual name who occurs frequently in the Doncaster court-

119. The authorities are set out in E. Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (1761), p. 415.

120. *Alcuin Club Collections*, xv. 171-5; cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lii. 431-2.

rolls, he was about this time deeply in debt.¹²¹ We cannot believe that he really wanted the consistently unresponsive Barbara as his wife, and it seems all too likely that, hearing of a similar action against the Bishop of Winchester,¹²² he was intent to extract substantial damages from the wealthy prelate of York. The Privy Council appears to have been initially impressed, but it cannot long have entertained his claims. On 20 November 1551 it issued a peremptory order to Holgate and his wife to come immediately to London. Three days later it cancelled this order and sent a letter to Holgate's former colleagues, Gargrave, Chaloner and Rokeby, to enquire into the case and report on it.¹²³ The favourable outcome is indicated by the fact that officialdom continued to smile upon the archbishop's marriage until the end of the reign. On 16 April 1553, for example, the Council ordered the Chancellor of Augmentations to sell substantial lands to Holgate and his wife, in survivorship, the remainder to the archbishopric.¹²⁴ On 27 May the patent roll shows a grant of the manor of Scrooby on the same terms.¹²⁵ The whole story of Holgate's marriage, undignified as it is, places in a still more ludicrous light the numerous historians who have accused Holgate of filching another man's wife! At the same time, the more conservative of the northern clergy unquestionably regarded the marriage with scandal. We have on this score not merely the reactions of Robert Parkyn, but also the story of John Houseman, a diehard among the junior clergy of the Minster, who later petitioned the Marian government for damages against Holgate. This man himself became a persecutor, a *protégé* of Bonner and other extremists; we have only his own word that Holgate unjustly impeded his career on account of his hostile views.¹²⁶

During the closing years of Edward's reign, Holgate's worries arose in fact from the opposite quarter, in particular from the scheming and aggressive Dudley, who had already ejected him from the Presidency. In his Apology, Holgate tells at length how the Duke then purchased the reversion of the Watton lands and demanded to see the archbishop's title deeds. On being refused Dudley was 'in a greate raige' and attempted, again unsuccessfully, to force the surrender of Watton in return for a fee farm. After many further manœuvres, Holgate finally in 1553 offered to lease Watton to Dudley, on three conditions: (1) that since the archbishops lacked a house in Nottinghamshire, Dudley would help Holgate purchase Scrooby for them, (2) that he would arrange the recall of a certain unfavourable lease, and (3) that he would facilitate a sale or gift by the King of £600 worth of patronages, while restoring other patronages of colleges, prebends and hospitals wrongfully taken from the

121. *Calendar to the Records of Doncaster*, ii. 104, 120, 124, 128, 133. Arksey adjoins Doncaster.

122. Machyn, *Diary*, p. 8; *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 70.

123. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1550-1552*, pp. 421, 426-7.

124. *Ibid.*, 1552-1554, p. 256.

125. *Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, v. 298-9. Harvey's visitation of 1552 shows Holgate's arms impaling Wentworth (*Surtees Soc.*, cxxii. 55).

126. This story is fully dealt with *supra*, p. 83 *seqq.*

archbishops. For the patronages Holgate offered to give the £600, 'or els better' present the Duke with the manor of Huggate. Faced by these offers, Dudley thereupon said he thought he could satisfy Holgate immediately over Scrooby and, for the rest, trusted he might be able to do so shortly. Soon afterwards Scrooby was consigned to the archbishop¹²⁷, who then unwillingly proceeded with the Watton lease, bewailing the fact that he would now lose £200 per annum if the other conditions went unfulfilled. In fact, Holgate may have driven a better bargain than he implies in this narrative, since in the inventory of his effects seized by the Marian government¹²⁸ occurs 'an obligation of 1000 pounds for performance of covenants of the duke's partie'.

The story of these long and tortuous negotiations with his all-powerful and unscrupulous enemy shows that Holgate by no means lacked tenacity in defence of the interests of his see, and indeed, proved ready to part with his personal funds in order to advance those interests. Had Dudley honoured his agreement in full - as he might have done but for his fall later in the year - the archbishops would have gained not merely a Nottinghamshire residence but another large group of advowsons. As already suggested, it is in the acquisition of patronage that we observe an essential feature of Holgate's constructive policy for the see of York.

IV. THE LAST PHASE

The Marian Revolution, which swept away the rash gambler Dudley, could bring nothing but disaster to his victim Robert Holgate. On 3 August 1553 Mary rode triumphantly into London, and though the archbishop did not fall with the first batch of prominent divines, he was committed to the Tower on 4 October 'for diverse his offences'.¹²⁹ His former friend Tunstall emerged from captivity to become one of his judges. The Commission¹³⁰ to deprive him and three other married bishops, also former religious,¹³¹ speaks vaguely of their 'grave and enormous crimes and sins', but makes it clear that marriage 'after express profession of chastity' stood pre-eminent among these offences.¹³² Holgate suffered deprivation on 16 March 1554¹³³. Sometime during his imprisonment he completed an inventory of plate, jewellery and records of debts due to him, these all being kept at his house in Battersea. The list includes gold coin to the value of £300; the 'specialties of good debts' £400; plate to the weight of 1600 oz.; a mitre of gold and several

127. *Cal. Pat., Edw. VI*, v. 298-9.

128. *Cf. infra*, p. 348.

129. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1552-1554*, p. 354, Machyn, *Diary*, p. 46.

130. Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, ed. Pocock, v. 386; Rymer, *Foedera*, xv. 370. This is dated 13 March.

131. Ferrar of St. David's, formerly Prior of Nostell; Bird of Chester, Provincial of the Carmelites and Bush of Bristol, Provincial of the order of Bons Hommes.

132. The *sede vacante* register of Canterbury also makes it clear that he was deprived *coniugii causa* (W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, p. 165).

133. Machyn, *Diary*, p. 58.

fine rings. This same document¹³⁴ then proceeds to a much longer list of monies, livestock and goods seized by Ellis Markham at Cawood and other residences of the archbishop. Holgate here charges Markham with selling off 200 quarters of wheat, 500 quarters of malt and large amounts of oats, wine, salt fish and other household stores. He also alleges that Markham 'gave money away to diverse such as might have nothing, to the value of 100 pounds and above, as I am credibly informed, and for the purpose, as I think, that such should give information against [me of] treason or other inconveniences'.

This lengthy schedule, which affords so vivid a picture of Holgate's sumptuous belongings, was apparently annexed to a bill of complaint sent before the Lords. The writer subsequently added a postscript bringing to date the confiscations of the energetic Markham. Regarding this latter official, Holgate's account can hardly claim to be unemotional. Ellis Markham, whose fine tomb is preserved in his home parish of Laneham, Nottinghamshire, was twice knight of the shire, a justice of the peace and *custos rotulorum* in the reign of Mary.¹³⁵ He must on this occasion have been acting as official sequestrator of the diocese of York. In view of Holgate's long imprisonment, and the great gains which his attainer would have brought to the Crown, it seems not improbable that Markham also had orders to pursue the possibilities of a charge of treason. In addition Markham was a tenant of the see and had been a servant to Archbishop Lee,¹³⁶ if not to Holgate himself. In later years Archbishop Young unsuccessfully brought an action against Markham for putting forward a slanderous bill to the Council in the North.¹³⁷ Though we should not go to Holgate for an impartial account of his character, the Nottinghamshire J.P. may have been a less inoffensive personality than the family historian of the Markhams has urged.

In the middle or later months of 1554 Holgate wrote his Apology, the major features of which have already received mention. Years ago, the present writer called it a 'cringing' document, yet this now seems a severe judgment in view of the abject supplications then forthcoming and expected,¹³⁸ and again in view of Holgate's aims and exigencies. Here he puts forward a powerful justification for his career, hopes even for restitution and apologises for one thing alone: the marriage, 'his onely fault'.¹³⁹ However unromantic and inconsistent, this profession may well have been sincere. For many decades to come, clerical marriage continued to be widely regarded as a bold innovation and in view of his original oath of chastity, Holgate may have seen

134. Corpus Christi Cambridge MS 105 (34), printed inaccurately in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825 (1), pp. 596-7.

135. Cf. for many, but incomplete, particulars, D. F. Markham, *A History of the Markham Family* (1854), pp. 51, 92, 115-6.

136. Lee calls him 'my servant Elice Markham' (*L. & P.*, xix (2). 113) on 20 August 1544, only a few months before Holgate's succession.

137. References in Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

138. Compare e.g. the grovelling tone of the Duke of Norfolk in prison (*L. & P.*, xxi (2), p. xlvii).

Divine judgment in his misfortunes. Again, the Apology is throughnour preoccupied to recover its author's properties, yet this cannot justly be stigmatised as avarice, since Holgate certainly desired to save his schools and to found his hospital at Hemsworth. Thus far, one may defend this curious document with a clear conscience. Yet even allowing for the fact that Holgate had never been an extreme Reformer, one sentence at least seems unworthy and undignified. It crystallises the weakness of his group and most of his generation: 'Item whereas manye other standith in like maner depryved as he is, yet he thinketh that he haith more to say for his restitution then they have, beinge moche further gone amysse in religion than he was and with obstynacie'.¹⁴⁰ We probably mistake his mental condition if we suppose he wrote this sentence insincerely to save his skin and his properties. Rather is it likely that his Protestantism had collapsed, that the old man was convinced of its error by misfortune. This lack of 'civil courage' is all too characteristic of the mid-Tudor generation. Too few of their minds had developed a hard core, impenetrable to the blows of fate, proof against the commands of principalities and powers. Too often were they oppressed by the un-Christian belief that worldly misfortune shows the wrath of God against the sufferer. As for Holgate, *par excellence* the Servant of the Prince, he was especially ill-adjusted to an age of revolutions. Destined to prominence by ambition, ability and industry, he possessed an insufficient range of firmly-rooted principles to dominate the inner and the outer crises of the Reformation. His zeal for learning, charity and justice existed upon a noble scale, yet outside these spheres he shared in some measure the vulgar foibles of the Henrican age: opportunism, success-worship and a certain lack of the reticence which springs from spiritual generosity.

Holgate addressed his Apology to the Privy Council through Sir Richard Southwell, an eminent Catholic who in 1550 had suffered imprisonment at the hands of the Edwardians. He concluded it by offering a thousand pounds to the Queen; his release accordingly took place on 18 January 1555¹⁴¹. On that day the Privy Council held a session in the Tower and bound him in the enormous sum of 20,000 marks to 'good abearing, ordre and fyne at pleasure'.¹⁴² On the following 14 July, it summoned him to reappear two days later, but no record of the sequel appears¹⁴³. We also lack further trustworthy information concerning his wife Barbara¹⁴⁴. During the ten months of life which remained after

139. *Infra* 357-62

140. *Ibid.*, p. 357.

141. Machyn, *Diary*, p. 80. Burnet is mistaken in supposing that Philip brought about Holgate's release 'at his coming over' (*op. cit.*, ii. 441). He had come in the previous July. At the release of this group of prisoners 'ther was grett shottynge of guns.'

142. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1554-1556*, p. 90.

143. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

144. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1800 asserts she had borne two children to Holgate, but was restored to Anthony Norman on the archbishop's fall. Since, however, the same writer relates that Holgate was restored to

his release, the fallen prelate would scarcely have dared to renew relations with her and whatever his true sentiments - or secret provisions - he could not include her in his will.

By this last remarkable document¹⁴⁵ drawn up on 27 April 1555, Holgate crowned the tale of his good works by the foundation of the hospital of Hemsworth. Once again the arrangements are made with great care and foresight. Strategic bequests go to various notabilities and friends to ensure the due execution of the plan, which occupies almost the whole of the will and obviously formed the dominant interest of the testator's last months. He gives to his executors¹⁴⁶ the site and demesne lands of Old Malton, the site, manor and lands of Yeddingham, together with other specified lands and houses in Huggate, Hemsworth, Felkirk, York, Bishopthorpe, Newcastle and elsewhere, to the purpose that the executors should erect in Hemsworth a hospital of one master in priest's orders and twenty brethren and sisters over sixty years of age 'or else blynde or lame persons'. Due provision is made for the election and continual residence of the master, the building of his house, the provision of his salary, the choice of inmates and the erection of a 'long house with so manye severall particions as will serve to the said brethren and systers for their cohabitation and dwellinge in the same hospitall'. The founder showed himself understandably nervous concerning the Queen's attitude toward his plans. He thus made the Earl of Arundel supervisor, with a large bequest of £40; he also bequeathed £20 each to John Throgmorton, Master of Bequests, and to Mr. Cordell, the Queen's Solicitor, 'that they wil be meanes unto her gratelys highnes that I, and, if it may please Almightye God to call me in that meane season to his infynite marcie oute of this tempesteous and troublesome worlde, myne executours maye enyoie all my plate, goodes, cattalles and landes as they haught by the lawes and statutes of this her graceis noble realme'. Fortunately for the aged poor of Hemsworth, where the hospital flourishes to this day, the testator's intentions were duly fulfilled.¹⁴⁷

Holgate seems to have spent the last months of his life in the former Master of Sempringham's 'headhouse' in Cow Lane in the parish of St. Sepulchre's¹⁴⁸. At an inquisition *post mortem* held on 11 May 1556, the

his dignity after his release, and that he died at Hemsworth, we cannot accept his unsupported statements. A Yorkshire Robert Holgate matriculated at Cambridge in 1558 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* s.v.) but the dates make it unlikely he was a son and the Archbishop's heir was a nephew. Married monks were normally divorced by the Marian ecclesiastical courts.

145. Somerset House copy, printed in *Surtees Soc.*, cxvi, 232-5; York Minster Library copy, in *Archbishop Holgate Soc. Record Series*, ii, 22-4.

146. Sir Wm. Petre, Thos. Gawdye serjeant at the law, Sir Thos. Gargrave, Dr. Edward Wotton, John Broxholme gent., John Golding clerk, and Thos. Spencer of Old Malton. On these, see the notes by F. H. Woodward in *ibid.*, p. 24.

147. For the processes whereby the will was executed in 1556-7 see *Cal. Pat. Philip and Mary*, iii, 341-2, 471-2.

148. Cow Lane ran S.W. out of West Smithfield into Snow Hill. On Holgate's properties there see also *L. & P.*, xvi, p. 715.

jurors testified that the former archbishop had been seised of this capital messuage, together with eight adjacent houses and gardens to the clear annual value of £12. He had died there on the previous 15 November and his heir was his nephew, Thomas Holgate, aged over 40, son and heir of Henry Holgate of Clayton deceased.¹⁴⁹ If we read correctly between the lines of this document and of his will, the last days were neither indigent nor friendless. He had willed 'my bodye to be buried in the parishe church within the parishe wherof it shall please Almightye God to take me oute of this transitorie lief to his great mercie, where I will that my funerals shalle done be withoute worldlie pompe, pride or vanitie.' We may hence presume that his remains lie buried in the church or churchyard of St. Sepulchre's, the registers of which unfortunately perished in the Great Fire.

Throughout this brief biography the writer has ventured several verdicts upon particular issues. A brief summing-up may hence suffice; indeed, no appraisal made on the basis of our inadequate knowledge of motive may claim to approach true finality. We have attempted to expose the absurd nature of many criticisms brought against Robert Holgate by ignorant or prejudiced commentators. Despite all those apologies, we cannot place him among the great churchmen of his age, since, however genuine and practical his piety, he shows little evidence of the spiritual gifts and graces appropriate to so exalted a station. We take him to have been first and foremost a distinguished and devoted administrator under the Crown. As one of its lions of justice, he played a noteworthy part in guarding the emergence of the modern English state, a development which we too often take for granted, and which recent research attaches with increasing emphasis to this group of men originally headed by Thomas Cromwell¹⁵⁰. For students who appreciate the stern needs of that young sovereignty, Holgate's work on the King's Council in the North requires no apology. Those who fail to appreciate them have thereby failed to grasp the main significance of Tudor history. And again, though one may call this conciliar work a process of modernization, Holgate's rôle derives also from the age-old tradition set by former English ecclesiastical statesmen. He stands at the end of one sequence, at the beginning of another. In the same older tradition, he ranks as a late example of the medieval founder-prelate, to whom our earlier schools, colleges and charities stand so deeply indebted, and whose solid services to humanity rank far above those of many a turbulent zealot.

Nevertheless, despite these two positive and lasting achievements, Holgate's reputation has - at least outside his own foundations - been

149. Inq. p.m. 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, p.2, no. 30, calendared in *Index Library*, xv. 142. Henry Holgate of Clayton was buried at Barnsley in 1543; his will is in York Probate Registry xi, fo. 688. Thomas Holgate might prove identical with the yeoman of that name of South Kirkby who died 1582 (*ibid.*, xxii, fo. 209).

150. Cf. especially G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (1953).

shabbily maintained. The reasons are not hard to find. In his day no man could render perfect service to both Church and Crown ; an archbishop who gave Caesar rather more than his due could hope for little charity from those who dared to write the history of the Reformation without understanding the nature and importance of the State. Holgate was also a moderate and hence beloved by neither school of religious gladiators. Having prolonged his life and saved his foundations only at the price of a change of front, he was inevitably outshone in the pages of Protestant history by the martyrs, his patient, opportunist legalism dulled by the fires of Smithfield. He proved useless to John Foxe and did not happen to acquire a George Cavendish ; the Elizabethans remembered little about him, while the Queen, notoriously ungrateful to her contemporary servants, wasted no time in recollecting those who in earlier days had made her dynasty great. Even the entry books of the northern Council, which should have provided his monument, have suffered destruction. In more recent times our subject has fallen victim to regional ' patriots ' and monastic specialists oblivious to the shortcomings of sixteenth century monasticism and of the neo-feudal forces which posed as its ally. His wealth, too, proved a stumbling block, even though legitimately acquired and expended in public service and beneficence. The materialism which won renown for the founder-prelate-statesman of the later Middle Ages somehow became indecent in a married ex-monk of the sixteenth century. To redeem all this would have needed at least a martyr's crown ! Doubtless historians will revise many of these faded values and verdicts. Such human and unspectacular figures should increasingly attract our attentions and our sympathies. Our age is also one of gradualism, administrative reform and social conditioning ; we too have sensed the fragilities of human society, the need for the rule of law. We are attempting on a vast stage what Robert Holgate accomplished on a small one. Like us, he was addicted to peace and decency, order and justice ; armed with no fanaticism, no supernatural courage, he groped his way toward these sober ideals through the mists and passions of a violent age.



The Coronation Medal of Edward VI (Obverse)

Archbishop Holgate's Apology

THE lengthy petition addressed by Archbishop Holgate to the Marian government,¹ though primarily of importance in connexion with the career and character of the archbishop himself, affords in addition a vivid glimpse of the activities of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and thence of certain aspects of the Edwardian reformation. Particularly, since the

¹ Publ. Rec. Off., S.P. ii. 6, fos. 133-6.

Calendar of Domestic State Papers devotes only six lines ¹ to this document of over six large pages, the case for printing it seems strong.

Difficulties have arisen regarding the date of the petition, since the original is undated. The *Calendar* ascribes it to the year 1555 and, with a query, to the month of December. This date cannot be even approximately correct. It will be seen that Holgate concludes with an offer of a thousand pounds for 'my libertie and that I may be restored to celebracion'.² We know him to have been released from the Tower, where he had lain since October 1553,³ on 18 January 1555,⁴ and to have died on 15 November of that year.⁵ His mention of 'the Parlyament holden at Westminster in Lent was a twelvemonth' (i.e. a year last Lent) provides a clue as to date. This can scarcely be a reference to any but the session of 1-31 March 1553.⁶ The date of the petition is hence limited to the middle or later months of 1554 and the first few days of January 1555. If, as appears very likely, this petition contributed to Holgate's release,⁷ a date in the vicinity of December 1554 remains very probable. Both the preamble and the main body of the petition are in the same hand, and one which bears little or no resemblance to that of Holgate. Judging, nevertheless, by the material comprised, the whole was personally dictated by the deprived archbishop. Midway in the document the pretence of the third person is dropped and the first takes its place.⁸

An article on Holgate in an earlier number of this journal,⁹ together with the notes subjoined to the text, will perhaps render unnecessary more than a few words of interpretation. Grave

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-1580*, p. 74.

² Fos. 135^v-136; cf. *infra*, pp. 458-9.

³ *Acts of the Privy Council* (later cited as *A.P.C.*), 1552-4, p. 354; Machyn, *Diary*, p. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 80. On that day the council held a session in the Tower and bound Holgate in the sum of 20,000 marks to 'good abearing, ordre and fyne at pleasure' (*A.P.C. 1554-6*, p. 90). On the following 14 July he was summoned to appear before the council two days later (*ibid.* p. 160), but no record of the sequel remains.

⁵ *Inq. post mortem*, 2 and 3 Ph. and Mary, p. 2, no. 30, printed in *London and Middlesex Archeol. Soc. Trans.*, ser. II, i. 142. It might in addition be observed that Holgate would not have pleaded for restoration to his see after 19 February 1555 when the *congé d'élire* was issued for his successor Heath (*Cal. Pat. Ph. and Mary*, ii. 11).

⁶ The only other possibility, the session of 23 January-15 April 1552, would hardly be described as 'holden in Lent'.

⁷ It was not the first attempt he made to attract the attention of authority. An inventory of Holgate's goods in Corpus Christi Cambridge MS. 105 (34) (printed in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825 (1), pp. 595-7), is stated to be 'annexed to the bill of complaint before the Lords'. This complaint was presumably directed against the government agent Ellis Markham, who is repeatedly mentioned in the inventory as confiscating property of the archbishop.

⁸ Fo. 134^v; cf. *infra*, p. 358. The same change takes place in the inventory of goods mentioned in the previous note (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825 (1), p. 597).

⁹ *Ante*, lii. 428-42.

prejudices regarding the actual attitude of Holgate might, however, arise were this document to be read out of its context. In the light of his career and known character it seems, for example, unlikely that Holgate's professions of regret for his marriage and for his support of the reforming party were insincere. A monk who accepted high offices late in life, he had embraced advanced notions at least partly out of that subserviency to governments so deeply ingrained in his nature. The story of his relations with Dudley, though saying little for Holgate's firmness, remains sufficiently circumstantial and characteristic of both men to carry conviction. The cringing attitude of the petition itself will not be deemed unnatural in an aged and never very courageous man, who, after over a year in the Tower, was anxious to spend his last days at liberty. Even his at first sight unseemly anxiety to recover his lands and goods may largely, if not wholly, be justified by reference to the beneficent and unselfish schemes which he certainly had in view. In his will, dated 27 April 1555, Holgate completed the already considerable tale of his good works by devoting his remaining means to the foundation of an almshouse at his native Hemsworth.¹

(Fo. 133.) Articles of Roberte the lait archbusshoppe of Yorke to the right honorable Sir Richarde Sowthwell, Knight, one of the Quenes Majesties most honourable Pryvie Councell.²

In primis, the said Robert saith that he beinge of the aige of threescoore and eight yeares married a gentilwoman called Barbara Wentworth by the councell of Edwarde then the Duke of Somersett and for feare of the laite Duke of Northumberlande using to call him papiste and he thought verelye then that he myght have done soo by Godes lawes and the Kinges.³

Item, he saith that certayne busshopps being the Quenes Maiesties commissioners deprieved him of the said archebusshopprike for the same and suspended hym frome celebracion, boithe sore againste his will,⁴

¹ *Surtees Soc.* cxvi. 232-5. For the processes by which this will was finally executed, see *Cal. Pat. Ph. and Mary*, iii. 341-2, 471-2.

² On Southwell, cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* While profiting from the Henrican changes, he retained Romanist sympathies which resulted in a three months' imprisonment in 1550. Mary rewarded his loyalty by a pension and various offices. While thus not of Holgate's party, he may have been a personal friend. Southwell was amongst those councillors present when Holgate was released from the Tower (*A.P.C. 1554-6*, p. 90).

³ On the somewhat complex problems surrounding Holgate's marriage with Barbara, daughter of Roger Wentworth of Elmsall, Yorks, cf. *ante*, lii. 428-37. The Yorkshire writer Robert Parkyn dates the official marriage ceremony 15 January 1550 (Bodleian MS. Lat. Th. d. 15, fos. 136-136v). The date of Holgate's birth, to which we have no other clue, was hence 1481 or the first days of 1482.

⁴ The commission to deprive Holgate and three other reforming bishops is dated 13 March 1554 and addressed to Gardiner, Tunstall, Bonner, Parfew (St. Asaph), Day (Chichester), and Kitchin (Llandaff) (Burnet, *Reformation*, ed. Pocock, v. 386). Machyn (*Diary*, p. 58) says the deprivation took place on 16 March.

whiche deptryvacacion beinge in force he thinketh all the rentes and revenewes of the said archebusshoppericke nowe at this present bee in the Quenes Maiesties pleasure and disposicion.¹

Item, he saith that he haith no goodes belonginge to the sea of Yorke saving a crosse of sylver percell gilte and a myter of golde and stones which was delyvered him at his furste entree to the said benefice, whiche the commissioners for the churche goodes wolde have had frome him.²

Item, he saith that he haith a sure and sufficient stait in the lawe for terme of his liffe in the lait dissolved monasterye of Watton, with all the demeanes, landes, mannors, benefices, tenementes, rentes, revercions, patronagies of benefices, with all other emolumentes of what nayme or tytle soo ever they bee, graunted to him by Henrie the Eight, King of most famous memorye, in lyke manner as the Kinge had the same at the surrender of the said Watton and in as large and ample manner as ever anye of the said religious persons, soo called, occupied the same afore. And this he had for his pencion of foure and twentie howseis of the Gylbertynes, he being sole master and pryor of the same, all other being pryors datyve and removeable, the revenewes whereof belongith not to the sea of Yorke.³

Item, he saith that he haith purchaised certeyne landes and tene-mentes, some in fee symple, some in free burgage and otherwise. The revenewes of theis landes belongith not to the sea of Yorke, other then the crosse and myter afore writen.⁴

(Fo. 133^v.) Item, he saith that all his goodes, money, specialties of dettes,⁵ chatells, stocke, stoore, implementes of howseholde, of what nayme so ever they bee, belonge to him as verye proprietarye and owner of the same.

Petitions of Robert the lait archbusshoppe of Yorke to the right

¹ Holgate's successor not being yet appointed (cf. *ante*, p. 451, n. 5).

² Holgate describes the mitre in the list of confiscations made at his Battersea House; he also mentions a broken cross of silver gilt as seized elsewhere (*Genileman's Magazine*, 1825 (1), p. 596). These articles do not appear in the church goods inventories for either Yorkshire (*Surtees Soc.* xcvi) or Surrey (*Surrey Archeological Coll.* xxiv. 37-9 gives references). Though Holgate had headed the chantry commissioners for Yorkshire (*Surtees Soc.* xci. 1; xcii. 371) and took part in a York survey of church goods in 1546 (*ibid.* xcvi. 85), the northern commissioners of 1552 for church goods were all laymen (*ibid.* xcvi. 3), and Holgate seems to have had no hand in their activities. For his earlier orders and actions regarding the alienation of church goods, cf. *ante*, ix. 546-7.

³ For the list of Watton manors granted to Holgate 16 July 1541, cf. *L. and P.* xvi. p. 715. For valuations of Watton properties, cf. *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorkshire*, iii. 254-5. That of the Mastership of Sempringham is in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v. 126. On the absolute powers of the Master, see R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, pp. 52-3, 82, and cf. 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 28: 'pryors or governours datyff & removable from tyme to tyme'. On the surrender of the order and of Watton, cf. Graham, *op. cit.* pp. 175, 191 *seqq.*

⁴ For Holgate's personal purchases, cf. *L. and P.* xv. 831 (73); xviii. (1), 981 (99); *D.K. Rep.* ix, App. ii. 230. These should be distinguished from grants to Holgate and his successors, archbishops (*L. and P.* xx. (1), 465 (39); xxi. (2), 332 (63)), or to him and his wife in survivorship, remainder to the archbishops (*A.P.C. 1552-4*, p. 256; *Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, v. 298). Lands of the dissolved York church of St. John del Pyke were granted 21 January 1551 to Holgate's use (York House Book, xx, fos. 89^v-90).

⁵ I.e. bonds under seal.

honorable Sir Richard Sowthwell, one of the Quenes Maiesties most honorable Pryvy Councell to be a meane for him unto the Quenes Highneis.

In primis, wheare the said Robert of the aige affore writen married unwiselye gyving evell example to other to do the like, he trewlye and humblye repentinge him selffe for the same submyttith him selffe whollye & humblye to the Quenes most excellent and royall Maiesties mercye, most humblye beseeching her excellent Grace to forgyve him that faulte. And notwithstandinge he was counceled to marye by the Duke of Somerset and others and the great feare of the Duke of Northumberlande, as he had great cause so to doo as shalbe further decayred hereafter,¹ he thinketh him selffe verye muche worthie punyshement for that offence, beinge in the vocacion that he was in,² beinge the seacounde prelaite of this realme.

Item, wheare as he haith thus offendyd as is afforsaid, he doth promise to Almightye God & to her Highneis by the speciall helpe of Almightye God to keipe Godes moste blessyd lawes and her Graceis lawes & procedinges to the uttermost of his power all the daies of his lyffe, accordinge to suche vocacon as he shalbee in and to use him selffe soo as the same shalbe perceyved and provyd frome tyme to tyme.

Item, wheare he standith now so depryved of that benefice as is affore wrytten, he most humblye beseecheith the Quenes Maiestie that he may be restored to the same agayne.³ And he firmlye promisith to her Maiestie that by the helpe of God to serve God and keipe his lawes, to keipe her lawes and procedinges on his behalffe, so that his doinges accordinglye shalbe a good example to other, so that he shall maik amendes for his offence.

(Fo. 134.) Item, whereas manye other standith in like maner depryved as he is, yet he thinketh that he haith more to saye for his restitution then they have, beinge moche further gone amysse in religion then he was and with obstynacie. He submyttith him selfe for his onelye faulte. And further he saith that he was President of the Kinges Councell in the Northe the space of twelve yeares⁴ and that there was never anye man that had cause to compleane for lacke of iustice or for corrupcion in the same of his behalffe. Also he appeasyd two commocions in the north, one at Waikfeilde in Kinge Harrye the Eightes tyme; another at Seimer in Yorkeshier in Kinge Edward the Syxte tyme, whereas was tenne or twelve thowsand rebelles up at the same tyme the commocions was in Northfolke, Deaneshier, Cornewell & other placeis in manye partes of this realme; the commocion at Waikfeilde beinge appaised with executinge of fiftene parsons without anye chargeis to the Kinge and muche to his advantage and the other commocion at Seimer staide with executinge of eight parsons without anye charge to the Kinge or losse to the cuntrye.⁵

¹ A long account of his differences with Northumberland appears below. He unfortunately does not amplify the reference to Somerset.

² The word 'in' might perhaps be read with the subsequent clause, though this appears less characteristic.

³ Cf. *ante*, p. 451, n. 5.

⁴ June 1538—February 1550 (R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 487).

⁵ The Wakefield plot, having as one of its objects the murder of Holgate, was detected late in March 1541, before it developed into a rising (cf. for a full account *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xxxiv. 383-97). Sir John Nevile of Chevet, William Legh, Esq., of Middleton, and about thirteen others, including five priests, were executed. On the rising of August 1549 around Seamer, cf. *ibid.* xxxiv. 158-69. It will be there

And all tyme of the warres he servyd in settinge furthe of men, provision for victuall, settinge furth of cariages and draughte horseis that every one of the cheftenes of the warres was contente with him and had cause so to bee.¹ And his chargeis for the warres stoide him in foure thowsande poundes and more as he can declayre by the particulers thereof.² Also at the comynge in of the Admyrall of Fraunce he was sent for in the begynnynge of Maye and caime up accordinglye with threscore & tenne horse or thereabouts & to waite upon Prynce Edward his Grace to resceave the said Admyrall, which caime to Hampton Courte not before Saint Barthilmewe even the thre and twentie of Auguste. And the said Robert by commandement contynued ther till Michaelmes after, in which jorneye he spent a thowsande powndes.³

Further he haith erecte three free scoles, for every one of theme a scole maister and an ussher, of his owne purchaised landes graunted in mortemayne by Kinge (fo. 134^v) Henrye the Eight⁴ and haith bene an occasicion (*sic*) to sett up two moo in the dyocis of Yorke.⁵ Moreover he haith purchaised the house of Scrowbye with the hole manor of the same in Scrowbye and Ravenskell and the reversion of the same to the busshoppes of Yorke for ever and for his hospitalitie.⁶ And buyldinge of the busshoppes howseis, his almys in money,⁷ his distribucion to both the universities, to the yonge gentilmen of the innes of courte for fyndinge poore mens' children meate, drinke, cloith, lodginge, lernynge, I refer that to theme that haith laid owte such chargeis for me,⁸ for bycause I delight not in talke of no such matters for vanytie.

observed that independent authority again agrees with Holgate on the number of executions. Sir Thomas Gargrave later cited the fate of these two attempts as an argument in favour of maintaining a Council in the North (*Cal. S.P. Dom., Add. 1566-79*, p. 52).

¹ The activity of Holgate in furnishing 'carriages' (in 1549) is alluded to in York House Book, xix. fos. 60-78 *passim*.

² On Holgate's official expenses, cf. *ante*, lii. 440.

³ The date and the title 'Prince Edward' point, not to the visit of Antoine de Noailles in 1553 (as surmised *ante*, lii. 440, n. 8), but to that of Claude d'Annebault in 1546. He arrived at Hampton Court on 23 August to obtain the king's oath to the treaty lately concluded by the ambassadors of the two countries (*L. and P.* xxi. (1) 1530; cf. *A.P.C. 1542-7*, p. 525).

⁴ Holgate received letters patent to found his schools at Hemsworth, Malton, and York on 24 October 1546 (Pat. 38 Hen. VIII, pt. xii, memb. 27 (30)). For a brief account of their history, see *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.* i. 474-5.

⁵ Though one of the commissioners appointed under the Chantry Act, Holgate certainly used his influence to preserve schools. One of the two he mentions was East Retford, Notts (Reg. Holgate, fo. 53; cf. *Vict. Co. Hist., Notts.* ii. 240), and the other probably Sedbergh. Roger Ascham wrote to him in the interests of the latter (*Yorks. Archeol. Soc., Record Series*, xxxiii. 337) and he may well have protested on its behalf along with Lever, Master of St. John's.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 360.

⁷ The Wandsworth churchwardens' accounts for 1551-2 show two gifts by 'my Lorde off Yorke to the powre mens box at sertayne tymes', one of eighteen shillings, the other of four shillings (*Surrey Archeol. Collections*, xv. 104). Similar gifts would doubtless be found at Battersea itself, were the accounts extant, as also at many places in Yorkshire. Holgate maintained an obit in York Minster (*Yorks. Chantry Surveys, Surtees Soc.* xcii. 449).

⁸ The almshouse at Hemsworth naturally does not appear in this list of good works, since Holgate made provision for it only in his will some months later (*Surtees Soc.* cxvi. 232-5).

Item, wheare afore I said that I was affrayed of the Duke of Northumberlande, the causeis whye was as followeth. When he was the Warden of the Marcheis in the north he wroite to me in causes of dyvers light parsons offenders that I shulde forbear the ordre of justice, which I might not doo. And so I wrote to him accordinglye, and then he touke such displeasure with me that for that and other suche like matters he put me furth of the rowme of the President and could laye no offence to my charge.¹

Then he purchaised the reversion of Watton in which I had estaite for terme of my liffe.² Then he callyd for the evidence of the same, to whome I denyed the delyverye for cause of such estait that I had as is affore writen and further that I had no warraunte to delyver theme & then he was in a greate raige with me. And after that he spaik to me that I wolde release my stait to him and he wolde gyve me a fee ferme, to whiche thinge I wolde not agree unto. Then he was the moste of all displeased. Then at the parlyament holden at Westminster in Lent was a twelve-monthe³ I labored to have bene at home⁴ for dyvers sicknesseis and diseases which I had at that tyme and also fearinge that he wolde be in hande with me for Watton. But I coulde have no lycence for anye laybour that I coulde by my selfe or my frendes maike, and so toike my jorney to the parlyament and at my comynge up I labored to speake with him at his house of Chelseye,⁵ where I was ever put of by some delaye. And at lengthe he denyed to speake (fo. 135) with me, and after that he sent Mr. John Thorgmorton⁶ to me, who decayred that the Duke said he had so muche busynesse of the Kinges and his owne that he myght attende to speake with me, but he sent him to speake with me for Watton and

¹ Holgate had certainly been 'put forth' before 4 March 1550, when the earl of Shrewsbury appears in the Council Book as Lord President (*A.P.C. 1547-50*, p. 405). Warwick was not appointed to succeed Sir Robert Bowes as Warden of the East and Middle Marches until 20 April (*ibid.* 1550-2, p. 6) and soon relinquished the office (*ibid.* p. 88). Holgate would appear to confuse these dates. On Northumberland's schemes for engrossing power in the north, cf. R. R. Reid in *Tudor Studies*, pp. 212-17. Dr. Reid (*ibid.* p. 211, and in her *King's Council in the North*, p. 168) suggests that the rising of August 1549 served as a pretext for the replacement of Holgate by Shrewsbury. No authority seems to establish this with certainty; Holgate's 'dyvers light parsons' are probably not the rebels, whom Northumberland would surely not have been inclined to spare.

² For Holgate's life grant of the possessions of Watton, see *L. and P.* xvi. 1500 (p. 715). Dudley was granted the site and certain lands late of that priory on 6 January 1550 (*Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, iii. 73). He received the reversion of some of the Watton lands held for life by Holgate on 5 January 1552 (*ibid.* iv. 117) and of others on 26 June 1553 (*ibid.* v. 171-2).

³ The session of 1-31 March 1553; cf. *ante*, p. 451.

⁴ Bishopthorpe is evidently intended.

⁵ On 13 March 1551 Dudley was granted 'the King's manor and capital mansion of Chelsey, Middlesex, late of Katherine [Parr] late queen of England' (*Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, iv. 127). He sold the manor to the king on the following 8 December (*ibid.* p. 117), but it was regranted to him and Jane his wife on 2 March 1553 (*ibid.* v. 180). On the connexions of Jane with Chelsea, cf. A. Beaver, *Memorials of Old Chelsea*, pp. 75-6.

⁶ Father of the Elizabethan conspirator, Francis. He was closely associated with Dudley, receiving numerous offices. Under Holgate's will he and his brother Sir Nicholas each received £20 to supervise its execution (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, 'Throckmorton, Francis'; *Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, iii. 299; iv. 236, 396; v. 272, 415; *Surtees Soc.* cxvi. 235).

so he dyd. The furste he movyd me for my staitte for terme of liffe and to taik a fee ferme for yt, the same with a good assuraunce, which thinge I denyed. Then after he spaik unto me for the lease thereunto. For feare of more danger I agreid to have communycacion. Then he shewed me that the Duke wolde be at Chelseye the Saterdaye next after and that then it was the beste for me to come thither and he wolde fynde the meanes that I shulde speake with him. I came thither accordinglye and speake with him. Then he spaik to me that Mr. John Throgmorton had toulde him I was contented to common with him for the leasinge of Watton. I said I was contente so to doo, requyryng three thinges of him, to helpe me unto the whiche I had delayred to Mr. John afore at his beinge with me at Batersy.¹ And theis folowinge was the requestes that I maid. The furst was that forasmuch as the busshoppe of Yorke was ordynarye of Nottingham shiere and had no house there, that he wolde helpe me to the purchase of the house of Scrowbye and the manner of the same,² after the raite of twentie yeares purchase and three yeares day of payment, to me and the busshoppes of Yorke for ever.³ The seacound was that he shulde gett in a lease that Launcelet Awforde had of the busshoppes lande,⁴ which lease wolde have bene to the bysshoppe & his successours worth one hundreith poundes or two hundreith markes yearelye for kepyng there hospitalitie, over and above ther yearelye rentes of the said ferme.

The third was for the patronageis of benefices in the Kinges gifte within the dioceis of Yorke to the valewe of sixe or seven hundreith poundes as more playnely appeared then by the particulers thereof, and for restitution of colledgeis prebendes wrongfullye taken frome the church of Yorke and hospitalls in the like maner taken awaye. Patronaige of all the premisses belonged to the archebusshoppe.⁵ (Fo. 135^v.) And for the patronageis I shulde have gyven to the Kinge syxe hundreith poundes sterlinge, or els better the Duke have a manner called Huggate of the

¹ York House in Battersea. On its use as a town residence by the archbishops of York, cf. *Vict. Co. Hist., Surrey*, iv. 12-13.

² Scrooby, Notts. was one of the manors which Holgate had surrendered to Henry VIII (*L. and P.* xx. (1), p. 214).

³ The council assigned to Holgate lands worth £30 per annum on 26 April 1553 (*A.P.C. 1552-4*, p. 256), and according to the patent, dated 27 May, Holgate paid £630 7s. 6d. for Scrooby (*Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, v. 298), roughly twenty years' purchase. The Patent Roll does not stipulate payment in three years.

⁴ Launcelot Alford, younger son of John Alford of Holt, co. Denbigh (Poulson, *Seignory of Holderness*, ii. 315, gives pedigree), was attached to Henry VIII's household as groom of the Wardrobe of Beds. (*L. and P.* xii. (2), 191 (4) and *passim*). In 1541 he received from the Crown a lease of Meaux Abbey properties (*ibid.* xvi. p. 724), some of which, known to be in his tenure, were granted to Holgate in March 1545 (*ibid.* xx. (1), p. 215). Other Meaux properties were granted on 6 January 1550 to Dudley (*Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, iii. 72-3). Alford, though a man of some consequence and a justice throughout the reign (*L. and P.* xx. (1), pp. 323-4; *Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, i. 92, iv. 394, v. 353; *Surtees Soc.* xevii. 3), was doubtless amenable to pressure from Dudley. For many particulars regarding Alford and his territorial relations with Dudley, see also T. Blashill, *Sutton-in-Holderness*, pp. 139, 149 *seqq.*

⁵ No confirmatory evidence has been observed regarding the temporary deprivation of these prebendal and hospital patronages. The see of York had actually received a vast grant of patronages in 1545-6 (*L. and P.* xx. (1), 465 (39); xxi. (2), 332 (63)) and was to receive a further grant in 1558 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-70*, pp. 109-12).

valewe of foure and twentie poundes, an aunycnt signorie, painge nothinge for it.¹

For Scrowbye the Duke said he thought he coulde bringe to passe streight, and to the other, he trusted he shulde bringe to that thinge that I requyred shortelye. Not longe after that he sent a warrante to the Chaunceler of the Augmentacions, signed with dyvers of the Lordes of the Councells handes, to common with me for the bargayne and saile of Scrowby.² I, receyvinge knowledge by the Chaunceler of that warraunte, thought there was no other remedye but to proceide in the lease sore against my will, for I knewe it wolde be two hundreith poundes yearelye hindrance to me except that he satisfied me in my three requestes aforesaid, which he dyd but in one of theme, & not fullye neither, and that was the purchase of Scrowbye. And I wolde humblye desire the said lease to be voyde, for he can not performe his other two promyseis³ and it shalbe losse to me yearelye so longe as I shall have yt as is afforsaid and after to the Quenes Maiestie and her most noble succession hinderaunce yearelye asmoche as is aforesaid.⁴ And more over my poore kinsfolkes, olde servandes and tenautes is and shalbe trowbled with the improvements of rentes, fynes, gressames & dyvers other reparacons to muche. And if the said lease be voyde I wolde gyve to Mr. Thomas Hungaite fortie poundes or an hundreith markes yearelye so longe as I shulde contynewe with yt.⁵ And it is a goodlye stronge house well covered with leide and for the premisses it is verry necessarye that all shalbe survaide before the lease taik effecte.⁶

Item, theis premisses tenderlye considered, I enterlye desire yowe good Mr. Sowthwell for Christe saike be be a meane to the Quenes most excellent and royall Maiestie to graunte to me my lybertie and that I may be restored to celebracion frome which I have bene suspended a great

¹ Huggate was amongst the Watton lands granted to Holgate for life in 1541 (*L. and P.* xvi. p. 715). Dudley received the reversion of this manor on 26 June 1553 (*Cal. Pat. Edw. VI.* v. 171-2).

² The warrant was sent by the council on 16 April 1553 and is duly noted in *A.P.C. 1552-4*, p. 256. Holgate's request to purchase, dated 20 May, appears in the Augmentations Office Particulars for Grants (Publ. Rec. Off., MS. Cal., Edw. VI, s.v. 'York, Archbishop of'). The Patent Roll of 27 May gives full details of the grant (*Cal. Pat. Edw. VI.* v. 298-9). These dates tend to support Holgate's assertion that the sale was thrust upon him.

³ Dudley had been executed 22 August 1553, some six weeks before Holgate's imprisonment. Amongst Holgate's papers seized at Battersea were the 'counterpayne' of his lease of Watton to the late duke and an 'obligation of 1000 pounds for performance of covenants of the duke's partie' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825 (1), p. 596).

⁴ Since Watton would revert to the crown on Holgate's death.

⁵ Thomas Hungate of Stillington, Yorks. (*Visitations of Yorkshire . . . 1584-5 and . . . 1612*, ed. Foster, p. 114), had been a member of the Queen's household in 1540 and later a trusted servant of Henry VIII (*L. and P.* xv. 21; xix. (2), 510, 533, 581, &c.). A prominent grantee of monastic property (*ibid.* xviii. (1), p. 557; *Cal. Pat. Edw. VI.* iii. 24) he held the rectory of Darrington from Holgate (*L. and P.* xx. (1), p. 215). Dudley appears from the present passage to have subleased Watton lands to Hungate, who would expect compensation were the lease to Dudley annulled in Holgate's favour.

⁶ For an account of the buildings of Watton Priory, cf. *Archeological Journal*, lviii. 1-34. Ellis Markham had removed many of the fittings (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825 (1), p. 597).

tyme (fo. 136) to my greate discomfurth. And I will offer to her Maiestie most humblye a thowsande poundes sterlinge, most enterlye beseachinge her Highneis to accepte that as a remembraunce as parte of my dewtye with my contynuall praier and service duringe my lyffe.

Endorsed : Towching the late Archebisshopp of Yorke.

Note:

For *ante* read E. H. R.

HERESY AND THE ORIGINS OF ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM

For the most part the Lollard heresy consisted of Wycliffe's teachings reduced from scholastic to popular terminology, from technical Latin to robust English. In 1395 the Lollard group in the House of Commons drew up the 'Twelve Conclusions', one of the most authentic and comprehensive statements of the heresy¹. The 'Conclusions' condemn the subordination of the English Church to that of Rome; they deny the doctrine of transubstantiation, stress the unpleasant results of clerical celibacy, ridicule the consecration of physical objects as akin to necromancy, and denounce prayers for the dead, pilgrimages, images and the materialist preoccupation of the Church with the arts and curious craftsmanship. In the same spirit, the 'Conclusions' also criticize the prelates for serving as temporal rulers and judges; they embrace a complete pacifism, declaring all forms of warfare contrary to the teaching of the New Testament; they deny that confession to a priest is necessary to salvation. With three or four important omissions, this code covers all the commonest demands made by the Lollards during the remainder of their history.

Two of these omissions represent the more constructive aspect of the heresy: first, that the clergy should concentrate upon preaching the Gospel, rather than upon administering the sacraments; secondly, that the Bible in English translation should freely be placed in the hands of the laity, learned and unlearned alike. Also, in true Wycliffite spirit, the Lollards frequently attacked the wealth of the Church, stigmatising as unlawful even the payment of tithes. But their social and political criticism threatened far greater extremities. In 1410 the political

¹ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXII (1907), 292-304.

party openly proposed to distribute all the surplus wealth of the Church between the king, a new nobility, and such useful institutions as hospitals ¹. Rejecting this temptation to anticipate the career of Henry VIII, the Lancastrian kings preserved a resolute orthodoxy and prevented the activists from getting their hands upon the levers of the state. With the failure of Sir John Oldcastle's rising in 1414, the movement developed into a more or less surreptitious congregationalism, mainly occupying groups of tradesmen and artisans, but here and there attracting a few priests, merchants and professional men. Lacking centralized direction, the Lollard defendants we meet in the ecclesiastical courts cannot be expected to profess identical codes of belief. Yet behind the inevitable variations of emphasis — and the equally inevitable (and quite English) fringe of cranks and individualists — the heresy retained a certain coherence of tone and tenor. In our records, the Lollards are seldom difficult to identify; they are a truly Protestant element in late medieval society, a truly Nonconformist element and, in their resolute attack upon hierarchical pretensions, a deeply and consistently anticlerical element.

Judging by the relative paucity of evidence, the third quarter of the fifteenth century saw the Lollard movement at a stage of quiescence ². We are uncertain whether a numerical decline occurred, or whether, during these troubled years, Church and State merely failed to persecute. But if a decline took place, a marked revival must have supervened soon after the accession of Henry VII, since from about that time we observe a steadily growing volume of prosecutions, abjurations and punishments, especially in London and parts of south-eastern England ³. And from the turn of the century we continue to hear ever more of these matters, until by the late 1520's the old heresy begins to

¹ References in W. Stubbs, *Constitutional hist. Eng.*, III, 65.

² Cf. M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 364.

³ Note the London selection in A. F. Pollard, *The reign of Henry VII from contemporary sources* (London, 1913-14), III, 235-46.

merge with the newer Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrines, as these now percolated down from the intellectuals and the cosmopolitans into the body of English society. Before we observe this fascinating process of fusion, we should first stress the massiveness of the evidence for this survival of Lollardy into and even beyond the reign of Henry VIII. Until recently, the view of James Gairdner and Cardinal Gasquet prevailed: namely that, by the early Tudor years, Lollardy was a moribund force and hence in no position to further the momentous changes of the sixteenth century. From their differing angles, both these writers disliked and minimized religious radicalism, tending hence to depict the earlier stages of the English Reformation as an act of state imposed upon a hitherto contented Catholic people. More important, neither of them had much acquaintance with the manuscript records which substantiate Tudor Lollardy. Today their denials have been abandoned by all competent specialists, but even they could have located a considerable proportion of the evidence in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. This compilation was regarded with intelligible but excessive distrust by exponents of that anti-Froudian, neo-Tractarian reaction which swept across English Reformation studies between 1890 and 1940. Truth to tell, Foxe needs handling with much caution. He was a bigot armed with superb anecdotal talent; he would hear no good of unreformed bishops and no ill of their radical opponents; genuinely disapproving of all persecution, he was too anxious to believe atrocity-stories at second or third hand. Again, so vast a collection built from scattered manuscript and oral sources unavoidably contained many inaccuracies, especially concerning dates. Despite these shortcomings, Foxe certainly lacked the intent, the incentive and the diabolical erudition necessary to forge this voluminous information about the early Tudor Lollards, bristling as it is with names, precise events and page-references to ecclesiastical records ¹. It would have been madness indeed to attempt such

¹ J. F. Mozley, *John Foxe and his Book* (London, 1940), ch. VIII, defends

mass-forgery, since many of the events and people remained within living memory, and since most of the records he cited were still available for inspection. It is true that early Tudor Lollardy suited Foxe's purposes, because it helped him to prove the antiquity of Protestantism¹. Yet a Protestant forger would have built himself a more heroic ancestry than these evasive, old-fashioned heretics, who usually recanted and sometimes betrayed one another wholesale. A more specific charge against Foxe must also be faced. Not a little distrust sprang from the fact that certain Victorian antiquaries imagined that they had caught him giving bogus references for his heresy-trials. Noting that his long account of the Buckinghamshire trials of 1521 purported to be based on the register of John Longland bishop of Lincoln, they duly searched Longland's register and were shocked to discover that it contains indeed a few isolated heresy-trials, yet nothing about this large-scale persecution. The jubilation of Foxe's critics was nevertheless misplaced. Dr. Johnson defined 'register' as 'an account of anything regularly kept', and certainly Tudor writers used the term with no more precision. Foxe's narrative of these trials is certainly not based upon the great formal registers of Longland; it obviously derives from an act book or court book, the detailed, day-to-day account of proceedings in the consistory or some other episcopal court. If today this book cannot be produced at Lincoln, the fact proves nothing against Foxe, because many such act books for this early Tudor period have long ago vanished: there is a notable paucity of them in all our diocesan registries. This explanation has been given solid substance by my own experiences at York. Here may be found records of nearly eighty cases brought against heretics during the reigns of Henry VIII and

the substantial value of Foxe on the Lollards. Foxe has also been defended by Mr. Fines (note 4, p 367 *infra*) and could be defended by reference to Warham's register (note 3, p. 369 *infra*).

¹ Cf. J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Cattle (London, 1837-41), IV, 217.

Mary ¹. Yet of these numerous cases only some half-dozen come from the archbishops' formal registers; the rest come mainly from certain act books of the archiepiscopal Court of Audience, books which at York have happily and exceptionally survived. Had the vagaries of time spared us only the formal registers, we should know extremely little about heresy in the diocese of York. At Lincoln, however, we are less fortunate, in that the surviving act books do not happen to cover the periods when Bishops Smyth and Longland were persecuting the Buckinghamshire Lollards: consequently, on this negative evidence, we cannot without absurdity charge the martyrologist with fabrication.

In most dioceses, we have few or no early Tudor court books: for the extant ecclesiastical records of heresy we can turn only to those highly selective compilations, the bishops' formal registers. Nevertheless, if such cases were at all common, we might at least hope to find a few scattered ones in all or most of these registers. This is in fact what we do find; and in a very few registers we find considerably more. In the diocese of Bath and Wells, heretics appear (mainly at Bristol) in the registers of Oliver King (1496-1503) ² and Thomas Wolsey (1518-23) ³. In that of Coventry and Lichfield similar offenders were prosecuted by John Hales (1459-90) and Geoffrey Blythe (1503-31). The recent discovery at Lichfield of an important court book devoted to heresy-trials has thrown fresh light on Blythe's persecution of 1511-12 ⁴. Three Sussex trials can be found in a surviving Audience act book of Robert Sherburne, bishop of

¹ A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the diocese of York* (London, 1959), pp. 16-52, 214-35, 240-3.

² *Somerset Record Society*, LIV (1939), 39-43, 56-7.

³ *Ibid.*, LV, 2-3. For another case from this diocese, but in Cardinal Morton's register, see *Tudor studies presented to A. F. Pollard* (London, 1924), pp. 46-7.

⁴ Lichfield Episcopal Archives, MS. B.C. 13 described by J. Fines in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XIV(1963), 160-74. On the registers see *V[ictoria]C[ounty] H[istory]*, *Warwickshire*, II, 21-2.

Chichester ¹ (1508-36). Even at Exeter, Hugh Oldham's register (1505-19) ² has at least two cases of debased Lollardy. Richard Mayew of Hereford (1504-16) ³, John Blythe (1494-9) and Edmund Audley (1502-24) of Salisbury ⁴, Sylvester de Giglis, the Italian bishop of Worcester (1498-1521) ⁵, all left groups of heresy-trials in their registers. So did Richard Fox of Winchester (1501-28) ⁶ and St John Fisher, whose long reign at Rochester (1504-35) begins with obvious Lollards and ends with obvious Lutherans ⁷. To the informative records at York I have already alluded. At Lincoln John Longland's registers and court books (1521-47) tell us little about mass-heresy in Buckinghamshire, but they present a varied selection of offenders from various parts of that enormous diocese ⁸. The Norwich archives have so far yielded little new information about persecution by the resolute Richard Nix (1501-35), who burned at least four Lollards between 1505 and 1511 ⁹. The very few less serious cases in the published volume of his Consistory Court depositions ¹⁰ give little idea of the scope of East Anglian heresy and need to be supplemented by further research. The London

¹ Cf. C. E. Welch in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, XCV; the case of John Hogsflesh is clearly Lollard, though dated 1534.

² References in *Register of Richard Fox* (Surtees Society, CXLVII, 1932), p. xxvii.

³ *Canterbury and York Society*, XXVII (1921), 65-7, 109-11.

⁴ *V. C. H., Berkshire*, II, 24; *V.C.H., Dorset*, II, 23; cf. also Salisbury cases in Morton's register, *Tudor studies*, pp. 47 *seqq.*

⁵ *V.C.H., Gloucestershire*, II, 24.

⁶ *Register of Richard Fox*, pp. li-iv; *V.C.H., Surrey*, II, 19 summarizes the detailed account of the condemnation of Thomas Denys in Fox's Register, III, 69-71.

⁷ E. E. Reynolds, *St John Fisher* (London, 1955), pp. 61-4, 119-22.

⁸ Lincoln Diocesan Register xxvi, fos. 180v, 201v, 228-28v, 267, 270-1, 284v. Cf. also the Court Books, especially Cj 2, fos. 23v-24; Cj 3, fo. 21v; Cj 4, fos. 16-16v.

⁹ Blomefield, *Hist. Norfolk* (London, 1805-10), III, 182, 193; cf. Foxe, IV, 126.

¹⁰ *Norfolk Record Society*, X (1938), nos. 16, 117, 381; also in no. 221 the claim that tithes 'were not due by divine law', probably derived from Lollard teaching.

registers of Richard Fitzjames (1506-22)¹ and of Cuthbert Tunstall² (1522-30) add a little to our already large corpus of knowledge for the capital and Essex. Finally, Archbishop Warham's register at Lambeth forms a special case, in that it makes a positively generous selection, giving the abjurations of some fifty men and women prosecuted by Warham in 1511 and 1512³. Foxe used this book, and though his particulars are not absolutely identical, it goes far to indicate his reliability in so far as the broad picture is concerned. The foregoing form the most accessible of the ecclesiastical sources; we shall no doubt add significant detail as the lesser-known books in diocesan registries are explored⁴. Needless to remark, the London chronicles, the significations of excommunication at the Public Record Office⁵, various items in the state papers, and many other secular sources provide further evidence. Had Foxe never written, we should still know a great deal concerning Tudor Lollardy, indeed a fair amount unknown to Foxe himself. If we must reproach him, it must be not with exaggeration but with incompleteness. His sins of omission may be more venial than his prejudiced comments, but they are on a large scale: the eighteen known Lollard martyrs who fail to adorn his pages⁶ typify a vastly larger world of heresy which never came within his purview.

On the eve of the Reformation the three chief concentrations of dissent lay in the Chiltern area of Buckinghamshire, in Lon-

¹ *V.C.H., London*, I, 235; Pollard, *op. cit.*, III, 242-6.

² *V.C.H., London*, I, 254-5. The subject of his relations with heretics is discussed by C. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstall* (London, 1938), ch. xiii-xv.

³ Lambeth Palace Library MS 1108, fos. 164-81; a substantial part is printed in *British Magazine*, XXIII-XXV (1843-4), *passim*. Cf. Foxe, IV, 181-2; V, 647-52.

⁴ Mr. J. F. Davis is at present investigating the most likely repositories in south-eastern England. Mr Fines discovered the Lichfield book (note 4.p.367 *supra*) as recently as 1960.

⁵ Cf. M. S. Giuseppe, *Guide to the Public Records* (2 vols., London, 1923-4), I, 67; Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. x, and other references given there.

⁶ Listed in *ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

don and Essex, and in south-west Kent. In 1506 or 1507 Bishop Smyth put to penance more than 60 heretics at the old centre of Amersham and more than 20 at Buckingham¹. At each of these places, a well-known Lollard teacher was burned, and men remembered the proceedings long afterwards as the *magna abjuratio*. There followed hereabouts further abjurations in 1508², while in 1521 Bishop Longland attacked these communities on a larger scale³. Foxe records six further executions (four of which occur in the extant significations) and about 50 formal abjurations, but the true weight of this blow against the Buckinghamshire communities perhaps lay in the demoralized recriminations of the victims. By far the greater number of accusers were themselves delated of heresy; wives and husbands informed against each other; parents accused their children, and vice-versa, while several disciples gave evidence against their instructors in Lollard doctrine. The old heresies appear in force: disbelief in transubstantiation and the confessional, using the English scriptures, making rude remarks about images, church bells, pilgrimages, the doctrines of purgatory and papal indulgences. At this moment Lutheranism had just become known among the intellectuals who secretly met in the White Horse Tavern at Cambridge: there is no suggestion that it had as yet touched these working-class people in the Chilterns. Their dissent is expressed in coarse, homespun phraseology. One heretic called the image on the rood 'Block-Almighty'; another, referring to transubstantiation, said that he threshed God Almighty out of straw; a third, hearing the bell in a country steeple, was heard to remark, 'Lo yonder is a fair bell, an it were to hang about any cow's neck in this town'⁴.

A second complex of heretical cells existed in the diocese of London, both in the city and in Essex. Bishop Fitzjames en-

¹ Foxe, IV, 123-4. He gives the names of 25 of the 60 Amersham abjurers.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 124, 221.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 219 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 243.

forced at least 70 recantations between 1510 and 1522: ¹ four of his relapsed heretics suffered burning, three of them finally reconciled to the Church and perishing amid the consolations of the Faith. Meanwhile in 1514 the famous case of Richard Hunne ², the Lollard merchant found murdered in the Lollards' Tower at St Paul's, suggests that the citizens of London hated Bishop Fitzjames more than they hated a heterodox neighbour. When his chancellor was arrested for murder, he appealed to Wolsey for help, exclaiming that any London jury would be 'so maliciously set in favour of heretical pravity that they . . . will condemn my clerk though he were as innocent as Abel'. Some weeks later he virtually repeated this astonishing admission in the House of Lords, adding that, if the obnoxious London jurymen went unpunished, 'I dare not keep my house for heretics' ³.

During the subsequent years a prominent Lollard in the capital was John *alias* Father Hacker, a water-bearer of Coleman Street, closely associated with the Colchester congregation and sometimes ranging as far afield as Newbury, Witney and Lechlade. After many years of proselytizing, he abjured in 1527, accusing many of his former associates ⁴. Hacker's friends, John Stacey of Coleman Street and Lawrence Maxwell of Aldermanbury parish, were prominent members of the Tilers and Bricklayers Company. Stacey kept a man in his house to transcribe the English Scriptures, a neighbouring grocer John Sercot meeting the expenses ⁵. Between 1527 and 1532, over 120 heretics are said by Foxe to have recanted after conviction in the

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 174-8, 205-7.

² A. Ogle, *The tragedy of the Lollards' Tower* (Oxford, 1949), replaces the earlier and prejudiced accounts by Gairdner and other defenders of Fitzjames.

³ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXX (1915), 477; Ogle, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-4, 137. His general charge was the subject of a protest by the city, and documented in its records.

⁴ J. Strype, *Memorials* (Oxford, 1820-40), I (1), 114-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I (1), 115-16.

diocesan courts of London, about half from the city and half from Colchester, Steeple Bumpstead, Birdbrook, and other places in Essex¹. By this time, as we shall see, Lutheran influences had begun to merge with the older tradition of heresy, though the latter seemingly maintained its preponderance amongst the common people.

Kentish heresy in 1511-12 is revealed by Warham's register as chiefly situated in and around Tenterden, Cranbrook and Benenden, the weaving-places along the southern border of the county². Westward along the Thames and Kennet valleys went a broader scattering. The Oxfordshire groups probably derived from the concentration in south Buckinghamshire. From 1498 onwards the Salisbury registers of John Blythe and Edmund Audley show numerous penances by Berkshire Lollards of Reading, Faringdon, Wantage and Hungerford³, while Foxe claims that, soon after 1500, six or seven score of a 'glorious and sweet society of faithful favourers' were forced to abjure at Newbury, three or four being burned⁴. In the West Midlands the only major centre was at Coventry, which maintained its former notoriety⁵. In 1511-12 some 74 people came before Bishop Blythe's court, though only about 36 were regarded as important enough to have their names entered in the court book⁶. A few of these people came from Birmingham, where the group may have been an offshoot of that at Coventry. One of the Birmingham offenders is said to have associated with many heretics in Bristol, while several scattered references to

¹ Foxe, IV, 585-6; V, 26-43.

² *Supra*, note 23; Foxe, IV, 181-2; V, 647-52. Mr. J. F. Davis draws my attention to further notes on Kentish heresy in the Rochester act books at the Kent Record Office: e.g. DR 6/P.ii, p. 6; P. viii, p. 53.

³ *V.C.H., Berkshire*, II, 21. For a Dorset case in Blythe, see *V.C.H., Dorset*, II, 23.

⁴ Foxe, IV, 213.

⁵ On earlier Coventry persecutions see *ibid.*, IV, 133-5.

⁶ Cf. note 4, p. 367 *supra*. Mr. Fines shows that they were mainly skilled artisans and their wives, the majority in middle age. He gives interesting examples of their mobility.

heresy in the latter city occur elsewhere. Some of the Coventry names recur in Foxe's vivid account of the 'seven godly martyrs' burned there in 1519 ¹. In Wales and in north-western England we find little evidence of heresy, while John Knox's curious story about James IV's amused indifference toward the Lollards of Kyle ² forms almost the sum total of our knowledge of later Lollardy in Scotland. On the other hand, we have recently discovered that heterodox opinions became far from rare in the towns and weaving-areas of the diocese of York ³. Possibly through the loss of early court books at York, we know of only two or three Wycliffite cases before 1528; after which come a whole host. Nearly all these defendants preserve a basically Lollard character: nothing about their beliefs and language would seem out of place a century earlier ⁴. With the very significant exceptions of two or three educated men (who show clear traces of Lutheran and Zwinglian influence) this applies to the 32 defendants under Henry VIII; it even applies to the majority of 45 recorded cases of heresy in the same diocese during the reign of Mary ⁵. On the eve of the Elizabethan settlement, there lingered a good deal of dissent which at its roots had more in common with pre-Lutheran dissent than with continental doctrine, or with the nascent Anglicanism of Edward VI. This rise of heresy in the north, from the twenties, may well represent the outer ripples of the disturbance which had begun decades earlier in the south-east. Some northern groups, especially the cloth-workers, were highly mobile: we know that some of them imbibed heterodox beliefs in Essex and took them back to the West Riding. So far as one dare suggest clear patterns amid this now complex *mêlée*, the advent

¹ Foxe, IV, 557-8.

² *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W. C. Dickinson (London, 1949), I, 8-11.

³ The topic is given detailed treatment in my *Lollards and Protestants in the diocese of York*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 214-35.

of continental Protestantism to the north seems largely distinct from this proletarian agitation; before the last decade of Henry VIII, recognisable Lutheranism only appears in a small handful of educated men, and even during the years 1537-47 it was making no more than a steady but unspectacular progress among the gentry and other substantial people.

If late Lollardy lacked a central administration, it did not altogether lack wandering missionaries who kept the scattered congregations in touch with each other. John Hacker of Coleman Street was not the only teacher to work in several parts of England. The Londoners, Maxwell and Stacey, 'once a year of their own cost, went abroad to visit the brethren and sisters scattered abroad'. A more striking example is the martyr Thomas Man, burned at Smithfield in 1518. Several years earlier this devoted agent had been imprisoned and forced to abjure by Bishop Smyth. Driven from Buckinghamshire, he lived awhile among the Lollards of Suffolk and Essex: according to a witness at his second trial, he had instructed followers in London, at Amersham, Billericay, Chelmsford, Stratford Langthorn, Uxbridge, Burnham, Henley, Newbury, and in Suffolk and Norfolk ¹. Altogether he claimed to have made 700 converts.

The social structure of the Lollard communities had altered little for a century; the great majority of their members belonged to the common people, but those of skilled trades vastly outnumber the labourers and husbandmen. Weavers and other cloth-workers are the largest group; also, wheelwrights, smiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors and other tradesmen occur quite commonly; they were footloose and gregarious people, both inside and outside their trades. The handful of minor clergymen includes both seculars and regulars, but the former comprise a smaller proportion of the Lollard body than they had done a century earlier. In London we encounter several merchants and substantial tradesmen. Of four Londoners known to have

¹ Foxe, IV, 208-14.

attended a heretical conference at Amersham, one was a goldsmith, and the other a well-off butcher, able to bribe the vicar general of the diocese of London with the large sum of £ 20, in order to avoid doing open penance. Women were numerous; in some groups, as at Coventry, they account for nearly a third of the names. In general, we sense a social ethos closely similar to that of the independent sects of the seventeenth century. At this period, illiteracy was far from being incompatible with a considerable measure of scriptural and doctrinal knowledge. A reading of the Scriptures formed the basis of any Lollard assembly. Memories were retentive, not yet impaired by the coming avalanche of print. Some of the Buckinghamshire and Essex Lollards knew by heart the Epistle of St James ¹, that prosaic book which nourished the practical spirit of Lollardy, just as the Apocalypse nourished its visionary concepts. On the other hand, the Lollards were little troubled by those complexities of *Romans* which beset Luther and his English followers. The more literate are often charged with the possession of English books, prominent among these being the early Wycliffite attack on transubstantiation called *The Wycket* ².

Granted the survival of Lollardy, how far did this affect the momentous changes which supervened upon Tyndale's New Testament and Henry's quarrel with the Papacy? One indirect result of the English heresy has an intimate connection with Tyndale's success. Lollardy had long ago imbued the bishops with a terror of the vernacular Bible and a hostility toward it far more acute than that of the French and German episcopates. Since Englishmen had so overwhelming a desire to read the Scriptures in English, the way was clearly opened to Tyndale, Thomas Cromwell, Coverdale and a Protestant presentation of the English Bible. But what were the organic links in English society between Lollardy and Lutheranism? By their very na-

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 222, 224, 228; J. Strype, *op. cit.*, I (1), 126.

² J. Strype, *op. cit.*, I (2), 53, 65; Foxe, IV, 226, 241; More, *Apologye* (Early English Text Society, no. 180, 1930), p. 186.

ture, such secret transactions must usually have passed unrecorded; yet even so, many of them can be traced. In 1527, for example, representatives of the Essex Lollards went to the Austin Friars in London to meet Robert Barnes, then the leading colporteur of Lutheran literature in England. Here they found several people, including a merchant reading a book, and they established their *bona fides* with Barnes by telling him how they had begun to win over the curate of Steeple Bumpstead to Lollardy: they even produced their old Lollard gospels and epistles in manuscript. At this, Barnes 'made a twit of it and said, "a point for them, for that they be not to be regarded toward [i.e. compared with] the new printed Testament in English, for it is of more cleaner English"'. And being an ardent salesman, he finished by selling them a copy of Tyndale's New Testament for 3s. 2d., 'and desired them that they would keep it close' ¹. A somewhat parallel contact was discovered by Foxe in a Lincoln book now lost. This evidence related how one Nicholas Field of London — he also occurs in the extant register at Lincoln ² — described to a fascinated audience of Buckinghamshire Lollards at Hughenden how he had been to Germany and had there seen how images, pilgrimages, and fast-days had already been abolished. Field then proceeded to enunciate a doctrine of the eucharist possibly deriving from Zwingli, i.e. that 'the sacrament of the altar was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood and bone of Christ; but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body'. It is certain that the Lollard circles created a ready-made organization for the distribution and reception of Lutheran books. The two London builders, Stacey and Maxwell, who began nonconformity in the antiquated circle of Father Hacker, certainly graduated into these more sophisticated pursuits later in life. Likewise the London leather-merchant John Tewkesbury, described as the

¹ Strype, *op. cit.*, I (2), 54-5.

² Lincoln Episc. Reg. xxvi, fo. 180v: he is one of the group of 10 Bucks. and London heretics in this royal warrant for arrest of 11 November 1530.

last Lollard martyr¹, was loudly praising, and apparently marketing, Tyndale's book *The Wicked Mammon* some time before his death². Richard Harman, one of Tyndale's most notorious agents, came from the Lollard centre of Cranbrook. His colleague Robert Necton, who marketed Tyndale's New Testament and other imported books, both in the London area and as far afield as Lynn, had in earlier years been connected with Hacker's group³.

These and other demonstrable links between the old movement and the new are substantial enough in themselves, but the weightiest effects of late Lollardy upon the English Reformation seem broader and less easily definable. That the Reformation became possible in Tudor England was largely due to the formidable volume of anticlericalism which developed during the earlier decades of Henry VIII. Whether the Reformation be envisaged as an act of state or a movement of thought, it was based upon the grudges of laymen against priestly wealth and power, against the daily miracle of transubstantiation from which clerical privilege seemed to derive, against the tyranny of the church courts, against the lucrative exploitation of purgatory and pardons, against tithes, the universal and incessant bone of contention. Whatever their theological background, the Lollards had always advocated the same practical steps as those dictated by envious secular anticlericalism. Decade after decade, Lollard propaganda had been permeating the atmosphere and touching the minds of men who were little attracted by doctrinal heresy.

From the court records, it would be easy to cite numerous cases of offenders who show small signs of close biblical study or systematic belief, but who went about enunciating slogans obviously related to Lollard teaching. To give a rather enter-

¹ *V.C.H., London*, I, 259; C. Sturge, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-2. He was burned at Smithfield 20 Dec. 1531.

² Foxe, IV, 689-93.

³ His confession is in Strype, *op. cit.*, I (2), 63-5.

taining example, William Bull was a young shearman from Dewsbury, who worked as apprentice and journeyman for several years in Suffolk and then in 1542 went home with a repertoire of heretical ideas. He astonished those who had known him as a boy by announcing 'that the font is but a stinking tarn and he had rather be christened in the running river than in the said tarn, standing stinking by half a year, for when God made the world he hallowed both water and land' ¹. Unabashed by reproofs from less progressive denizens of Dewsbury, he continued 'that he would rather be confessed at a layman than at a priest, unless the priest could show him such words as he would ask him in the Epistle and the Gospel, saying that he would not show his offences to the priest, as if he had japed [i.e. seduced] a fair woman, or such like offence, for the priest would be as ready within two or three days after to use her as he; reciting then two of the first articles of our Creed, saying that if he believed steadfastly in God, calling to God with a sorry heart for his offences, God would forgive him, saying the priest his confessor is a knave'. As for extreme unction, Bull pronounced it to be 'a sibberty sauce, and [said] that he would have no such sibberty sauce ministered unto him at his death'; again, 'that he believed in God, Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and Jesu Christ his only Son our Lord, by whom he trusted to be saved, if he had no such sibberty sauce at his death' ². This coruscating display of Yorkshire radicalism earned the young man a spell in the archbishop's prison, a humble abjuration, and public penances at York and Dewsbury. Less amusing, but perhaps more typical, was the claim made a few months earlier by Richard Flint, parish clerk of Topcliffe, who refused confession for two years, 'saying the cause moving him to the same was that there was a saying in

¹ The point is Lollard in substance, yet the phraseology bears suspicious resemblance to that of *The Summe of the Holye Scripture* (1529 or 1530), a translation of a French original published at Basel c. 1523.

² York Diocesan Records, R. VII A.B. 2, fos. 297v-298v; A.B. 21, fo. 11.

the country that a man might lift up his heart and confess himself to God Almighty and needed not to be confessed at a priest' ¹. Likewise, in John Fisher's register, the Rochester joiner John Dissenger is found to remark, 'I have heard say in the city of London that we should not worship saints, but God only . . . Also I have heard say that a man should not show his confessor all his sins that he had done' ². These familiar phrases, once the perquisite of heretics, had sunk deep into the minds of many working-class people long before they met the refinements of Wittenberg, of Strassburg, of Geneva, of Cranmer's Prayer Book.

This popular radicalism, with its powerful appeal to the underdogs of feudal and clerical society, was tending by the reign of Henry VIII to lose its religious character. Lollardy, in sharp contrast with the contemporary *devotio moderna*, had never taken much interest in psychological 'experiences'; neither did it feel that fascination with Pauline justificatory ideas which gave the fine edge to the new Protestantism. It had been essentially an opposition-creed, expending a large part of its energies upon negations. These were not, however, its only disabilities. Its alleged kinship with social subversion probably continued to repel the governing classes. A Bible-religion, it failed to gain access to the now essential printing presses. Unlike early English Lutheranism, it lacked a propaganda base in Antwerp outside the reach of the English bishops. While it could boast a ministry of sorts, its dissociation from the academic world deprived it of opportunities to refurbish its intellectual equipment. Its situation resembled that of an underground revolt with home-made weapons: however tenacious, it could not sally forth and fight in the open, except in alliance with friendly invaders equipped with a more modern armament. These invaders duly arrived. Spearheaded by Cambridge intellectuals and by Tyndale's New Testament, they made only gradual

¹ R. VII A.B. 2, fos. 280-280v.

² Fo. 167, quoted by Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

progress between 1520 and 1540. Conservative England, fascinated by a mere church-state revolution, could not wholly accept any religion which failed to gain a strong foothold in the governing classes; and when it came to this task, the Lollard memory may well have begun to hamper the Reformation. Nevertheless, by 1547 the latter had become strong enough at court to seize the chance presented by a royal minority, and under Protector Somerset Protestants first placed their hands upon the machinery of the English state. Ever since the accession of Henry IV, this feat had been wildly impossible for Lollardy. English society was not Netherlandish society. A foothold among the bourgeoisie, even among that of the great city of London, afforded no adequate base for the conquest of a kingdom dominated by the landed classes. All the same, the range of ideas introduced by Lollardy, and now disseminated far beyond its organized congregations, brought the common people toward an important crisis in its history, for even as they failed to throw off their economic servitude, they began to claim an increasing measure of mental independence. Those aspects of the continental Reformation which an intelligent working-class Englishman could most readily understand came as no startling novelty to his notice. Thanks to the Wycliffite tradition, he had at least heard of these ideas beforehand, and his pious resistances weakened all the more easily once he saw similar ideas appealing to his social and intellectual superiors. But from the first a minority felt itself out of tune with the Anglican compromise, and scarcely had Lollardy merged with continental Reform when there arose sects, both inside and outside the national church, consisting of men with the same social-economic status, the same local backgrounds, the same fervours and narrownesses as their Lollard predecessors. Catholic writers have understandably spoken of the Catholic citadel as betrayed from within by its commanders, the Henrician bishops. Yet with equal justification they might also have detected the growth of a disloyal element amid the generally

lukewarm rank and file of the garrison. Heretics, and people on the fringes of heresy, were more numerous in the earlier half of Henry VIII's reign than Gairdner's generation would ever acknowledge. They still, however, constituted a small minority of the nation; and the chief significance of heresy must be sought in its derivative, the anticlerical spirit, the pervasive anti-sacramental and anti-liturgical criticism which Wycliffe's legatees had done so much to preserve amid the deepest roots of English society.

Having suggested that the Lollard heresy helped on the popular level to prepare for the English Reformation, I have been confronted with an objection from those who cling to the conventional saga: if this is so, why did not contemporaries depict the situation in this light? The reply is a simple one. The most perspicacious of them in fact did so in unequivocal terms. Already in 1511, Erasmus and the papal agent Ammonius were already joking about the rising price of fuel in England, 'the heretics cause so many holocausts, and yet their numbers grow' ¹. That same year the suppression of heresy was declared the chief task of Convocation ². Three years later, but still several years before Englishmen had begun to discuss Luther, Fitzjames made his exaggerated and bitter comments on heresy in London. In the decade which followed, no one knew more about heresy than Fitzjames's successor, Cuthbert Tunstall, and it was he who in 1523 put the matter very succinctly in a letter to Erasmus: 'It is no question of pernicious novelty; it is only that new arms are being added to the great band of Wycliffite heresies' ³. Five years later still, Tunstall licensed Sir Thomas More to read heretical books, using the words, 'There have been found certain children of iniquity who are endeavouring to bring into our land the old and accursed Wycliffite heresy, and along with it the Lutheran heresy, foster-daughter of

¹ *Erasmi Epistolae*, ed. P.S. Allen (Oxford, 1906-58), I, Ep. 239, p. 481.

² J. H. Lupton, *Life of John Colet* (London, 1887), pp. 293-304.

³ *Erasmi Epistolae*, V, Ep. 1367, p. 292.

Wycliffe's' ¹. Rightly or wrongly, this was how the chief opponents of the Protestant Reformation saw its earlier stages. Wycliffite works occupied a place in the lists of forbidden books and later on several were printed by Bale and other Protestant publicists. In 1536, when Convocation drew up a catalogue of *mala dogmata* current among the people, this immense list contained very few items which had not been a commonplace of English heresy for over a century ². By no stretch of imagination could it be called an anti-Lutheran, anti-Zwinglian or anti-Anabaptist document; on the proletarian level, these foreign movements are unlikely, even in 1536, to have become as yet much more than catalysts in a situation of increasing complexity. All in all, we conclude that the Hunne case was no isolated phenomenon, that from about the accession of Henry VIII anti-Catholic unrest, its religious and its secular motives deeply intertwined, began to achieve an intensity quite unparalleled since the conversion of England. At no stage was the English Reformation an isolated act of state. Without cultural chauvinism, we can claim nowadays that Englishmen played a very large part in their own Reformation. Not long ago, Professor Dugmore rightly stressed the intellectual independence of Cranmer and the English Reforming theologians. But the men of learning were not the only Englishmen with a tradition of insularity and independence. Even among the common people, increasing numbers had come to rebel against the orthodox patterns. In some measure, they had begun to think for themselves, and if their thoughts seem too often crude and unattractive, they were at least daring to deviate from the docile majority and to explore the grandeurs and the miseries of opposition. Though the fruits were unripe and bitter, they had at least been plucked from the boughs of the Tree of Liberty.

¹ Sturge, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-3.

² R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1878-1902), I, 404-9.

*The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentations
Payments and the Problem of the Ex-
Religious*

THOUGH the problems surrounding the fate of the ex-religious have of late years attracted considerable attention, only a small proportion of the relevant sources has hitherto been examined. In particular, our knowledge of the records and the functioning of the Court of Augmentations leaves much to be desired. As yet, therefore, there has been little scientific investigation of the financial relations of the ex-religious with the state, of such matters as the assignment of monastic pensions, the system and regularity of their payment, their average and comparative values, their taxation by the government. Some of the most informative evidence on these topics lies amongst the reports of the pension commissioners appointed at various times by Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Mr. Baskerville, to whose labours we owe most of our present knowledge of the subject, has written of these sources: 'There were certainly three commissions of this kind, namely in 1552, 1554,¹ and 1569² respectively. Some, but by no means all, of their reports are extant. If only they had been studied more carefully we should have been spared a great many of the tears which sentimentalists have shed over the fate of the former religious.'³

Primarily to test the view expressed in this last sentence, the following interim report on what is by far the best documented of these three surveys—that of 1552–3—has been compiled.⁴ While, however, the problem of the pensioned ex-religious has

¹ The present writer has encountered only two returns to this Marian inquiry. Mr. Baskerville has printed that for the Norwich diocese, *ante*, xlviii. 209–28. The report for the diocese of Lincoln (Public Record Office, E. 101, 76/26) has been utilized by various local historians but remains unprinted.

² The main documents extant from this inquiry and from some slightly later ones are in P.R.O., Special Commissions, 3221, 3224, 3234, 3247–8, 3251, 3268. Cf. also the references in *Essays Presented to R. L. Poole*, p. 457, n. 4.

³ Baskerville, *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 257.

⁴ As will appear, the writer has utilized a few other Augmentations records to elucidate those of this commission. Nevertheless, until certain hitherto almost untouched classes are fully examined, especially the Treasurer's Rolls of Accounts of the Court of Augmentations, work on this subject will remain of an interim character.

claimed first attention, other classes of augmentations pensioners could not be excluded from review.

Before proceeding to the work of the commissioners, we must not fail to observe the circumstances under which the commission was issued in the autumn of 1552. This occasion was by no means the first upon which the government had taken cognizance of difficulties regarding the payment of pensions under the Court of Augmentations. Already in 1549 an attempt had been made to remedy by statute three abuses in this connexion. Speculators who had fraudulently bought the patents of pensioners 'for litle money or none or other thinge' were now ordered to return them to the victims within six months. In addition, the receivers of the Court of Augmentations were commanded, under a penalty of five pounds for every delay, to pay all pensions 'upon a reasonable requeste thereof'. These officials were also threatened with a fine of ten times any amount they might charge over and above their regulation fee of fourpence in the pound.¹

This evidently sincere attempt of Somerset's government to clear up such abuses does not appear to have survived the fall of that statesman. While it appears probable that the act of 1549 imposed a temporary check upon irregularities,² the pensioners were soon faced by a more formidable threat. The growing financial embarrassments of the years 1551-2³ tempted the government of Northumberland, amongst other desperate expedients, to dishonour its own obligations to grantees under the Court of Augmentations.

The Council Book for 3 June 1552 contains the significant entry: 'A lettre to Sir (*blank*) that, notwithstanding the former restraint gyven hym, he shall pay suche pencions as ar appointed to be receyved within his office, not exceding ten pound yerely the peece'. The recipient of this letter was evidently Sir Richard Sackville, Chancellor of the Augmentations, since immediately afterwards the council resolved to require 'the sayd chauncellour . . . notwithstanding the former restraint, to gyve ordre that the receyvours of that courte doo pay unto all suche as have pencions, to receyve at theyr handes not exceding x li by yere the peece, tharrearages due unto them for this yere'.⁴

¹ 2 and 3 Edw. VI, cap. 7 (*Stat. Realm*, iv. (1), 45-6). In addition, fourpence was fixed as the fee for making out the acquittance.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 404.

³ For a general account of the financial position in the years 1550-3, cf. F. C. Dietz, *English Government Finance, 1485-1558*, c. xv.

⁴ *Acts of Privy Council, 1552-4*, p. 67. The payment of pensions exceeding £10 had been stopped, at all events in some counties, as early as 25 March 1552 by order of the Council (cf. *infra*, p. 393). The payment of such higher pensions was again forbidden on 14 November 'untill the revenue that ought to cumme clere to the Kinges Majesties coofers be fyrst payed, and then to make payment of the pencions accordingly' (*Acts of Privy Council, 1552-4*, p. 170). Warrants were shortly

It might be deduced from this entry that a brief restraint upon pensions of less than ten pounds had ended with their full payment, including arrears, in June 1552. Yet such a deduction would be quite unjustified. It will be in due course indicated that substantial arrears in Augmentations payments had already been piling up for some months, and that a large part of these arrears remained unpaid at least until the end of 1552, if not longer.

Our evidence for these important facts lies in the numerous extant records of the commissions of inquiry which were appointed on 1 September 1552 and continued their work for some months subsequently.¹ These records fall into three classes. The actual commissions, dispatched under the great seal of the Court of Augmentations to the various shires, are in several cases still in existence. With them, for the guidance of the local commissioners, were enclosed the paper books, or official schedules of pensions in the hands of the central officials of the court. These paper books, mere lists of names and amounts, are now primarily of use for purposes of comparison and identification. They yield, of course, no details regarding such matters as arrears of payment. The third class of records consists of actual returns made by the commissioners for their respective shires or jurisdictions, and inscribed, as the commission specifically orders, upon parchment. These returns naturally yield much information unavailable elsewhere, and with them the present inquiry is principally concerned.

All save two of the available documents emanating from the commission occur in one bundle of the Augmentation Office Accounts.² For the sake of clarity and to avoid unnecessary reduplication of references, the following list of items contained in this bundle seems requisite.³

No. 11, Cambridgeshire. The commission: the paper book, of six pages: the return on a single piece of parchment written on one side only.

No. 12, Derbyshire. The commission with seal pendent: the paper book of ten pages: the return on four long membranes

afterwards issued to ensure continuance of payment to certain influential recipients of Augmentations pensions and annuities, notably to the duchess of Norfolk, the Lady Marquis of Exeter, Sir Henry Seymour and the abbess of Barking (*Acts of Privy Council, 1552-4*, pp. 196, 206, 221, 273).

¹ The dates of sessions and those at the heads of the returns range between October 1552 and February 1553: Cumberland, 18 October; Notts, 26 October; Hants, 2 November; Lincs, 4 November; Leicestershire, 8 November; West Riding, 26 November; Westmorland, 4 January; Lancs, 9 and 11 January; York city, 20 January; Staffs, 26 January; Gloucestershire, 9 February; North Riding, 20 February.

² P.R.O., E. 101, 76.

³ The list in *Lists and Indexes*, xxxv. 72-3, is very brief and unsatisfactory.

sewn end to end. To the first membrane is attached a letter from an annuitant, William Bowles, excusing his non-appearance.¹

No. 13, Durham. The commission : the paper book of thirty pages : the return on a file of five membranes.

No. 14, Gloucestershire, Cumberland and Dorset. A bound and foliated book of 73 pages. Pages 1-11 are the return for Gloucestershire, originally a parchment file, the membranes of which are folded to fit the binding.² Page 12 is the commission for Gloucestershire. Pages 14-43 are the paper book for Gloucestershire. Page 44 the commission for Cumberland. Page 46 the return for Cumberland written on a large parchment sheet now folded to fit the binding. Pages 48-59 the paper book for Cumberland. Page 60 the commission for Dorset. Page 62 the paper book for Dorset. No return for Dorset is included.

No. 15, Hampshire. The commission : the paper book, of eighteen pages, in bad condition : the return, unattached to the foregoing, on a large folded piece of parchment with the seals of the two Hampshire commissioners attached to it by tongues.

No. 16, Huntingdonshire. The return on one long piece of parchment with the seals of the three commissioners pendent below their signatures : the paper book of four pages.

No. 17, Lancashire. The commission with seal attached : the paper book of sixteen pages : the return on one piece of parchment.

No. 18, Lincolnshire. The commission : the paper book of 24 pages : the return on file of seven membranes.

No. 19, Nottinghamshire. The paper book of fourteen pages sewn to the return, a file of six long membranes.

No. 20, Staffordshire. Only the return, a very large piece of parchment, folded to make four pages, of which the first three contain the text.

No. 21, Suffolk. The commission : the return on both sides of a long piece of parchment.

No. 22, Westmorland. The commission with a fragment of the seal attached : the paper book of eight pages, attached to a return written on one piece of parchment.

No. 23, Yorkshire, East Riding. The commission : the return on a file of ten membranes.³ No paper book is extant.

No. 24, Yorkshire, North Riding. Only the return on a file of twelve membranes.

No. 25, City of York. The commission : the return on a file

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 408.

² This return has been printed, along with many valuable notes on the Gloucestershire ex-religious, by Mr. Baskerville in *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Archaeol. Soc.* xlix. (1927), 98-122.

³ The first and last are blank, but are reckoned as manuscript in the references *infra*.

of two membranes. The commissioners explain ¹ that no paper book had been sent to them with the commission.

This list exhausts the pertinent documents to be found in this bundle, and for the two remaining ones we must look elsewhere in the Public Record Office. The return for Leicestershire has strayed elsewhere amongst the Various Accounts of the Exchequer (King's Remembrancer).² It consists of a single piece of parchment with two of the original five seals of the commissioners pendent below their signatures. The much more important return for the West Riding of Yorkshire occurs amongst the Miscellaneous Books of Receipt of the Exchequer (Treasurer's Remembrancer).³ The book containing this return originally formed part of a larger book of 53 pages, but the pagination now commences at page 31, the return continuing thence to page 51. This is a complete and contemporary copy of the actual return, having been drawn up on 26 November 1552.⁴ It is not impossible that other scattered returns may come to light in classes of the public records unexamined by the present writer.

It seems essential, if we would accurately interpret the findings of the commissioners, to clarify at the outset the scope of the task entrusted to them. The commissioners, in each county a small group of justices and leading gentry, are ordered to assemble in some convenient place or places within the jurisdiction assigned. They are then to inquire, by the oaths of lawful persons and by other suitable methods, regarding certain particulars about the persons mentioned in the schedule or paper book attached to each commission. These persons include the former religious, the former chantry, collegiate, stipendiary priests and their like, and any other persons having rent charges, annuities or pensions for term of life going out of any dissolved ecclesiastical foundation or its possessions. The facts to be ascertained about all those scheduled people fall under three heads: how many of them are now in fact dead, with the date and place of death; how many are unpaid, for how long, and for what reason; how many have sold or assigned their grants to others and for what sums. The commissioners are empowered to summon and examine upon oath both these grantees and any other persons; also to examine the patents of the former. A quorum from each commission is made responsible for certifying the commissioners' findings into the Court of Augmentations, and all local officials are ordered to assist in the work.

These general instructions appear in most counties to have been carefully executed, the returns made by the commissioners yielding a number of interesting details regarding their sessions and procedure. The Nottinghamshire commissioners sat at

¹ M. 1.

² P.R.O., E. 603, 19.

³ *Ibid.* 36, 59.

⁴ P. 34.

Newark on 26 October 1552.¹ The North Riding commissioners merely state that they sat 'at sundrie tymes and placis within the lymytes of our said commission'.² The Hampshire return is headed: 'Inquisicions taken at the cytey of Wynchester in the seyd countey the second daye of November in the sexte yere of Edward the sexte'.³ The Lancashire commissioners set to work much later. They held two sessions: at Lancaster on 9 January 1553 and at Garstang on 11 January, giving 'laufull monicion and warninge to all and every suche person and persons as be named in the scedule annexed to the seid commission to appere before us the seid commissioners at the seid severall days and places, where we have diligentlie enquired of the articles and contentes in the saide commission expressed, as hereafter folowethe'. Their commission included the Isle of Man, regarding which geographical exigencies forced them to rely upon the testimony of one man, 'who was in the said isle' on 24 October last.⁴

Doubt as to the limits of a commission was practically confined to the city of York, situated as it was between the three ridings of the shire. The York commissioners, headed by the lord mayor, Richard White, explained that as they had received no schedule, and understood 'that the names of dyverse persons inquyrable of by us within the lymytes of oure saide commission were comprised in certayne scedules annexed to other commissions within the West and North Riding of the county of York', they had therefore called before them 'soo many of the resydewe of the said persons' as they could discover and who were known to have been omitted from the schedules of the county commissioners.⁵ This York return certifies particulars of only two of the chantry priests, noting 'that moe late chaunterie preistis within York citie did alsoo appere before us, whiche are here purposely omitted because they are to be certified by thother comissionars in the West and Northriding of Yorkshir as we do understand'.⁶

That the procedure of inquiry upon oath was duly followed appears in various returns. The Cambridgeshire grantees were 'examyned aswell by their corporall othes as by the corporall othes of other substanciyall honest men, affyrminge therby to be

¹ Notts. m. 1.

² N. Riding, m. 1d.

³ No references will be given in this and the many similar succeeding cases where the return in question consists only of one piece of parchment.

⁴ He had actually no fresh information to give regarding the Rushen and Douglas pensioners in the paper book, except that Robert Tyson, one of the ex-monks of Rushen, had died on 23 September last.

⁵ York city, m. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 2d. The North Riding commissioners actually include York chantry priests in the heading of their return and in their lists (N. Riding, ms. 1d-4). The case of William Gegotson (*infra*, p. 389, n. 8) exemplifies this confusion of jurisdiction.

the same persons [whose] names be hereafter particularly mentioned'. The Hampshire return records in detail presentments made on oath by certain gentlemen and others, while the Lancashire grantees declared 'upon their severall othes' that they had duly received their pensions and not alienated them. The Gloucestershire return gives a list of grantees unable to appear in person, but who sent in their patents and whose attornies confessed their payment by oath.¹

The grantees who appeared before the commissioners fall into three broad categories: lay grantees; ex-religious persons; and those ex-incumbents who had lost livings as a result of the Edwardian dissolutions. The lay people, in some shires the most numerous class of all, are neatly divided by Cardinal Pole's survey of 1556² into the three sub-categories of fee-holders, annuitants and corrodians. The small number of persons holding fees were nobles or influential gentry who had held stewardships or other high offices in religious houses.³ Annuitants, far more numerous than corrodians, varied in 1552 from great nobles like the earl of Bedford⁴ and Lord William Howard⁵ to obscure men and women for many of whom arrears of payment would represent some degree of hardship.

The class of pensioners created by the Edwardian dissolutions consisted almost entirely of chantry, gild, or collegiate priests. A few schoolmasters, whose stipends were paid by the Court of Augmentations, occur in the Durham,⁶ East Riding,⁷ York city⁸

¹ *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Archeol. Soc.* xlix. 121. Procedure by oath is again recorded in the Hunts. return.

² P.R.O., E. 164, 31. This admirably compiled folio parchment book forms an excellent guide to the survey of 1552-3. It gives the following particulars under county-headings: foundation, category of grant, name of grantee and amount. It is a definitive and permanent list, providing no information regarding irregularities. A similar book for 2 and 3 Philip and Mary is in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 8102, while another compiled in 1 Mary was extensively used by Browne Willis (cf. *Mitred Abbies*, i. 10 and *passim*).

³ On this class cf. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, pp. 246 *seqq.*; Baskerville, *English Monks*, c. ii.

⁴ Huntingdonshire; presented as absent and living outside the shire.

⁵ Suffolk, m. 2d.

⁶ Robert Hartborne and William Cokkey, of Durham Grammar School, appeared and confessed their 'wages' fully paid. Thomas Richardson of Darlington School did not appear (Durham, m. 5). On the arrangements for the payment of these three masters, see *Vict. Co. Hist., Durham*, i. 375, 388.

⁷ John Oliver, schoolmaster at Hull, is fully paid his stipend of £13 2s. 2½d., except for £2 10s. outstanding from 2 Edw. VI. Robert Robynson, schoolmaster at Beverley, is fully paid his £6 9s. 11d. (E. Riding, ms. 2, 4). On these continuances see *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks.* i. 427, 450.

⁸ William Gegotson, fellow of the college of Acaster near York, had been master of the school maintained by the college and was continued in that function after the dissolution. His stipend of £8 was fully paid (York City, m. 2d). He was also expected to appear before the West Riding commissioners, who marked him as absent (W. Riding, p. 51).

and Gloucestershire¹ returns. Their position was analogous with that of a few priests, mainly in the northern counties, who received their 'pensions' only on condition of serving a cure.² The commissioners of 1552 note only very occasionally the inmates of hospitals.³ In compiling the statistics which follow, it has been thought especially necessary to separate the three principal categories of grantees: generalizations regarding the payment of pensions to former religious persons could not, even for the purposes of a summary interim report, be based upon figures largely pertaining to lay annuitants and chantry priests. As will in due place be observed, this process of differentiation proved in the cases of certain returns extremely difficult. Commissioners sometimes used their terms loosely,⁴ or, still worse if more rarely, made no attempt at a clear separation of categories. In these cases their returns had to be collated with the paper books or schedules, where they existed, and with Cardinal Pole's survey. Even so, until the whole series is printed and compared name by name with other pensions lists, chantry surveys and local sources, precise accuracy regarding the category of every grantee can scarcely be assured. Error on any considerable scale is, however, unlikely to have crept into the figures given below.

In thus examining the returns of 1552-3 from the statistical viewpoint, it seems convenient first to dispose of those returns which show no sign of arrears of payment. Eight returns fall into this class: Cambridge, Durham, Gloucestershire, Cumberland, Huntingdonshire, Staffordshire, Westmorland, and such part of Lancashire as is represented.⁵

In Cambridgeshire, while 96 grantees⁶ of all classes were scheduled in the official paper book, only 53 are noted in the return as *nomina eorum qui comparuerunt* before the commission. Three others are given as having sold their patents, and two as being now dead. Thus 38 persons could not be accounted for,

¹ Humfride Dicke, schoolmaster at Winchcombe, in receipt of £10, is noted as alive but absent (*Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Archeol. Soc.* xlix. 110). This entry closes an important gap observed by A. F. Leach in his history of the school in *Vict. Co. Hist., Gloucester*, ii. 421.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 398, n. 2; p. 410, n. 3.

³ Two sisters of the dissolved hospital of Newton Garth in Holderness, and one brother of the late hospital of St. Sepulchre's at Hedon, occur in E. Riding, m. 9. An interesting list of 'eremettes' of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, Pontefract, together with a recommendation for its retention occurs in W. Riding, p. 45. This plea appears to have been successful, since the hospital remained in existence and was subsequently vested in the corporation of Pontefract (B. Boothroyd, *History of Pontefract*, p. 380).

⁴ 'Annuity' and 'pension' in particular are sometimes carelessly interchanged.

⁵ Dorset must be left as entirely doubtful, since the return itself is lacking.

⁶ 47 ex-religious; 33 chantry priests; 16 annuitants. These and all similar figures *infra* apply to grants, not to persons; pluralist grantees were, however, few (cf. *infra*, p. 408).

yet there is no mention of any known arrears in the Cambridgeshire return.

That of Durham, while omitting the amounts of grants, proves in other respects a model, if rather uninteresting list. Pensions,¹ annuities,² and corrodies³ succeed in orderly fashion. Though several deaths and absences, together with one sale of an annuity, are observed, each grantee who actually appears 'confesseth himself duely paid accordinglie' or 'knowledgeth hymself to be duelie paid hitherto'. There are no complaints of any kind.

Gloucestershire also provides a fair prospect, though the arrangement of the return differs considerably.⁴ The grantees fall into five main groups. The first appeared, showed patents and 'confessed payment thereof to their owne propre uses till Michaelmas last past by their corporall othes'.⁵ The second group consists of living absentees,⁶ the third of persons who did not appear, but who were known to have been paid to Michaelmas.⁷ The fourth group is that of the deceased grantees⁸ and the fifth of the impotent, who had sent in their patents and sworn by attorney that they had been duly paid.⁹ Under each of these five headings the names and amounts are arranged, as in almost all the returns, under the foundations to which the grantees had been attached, amounts and categories being throughout carefully indicated.

The return for Cumberland proves, on the other hand, brief and unsatisfactory. The commissioners, possibly through mere inefficiency, give only the names of those grantees in the schedule who are now dead, together with dates of death, and a mere list of those living. No amounts, arrears or other important particulars emerge. The Huntingdonshire return is not much more interesting. The grantees appear under three headings: 34 appeared personally and were paid to date;¹⁰ ten absentees were presented as alive, but dwelling outside the shire,¹¹ while two annuitants and one ex-monk had died at dates and places unknown.

The Staffordshire return, complete and businesslike, divides the grantees into their natural categories: 45 ex-religious,¹² 81

¹ Ms. 1-3d.

² Ms. 3d-4d.

³ Ms. 4d-5.

⁴ For the Gloucestershire chantry surveys, which afford many useful comparisons, cf. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Archeol. Soc.* viii. 229-308.

⁵ This group consists of 53 ex-religious, 53 annuities, &c., and 65 chantry priests, &c.

⁶ One ex-religious, 36 annuities, 1 schoolmaster.

⁷ 29 ex-religious, 30 annuities, 16 chantry priests.

⁸ 5 ex-religious, 14 annuities, 5 chantry priests.

⁹ 5 ex-religious, 7 annuities, no chantry priests.

¹⁰ Fifteen were monks of Ramsey, 6 of Huntingdon Priory, 3 of St. Neots; 4 were chantry priests and 6 annuitants.

¹¹ 4 monks, 4 annuitants, 2 chantry priests.

¹² Staffs. p. 1. Of these 29 appeared with their patents, 12 were absent, 3 dead, and 1 had sold his grant.

chantry and collegiate priests,¹ and 45 annuitants.² No arrears had come to light, and if, in fact, any had remained unobserved, they cannot have been numerous.³

The Westmorland commissioners, while framing a slightly more satisfactory reply than their Cumberland neighbours, likewise dismissed the matter in summary terms. Only seven names occur: three of deceased persons, three of persons who, 'dwelling in other shires hath made default', and that of the late chantry priest at Kendal, who will presently be noted as a separate case. These names are followed by a general memorandum 'that all the other pearsons named in the said sedule or booke annexed to the said commission other then above named be on lyve, and hath shewed to us theyr patentes and ar satisfied and payd theyr pencons'.

Neither the paper book nor the return for Lancashire embraces more than a small section of the pensions and annuities paid in the county palatine with reference to dissolved institutions. Of its fourteen religious houses surviving until the Reformation, three were friaries,⁴ the occupants of which would in any case not occur on a pension roll. Of the remaining eleven houses, we find here mention only of Cockersand and Hornby, together with an odd corrodian from Whalley; these along with the two extraneous houses of Rushen and Douglas in the Isle of Man. Few names are mentioned in the return, but the general assurance is given that, apart from some grantees now dead, those mentioned in the schedule appeared and swore payment to date. The Lancashire commissioners then proceed to note that 'all colleges, chaunteryes, free chapells, gylδες and suche other within the seid countie of Lancaster are annexed to the Duchie of Lancaster by force of the late acte'. The Lancashire commission itself obviously gives no powers over the pensions paid by the duchy authorities, whose rights had been carefully safeguarded as against such newfangled institutions as the Court of Augmentations.⁵ While thus we have no evidence of arrears or other

¹ *Staffs.* pp. 1-2. Of these 59 showed patents, 19 were absent and 3 dead.

² *Ibid.* p. 3. Of these 27 showed patents, 15 were absent, 1 had died, and 2 appeared but alleged their patents were in London.

³ Out of 171 grantees 46 remained uncertain, yet most, if not all, of these were probably either dead or living at a distance. 'And of those whiche have not appered', say the commissioners, 'wee are uncerten' (p. 3).

⁴ Cf. *Vict. Co. Hist., Lancs.* ii. 104-62.

⁵ The letters patent of January 1547 refounding the latter as the 'Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Crown' contain a proviso that all lands already in the survey of the duchy should continue in it (*Letters and Papers*, xxi. (2), p. 408). Pole's survey has an extensive list of pensions, &c., only for Cockersand amongst the Lancashire houses, the rest being represented by a mere handful of items (fos. 68v-69); it has no separate heading for the duchy, though certain duchy payments occur under Norfolk, Derbyshire and Yorkshire (fos. 14, 50, 60). For some further records illustrating the use of the duchy machinery during the dissolutions, cf. Giuseppi,

irregularities in Lancashire, we cannot claim to possess information regarding more than a tithe of the numerous grantees in that county.

The above concludes our list of counties where arrears of payment were either denied or unalleged. A second group of returns, where arrears are forthcoming, yet upon an inconsiderable scale, consists merely of the city of York and Leicestershire. The return for the latter commences with three special cases of pensions stated to be in arrears of half a year simply on account of a restraint placed by the council, as from 25 March 1552, upon all pensions exceeding ten pounds.¹ Four persons recorded as dead are then succeeded by the unexplained case: 'Henry Hylton late preist at Mysterton ys onpaid by the space of two yeres'.² There follow 38 defaulters, and finally the memorandum 'that all the resydue of the persones named in the sodule or booke herunto annexed, and not herin expressed, be onlyve and have shewed theyr letters patentes and knoledged theymselves to have receyvyd theyr yerely pencions and annuities tyll this day, and also have not sold any parte of theyr said pencions or annuities'.

Arrears in York proved a little more extensive, but still insignificant. Sixteen annuities of nine religious houses in York and the Ainsty are all duly paid. Under the next heading, that of pensions, we find mentioned by name some sixty ex-religious coming from four houses. Of these, no less than 23 are merely described as 'alive' without further qualification, five as definitely paid, seven as dead, and one as having sold his pension in 1542. Five others, however, are stated to be in arrears for a year, and four for half a year. It has already been observed that the bulk of the ex-chantry priest class, very numerous in York,³ was regarded as falling under the survey of the West and North Riding commissioners. In the city return occur only two chantry priests, described as 'alive', and three members of the late college of Acaster, two of whom were 'alive' and the third,

Guide to the Public Records, i. 328-9, 332; Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 115-27. The accounts of the receiver-general of the Duchy, which are complete for these years, should throw more light on the subject.

¹ Cf. on this restraint *supra*, p. 384. The three cases are those of John Burchier, abbot of Leicester, with a pension of £200; Richard Duckett, canon of Leicester, whose pension amounted to only just £10; Henry Pole, pension £172 6s. 8d., elsewhere described as commendator or preceptor of Dalby. On this hospitaller cf. *Letters and Papers*, xiv. (1), 651 (43c.); xiv. (2), 62, and 32 Hen. VIII, cap. 24, which assigns him a pension of 200 marks.

² Henry Hilton is noted by the Leicestershire chantry commissioners as stipendiary priest in the church of Misterton. His stipend had been £5 6s. 8d. and his pension was £5 (*Assoc. Architect. Soc. Rep.* xxx. (2), 531; Willis, ii. 115).

³ In 1546-8 there were 49 chantry priests in the minster, 40 of them pluralists, and 33 chantry priests in the city churches, 18 of them pluralists (*Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, *Surtees Soc.* xci., xcii. 9-84, 431-473).

the schoolmaster, definitely paid. This return concludes with seven corrodians, two paid, two not heard of, one dead, and two 'behinde a whole year'. The York commissioners thus did not obtain a very complete view of the pensioners who would normally be regarded as within their jurisdiction, and, from a remark passed at the conclusion of their survey, it is clear that arrears were actually being reduced during their sessions.¹

Eight returns disclosing serious arrears of payment remain to be discussed: those for Derbyshire, Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Suffolk, and all three ridings of Yorkshire. The monastic importance of this group will readily be appreciated. These counties had included more than three times the number of religious houses possessed by the seven counties showing no arrears.² Even Gloucestershire, so famed in the south for its wealth of ecclesiastical endowments, showed only three-fifths the number of Augmentations grants numbered by the North Riding.³ The Lincolnshire ex-religious prove in these returns twice as numerous as those of Gloucestershire, who were also easily outnumbered by the ex-religious of each riding of Yorkshire.⁴ These eight returns show, however, considerable variations in both the extent and the duration of their arrears. The need hence arises to consider each return individually.

The Derbyshire commissioners, though very careful to give all the information demanded by the government, were less

DERBYSHIRE

	Totals.	Paid.	Absent.	Dead.	Sold.	Doubtful.	Arrears.				
							Over 2 Years.	2 Years.	1½ Years.	1 Year.	½ Year.
Annuities, &c. . .	40	0	10	3	1	1	0	2	0	13	10
Pensions to ex-religious	31	0	6	8	0	1	0	0	0	10	6
Pensions to chantry priests, &c. . .	55	0	6	3	0	0	1	0	2	20	23
Totals . . .	126 ⁵	0	22	14	1	2	1	2	2	43	39

¹ 'Memorandum alsoo that at the first sytting of us the said commissiounars, dyverse of the abovesaid persons were behynde and unpaid their saied pensons and annuities, some for an wholl, some for half a yere, and some for moare, whiche be nowe all payed as it is saied' (York city, m. 2d.).

² 172 houses as against 53 (Savine, pp. 270-88).

³ N. Riding, 514; Gloucestershire 320, of which 20 have no connexion with ecclesiastical foundations.

⁴ Gloucestershire, 93; Lincs., about 200; N. Riding, 137; W. Riding, 128; E. Riding, 113.

⁵ An annuitant and a pensioner, both of Dale, said to be dead in this return of 1552, are found as living grantees in Pole's survey.

careful in distinguishing annuitants from pensioners. With the aid of the paper book and Pole's survey these categories are not, however, difficult to separate. In this case and those of some other counties, it will further clarity and convenience if the statistical aspects of the return are summarized in a table, as on the previous page.

It will be observed from these figures that the position of the Derbyshire grantees at the end of 1552 remained most unenviable. Not a single one had received full payment to date, and practically all the grantees who appeared were either one or two half-yearly payments in arrears. The reasons given for these and similar arrears will be discussed separately.

The position in Hampshire proved not dissimilar, though it may be set forth in a simpler table. The categories of grantees are here clearly distinguished in the return, and it is equally clear that both payments for the foregoing year had been withheld from all these categories by Chidiock Paulet, the county receiver.

HAMPSHIRE

	Totals.	Paid.	Absent.	Dead.	Sold.	Arrears 1 year.
Annuities, &c.	73	0	7 ¹	7	1	58 ²
Pensions to ex-religious . .	77	0	21	8	3	45
Pensions to chantry priests, &c.	25	0	6	2	0	17
Totals	175	0	34	17	4	120

More difficult problems are presented by the Lincolnshire return, which is of great length and somewhat curious arrangement. A list of scheduled persons now dead ³ is followed by a large group of all kinds of living grantees, who have shown their patents unsold, 'with a declaracion of suche of them as be unpaid their seid annuities or pencions and for howeleng tyme and by what occasion'.⁴ After this there follow successively pension-sellers, defaulters and grantees omitted from the paper schedule.⁵ While, however, these classes are subdivided in the usual orderly fashion under the religious houses and other foundations concerned, no clear distinctions are made throughout either between the two essential categories of pensioners, or even between pensioners and lay grantees. By utilizing, as in the case of

¹ The commissioners doubt whether these seven are yet living.

² Seven of these are merely described as 'unpaid' without statement as to period, but it appears virtually certain that arrears of one year are intended.

³ Lincs. m. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* ms. 1d-6.

⁵ *Ibid.* ms. 6, 7, 7d. respectively.

Derbyshire, the paper schedule, in itself neither up-to-date nor complete, and Pole's survey, we are able to place with fair certainty almost all the grantees in their proper categories. It is noteworthy, however, that in this difficult case of Lincolnshire there exist other records which may be utilized in the future to work out statistics of unquestionable precision: especially the unprinted certificates of pensioners made in the Lincoln diocese in 1554.¹ It has seemed for this reason inappropriate to present the Lincolnshire return in dogmatic tabular form, yet the figures we are able to supply run little risk of major errors.

From a grand total of 448 recipients of all kinds, we may first deduct seventy defaulters, thirteen sellers of patents, four persons given as doubtful or unmentioned in the schedule, and 41 reported as dead.² Only five grants, two of them to one annuitant, Thomas Wakefield, are said to be paid. These deductions leave us with the large number of 315 grants in some sort of arrears. Of these 315, 50 have been distinguished as of the annuity class, 46 of them a year in arrears, two for one and a half years, one for two years, and one for only half a year.

Approximately 148 of the 315 Lincolnshire arrears were arrears in monastic pensions, 138 of them for one year, four for one and a half years, one for two years, and five for only half a year. Finally, 117 chantry and collegiate³ priests also stood in arrears, 98 of them for one year, eight for one and a half years, two for two years and nine for half a year. Altogether of the 315 unpaid grantees, 282 were thus in arrears of one year's standing, a figure which points to a virtually general restraint of payment in the county after Michaelmas 1551. The great number of these Lincolnshire grantees would constitute their deprivation a substantial economy in the expenditure of the Court of Augmentations.

The Nottinghamshire return is a more orderly compilation, clearly distinguishing the various categories of grantees. It will be observed from the first table on the next page that none of the latter had been paid to date, but that, unlike their equivalents in Lincolnshire, a large number of the Nottinghamshire chantry priests were suffering arrears of only six months' duration.

Clarity of arrangement is again a virtue of the Suffolk return.⁴ The former religious take first place, beginning with four heads of houses and including the colleges of Wingfield and Stoke, the

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 383, n. 1.

² Of these 41, about 22 are ex-religious, 7 annuitants, and 12 chantry priests.

³ Twenty of these belong to Thornton College, Henry VIII's ephemeral foundation.

⁴ A few further particulars regarding the Suffolk inquiry are given in *Vict. Co. Hist., Suffolk*, ii. 32.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

	Totals.	Paid.	Absent.	Dead.	Sold.	Doubtful.	Arrears.			
							2 Years.	1½ Years.	1 Year.	½ Year.
Annuities, &c. . .	60	0	25	3	0	2	3	1	16	10
Pensions to ex-religious . .	60	0	20	1	4	0	1	2	16	16
Pensions to chantry priests, &c. . .	96	0	18	5	0	0	1	0	24	48
Totals . . .	216 ¹	0	63	9	4	2	5	3	56	74

members of which must be transferred to the chantry priest class for statistical purposes. Chantry priests and annuitants follow in turn. The survey concludes with a separate group formed of all kinds of absentees, the category of each being clearly denoted. It will be observed that the Suffolk grantees were almost uniformly unpaid for the last half year.

SUFFOLK

	Totals.	Paid.	Absent.	Dead.	Sold.	Doubtful.	Arrears.	
							1 Year.	½ Year.
Annuities, &c. . . .	27	0	11	0	2	0	1	13
Pensions to ex-religious.	32	0	0	1	2	0	0	29
Pensions to chantry priests, &c. . . .	57 ²	0	14	2	0	1	1	39
Totals	116	0	25	3	4	1	2	81

The long book representing the labours of the West Riding commissioners is carefully arranged, and in the following sequence : annuities proper ; ³ monastic pensions ; ⁴ corrodies ; ⁵ chantry pensions ⁶ and assistants to cures who had been supported by the Court of Augmentations since the Edwardian dissolution.⁷

¹ Pole's survey (fos. 62-63v) gives 51 annuities, &c., 52 pensions to ex-religious, and 92 pensions to chantry priests.

² Twenty-two of these are collegiate priests of Wingfield and Stoke.

³ W. Riding, p. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.* loc. cit.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 51.

YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING

	Totals.	Paid.	Absent.	Dead.	Sold.	Doubtful.	Arrears.				
							Over 2 Years.	2 Years.	1½ Years.	1 Year.	½ Year.
Annuities, &c. . . .	183	68	28	12	5 ¹	9	1	2	34	21	3
Pensions to ex-religious	128	37	18	12	2	3	0	1	5	40	10
Pensions to chantry priests, &c. . . .	96 ²	12	20	1	1	3	0	1	4	48	6
Totals	407	117	66	25	8	15	1	4	43	109	19

These figures show the position in the West Riding as differing in degree from that of the neglected counties already examined. Arrears of a year and eighteen months remain heavy, yet over a third of the total number of grants regarding which information emerged are recorded as actually paid.

Statistics for the East Riding prove rather more difficult to arrive at, owing to the curious arrangement of the return. The grantees are not divided into broad groups of any kind, while the place-headings are very numerous, some of them apparently referring, not to foundations, monastic or otherwise, but simply to the place of residence of the grantee. Pensioners and annuitants are mingled together without many distinctions, and prolonged comparisons were necessary before the substantially accurate table on the next page could be compiled. Arrears were considerably lighter in the East Riding than in the rest of the group of returns we are now considering; they amount to little over 13 per cent. of the total number of grants regarding which evidence was forthcoming.

The North Riding shows a vast total of grants commensurate with the number and importance of its monastic establishments and chantries. The order of the return is as follows: pensions of chantry priests; ³ annuities and fees; ⁴ pensions of late religious; ⁵ corrodiés.⁶ Few difficulties of calculation arise, yet at first sight

¹ Three of these are said to be given away, one 'frely yffyn' by Sir Henry Savile to Sir Leonard Beckwith 'immedyatly after the suppressyon' (pp. 35-6).

² Fifteen of these appear under the heading 'assystentes alowyd and appoyntyd to serve in certen grett cures in the Westriding of Yorkshire' (p. 51). Amongst these appears Robert Purslove, bishop of Hull and late provost of the college of Rotherham, with his pension or stipend of £14 4s. 4d. fully paid. Of the fourteen lesser men, mostly with very small stipends, nine are a year in arrears, three paid and two absentees: a particularly regrettable state of affairs, since, after the Edwardian dissolutions, the services of these priests were highly necessary in the vast and straggling parishes of this region. For a list of priests intended to be maintained in such a capacity cf. *Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, xci. pp. xiv, xv; xcii. pp. vii-x.

³ N. Riding, ms. 2-4.

⁴ *Ibid.* ms. 4-8d.

⁵ *Ibid.* ms. 8d-11d.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 11d.

it would appear difficult to arrive at complete certainty regarding the number of grantees paid. Almost all those counted in the subjoined table as paid are merely described in the return itself as 'appeared with his patent'. Our assumption that they were paid seems justified, since, if they appeared in person and displayed their patents, any question of arrears could not have remained in such doubt as to warrant a deliberately non-committal note. It should be observed that portions of this return are badly stained, with the result that the total of annuitants may be slightly inaccurate.

YORKSHIRE, EAST RIDING

	Totals.	Paid.	Absent.	Dead.	Sold.	Doubtful.	Arrears.				
							Over 2 Years.	2 Years.	1½ Years.	1 Year.	½ Year.
Annuities, &c. .	54	31	9	7	2	4	1	0	0	0	0
Pensions to ex-religious .	113	59	16	8	1	15	0	1	2	11	0
Pensions to chantry priests, &c. .	160 ¹	107	14	9	0	12	1	1	1	13	2
Totals . . .	327	197	39	24	3	31	2	2	3	24	2

YORKSHIRE, NORTH RIDING

	Totals.	Paid.	Absent.	Dead.	Sold.	Arrears.				
						Over 2 Years.	2 Years.	1½ Years.	1 Year.	½ Year.
Annuities, &c. .	245	99	54	8	1	2	2	5	51	23
Pensions to ex-religious .	137	41	33	12	0	0	2	2	38	9
Pensions to chantry priests, &c. .	132	79	22	4	0	0	1	0	20	6
Totals . . .	514	219	109	24	1	2	5	7	109	38

The foregoing tables indicate that numerous arrears of payment existed in several counties at the time of the inquiry of

¹ Seventy of these are connected with the great collegiate church of Beverley; it is likely that a few of them should be transferred to the category of annuities, since only 52 clergy appear on the staff of the church in the chantry surveys (*Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, pp. 524 *seqq.*).

1552-3. Yet the actual extent of the trouble remains of comparatively small significance unless its causes can be ascertained. These causes the commissioners explain satisfactorily enough in every county affected, except in Hampshire and in the East Riding. At the head of the Derbyshire return we find the following :—

Monasterium de Greysley.	Johannes Okeley nuper prior ibidem, per pensionem vj li. per annum, a retro per uno anno [<i>sic</i>], who saythe upon his othe was for that Mr. Gooche ¹ said he had a com-myssyon for the fyrst halffe yere to stey the payment thereof untill the Kynges maiestyes pleasure were knowen. ²
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In the Derbyshire cases following this, 'causa ut Johannes Okeley prius dixit' or 'causa ut supra' is the almost universal explanation of arrears. A few simply gave as their reason 'because Mr. Goche refused to pay it'.³ Some of the would-be recipients had not been backward in asserting their rights. Thomas Gylbert, a priest of the late college of Derby, claimed arrears of three years, and said 'apon his othe he ofte demaunded it and cold not gett it'.⁴

In Lincolnshire the list of arrears begins with the case of a monk of Vaudey, 'Thomas Jaxson in liff and unpayd by the space of oon yere at Michelmas last past, the cause why is that the receyvor declared to them at Mayday last that he hadd a letter frome the Kinges maiesties counsell that he shold nott pay them that half yere'.⁵ In all the numerous Lincolnshire cases of one year's arrears this reason is monotonously repeated. The late prior of Spalding had an additional grumble: 'Richard Palmer late abbott there, in liff and unpaid for oon yere ended at Michellmas last past. The cause why as before is declared, and he sayth that the receyvor haith yerely of his pencon vj li. xiiij s. iiij d. and yett dothe not pay hym without long taryng and greate chardges'.⁶ A long and highly interesting note at the end of the Lincolnshire return⁷ will even gratify the sentimentalists, if any of these latter have survived the onslaughts of Mr. Baskerville :—

¹ Robert Goche, esq., receiver of the Court of Augmentations for Derbyshire and other counties.

² Derbyshire, m. 1.

³ A solitary exception has arrears of a year 'quia solum semell in anno'; it had been arranged to pay the pension annually, instead of in the usual half-yearly instalments.

⁴ *Ibid.* m. 3.

⁵ Lincs. m. 1d.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 4. Cf. on Palmer's succession to office, *Vict. Co. Hist., Lincoln*, ii. 123. His case was actually far from hard, since his full pension amounted to £133 6s. 8d. (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, iii. 231).

⁷ Lincs. m. 7d.

It may pleas your Maiestie further to be certified that dyvers of the pencyoneres above rehersed, and in especyall of the porest sorte havynge the smallest pencyons, have declared unto us the said commysioners that they have bene so delayed and dryven frome tyme to tyme and place to place for the payment of the saide pencyons, besydes the exaction of rewardes to the receyvor and his servauntes, as dyverse of them have spent the whole value of ther pencion or they coulede gette it, and other some halfe or parte theroff to the utter decay of ther lyving. In consideration wherof we the said commysioners at their speciall sute and request do make humble petition to your most excellent maiestie in ther behalfe, that it may pleas your maiestie and your most honorable counsell to take such godly order and dyrection therin as the said poore pencyoners and in especiall those whose yearly pencyon doth not excede the somme of xl s. may be redyly paide to them by your maiesties commaundment at ther daies, withoute any delay or other unreasonable rewardes to be taken by the saide inferyor officers other than by your maiestie and your said honorable counsell shalbe appoynted and assigned for portag or otherwyse.

[Signed] FRANCIS AYSCOUGH.
W. THOROLD.¹

In the case of Nottinghamshire the arrears for one year are practically all followed by the explanation: 'for the recayvor said he had a restraint to the contrarie'. Here, however, two pensioners were unpaid for eighteen months because they 'did not aske it',² while the late prioress of Bradholme, unpaid for two years, had failed to obtain her pension in the first year because she made no demand for it and only in the second year because of the receiver's refusal.³ William Bowles, the pluralist in annuities,⁴ had been unpaid for two years, since 'ther remayed a reckeninge betwene the recayvor and the sayd William Bowles'.⁵ An ex-chantry priest of Southwell had been unpaid for a year 'for he had a benefice', though to whom he owed this promotion is not stated.⁶ These half-dozen cases constitute, however, but a minor exception to the rule in Nottinghamshire, where the restraint upon payment had become general.

At the beginning of the Suffolk return four heads of houses⁷ state that they have not sold their pensions and are not 'unpayed any parte therof but onlie for the half yere ended at Michelmas

¹ Sir Francis Ayseough of Stallingborough and South Kelsey, and William Thorold, Esq., of Hough and Marston, two of the five Lincolnshire commissioners. Cf. regarding them *Harleian Soc.*, i. 63; lii. 982; *Lincol. Notes and Queries*, xxiv. 15.

² Notts. ms. 1, 2.

³ *Ibid.* m. 3.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 386 and *infra*, p. 406.

⁵ Notts. ms. 2, 3.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 6. The Augmentations Books frequently assert the rule that a pension ceased upon its recipient's advancement by the king to ecclesiastical promotions of equal or greater value in his gift (*Letters and Papers*, xiii. (1), 1520 (p. 574); xiv. (1), 1355 (p. 596), &c.). Cf. on this topic *infra*, p. 414.

⁷ Henry Bassingbourne, prior of Woodbridge; George Carlton, abbot of Leiston; William Parker, prior of Eye; Grace Sampson, prioress of Redlingfield.

nowe last past'. This is generally repeated in the cases of the other arrears; ¹ a complete restraint had obviously been imposed by the court during the last half year.

More interesting phraseology occurs amongst the reasons given for the North Riding arrears. Some would-be recipients said they 'did axe it and could not gett it'; others 'required it and was answered they (i.e. the officials) had no money'; another 'did require it and was denied'. Yet others received answers in such terms as 'they had no leysuer to pay him', 'they had a restreynt', or 'that the Kinge must make other pamentes, that he could not pay them'. This last reply was made to a monk of Mountgrace who 'axed it several tymes'.² John Harrison, a canon of Gisburn, whose pension was in arrears of eighteen months, 'requyred payment, and he (i.e. the receiver Richard Whalley³) answered 'that his bokes was at London and when he saue his bokes he wold pay hym'.⁴ To Robert Bovell, an ex-corroddian, the receiver 'saied that he had so much busyness in the Kinges affares that he could not pay theym'.⁵ It becomes clear enough that the vast majority of the arrears cases in the North Riding were due to the refusal of the receiver, by whatever motives it may have been prompted, to satisfy his pensioners. The very few exceptions to this rule were of two kinds. A chantry priest and three annuitants had been unpaid for long periods because, though possessing patents, they were unfortunate enough not to appear on the official schedule.⁶ On the other hand, two chantry priests, nine ex-religious and fourteen annuitants are reported to be unpaid because they failed to ask for the sums due to them.⁷

In the West Riding the 'cause' of the trouble appeared simple to the commissioners: 'Memorandum that al the arrerages declaryd in this boke, some were due at Michelmes last and some at Martymes last, and the partyes allegyd the cause of tharrerages to be for that the recevoves deputyes told them they hayd no money in theyr handes to pay them'. A final note, undated, states that 'further synce the inquiry of the premysses yt ys sayd that the late deputyes to Mr. Rychard Whalley late recevor of Yorkshyre hayth payd al or a grett parte of thafforsayd arrerages'.⁸

Concerning this subject of arrears one or two important matters remain for discussion. Having been at pains to dis-

¹ The two instances of a whole year's arrears were due to the failure of the recipients themselves to demand their pensions from the receiver.

² N. Riding, m. 10d.

³ Cf. the references to this fraudulent associate of Northumberland in Dietz, pp. 180, 197-8.

⁴ N. Riding, m. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.* m. 11d.

⁶ *Ibid.* ms. 3-8d.

⁷ *Ibid.* ms. 2-10d.

⁸ W. Riding, p. 51.

tinguish the main categories of grantees, we are at once tempted to ask whether annuities and other payments to the laity were accorded preferential treatment, as opposed to the pensions of former religious and chantry priests. In most cases of counties showing arrears this distinction cannot be made. In Derbyshire, Hampshire, Nottinghamshire, Suffolk and Lincolnshire, where all or virtually all of every category of payment stood overdue, pensioners and annuitants had received similar treatment. We are accordingly left with the four divisions of Yorkshire, where arrears were not complete in extent. In the East Riding, it will have been observed, only one annuity remained unpaid, while thirty-two out of 199 'known' pensioners¹ had suffered arrears. The North Riding, on the other hand, shows a slightly higher proportion of paid pensions, due to the large number of chantry priests who had been paid.² In the West Riding under half of the 'known' annuitants, but just over two-thirds the 'known' pensioners, showed arrears. The incomplete survey for the city of York shows only two out of twenty 'known' lay grantees unpaid, and nine out of forty-four 'known' pensioners. In Yorkshire, where the receiver had money enough at his disposal to make a partial settlement, he appears hence to have accorded somewhat preferential treatment to the lay grantees. How far any deliberate principle was being followed we are scarcely, however, entitled to surmise.

It remains impossible to prove from these returns that the laity were generally excepted for favourable notice. Individual influence had always tended to carry weight in the allocation and payment of Crown pensions, but the evidence in these surveys does not all point in one direction. In Yorkshire influential gentry like Sir Leonard Beckwith, Sir William Babthorpe, and the Constables held each several fees and annuities, and in almost every case appear as fully paid. On the other hand, in Lincolnshire Sir Thomas Heneage, Sir Francis Ayscough, and Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, gentlemen whose monastic connexions had been almost equally extensive,³ are found amongst the arrears equally with

¹ This expression will henceforth be employed to designate the living grantees regarding whom definite knowledge was forthcoming. To arrive at their number, we deduct from the gross total the absent, the dead, and the doubtful. In several counties dead grantees are mentioned as being in arrears at their death, but in no case have they been counted amongst the arrears.

² Out of 183 'known' annuitants 83 remained unpaid; out of 92 'known' ex-religious, 51 unpaid; but out of 106 'known' chantry priests only 27 unpaid.

³ Sir Thomas Heneage, the elder, who died in August 1553 (cf. *Assoc. Architect. Soc. Rep.* xxv. 39), appears as steward of the demesnes of Grantham, part of the lands of the late Queen Katherine, which were under the Augmentations and occur in other returns. On his connexions with Revesby, Kirkstead, Sixhill and Peterborough, cf. *Valor Eccles.* iv. 83, 283; *A Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln*, ed. Salter, pp. 44-5, 166. Sir William Ayscough, the father of Sir Francis, had been chief steward of Nuncotton and Newsome (*Valor Eccles.* iv. 75). The Sir Robert Tyrwhitt referred

obscure monks and chantry priests. We may only conclude that local influence over the payment of Augmentations grants varied widely with local personalities and circumstances.

It will have been observed from the foregoing tables that arrears of long standing are rare in these returns of 1552-3. Delays in payment are, it is true, occasionally encountered during the years immediately following the dissolution of the monasteries.¹ The statute of 1549 had indicated that arrears were giving trouble even at that time, yet this measure in itself probably did something to check their development, since in 1552-3 a mere handful of grantees claimed arrears for periods exceeding two years.² Very few spoke before the commissioners of difficulties at earlier periods. A Nottinghamshire annuitant claimed to be unpaid for the whole year 38 Henry VIII.³ John Oliver, the schoolmaster at Hull, claimed £2 10s. due in 2 Edward VI,⁴ while Thomas Holme, an annuitant of Meaux, alleged that he had a grant 'by yere xiiij s. iiij d, and had never peny paid'.⁵ Similarly a pensioner of Beverley 'lackyth every year sith the dissolucion of the college xvj s.'. ⁶ Cases of this type are rare. Of such irregularities in payment as took place between 1539 and 1549 one may learn little from the returns of 1552-3. On the evidence here and elsewhere, it seems improbable that arrears on any scale comparable with those of 1551-2 had ever previously occurred in the short history of the Court of Augmentations.

Mr. Baskerville has written: 'It has frequently been insinuated that the pensions of the former religious were withheld or withdrawn from them. This is certainly not the case. Rather the Crown had to protect itself against pension frauds of all kinds, and it was for this purpose that the commission of 1552 was appointed.'⁷ The instructions to inquire regarding the deaths of grantees probably indicates that the possibility of payments being fraudulently drawn by surviving relatives was not absent from official minds. But the commission certainly does not read as if the detection of fraud was a primary purpose of its authors, and whatever the case, the commissioners did not, so far as our observation goes, discover any cases of fraud on the

to in this return is presumably the elder Sir Robert, of Leighton Bromswood, Hunts., steward of Thornton Abbey. On his monastic connexions and those of his brother, Sir William, and nephew, the younger Sir Robert, cf. R. P. Tyrwhitt, *Notices of the Family of Tyrwhitt*, pp. 21-30, 109; Salter, pp. 46-9.

¹ Cf. the plea of the late abbot of Dieulacres in *Letters and Papers*, xvi. 324, and the receipts, signed by the monks of Croxden on 18, 20, 28 May 1541, for pensions due the previous Lady Day, *ibid.* 866.

² The tables given above show 101 grantees from seven shires with arrears of eighteen months or more. Of these only six could claim for periods in excess of two years.

³ Notts. m. 3; the case of Brian Hailes, described *infra*.

⁴ E. Riding, m. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* m. 7d.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 2.

⁷ *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Archeol. Soc.* xlix. 68.

side of the grantees. It may be submitted that here and elsewhere there remains insufficient evidence upon which to base a picture of crafty ex-religious and their connexions outwitting innocent Augmentations officials. Considering alone the contemporary reputation of the Court for 'cruellesse and suttyltes',¹ such a picture must, until very strong evidence is forthcoming, lie under suspicion of being rather highly-coloured.

The eccentricities of grantees took forms other than fraud. As previously indicated, several sales of grants appear. Such sales were not, however, illegal. The pensions act of 1549 could not be interpreted so as to invalidate bona fide sales; had any such question arisen, buyers would not have come forward so boldly as they did to assert their rights before the commissioners. The commission proved, however, that the traffic in Augmentations grants had attained no very extensive scale. Less than fifty cases have been observed in the extant returns, and almost all of these in the counties showing the heaviest arrears.² It would seem not unlikely that some of the sales were occasioned by periods of non-payment. A few transfers were, however, of a more complicated nature, the classic example appearing in the case of an annuity out of Welbeck Abbey. Thomas Holme, the original grantee of an annuity of £2 13s. 4d. sold his patent in 32 Henry VIII for £10 to a priest, William Drake. The latter subsequently sold his interest for £13 6s. 8d. to Richard Pimond, who died. Pimond's widow then married one Brian Hailes, who now appeared before the commissioners of 1552 demanding payment, including arrears, in the right of his wife. Thomas Holme, the original grantee, had to be certified as still living in order to establish the legality of this claim, which, of course, would lapse in respect of all parties on his death.³

The ex-religious were seldom or never involved in transactions of anything like this complexity, and only one or two of their sales present interesting features. Thomas Cole, a monk of Bury, 'seithe that abought eight or nyne yeres paste he dyde yeeve and assigne over his annuytie (i.e. pension) to Ambrose Jermyne esquyere, upon concyderacion that the said Ambrose dyd procure

¹ 'Oh that the King's grace knew of the extorcyon, oppressyon and brybery that is used in his ij courtys; that is to say, of the Augmentacyon and of the Escheker, but specially of the Augmentacyon . . . there is such oppressyon and extorsyon in those ij courtes, that all the subiectes of the reame (so farre as thei dare) crye out upon them' (Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors* (*Early Eng. Text. Soc.*, extra ser. xxii), p. 24). The special legislation already observed and the prominence of such sharks as Richard Whalley lend support to Brinklow's claims. Cf. also *infra*, p. 409.

² Thirteen in Lincolnshire and eight in the West Riding. Mr. Baskerville speaks of 'the scandalous sales of pensions which are so marked a feature of the Lincoln report' of 1554, but notes only one sale in the Norwich report of 1555 (*ante*, xlviii. 205).

³ Notts. m. 3. The payment was in arrears for the years ending Michaelmas 1546 and Michaelmas 1552.

and obteyne to hym the benyfce in Flempton in Suffolke of the geifte of one Thomas Lucas esquier'.¹ One of Cole's fellow-monks, Thomas Rowte, preferred a cash deal, selling his pension for £26 13s. 4d., 'wherof he saithe he never receyved but onlye xix li'.²

Large-scale speculation or pluralism in annuities or pensions remained a very rare phenomenon. A few important gentlemen, of whom Sir Leonard Beckwith in Yorkshire was probably the best example,³ each held numerous fees and annuities, mainly owing to their wide monastic connexions previous to the dissolution. One or two individuals of lower rank are found in possession of several annuities in a manner suggesting that they had acquired them systematically by way of investment. William Bowles claimed in his letter attached to the Derbyshire return to hold an annuity in his own right and to have bought a pension in addition.⁴ He again occurs in the Nottinghamshire return as holding three grants in that county.⁵ Cases of pluralism on this scale nevertheless remain so rare as scarcely to deserve mention.

Equally rare are mentions of married religious.⁶ The returns give little indication regarding the numbers who availed themselves of the Edwardian permission to marry, since the commissioners, unlike their Marian successors for the Lincoln and Norwich dioceses in 1554-5,⁷ took little interest in these cases, which at the time of their inquiry involved no irregularity.

Difficulties seldom arose on the score of identity, probably since there were almost always persons present before the commission who could attest the identity of a doubtful grantee. The Suffolk commissioners were ostensibly staggered by the youthfulness of one claimant and wrote: 'John Smythe of thage of xiiij yeres appeared before the saide comysioners and affirmed

¹ Suffolk, m. 2. Thomas Cole was presented in 1541 to the living of Flempton by Ambrose Jermyn acting as assignee of Thomas Lucas (J. Gage, *Hist. and Antiq. Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred*, p. 62). John Bouchier, earl of Bath, mentions Cole's death in a letter of 3 May 1557, remarking that 'the said parson died the most desperat that you have lately heard of' (J. Gage, *Hist. and Antiq. of Hengrave*, p. 174). Cole occurs in the Norwich survey of 1555 (*ante*, xlviii. 226).

² Suffolk, m. 2.

³ He held at least a dozen annuities in all three ridings and in the city of York. He had been a receiver of the Court of Augmentations and was a commissioner for this inquiry of 1552-3 in the North Riding. A useful account of his significant career may be found in W. W. Morrell, *Hist. and Antiq. of Selby*, pp. 134-6.

⁴ He appears in the return itself as an annuitant of Repton.

⁵ Notts. ms. 2, 3.

⁶ Two married nuns occur in the East Riding return (m. 6d.), both under the Priory of Swine: 'Elizabeth Grymston of thage of xxxvj yeres and pencion by yere xliijs. viijd., and is married to oon Pykkerd of Welwek and paid', and 'Elizabeth Tyas morant [*sic*] apud Tykhill and nowe married to oon John Swyne gentelman and pencion by yere xls. paid'.

⁷ Cf. Baskerville, *English Monks*, p. 223. The Norwich survey of 1555 (*ante*, xlviii. 209 *seqq.*) frequently exemplifies the care of the Marians to discover which pensioners had committed the now important offence of matrimony.

hym self to be the same John Smythe named John Smythe late chauntry prist in Lyndsey and any other priest of the said chauntre appered not before the said comysioners.' ¹ Had the latter kept a copy of the Suffolk chantry certificates by them, they would have experienced no difficulty in dealing with this boy. In 1548 the free chapel of Lyndsey was certified as having for its master or *custos* John Smyth the younger, aged ten years and drawing a stipend of £4 10s., a not unusual state of affairs in Suffolk. ²

A few grantees were in trouble because, for one reason or another, they could not produce their patents. Edward Bennet, priest of the chantry of Hough in Bradbourne, Derbyshire, 'showed no patent but toke his othe wyth wytnes wyth hym that hyt was imbesyled from hym'. ³ Other Derbyshire priests stated that their patents were in the hands of an auditor of the court, and one, with a special grievance shortly to be noticed, had left his patent in the hands of his London counsel. ⁴ A canon of Welbeck 'sayd his pattent is burned', the auditor 'hymself' testifying that he had originally possessed one. ⁵

Two Staffordshire annuitants appeared but said their patents were in London. ⁶ All these people show every sign of having been genuine claimants; the same appears true of those others whose names were found to be missing from the official schedules, but who produced patents or other evidence to show that they had actually received grants. Seven chantry and collegiate priests in Derbyshire, ⁷ three pensioners in Lincolnshire, ⁸ three annuitants and a chantry priest in the North Riding, ⁹ were, for example, found to be unmentioned in the schedules for those shires. The same was apparently the case with Aleyn Shepherd, late chantry priest in the parish church of Kendal, who, although able to show his patent, had to delve into past history to prove his title. ¹⁰

Figures previously given indicate that the principal irregularity of grantees took the form of non-appearance before the commissioners. It does not appear what machinery was employed to summon the grantees, but at all events it seems

¹ Suffolk, m. 2d.

² *Proceedings, Suffolk Inst. of Archeol.* xii. 36. The free chapels of Palgrave, Cowling, Freckenham and Ufford were also in lay hands (*ibid.* pp. 32-5-8).

³ Derbyshire, m. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* ms. 3, 4.

⁵ Notts. m. 3.

⁶ Staffs. p. 3.

⁷ Derbyshire, m. 4.

⁸ Lincs. m. 7d.

⁹ N. Riding, ms. 3-8.

¹⁰ Westmorland. In the first year subsequent to the dissolution he had been paid his pension by the king's receiver, but ever since by the receiver of the marquis of Northampton. He had received the profits of the chantry for twenty years before the making of the chantry certificates; his predecessor, Sir Henry Godmonde, had done so for twenty years before him; Sir Stephen Johnson had preceded Godmonde and one Cowper had preceded Johnson.

seldom to have functioned outside the shire in question.¹ In Leicestershire thirty-eight persons appear under the heading 'these persons followyng dwelle oute of the shyre of Leycester and have made deffaulte'. The three Westmorland absentees are noted as 'dwellinge in other shires' while the Huntingdonshire commissioners give ten absentees presented to be alive but not dwelling in the county. Default thus tended to be heaviest in the smaller counties, especially in those where monastic establishments had existed on a comparatively large scale. In Staffordshire, for example, no less than forty-six grantees out of a total of 171 failed to appear before the commissioners.² Altogether, the number of defaulters seems, in view of the circumstances, far from surprisingly large.

Judging, then, by these returns of 1552-3, the Crown had no need to take elaborate steps to protect itself against fraud. Indeed, we observe far more numerous traces of fraud amongst Crown officials than amongst the grantees. Quite apart from the grievances constituted by the failure of the government to meet its obligations, a number of grantees had particular grievances against authority. The concluding petition of the Lincolnshire commissioners, printed above, makes it clear, for example, that the bureaucratic evil of excessive fees and rewards still flourished in Lincolnshire despite the statute of 1549. Of individual complaints, we may cite only a few. Richard Jurden, priest of the collegiate church of All Saints, Derby, had at first received a 'pension' of five pounds, but only on condition he served a cure which had never been served for less than £6 13s. 4d. He claimed to have obtained a warrant from the Court of Augmentations to increase his pension by £1 13s. 4d., but this warrant now merely remained with the receiver and auditor for Derbyshire, while Jurden had been unpaid for eighteen months.³ George, *alias* Gregory, Hawkeswell, chantry priest of St. Peter's, Derby, swore that the chantry surveyor, John Beaumont,⁴ had under-

¹ It was possibly on this ground that the Marian commissioners of 1554-5 compiled lists of pensioners actually resident in their jurisdictions, irrespective of the authority which paid them. The Norwich return contains, for example, pensioners receiving payment from receivers of districts remote from that diocese (*ante*, xlviii. 210-28).

² This proportion is considerably larger than those in Lincolnshire and in the North and West Ridings. The number of absentees is large in Gloucestershire (cf. *supra*, p. 391), but regarding most of them evidence of payment was forthcoming. Hampshire and Suffolk, as shown above, had large proportions of absentees.

³ Derbyshire, m. 3. Another Derby priest had refused to serve a cure with no further allowance than his £5, and one of his colleagues, Roger Bertylmewe, was chosen by the parishioners, who promised him to obtain a warrant ordering the king's officers to pay him £6 13s. 4d. 'as the other hath'. This they are said to have done accordingly (*ibid.* m. 4), though Bertylmewe appears with a grant of only £3 6s. 8d. in subsequent lists (Willis, ii. 59; Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 8102, fo. 49v).

⁴ The infamous Master of the Rolls, whose malpractices came to light early in 1553 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He had been appointed a chantry commissioner for Derbyshire in February 1548 (*Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, ii. 137).

valued his chantry when the surveys had been compiled. As a result the amount of his pension had been very greatly reduced.¹ 'And bycause he was soe wronged, he reseyred to London to sue for remedye therof, havyng of his counsell therin one Thomas Sutton esquier wyth whome he hathe lafte his patent, wherby he hath it not nowe ready to shoue.'² A Thornton annuitant, recorded the Lincolnshire commissioners, had a patent for 13s. 4d., yet he was allowed 'butt vj s. viij d. in the cedula or booke annexed to the Kinges majesties comyssyon'.³ Worse still, James Guddalus, 'a blynd man' of Ferriby in East Yorkshire had a grant of £1 6s. 8d. 'wherof paid never more but xiiij s. iiij d.'⁴ Such claims as these the commissioners would scarcely have troubled to include in their returns had they been based on no solid evidence.

The general results of our examination of the returns of 1552-3 may be quite briefly stated. The surviving documents give full and satisfactory evidence regarding the payment of Augmentations grants in fourteen counties, together with a little information on a fifteenth, Lancashire. By a comparison with Cardinal Pole's survey of 1556, we calculate that the returns cover just about half the payments of their kind throughout England. They establish some not unimportant facts, since they were compiled with varying, but on the whole considerable efficiency, despite the inevitable absence of a fair proportion of grantees.

Suggestions of fraud on the part of grantees and their representatives gain no support; what few elements of sharp practice appear lie rather on the side of the officials of the Court of Augmentations. Speculation and pluralism do not bulk large, and are practically limited to a very few laymen. Sales of grants are again limited to an inconsiderable proportion of the grantees, and may in some cases have been enforced by failure to secure prompt payment.

The most important revelations of the survey concern the extensive arrears in payment which had accumulated by the autumn of 1552, arrears occasioned in almost all cases by the refusal, or rather the inability, of the receivers to pay grantees. In Derbyshire about a half of those grantees regarding whom any evidence was forthcoming had remained unpaid for a

¹ Hawkeswell alleged that the chantry had been valued at £2 16s. 8d. instead of £6 8s. 10d., with the result that he had been allowed only £2 8s. 8d. pension. This amount he receives also in the survey of 1553 (Willis, ii. 59), though according to the scale fixed in the Commission for Continuance (cf. Leach, p. x) he should have received the full value of his chantry as pension. On this priest and chantry cf. J. C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, iv. 149-50, 345-6. It will be observed that one chantry certificate actually gives the clear value as £6 6s.

² Derbyshire, m. 3.

³ Lincs. m. 4.

⁴ E. Riding, m. 6d.

year, the other half for six months. In Hampshire all were unpaid for a year; in Suffolk for half a year. In Lincolnshire virtually all the grantees lacked payment for a year, a mere handful of them for longer periods and another for only six months. Over half the 'known' Nottinghamshire recipients showed arrears of six months, the rest for a year. In Yorkshire partial settlements had been attempted and the position varied: the East Riding showed 13 per cent. of arrears and the North Riding 42 per cent., these mostly for a year. The position in the West Riding proved worse, since 58 per cent. of the 'known' grantees were in arrears, mostly for one year, but nearly a third of them for longer periods. Cases of arrears existed in the city of York and in Leicestershire, but, especially in the latter, to a minor degree. In Cambridgeshire, Durham, Gloucestershire, Cumberland, Huntingdonshire, Staffordshire, Westmorland, and the small section of Lancashire represented, the existence of arrears is either specifically denied or totally unalleged.

An approximate calculation, made with the aid of Cardinal Pole's survey,¹ shows that altogether just under half of the 'known' grantees in the fourteen counties (including Leicestershire and York, but not the fragment of Lancashire) stood in arrears of some kind in 1552. From the viewpoint of the ex-religious alone, the position was similar, and despite the difficulty of precise calculations in such summary returns as those of Cumberland, Westmorland and Leicestershire, may be more or less precisely defined. By comparisons with the paper books, with Browne Willis's lists from the survey of 1553, and with Pole's survey, it is possible to calculate that the total of living ex-religious, on whose position precise evidence emerged throughout the fourteen counties, lay very closely in the vicinity of 800. Of these, 406 stood in some kind of arrears. Of the grants of all categories, ex-religious and otherwise, known to be in arrears, exactly two-thirds had been unpaid for one year and rather less than a tenth for eighteen months or longer.² The arrears revealed in 1552-3 were hence impressive in extent rather than in duration, though it cannot be doubted that such a breakdown of the system entailed very considerable hardship for those grantees whose livelihood depended to any great extent upon their pensions or annuities.

In concluding our account of the returns of 1552-3, we should

¹ The closure of the Public Record Office in September 1939 prevented the writer from calculating the precise totals of grants for all counties. A mere mathematical analysis of the extant surveys between 1552 and 1556 would on many grounds repay the tedious labour involved.

² It will be observed from the foregoing statistics that altogether 1128 grants were in arrears. Of these, 752 showed arrears of one year and 101 of eighteen months or more.

bear in mind their temporal, even their geographical limitations : they cover half England during the later years of Edward VI. The present writer is especially concerned to deprecate undue dogmatism based either upon this or upon other strictly limited sources.

In the view of the present writer premature generalization has already detracted from the value of recent investigations into the lives of the ex-religious, and by way of conclusion, some tentative suggestions regarding the problem as a whole may seem not irrelevant. The interpretation of the extant sources themselves demands great restraint. In the course of his pioneer work, Mr. Baskerville has ably demonstrated the potentialities of ordination and institution lists, of testamentary, visitatorial, municipal, and judicial records of various types. Yet by their very nature such sources can only provide an incomplete and, in the main, an over-optimistic view of the position of the dispossessed. Here, indeed, we discover much regarding the successful, those who obtained benefices and other offices, those who acquired, transferred or bequeathed property. Records, however, must remain largely silent as to the meagre livelihood of the rank and file of the nuns, whose pensions averaged about two pounds per annum and who were long forbidden to seek support in marriage.¹ Little would emerge from any records concerning the existence of the friars, who were almost all turned out pensionless, and who, faced by keen competition from other ex-religious,² cannot possibly all, or nearly all, have received benefices within any short period after the dissolution.³ These two classes formed, after all, at least three-eighths of the dispossessed religious.⁴

The majority of the male religious doubtless experienced less hardship. Mr. Baskerville has shown a likelihood that we shall actually succeed in tracing hundreds of them occupying, at some period or other, benefices as secular clergy. There appears no mathematical improbability that an appreciable proportion of the male religious, who cannot have exceeded 7000 in number, should

¹ The legal impediments to clerical marriage were not removed until February 1549 (2 and 3 Edw. VI, cap. 21 ; Lords' Journals, i. 343). It is possible that some ex-religious construed the repeal of the Six Articles Act in 1547 as permission to marry. Not unnaturally, the proportion of the nuns who married remained small.

² There was frequently good reason for appointing a pensioned rather than a non-pensioned ex-religious to a benefice (cf. *infra*, p. 413).

³ The minute handful of cases cited in *English Monks*, pp. 239-45, and in *Essays Presented to R. L. Poole*, pp. 463-4, surely entitle us to no generalizations whatever regarding the fate of the 1500 to 1800 friars living at the dissolution.

⁴ Gasquet's calculations regarding the numbers of actual religious (*Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii. 322-3) are supported by Savine (pp. 221-3). They show about 1800 friars, 1560 nuns, and 4721 monks and canons ; they omit the Knights Hospitallers. Mr. Baskerville reckons less than 1600 friars (*English Monks*, p. 227, n. 1), but about 1300 nuns and under 400 canonesses (*Essays Presented to R. L. Poole*, p. 460, n. 4).

have been so absorbed during the two decades following the dissolution. There were over 9000 parishes in England,¹ and, until the Edwardian government carried further the policy of dissolution, probably more than 3000 chantries, stipends, and chaplaincies.² This seemingly fair picture of ecclesiastical opportunities requires, however, some qualifying touches. Sixteenth century lists of incumbents indicate, it is true, that livings were then vacated at as frequent intervals as is the case to-day. Nevertheless, it needs scarcely to be pointed out that every vacation of a living did not entail the entrance of a hitherto unbeneficed priest into the ranks of the beneficed. When, for example, a good benefice fell vacant owing to death or final retirement, three or four incumbents with livings of varying degrees of inferiority might well resign them in order each to advance a step up the scale of preferments. Despite all these changes of incumbent, only one hitherto unbeneficed priest would gain a preferment. Hence, though some thousands of benefices must have fallen vacant during the decade following the dissolution of the monasteries, it cannot be argued that nearly so great a number of ex-religious and other unbeneficed place-seekers obtained livings during that period.

Again, the chantries and kindred foundations were affording far fewer opportunities than their numbers would seem to indicate. A considerable proportion of chantries and chapels were found by the commissioners in 1546-8 to be either vacant or so financially decayed as to remain quite inadequate for any but pluralist incumbents. Others had been embezzled or resumed by patrons, while a number had already been granted away by Henry VIII or turned by parishioners to other uses.³ A number of collegiate foundations had likewise collapsed years before the Edwardian chantry act.⁴ During the decade following the monastic dissolutions, livings of these types were certainly less plentiful and remunerative than previously. In addition, that material decay

¹ Camden's diocesan totals of parishes give a grand total of 9284 (*Britannia* edn. 1753, i. p. cccxx), a figure which is undoubtedly near the mark for the period.

² Camden's figure of 2374 chantries and free chapels standing at the Edwardian dissolution (*ibid.* p. cccxxi) seems to be accepted by modern writers (cf. Giuseppi, i. 141), but one remains uncertain how it would compare with an analysis of the chantry surveys. Colleges and hospitals also provided livings for several hundred priests until dissolved, though a large proportion of such incumbents were pluralists. The number of private chaplains maintained by noblemen, leading ecclesiastics, and other wealthy personages, was probably not very large by the middle of the century.

³ These statements are based on careful analyses, too lengthy to be given here, of the chantry certificates for Oxfordshire (*Oxfordshire Rec. Soc.* i), Yorkshire (*Surtees Soc.* xci, xcii), Suffolk (*Proc. Suff. Instit. Archeol.* xii, 30-71), Shropshire (*Trans. Shrop. Archeol. Soc.* 3rd ser. x. 269-392), Gloucestershire (*Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Archeol. Soc.* viii. 229-308), Somerset (*Somerset Rec. Soc.* ii), Leicestershire and Northamptonshire (*Assoc. Architect. Soc. Rep.* xxx. (2), 463-570; xxxi. (1), 87-178).

⁴ Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England*, ii. 381-2, gives a list.

of the chantry system which thus preceded its destruction by the state doubtless intensified the long struggle for livings waged by unbeneficed or inadequately maintained clergy. In what degree the competition of newly-ordained priests was likewise affecting the position remains uncertain, owing to the widespread dearth of ordination records. Ordinations did not cease, though the number appears to have dropped steeply in many dioceses.¹ Altogether it cannot be argued that the former religious were the only place-seekers in the church during the nine years or so between the monastic dissolution and the Edwardian chantry act.

This latter measure, though affecting a complex of institutions already in decay, nevertheless struck a double blow at the unbeneficed ex-religious. While cutting off still numerous potential sources of income, it flooded the ecclesiastical labour-market with a new class of dispossessed clergy, themselves receiving for the most part but small pensions, and hence eagerly in search of livings. The opportunities of the years following 1548 were thus likely to prove distinctly inferior to those of the years 1539-48. It is admittedly not uncommon to find ex-religious receiving benefices during the later period ; ² doubtless many of these had earlier in the day received from patrons promises of the reversion to livings. Yet even in respect of these comparatively fortunate men the corresponding disadvantage should not be overlooked. To demonstrate that an ex-monk held a benefice for a few years after the middle of the century proves nothing regarding his prosperity during the years immediately succeeding the monastic dissolution.

As against all these elements unfavourable to the chances of the male ex-religious, there remains the single counterbalancing fact that advantages accrued to certain patrons, mainly speaking to the Crown, if ex-religious were appointed to livings in their gift. The king systematically avoided paying pensions by appointing their holders to his livings,³ a practice more significant on account of the growth of Crown patronage resulting from the dissolutions. Meanwhile, the few great nobles who had private pension-lists adopted similar methods.⁴ On occasion lesser people were evidently not above securing the assignment of pensions to themselves in return for benefices in their gift.⁵ This feature, however, in so far as it operated to the advantage of ex-religious

¹ Cf. on these points Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, pp. 91 *seqq.*

² For example, many of the beneficed ex-religious of the Norwich diocese (*ante*, xlviii. 209-28).

³ Cf. *ante*, xlviii. 206, n. 1 ; and the references in the present article, p. 401, n. 6.

⁴ *Ante*, xlviii. 203, and also Bucer's remark to Calvin that the nobility prefer the late religious, unlearned and unfit men, for the sake of avoiding the payment of their yearly pensions (*Original Letters*, Parker Soc. p. 546).

⁵ *V. supra*, p. 405.

in search of livings, militates in another direction against modern optimistic views. If upholders of such views argue that it is likely to have operated strongly, they automatically destroy their own contention that beneficed ex-religious almost always continued to enjoy their pensions. The proportion of those who did so may well prove to be far smaller than it is at present fashionable to suppose. Neither before nor after 1548 were livings to be had for the asking, while many were to be had only by the surrender of pensions.

Altogether, vastly more evidence than that hitherto adduced will be requisite to prove conclusively that the majority of the male ex-religious had secured incomes in addition to their pensions at any date shortly after the dissolution. This much may be ventured, that the general background proves unpromising for such a theory. Accordingly, any inquiry into the fate of the dispossessed must sooner or later face the question: how far were the pensions of the rank and file adequate by the standards of the period succeeding the dissolution?

Mr. Baskerville, basing his case upon parallels supplied by Dr. Salter from 'the amounts of wages and salaries in the Middle Ages',¹ uses the multiplicand 30 to convert pensions into their approximate equivalents of 1937. Yet the period under discussion surely stands, in respect of wage-levels, and still more of price-levels, emphatically outside the 'Middle Ages'. This multiplicand 30 may apply roughly to the fifteenth century. The present writer would, however, venture to question it as applying to any part of the reign of Henry VIII, and flatly to reject it for any period during or after the great debasement of 1544-51.²

We tread far firmer ground if we abandon these multiplicands and seek for contemporary rather than modern equivalents. Passing over the unpensioned friars and the wretchedly pensioned nuns, we find that the average pensions of the male rank and

¹ *English Monks*, p. 297. On the limitations of such multiplicands see G. G. Coulton, *The Meaning of Medieval Money* (Hist. Association Leaflet, no. 95), pp. 4-5.

² It is universally accepted that the monetary policy of the government accentuated the already operative European price-revolution to the extent of doubling, and in some cases trebling the prices of most staple commodities as compared with their average levels for 1500-20. Cf. the price tables in G. F. Steffen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Englischen Lohnarbeiter*, i, tables xvii, xix, xx (pp. 365-8), and the conclusion (p. 365) that 'die Preise für das Jahrzehnt 1541-50 sind in der Regel bedeutend höher als die Preise von 1531-40 und sehr viel höher als die Durchschnittspreise in der II Periode (1350-1540). Die Preissteigerung hatte ja meistens schon um 1520 angefangen.' More broadly based statistics will be possible with the appearance of the second volume of Sir William Beveridge's *Prices and Wages in England*; the first begins, oddly enough, at the arbitrary date 1550, in the midst of the more catastrophic developments. On the debasement and its effects, cf. Dietz, pp. 174-95; Oman in *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (new ser.), ix. 167-88; W. A. Shaw, *History of Currency*, pp. 121 seqq.

file lay closely in the region of five pounds.¹ Making a parallel with the position of the contemporary secular clergy, Mr. Baskerville suggests that five pounds 'was apparently the scale of payment for serving a cure'.² The example cited seems to the present writer to prove no more than that £5 6s. 8d. was considered, in 1538, before the sharp rise in prices and wages, *inadequate* remuneration for a priest hired to serve a cure.³ Five pounds was certainly thought a poor living, even in the poverty-stricken north and in years previous to the debasement. Archbishop Lee complained, for example, in 1535 that many livings in his diocese of York were 'so exile, of four pounds, five pounds, six pounds' that only the most ignorant clergy could be induced to fill them.⁴ Preaching in 1549, Latimer, who was anything but an advocate of luxury for the clergy, considered even twelve or fourteen marks manifestly inadequate for a vicar serving a large cure.⁵ When in 1553 arrangements came to be drawn up for the clerical subsidy, benefices worth less than five pounds were exempted altogether from payment, while those worth between five pounds and £6 13s. 4d. paid only at the same reduced rate as stipendiary priests: 6s. 8d. each year for the three years.⁶ The ex-religious, as will shortly be observed, enjoyed no such considerate treatment.

If, even in the thirties when pensions were originally assigned, five pounds represented only the poorest class of livings in the church, that income in the subsequent decade 1541-50 scarcely equalled the average earnings of an unskilled labourer. Allowing for holidays, and even some days of unemployment, an unskilled labourer earning 4½d. a day, as he did between 1541 and 1550,⁷ cannot have earned less than five pounds a year, and usually earned more. Skilled workers earned nearly double this amount.⁸ In the subsequent decade the average wages of most classes of artisans and labourers rose by nearly 50 per cent.⁹, though owing

¹ Mr. Baskerville remarks that 'the average pension may be put at five pounds' (*English Monks*, p. 256). His interesting example of the canons of the well-off priory of Dunstable, who mostly received considerably larger pensions (*ibid.* pp. 293-6), is thus clearly not intended as typical of the emoluments enjoyed by ex-religious.

² *Ibid.* p. 256.

³ The case is that of Nicholas Staunton, parson of Woodborough, Wilts., who in January 1538 was accused of words spoken against the king. He had offered another priest eight marks to serve his cure, and in answer to a complaint regarding the smallness of the sum, had apologised for being 'so beggared' that he could offer no more, saying that his trees were cut down and the proceeds of his living diminished by the fault of his patron the king (*Letters and Papers*, xiii. (1), 94).

⁴ Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Cleop. E. vi. fo. 243.

⁵ 'I know where is a great market town, with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pound, and the vicar that serveth, being so great a cure, hath but twelve or fourteen marks by year; so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbour drink; all the great gain goeth another way' (Latimer, *Sermons*, Everyman edn. p. 85).

⁶ 7 Edw. VI, cap. 13; *Stat. Realm*, iv. (1), 191.

⁷ Steffen, i. 370, table xxi.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

to the rise in prices, reflected in the rise of recognized rates for workman's board and lodging,¹ their standard of living was certainly on the decline. Even allowing for the probability that very few of the pensioned but unbeneficed ex-monks were burdened by families, they can have maintained, especially after 1549, no more than a working-class standard of living. Yet our comparison between monastic pensions and artisan incomes should not end here, since even when an ex-monk had paid his recognized fees, or more, to the officials of the Court of Augmentations, he had still to pay taxation at heavier rates than laymen of comparable income.

The clerical subsidy of 1540 granted 10 per cent. per annum for two years upon all religious pensions, the amounts to be deducted by the Court of Augmentations before payment.² The subsidy of 1543 granted 10 per cent. for three years,³ and that of 1545 three shillings in the pound for the ensuring two years.⁴ The grant of 1553 actually discriminated against pension-holders, who, if receiving more than two pounds, had to pay at the full rate, 10 per cent. for three years, while clergy with benefices of less than five pounds were exempt.⁵ Elizabethan subsidy lists show that this very heavy rate of taxation was continued to the last: the spectacle of aged nuns paying four shillings a year on pensions of £2 6s. 8d. or less is not an attractive one.⁶

These darker elements in the story of the former religious are not presented as matters for surprise or indignation. This, in common with most other episodes of the English reformation, remains so unsensational, so characteristic of the age in which it occurred. In an age when property commanded such veneration, it was unthinkable that possessor religious should be expropriated without being assigned pensions, in some degree proportionate to the properties they had held. Nevertheless, during those central years of the century, when politicians and political classes were motivated, to an extent perhaps unparalleled in our history, by selfish and acquisitive aims, there could be little question of generous and considerate treatment for the powerless

¹ Cf. Rogers, *Hist. Agric. and Prices*, iv. 752.

² 32 Hen. VIII, cap. 23 (*Stat. Realm*, iii. 776-8). Henry VIII was raising over £3200 per annum from monastic pensions in 1541-2 (*Letters and Papers*, xvii. 258, p. 137; xviii. (2), 231, p. 121). A book of the receipts for 1541 in Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire is preserved in Bodleian Tanner MS. 343, fos. 1-6. The tenth had been actually collected even on pensions of two pounds (fo. 2).

³ 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, cap. 28 (*Stat. Realm*, iii. 951-3).

⁴ 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 24 (*ibid.* 1016-18). In this act pensions under two pounds are exempted.

⁵ 7 Edw. VI, cap. 13 (*ibid.* iv. (1), 190-1).

⁶ Cf. the Yorkshire list for 1573, printed in *Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, xix. 100-4, especially the cases of low pensions on p. 102.

rank and file of the dispossessed. Had, indeed, the returns for 1552-3 shown the embarrassed government taking successful pains to maintain the regularity of Augmentations pensions, the modern observer might justifiably experience surprise. The present writer would hence feel more than reluctant to be thrust into the ranks of those sentimentalists to whom such well-merited chastisement has recently been accorded. He is merely concerned to indicate certain cautionary features which should deter the reaction against sentimentalism from running to extremes of premature generalisation. The survey of 1552-3, which has formed the main subject of the present inquiry, constitutes but one of many reminders that the history of the ex-religious has yet to be written. It will be written, as Mr. Baskerville has himself suggested, when we explore fully and learn to interpret aright the multitudinous records of the Court of Augmentations.

Note:

For *ante* read E. H. R.

A
Short Treatise
of Hunting:

*Compyled for the delight of Noble
men and Gentlemen, by Sir Thomas
Cockaine, Knight.*



Imprinted at London by *Thomas Orwin*
for *Thomas Woodcocke*, dwelling in *Paules*
Chutchyard at the signe of the
black Beare. 1591.

Title-page of Sir Thomas Cockaine, *A Short Treatise of Hunting*, 1591.
S.T.C. 5457; Freemantle, W.T., *A Bibliography of Sheffield*, p. 52.

ESTATE AND HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT IN BEDFORDSHIRE, *c.* 1540

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript printed below has been recently acquired, along with others of the More family papers from Loseley, by the Folger Library in Washington D.C. It is written in a hand characteristic of the period 1520-1550; though undated and unsigned, its internal evidence establishes a clear *provenance*.

It will be seen to consist of a series of instructions from a father, owner of the manor of Willington, Bedfordshire, to an heir already married. This locality is placed beyond any doubt by several references to neighbouring places, e.g. Mosbury, Ravensden and Bedford itself. These clues all point to one family, indeed to a well-known figure in Bedfordshire history: Sir John Gostwick, to whom the Duke of Norfolk sold the manor of Willington in 1529.¹ The localism of the document proves conclusively that it was not written by the Duke: on the other hand, its references to the King enable us to date it, or rather its original, not later than the death of Edward VI. Between these terminal dates 1529 and 1553, three Gostwick owners of Willington died, yet only Sir John left a married heir. On his death, early in 1545, his properties passed to his son William, whose earlier marriage we shall shortly notice in another context. When this William Gostwick died without issue later in the same year, the bulk of his lands passed to an uncle, also called William, who, dying in 1549, left them to his own unmarried son, John.² These later Gostwick lords of Willington hence appear decisively excluded from authorship.

Concerning the shrewd, acquisitive, yet far from inhuman personality of Sir John Gostwick, our existing information harmonises admirably with the present document. Having been

1. *V.C.H.*, iii, 263; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1215.

2. *V.C.H.*, loc. cit., gives references. The will of William Gostwick the uncle shows that his heir, John, was under 23 and unmarried on 28 July 1547 (*Beds. N. & Q.*, ii, 186). This John probably married much later; his children were being baptised in 1565-7; F. A. Blaydes, *Gen. Bedf.*, 26.

Master of the Horse to Cardinal Wolsey, he subsequently rose as Treasurer of First Fruits and Tenth to be one of Thomas Cromwell's most important assistants.³

The interesting sidelights thrown by the document upon estate management in mid-Tudor Bedfordshire require no elaborate enumeration. At present we have little to lay alongside it. Unfortunately no documents illustrating the Gostwicks' practices have survived among the Willington documents in the Duke of Bedford's collection, nor is there a good series in the County Record Office for the other contemporary Bedfordshire estates. The nearest local parallel occurs in a series of leases for Thurleigh, part of the Wrest Park estate. These are much later (1593-1614), but they illustrate some of Sir John's points. The leases are always for a nominal 21 years; the rent remains standard, but the lease is liable to be called in at half term, or even earlier, and a new lease (with consequent entry fine, though smaller than the initial one) given. Special conditions are imposed in respect of timber: maples and willows may be lopped, but the oaks and ashes for which lopping is permitted are numbered for each field, close, or croft.⁴

More fundamentally important is the revelation of the outlook of a gentleman-official rising rapidly in the world through the unprecedented opportunities of this period. This outlook does not altogether correspond with the familiar textbook simplification. It is one of many indications which throw suspicion upon that abstract character invented by certain economic historians: 'the new landlord interested solely in dividends.' So far as the present writer's enquiries extend, the ultimate recipients of monastic lands were mostly men who had attained, or were in process of attaining, county-status through service as well as through wealth. We consequently find that the economic ambitions of men like Sir John Gostwick were inevitably modified by considerations of social prestige and public advancement. To a lesser degree they may have been modified by considerations of charity, for it would be a grave anachronism to suppose shrewd business men guilty of conscious hypocrisy when, like our writer, they couple credit in heaven with credit in the shire. The methods of such

3. For full details of Sir John and his family see the account by Mr. H. P. R. Finberg later in this volume; in view of this, Professor Dickens has agreed to omit the necessarily shorter account originally inserted by him here.—Ed.

4. Beds. C.R.O., L. 16.

landlords were unlikely, for example, to include systematic rack-renting; it was apt to become not merely bad business but inimical to their most cherished ambitions. At all events, our trustworthier records show an extraordinary paucity of evidence for such practices. Sir John, it will be seen, actually urges his heir to avoid levying enhanced fines upon new tenants, and to refrain from increasing his rents, unless he sees his farmers imposing increases upon their sub-tenants. We cannot profitably conjecture how widely landowners may have adopted this attractive principle; where it operated, it must have helped to stabilise agrarian relationships. The passage also supplies a timely reminder that the significant relationships of a lord often lay not with poor peasants, but with well-off farmers, now beginning to prosper mightily from the great boom in commodity prices. Sir John was no philanthropist towards his farmers; he knew what provender-contracts their profits would enable them to maintain, and that the antiquated concessions of ploughbote and cartbote would allow them to make inroads upon his timber. From his own servants he demanded strict efficiency and honesty; he would have no married man as his warrener or his miller. On the other hand he counsels his heir to avoid at any cost parting with a trusty herdsman and urges liberality towards a family man, 'for God knoweth he can make but littell shifte for him selfe.' More important, he cannot help revealing, even in this economic document, the socially and politically constructive forces of Tudor England.

In 1540 both public duty and self-interest united in demanding the apotheosis of loyalty to the Crown. Sir John is well aware that this represents the condition of all earthly success and that treason 'the longer you kepe it, the worse it is for you, and the more danger to God and the King's Majesty.' Indeed, the political instinct of this Cromwellian group has been underestimated by romantic writers insufficiently aware of the facts and consequences of civil wars; not merely those of the neo-feudal age, which England was still striving to keep behind her, but even more those of the dark century of quasi-religious warfare to which continental Europe then lay doomed.

Concerning this manuscript, we may well end by asking how it got into the Loseley papers. It bears every sign of being a copy, rather than Gostwick's autograph.⁵ Christopher More,

5. The opening word "Item" suggests, but does not prove, some previous paragraphs now lost. The present state of the document throws no light on the extent of this possible missing portion.

Remembrancer of the Exchequer and Sheriff of Surrey, must have known Gostwick well; both he and his son Sir William More would certainly have been attracted by a copy of these shrewd and useful instructions. There may have been other personal links between the families. Readers will observe that Gostwick mentions 'Mores ferme at Ravensden.' We know that William More of Ravensden, yeoman, held Ravensden Grange on a lease, when the reversion of the manor was granted to John and Joan Gostwick by the Crown in 1538.⁶ This substantial farmer may well have been a kinsman of the Mores of Loseley, but to connect him with the presence of the document in their muniments must obviously involve speculation.

6. *V.C.H.*, iii, 210, cites Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 21.

TEXT

[fo. 1] Item that your wyffe⁷ never come to London to tary there past one weeke, for I perceave that she is much disposed to play at cardes and all other games; for in case she shuld tary much in London, she and you shuld come in acquaintannce with some unthriftie companie, by meanes wherof ye shold both repent it. Also provide that ye never be suertye for no man above xx^{ti} markes, nor to make no shift with no marchanntes for money, nor be not bounde at the request of anie man for anie shifte, for if ye be but utterly undone [sic]⁸ and it shalbe the next waye to make you to sell your land & to breake upp your howseholde Therefore in anie wise looke surely to theis ij articles. Also lett your wife never have but one woman to wayt uppon her, but in anie wise lett the woman be bothe sad & discrete, or els she may do you & your wyfe much harme & displeasure. And lett her have both honest wages and lyvery to lyve uppon, but take hede that she be no light woman nether in countenannce nor of her demeanor.

[fo. 1v] Item you must have one mane to kepe your watter and your warren, and in anie wise let him have no wife and let his wages be not above foure nobles⁹ at the most, with lyvery suche as you gyve to your carters, and lett him be a knytter of nettes and a maker of leapes¹⁰ in anie wise.

Item ye must have a miller, but lett him have no wife and so that he may be an honest man and a trewe, which wylbe hard to fynde, and lett him have to wages foure nobles by the yere and not above, with suche lyverye as you gyve your carters.

Item I charge you to keape in your owne handes your parsonage, the mill, the water and the warren, for these shalbe veary necessary for your howshold.

[fo. 2] Item I thincke you must kepe ij plowghes for corne for your

7. An interesting reference to a future Countess of Bedford. William Gostwick had married Margaret, daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletsoe; after his death she married Francis, 2nd Earl of Bedford, and died at Woburn 27 August 1562 (G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, ii, 76). Margaret has several times been given as the wife of Sir John Gostwick owing to a faulty note in the inaccurate pedigree of Gostwick in *Harleian Soc.*, xix, 33. Her marriage to William Gostwick is attested in a later lawsuit; for references cf. *V.C.H.*, iii, 203.

8. Presumably a mistranscription of some longer phrase like "for if ye do, ye shall be utterly undone."

9. Robert Recorde writes in 1542 "an olde Noble called an Henry is worth . . . 10s. . . . a noble called a George is worth 6s. 8d." In this context the former seems indicated.

10. Baskets in which to catch or keep fish (*New Eng. Dict.* s.v. leap).

houshold, but kepe not in your handes past a good ploughland¹¹ and a halfe, for your plough cattell must cary home your wood, they must cary out your donge, they must cary home your hey, your corne in harvest and your tithe corne, with moche more carriage that I cannot rehearse. And as for wheat and peason¹² ye shall not nede to sowe anie, for ther is a bargayne made all redy with John West of Bedd' the tanner during your lyffe and myne, both for wheat & peason, which bargayne I charge you never to release at the request and sute of anie man, for ye shall fynde it at lenghe a speciall good bargaine. And he may beare it vearly well, for he hath a goodly ferme of you.

Item ye must have some honest man to have the charge of your husbandry, with the wages of foure or fyve nobles by the yere & his livery as you gyve to your carters. This man if he be an honest man shalbe the key of your husbandry & shall bring you and your wife muche quietnes. He may over see your woodes, your cattell in your pastures and by¹³ your cattell to store your pastures, for expense of your howshold, and yong coltes for to [fo. 2v] mantayne your stabull. And if the yong coltes will not serve for your hackneis, then lett them serve your ploughe or carte, but in anie wise lett your coltes be chose larg and great, and let them be well spread behind of the buttockes & smale heded, and then shall ye never have to evell horse.¹⁴

Item ye must have iiij^{or} men to goo to your ploughes & cartes, & lett theme be hired by fore the constable of the hundred.¹⁵ And lett the Baly of your husbandry hire theme theire and so you shall a [sic] good servanntes & cheape. Lett them be mens[ervant]es, no boyes by your will, for a boy shall never doo but boyes service.

Item you must have ij women for your dary and to wasshe your nappery, and also ye must have an other woman to kepe your nappery, bedding & hanginges. Let your napery, such as shall goo a brod dayly, let it be delyvered her by an inventorye & theis women may help your baker to mould, when ye shall bake, because I have allowed him no helpe. Also ye hadde nede to [fo. 3] kepe xvj or xx^{ti} kene to your dary, and lett these women have such wages & lyveryes as ye can best agree with them for.

Item ye must have a shep[her]de & lett him kepe you iiij or iiiij hundred ewes in Willington feldes, and in your pastures for to kill for your house thre score wethers. And if he be a good herdman lett [him]

11. Grafton (*Chronicle*, edn. 1568, ii, 16) explains what this ancient term conveyed in mid-Tudor times: "A Knightes fee should conteyne c.lx acres, and that is accompted for a ploughland for a yere."

12. Green peas; many such forms were current. Cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. pease.

13. Buy.

14. I.e., too bad a horse.

15. This session of the constable was known in Elizabethan times as the petty or petit session, though, as proved here, it did not originate with 5 Eliz. cap. 4. The hiring procedure is later described by Henry Best (*Surtees Soc.*, xxxiii, 134-6). Cf. also E. Trotter, *Seventeenth Century Life in the Country Parish*, 144-7; and Holdsworth, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, iv, 127, n.1.

have good wages, for he may sone save his wages, & let him have livery suche as you gyve carters. Let Sottill never goo from you, if you will follow myne advise, for ye shall never have a better herdman.

Item keape in your handes Mosbury¹⁶ with all such pastures as shalbe a boutte yt, lyke as I shall leave them to you by Godes grace. And in them you may feed your bestes & muttons for your howshold, and bring upp yong cattell, and theire may goo your geldinges in somer & winter, such as ye do not occupie. And lett Henry Wild have the keping of the pastures with certen milche kene, which will helpe him, his wife & and his children, for God knoweth he can make but littell shifte for him selfe.

[fo. 3v] Item in anie wise, take good hede to whome & how ye lett your fermes. I charge you never to lett your fermor your woodes, nor underwoodes, but to have certen loodes of woodes assigned by¹⁷ him, by you, or by your deputy for his fewell. But lett him never have ploughbote¹⁸ nor cartebote,¹⁹ for then you shall distroye your timber. And let your fermer be bound to keape your pastures without bussches and not to ayre upp²⁰ your pastures. And also to bind him that he shall nether sett nor lett no parte nor parcell of yours without your consent & agrement. And also let your fermers kepe and beare all maner of reparac[ions] aswell timber & timber worke and all other, and to kepe & mayneteyne your quick hedgis, with plasshinges²¹ & scowringes of the diches about your pastures. And let all your fermers be bound aswell by coven[a]nte in ther indentures to observe & kepe all & sing[u]ler these conven[a]ntes beforesaid uppon payne of forfyture of theire leases & grantes, as also to be bound to you with suerties with them by obligac[ion] to observe and kepe all and singuler coven[a]ntes compacted & specified [fo. 4] in the same indentures. Also let your fermers never have above xx^{ti} yere²². And take not above one yeres rent for a fyne.²³

16. Originally Morinsbury, in mediæval times a manor in Ravensden. As "Moresbury" it is mentioned as a field owned by the Gostwicks about this date (Exch. Inq. p.m., ser. 2, file 44, no. 8). It included a mound and moat and was subsequently known as Moresbury or Mowsbury Hill (*V.C.H.*, iii, 212).

17. *Sic* for "to".

18. Wood which the tenant was permitted to cut, originally for making and repairing ploughs. *New Eng. Dict.* s.v. Ploughbote gives other contemporary examples.

19. A similar allowance of wood for making and repairing carts. These two terms are treated by Blackstone (*Commentaries* II, iii. 35) as virtually synonymous.

20. Ayre, to plough. Norden uses this spelling in 1607: cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. "ayre" and "ear".

21. Still widely current for dressing a hedge by partly cutting through, bending and interlacing the stems.

22. The grant of long leases was, of course, universally regarded as constituting improvident landlordism. Such leases are sometimes forbidden by episcopal visitors to monastic houses.

23. High fines or gressoms had recently been placed at the forefront of their economic grievances by the commons in the Pilgrimage of Grace. They had, however, demanded merely that the lord should have, at every change, two years' rent for gressom, and no more. Cf. R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, 123-4.

And also I charge you never heithen no rente onles your fermors hath hiethened to your handes, as the good squierell²⁴ Hamelden hath done at Mores ferme at Ravensden.²⁶

Item I charg you of my blessing to gett the good will & favor of all your neighbours, as well in Willington as in all the holl shere, and to doo for them and helpe them in all other causes according to your power. And in your so doing you shall please God and also have the love of them. But in anie wise beare with no false matters, for if you do ye shall take shame by them, and I charge you promise no more nether by word nor by dead but as much as ye may performe & fulfill. And be true to God, the king & your frend. And if your frend do open his mynd & secrett counsell to you, I charge you if yt be to kepe counsaile, I charge you open it not, for if you do, you are not to be trusted with no man, onles your frend shold open to you felony or treason, [*fo. 4v*] then I charge you not to kepe his counsayle, but open it to ij or iij of the next Justices of Peaxe which dwelleth next unto you, or els to one or ij of they²⁷ Kinges most honorable Counsaile, if you may gett unto them. But in anie wise, utter it as sone as is possible, for the longer you kepe it the worse it is for you, and the more dannger toward God & the Kinges Ma[jes]tie.²⁸

24. Ostensibly a diminutive of "squire", but I have not observed it elsewhere, nor does the use of "squire" before a proper name seem to occur before the seventeenth century.

25. Probably not a mistranscribed member of the well-known Haselden family of Goldington (*Harleian Soc.*, xix, 185). Hamelden, from the Bucks place-name, was a not uncommon surname.

26. Cf. *supra*.

27. *Sic* for "the".

28. Gostwick, who held land in Yorkshire, may well have had in mind the case of Sir John Neville of Chevet, who in 1541 was condemned and executed, not for active complicity, but merely for concealment of a conspiracy in Yorkshire. Cf. the present writer's account of this affair *supra*, 6 ff.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION AND LIBERALISM IN TUDOR ENGLAND

During recent years interest in our present subject has been revived by the learned and widely-ranging work of synthesis, *Toleration and the Reformation* by Joseph Lecler of the Society of Jesus.¹ Armed with this book of almost a thousand pages, one no longer finds it so hard to demolish the common notion that the sixteenth century was an age of universal religious intolerance. No simplification could in fact be more gross. Needless to add, few thinkers of that period demanded toleration, let alone freedom of worship, without any reserves. This we can hardly do today; to have done it then would have been a perilous act of blind trust amid a delicately balanced society which had perforce to value civil order as a most precious yet most vulnerable blessing. If religious tolerance could not arise from the monopolistic order of medieval Catholicism, it also found some infertile soils amid the multilateral brawling, the violent convictions, the pathetic belief in argument, and the readiness to use the ugly word 'blasphemy', which marked the age of Reformation and Counter Reformation. Under the circumstances it seems remarkable enough that even a few thinkers were at once so bold and so disinterested as Castellion, Acontius and John Foxe.

If we are willing also to investigate more conditional and partial theories, the subject does indeed become immense. And among the empirically-minded Tudor English its complexity seems especially marked. Here Father Lecler has added little to existing knowledge, even though he furthers our understanding by placing English thought in a broader European context. On our Tudor publicists he used in the main that early but valuable work of Professor W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*, for which every student of the subject must record his gratitude. Since its publication in 1932 this book has worn well, though naturally we can now add a few more obscure Tudor writings and also place the English data against a more firmly-drawn background of liberal Lutherans, critical humanists, adiaphorists, sectarians, spiritualists and ecumenical aspirants in general.

During the last three decades of study, most of it conducted by American scholars, these elements of Reformation thought have

¹Trans. T. L. Westow, 2 vols., London, 1960; French edn. by Editions Montaigne, Paris, 1955.

been progressively clarified.² While recognizing the many unique features of the English Reformation, modern scholarship is resisting the old tendency to depict Tudor England in terms of an insular culture. This once widely prevalent misconception sprang from several causes, perhaps most notably of all from the preoccupation of our fathers and grandfathers with the statute books, with the acts of the State-Reformation. I do not need to warn this particular learned society that the English Reformation was far more than an act of State. Even more significantly, it was also a religious and intellectual revolution at the grass-roots of society, a turmoil of ideas as complex and as fascinating as that which occurred in any of the great nations on the Continent. In this context, and duly suspicious of the old, facile labels, we may review the particular problem of toleration-theories.

Professor Jordan indicated in his introduction most of the broader factors likely to have advanced the theory and practice of religious toleration: the philosophic detachment of the Renaissance; the growth of foreign travel; the defeat of repressive mechanisms by the art of the printer; the increasingly secular objectives of social and political life; the disasters known to have sprung from the religious wars in France; the attainment of influence by minority-groups; the weakening of the plea for Catholic uniformity by the practical achievements of the major schismatic churches throughout Europe. It might be added that the dread of a relapse into political anarchy seems at least as characteristic of Henry VIII's subjects as of the Elizabethans. Such fears nevertheless often suggested a need for persecution rather than for toleration.³ On the other hand, the Reformation did not burst upon a people mentally subservient to bishops and ecclesiastical courts. Neither Protestantism nor theories of toleration had to make headway among men who regarded a heretic with the horrified gaze of earlier centuries. The case of Richard Hunne demonstrated that the citizens of London hated their bishop and

²E.g., W. G. Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); E. G. Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition* (Cambridge, 1947); W. A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants* (New Haven and London, 1964); G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (London, 1962); the studies of Bucer by H. Eells (New Haven, 1931) and C. Hopf (Oxford, 1946); several works of R. H. Bainton, listed in his *Studies on the Reformation* (Boston, 1963), pp. 275-81.

³See, e.g., the sentiments attributed to Henry VIII by the Six Articles Act (H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1896), p. 303).

his henchmen infinitely more than they hated a heretical neighbour.⁴ The growth of anticlericalism and of resentment against ecclesiastical jurisdiction can be massively documented during the two decades before 1532, when the House of Commons made its great onslaught upon the Church courts. The widespread absence of ardent concern for the maintenance of orthodoxy forms a curiously impressive aspect of our Reformation-crisis. This spirit sprang from a vast complex of secular and spiritual causes, which I have attempted to analyse elsewhere,⁵ and it was profoundly inimical to the idea of clerical persecution. The more positive and creative forces we must now seek to depict.

Luther's magnificent outburst of 1520 concerning the liberty of a Christian could never be cancelled by his later and far less liberal qualifications. Meanwhile both Bucer and Melancthon were enlarging the platform upon which future concepts of Christian freedom would be based. The last-named based his case upon *Matthew* vi. 31-33; *Romans* xvi. 17; *Colossians* ii. 16-20; *I Timothy* iv. 1-3; *Galatians* ii. 3; v. 13, and on Augustine's letter to Januarius. He distinguished between Christ's specific commands, which are the essential requirement for salvation, and the non-essential customs and observances in the church, called *adiaphora* or 'things indifferent'.⁶ The former he associated with the divine law, the latter with man-made law.

This concept swiftly developed a tenacious hold upon English minds and Robert Barnes, who had presided over the earliest English Lutheran cell at Cambridge, afterwards clearly expressed it.

To eat flesh or fish, this day or that day, is indifferent and free; also to go in this raiment, of this colour or that colour; to shave our heads or not; a priest to wear a long gown or a short . . . a priest to marry or not to marry . . . These with all other such outward works be things indifferent and may be used and also left.

The writer then advises compliance with episcopal policy in these *adiaphora*, yet only so long as the bishops refrain from making their demands under pain of deadly sin.⁷ Loud in his protest

⁴A. Ogle, *The Tragedy of the Lollards' Tower* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 83-4, 137; *English Historical Review*, xxx (1915), p. 477.

⁵A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964), ch.i-iii; for a slightly fuller account of the rôle of Lollardy, see below, pp 363 *seqq.*

⁶Zeeveld, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-41 gives references.

⁷*Men's constitutions in The whole works of W. Tyndall, John Frith and Doctor Barnes* (London, 1573), p. 298.

against ecclesiastical persecutors, Barnes is also no blind Erastian. He is certain that princes may never be resisted by force of arms, yet he urges (echoing Luther) that they should be passively opposed if they give godless commands; for example, if they forbid Bible-reading.⁸

This impulsive Lutheran does not, however, seem to have understood the conciliatory spirit of Melancthon and Bucer so well as Thomas Starkey, the humanist who migrated from the service of Reginald Pole to that of Thomas Cromwell. In *An exhortation* (1535) Starkey showed how adiaphorist principles could be used to unite Englishmen themselves in a *via media*. This would take its stand upon Scripture; it would hold as 'indifferent' such observances as fasting, holy-days, pilgrimages and prayers to saints. It would nevertheless resist the arrogance of Protestant bigots who proclaimed them positively sinful, and hence relegated their Catholic forefathers to damnation.⁹ In his *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (before 1539) Starkey adopted another liberal position, making Lupset deny that man can be perfected by the power of law, by fear, pleasure or profit, 'but only of his free will and liberty.'¹⁰

If, however, one could apply adiaphorism to pilgrimage, to purgatory, even to clerical marriage, could one then extend it to the issue over which Protestants were most often burned—to eucharistic doctrine? At least one major figure of the first generation of English Reformers stood prepared to go thus far. He was that brave and brilliant young man John Frith, who after associating with Tyndale on the continent returned to England and in July 1533 went to the stake at Smithfield. Though he avoided the coarse vituperation exchanged between More and Tyndale, Frith cannot be claimed as a mediatory theologian. He nevertheless at his trial applied the adiaphorist principle with great boldness to the doctrine of transubstantiation:

I would not that any should count that I make my saying (which is the negative) any article of faith: for even as I say that you ought not to make any necessary article of the faith of your part (which is the affirmative), so I say again, that we

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 294-5, 300; Compare Jordan, pp. 64-7. References to these points in Luther appear in E. G. Rupp, *The Righteousness of God* (London, 1953), pp. 303-4.

⁹Quotations and references in Zeeveld, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-6; useful but incomplete list of adiaphorists in *ibid.*, pp. 152-3 n.

¹⁰Ed. J. W. Cooper, *Early Eng. Text Soc., extra series*, xii (1871), p. 206.

make none necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein. . . . The cause of my death is this ; because I cannot in conscience abjure and swear that our prelates' opinion of the sacrament . . . is an undoubted article of the faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation.¹¹

Frith had already written in similar terms during his eucharistic controversy with More.¹²

Frith's development of adiaphorism certainly attracted some followers, one of them being Henry Brinklow, the ex-Franciscan who became a citizen and merchant of London. In his *Lamentation of a Christian against the city of London* (1545) Brinklow bitterly attacked the priesthood and the mass, declaring that the blood of John Frith cried for vengeance against the bishops.

He, I say, hath written invincibly in this matter ; whose work I exhort all those which favour the free passage of the Gospel unfeignedly to read and to study . . . And in this matter [transubstantiation] I say with the said John Frith, that it is no point of our damnation nor salvation. If I believe it not, it damneth me not.¹³

In his more famous pamphlet *The Complaynt of Roderyck Mors* (? 1542) Brinklow again alludes to the persecuting bishops with his usual violence, but here he broadens the attack to cover all capital punishment for religious causes. In many cities of Germany, he declares, banishment is the penalty for persistent heresy. 'Neither put they any man to death for their faith's sake ; for faith is the gift of God only . . . so that no man can give another faith.'¹⁴

George Joye, Tyndale's well-known lieutenant, was another fierce and dogmatic Protestant, but one whose narrowness did not exclude some frank views on the inevitability of dissension and the irrational nature of persecution. These occur chiefly in *A present consolation for the sufferers of persecution for righteousness* (1544), where he makes his adversaries say :

We see it daily that where this new learning is preached, there followeth much trouble, unquietness, tumult, sundry sects, diverse opinions. Truth it is [replies Joye]. For never

¹¹*The articles wherefore John Frith died* in *The whole works* (n. 7 supra), pp. 170, 172.

¹²*A book of the sacrament* in *ibid.*, p. 149.

¹³Ed. J. M. Cowper in *Early Eng. Text Soc., extra series*, xii (1874), pp. 103-4.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 32.

was the seed of God's word sown and began to arise, Satan being asleep . . . The Scripture teacheth plainly (Matthew xvi) that among men there was, and shall be ever, diverse and sundry opinions of Christ and his religion.

And Joye continues to argue that, as with the early Christian Church, persecution is worse than ineffective, since it merely strengthens the persecuted cause.¹⁵

A far clearer manifesto of Christian liberalism appears in *A compendious treatise of slander* (? 1545), which roundly condemns pilgrimages, pardons and the worship of images, but declares 'that traditions be outward things and indifferent and may be omitted and left without sin'. The anonymous author is chiefly concerned to check 'the untimely use of Christian liberty'.

It is sin to break men's traditions, in case that the breaking of them should be occasion of slander or offence to any man . . . For not alonely hypocrites and the ungodly sort, but also godly men, and men of sober living . . . when they see ancient customs broken, they judge by that manner of doctrine men to be given to a wild liberty . . . and so be scared from the knowledge of the Gospel . . . But yet in this thing it is good to use soberness and discretion, for even among enemies there be some that rather should be reconciled than stirred and provoked.¹⁶

A Christian sentence and true judgement of the most honourable sacrament of Christ's body and blood (? 1545, also anonymous) maintains that the Presence in the sacrament should be treated as an open question, concerning which the opposed parties should bear with each other. The writer himself supposes Christ's words of institution to have been merely figurative, while as a Protestant he desires to receive communion in both kinds. He nevertheless will not blame people who consent to receive in one kind only.¹⁷

Meanwhile attacks on the Church had also come from the common lawyers, inspired by old rivalries with the canonists and by reading the now fashionable *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio.¹⁸ They were headed by Christopher St. German, who made such exalted

¹⁵Brit. Mus., 3932 c. 9, sig. A iii^v-F. iii^v *passim*. See A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *Short Title Catalogue* (London, 1926, 1946, hereafter cited as *S.T.C.*), no. 14828.

¹⁶Lambeth Palace Library, 1553.09 (13), unpaginated; *S.T.C.*, no. 24216a.

¹⁷Bodleian Tanner 39 (5), summarised in *Church Quarterly Review*, xxxv (1892-3), p. 44; *S.T.C.*, no. 5190.

¹⁸The first English translation, by William Marshall, was financed by Thomas Cromwell (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vii, no. 423).

Erastian claims in *Doctor and Student*, and in his subsequent controversies with More.¹⁹ A few of these men (like Simon Fish) were ardent Protestants, and while it may be questioned whether any had much understanding of Christian liberty, they sought at least to draw the teeth of the Church. With a few exceptions, the secular politicians and officials of Tudor England—mostly common lawyers by training—showed little zeal and often a marked distaste for religious persecution.

The Edwardian years saw a hitherto unknown tolerance, the only two executions for heresy being those of the Anabaptist Joan of Kent and the Unitarian George van Parris. While Archbishop Cranmer displayed an immense forbearance toward Catholics,²⁰ he brought that prince of mediators Martin Bucer from Strassburg to Cambridge and he planned an international conference to reunite the Protestant churches of Europe. It was Cranmer again who allowed the numerous foreign refugees in England to organise congregations along Calvinist and Zwinglian lines, and so permitted a public spectacle of the Reformed religion at the Austin Friars in the heart of the capital.

Alongside these manifestations of Protestant liberalism ran a spate of coarse and scurrilous pamphlets against the Catholic doctrine of the mass. Amid this unattractive company, a few pleas for tolerance continued to be made. A short tract, *Of unwritten verities*, published anonymously in 1548,²¹ commends the problem of unscriptural but traditional beliefs to the attention of kings and princes. The writer gives as examples the following beliefs: that the twelve Apostles compiled the Creed; that it is good to pray facing eastward; that Our Lady was not born in original sin, and was 'assumed', body and soul. He is prepared to let these continue, 'as things that be more like to be true than otherwise'. If governments ordain that no one shall openly deny them, unity and peace will be preserved. 'For they be but things indifferent to be believed, or not believed, and are nothing like to Scripture, to the Articles of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, nor to such other moral learnings, as are merely [i.e. wholly] derived out of

¹⁹F. L. Van Baumer, 'Christopher St. German' in *American Historical Review*, xlii (1937), pp. 631 ff.

²⁰J. Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 156-7, 171, 320-1; for the points which follow see *ibid.*, pp. 327-30. On the somewhat obscure intentions of the *Reformatio Legum* see *ibid.*, pp. 333-4.

²¹*Remains of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. H. Jenkyns (Oxford, 1833), iv. 358-63. It had originally been reprinted by Strype, who arbitrarily attributed it to Cranmer; perhaps Strype was misled by the fact that Cranmer wrote a (very different!) treatise on the same theme (*ibid.*, iv. 143-244).

Scripture.' But such unscriptural beliefs must not be enforced by canon law, since that would raise the clergy 'into a higher estimation of themselves than they ought to have'.

The Protestant pamphlets of these years display many gradations of radicalism to which one cannot apply the conventional party labels. Another of them, *A brief and faithful declaration of the true faith of Christ* (1547)²² specifically disclaims any sympathy with Anabaptist teaching, of which the author (who signs himself J. B.) had been suspected. He subsequently denounces John of Leyden for attempting to establish a worldly kingdom. 'Christ's kingdom is spiritual and standeth not in any outward dominion.' The whole Gospel of Christ witnesses that the Christian must suffer but in no wise revenge evil. Those who seek to use 'the material sword' in religious disputes are guilty of exalting the Old Testament above the New. The author then cites *Ephesians*, vi. 14-16 and *John*, v. 4 to show that 'victory standeth in an upright faith, and not in any carnal and outward weapon'.

Along with such obscure publicists one might mention that more august monument of early English Puritanism, William Turner, chaplain and physician to Protector Somerset, dean of Wells and the greatest English botanist of his age. This remarkable man tempered his hatred of ceremonial and transubstantiation with a complete rejection of physical duress, even against the Anabaptists. Writing against the latter in *A preservative . . . against the poison of Pelagius* (1551), Turner enumerates their many sub-divisions and continues,

Some would think that it were the best way to use the same weapons against this manifold monster that the papists used against us : that is material fire and faggot. But me think, seeing it is no material thing that we must fight withall, but ghostly, that is a wood [mad] spirit, that it were most meet that we should fight with the sword of God's word and with a spiritual fire against it, or else we are like to profit but a little in our business . . . Then when as the enemy is a spirit, that is the ghost of Pelagius, that old heretic once well laid but now of late to the great jeopardy of many raised up again, the weapons and the warriors that must kill this enemy must be spiritual. As for spiritual weapons, we may have enough out of the storehouse or armoury of the Scripture to

²²Brit. Mus., 1360 a. 2 ; sig. B. iii-B. iiiii. This tract (*S.T.C.*, no. 1035) usually receives the title of its preamble, *A brief and plain declaration*.

confound and overthrow all the ghostly enemies, be they never so many.

He then demands better measures for the education of the spiritual warriors who will use these biblical weapons.²³

While the Anabaptists inspired fear and intolerance in others, they were almost the only thoroughgoing upholders of complete liberty of worship. During the early thirties Netherlandish Anabaptists were settling in England. Fourteen were burned in London and other towns early in June 1535, but more than a decade seems to have elapsed before they began to make any appreciable number of English converts. Already by 1530, it is true, there were circulating in England pamphlets expressing opinions well to the left of Luther's, yet it would seem precipitate to label all these as Anabaptist. Their teachings are summarised and condemned in Archbishop Warham's register under the date 24 May 1530.²⁴ *The revelation of Antichrist* had maintained that no man should be compelled to belief against his own will, and it had cited *Matthew, xviii* (? vv. 15-17) to show that 'a rebel should not be killed, but avoided . . . The New Testament of Christ will not suffer any law of compulsion, but only of counsel and exhortation'.

In the same register is denounced another tract, of which a good many copies have in fact survived: *The sum of holy Scripture and ordinary of Christian teaching*. This was probably translated from the Dutch *Summa der Godliker Schrifturen*, attributed to Hendrik van Bommel, the translator being Simon Fish, the notorious author of the *Supplication for beggars*. First published at Antwerp (? 1529), this version passed through eight editions by 1550 and must have become one of our most influential compendia of radicalism.²⁵ Its doctrinal affinities deserve a thorough examination, but the passages on Baptism do not seem characteristic of any Anabaptist sect. On the other hand, in true sectarian manner it divides the population into those who truly

²³*A preservative*, sig. A. iii^v-A. iv. For similar views in Turner's *Neue dialogue* (1548, and later edns.) see Jordan, pp. 73-4. As early as 1528 More attributes similar views to his opponents (*A Dialogue concerning heresies* in *Works* (1557), p. 110.

²⁴Printed in D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae* (London, 1737), iii, 727-33.

²⁵*S.T.C.*, nos. 3036-41. Since writing the above sentences, I have noted the valuable discussion of the *Sum* by Clebsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-51. But the French-Swiss background of the original work remains uncertain. Some bibliographers think the imprint of the French edition (Basle 1523) fictitious, and suggest S. du Bois of Alençon, c.1534.

belong to the kingdom of God and those who are nominal Christians, and belong to the 'kingdom of the world'. Only the latter have been placed by God 'under the sword, that is to say under the secular power and civil right'. On the other hand, the true Christians obeying God's commandments 'have naught to do with the sword of justice nor of the secular power to make them righteous'. For the rest, its tone is anticlerical, with hints of socialism and pacifism.

Tracts by known English Anabaptists were being circulated in 1548-49. Two of these, devotional rather than overtly sectarian, were then openly printed as by Henry Hart, a leader of the Kentish sectaries.²⁶ Later on the equally notorious Robert Cooche may well have written the tract (circulated c.1557, apparently in manuscript) which we know only from the elaborate attack brought against it by John Knox.²⁷ It formed a rousing denunciation of Calvinist intolerance and it did not fail to draw a pointed contrast between the Old Testament ferocity of Geneva and the merciful, unaggressive attitude of men inspired by the New Testament.

Meanwhile the Marian reaction had come and gone. It struck a heavy blow against the whole concept of religious persecution, for it associated the latter with the detested overlordship of Spain. On the other hand, the experience often generated among Protestants more heat than light, and the famous controversies waged at Frankfurt between Anglicans and Calvinists scarcely prove that exile caused Englishmen to make rapid progress in the arts of practical toleration. Naturally, the anti-Marian pamphleteers on the continent had much to say concerning our theme. John Ponet, the deprived Bishop of Winchester, published abroad in 1556 his important *Short treatise of politic power*.²⁸ Here he extended the rights of the individual conscience to cover tyrannicide, and this long before the Huguenots began to argue along the same lines. While he also adopted Starkey's adiaphorism and gave the godly prince authority over 'things indifferent',

²⁶*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Hart, Henry. *A godly new short treatise* (S.T.C., no. 12887) is in Brit. Mus., 1020 c. 3. It has passages which the Calvinists would have regarded as Pelagian. I have not yet read Hart's other tract *A godly exhortation* (S.T.C., no. 10626), a copy of which is at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

²⁷Knox claims to have given it in full and it has been reconstituted from his text in *Baptist Historical Society Transactions*, iv (1914-15), pp. 88-123. Comment in Jordan, pp. 74-7.

²⁸On Ponet see J. W. Allen, *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1928), pp. 118-20; Jordan, pp. 54-5.

Ponet carefully refrained from giving him authority to define the immutable things. He had recognised an ungodly prince in Queen Mary and he deduced that states and monarchs have a limited authority, being ordained merely for the benefit of the people. Like Starkey, he called for a middle path between the unruly Anabaptists and the autocratic Romanists. Two years later, Christopher Goodman published at Geneva *How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects*, exalting the rights of the individual conscience against wicked rulers in terms similar to those of Ponet.²⁹

Despite the *avant-garde* atmosphere of these writings, their authors must nevertheless be regarded as outraged oppositionists whose thinking was shaped by political pressures. Liberation-fighters are not necessarily liberals, and these men were much more passionately concerned to overthrow Queen Mary than to promote freedom of conscience and worship. In particular, Goodman's close association with John Knox should make us regard his claims to liberalism with a profound caution. During the exile, Genevan principles became ever more prominent among English Protestants and everywhere the great contributions of Calvinism to national and civic freedom were to be made at a heavy cost in terms of spiritual freedom. Our Elizabethan Puritans provided few exceptions to this rule. They loudly asserted the rights of their own consciences, but felt no obligation to fight for the consciences of the non-elect. In general this seems true even of the separatists like Robert Browne, who wanted a voluntary Church wholly divorced from the State.³⁰

Throughout the Tudor age there was no stauncher enemy of persecution than John Foxe, and it seems most ironical that his *Acts and Monuments* ended by contributing so much to the intolerance of several Protestant generations.³¹ Nevertheless, Foxe himself stood firmly opposed to the use of force in religious disputes; he showed a notable sensitivity toward all physical suffering, even when the victims were animals. His pleas for the life of Joan of Kent and (in 1575) for the condemned Anabaptists can be paralleled by reference to other episodes in his life and writings. His view sprang not merely from his personal tempera-

²⁹On Goodman see J. W. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-18; Jordan, pp. 55-7.

³⁰M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago 1939), p. 352; Jordan, pp. 239-99.

³¹I am indebted for some of the following points to an unpublished (1965) article by V. N. Olsen, 'John Foxe the Martyrologist and Toleration', kindly lent me by the author.

ment but also from a vision of the divine clemency, of Christianity as a creed of mercy demanding spiritual instruction rather than juridical and penal coercion.

The nearer each approaches to the sweet spirit of the Gospel, by so much farther he is from the hard decision of burning and torturing.³² It is tyrannical to constrain by faggots. Consciences love to be taught, and religion wants to teach. The most effective master of teaching is love. Where this is absent there is never anyone who can teach aright nor can anyone learn properly.³³

In Foxe's mind the concept of toleration stood rooted in the Gospel, and consequently the fact of persecution had become for him the mark of an apostate church. Few of his readers can have been aware that he also denounced persecution against Catholics, but his son Simeon relates how he interceded for the lives of Edmund Campion and of other Catholic victims.³⁴

The Anglican Settlement of 1559 had its origins in a compromise between Queen Elizabeth's personal views and those of the returning exiles who had substantially preserved the Protestant Prayer Book of 1552. The restored Anglican Church claimed merely to be one among the many national churches of Christendom. It could not logically persecute on the same religious grounds as could a Church Universal, while the complex domestic and foreign situations encouraged the natural bent of the Queen and her great minister Cecil toward a cautious opportunism. Their avoidance of persecution for nearly two decades forms an impressive memorial to their cool good sense. This demonstrable fact that they did not persecute Catholics by choice, the very real latitudinarian elements in Anglicanism and early Nonconformity, the number of foreign liberals able to express themselves in England, the remarkably slack enforcement of the fines for recusancy, these and other features of the Elizabethan scene make it difficult to accept the severe view of Father Lecler that England was then an exceptionally intolerant country. After all, the menaces of Spanish conquest and of its allies among the militant English Catholics became very concrete. The abyss of anarchy loomed beneath the feet of government and people.

³²Latin text in *The Church Historians of England*, ed. J. Pratt (1870), I (pt. I), App. xi, p. 28; *quanto quisque accedit*, etc.

³³*Ad inclitos ac praepotentes Angliae proceres* (Basle, 1557), printed in *ibid.*, App. xvii, p. 50: *Fustibus cogere tyrannorum est*, etc.

³⁴Mr. Olsen cites Simeon Foxe's *Memoir*, printed in Latin and English in vol. ii of the 1641 edn. of the *Acts and Monuments*, p. B. 4.

That in the end they struck hard at the authors—real and supposed—of their peril must seem as inevitable as it was tragic. The Bull *Regnans in excelsis*, deposing Elizabeth and calling upon her subjects to execute the sentence, was soon given substance by a long series of murder-plots, rebellions and threats of invasion. The persecution of Catholics which followed was essentially a political action based upon well-founded fears. The Elizabethan government showed little enthusiasm for old concepts of punishable heresy, though with more justice it might be charged with using, on occasion, sadistic agents like Richard Topcliffe, and with a failure to discriminate humanely between murderous plotters and saintly missionaries. Yet even in this last regard, its position was less simple than some of its critics have supposed. Those who sent the seminarists to England regarded the English Mission as a preparatory stage to the forcible overthrow of the heretical *régime*. Willy-nilly, even the loyalest Catholic had been made a potential agent of Spanish hegemony and amid hazards so terrifying, the politicians could hardly take risks. Religious and political hatreds lay by now desperately intertwined. The story of the English Catholics is one of tragedy, of heroism, of muddled politico-religious hatred, but it scarcely belongs to the annals of religious persecution.

It must, of course, be clearly admitted that the Elizabethan Church was based upon a parliamentary Act of Uniformity, and that its authorities often employed legal coercion both against separatists and against non-conforming practices by its own members. In a famous letter to Whitgift Cecil himself likened the High Commission to the Inquisition of Spain! Even so, certain liberal elements were also built into the structure. The Thirty-nine Articles themselves maintained the adiaphorist principle,³⁵ as did the successive champions of the Settlement, John Jewel and the remarkably liberal Richard Hooker.³⁶ Several parliamentary speeches of the period advocated religious toleration and the simplification of doctrine.³⁷

As for the English Catholics, they stood bitterly divided between the Jesuit group and the vast majority of laymen and seculars, who desired at all costs (save repudiation of their faith) to avoid involvement in murder-plots, rebellions, or any species of disloyalty to the Queen. Like their Gallican equivalents across

³⁵Articles xx, xxxiv.

³⁶References in Zeeveld, *op. cit.*, p. 153 n.

³⁷J. W. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 231, 237-8.

the Channel, they regarded the claim of the Pope to depose monarchs as a gross anachronism. From the 1580's the 'non-political' Catholic writers were demanding in return religious toleration, and supporting it by reference not merely to their own needs but also to broad philosophical and theological principles.³⁸ By 1601 Archbishop Bancroft was trying to arrange a compromise with the Catholics, whereby they would reject the papal claim to depose princes, in return for a considerable measure of toleration.³⁹ Outside ecclesiastical circles the climate was changing even more rapidly. Giordano Bruno enjoyed the intellectual companionship of Sidney and published his pantheist treatises during his stay in England. Three distinguished laymen, Jacobus Acontius, Alberico Gentili and Edwin Sandys, here set forth elaborate theories of toleration.⁴⁰ Acontius identified persecution with the sin of personal arrogance. He did not believe that absolute truth could be attained by any Church and, while accepting the Bible as the unique guide to faith, he rejected the wishful thought that free minds would come to interpret it along uniform lines. More strikingly still, he said all this while yet contriving to retain the personal favour of Queen Elizabeth! In Shakespeare's age the broadening and laicizing of the whole great world of thought held a more prophetic significance than the narrowing and calvinizing of the lesser world of theology.

As on the Continent, so in England, sixteenth-century opinion shows every gradation from monolithic and persecuting authoritarianism down to the extremer forms of religious individualism. I have endeavoured to show that theories and sentiments making for religious toleration—and ultimately for something more positive—formed a modest yet integral part of the English Reformation: that archaic notions of punishable heresy were now rarely unmixed with secular considerations, that the coolness and disenchantment of the nation gave more liberal views an opportunity to develop. So far as creative theory is concerned I regard the adiaphorist concept as especially significant because it paved the way to genuine dialogue. It formed the root of a liberalism which could still remain Christian and it found receptive hearers in England. Again, it seems demonstrably true that Tudor

³⁸Jordan, pp. 398 ff.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 207 ff; Lecler, ii. 375 ff.

⁴⁰On these three see Jordan, pp. 303-71; on Sandys, J. W. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-6; C. H. and K. George, *The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, 1570-1640*, pp. 196-7. The last has useful references to other tolerant Protestants, pp. 379 ff.

tolerationist theory sprang far less from the Renaissance of pagan Greece and Rome, than from the New Testament. If my review of the evidence has any value, there can be no return to the crude analysis of J. B. Bury : the analysis which saw that age simply in terms of warfare between classical light and medieval darkness, between Athens and Zion, between Renaissance rationalism and the rival obscurantisms of contending Christians.⁴¹ In actual fact, these early advocates of forbearance were almost all deeply engaged Christians, quite remote from humanist scepticism. Their charitable impulses owe much, it is true, to that Biblical humanism which turned men's gaze toward the literal sense and historical background of Scripture. But the Gospels and Epistles themselves remain the central inspiration ; if they provided some texts for the intolerant, they provided more for the gentler spirits.

Especially for those many Englishmen who refused to become worshippers at the shrine of Geneva, the triumph of the Gospel necessarily came to mean something more than the replacement of old priest by new presbyter, of one juridical and scholastic system by another. As so often in Christian history, the New Testament proved itself the living Word, not a passive tool in the hands of would-be lawgivers and middle-men. In England as elsewhere, a second tension swiftly followed the original clash between Protestant and Catholic. It was the tension between the Christian liberals and those Genevan disciplinarians who sought to re-order the confused Protestant ranks for battle against sectarian subjectivism on the one front and a reviving Catholicism on the other. Let us not be too hard on the Calvinists ; perhaps under God they saved the Reformation from a violent and early death ! Inevitably, amid the perils of the time, these militant champions enjoyed some temporary advantages. Yet it seems both certain and fortunate that their triumph was never total, that, both inside and outside the established Churches, Christian liberalism survived in strength to pervade and to modify the secular forces of a later age.

This revival of a Christianity for free and thoughtful adults seems to me every bit as significant as the more familiar themes of sixteenth-century religious history. And does not the future of Christianity still depend upon the continuing prevalence of a charitable and receptive humility, as against excessive philosophising, dogmatising, defining, as against the misuse of scholastic

⁴¹J. B. Bury, *A History of Freedom of Thought* (London, 2nd edn. 1920), ch. ii-v.

and doctrinaire hypotheses, as against the tidy-minded ecclesiasts and the revivalists who will admit only one stereotype of conversion and spiritual life? But for the advances in Christian freedom initiated in the era of the Reformation, we of the various churches, who glory alike in the name of Jesus, would not be here this afternoon discussing Christian history in fraternal concord. In itself mere toleration is a poor and timid thing, but in the hands of the Lord of History it is forever growing into a true brotherhood in Christ.

The Reformation in England

'The one definite thing which can be said about the Reformation in England is that it was an act of State. . . . The Reformation in England was a parliamentary transaction.'¹ So, not many years since, wrote one of our greatest historians, and his view would be supported in substance by most of the 'standard' books. Generally speaking, historians have been satisfied to contemplate kings, popes, legates, archbishops, parliamentary statutes, prayer books, articles of religion, the famous documents, the façades of Church and State; to contemplate everything except the religious and social history of the English people during the crisis of the Reformation. Indeed, if we persist in our absorption with the records of the State-Reformation, we shall naturally continue to see the Reformation as an act of State! Yet these are far from being the only records of the crisis. The Reformation in Tudor England is well documented at all levels and if we want to delve more deeply we shall not suffer unduly from lack of information.

Even without doing so, we might also accept it as a definite fact that the Reformation was a process of Protestantization. In Catholic phraseology, it involved the infiltration and growth of heresy, for while English religion was predominantly Catholic in 1520, it had become predominantly Protestant well before 1600. Other propositions seem to me equally uncontroversial. The Protestantizing process was not initiated by royal or parliamentary action. Again, in some of its important phases it went ahead in the teeth of active persecution by both Church and State. While still in its infancy this

¹ F. M. Powicke, *The Reformation in England*, 1941, pp. 1, 34.

process was detected and its future foreseen with prophetic accuracy by the greatest Catholic of Tudor England. Sir Thomas More did not think that Protestantism was made in Parliament.

And yet, son Roper, I pray God . . . that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains, treading heretics under our feet like ants, live not the day that we gladly would wish to be at a league and composition with them, to let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be content to let us have ours quietly to ourselves.²

Long before Henry VIII broke with Rome numerous developments were preparing Englishmen for some sort of religious and ecclesiastical change or crisis. Anticlericalism, always endemic in societies where clerical power bulks large, had reached a new virulence by the early years of the sixteenth century. The English clergy formed a highly privileged and wealthy order of society; they made laws and granted subsidies in their convocations sitting alongside Parliament; their courts, administering an international canon law, punished laymen guilty of moral offences and heretical opinions; they controlled large spheres of jurisdiction (like that of wills and testaments) which would now be regarded as secular. Laymen grudgingly paid them tithes and mortuary dues, but ceaselessly combated such claims in the courts whenever opportunity arose. Monasteries and chapters were large landowners and not exceptionally easy-going ones. Diocesan bishops, appointed in effect by the Crown, were great lords remote from their people, mostly at work as ministers, civil servants and ambassadors. Below the upper crust of rich pluralists and absentees, the parish clergy were poor and unevenly educated, too numerous, too often ordained without due tests of learning and vocation. In the face of advancing lay education they were becoming less able to preserve their once easy intellectual prestige. Inevitably, so large a group of enforced celibates was bound to produce enough sexual lapses to provide material for hostile gossip and propaganda. In his notorious *Supplication for Beggars* (1529) the London lawyer Simon Fish, with the sure instinct of the yellow press, harped without ceasing upon this theme:

² *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore . . . by William Roper*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock, Early English Text Society, original series, 1935, cxcvii, p. 35.

Yea, and what do they [the clergy] more? Truly nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid, that cuckoldry and bawdry should reign over all among your subjects, that no man should know his own child. . . . These be they that have made a hundred thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have gotten their living honestly, in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches elected them to unclean lust and idleness. . . . Yea, some one of them shall boast among his fellows that he hath meddled with an hundred women.³

Mention of Simon Fish reminds one to observe that these common lawyers, with their professional jealousy against the canon law, their exaltation of State over Church, formed the very spear-head of anticlericalism. And here we are not concerned with any small fraternity, since a large section of the English political and administrative class had been educated at the Inns of Court in the common law. This rivalry—and anticlericalism among the public at large—rose to greater heights during the career of Thomas Wolsey, the mighty upstart who seemed, as Lord Chancellor and Papal Legate, to monopolize all ecclesiastical and civil power in the realm. In fact, he chiefly oppressed his brother clergymen, yet he attracted the indignation of the laity against churchmen as a whole, and when the Reformation Parliament met at his fall in the autumn of 1529 this indignation exploded in a whole series of measures against the Church.

Forces more distinctly religious were also at work in English society long before this time; indeed, long before the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli reached our shores. The Lollard heresy stemmed from Wycliffe, but it taught most of the doctrines later embraced by Luther. It still flourished between 1490 and 1530 in the Chilterns, in London and Essex, in East Anglia, West Kent, the upper Thames valley and some other areas. While the organized Lollard congregations can have numbered only a few thousand members—mostly artisans, husbandmen and other humble people—the Lollard anti-

³ *Four Supplications*, ed. J. M. Cowper, Early English Text Society, extra series, 1871, xiii, p. 6.

sacerdotal, anti-sacramental, anti-ceremonial criticisms seem to have expanded into a far wider section of society and to have augmented the fund of antagonism toward the Church. It is hard to resist the impression that many orthodox Londoners were no longer shocked when they heard of neighbours who questioned transubstantiation, disliked confessing to priests, or surreptitiously read the old Wycliffite translation of the Scriptures. In 1514 the London merchant Richard Hunne, after waging numerous lawsuits with his parish priests, was imprisoned on a charge of heresy and later found murdered in his cell in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's. The passionate outburst of hatred against Bishop Fitzjames and his officials convulsed the capital. Prolonged by consequential disputes between the bishops and the judges in the presence of the King, this affair was still vividly remembered when the Reformation Parliament met fifteen years later. And speaking of London Lollards, we know that many of them joined forces with Lutheranism. They played an active part in the dissemination of continental Protestant books, especially the first printed New Testament in English, which William Tyndale completed in 1526 in Antwerp. Even in the forties and fifties many of the prosecutions for heresy recorded in our episcopal records show the survival of a proletarian radicalism stemming from Wycliffe rather than from Luther.

Over and above the effect of anticlerical and heretical ideas, English Catholicism on the eve of the Reformation showed certain inherent weaknesses and rigidities inappropriate to the challenges of the time. Early Tudor England was indeed far from being a godless country and Catholic piety survived on various levels, from the simplest to the most sophisticated. Interest in the great English devotional writers and their modern successors continued in literate circles; the small and select Carthusian order still produced mystics; fine churches were still being constructed or completed; pilgrims streamed to Canterbury, Walsingham and even overseas to foreign shrines. On the other hand, the mystical approaches to religion were impracticable for most men and women in the world; the sale of masses and pardons, especially the abuses of the doctrine of purgatory by a fund-raising priesthood, had begun to arouse resentment; the saint-cults seemed increasingly puerile to critical people. One finds

it hard to resist the conclusions that the saints had captured overmuch attention, and that devotion to the person of Christ tended to revolve too narrowly around the Passion.

With a few notable exceptions, monasticism was lukewarm and insular, commanding little veneration outside the cloister. Whereas in France and Germany many vernacular editions of the Bible had appeared, English bishops, appalled by Lollardy, rigorously opposed the translation of the Scriptures, leaving the Bible to be presented by Tyndale and the heterodox Protestants working abroad. The abuses of Renaissance Rome, vaguely sensed by the common man behind the person of Wolsey, were known at first hand by a number of influential Englishmen. The scholastic approach to religion had long been divided and even discredited; in any case it did not cater even for the educated among the laity. On the other hand, the humanist approach, exemplified by Dean Colet, tried to set forth the plain sense of the Scriptures against their historical background. This could have formed a sound basis for a reformed Catholic devotion, but Colet was held in suspicion by the ecclesiastical die-hards. The bishops, in whose hands lay the chances of renovation, occupied themselves not merely in the King's employment but in jurisdictional disputes between one another, or with Wolsey. Indeed, they tended to see the life of the Church in terms of law and jurisdiction rather than in terms of spiritual education. Altogether, the English Church during the period 1500-30 stood poorly equipped to weather the storms of the new age. It was a grandiose but unseaworthy hulk, its timbers rotted and barnacled, its superstructure riddled by the fire of its enemies, its crew grudging, divided, in some cases mutinous, its watchmen near-sighted and far from weather-wise, its officers lacking in navigational skill. If in this situation the King decided to take personal command, most Englishmen—even most churchmen—would be likely to applaud rather than to object. And few would stop to consider that the kings of England bore not a little of the responsibility for the problems of the Church!

As everyone knows, this change of command, beginning with the divorce quarrel (in fact a matter of nullification), was completed during the lifetime (1529-36) of the Reformation Parliament. Whatever may be thought of his personal morals, the King and the nation

desperately needed a male heir to the throne. Moreover, he had quite a strong legal case for the annulment of his marriage and other kings with claims less strong had been in the past accommodated by the papacy. Since, however, Queen Katherine's nephew Charles V happened to hold military sway over Rome, Pope Clement VII could not meet Henry's demands. There followed the decisive legislation whereby the King not only severed England from the Roman jurisdiction but made himself Supreme Head of the English Church, with powers to control even the definition of doctrine. He summoned the almost unknown Thomas Cranmer to the see of Canterbury, with orders to complete the divorce. He made his minister Thomas Cromwell—a businessman and lawyer trained in Italy, Antwerp and Wolsey's household—Vicegerent of the Church, giving him precedence over the archbishops themselves. Cromwell now seems one of the misjudged figures of English history. Profoundly interested in political and social ideas, he was in his fashion something of an idealist and a revolutionary; on the ruins of feudalism and an overmighty Church he strove to build a more efficient society based on education, greater breadth of opportunity and the conditioning of a turbulent people to the rule of law.

With phenomenal application, Cromwell devised the complex legislation and administrative institutions demanded by these changes. He defended them by an unprecedented use of the presses. A would-be reformer of the secular clergy, he wrote off the monasteries as beyond reform; he thought them only worthy to solve the King's financial problems. Their legal confiscation (1536–40) Cromwell doubtless conceived as a permanent endowment of the Crown, but after his overthrow Henry sold off most of the monastic estates in order to pay for a futile war against Scotland and France. This most important economic phase of the English Reformation hence had as its main long-term result the enlargement of the landed gentry, who grew—collectively at least—to ever-greater stature in the nation. In the longer run the material gains of the Crown proved surprisingly small.

Flattered and managed by the King and his minister, the political classes gave every support to this jurisdictional and confiscatory Reformation. Only two men of eminence, Sir Thomas More and

Bishop Fisher, offered their lives for the Papal Supremacy and the unity of the Catholic Church. The following year (1536) arose the Pilgrimage of Grace, but in only some of its manifold aspects can it be called the outcome of northern religious conservatism. The discontent of the masses was overwhelmingly economic in origin and secular grievances dominate the voluminous records. All the bishops, whatever their doctrinal opinions, were now backing the King against the pope. The leader of the group which still accepted Catholic doctrine was Stephen Gardiner of Winchester, yet it was he who published the strongest manifesto in support of the Royal Supremacy and in condemnation of the Papal claims.

This State-Reformation is nevertheless very far from comprising the whole of the story. Before it and alongside it, Protestant doctrine was winning a place in the nation, but winning it against the King's will and largely in opposition to the machinery of Church and State. The first known Lutheran group was meeting in the White Horse Tavern in Cambridge from about the year 1520, a time when most of the future Protestant leaders and martyrs were undergraduates or junior dons in that university. For the rest of the century Cambridge exerted an influence upon history hardly surpassed by any university at any period. The movement spread thence to Oxford, especially when a group of Cambridge men came to staff Wolsey's new Cardinal College. Also during the twenties the tentacles of Lutheranism embraced another social group with extraordinary facilities for combating a hostile government and episcopate. This group consisted of London merchants and their colleagues, the large colony of English businessmen in Antwerp, an invaluable base outside the direct control of Henry and his bishops. Here in the great cosmopolis of that age, dominated by the heroic and bitter spirit of William Tyndale, the biblical translators and Protestant publicists did their work under the protection of the Merchant Adventurers. This defeat of a rudimentary police system by presses working abroad was to be repeated in the reign of Mary thirty years later.

The Bible, translated into plain and moving English, effectively crushed the unscriptural world of 'good works', of saint-cults, pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons and minor sacraments. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone may be held to have some-

what extended or simplified the message of St. Paul, but it stood near enough to his actual emphasis to command a ready assent from Scripture-readers. Moreover, the simple integrity of Christ and his Apostles provided a harsh comment on the Renaissance papacy, the lordly prelate, the non-resident tithe-seeker, the priest grasping for his mortuary dues, the slothful monk, the canon lawyer exacting huge fees for the probate of wills. In truth, the New Testament also sat in judgement on the greed, violence and injustice of lay society, but this aspect of its message had a less general appeal!

The growth of Protestant biblicism should not be depicted as a predominantly lay movement. In fact, it found dedicated agents not only among university clerics but amongst a minority of unprivileged priests; some of them (like Robert Barnes, Miles Coverdale, John Bale, George Joye and John Hooper) were former friars. That the policy of the open Bible at last managed to obtain some support from the Government was due largely to Thomas Cromwell, who had been interested in the translation of the Scriptures years before he entered the royal service. Despite his secular, unfervent personality, he stood—in the end none too cautiously—on the side of the Reformers. The documents make it quite certain that he was the chief political agent behind Miles Coverdale's final work of revision and the publication of the 'official' Great Bible (1539-40), which he and Archbishop Cranmer persuaded the King to put into the churches. As events proved, this was the step which could never be retraced.

In 1539-40 Henry VIII, offended by Protestant attacks on the doctrine of transubstantiation and listening to conservatives like the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Gardiner, imposed the reactionary Six Articles Act, allowed Cromwell to be attainted on treason and heresy charges, and abandoned his negotiations with the German Lutheran princes. According to conventional statute-book history, the King's last years represent a Catholic reaction. Yet among the English people, even among the top people, these years were a period of Protestant advance. Much Protestant literature—some of it surprisingly liberal and tolerant—was smuggled in from abroad or quietly printed at home. The King's attempt to withdraw the Bible from uneducated readers seems little to have diminished its impact

on the nation. An analysis of the religious phraseology in middle-class and gentry wills—they suffice at least to indicate general trends—strongly suggests that Protestant convictions were still advancing and saint-worship declining. A strong party at Court, headed by the Earl of Hertford (the future Protector Somerset), cautiously leaned toward the new beliefs. Even the King himself put his heir in the care of tutors with known Protestant inclinations. Archbishop Cranmer, though compelled in 1539 to return his German wife to her relatives, succeeded in maintaining his personal credit with Henry and in continuing his plans for an English liturgy.

On Henry's death in 1547 the seizure of power by the Protestant group under Hertford gave the English Reformers a period of power and experiment lasting more than six years. Somerset's overthrow in 1549 by the opportunist John Dudley merely hastened the process, since Dudley took as his clerical allies the extremest Reformers like John Hooper and John Knox. Already during Cromwell's ministry Englishmen had become familiar with the concept of a national Church based on the Scriptures and pursuing a middle course between outworn superstitions and the arrogance of extremists. Now in 1549 this nascent Anglicanism was equipped with a remarkable English Prayer Book, for Cranmer, so often weak and wavering in political life, proved himself a creative liturgist, one able to blend Catholic and Lutheran forms into a convincing devotional unity. His first Book could be interpreted in a Catholic sense, but the second Book (1552) was a distinctly Protestant document, reducing the mass to little more than a memorial service. It still remains doubtful whether Cranmer sanctioned some of its final features; we know that by this stage more radical Reformers like Knox and Hooper were exercising heavy pressures upon the politicians, who could overrule Cranmer himself.

Meanwhile the dissolution of chantries, chapels, religious guilds, collegiate churches and other institutions reshaped the character of the English parochial life. Many of these foundations had already been embezzled or converted to other uses, while belief in intercessory masses for the dead had for some time been declining. These facts, however, justified reform rather than confiscation. And though measures were taken to continue the chantry schools, together with

some essential chapels and other foundations, this dissolution proceeded in an atmosphere of profiteering, corruption, financial embarrassment, and loss of face for the Protestant cause. In 1553, having seized even the surplus plate of the parish churches, Dudley's government was struck down by the death of its puppet, the young King Edward. The attempt to alter the succession in favour of Dudley's daughter-in-law Jane Grey was resisted even by Protestants who realized that a Catholic reaction would follow under the legitimate heir, Mary Tudor.

These conspicuous events of the reign of Edward VI have often tended to overshadow a development of profounder importance in English religious and intellectual history. During the reign of Henry VIII Lutheran influences had predominated among English Protestants, though in its last years the teachings of Zwingli in Zürich and Calvin in Geneva had begun to bear heavily upon some English theologians. Now this reorientation from the Saxon to the Swiss emphasis became decisive. When Cranmer sought to call a conference to unite European Protestants he was rebuffed by the unimaginative Lutherans. On the other hand, thousands of religious refugees, the great majority of them owing no direct allegiance to Luther's Wittenberg, came to settle in England. Martin Bucer and several other eminent foreign theologians occupied key posts in the universities, while the great company of foreigners in London were given the Austin Friars and there allowed by Cranmer to organize their congregations along Swiss lines. This signal act of liberalism provided a public exhibition of the Reformed religion in the heart of the capital, a thing which Nicholas Ridley found disquieting in his capacity as Bishop of London. Among Englishmen, in theory bound to use the official Prayer Book, Calvin and the Zwinglians had now many admirers, who demanded that the English Church should be remodelled along the lines of the Reformed faith. Such early Puritans embraced Calvin's views on grace and predestination; and not satisfied to accept the Bible simply as general guidance in matters of worship, they believed that *all* devotional practices without direct scriptural warrant were sinful and intolerable. But in opposition to this rigid attitude there stood advocates of a liberal tradition, based largely on Melancthon, men who distinguished between the

unchangeable essentials of the Faith and its *adiaphora*—‘things indifferent’, which might be either retained or abolished without sin. This sensible view, always a stout pillar of Christian toleration, obtained some recognition in the official Articles of Religion. Yet at this parlous stage the Calvinist disciplinarians had certain advantages over the liberals. They knew exactly what they wanted; they knew the battle still raged and they sought to re-order the confused Protestant ranks against a reviving Rome on the one hand and against the Anabaptists (now increasingly active in England) on the other.

With the accession of Queen Mary the fate of the English Reformation hung once more in the balance, yet in the event this zealot ended by making invaluable contributions to the Protestant cause. She first identified Catholicism with unpopular Spain by marrying Philip against the advice of her own Council. Discarding the worldly-wise Bishop Gardiner, she ended by relying upon a most remote and unpractical guide, her cousin Reginald Pole, who in 1554 returned to England as Papal Legate, bringing absolution to the realm. Their failure to stimulate Catholic ardour or to introduce the spiritual Counter-Reformation remains a great negative fact. And much as they desired to do so, they could not restore to the Church the monastic lands sold or given to the laity without risking revolution. Finally they conducted a persecution too small to eradicate Protestantism yet big enough to restore its waning prestige by providing an army of martyrs. An equally important outcome of Mary’s policy was the exile of some 800 leading Protestants, who founded active communities at Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Geneva and elsewhere. For them there followed an intense period of debate and study, of writing and propaganda, of preparation for the recovery of England.

In the event, the recovery proved surprisingly painless and rapid, for in November 1558 death removed—within a few hours of each other—the tragic figures of Mary and Reginald Pole. At this juncture the Calvinist exiles missed their opportunity. At Frankfurt, led by John Knox, they had quarrelled with the Anglicans and had mostly gone off to Geneva, whence they were slow to return. Their voices were unheard in that fateful Parliament of 1559, in which the Elizabethan Settlement was so rapidly hammered out. This being

so, the Settlement became a compromise between the returning Anglican exiles, who wanted a Prayer Book even more Protestant than that of 1552, and the young Elizabeth, who looked back to the days of her brother—even to those of her father—and would have preferred the conservative Book of 1549. She had at this moment no ecclesiastical advisers, since Mary's Catholic bishops stood firm, while the parish clergy wisely waited to be led. Elizabeth had hence to rely on the exiles, but she made them agree to some changes in the Prayer Book of 1552, including a deliberate ambiguity on the vexed question of the Presence in the service of Communion. There emerged a national Church neither Roman nor Genevan, but under a Supreme Governor who exercised a more remote, a less quasi-papal control than that exercised by Henry VIII as Supreme Head. In the year 1559 this was a politic solution, corresponding with the public mood. Outside the relatively small groups of ardent Catholics and ardent Protestants, the nation seems to have become tired of excess, of experiment, of cocksure theologians and violent vicissitudes. It was willing to march loyally with a legal government promising order and quiet. Needless to add, the Catholic and Puritan malcontents were ultimately to press their cases. Yet the great majority of the former refused to join Spain against Elizabeth. As for the Puritans, they pervaded the national Church, tried to push it toward Geneva, but only in exceptional cases did they envisage breaking away into Separatist bodies. After 1559 the greatest extremity of the crisis was past and a less violent dialectic beset the religious life of the nation.

The story we have told is complicated enough, but it forms the baldest of outlines. In a recent book I have found it hard to explain the inwardness of all these events within 400 pages. In its insular nuances, its semi-detached relation with the continental movements, its obstinate refusal to be comprehended within simple formulae, this was a truly English episode. Though rich in human character, it refuses to be dominated by any single great man. The English listened to the foreign prophets, but they then went away and thought for themselves. I have tried to show that the State-Reformation was rather remotely geared to the social and religious Reformation, and that each had its own dynamic. The English

produced their usual impressive array of individualists and cranks; they did not always dutifully obey their governments, though on more than one occasion a government helped them to find a tolerable religious solution. There could be no ideal solutions in sixteenth-century Europe, but some were more tolerable than others. The Elizabethan solution was characteristically one of compromise, renouncing fanaticism in favour of national unity, national independence, even national comfort. The English may have been spiritually incapable of grasping the genius of Catholicism or that of Protestantism, but at least they knew how to dethrone pseudo-logic, overdogmatic theology and various sorts of clerical messiahs.

Though there were to be later crises, that of the period 1529-59 saw the exploratory and the prophetic episodes. When we have studied these nothing can surprise us, for we have seen in microcosm the whole of the Reformation. On the other hand, these changes in England cannot be wholly understood without reference to a mental background which ranged far outside the sphere of religion. The essence of the religious Reformation lay in an appeal to the authority of the primary sources in the New Testament, but in a more literal sense Englishmen were becoming men of the word. Tyndale, Latimer and Cranmer, those great masters of the vernacular, were in some sense precursors of Shakespeare, Spenser and Marlowe. Minds were moving from the image to the word, from visual representation to literary presentation. New horizons were opened in secular thought and culture, which had begun to claim an enormously greater share in the attentions of authors, printers and readers. By Elizabeth's reign, even remote country clergymen are often found to possess numerous secular books. This enlargement of the universe should not be identified too narrowly with the imaginative literature of the so-called Age of Shakespeare. From Colet to Bale, to Foxe, to Hooker, the progress of Reformation thought is coupled with a steady enrichment of historical perception and method. Again, even during the Marian persecution, Copernicus was being expounded by Englishmen in England. William Turner, chaplain and physician to Protector Somerset, stands among the patriarchs of English Puritanism, but he is remembered rather as the Father of English Botany. Before the end of Elizabeth's reign

Francis Bacon had begun publishing and William Harvey had become a Doctor of Medicine. We might with profit devote more effort to exploring the interactions between the sacred drama and the profane setting in which it had to be played. At all events, in England the Reformation was more than a series of constitutional, social and religious changes; it was part of the greater complex of change which made the seventeenth-century mind so profoundly different from that of the fifteenth.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

In the last decade of the fifteenth century the German public eagerly purchased the books of prophets and astrologers who predicted the imminent overthrow of the Catholic Church; but neither France nor England seems to have experienced an anxiety so deep and widespread. All the same, during the century which followed, both countries not only underwent profound religious and ecclesiastical changes, but also diverged markedly from one another.¹ By 1590 England had become irrevocably Protestant. On the other hand France had then acquired a legitimate Protestant King, yet a King supported by a volume of Protestantism quite insufficient to put him in effective control of his war-torn kingdom. Indeed, certain basic differences between the two nations – for several centuries so closely inter-related in the arts of peace and war – had been apparent long before the onset of the Protestant Reformation. Since the expulsion of her armies from Gascony, England had become a second rate military power with a monarchy bent upon restoring internal order and financial solvency. Meanwhile under her own type of revived monarchy, France had resumed her natural status as the most powerful nation in Europe, and by 1500 threatened to extend her rule over Italy. Yet France was soon challenged by a second super-power: that of the Habsburgs, whose young head Charles became, in the years 1516–19, King of Spain, Lord of the Netherlands, ruler of the Austrian lands and Holy Roman Emperor.

During these same years Lutheranism began to spread throughout central and western Europe, soon affording great scope to the secular ambitions of many states and cities. But when it came to exploiting the Papacy or forcing reforms upon the Popes, only two rulers could hope to succeed: Francis I and Charles V. With neither of these great powers could England compete, since she lacked the geographical situation, the money, the military resources. Henry VIII, though still able to make occasional attacks upon northern France, could no longer seriously threaten Paris, let alone influence the central struggle in the Lombard Plain. Here the manipulation of the spiritual sanctions of Rome was not the prime objective of either Habsburg or Valois, yet both appreciated the uses to which they might put a subservient Pope. As for the English crown, it had long controlled papal taxation within its lands and had hitherto seldom needed to menace the Papacy. Then in the late 1520s Henry's situation dramatically changed when, with a mounting desperation, he demanded a papal annulment of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. Whatever his personal demerits, his need for a male heir had a special poignancy in the context of a sixteenth-century nation; and far too many historians have discussed his problem in terms of private morals, as if a Tudor king had been a

Victorian Catholic nobleman trying to resolve a problem of conscience with his confessor.²

In regard to biblical texts and canon law, Henry's case was quite strong, and under normal circumstances the Roman Curia would doubtless have acceded, as it had often done in regard to far weaker cases, such as that of Louis XII of France. Yet now power politics ruled, and their course had just made Henry's problem insoluble by the Pope. Of the two great powers, France had no inducement to strengthen the Tudor dynasty, while the Habsburg Emperor, as nephew of Queen Catherine, stood implacably opposed to the annulment of her marriage with Henry. Moreover, following his victory over Francis I at Pavia in 1525, Charles overran Italy, where in 1527 his troops sacked Rome itself. Far away in England, these events made pitiable the situation of Thomas Wolsey, Henry's cardinal legate and chief minister. At this supreme moment, when his royal master called upon Wolsey to switch on the fountain of Roman jurisdiction, he found another and stronger hand upon the tap. Thus by the time of Wolsey's dismissal and death in 1530, an English schism had already become probable, though not until 1533–4 did Henry's new minister Thomas Cromwell show him how to procure the annulment by unilateral action in Parliament and to withdraw the English Church from the Roman obedience. Thus the triumph of Habsburg power in Italy led to the English Schism, which in its turn obliquely and partially favoured that very different if overlapping event, the English Protestant Reformation.

This latter was indeed different, because it contained a strong doctrinal element, together with an active participation by the middle and lower orders of the English people.³ As for Henry VIII, though he was prepared to restore his finances by abolishing the monasteries and even to intrigue with German Lutheran princes against the Emperor, he felt no personal attraction toward Lutheran beliefs and would no doubt have patched up his relations with the Papacy, had the latter broken free and granted his petition for annulment. He refrained from demolishing all the bridges to Rome. While in effect encouraging the Protestants by allowing an official printed Bible in English, and while allowing his semi-Lutheran Archbishop Cranmer to compile an English liturgy in private, Henry nevertheless executed numerous Protestants for heresy. In 1540 he permitted the judicial murder of Thomas Cromwell, whose own Protestant sympathies and patronage cannot be disputed: in fact heresy figured most prominently among the many charges brought against Cromwell at his trial.

So much for the familiar political and personal aspects of the Henrician Schism, which found no parallel in French history. Nevertheless, these aspects do not go far toward an explanation of the origins and nature of English Protestantism. Whatever the personal conservatism of the King, a fairly widespread spirit of change – first Lollard (i.e. Wycliffite), then Lutheran and even Zwinglian – is observable throughout his reign on various levels of English society. So influential did Protestantism become, that when Henry died in 1547 his young son's regent the Duke of Somerset could at once establish, against

negligible opposition, an overtly Protestant regime, which proceeded to impose the use of Cranmer's Prayer Book, to deny transubstantiation and to confiscate the chantries and other surviving Catholic institutions. Moreover, when Somerset fell from power, he was succeeded not by any Catholic reaction but by a still more Protestant camarilla. Why did these calculating and worldly politicians judge it safe in 1547–50 to move so swiftly in this direction? True, we can furnish no statistical proofs that the great majority of Englishmen had by then decisively accepted the new doctrines. On the other hand it seems clear that the latter had become widely popular in south-eastern England. Meanwhile, apart from a limited rebellion of priests and peasants in the south-west, the subjects of the young King Edward VI took no risks in order to restore the papal supremacy or the old doctrines.

To understand the emergence of popular Protestantism we must again retrace our steps to the fifteenth century and also begin to make some comparisons with the socio-religious position in France. During the decades around 1500, the English Church could not emulate those lively movements to reform clerical discipline which were becoming apparent across the Channel.⁴ The French clergy in the States General of 1484, the Provincial Council of Sens in 1485, and the General Assembly of the Clergy in 1493 had castigated abuses with unusual pertinacity. In 1501 Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, having received exceptional legatine powers, did not hesitate to use armed force in ejecting rebellious monks from Saint Germain, or the arrest of criminous Franciscans in Paris. He also gave powerful support to the Observant movement, which strove to restore discipline among the orders of friars. More prophetically still, small but influential groups of priests, combining the impulses of Christian humanism and the Netherlandish *devotio moderna*, sought to create an educated clerical élite. Foremost among these Catholic reformers in France stood the Netherlander Jean Standonck, who in 1499–1502 reorganised the Collège de Montaigu, before going out to found similar communities at Cambrai, Valenciennes, Malines and Louvain. He deliberately strove to give the new humanist scholarship a religious cutting-edge, and to breed a new race of priests 'who will be taught to embrace mortification and virtue together with knowledge, and whose learning will be attested by their lives'.

These various schemes in France and the French-speaking Netherlands were by no means matched in early Tudor England. A very limited parallel to Standonck can be found in John Colet, who in 1496–7 returned from Italy and in his Oxford lectures on *Romans* applied humanist criticism to the New Testament, making St Paul a solid figure within a historical Roman world and contrasting the apostles' message to the hearts of men with the modern craze for mere external acts of devotion, and with the financial greed of the priesthood. Yet while the parallels between Colet's influence and the French *Pré-réforme* are not very close, a still more marked difference appears in the reception of the former by English ecclesiastical authority. Suspected of heresy by his own diocesan Bishop of London, Colet in fact found enthusiastic hearers

among the secret groups of Lollards. It cannot be claimed that either he – or in later years Erasmus, or Wolsey himself – started an effective reforming movement either among the English prelates or within the religious orders. The majority of the diocesan bishops continued to serve the king at court or as ambassadors abroad, while in their bishoprics lesser officials maintained the soulless routines of ecclesiastical law and administration. In the first years of the new century these respectable but uninspired prelates produced in John Fisher only one outstanding man of religion. Even had they shown more enthusiasm, they would have encountered no little passive resistance among the monks and friars, who in general were no longer a powerful creative force in English religion. To this rule the Carthusians formed the most notable exception, yet they had only nine houses in the whole of England. As in France, though on a lesser scale, the printing of religious classics and liturgical books flourished in early Tudor England; yet contemporary devotional writers remained rather feeble disciples of the *Imitatio Christi* or of the great fourteenth-century English mystics.

The historians of both countries have probably tended to exaggerate the public impact of those Christian humanist teachings which we label 'Erasmian'. Historians of religion are often inclined to overrate the social effectiveness of movements which happen to interest them intellectually. Lefèvre of Etaples and the refined group at Meaux⁵ mattered more to literate French society than Colet had mattered to educated Englishmen; yet even they played a minor part in the origins of French Protestantism as a national movement. Even their doctrinal beliefs remained uncoded. And, in both countries such humanists as Thomas More and Josse Clichtove⁶ – the latter a pupil of Lefèvre – readily championed anti-Protestant reactions. Thus the relations between humanism and Protestantism soon became distinctly ambivalent.

Lutheranism began to spread from Germany into France and England at about the same time (1519–20), but at first it encountered a less zealous persecution in England. Here, it is true, the Lollards had alerted the bishops to the dangers of heresy, yet England had no institutions so conservative in religion as the Parlement de Paris and the Sorbonne. Despite some notable exceptions, the magistrates and official classes of France were dominated by the conviction that heresy inevitably led to civil disruption. So were the several provincial Parlements, which all persecuted heretics. By contrast, English anticlericalism was far from being limited to merchants and craftsmen. In England the judges and the common lawyers in general detested ecclesiastical jurisdiction, a notably illtempered confrontation between the bishops and the judges having occurred in 1515 before the King in person. For certain lawyers and legally-educated gentry the step between anticlericalism and militant Lutheranism proved but a short one. Likewise at Oxford and Cambridge, as in educated English society at large, scholastic orthodoxy enjoyed far less prestige than in France, while Lutheranism soon found bases in these two universities. Whereas even Francis I found it by no means easy to protect Erasmus against his enemies in the Sorbonne, the great humanist never needed protection

during his long visits to England, where the prelates worshipped him. Meanwhile, far lower down the social scale, the long-established Lollard sect had revived since the 1490s. Though committed Lollards numbered only a small minority of the southern English population, they were infinitely better situated to stimulate both anticlericalism and Protestantism than were the contemporary Vaudois of the Cottian Alps, who faced outward towards Italy, Switzerland and Bohemia.⁷ Modern research into diocesan archives has amply confirmed that in London, Kent, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Bristol, Coventry and other places this underground sect flourished into the 1520s, when it first assisted and then merged with the influx of Lutheranism. Integrated by a few travelling missionaries but hampered by lack of access to the printing presses, the Lollard congregations consisted mainly of small craftsmen, together with a few friars and secular priests, and some meagre bourgeois elements. With its strong emphasis upon the reading and memorising of the Scriptures, Lollardy stood among the forerunners of later sectarianism: from the outset it seems to have moulded the defiant spirit and the homespun phraseology of the early English Lutherans and Zwinglians, who in turn were soon printing old Lollard tracts in order to boast a native ancestry and to spread the notion of an ancient 'true' church, hidden far below the official hierarchy. Though so much evidence attests the contribution of Lollardy to the infiltration of Lutheran Protestantism, the weight of its influence will forever remain debatable. Certainly the sect could not have attained a dominant influence through its own limited resources. It lacked not merely printing, but an educated clerical leadership armed with the Greek and Hebrew learning demanded by the humanist and Protestant appeal to the Bible texts. The actual leadership of early English Protestantism, the instructors of so many lay martyrs and enthusiasts, came from that small minority of English priests who had attended the universities.

So far we have barely mentioned the roots of English Lutheranism, which in fact anticipated the divorce crisis by a decade. About 1520 the first English Lutheran study group met at Cambridge under the chairmanship of the former Augustinian friar Robert Barnes, destined in later years to visit Luther at Wittenberg, to serve as Thomas Cromwell's envoy to the Lutheran princes and to end his life at the stake during Henry's reaction of 1539–40. When some members of this Cambridge group went to staff Wolsey's new college at Oxford Protestantism spread to the other university. Well before the end of the twenties, yet other cells developed within the London mercantile community and its offshoot, the House of the English merchants at Antwerp. Enjoying diplomatic immunity, this establishment gave asylum to William Tyndale, a polyglot humanist, a trenchant pamphleteer, and above all a superb translator of the scriptures into his native language. Tyndale was the real 'hero' of the English Reformation. As such he had no French contemporary of rival stature save Calvin: indeed no German Protestants save Luther and Melancthon have so great a significance in world history, since Tyndale's Bible formed the core of that pillar of English-speaking culture, the Authorised Version of

James I. His epoch-making New Testament of 1526 attained a decidedly Lutheran flavour by incorporating free translations of Luther's own introductions to the various books. Nevertheless Tyndale accorded no servile allegiance to Luther's theology and held some doctrinal opinions more characteristic of Zwingli.⁸ Smuggled in from Antwerp, his New Testament and later on his translation of the Pentateuch were hungrily read by Englishmen of varying views, not least because – unlike Frenchmen and Germans – they had hitherto been denied legal access to vernacular bibles by a clerical hierarchy ever zealous to stifle the Lollard heresy.

Through Tyndale's labours, the religious views of many Englishmen were already running well ahead of Henry VIII by the time (1533–4) that monarch excluded papal jurisdiction from his realm. By 1536, when Tyndale was lured outside the English House at Antwerp and executed by the Netherlandish authorities, his historic task at home had been accomplished. Urged on by the crypto-Protestant Thomas Cromwell, Henry allowed the publication of an official English Bible, which was little more than a re-edition of Tyndale's text, completed by his associate Miles Coverdale.⁹ And though after Cromwell's fall the King repented of such liberalism, his attempt to limit bible-reading to the upper classes proved a total failure. Even Tudor monarchy could not put back this clock. The religious phraseology of English wills, amongst other evidence, suggests that Protestantism continued to expand even during the King's last reactionary years. Thenceforward six years of legal Protestant worship under Edward VI greatly strengthened the young generation of Anglican Protestants. These foundations established, the Catholic persecution of Queen Mary Tudor (1554–8) proved most counter-productive. Her blunder did not lie solely in the creation of three hundred martyrs, whose sufferings were soon to be described at length in the immensely popular *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe. In addition, Mary's detested marriage with Philip II of Spain produced affrays between his Spanish entourage and the Londoners. More important, the Spanish alliance against France brought that intolerable affront to English self-esteem: the loss of Calais, a last foothold on the Continent. When Mary died in November 1558, the vast majority of Englishmen rallied round Elizabeth, daughter of Cranmer's friend Anne Boleyn and already a centre of fervent Protestant hopes. Those many Protestant refugees who had recently fled to Swiss and German cities of refuge now returned home and helped to force through Parliament an Anglican Settlement, which, while retaining Tyndale's bible and Cranmer's prayer book, remained capable of absorbing a powerful element of Calvinist theology. Henceforth the chief danger to this Settlement came not from the surviving English Catholics but from the opposing zealots who accused the Queen of failing to carry the Reformation to a fully-fledged Genevan conclusion. Nevertheless the supreme crisis had passed in England some years before it developed in France.

From the foregoing outline of the English experience, it will be clear to any student of French history how deeply the two nations differed in regard to the Protestant Reformation. Subjected to diverse political forces, lacking any real

parallel to the Wycliffite traditions, operating over a larger and more complicated society, the French Reformation could not possibly have achieved so rapid or conclusive a result.¹⁰ At the outset of the sixteenth century, it is true, the basic problems of the French Church had been by no means dissimilar: an ill-educated parish clergy; religious orders on the whole complacent and uncreative; throughout society a strange mixture of superstition, financial motives and anticlericalism. Though a more assiduous reformer than Wolsey, Cardinal d'Amboise could not enlarge the *Préréforme* by producing any dramatic remedies for these massive and longstanding weaknesses. Lefèvre and the circle of Meaux may have seemed more likely than the English humanists to promote both doctrinal revision and devotional revival, yet they never seriously campaigned to capture the hearts of the French masses, so large a part of which, even when livelier missionaries came, were to keep staunch faith with Catholic tradition and maintain a stolid insensitivity toward the claims of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Nevertheless, from 1520 Lutheranism did not merely seep into France from her eastern frontiers; it appeared almost overnight in numerous widely-dispersed cities, Avignon and Lyon being among the earliest. The converts and the martyrs did not differ greatly in status from their English counterparts, and when in later years the martyrologists Crespin and Foxe collected their heroes they found themselves moving in similar social *milieux*. During the early thirties, the French Lutheran martyrs included a majority of artisans, small merchants and servants, together with many friars and a few lawyers and gentlemen.

In the subsequent decade the social distribution of heresy remained wide, yet with a heavy proletarian emphasis, a fact increasingly familiar to modern historians since Henri Hauser reiterated it in 1899. The incomplete records of the *chambre ardente* give details of charges brought against over 300 *luthériens* between April 1547 and March 1550. Of these people, the occupations of about 160 are stated, no less than 60 being artisans and small shopkeepers, while 16 (a higher percentage than in similar English lists) were merchants. No doubt, however, the vast majority of the 140 persons whose occupations remain unrecorded also belonged to the working class.¹¹ Among the 160 defendants there appear, it is true, no less than 30 regular and 25 secular clergy, a somewhat heavier proportion than among the victims of the Marian persecution in England. Nevertheless, this figure cannot denote the clerical proportion of the Protestant body; rather does it indicate that clerical heretics formed prominent targets for the authorities in Paris. In both countries the professional classes were now exercising influence out of all proportion to their numbers but a most notable difference occurred, as we have already hinted, in regard to the legal profession. In Henrician England some of the most rabid anticlerical writers came from among the common lawyers, whereas in France the vast majority of the legal profession, whether acting corporately or as individual controversialists, threw their weight behind the enforcement of Catholic orthodoxy.

Again, the attitude of the French crown toward heresy fluctuated, yet it was

far more consistent than that of the English crown. Dr Knecht has shown that we should no longer make a landmark of the Concordat agreed in 1516 between Francis I and Leo X, since it gave Francis no powers over the French Church beyond those which his predecessors had enjoyed since 1438 by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. In other words, it cannot be argued that the King was bound to the papacy because the latter had just granted him privileges similar to those later assumed by his schismatic rival Henry VIII. Nevertheless, sorely offended by the *placards* of 1534, Francis I allowed the Parlement and the Sorbonne to initiate the first stages of the persecution later intensified by Henry II. Why exactly did Francis take this step? Simple or dogmatic answers would be dangerous, yet quite apart from the affront to his personal dignity, he had perhaps by this time become conscious that he had to deal not merely with Lutheranism, but with the more alarming Zwinglian and sectarian elements among his heretical subjects.¹²

Throughout the next three decades the influence of the *Institutes* and other Calvinist writings attracted not merely the theologians but many of the literate gentry and bourgeoisie. Nevertheless until the mid-century the movement tended to be ill-led and fissiparous. It drew inspiration from a multitude of sources: many Frenchmen denounced as *luthériens* were rather followers of Erasmus, Lefèvre, Bucer, Zwingli, even of the Anabaptists or the Waldensians. Until Calvin gradually moved to the centre of the stage, French Protestantism had no great leader capable of welding together all these ideas, or even of translating the 'new' doctrines into forms fully attractive to the French mind. When in the fifties the movement achieved its most dramatic expansion – and from the early days this occurred far more strongly across the south than in northern and eastern France – the impetus came from Geneva. From 1555 the missionaries who entered France had been trained, academically and spiritually examined, and furnished with testimonials by the Geneva Company of pastors. The importance of this great French-speaking base on the frontiers can scarcely be overstated: despite the opportunities enjoyed by Tyndale in Antwerp, English history can show no real parallel. Henceforth neither French party showed much disposition toward compromise in what had now become an international struggle embracing the Netherlands as well as France. There occurred no break in the persecutions comparable with that which marked the reign of Edward VI in England: at no stage were the French Protestants allowed to consolidate in peace or to enjoy the amenities of an officially reformed prayer book. Nevertheless after 1553 both bodies shared the miseries and grandeurs of persecution, an experience which increasingly transcended the boundaries of class.

In London young apprentices recently arrived from the provinces found religious instructors and fellow-martyrs among the university-educated priests who remained the intellectual leaders of Protestantism. Meanwhile in Paris a mixed crowd of 5000 demonstrators, including some of the greater nobility, met in May 1555 on the Pré-aux-Clercs to sing the Psalms of Clément Marot. In that same year the first Calvinist church was founded, and within two or three

years at least twenty provincial churches had been organised. Again, they brought together Protestants from many social backgrounds. When in September 1557 some 130 Protestants were arrested at a house in the rue St Jacques, 37 are said to have been women, half of them from aristocratic families.

The adhesion of upper-class leaders did much to politicise the movement. Should the monarchy and the Catholic leaders resort to force, there were now Protestants able – and all too likely – to reply in kind. By contrast, neo-feudal faction played a lesser part in England, where by this time almost every noble or gentle family owed its importance to the favours of the Tudor dynasty. The latter, it is true, needed to repress on occasion a very few ancient families, such as the Percies and the Nevilles, yet the influence of such families did not begin to compare with that of the Guises or the Bourbons. Whatever the case, once civil war became imminent in France, its motivation could not remain purely religious. Many historians have stressed the problems presented at this stage by the adoption of the Huguenot movement by so large a proportion of the lesser gentry. Impoverished in a time of inflation, unemployed with the cessation of the wars, all too ready to seek their fortunes in civil strife and banditry, these leaders could win a cavalry battle but could not evangelise French society as a whole.

Even so, the gentry were not the only inflammable class, and urban societies were soon to play equally important and ambivalent parts in the struggle. While in France religious violence cannot be synchronised with special economic crises, material grievances doubtless exacerbated the ideological struggle. The relatively prosperous earlier decades were followed by change and recession around the mid-century. Artisans and small shopkeepers laboured under war-taxation and rising prices, weavers and labourers were hit by unemployment and repressive guild-controls, merchants, sailors and shipbuilders suffered from privateering and rebellion in both France and the Netherlands. As the nation drifted toward civil war, the Reformed congregations themselves exerted strong political and military influences.¹³ In 1560–1 the synods of south-western France mustered troops, using the local congregations and regional colloquies as recruiting units: largely for this reason Condé could gather a large force with the utmost speed when in 1562 open warfare developed. No such politico-religious network could have developed in England – at all events before the time of Oliver Cromwell.

As the fighting extended it progressively revealed the regionalised character of French politics. The fate of the Reformation came to depend upon the outcome of innumerable local struggles often involving intense personal rivalries. In French society the centrifugal forces appear immensely stronger and more multifarious than in England. And whereas the latter country could withdraw for long periods from continental embroilments, France was not merely torn by her internal tensions but plagued by Spanish military intervention and sucked into the parallel cataclysm of the Netherlands Revolt. With the machinations of Mayenne, even the ghost of the Burgundian Duchy returned to haunt eastern France. In many places the revival of municipal aspirations to

autonomy could exploit both Huguenotism and the Catholic League. Here one cannot but recall those pages of Fernand Braudel in which he describes the amazing array of centrifugal forces raging through Provence and in particular within the great city of Marseilles.¹⁴ The passage ends by stressing two of these forces particularly well exemplified in Provence, but significant throughout the kingdom. One took the form of the so-called Kings of the Provinces: Lesdiguières in Dauphiné, Mercoeur in Brittany, Mayenne in Burgundy and Epernon in Provence. After all, the amazing dynastic, ecclesiastical and provincial connections so carefully built up by the Guises constitute in themselves a major reason for the survival of French political Catholicism. Another potent force was the return to urban autonomy, to the dream-project of breaking up the country into little Catholic (or even Protestant) republics, each of them master of its own destiny. This 'treason' of the cities proved to be as serious as that of the Guises: for a time it could embrace entire urban populations, from their rich oligarchs to their humble artisans. It was a dream destined to evaporate not so much through political or religious influences but rather for a reason more likely to appeal to townsmen: it could only lead to economic disaster!

For these wild but formidable aspirations, Paris provided the great model, and we must finally allude to its historic function as a mighty builder of obstacles to the advance of the Reformation. Though the very large cities of Europe always present a menace to monarchical government, and though London was destined to take a large share in the overthrow of Charles I, the restiveness of the capital in Elizabethan times could not begin to compare with that of contemporary Paris. At no stage of the Tudor period could one imagine London rebelling against the monarchy, which had long specialised in the management of the city. Not even the most fanatical puritans of the Elizabethan age could afford to antagonise their Queen. Moreover, at no stage did the Londoners show any parallels with that fiery zeal against heretical pollution, that organised violence of the Paris crowds, which felt that their actions were somehow legitimised and even quasi-governmental in character.¹⁵ Again, something of this 'big city' violence marks many French provincial cities; indeed they were bigger than their relatively quiescent English counterparts. The largest English provincial town (Norwich) is unlikely to have had a population in excess of 15,000: it was hence dwarfed by Lyon, Rouen, Toulouse, Marseille and several other French cities. By contrast with this situation in England, not only did Paris fall under the control of the Sixteen, but during 1589 it received the allegiance of nearly all the large Catholic municipalities. The League soon acquired provincial councils in Lyon, Amiens, Bourges, Le Mans, Nantes, Rouen, Poitiers, Toulouse and Troyes. Ten years earlier such a reactionary landslide would have seemed impossible, and it had originated in popular forces fully prepared to follow clerical leadership when faced by the spectre of a Protestant succession. When Henry IV decided that Paris was worth a mass, he must have been well aware that he was also purchasing the allegiance of French urban society as a whole.

All in all, it would seem unwise to speak dogmatically concerning the relative importance of these many factors which governed and differentiated the reception of Protestantism within the two kingdoms. On the English side we have stressed the medieval inheritances: a native heresy centred upon bible study, an anticlerical tradition, an insular legal system in competition with the canon law. To these the sixteenth century added many personal and political factors: biblical humanism, the literary brilliance of William Tyndale and Thomas Cranmer, the royal divorce, the Protestant minority of Edward VI, the hated Spanish fanaticism of Queen Mary. Yet in the long run the Tudor dynasty, using both fear and patronage, wielded a close control over its potential rivals, the landed classes and the city of London. The immediate outcome was *ecclesia anglicana*, a curious insular Protestantism with partially Calvinist doctrines but a half-Catholic liturgy. Nevertheless Anglicanism struck roots – especially in rural society – and like the monarchy which controlled it, survived the Civil War and spread out across the English-speaking world.

By comparison the French monarchy had to fight harder and longer before it could preside over any stable settlement. In part this delay occurred because of the weaknesses which lay behind the splendid façade presented by Francis I and Henry II. The power of a government is only significant in relation to the intensity and complexity of the tasks which confront it. In the France of 1560 those tasks were still truly formidable. Especially during a sequence of royal minorities, the most potent threat still lay in the residual power of neo-feudalism, most of all in those quasi-royal families which had been permitted to survive and which, though relatively unobtrusive under a mature king, were so well fitted to take advantage of a minority. Still further, the balance of the French system could be threatened by the number of turbulent cities, immensely more powerful and more unreliable than their English counterparts, vehicles of politico-religious faction, both oligarchic and popular in character. The peculiar genius of Calvinism enabled it to penetrate both the aristocratic and the urban structures of France. Though elsewhere it could never embrace even a large minority of Frenchmen, it could appeal to the most lively, thoughtful and discontented minds at various social levels. This entailed a bitter struggle, since in their turn the forces of religious conservatism retained an even greater strength, given enough time to become organised. Despite a handful of officials who suffered martyrdom, despite a far larger number of magistrates reluctant to wage persecution, the government received strong backing from the *noblesse de robe*, from the Parlements, from legal, ecclesiastical and academic corporations altogether more militantly orthodox than their counterparts in England. Meanwhile, despite its widespread appeal among the gentry, the bourgeoisie and the artisans, Calvinism was by no means so well equipped to conquer either the immobile, illiterate masses of the peasantry, or even the great majority of the Parisians. Thus by the time Henry IV succeeded, Calvinism had lost much of its potential for growth, while under the harsh leadership of the Guises the various Catholic interests had regrouped and recovered their morale. Even so, the outcome of the struggle in France bore at

least one resemblance to the outcome in England: despite all the genuinely religious convictions, despite the notable shares taken by the common people, it was still decided to a considerable extent by political, social and military factors. When the wars ended in 1598 the deeply devotional Catholic Reformation had scarcely begun to affect the mass of the French people and their parish priests: the glories of the age of François de Sales and Vincent de Paul still lay decades ahead.

NOTES

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

1. R. J. Knecht, 'The early Reformation in England and France', *History*, LVII (1972) makes valuable comparisons within the earlier stages. I am also grateful to Mr Knecht for some suggestions concerning the present essay.
2. For a recent assessment of the political aspects see G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation* (London, 1977). The problems of the divorce are discussed in detail by J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1968).
3. Some of the social-religious aspects are analysed, for example, in A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964); W. A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants* (New Haven and London, 1964).
4. A. Renaudet, *Pré-reforme et humanisme à Paris* (Paris, 2nd edn, 1953).
5. Modern re-examinations are numerous: e.g. J. Dagens, 'Humanisme et évangélisme chez Lefèvre d'Etaples' in *Courants religieux et humanisme* (Paris, 1959); E. F. Rice, 'The humanist idea of Christian antiquity: Lefèvre d'Etaples and his circle' in W. L. Gundersheimer (ed.), *French Humanism 1470-1600* (London, 1969).
6. J. P. Massaut, *Josse Clichtove, l'humanisme et la réforme du clergé*, 2 vols (Paris, 1968).
7. J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards* (London, 1965); A. G. Dickens, 'Heresy and the origins of English Protestantism' in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (eds), *Britain and the Netherlands*, II (Groningen, 1964). A good conspectus of research on the Waldensians is in G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (London, 1962), pp. 520-9.
8. J. G. Møller, 'The beginnings of Puritan Covenant theology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xiv (1963); Clebsch (note 3 above), ch. 11.
9. J. F. Mozley, *Coverdale and his Bibles* (London, 1953).
10. For the formative stages, see P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme*, 3 vols (Paris, 1905-14); H. Hauser *La naissance du Protestantisme* (Paris, 2nd edn, 1963); S. Mours, *Le Protestantisme en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1959); E. G. Leonard, *Histoire générale du Protestantisme*, 2 vols (Paris, 1961). On the broad religious themes: L. Febvre, *Au coeur religieux du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 2nd edn, 1969). On the roles of the printers: various items both in Gundersheimer (note 5 above) and in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, xxviii (Geneva, 1957).
11. J. H. M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis. France in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Tonbridge, 1959), p. 87, based on the documents in N. Weiss, *La Chambre ardente* (Paris, 1889).
12. R. J. Knecht, 'The Concordat of 1516', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, ix (1963), and 'Francis I, Defender of the Faith?' in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England, Essays presented to S. T. Bindoff* (London, 1978). For a more traditional view see R. Hari in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse* (note 10 above).
13. H. G. Koenigsberger, 'The organisation of revolutionary parties in France and the Netherlands', *Journal of Modern History*, xxvii (1955). On politicisation see L. Romier, *Les origines politiques des guerres de religion*, 2 vols (Paris, 1913-14); J. Chartrou-Charbonnel, *La Réforme et les guerres de religion* (Paris, 1936); R. Nurnberger, *Die Politisierung des französischen Protestantismus* (Tübingen, 1948). On the Geneva influence see the two volumes by R. M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France* (Geneva, 1956) and *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement* (Madison, 1967).

14. F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), pp. 1059–67. The numerous works on the regional history of the wars include those by E. Cabié (south-western France); G. Clément-Simon (Limousin); G. Lambert (Provence); J. D. Long (Dauphiné); S. Mours (Vivarais, Velay); E. Clouard (Brittany). Many general provincial histories have useful chapters, e.g. C. Devic and J. Vaissète on Languedoc and B. Pocquet on Brittany. Among the regional studies of the League are H. Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne*, 2 vols (Paris, 1937); R. d'Estaintot, *La Ligue en Normandie* (Paris and Rouen, 1862); L. Grégoire, *La Ligue en Bretagne* (Paris and Nantes, 1856).
15. Janine Estèbe, *Tocsin pour un massacre. La saison des Saint-Barthélemy* (Paris, 1968) initiated this line of enquiry, which is broadened by Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The rites of violence', *Past and Present*, 59 (May, 1973).

THE ELIZABETHANS AND ST. BARTHOLOMEW

Certain anecdotes of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew have long been enshrined in the established canon of the political history of the reign of Elizabeth. Readers of Froude will scarcely need to be reminded how Sir Francis Walsingham, then our man in Paris, heard from his house across the Seine the blood-chilling tumult around the Louvre. Another famous Englishman, Walsingham's young protégé Philip Sidney (who had recently been hobnobbing with Henri de Navarre), must somehow have repressed a heroic impulse to take on the population of Paris single-handed, and so stayed put in the embassy, or perhaps under the protection of the duc de Nevers.¹ Soon afterwards in England, Gloriana, dressed in mourning from head to foot, gave the cold shoulder to the embarrassed French ambassador La Mothe-Fénelon, a treatment which English ladies clad in the porcupine-costume of that day must have found so easy to accord, even to French gentlemen. From 1570 to 1582 Elizabeth was engaged in encouraging and repelling the advances of two French princes, first the duc d'Anjou, then François duc d'Alençon – who, if Burghley had had his way, might have terminated the aging queen's career in childbed, or else turned into an even more troublesome consort than Mary's Philip. As I shall show, that persistent specter, the French match, has acquired for social historians the utmost relevance.

But, since the narrative histories tell us all too little about the mental processes of the English people, I began my research for the present paper by passing to the other extreme, reached down my copy of the *Short-Title Catalogue* and started listing and counting Elizabethan books concerned with current affairs in France. Seized by a spirit of dull industry, I tried to quantify and classify in a manner which would

¹ On Sidney in Paris, see James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney, 1572-1577* (New Haven and London, 1972), pp. 67-70.

almost have entitled me to a place in that justly famous team of historical statisticians working at Cambridge, England. At this point I started making two mild assumptions. In the first place, books and pamphlets about France should afford some rough indication of Elizabethan public interest in France. After all, these books were not subsidized by a Valois-Medici Foundation, any more than Luther's best-sellers had been subsidized by Godly Princes Incorporated. In both cases publication was stimulated and sustained by commercial profit, by the response to public taste and opinion of the men Luther had called "sordid mercenaries," the publishers. Again, I have assumed that Elizabethan reactions to St. Bartholomew can best be evaluated within the larger context of the long-term interest of the English in French civil war and politics running throughout the reign. I did also at this stage remember to re-examine John Salmon's valuable work,² which, though mainly concerned with the heavy debt of seventeenth-century Englishmen to earlier French political thinkers, contains a chapter on the initial Elizabethan reception of their work. So helpful is this chapter that I propose to say little or nothing about political thought in its more systematic and philosophical forms. Thinking about politics remains of course a very different matter, and with this we shall emphatically be concerned.

One should meanwhile be aware of the fact that publication in the English language does not delimit knowledge and opinion among the educated class. Writing of the last years of Henry VIII, Jusserand wishes that Du Bellay had translated Wyatt, and he continues:

That nobleman spoke French, all London spoke it; the king, the court, noblemen, ladies, everyone who was anybody at all; every traveller was struck by the general use of French in English society; Greek Nucius and Italian Jove [Paulus Jovius] concur in their testimony. "All the English almost," wrote Nucius, "use the French language."³

These witnesses and even Jusserand himself may err somewhat on the side of optimism; but since there were teachers of French even in provincial towns like York, and since a number of books in the French language were published in London, we must conclude that there existed a readership in the French language, one of somewhat uncertain size, but clearly extending below courtly circles.

Given this proviso, the list of books in English must still provide a useful guide to the tastes and reactions of the middle groups of society.

² J. H. M. Salmon, *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought* (Oxford, 1959).

³ J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France* (New York and London, 1899), pp. 30-31.

My own statistics amply confirm the impression of Matthias A. Shaaber that the Elizabethans felt vastly more interest in France than in any other foreign country, with the Netherlands running a rather poor second, and the rest lagging far behind.⁴ My own figures should not indeed be accorded too much respect. They constitute an obvious underestimate, in the sense that I decided to omit so-called "literary" and theological works, some at least of which are in fact more than marginally relevant to our present theme. Again, I included only books immediately verifiable as of French interest, yet English works often make unpredictable references to French problems and Anglo-French relations. Without reading a high proportion of Elizabethan literature, one could not possibly hope to locate these innumerable, and sometimes significant passages. I omitted not only the hundred editions of Calvin, but the fifty editions of works by Beza and the thirteen English editions of Du Bartas published before 1603. I did supplement the *Short-Title Catalogue* by reference to the Stationers' Registers. Yet considering the large number of items extant in only one or two copies, one may hardly doubt that other pertinent books have vanished without trace.

According to this highly selective count, 250 English works on current French affairs are distributed over the Elizabethan decades as follows:

1561-1570	31 titles
1571-1580	38 titles
1581-1590	117 titles
1591-1600	64 titles

Of the 117 issued during the third of these decades, no less than seventy belong to the sensational years 1589-1590, the years of Arques and Ivry; but in view of the omissions and the relatively small volume of publication in England, the figures support the claim that the Elizabethans were following French affairs with considerable interest. All the same it must be admitted that no really important work on the French Wars of Religion originated in the mind of an Elizabethan. Conditions militated against such original publication. Of this total output, more than 85% represent straightforward translations from French originals. It would seem that if a Frenchman had written a thing first, an English publisher could anticipate a good chance of avoiding trouble with the censor.

⁴ Matthias A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476-1622* (Philadelphia and London, 1929), pp. 180-85.

Needless to add, there were limits to this principle. While Elizabeth ruled, the ardent monarchomachs did not attain English publication. There appeared no English texts of Hotman's *Franco gallia* or of Beza's *Du droit des magistrats*. The *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* did have its famous fourth part Englished in 1588 under the deceptive title *A Short Apologie for Christian Soldiours*.⁵ This part answered the question "whether neighbor princes or states may be, or are bound by law, to give succour to the subjects of other princes afflicted for the cause of true religion, or oppressed by manifest tyranny?" By 1588 this had presumably become an allowable question! To avoid misunderstanding it should be added that a French edition of the *Reveille-matin des Français* (1574) and two Latin editions of the *Vindiciæ* (1579, 1580) have the Edinburgh imprint,⁶ but this is believed to be a subterfuge masking books published respectively at Geneva or Basel. It may be said with confidence that Scottish printers made no significant inroads upon English censorship.

Who translated works on French affairs? And exactly what sorts of books and pamphlets did it pay to translate and publish? Most of the translators seem to have been anonymous hacks, men in the game for wages rather than for literary fame, and doubtless very anxious to avoid imprisonment or mutilation by a sovereign who was notoriously ungrateful for advice on foreign affairs. Among the named translators, perhaps the most distinguished man of letters was the amazingly industrious Sir Geoffrey Fenton (ca. 1539–1603), who apart from doing Bandello and the back-breaking Guicciardini, contributed *A Discourse of the Civile Warres and late Troubles in Fraunce* (1570).⁷ Another notable practitioner was Arthur Golding, well known as the translator of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, who rendered Hotman's famous biography of Coligny: *The Lyfe of the most godly, valiant and noble Captaine . . . Colignie Shatilion* (1576).⁸ Yet another was the Suffolk parson Thomas Tymme, responsible for *The Three Parties of the Commentaries containing the whole and perfect Discourse of the Civill warres of Fraunce under the raignes of Henry the second, Frances the second, and of Charles the ninth* (1574).⁹ This history

⁵ *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (London, 1926), No. 15207. This work is hereafter cited as *S.T.C.*, followed by the item number.

⁶ *S.T.C.*, 1464, 15211–12. Cf. P. Chaix, A. Dufour and G. Moeckli, *Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1560* (Geneva, 1966), p. 82.

⁷ *S.T.C.*, 11271.

⁸ *S.T.C.*, 22248.

⁹ *S.T.C.*, 22242.

allegedly came from the Latin of that eminent victim of the Massacre, Peter Ramus, but was in fact by Jean de Serres.

During the late eighties and the nineties, when the public developed an unlimited appetite for newsletters, men like Edward Aggas and John Wolfe (the latter being the son of a Strasbourg printer) turned French news into an industry. Aggas personally translated a great number of these publications, no doubt conscious of the profit arising from swift reportage. Though the precise day or even month of an item is seldom ascertainable, it would appear that such pamphlets came out quite rapidly in England, most being dated in the same year, and many certainly appearing within a very short time of the events they described.

Classification into literary types must involve some subjective judgments; no two workers would emerge with the same figures, and we should do well to avoid the illusory precision of percentages. Having read in the British Library many of the items least clearly distinguishable by their titles, I would offer the following broad pattern. Less than a dozen of the 250 items could be called formal histories or historical biographies, though some of these will demand special attention. On the other hand a surprisingly high proportion – roughly one third of our total – takes the form of official documents in translation but without commentary. These are items to which the most authoritarian English government would have been unlikely to take exception:

The King's Edict upon the Pacification of the Troubles (1568)

The Protestation of the Duke of Allenson (1575)

A Letter written by the King of Navarre (1585)

The Letters Patents of the King's Declaration for referring the Generall Assemblie unto the 15 day of March (1590).

This list one could extend ad nauseam: the appetite of the Elizabethan reading public for recent French historical documents seems to have been almost boundless. About another quarter of the total is occupied by the newsletters, while yet another quarter offers serious discussion of the issues at stake in France, and could be labelled politico-religious treatises, letters or pamphlets.

Even so, the newsletters would seem to possess at least equal interest for historians of Elizabethan society. Very many are military reports originally by Frenchmen, but sometimes our own war correspondent managed to be, if not exactly on the spot, at least near enough to compile inaccurate statistics – for example, *The Copy of a Letter sent*

by an English Gentleman out of France to a friend of his in England, wherein is particularly expressed the names of sundry noble men, with the number of horsemen and footmen which were drowned, slaine, hurt and taken prisoners in the said battaile (1590).¹⁰ The strong impression arises that the English only wanted to hear good news; hence the immense multiplication of newsletters when Henri IV won his famous victories in 1589-1590. Indeed, from this stage it appears evident that Henri has become a folk-hero of the English, perhaps to such a degree that had Elizabeth enjoyed the benefit of public opinion polls, she might well have been disturbed. His *politique* conversion to Catholicism made little difference to his apparent popularity among the English, with their ineradicable taste for romance on horseback – and on the cheap! And while Henri de Navarre might be described without undue levity as one of the early cowboys in our fine Anglo-Saxon tradition, the Guises play the role of Indians, and singularly treacherous ones into the bargain. At all events, in English publications the king continued to figure as Henry the Great around the time of his assassination.

On the other hand, in only three or four items noticed by me does the *politique* attitude to the Wars obtain a fair hearing. The *Satire Ménippée* was licensed to J. Hardie by the Stationers' Company on 28 September 1594, the original French edition having been published only that summer. It duly appeared in 1595 as *A Pleasant Satyre or Poesie, wherein is discovered the Catholicon [quack medicine] of Spayne, and the chiefe Leaders of the League finely fecht over and laide open in their colours*.¹¹ The English rendering was uncouth, but more or less following the original, it paid due tribute on the accession of Henri IV:

Unconquered prince, and of thine age the glorie eke alone,
Even God himselfe doth set thee up upon thy grandsire's throne;
And with a happy hand doth reach to thee two scepters brave,
Which, taken from the Spanish foe, thou shalt uphold and have.

Thinking again of the *politique* outlook, we know that Bodin's great work attracted many English readers in the original (1576), and Gabriel Harvey remarks that Cambridge men were greatly admiring it about 1579.¹² Yet not until 1606 did it attain translation, as *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale, written by J. Bodin, a famous Lawyer . . . out of the French and Latin Copies, done into English*.¹³ It was in fact done by Richard Knolles, the admirable historian of the Turks. As for the Catholic

¹⁰ *S.T.C.*, 10411.

¹¹ *S.T.C.*, 15489. Cf. Salmon, p. 20.

¹² Cited, *ibid.*, p. 24.

¹³ *S.T.C.*, 3193.

standpoint, it came across in only two or three English pamphlets, presumably through the efforts of English émigrés. In other words, the output of Elizabethan printed material, insofar as it conveyed a partisan message, was overwhelmingly Protestant. It reflected the bias of a public which did not want to disturb the unity of the realm, yet had little sympathy with the fence-sitting so long practiced by Elizabeth in regard to the struggle in France and the Netherlands, People misunderstand the whole nature of the critical opposition by lumping it under the misleading and emotive term "Puritanism."

Meanwhile the most arresting feature of Elizabethan opinion is its hatred of the Guises. Students of the drama naturally tend to connect anti-Guise literature with the late plays: Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* (produced in 1593)¹⁴ and even George Chapman's plays about Bussy d'Ambois (first edition 1607).¹⁵ In fact, however, this hatred runs throughout the whole reign. It could hardly have been otherwise, with Mary Stuart – offspring, idol and instrument of Guise imperialism – fostering the murder plots from her English prisons. And even from Elizabeth's stuffy monarchist viewpoint, the Guises had no claim to be treated tenderly. Already in 1562, years before Mary Stuart became our national guest, we could read *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed by the Duke of Guyse, in the toun of Vassy*,¹⁶ and before that year was out at least three further anti-Guise pamphlets. Thereafter the series steadily continues, culminating in accounts of the Guise share in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the excesses of Mayenne and the Catholic League. If one accepted this standard of measurement, it would appear that English publishers and readers detested the Guises more than they detested King Philip himself, but Philip enjoyed protection by Elizabeth's censorship at least until the Armada. Then a tract of 1590 ventures to show that Philip was the real prolonger of France's agony.¹⁷ All in all, the long-standing anti-Guise propaganda would seem to constitute the chief background against which

¹⁴ See the edition by H. J. Oliver, *Dido, Queen of Carthage, and the Massacre at Paris* (1968); P. H. Kocher, "Contemporary Pamphlet Backgrounds for Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*," *Modern Language Quarterly*, VIII (1947), 151–73, 309–18. Cf. also Kocher's article, "Francis Hotman and Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, LVI (1941), 349–68.

¹⁵ On Chapman's Bussy plays, see W. J. Lever, *The Tragedy of State* (London, 1971), chap. iii. For guidance on the drama I am deeply indebted to my fellow-worker at the Folger Shakespeare Library in the spring of 1972, Robert Adams, who also showed me relevant parts of his forthcoming work on the late Elizabethan tragic view of life.

¹⁶ *S.T.C.*, 11312.

¹⁷ *S.T.C.*, 684: *The coppie of the Anti-Spaniard made at Paris by a French man, a Catholique. Wherein is directly proved how the Spanish King is the onely cause of all the troubles in France.*

English reactions to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew should be evaluated.

If only to dispel the impression of philistinism I am doubtless conveying to lovers of Elizabethan literature, I wish I had more time and more expertise to talk about poetry and drama reflecting the French civil wars. Aesthetically, it looks to me undistinguished – even the contribution by Marlowe. Among the comic figures stands that inelegant Scotsman, Andrew Sempill, himself a fugitive from the Massacre, who published at St. Andrews a ballad disapproving of Guises and Italians, approving in general of Frenchmen, calling Charles IX “Charlie,” and bidding Elizabeth take care that the papists should not repeat the Massacre in England.¹⁸ That dark thought had of course already occurred to the English, who were then less dependent on the Scots to do their thinking. Like any good Scotsman, Sempill was also not averse to flaunting his erudition, comparing the Massacre with the deeds of Solymán, Tamburlaine, Pharaoh, Nero, Turks and infidels generally. To balance Andrew Sempill’s ballad, I should also mention a more refined but possibly more obtuse scholar of Oxford, who published there a Latin poem, *De caede Gallorum regis*, to mark the widely unregretted death of Henri III.¹⁹ A third poem is the long narrative in Alexandrines by Anne Dowriche, wife of a rector of Honiton, published in 1589.²⁰ With far more piety than inspiration the poetess covers three episodes in the French struggle, ending with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

While I mention this thin stock of poetry, I should not wholly neglect that more significant theme: the impact of the Massacre upon the English drama. Was it not one of that series of somber influences and events which brushed aside comfortable Tudor beliefs in “legitimate” monarchy and providential history; influences which around 1600 caused so many dramatists – Chapman, Jonson, Webster, Fulke Greville and the mature Shakespeare – to explore the profoundly disquieting implications of power and tyranny as they existed in a real world? Thus to accept the universe of Machiavelli as a tragic statement of reality was a very different thing from the former practice of wrapping up evil as abnormal or “Machiavellian” and pushing it under the carpet. Such a frank attitude obviously had sinister implications, not only for those who dared to adopt it, but for the whole

¹⁸ Reprinted in Henry Huth, *Ancient Ballads and Broadsides* (London, 1867), pp. 54–60.

¹⁹ *S.T.C.*, 13099.

²⁰ *S.T.C.*, 7159; *D.N.B.*, XV, 405–06.

future of Tudor-type monarchy. The theme will be highly familiar to those who have read W. J. Lever's suggestive lectures, *The Tragedy of State* (1971). But if in this context we try to assign importance to the Massacre as an inspirer of dramatists, it must clearly be as one of a number of overt influences: Senecanism, which incidentally had also influenced Machiavelli; Greek and Roman tyrannicide, the study of which was to be blamed by Hobbes as provoking the restive spirit leading to the Civil War;²¹ and again, those countless lurid tales of faction, feud, bloodshed, lust and power-mania drawn from the history of Italian states and cities.

A further significant feature in the literary field is the series of translations by various hands from Du Bartas, for so long regarded in Protestant countries as the modern epic poet who outstripped us all – and the Ancients too. Between 1584 and 1603 there appeared no less than thirteen *English* editions of his works, to be followed by innumerable others as the seventeenth century advanced.²² When one considers the theme of *Judith*, or the song of victory after Ivry, it is clear that I could legitimately have included some of these in any list of Elizabethan literature having topical reference to the grandeurs and miseries of France.

I now propose to push the camera closer and look merely at the three or four years following the Massacre. The horror did not, as might be expected, result in an explosion of pamphlets by godly and indignant Englishmen. No doubt the English government saw to that, since, in view of its bad relations with Spain, it had pressing reasons to allow only a controlled disapproval, followed by a speedy resumption of more or less friendly relations with the French court. As early as January 1573 the earl of Worcester was sent by Elizabeth to act as godfather to the infant daughter of Charles IX. So far as I can observe, not more than two or three important publications on French affairs fall within the years 1573–1574. One of them was Hotman's famous *De Furoribus Gallicis*, which came in 1573 in three Latin editions²³ and an English version: *A true and plaine report of the furious outrages of Fraunce*.²⁴ The following year there appeared the work we have already mentioned – *The Three Parties of the Commentaries* by Jean de Serres,

²¹ T. Hobbes, *Behemoth* (ca. 1668), cited by J. Hurstfield and A. G. R. Smith, *Elizabethan People: State and Society* (London, 1972), pp. 82–83.

²² *S.T.C.*, 21649–21673: cf. Anne Lake Prescott, "The Reception of Du Bartas in England," *Studies in the Renaissance*, XV (1968), 144–73.

²³ *S.T.C.*, 13844–46.

²⁴ *S.T.C.*, 13847.

translated by Thomas Tymme. This soon became popular, especially its tenth book, later used by Marlowe as the major source for the first six scenes and part of the eighth scene of *The Massacre at Paris*.²⁵ However, this tenth book is not in fact by de Serres; it is merely a reprint of Hotman's *True and plaine report* (i.e., the *De Furoribus Gallicis*).

During 1575-1576 these items gained reinforcement from two readable and more outspoken books. One was the biography commonly attributed to Henri Estienne – *A mervaylous discourse upon the lyfe, deedes and behaviours of Katherine de Medicis, Queene Mother* – a volume falsely located at Heidelberg, and then in a later edition at Cracow.²⁶ Beginning with the ignoble origins of the Medici family and the evil prognostications of the stars at Catherine's birth, the author occupies the rest of nearly two hundred pages with specific accusations of poisoning, bawdry, prodigality, mass-slaughter and a variety of other crimes. "This is such a practise as she hath perfectly learned of her Machiavellistes."²⁷ Similar attributions of the Massacre to "Machiavellism" came from many writers, both Continental and English. The impression naturally derived support from the *Anti-Machiavel* of the Huguenot lawyer Innocent Gentillet, widely read in England from its publication at Geneva in 1576, translated in 1577 by Simon Patrick, a Cambridge student travelling in France, but not published in English until a quarter of a century later.²⁸ Meanwhile the anti-thesis, the Protestant hero in shining armor, appeared in 1576 with the 115-page English version of Jean de Serres' *The lyfe of the most godly, valeant and noble capteine and maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatilion, sometyme greate Admirall of Fraunce*.²⁹

Thus without producing an instant outburst of indignation, the presses gradually but efficiently over a period of four years clothed the participants in deep black and dazzling white. Then from this point new editions of the universally-read *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe stamped the contrast between godliness and Machiavellism upon the English mind. In his 1576 edition Foxe briefly alludes to the Massacre as a matter of common knowledge and dwells on the image of

²⁵ Oliver, p. lxi.

²⁶ *S.T.C.*, 10550-51; the former comprises some 196 pages. See Chaix, Dufour and Moeckli, p. 84.

²⁷ *S.T.C.*, 10550, p. 114.

²⁸ *S.T.C.*, 11743: *A discourse upon the meanes of wel governing against N. Machiavelli* (1602). Gentillet's *An apology or defence for the Christians of France*, tr. Sir Jerome Bowes, had been published in 1579 (*S.T.C.*, 11742).

²⁹ *S.T.C.*, 22248.

Guise as “the great Archenemie of God and his Gospell.”³⁰ Then in the version of 1583, the last of his lifetime, he narrates the Massacre in three pages.³¹ “But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large, in a book by itself, and extant in print already, it shall be the lesse neede now to discourse of that matter with any new repetition: only a briefe touch of summary notes for remembrance may suffice.”

We may now leave the books and take a glance at the instant reactions to be found in private letters. Most of the interesting ones happen to have been printed in full by Strype or Wright, and though these survivors inevitably come from well-known people, several yield incidental information concerning opinion lower down the social scale. For example, Edwin Sandys (signing himself “Ed. London”) writes on 5 September 1572 that “the citizens of London in these dangerous daies had need prudentlie to be dealt with all; the preachers appoynted for the crosse [Paul’s Cross] in this vacation are but yonge men, unskilfull in matters politicall, yet so carried with zeale, that they will enter into them and poure forth their opinions” against the French alliance. The bishop then assures Burghley, “I will not faile to direct them so well as I can,” but he then submits a list of nine points “for the safetie of our Queene and Realme, if God will” – papists to be gaoled, the queen surrounded by Protestant guards, leagues made with all Protestant princes, the Gospel earnestly promoted and the Church “not burdened with unnecessary ceremonies.” But first of all he makes the obvious suggestion with cold ferocity – “Forthwith to cutte of the Scottishe Queen’s heade: *ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas*.”³²

Many of the writers seem equally sure that catastrophe is lurking around the corner in a plot-riddled England, headed by a queen oblivious to her peril. On 19 September, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton writes to Burghley, “This morning I receaved your letter, wherin your Lordship doth moste truly guess of th’increase of my grief by the late horrible and tirannicall dealings in France, and with your Lordship I do pray to God that her Majestie maye have the wisdom to follow, and magnitude to execute, the things that may divert the same from hence.”³³ An anonymous correspondent of Leicester discloses in six closely written and eloquent pages “the common voice, lamentation, and fear of good subjects.” Let her Highness be prayed to remember

³⁰ Ed. 1576, p. 2001.

³¹ Ed. 1583, pp. 2152–54.

³² Thomas Wright, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times* (London, 1838), I, 438–39.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 443–44.

conscience and eternity, let her not bring on England murders, rapes, robberies and violence and barbarous slaughters and the damnation of so many seduced souls by the advancement of papistry

... and all for piteous pity and miserable mercy in sparing one horrible woman, who carries God's wrath where she goes... Shall we not trust that her Majesty, our mother, will not stick to command to kill a toad, a snake, or a mad dog whom she finds poisoning her, gnawing the throats of her infants, and presently threatening the same on herself.³⁴

Another discourse on the Massacre comes from Robert Beal, clerk of the Council, who envisaged a vast international conspiracy to eradicate Protestantism. "By these late horrible accidents in France, the conjuration of the Council of Trent to root out all such as, contrary to the Pope's traditions, make profession of Christ's Gospel ... which was so long hid, and never could hitherto be believed of Princes Protestant so manifestly now appeareth, as I think it cannot be denied."³⁵ He then gives alleged evidence of a conspiracy afoot in England to poison the queen.

Sir Thomas Smith had recently revisited Paris in order to negotiate concerning the match between Elizabeth and Alençon; on his return in the July he had been reappointed secretary of state, and from 12 September was writing letters entirely befitting so eminent a humanist. Full of boring and resonant antitheses, they sound as if translated straight out of Latin, yet they do show how well Smith knew his way around the court of the Valois. He congratulates Walsingham and the young men in his charge on their escape. "How fearful and careful the mothers and parents be here of such young gentlemen as there be there, you may easily guess by my Lady Lane, who prayeth very earnestly that her son may be sent home with as much speed as may be." More interestingly, Smith accords a few sentences to the lower classes.

Our merchants be afraid now to go into France, and who can blame them? Who would, where such a liberty is given to soldiers, and where *nec pietas nec iustitia* doth refrain and keep back the unruly malice and sword of the raging popular. Nevertheless, to that prince or country, who have so openly and injuriously done against Christ ... nothing can be too sharply or severely answered; yet princes, as you know, are acquainted with nothing but *douceur*, so must be handled with *douceur*, especially among and between princes ... not that they [should] think the Queen's Majesty and her Council such fools, as [if] we know not what is to be done; and yet that we

³⁴ Cited by J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (Pelican ed., 1960), p. 229.

³⁵ Qtd. in J. Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (3 vols.; Oxford, 1821), II, 129-30.

should not appear so rude and barbarous, as to provoke, where no profit is to any man.

Subsequently Smith notices how the Massacre had driven the young Scots king and his Protestant ministers into closer friendship with England, thus playing into Elizabeth's hands.³⁶

While the queen's cool diplomacy infuriated her Protestant subjects, she did at least allow Archbishop Parker to set forth on 27 October a special form of prayer in regard to the Massacre. In the mellifluous phraseology of the Anglican tradition, it gives thanks for the miraculous safety of the queen and realm. It calls for divine mercy upon persecuted Christians, "who are as sheep appointed to the slaughter"; it even prays for the persecutors themselves.

And for that O Lord, Thou has commanded us to pray for our enemies, we do beseech thee, not only to abate their pride, and to stay the cruelty and fury of such, as either of malice or ignorance do persecute them which put their trust in thee, and hate us, but also to mollify their hard hearts, to open their blind eyes, and to enlighten their ignorant minds, that they may see and understand, and truly turn unto thee, and embrace that holy word, and unfeignedly be converted unto thy Son Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of the world, and believe and love his Gospel, and so eternally be saved.³⁷

That Parker was not at this moment luxuriating solely in such beautiful sentiments we can see from two anguished but undated and unsigned letters he sent to Burghley just after the Massacre.³⁸ In one of these he so far forgot himself as to call the queen's government "this neutral government" and "this Machiavel government," which "brought forth strange fruits,"

when the true subject is not regarded but overthwarted: when the rebel is borne with . . . when the faithful subject and officer hath spent his wits to search to find, to indite, to arraign, and to condemn; yet must they [the plotters, in particular Queen Mary] be kept still for a fair day, to cut our own throats. . . . Is this the way to rule English people? O cruelty, to spare a professed enemy, and to drive to the slaughter herself and her best friends.

And Parker even goes on to remark that, if he himself had not been bound to Anne Boleyn (whose chaplain he had been back in 1535) he would not so readily have agreed to serve her daughter Elizabeth, for bishops were nowadays powerless and had a thankless task. Soon afterwards the archbishop may have begun to fear the consequences should the queen ever see this bitter effusion. At all events, some time

³⁶ J. Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith* (Oxford, 1820), pp. 119–23.

³⁷ Qtd. in Strype, *Parker*, II, 131.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 119–20, 126.

during that month of October he wrote to Burghley again, apologizing for it and explaining he had written *in amaritudine animae et in insipientia sua* "And before Almighty God I speak it, no creature in earth knoweth of this my particular writing to you." The other letter of September had been rather less outspoken, but here he moaned that the queen seemed to be "void of fear of any harm from papists," and protested that there were "many worldlings, many counterfeits, many ambidexters, many neutrals, concealing themselves and all their doings." "God's will be done: and I beseech God send to the Queen's Majesty *aures ut audiat; cor docile et benignum ut intelligat*; and to be advised by the trustiest of her Council, to provide in time . . ." Thus it was not John Stubbs or the Puritans or the dramatists who first saw that they were dealing with a ruler subject to a maddening sang-froid, indeed to Machiavellian rather than to godly impulses; it was the mild and scholarly archbishop Parker himself who made one of the strongest protests along these lines.

Meanwhile the horrors of St. Bartholomew were brought home to lesser Englishmen by the thousands of refugees who poured over the Channel to escape the Guises and the even more pitiless mobs in Paris, Rouen and other provincial cities. The refugees began to come in from Dieppe to Rye on 27 August, and La Mothe-Fénelon wrote, "Il n'est pas à croire combien cette nouvelle émeut grandement tout ce royaume." When Charles IX asked that they be sent back, Elizabeth did at least reply that amid the slaughter it was only natural for people to flee in self-defense; yet she assured him that she would favor and help only Frenchmen who continued loyal to their own king.³⁹ One would like to think that universal kindness was shown to the refugees, but obviously there were exceptions amid the still notorious xenophobia of the London working class. They were not yet inspired by that exalted liberal spirit which in 1850 prompted Barclay and Perkins' draymen to beat up the notorious Austrian general Haynau. Yet there obviously existed in England that familiar tension between an empirical foreign office and a more ideological, even idealistic public opinion. In the remoter provinces the impact of the Massacre seems likely to have been smaller. On 18 September Sir Thomas Gargrave, vice-president of the Council in the North, wrote to Burghley from Nostel in Yorkshire:

³⁹ J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (4 vols.; Oxford, 1820-1840), II, Pt. I, 249-50.

The people here are, as I think, like others in other parts of the realm; one sort is pleased with the late affront in France; another sort lament, and are appalled at it. Others would seem indifferent, and those be the greatest number; they are dissemblers, and yet many of them obedient subjects, and to be led by authority, and by their landlords and officers.⁴⁰

Gargrave, it may be recalled, was a keen Protestant and his disapproval of the not inconsiderable group of northern Catholic or half-Catholic gentry may well have colored this report. Even so, the element of indifference can be sensed around this time in many areas of northern and western England, where the old religion had not yet been resuscitated, while the new was making but slow progress. In the South at least educated Elizabethans proved strikingly liberal to refugees who shared their faith. Matthew Parker declared it a cardinal point of piety to befriend "these gentle and profitable strangers." In his *Perambulation of Kent* (1576) William Lambarde urges "that now at the last, having the light of the Gospel before our eyes, and the persecuted parts of the afflicted church as guests and strangers in our country, we so behave ourselves towards them, as we may both utterly rub out the old blemish and from henceforth stay the heavy hand of just *Jupiter hospitalis*. Which otherwise must needs light upon such stubborn and uncharitable churlishness."⁴¹ The matter is further elucidated in a sermon by the future archbishop Dr. George Abbot, whose brother Robert was to defend the legality of the Huguenot position in a much later tract, *Antichristi Demonstratio* (1609).⁴² George Abbot's sermon makes it clear that the uncharitable behavior had come from exactly where one would expect – members of the London rabble, who after "their last great massacre . . . used to term them no better than French dogs."

But those . . . that were wise and godly, used these aliens as brethren: considering their distresses with a lively fellow-feeling, holding it an unspeakable blessedness that this little island of ours should not only be a temple to serve God in for ourselves, but an harbour for the weatherbeaten, a sanctuary to the stranger, wherein he might truly honour the Lord . . . because the time once was, when themselves were strangers in that cruel land of Egypt: and not forgetting, that other nations, to their immortal praise, were a refuge to the English in their last bloody persecution in Queen Mary's days: and in brief, recounting, that by a mutual vicissitude of God's chastisements, their case might be our case.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Cal. State Papers Domestic, Addenda, 1566-1579*, p. 425.

⁴¹ *Strype, Annals*, II, Pt. I, 253.

⁴² *S.T.C.*, 43; cf. Salmon, pp. 33-34.

⁴³ *Strype, Annals*, II, Pt. I, 252.

The same problem persisted until the end of the reign; for example in 1593, when the Commons debated a bill prohibiting aliens from retailing foreign commodities. Speaking for the government, Robert Cecil valiantly resisted the proposed restriction. He asserted that the relief afforded by England to strangers "hath brought great honour to our kingdom; for it is accounted a refuge for distressed nations, for our arms have been opened unto them to cast themselves into our bosoms."⁴⁴ The divergence of the social classes on this issue should not be linked too exclusively with ancient traditions of proletarian chauvinism and with fierce economic competition against foreigners. True, we may suitably enough recall "Evil Mayday," 1517, and the several foreign witnesses to the chauvinism of Tudor Londoners. Yet it might be just as realistic to recall that the upper-class Protestants, who most clearly set the tone of Elizabethan England, had themselves been the well-treated refugees in the days of the Marian persecution. In contrast, their social inferiors had been obliged to stay in London facing not simply religious persecution but the offensive presence of King Philip's great entourage of Spaniards.

If one sought to describe the most obvious and immediate effects of St. Bartholomew on the mass of Elizabethans, one would doubtless have to say that it confirmed to the hilt the ugly conclusions they were drawing from the latest exploits of the political Counter Reformation – from Pius V's "roaring Bull" deposing the queen, from the northern rising of 1569, from the presence of a French garrison in Edinburgh Castle, from the savagery of Alva in the Netherlands, from the Ridolfi Plot and the endless conspiracy turning around Mary Stuart *alias* Guise. And should any have thought that the Massacre could not recur in England, John Foxe stood ever at hand to remind them in lurid detail of the fires lit by Mary Tudor, and extinguished only fourteen years earlier. It requires no lengthy research to show that the Massacre nourished their fear and hatred of Catholic rulers and politicians; that they did not merely believe in an immense international conspiracy but mistakenly supposed it to be a well-integrated plan organized from Rome, whence the *Te deums* soon resounded to celebrate the slaughter.

But having acknowledged the truth in this obvious truism, I shall venture to suggest that the Massacre also did something to promote a more creative and far-reaching attitude within the nation itself – a disillusion with authoritarian monarchy in general, a disillusion which

⁴⁴ British Museum, Cotton MSS, Titus F ii, fol. 74.

started to rub off on the shining surface of Tudor monarchy. Here was a reaction which can be shown to have contributed not merely to the drama but to the origins of free speech. Alongside all its shortcomings, misconceptions, arrogant dogmatism and other historical disadvantages, the Reformed phase of the Protestant Reformation fostered the critical adulthood, the civil courage of Europeans. It gave so many men a capacity to commit themselves to an international creed, quite irrespective of their local rulers. We have only to read the martyr-ologists – Foxe, Crespin or Haemstede – to see how it bestowed this strength upon the middle and lower orders of society. Begun in the religious sphere, the defiant spirit swiftly spread to fields which nowadays we should regard as predominantly political. In England at least, the Catholic Reformation was able to achieve a similar feat, albeit for a small minority.

Was this capacity to oppose heavy-handed paternalism linked in some perceptible degree with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew? I believe that this was the case – that it should be accepted as one of those events which promoted early politico-religious dissent and opposition in England. Its obvious predecessor seemed the resistance to the Marian persecution. In the popular mind it linked back to that dark episode not only in the manner noticed by George Abbot, but by another common factor: the marriage of an English queen to a foreigner, a Catholic and absolutist prince. Here revived a prospect most fearful to the majority of Englishmen, a prospect which seemingly united within their minds religious partisanship and the preservation of their national identity, customs and independence. It was Elizabeth's misguided persistence in the Alençon match which gave the Massacre far more domestic significance than it could otherwise have acquired. The most striking piece of evidence lies in that greatest of Elizabethan opposition-pamphlets, *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (1579) by John Stubbs.⁴⁵ Despite the Folger Shakespeare Library edition by Lloyd Berry, this remarkable work has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. Though a Protestant bigot of his day, Stubbs cannot be dismissed as the fanatic of the textbook. He was an able lawyer, an eloquent writer, a patriotic and critical commentator on the contemporary world. He gave his right hand for freedom of speech, and in later years he died in Normandy as a member of Lord Willoughby's ill-fated expedition to aid Henri IV. In 1579 he dared to say with complete frankness what almost everyone thought about the

⁴⁵ Ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville, 1968).

Alençon match. The *Gaping Gulf* remains in effect a commentary on St. Bartholomew and its infamous perpetrators. Had the work not contained this emotive element, its tough political and historical argumentation would not have appealed so strongly, and perhaps it would not have aroused so cruel a riposte from the queen. The language is indeed pungent, almost choking with emotion: "Whereby it appears that whoso matcheth with any wicked race do make themselves and their seed partakers of the sins and plagues of that race and their ancestors." "The match of France with the Italian Athaliah and her furies in that land, especially at the marriage of her daughter Margaret," had resulted in the Massacre.

And when I remember the poor orphaned churches in France, I must needs give the prize of godless impudency to those which will needs forsooth maintain this marriage [of Elizabeth and Alençon] as a mean to assure religion in France and to preserve the professors there from more massacres. . . . The last act was very lamentable. A King falsified his sworn word, the marriage of a King's sister imbrued with blood; a King murdered his subjects; many noble and honourable gentlemen shamefully used; valiant men surprised by cowards in their beds; innocents put to death; women and children without pity tossed upon halberds and thrown down [from] windows and into rivers; learned men killed by barbarous soldiers; the saints of God led to the shambles all the day long and all that week by vile *crocheteurs* or porters, the Church of Christ razed, . . . and, that which was worst, those that lived were compelled to forswear their God.⁴⁶

Here and in other passages the Massacre is made the driving force of the indictment; and once more the sinister term "Machiavellian" makes its inevitable entrance. Stubbs did not only express the views of politicians like Leicester and Walsingham. His view was shared by nobler minds. Philip Sidney incurred the queen's deep displeasure by cautioning her privately and doubtless in language more restrained. Edmund Spenser thinly disguised similar thoughts in the *Shepheard's Calendar* and in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*. Indeed, how few people can have wanted to see the blood-boltered Valois on the throne of England, apart from Burghley and a few aristocratic conservatives like Oxford and Northampton? So the Massacre and the match not only damaged the credit of French monarchy but began the erosion of English monarchy. Of course, the process would be retarded so long as the precious life of Elizabeth held at bay forces vastly more terrifying than the least acceptable elements of her rule.

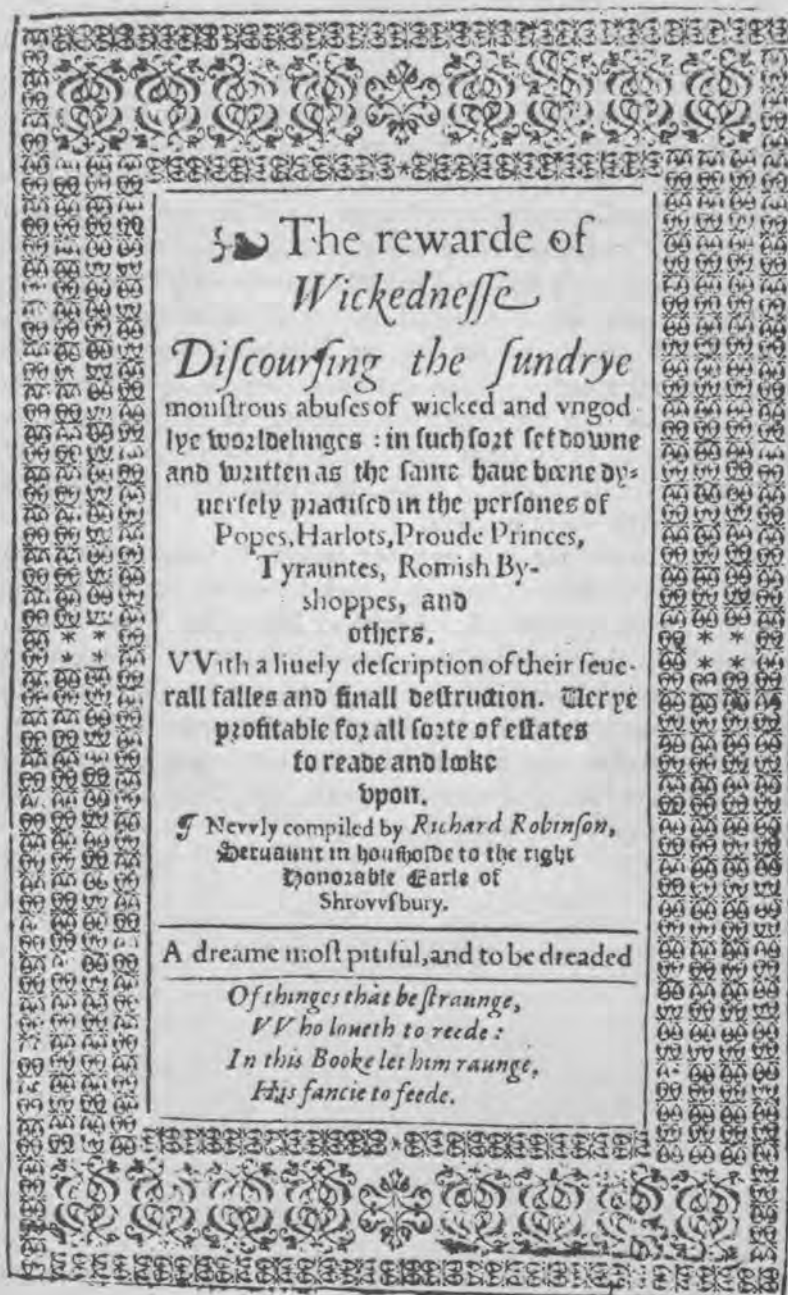
Even so, we do not need to wait for the final years of the reign to

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

observe signs of this erosion. Illegally, according to some professional opinions, Stubbs and his publisher were convicted under a Marian statute and had their right hands hacked off in the market place at Westminster. Prudently, the government did not stage this unfamiliar punishment within the city of London! The eyewitness William Camden relates the familiar story, how Stubbs raised his hat with his left hand, and before he fainted cried out in a loud voice "God save the Queen," thus consistently linking freedom of speech with loyalty to the crown. Then comes the overlooked but most interesting passage. Camden, himself an ardent admirer of Elizabeth, thus concludes: "... the multitude standing about was altogether silent, either out of horror of this new and unwonted punishment, or else out of pitty toward the man, being of most honest and unblameable report, or else out of hatred of the [French] marriage, which most men presaged would be the overthrow of religion."⁴⁷

Looking back from our own age, we cannot but see the staunch gentleman from Norfolk, Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn as a true predecessor of Peter Wentworth, of Prynne, Hampden, Pym, Milton and Cromwell. In the silence of that crowd, did not the Tudor myth begin to sicken, even though it was to be given many a blood transfusion by the Whitgifts, the Hookers, Bancrofts and Lauds? With a truly splendid irony, Stubbs and his publisher lost their right hands but a few yards from the spot where seventy years later their cause was to exact a greater trophy: the head of a king.

⁴⁷ W. Camden, *Annals* (1635), pp. 238-39.



Title-page of Richard Robinson, *The Rewarde of Wickednesse*, 1574. S.T.C. 21120; Freemantle, W.T., *A Bibliography of Sheffield*, p. 163. See above, p. 239.

Intellectual and Social Forces in the German Reformation

First may I express my great pleasure at this rare opportunity to meet so many distinguished Reformation scholars, to whose works I have incurred such heavy debts? Reformation scholarship is essentially an international task, but it can be all the better carried forward on the basis of personal friendship and direct discussion. My present paper does not intend to present 'new' factual information. As befits the opening paper of a broadly-based conference, it seeks to raise some general issues, to which in our later discussions we are likely to return.

My present purpose is to urge that the German Reformation should be subjected to genuinely historical analysis. I do not mean Marxist analysis, a process which has often proved useful, but which fails to examine the full dynamic of a movement containing a heavy admixture of religion. I mean that we are not mere biographers and should not be overwhelmed by the presence of Martin Luther: we should apply to this highly complicated series of changes the same multilateral techniques as those we apply to any other major historical movement. By the same token we should not unduly politicize a movement which arose from all sorts of causal factors. Though modern scholars — many of them in this room — have effectively discarded these simplistic approaches, most of the available general works on the Reformation still tend to fall into one of two types. The general public wants to read biography rather than history: it is easier! Consequently one type of book provides a life of Martin Luther accompanied by a perfunctory account of the epoch-making events supposed to have sprung directly from his theological insights and his propaganda. Such one-man-band interpretations are by no means limited to Lutheran men of religion, and in some measure what is called in Russia 'the cult of personality' must endanger the historiography of any movement containing a giant figure. Nevertheless the heroic appraisal often occurs in those books which simply fail to penetrate outside the theological and psychological dimensions. It accepts — usually without discussion — the idea that Luther's theology originated in his own head and was then more or less universally understood, absorbed and acted upon by German society. And needless to add, the theological-biographical analysis commonly ends by embroidering the sixteenth century data with the aid of twentieth century philosophical theology. Even great minds like that of Karl Holl have done their bit to obscure both Luther and the Reformation. The other type of book might be termed 'high-level political', or, if you like, old-fashioned high-school history. Having dealt summarily with Luther's early career and writings, it pushes on through Karlstadt and the Radicals, on through

the Peasants' War, then to a long narrative of the successive Reformation Diets, the imposition of prince-controlled Lutheranism and Catholicism. Finally it describes the Schmalkaldic War and the Peace of Augsburg. One is left wondering what exactly has been added to the fine work of Ranke, who did all this so well — and indeed did so much more — over a century ago.

As many specialists would see it today, both Luther-biography and princely politics, important as they remain, cannot be compared with the more sophisticated methods of causal analysis attainable by our generation. Both need supplementation from other approaches, and I propose to take a quick glance at two of these approaches which have already elicited some fine work, but which demand far more. I shall first glance at the long-term intellectual background of the German Reformation. Then I shall notice the influence of social structures and tendencies which — especially in the towns — assisted the Reformation in the crucial early stages. In both fields we need to spend time outside the well-documented mind of Martin Luther, remembering in a responsible spirit that we are dealing with an amply prepared historical crisis, highly complex in Germany, even more complex in its European setting. We need first to re-examine the broad panorama of German nationalism, antipapalism and anticlericalism, dissecting its various components, humanist and non-humanist. Perhaps the humanist strands in nationalism have been commonly over-emphasised. All too often historians allow plentiful materials to lead them by their noses and dictate their questions. In any event we have as yet done very little to explore the downward diffusion of humanist and secularist concepts into society as a whole. This sporadically documented vertical movement is so hard to plot with any sort of precision, yet it did occur. But by contrast the humanists ceaselessly wrote to and for each other, so that the lateral diffusion becomes far easier to depict. Obviously thought and opinion were shifting at all levels of society long before those critical second and third decades of the sixteenth century, during which they shifted even faster. At all stages we need to enlarge our knowledge of changing opinion within the middle and lower orders of German society, as opposed to the princes, intellectuals, courtiers and patricians.

On these lower levels, how far back may we detect the roots of change? What did it owe to mere negative anticlericalism? How far was it aided by class-struggles or political group-conflicts which exploited the teaching of theologians and preachers? To what degree did its diffusion depend upon the printer-publishers and the pamphleteers? Is the evidence for popular doctrinal understanding or misunderstanding full enough to warrant generalisation? Here are the makings of an examination-paper from which most of us would find it hard to select the conventional four questions. Social history is stubborn stuff, and it becomes even more stubborn when we extend it to opinions and ideas. Across the great areas and countless communities of central Europe its variations give little comfort to those who demand simple formulae, whether Marxist or ecclesiastical or old-style political. All the same, it is good to be near the earth and yet to

realise that so many people among these middle and lower orders — like the humble people in the martyrologies — in Foxe, Crespin, Rabus, Haemstede — were no mere economic functionaries but did use their minds. And may I reinforce my plea for more grass-roots history by a crude simile? If you were a pathologist, would you study the processes of a disease without getting in close and using a microscope? If you don't, you look like St Thomas Aquinas trying to understand tuberculosis!

Let me now turn to my first set of problems: those concerning the origins of German antipapal nationalism. One is bound first to stress the ancient character as well as the great complexity of this phenomenon. Through the Investiture contest, the agonies of the Hohenstaufen Emperors and of Lewis of Bavaria, German political history and opinions seem an almost incessant back-lash against papal domination. Augmented by the oppressions and the gross worldliness of prince-bishops, antipapalism extended into broader forms of anticlericalism. Such feeling was only superficially in conflict with the popular pieties of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, since these pieties had a personal character little concerned with hierarchy. A simple saint-worshipper or a sophisticated adherent of the *devotio moderna* need have nothing in common with popes or prelates as dispensers of either canon law or secular law. Again, from the mid-fifteenth century the *gravamina nationis teutonicae* against the papacy were reiterated, developed and publicised at almost every Diet. Those grievances continued to excite opinion in Luther's day. Too readily do we forget that the very same Diet of Worms which in 1521 condemned Luther also drew up a fresh list of 102 papal abuses.

Alongside this political antagonism of centuries, theorists like Lupold of Bebenburg, Konrad of Megenberg and Nicholas of Cusa adopted a variety of imperialist, conciliar and antipapal positions all the more striking because of the ecclesiastical eminence and the doctrinal orthodoxy of their authors¹. We cannot dismiss such figures as 'medieval' intellectuals forgotten by the humanists and reformers of the early sixteenth century. So far from being a mere law-school book, Lupold's *Tractatus de regni et imperii iuribus* (1338) had been translated into German as early as 1341. Even more important, it was printed in 1508 by

¹ On Lupold, see *A. Senger*, Lupold von Bebenburg, Bamberg 1905; *H. Meyer* in *H. Grauert* (ed.), *Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, vii, Freiburg 1909; *R. Most* in: *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* 4 (1941). On Konrad see *H. Ibach*, *Leben und Schriften des Konrad von Megenberg*, Berlin 1938; articles by *P. Schneider* and *H. Grauert* in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1901); *R. E. Lerner*, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*, Berkeley 1972, pp. 55—57. On Nicholas of Cusa see *E. Bohnenstädt*, *Kirche und Reich im Schrifttum des Nikolaus von Cues*, Heidelberg 1939. Further references are in *A. G. Dickens*, *The German Nation and Martin Luther*, London 1974, p. 6 note 5.

the patriotic humanist Wimpfeling, and thereupon became a favourite text of those Alsatian humanists who on the eve of Luther's revolt formed the spear-head of German nationalism. Likewise the famous mid-fifteenth-century clash between Aeneas Sylvius and Martin Mair, chancellor to the archbishop of Mainz, was to be fully revived by Wimpfeling in 1515 ².

Below these distinguished medieval ecclesiastics we observe a broad spectrum of fifteenth-century German authors who might be described as chauvinists or antipapalists or both. On the one hand the early fifteenth century engineer Conrad Kyeser exalts not only the fabulous courage of the Germans in war but also — well in advance of the invention of printing — their superior mechanical inventiveness, their excellence in the arts and crafts ³. At another extreme, modern scholars are making us increasingly familiar with the pre-Reformation prophets and astrologers, people working for the most part within the Joachite tradition, a tradition never more vividly alive than in Martin Luther's early days ⁴. Their tracts elaborated Joachim's prophecy of the Messiah King, the role for which their authors and readers unsuccessfully cast many rulers, especially Maximilian I and his successor Charles V. This Imperial Messiah appealed to the lower orders, because he had been hailed not merely as an antipapalist but as a social reformer, having up his sleeve a new deal for the poor. Of such tracts the relatively moderate *Reformatio Sigismundi* (1439) seems to have been the most influential. Luther himself quoted it, while its several points of agreement with his *Christian Nobility* suggest that some of its proposals affected him when he came to excogitate his own social programme. Meanwhile during the years around 1500 the works of the astrologers also sold very widely, though in our eyes their actual prophecies seem to sit very lightly upon their astrological data. Obviously popular with all classes were the *Prognosticatio* of the Emperor Frederick III's astrologer Johann Lichtenberger (1488) and its several imitations. Even bigger sales appear to have been obtained by the *Prognosticon* (1496) of Joseph Grünpeck, secretary to Maximilian. Luther himself republished Lichtenberger: intelligibly enough, since it had foretold with a wealth of lurid woodcuts the imminent overthrow of the Church. The years around 1500 thus form a classic phase of German *Angst* and self-dramatization, and no figure displays it more splendidly than Albrecht Dürer. Luther appears to be an equally classic example of the public psychiatrist: first he suffered the disease himself: then he assuaged it by liberal doses of super-Pauline dogma along with some nationalist admixtures.

² G. Strauss, *Manifestations of Discontent in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation*, Bloomington (Indiana) 1972, pp. 35.

³ *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, lii, p. 769; B. Gille, *The Renaissance Engineers*, London 1966, pp. 58—66.

⁴ M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford 1969, pp. 347.

So far as concerns specific German nationalism, this derived far more from history and legend than from prophecy⁵. Much as the major humanists — Brant, Wimpfeling, Mutian, Celtis, Hutten, Aventinus — have to say on the special virtues of the German nation, we should beware of placing them in a vacuum or of exaggerating their original contributions to the theme. Literary nationalism preceded the discovery in 1473 of Tacitus' *Germania*, that one solid source on the dignity and valour of the ancient Germans. Late medieval scholarship had already contrived to spin out a splendid pre-history of that nation selected by God to receive the Empire and rule the world: a pre-history based upon imaginative deductions from the Old Testament, from ancient history and philosophy, from medieval legend and German nomenclature. For example the family of Noah provided an unimpeachable antiquity for the German race. Some writers tell how Japhet came to Europe after the Flood, along with his sons Gog and Magog, figures also familiar in contemporary English mythology. More pointedly, Noah was discovered to have begotten postdiluvial offspring, including Tuisco (who appears in Tacitus but not in the Bible) whom Noah sent to occupy the lands between the Rhine and the Don. Literary legend averred that it was from King Tuisco that *Teutsch* and *Teutschland* received their names.

During the last decades of his life the fine critical intelligence of Beatus Rhenanus (d. 1547) destroyed most of this nonsense, yet the enlightenment came slowly. Even the eminent Aventinus (d. 1534), court-historian of Bavaria, believed most of the legends in the 1520s⁶. In earlier years Abbot Trithemius (d. 1516) had actually forged sources and invented the entirely fictitious author Hunibald to meet the craving of Germans to fill some of the gaps left by the three genuine and now available sources: Tacitus, the Nibelungenlied and Einhard. Up to Luther's time German humanism remained syncretic rather than critical: it titillated national sentiment by casting doubt on some legend, only to replace it by another conjecture more erudite but even more preposterous. The real division lies not between pre-humanists and humanists, but between the credulous early humanism of Trithemius and the responsible Luther-period humanism of Beatus Rhenanus and Johannes Sleidan (d. 1556). The latter, a disciple of Melancthon and the first great historian of the Reformation, echoed the dislike of Polybius

⁵ On nationalist humanism: *L. W. Spitz*, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1953; *L. Sponagel*, *Konrad Celtis und das deutsche Nationalbewußtsein*, Bühl-Baden 1939; *U. Paul*, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbewußtseins im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation*, Berlin 1936; *F. L. Borchardt*, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth*, Baltimore and London 1971; *W. B. Ferguson*, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1948, pp. 32—39. Still useful on Wimpfeling is *C. Schmidt*, *Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace*, 2 vols., Paris 1879.

⁶ *G. Strauss*, *Historian in an Age of Crisis. The Life and Work of Johannes Aventinus*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1963.

for legend, and he prefigured Ranke by saying that he would write history *prout quaeque res acta fuit*⁷: in other words, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. Again, other and harder-faced forms of nationalism had long preceded Luther. At the inaugural ceremonies of the University of Ingolstadt in 1492 Conrad Celtis called upon the Germans to wrest their ports from the Poles, win their entrance to the Ocean from the Danes, expel the bloodsucking Venetian traders and link up with the minority-groups still separated from the Reich⁸. In his mouth one may dismiss all this as turgid froth, yet such sentiments did not all come from the younger *poetae* of that day. Wimpfeling, whose two main patriotic works appeared in 1501 and 1505, was born as early as 1450. And the most striking expositor of Germanic racism was at least twenty years his senior. This latter was Johannes Nauclerus, whose *Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium gentium chronici commentarii*, written about 1500, did not appear in print until after his death in 1516. Nauclerus sees the German nation as the aboriginal and dominant stock of Europe, the conquerors whose blood and vigour was infused into the English, French and Italian nations during the *Völkerwanderungen* of the early Christian era.

Nationalism, especially in its anti-Italian and anti-Roman forms, thus rose to a peak just about the time Luther made his initial attacks in 1517—21. Its downward dissemination into a less educated public owed much to Sebastian Brant and to that picturesque wandering scholar and knight, Ulrich von Hutten⁹. Both were Latinists who taught themselves to write effectively in the German language, and who deliberately sought direct contact with the masses. Sebastian Brant attained great popular esteem between the initial publication of the *Ship of Fools* in 1491 and his death in 1521. Though by no means a consistent anti-papalist, he was in certain respects a notable forerunner of Hutten and Luther. A genuine humanist at Schlettstadt and Basle, admired by the young Erasmus, he then took a prophetic step by applying popular writing to serious problems. Preceding Erasmus in the sort of moral and social criticism which turned the strongest light upon clerical failings, Brant also enhanced the mood of expectancy by his constant appeals to Empire and Emperors. Following his example and that of Celtis, there arose the virulently anticlerical and anti-Roman *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1516—18) by Crotus Rubeanus and Ulrich von

⁷ J. Sleidani de statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo Quinto Caesare commentarii, edn. 1785—6, vol. 2, p. 10. Modern discussion by A. G. Dickens, Johannes Sleidan and Reformation History, in: R. Buick Knox (ed.), Reformation Conformity and Dissent. Essays in honour of Geoffrey Nuttall, London 1977; infra, pp. 537 f.

⁸ L. W. Forster (ed.), Selections from Conrad Celtis, Cambridge 1948, pp. 45—47.

⁹ Bibliography for Hutten in S. Skalweit, Reich und Reformation, Berlin 1967, p. 429. The best summary account is Hajo Holborn, translated by R. H. Bainton, Ulrich von Hutten and the German Nation, New York 1965.

Hutten. However much the fact may disturb pious admirers of Luther, by 1520—21 the common people had decisively linked Luther and Hutten together as their liberators from an oppressive church. Hutten, misunderstood but worshipped Luther, who in his turn showed an active interest in Hutten. At the famous Diet of Worms, the papal legate Aleander not only dwelt upon the refusal of the local printers to work on behalf of the papal cause, but also described the sale of popular prints showing Hutten, sword in hand, defending Luther. Indeed similar surviving cartoons of that date attest Aleander's accuracy. In one of them Hutten on horseback introduces the Gospel, the *Triumph of Truth*. To the tail of his horse are tied a group of wicked bishops and priests. Then follows Christ, his chariot drawn by the allegorical animals of the four evangelists, while Luther and Karlstadt walk alongside¹⁰. All this has little to do with theology, but my present purpose is frankly to talk about that 99 per cent of the Germans who did not belong to theological faculties and who could not have supplied accurate accounts of Luther's doctrine on Justification or the Eucharist. For the popular identification of Luther with lay humanist protest, I can claim the very respectable authority of the papal bull *Decet Romanum* (January 1521), which alongside Luther arraigns various lay heretics, including Hutten.

In view of so very many other facts we must beware of supposing that Luther did all the work himself. One could easily continue the story by stressing the great contributions made to early Lutheranism by humanist pamphleteers like Vadian, Bucer and Eberlin von Günzburg, men who also went out to capture the masses. On this theme I have no time to expand, but I cannot refrain from mentioning another which is unpopular with those who piously believe in the parthenogenesis of Martin Luther. How assiduously and decisively did he use the new textual study of the Bible by his immediate predecessors Lefèvre, Erasmus and Reuchlin! With ample reason we may stress the profound interest of his reinterpretation of the Pauline doctrine of Justification, yet let us not lose sight of an even more fundamental basis of the Protestant Reformation which did not start with Luther: the principle that ecclesiastical commands can only be validated by reference to the written sources of Christianity. Moreover biblical humanism went on to maintain that an individual interpreter of the Bible armed with the new critical tools in both Hebrew and Greek was entitled to challenge old interpretations of the Scriptures made by popes and other mere office-holders, people ignorant of Greek and Hebrew, who at best had hitherto laid down the law by a blind reliance upon the Latin Vulgate. If Luther had not first accepted and said this, he could have said little else. Altogether the importance of humanist principles for Luther's earlier career and writings remains too obvious to need elaboration. The Erfurt humanist Crotus Rubianus spoke for all when he praised Luther as the man who had dared, the first after many centuries, to chastise

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 163.

Roman pride with the sword of Holy Scripture¹¹. I have already stressed how much humanism stimulated that anti-papalist nationalism which like a high tide floated Luther's religious revolt. But likewise in a more intimate, a more personal, a more religious conjunction, it supplied both the intellectual weight and the most telling propaganda of his campaign. Luther's intellectual ancestry was not merely complex but substantial: it seems to me quite necessary to his success. The evidence for this view emerges continually in his works: indeed Luther himself edited and praised fifteenth-century religious writers and preachers such as Wessel Gansfort, Pupper of Godt, John Wessel and (though only by 1519–20) John Huss himself¹². To acknowledge these debts does not in the least impugn Luther's own originality, his power to fuse diverse ingredients together and to broadcast them in gripping language. The Word, if it was the Word, spoke to him not only through St Paul and St Augustine, but through a number of other more or less prayerful reformers of recent generations. I say 'more or less', because on Luther's own showing his antipapal inspirers unquestionably included Lorenzo Valla, one of the less prayerful figures of Renaissance Italy¹³.

I now turn more briefly to my second and final theme: the social acceptance and transmission of Luther's message: the questions as to how, why, when and where his Reformation gained its impetus within German society. Here we are all familiar with the misleading emphases made by many of the old-style political historians of the Reformation. Judging the Luther-movement by its long-term effects, they place the princes in charge of it from the start. After all, did not Frederick the Wise alter the course of history by kidnapping and concealing Martin Luther immediately after the Diet of Worms? Then, perhaps obeying the time-honoured Marxist obsession with the Peasants' Revolt, our political historians rushed into an account of this latter economic cataclysm, which in fact owed relatively little to Luther and — in view of the general fear of social chaos

¹¹ *Dickens*, *The German Nation*, p. 172 from the thesis by R. W. Scribner cited *infra*, note 18.

¹² On Luther's German predecessors see H. A. Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, London 1967; S. E. Ozment (ed.), *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, Chicago 1971; O. C. Clemen, *Johann Pupper von Godt*, Leipzig 1896; L. Abramowski, *Die Lehre von Gesetz und Evangelium bei J. Pupper von Godt*, in: *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 64 (1967); E. W. Müller, *Wessel Gansfort, Life and Writings*, 2 vols., New York and London 1917; The old K. H. Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, Hamburg 1841–2, is still useful. On the Bohemian links, see J. Pelican, *Luther's Attitude to John Huss* in: *Concordia Theological Monthly* 19 (1948); S. Harrison Thomson, *Luther and Bohemia* in: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 44 (1953).

¹³ *Luther*, Weimarer Ausgabe, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 2, p. 48; on the theological side: E. Mühlberg, *Laurentius Valla als Renaissancetheologe*, in: *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 66 (1969).

— discouraged rather than promoted the Protestant movement. However, this brings the conventional narrative almost up to the year 1530, from which point it can safely embark upon the theme of Diets and Princes, henceforth admittedly with far more substance to discuss. But by these tactics the political historians have also succeeded in dodging any serious analysis of the early missionizing and the social reception of Lutheranism. They observe that it has now got off the ground, but cannot say how, because they have not been watching closely enough.

What have they missed? Nowadays we should surely all agree that the Reformation arose in force and thenceforth remained irrepressible because during the early and mid-twenties it became a popular movement in the German and Swiss walled cities¹⁴. In its psychological and physical origins the Reformation forms a notable chapter in urban history. In its innumerable urban settings it did not necessarily depend upon the emergence of a local school of humanism, or even a local university. It happened almost as swiftly in non-humanist north Germany as in the more sophisticated atmospheres of Alsace and Swabia. Even in the north, cities had other ingredients favourable to its progress: they contained that spectacular paradox: internal group-tensions on the one hand, yet on the other a half-religious civic solidarity as against the outer world. The northerners were also reading the Bible. The image of the city of God, aroused by scores of familiar Biblical texts, had been revived by those triumphs of municipal independence and cohesion which form one of Europe's greatest legacies from the later middle ages. The city of God, the new Jerusalem, now developing into a concrete aspiration for this world, shines forth as the constant factor throughout all the Protestant Reformations: in the Hussites of Prague and Tabor, in Savonarola's godly programme for Florence, in the cities large and small of Luther's Germany, in Zürich under Zwingli and Geneva under Calvin, among the rebellious Dutch Calvinists and the Huguenots with their cities of refuge.

I am not of course denying the long-term contribution of the territorial princes to Protestant Germany. I am saying that, in comparison with the adherence of the cities, they signified far less than is commonly supposed during that crucial first decade or two of the Reformation. Before 1530 only two German princes of consequence joined the movement, and even so in a most cautious spirit. I say two, Saxony and Hesse, because Albrecht of Prussia was literally off the map in regard to internal German missionary effort or to the conflict with Emperor and Pope. Saxony did matter before 1530, yet you may well have felt rather unconvinced by the alleged motivations of Frederick the Wise — the greatest and most superstitious relic-collector of his day — as Luther's protector. Pride in his new university? The influence of his pro-Lutheran secretary Georg Spala-

¹⁴ Select bibliography in *B. Moeller, Reichsstadt und Reformation*, Gütersloh 1962, preferably in the updated French translation: *Villes d'Empire et Réformation*, Geneva 1966, pp. 99—112.

tin? Yes, no doubt, but should we not suspect also the deep-rooted rivalry between the houses of Wettin and Hohenzollern? ¹⁵ The Hohenzollern Albrecht of Mainz was the beneficiary of the indulgence-campaign and the prime target of Luther. The amazing ambitions of this cultivated young sybarite represent the climax of a long process whereby his family had so busily collected great ecclesiastical offices and lands hitherto held by younger sons of the house of Wettin: the Grand Mastership of the Teutonic Order, the major sees of Halberstadt, Magdeburg and now Mainz. At all events, Luther's religious campaign wonderfully coincided with Saxon policy.

Whatever importance we attach to the Saxon factor, the chief point remains that the almost universal adherence of city-populations both made and preserved Lutheranism, just as it was to preserve the Reformed churches both inside and outside the Helvetic Confederation. For example, according to the seminal essay by Bernd Moeller, of the 65 Imperial cities, more than 50 accepted the Reformation during the 1520s or soon afterwards ¹⁶. Despite the hostility of Habsburgs, Wittelsbachs and prince-bishops more than half these cities became fully and finally Protestant. Others, like Erfurt from 1530, tolerated Catholic alongside Protestant congregations, while in a small minority the Reformation scored a temporary success only to be later suppressed by external princely influence. But of the 65 Imperial cities, only about 14 never at any period officially tolerated Protestantism. Much the same seems true of the *Landstädte*, the cities on princely territory, which enjoyed no more than internal self-government. Left to themselves, the great majority of central European towns, large and small, would have been Protestant. Moreover, it is agreed that municipal councils (which consisted of hereditary patricians) seldom or never initiated a local Reformation. The demand for change came direct from the unprivileged populace, the lesser merchants and the guilds, all duly inspired by Lutheran missionaries, but sometimes putting forward their views in unmistakably lay phraseology. Despite the natural conservatism of the burgomasters and ruling oligarchs, their chief concern was to avoid internal disruption within their cities. Many city councils seem to have embraced the Reformation so as to preserve order, rather than because the majority of their members had become convinced Lutherans. Sometimes, as in the case of Nuremberg, the Reformation caught a city during a period of internal peace and acceptance. But rather than risk these blessings, the council protestantized the city with dramatic suddenness. At other places, such as the Baltic towns of Lübeck, Stralsund, Rostock and Wismar, there still raged a conflict between

¹⁵ W. Borth, *Die Luthersache (causa Lutheri) 1517—1524. Die Anfänge der Reformation als Frage von Politik und Recht*, Lübeck and Hamburg 1970, but note the cautionary comments by W. D. J. Cargill Thompson in: *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1973), pp. 295—7.

¹⁶ Moeller, p. 9.

the patrician city councils on the one hand and the unprivileged merchants and the gilds on the other side¹⁷. At Erfurt a similar clash occurred but was complicated by several other powerful tensions¹⁸. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Reformation cause and the popular revolutionary cause afforded one another mutual support, often extending over many years. As Schildhauer has shown, in the Baltic cities representatives of the hitherto powerless merchants secured places on the city councils, but once arrived, they in their turn became conservative. In short they used the radical citizens' committees to grasp a share of power, but then spurned the popular movement altogether. Meanwhile, however, the Lutheran religion got itself established as *tertius gaudens*. Even the great exception also illustrates the importance of secular pressures. At Cologne, the one major German city where the council stayed absolutely Catholic, the very strongest economic and political motives undoubtedly dictated that unusual course of action. Not only was Cologne hemmed in by the prince-bishoprics; more significantly still, its trade depended almost solely upon the goodwill of the Catholic Emperor's commercial metropolis of Antwerp¹⁹. Having described these factors, Dr Scribner's article proceeds with still greater originality to describe the policy of Cologne at street-level: the police system invented by the city council to kill off Protestant cells in their infancy. Speaking generally about German cities, I wish every success to the systematic studies being pursued at Tübingen and elsewhere, yet I doubt whether the reception or rejection of the Reformation by these cities will ever be reduced to a limited series of patterns. Every well-documented city seems to boast a rich individuality. Meanwhile a deeper and more subtle exploration of the spiritual and intellectual impacts of Protestantism upon city populations themselves has been achieved by Steven Ozment and has opened up new fields to analysis and generalization²⁰.

Again, must we not frankly admit that the popular municipal Reformations owe a great deal to merely local anticlericalism, anti-bishop, anti-monastic sentiments. So many cities had long ago painfully wrested their liberty from bishops. More commonly still, rich cathedral or monastic corporations provoked a well-documented popular dislike through their refusal to shoulder the burdens of municipal taxation, and even through their competitive activities as traders.

¹⁷ J. Schildhauer, *Soziale, politische und religiöse Auseinandersetzungen in den Hansestädten Stralsund, Rostock und Wismar im ersten Drittel des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Wismar 1959.

¹⁸ R. W. Scribner, *Reformation, Society and Humanism in Erfurt c. 1450—1530* (Ph. D. Thesis, London 1972); compare his article *Civic Unity and the Reformation in Erfurt*, in: *Past and Present* 56 (1975).

¹⁹ R. W. Scribner, *Why was there no Reformation in Cologne?* in: *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 49 (1976).

²⁰ S. E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities. The Appeal of Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Germany and Switzerland*, New Haven and London 1975.

I do not, of course, accept the notion that the Reformation was a mere epiphenomenon of working class struggle to wrest money and power from patricians and prelates. It owed far too much to Bible reading, to sermons and pamphlets basically religious rather than secular. Few people embrace martyrdom or even exile merely in the expectation that a new creed may lighten their taxes or give some of their friends seats on a city council. Socialist ideas remained rare, even among the Anabaptists and other sectarians who broke away from Luther; yet as the more populist pamphleteering clearly shows, Luther's movement flourished in a confused world of multilateral groupconflicts, mixed motives and gross rationalization of selfinterest. Historical research does not always bear out the commonsense hypothesis, but in this case I believe it does just that. Moreover I would suggest that we pursue a similar middle course in regard to that current fashionable half-truth which ascribes the Reformation to printing: Justification by Print Alone. Truly, the overwhelming adherence of the printer-publishers to the Reformation remains a causal factor of high importance²¹. The sales-statistics for the *Flugschriften* and for Luther's German Bible are deeply impressive: no wonder that both Luther and John Foxe celebrate the art of printing as a mechanical John the Baptist specially sent down by God to further the reformation of his Church. Nevertheless, when one studies the actual coming of the Reformation to a German or Swiss city, one finds first some dominating sermons by clerical missionaries, not a few of them ex-friars. The press did not crowd out the missionary in the pulpit. We cannot disentangle the two agencies, for so often a printer was reproducing what had been said by a preacher a week or two earlier. Again, any competent historian can hardly forget that Huss and his backers had carried through an impressive national Reformation in Bohemia before printing had been invented.

While we are discussing the material factors, let us put alongside printing something equally obvious but more often overlooked: the thick walls and the great numbers of the German cities; the military preponderance still enjoyed by the prepared defence. In 1535 Anabaptist-held Munster could hold out for fifteen months against a whole league of princes, though defended merely by a few hundred fanatics. And even when a decade later Charles V at last seized a rare opportunity to beat the Lutheran princes in the field, he could not possibly besiege the innumerable cities one by one, and so eradicate their heretics. Even at the moment of his triumph he had to rely on threats, and within a few months these threats were yielding but slight dividends. Thus the survival of the Reformation as an urban event depended upon a common military factor as well as upon a complex of ideological, social and technological forces.

²¹ A scholarly and vigorous exposition is that by *E. L. Eisenstein*, *L'avènement de l'imprimerie et la Réforme*, in: *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 6 (1971). Compare her article in *Past and Present* 45 (1969). Certain earlier works remain valuable in this field, e. g. *H. Gravier*, *Luther et l'opinion publique*, Paris 1943.

My time has run out and inevitably I have provided no more than a few crude sketches of some problems which nowadays exercise our minds within this important period of Christian history. I have tried to show that the admittedly vital factor of religion forms the central band of a great spectrum, but that it shades on both sides into secular colours. In other words I have sought to normalize the Reformation as a subject of historical analysis, while at the same time discouraging simplistic formulae. We have been in the phantasmagorial world of Albrecht Dürer's *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* as well as in the Christian enlightenment of Erasmus and the Pauline theology of Martin Luther. In Luther the German nation produced an authentic giant who attained an almost unique impact, yet one who emerged at the precisely 'right' moment in the exactly 'correct' place. Even Luther's career must fit into a still larger design. The German nation had been on the move before his time, and its future patterns did not correspond at all closely to those of Luther's mind. I join Tolstoy in believing that a heroic contribution to history cannot be attained by mere genius in isolation. Greatness of this sort is thrust upon an man — and in due course pulled from beneath him — by some accumulation of forces beyond his control. The German prophet had outstanding charisma, yet was it not a very powerful but very complex surge of mental and social changes which elevated him for a time to one of the titanic roles in western history? Now we know so much about the man, our professional realism must surely bid us explore this host of causal elements which so largely decided the actual outcome of his movement. These elements are not all of one sort. Therefore historians, theologians and sociologists must work together if they are deeply to understand either his heritage or his originality, together with the bitter necessities, the compromises, the failures, forced upon him by a world which understood his message only in part.

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THE ROLE OF THE CITIES IN THE GERMAN AND ENGLISH REFORMATIONS

Nowadays we should no longer be satisfied merely to study the mind and theology of Martin Luther, or the political Reformation of King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth. We need to study the Reformation in its social dimensions and ideological settings. This lecture is devoted to certain contrasts of background between the German and the English Reformations.

The nature of the German "Vorreformation" differed completely from its English counterpart. The German nation had for centuries contained powerful antipapal and anticlerical factors, later embodied in the *gravamina nationis teutonicae*. Likewise German humanists, culminating in Konrad Celtis and Ulrich von Hutten, attained a nationalist and anticlerical spirit unparalleled by the English humanists. Meanwhile the popular religiosity of central Europe had become much more disturbed and febrile than that in England. But the most important difference lies in the fact the initial success of the German Reformation was assured by the rapid and spontaneous adherence of city-populations. Of the 65 "Reichsstädte" more than 50 accepted Protestantism without being so commanded by the princes. Their thick walls ensured that Catholic rulers could not obliterate heresy. With their innumerable printing presses, nearly all operating on Luther's behalf, the cities pumped out propaganda upon a scale hitherto unknown. In some places — Lübeck, Stralsund, Rostock and Wismar — Reformation-movements overlapped with the striving of the unprivileged citizens to seize a share of governmental power from patrician councils. And if Cologne remained Catholic, this was in large part due to the fact that it could not afford to quarrel with Charles V as

ruler of the Netherlands, since Cologne depended entirely upon the Antwerp market.

The English towns presented a different picture. In his work "Die Stadt" Max Weber noticed that English town-life was heavily influenced by non-urban factors, especially by money-minded Kings, who worked in close alliance with the urban oligarchies. Though numerous, English towns were mainly small, while few of them had effective walls and none had a tradition of resistance to the Crown. These towns never became a separate Estate in Parliament, where their representatives sat in the House of Commons together with the country gentlemen, who represented the shires. Unlike German cities they could boast no genuine patrician class with a longstanding ancestry. They did not exercise cultured humanist patronage and an official like Lazarus Spengler of Nürnberg did not have English counterparts. Again, the history of the English provincial press remains very slight, until in 1555 the Crown centralized all printing in London. The good order of the English countryside during the Tudor period obviated the need for any very intense urban loyalties: English towns could not pretend that they were oases in a desert of anarchy.

The first Lutheran cells existed during the 1520s in Cambridge, Oxford and London, while soon after 1530 there arose organised factions of Protestants in Salisbury, Taunton, Bristol, Rye and other places. In several cases they seem to have had connections with pre-existent Lollard or Wycliffite groups, which are known to have survived until this period not only in a number of southern country areas, but also in London, Coventry, Bristol and other towns. In 1534 the future bishop and martyr Hugh Latimer — already under suspicion as a heretic — preached to huge and enthusiastic congregations at Exeter. Similar scenes occurred at the major seaport of Bristol, though both here and at Exeter there existed little fanaticism amongst either Protestants or Catholics. Such mercantile communities were building up a new prosperity, and their strongly economic motivation did not permit of intense religious quarrels. Nevertheless by the time of Edward VI (1547—53) when for the first time an English government adopted Protestant beliefs, there are signs of a conservative backlash in certain towns. We have for example a vivid memoir of such a confrontation at the south coast port of Poole. It was written by the Protestant clergyman Thomas Hancock, who had been threatened with death by two rich and elderly Catholic aldermen. Hancock safeguarded himself by appealing to Protector Somerest, but on the death of Edward

VI he wisely fled to Geneva, which he regarded as a holy city, a true school of religion for all Europeans.

In any history of English urban Protestantism, the Essex and East Anglian towns would occupy a prominent place. Even before the rise of Luther, this area displayed obvious favourable factors: Lollard groups, numerous weaving-communities, proximity to London and trading-connections with continental Europe. The country of Essex alone contributed 39 martyrs to the Marian persecution. Most of its 'towns' were little more than villages which combined agriculture and cloth-manufacture. But the old county-town of Colchester also became a centre of 'underground' Protestant congregations, which met in the inns during the persecution. Elizabethan writers looked back with pride upon this phase and regarded Colchester as a 'city of God'. Nevertheless, such an example should not be regarded as typical of English town life during the early phases of the Reformation. And whatever small groups of citizens may have been doing in secret, the councils of English towns remained well aware that they lacked the power to determine the character of local worship. The controlling link between central government and local government remained unbroken, even during the highly unpopular rule of Queen Mary. Moreover, at all stages the spread of Protestantism and Puritanism in English society was not solely directed by townsmen. For example, several of the nobles and the rich gentry, such as Elizabeth's cousin the Earl of Huntingdon, deliberately stimulated the growth of Puritan ideas upon their country estates.

Finally, I must refer to the unique case of London, already in 1530 more than half as big again as Cologne, which in its turn was far larger than any other German city. Again, London was at least ten times as wealthy as any provincial English town. Historically it can boast a continuous Protestant tradition, growing ever stronger from the days of the Lollards until the English Civil War. Even so, Tudor London also lacked full powers of self-determination, as the physical facts constantly remind us. It was hemmed in to the east by the Tower and to the west by Westminster, the stronghold of royal government. London also contained the residences of bishops and noblemen, while its politics were manipulated by Lord Mayors who were magnates in their own rights. Despite its size and wealth, it enjoyed less real freedom than very many continental cities. It never ventured to take up arms against a Tudor monarch, even though it was finally goaded into doing so by Charles I.

The kingdom of England and the towns of England thus show a mar-

ked individuality during the period of the Reformation. English political and social history already stand in stark contrast with those of Germany. England could absorb new religious systems but only at its own rather slow rate and in its own adapted forms. The monarchs, though ultimately erecting an insular sort of Protestantism with the Church of England, always acted as a retarding force upon the influences of the continental Reformation. We cannot understand these insular conditions, and especially those affecting town-life, solely by reference to the events of the sixteenth century. To understand this peculiar structure of monarchy, social classes and towns we have to look backward into the long traditions of the medieval kingdom. Especially should we pay attention to the work of Henry VII (1485—1509), that great restorer of the power of central government, who set the stage upon which the drama of the English Reformation was soon to be played out.

Contemporary Historians of the German Reformation

A significant passage in the writings of Leopold von Ranke occurs in his preface to the *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (1839), where he described his experiences in composing that notable work. He tells us how, during the autumn of 1836, he discovered in the Frankfurt city-archives no less than ninety-six folio volumes containing the Acts of the Imperial Diets from 1414 to 1613. With a splendidly bland air, he continues: 'I took the opportunity to make myself master of the contents of the first sixty-four of these volumes, extending down to the year 1551.' Aware that he could not rest content with the muniments of one city, and extending his interest beyond the proceedings of the Diets, Ranke gained permission in 1837 to explore the relevant archives of the kingdom of Prussia, and then those of the kingdom of Saxony at Dresden. Later that same year he moved on voraciously to the Ernestine documents at Weimar and proceeded to a more rapid inspection of those of the House of Anhalt at Dessau. Soon afterwards his preface reaches this conclusion:

I see the time approach in which we shall no longer have to found modern history on the reports, even of contemporary historians, except insofar as they were in possession of an original knowledge, still less, on work yet more derivative; but on the narratives of eye-witnesses, and the most genuine, most immediate documents.¹

This apotheosis of the most original record-sources and eye-witness accounts was not, of course, a sudden inspiration of the

Master. Already in 1824 he had said almost as much in his precocious *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber*, while here in the *Deutsche Geschichte* he acknowledges the work of predecessors such as Sattler, Buchholtz, Winter, Rommel and Neudecker, who had already been printing and utilizing such source-materials during the last hundred years. But while we can credit Ranke at least with the completion of this refashioning of historiography, I hope to indicate that the process occasioned losses as well as gains, and that it tended seriously to underrate the debts of later generations to the contemporary historians of the Reformation. By the middle decades of the sixteenth century there were scholars who forestalled Ranke's aspirations to the point of using and extensively printing the record-sources accessible in their day. It seems also obvious that a zealous preoccupation with state-archives has until quite recent years tended to embroil historians in high-level politics to the exclusion of both the popular dimensions and the intellectual bases of the Reformation. That essentially religious and social movement, we should doubtless agree, is no longer regarded as more or less coterminous with the affairs of the Imperial Diets or with the campaigns of Charles V, let alone with the marital and extra-marital adventures of Philip of Hesse and Henry VIII.

If there lived one man worthy to be called the sixteenth-century Ranke, it was clearly Johannes Sleidan, whose *Commentaries* of 1555² had until Ranke's day been accepted throughout Europe, in numerous editions and translations, as the standard general history of the Reformation. Though Sleidan called himself *homo Germanus*,³ his history is strikingly international in scope. As secretary to Cardinal Jean du Bellay, bishop of Paris, as a diplomat sent to Henry VIII, as a confidant of the statesman Jacob Sturm in the focal city of Strassburg, as official historiographer to the Schmalkaldic League, Sleidan acquired an exceptional grasp of affairs not only in Germany, but in France, England and the Netherlands. And though a Lutheran, he consciously strove to avoid partisanship, and

died in 1556 blamed by both sides, even by Melanchthon, for his cool objectivity.⁴ The bitter verdict resembled that suffered a quarter of a century later by La Popelinière, whose history of France (1581) was so hounded by the bigots of La Rochelle that he was forced to sign a confession of error.⁵ Again, Sleidan's text is cluttered by reprinted state documents, while the broad ideals expressed in his Preface and his subsequent *Apologia* quite strikingly anticipate those of Ranke.

Nothing adorns the writing of history more than truth and candour . . . To that end I have assumed nothing upon surmise or light report, but I have studiously collected what I have written from the public records and papers, the faithfulness of which can be questioned by no man.⁶

Having described his wide personal contacts in Germany and France, he repeats his refusal to be drawn from the truth by personal affections, and he declares his adherence to the public acts — in many cases already printed — the treaties, orations, petitions and answers.

'All these things I render baldly, simply and in good faith, just as each thing happened.' *Haec omnia, nude, simpliciter et bona fide, prout quaeque res acta fuit, recito.*⁷

Could we ever devise a closer Latin translation of 'als es eigentlich gewesen'? He continues:

I do not add anything of my own, nor do I make any judgment on them, but willingly and freely leave it to my reader. I make no rhetorical flourishes, nor do I write anything out of favour or envy toward any man. No, I only furnish the style, and use my own words, so that the tenor of my language may be harmonious; I digest everything and put it in its proper place.

In short, a reverence for record sources, a deliberate withdrawal of the author's personality, a reluctance to attempt summary judgements, a demand upon the reader to study the documents for himself: these were not attitudes invented by

the 'new' historiography of the nineteenth century. In Italy they had been displayed by the well-documented but stylistically despised works of Flavio Biondo a century before Sleidan's day. Indeed, any simple concept of 'Renaissance historiography' remains unacceptable. Mark the total contrast between Sleidan and that older contemporary, whom he cannot have read: Francesco Guicciardini. The latter brilliantly analyses the motives of his anti-heroes out of his own clever head: instead of printing documents he composes dazzling but imaginary speeches and puts them into the mouths of his characters. You would think he had possessed the confidential diary of Ludovico Sforza! So when in 1824 Ranke attacked Guicciardini's attitudes to the sources, he was attacking Italian oratorical humanism but not his sober German predecessor. On the contrary, he accorded glowing praise to Sleidan's respect for first-hand materials; and in parenthesis we might add that in more recent times, ever since Joachimsen or even Wegele described the rise of German humanist historiography, its separate characteristics have been more deeply understood and more generally recognized.⁸ All the same, fifteen years later in the *Deutsche Geschichte*, Ranke felt able to ignore Sleidan as an authority, even though the *Commentaries* had laid the foundations of Reformation history and had nourished so many of the attitudes of the nineteenth century.

Elsewhere I have sought to track down the direct influences which underlay the theory and practice of Sleidan. He himself claims Caesar's *Commentaries*, 'because they are bare, direct and plain, divested of all oratorical ornament'.⁹ Again, as a German heavily armed with French culture, Sleidan edited both Froissart and Comines, praising the latter as 'a man not very well versed in the Latin tongue but having great dexterity of mind'. In other words he praised Comines as a realist free from the suspect Florentine oratory. In the third place, Sleidan has obviously read Polybius, who deliberately enunciates most of the aims shared by himself and Ranke: the shunning of fables, the avoidance of emotional excitement, the need for painful

research, the superiority of a plain style, above all a deep love of truth and a calm impartiality. And so far as concerns contemporary influences, Sleidan acquired, as a true disciple of Melanchthon, the belief that every historical event had been arranged by God.¹⁰ They both derived from the Book of Daniel — that humble forerunner of Arnold Toynbee — a cyclical scheme of history, a series of God-given ages somewhat akin to the scheme which lingered on in the mind of Ranke. In fact Sleidan also composed a Melanchthonian compendium of world history, which became an even bigger seller than the *Commentaries*, and, greatly augmented by Jesuit pedagogues and other tormentors of the young, held its place in the schools for many generations.¹¹ As for the *Commentaries*, they not only went into the main vernacular languages but also inspired learned historians like Sarpi, de Thou and our own William Camden.

Needless to say, Sleidan did not attain all the liberal virtues. Concerning the religious protagonists, not even he could attain the degree of objectivity we demand, but do not invariably attain. More important, I imagine that we should all like him to have written a work less political, less upper-crust, less sententiously moral, a work more interested in ordinary men and grass-roots society. Not unreasonably, we might expect him to have been more penetrating on the actual history of religion; yet here, after all, is a subject on which the follower of Caesar, Comines and Polybius did not gain any inspiration from his masters. For high-level historians their beloved Greeks and Romans provided no models when it came to describing anything so novel as the Protestant Reformation, a movement which was not merely religious, but in some considerable measure a movement whereby the despised common people began to achieve a new depth, a major role, a greater responsibility in the historical forum. Renaissance historiography needed a blood-transfusion before it could envisage these complex approaches. Ranke himself started responding to such factors when he took a considerable

interest¹² in those passionate, popular sources, the *Flugschriften* of Luther's day — yet here he was bound to hand the detailed tasks to his successors. Despite this interest and despite his due regard to German local history, Ranke's basic failure to grasp the more creative elements arising from the non-privileged classes continues to place his work nearer to that of Sleidan than to that of modern social-religious historians.

Among the other contemporaries who can be called formal historians of the Reformation in the Germanic lands, Sleidan's only important rival is Heinrich Bullinger, patriarch of the Swiss Reformation and adviser to most of the Protestant rulers of Europe. Though Swiss by birth, Bullinger began his academic career as a pupil of the Brethren at Emmerich on the Lower Rhine, and as a student in the highly conservative university of Cologne. Here stood a zealous yet essentially moderate-minded cleric. Despite being an admitted disciple of Sleidan, Bullinger was called into the polemical world to assume the mantle of Zwingli at Zurich and the leadership alongside Calvin of the Reformed Churches. Yet when he observed the Helvetic Confederation, it was with a far broader vision than that of any ordinary Swiss minister. Amongst his several historical works two have a special value: his general history of the Confederation up to the year 1519 and his narrative of the Swiss Reformation covering the momentous years 1519 to 1532.¹³ Though Ranke eventually used parts of this latter, he lacked access to the whole, because — thanks to the rather unenterprising character of German-Swiss scholarship of that day — its printing and publication commenced only in 1838 and remained incomplete long after Ranke's death. In fact a modern critical edition still remains a *desideratum* for Reformation history, if only because the sources are complex and the facts not invariably accurate.

It seems obvious that the Protestant clerical controversialist Bullinger cannot be expected to write as impartially as the lay diplomat Sleidan. Nevertheless the man from Zurich begins by enunciating ideals almost identical with those of the Strass-

burger. He also accepts Melancthon's *raison d'être* for such labours. Men readily forget the teachings of God through history, and it should therefore be written with directly religious and ethical motives.¹⁴ Again, Bullinger is writing Swiss history from a Zurich standpoint and he stresses the enormous trouble, cost and anxiety borne by that city, which first set forth the true religion not only in its own territory but in effect for the whole Confederation. Here, he believes, all will recognize the wondrous work of God in the great contest between the false religion and the true. All the same, he traces with deep insight the rise of the Reformation in Bern, Basel, Geneva, Glarus and Schaffhausen, even in external but theologically related places like the city of Strassburg and the duchy of Württemberg. Moreover, in the background one senses his mastery over French, Imperial and Papal affairs, in so far as they affected the actions of Swiss statesmen. As in Sleidan's pages, the Reformation seems by no means a localizing episode, since in the cities of the Confederation as in those of the Empire, it brought civic minds into stimulating contact with the wide and perilous world of monarchical politics.

Apart from the fact that Bullinger wrote not in Latin but in Swiss German, his methodological principles closely resemble those of Sleidan. A historian and not a mere annalist, he remarks that unless the causes of all events are depicted, whatever one writes is not merely blind but incomplete and altogether false. Again, we must closely investigate our sources, since truth not hearsay remains our objective. Bullinger claims to have worked hard over a period of thirty years in order to obtain the best evidence, laboriously obtaining and copying innumerable documents. Indeed, an examination of his text shows that these were no idle boasts, for it is richly furnished with documentary evidence, together with a careful correlation of the many earlier chroniclers of his country: Utinger, Wyss, Sprüngli, Edlibach, and especially the popular chronicles of Johann Stumpf, published at Zurich in 1548 and in several later editions.¹⁵ Not without justice, Eduard Fueter claimed that

Bullinger broke away from the chronological mosaic more courageously and selectively than Sleidan had done. On the other hand, this apparent virtue can enhance his prejudices, which are not merely anti-papal but anti-Lutheran. Accordingly, his first five chapters cover the religious state of the Confederation in 1519 and the epoch-making advent of Zwingli to Zurich. Only in Chapter VI are we made aware that in far-off Saxony a hitherto obscure cleric called Martin Luther was having around this time a clash with Tetzl! In other words his idealization of Zwingli extended to supporting the latter's dubious claims to a total independence and even temporal priority over the Saxon Reformer: 'I did not learn Christ's teaching from Luther, but from the very word of God.'¹⁶ This same tension between Zurich and Wittenberg appears also in the writings of Bullinger concerning Anabaptism, by modern standards unfair and superficial, yet containing informative passages which show an enquiring attitude elsewhere regrettably lacking in Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist and Anglican circles. Unlike the rest of this generation, all too scared by the horrors of Anabaptism at Münster, Bullinger did at least set out to discover what the sectarians really believed.¹⁷ In his work *Der Wiedertäufer Ursprung* of 1560 he again attacked the Anabaptists, yet he also tried to classify them and to grasp the interrelatedness of various branches of radicalism. He well knew that they had a large pacific wing as well as a dangerously violent wing. Indeed, back in 1530 he had already admitted that some Anabaptists led devout and virtuous lives: he even wrote moving accounts of the sufferings of Mantz and Blaurock. On the other hand, both Wittenberg and Zurich wanted to push the radicals off their own historical doorsteps. The Lutherans, including Melancthon, depict Anabaptism as growing up under the shadow of Zwingli, while Bullinger defends his predecessor by arguing that religious radicalism had a Saxon origin, being the offspring of Thomas Müntzer and the hirsute prophets of Zwickau. The joke would seem to lie in the odd fact that both were right, for the hydra had two heads of exceptional size.

Having looked at Sleidan and Bullinger, I propose to turn towards other types of Reformation history, yet I must first make the point that these two were far from being the only authors of the period to attempt general and analytical histories of the German Reformation. For example Matthaeus Ratzeberger (d. 1559), physician to the Elector John Frederick of Saxony and a family friend of Luther, wrote a history of Luther and his times, including a somewhat tendentious account of the Schmalkaldic War, peopled with spies and traitors. An admitted partisan of Electoral Saxony and of the Gnesio-Lutheran cause, Ratzeberger was also a man of integrity and an important figure at court: he has special value as illustrating the viewpoints of an important party.¹⁸ Another example is that of Friedrich Myconius (1491-1546), voluminous writer, close friend of Melancthon, correspondent of Luther, and author of a *Historia Reformationis* which he calls a *summarium* of the period 1517-42.¹⁹ Written about the latter date and in German, it is a spirited and readable narrative, but with its violent anti-papalism hardly deserves its reputation for objectivity. It does however display some unusual and interesting features. On two occasions (Ch. XII, xv) it lists in full the princes, magnates, cities and civic leaders who backed the Reformation, and on the second occasion it also enumerates 'die bittersten Feinde des Evangelii in Teutschland'. Again, the last nine chapters deal with the history and internal tensions of the city of Gotha, observed at first hand. Neither of these two authors attained print until later times: Myconius in 1718 and Ratzeberger only in an inferior manuscript (printed by Gottfried Arnold) until the full version was properly edited in 1850. In these and so many other cases, the neglect of historical writings as compared with inferior polemical literature forms an adverse comment upon the values of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Of all such narratives, those of Sleidan and Bullinger would seem nearest to modern ideals of historical scholarship: they also compare most favourably with that extensive *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France* attributed to

Beza, who lacked the mind of a critical historian, despite his inclusion of valuable documents. What other types of contemporary Reformation-history demand examination in a mere lecture? Not, I suggest, the numerous town-chronicles, which — despite widely varying literary pretensions — remain essentially local annals. That our modern attention to the urban movements demands far more work on this basic front cannot be denied, and some of these chronicles are locally revealing in more senses than as mere repositories of brute fact. Occasionally, they can even be oppositionist. And again, though Augsburg showed so enlightened a patronage of humanism, can we fully explain why its chronicles are so much more numerous and more varied than those of other German cities?²⁰

Amongst the literary sources for German Reformation history, we cannot afford to overlook the biographies, many of them depicting eminent leaders and written by their close collaborators. Others concern relatively minor figures, in general university professors. The majority of such essays follow similar patterns and show common literary characteristics, thus enabling us to examine them as a distinct *genre*. The great majority are succinct, ranging from a dozen to fifty pages. Eulogistic but not markedly polemical, they are nearly all written in the sound but unpedantic Latin of mid-century German humanism. Melanchthon contributed two of the most elegant, respectively on Luther — written in 1546 as a preface to the second volume of the Latin works — and on Bugenhagen (1558), the apostle of Lutheranism in northern Germany and Denmark.²¹ A few years later (1566) Joachim Camerarius, perhaps the most accomplished classicist ever trained by Melanchthon, issued the best life of his former master: he also preserved recollections of his distinguished friends Eobanus Hessus and Albrecht Dürer. Without his *Melanchthon*, a substantial work in 123 short chapters, Reformation studies would be materially poorer. While based upon a long and intimate friendship, it constitutes a 'life and times', for it affords a picture of the Reformer's associates and intellectual background, view-

ing the Reformation as the co-operative effort of a large group of Christian humanists. Again, Professor Oberman has recently stressed the valuable passage containing Melanchthon's recollection of the *Wege Streit* between the *Reales* and the *Nominales* in his early days at Tübingen.²²

In Switzerland the biographical tradition became established in the thirties, when Wolfgang Capito and Grynaeus wrote essays respectively on the life and death of the major Swiss Reformer Oecolampadius.²³ Grynaeus, it will be recalled, had just won fame by discovering (1527) at Lorsch a manuscript containing five missing books of Livy. Among the earliest in the whole collection is the brief biography of Zwingli by that active participant Oswald Myconius (1488-1552), published in 1532 shortly after Zwingli's death in battle.²⁴ Eight years later Beatus Rhenanus was commissioned by Froben to enlarge an earlier sketch of the life of Erasmus in order to accompany the new edition of his works. As one would expect, Rhenanus produced a stylish and readable essay, which (unlike most of the lives I am discussing) is now easily accessible in a modern English translation.²⁵ Among the large *Nachlass* of Georg Spalatin is a *Leben und Zeitgeschichte* of his master Frederick the Wise: for the most part annalistic, it belongs to a different *genre*, and its interest arises solely from Spalatin's confidential relationship with three successive Electors. As with so many of Spalatin's writings, the manuscript went to Weimar, where it lay little used until Neudecker's edition of 1851.²⁶ More fortunate was the fate of that familiar life of Luther by Johann Mathesius, originally delivered in 1565 in the form of seventeen sermons to the author's congregation of miners at St Joachims-thal in Bohemia.²⁷ With an almost neurotic patriotism, Mathesius declares his intention, as a German born, to preach German doctrine issued by a German prophet, and to preach it to German parishioners in the German language. Though the work of a somewhat naïve hero-worshipper, this account is lively, anecdotal and chronological like the rest, despite its origins in the pulpit. Not undeservedly, it soon became a well-loved item

of Lutheran pietistic literature. Of course this *genre* was not limited to the German lands or to German subjects. Beza wrote lives, including a famous one of his predecessor Calvin,²⁸ while at Wittenberg the historian of Saxony, Cyriacus Spangenberg, published in 1556 a well-researched 'history' of Savonarola,²⁹ now a patriarch of the Reformation, since (in the writer's view) he had been martyred by the Pope for upholding the cause of truth. A related phenomenon is the advent of mass-biography with the *Prosopographiae heroum atque illustrium virorum* (1565-66), a huge German national biography by Heinrich Pantaleon of Zurich (1522-95), who also translated numerous modern works into German. These included Sleidan and that cultural chauvinist Naclerus, whose zeal seems to underly the prosopography.³⁰

Especially in regard to the intensively documented Luther, it has sometimes been said that the early lives are slight and superficial, adding mere fragments to the huge factual corpus. Nevertheless, the true value of this biographical activity cannot with justice be assessed in these now archaic terms. The biographers provide authentic atmosphere: they depict background-features all too neglected by most recent lives, especially by those which see the Reformers too purely in a modern Lutheran theological setting. Quite vividly and with some unexpected emphases, they tell us what leading figures of the Reformation most esteemed in their colleagues. Here and there new facts and perspectives arise — for example, the excellent snapshot of Pomeranian society provided by Melanchthon as Bugenhagen's home background; again in his *Luther* a spare yet lucid summary of the theological issues, a summary which helps to illuminate that curious relationship between himself and the hero.

What are the common influences behind the lives? In the first place, Plutarch was universally admired by these scholars and all their educated contemporaries. Oswald Myconius writes that a life of Zwingli calls not merely for a Plutarch but for a Cicero, while Melanchthon edited the *Moralia* of Plutarch,³¹

who appealed to him and his sententious followers as the ancient moralist *par excellence*. Whereas they saw history as teaching morality by example, Plutarch had seen biography in the same light; and like the Protestant biographers, he had interpreted the great figures of the past to a lesser and more commonplace generation. Another apparent influence upon this type of biography was the *Leichenrede* or *Leichenpredigt*, the funeral encomium pronounced by a colleague over the body of a deceased scholar or other celebrity. Of these, many have survived.³² In some cases we find the *Leichenrede* appended to the printed life, which usually follows the sequence: birth and origins; learning and works; death. For example, Melanchthon's *Luther*, from the edition of 1549 onwards, includes the famous oration delivered by Melanchthon himself, and from 1555 the one spoken by Bugenhagen on the same occasion. Very clearly, most of these biographies have their roots far less in dogmatic Lutheranism than in academic humanism, in what Luther called 'The Languages', the classical studies which had recently breathed life into the universities and especially into the German 'redbrick' institutions of the early sixteenth century. Here as elsewhere, one cannot but feel that the heart of the Reformation-movement lies by no means solely in Luther's supra-Pauline doctrine of salvation, but also in the creative relationship of Greek linguistic studies with the elucidation of the New Testament. The new textual criticism meant the transference of religious leadership from unlearned ecclesiastical 'ordinaries', including bishops, to the professional, full-time men of learning. Quite explicitly Melanchthon says this in his *Leichenrede* over Luther. God 'calls not only to spiritual warfare those . . . who have "ordinary" power, but he also makes war against these through Doctors chosen from other orders'.³³ After all, the only possible authority for religious change had to lie in the New Testament text duly reinterpreted by the *Graeculi*, as distinct from the Vulgate, the latter now regarded as a far from impeccable version, and one misused under papal and scholastic influences. Luther himself was highly aware of

this priority, and it seems unfortunate that his modern theological commentators so often fail to grasp — or at least to stress — its overriding nature and quite indispensable necessity to the Reformation. The biographies, humanist and non-mystical in contrast with those which emanated from the Catholic Reformation, nevertheless lead us into the innermost world of early Protestantism, a movement still close to Erasmus and arising in large part from the brave new world of the universities. The notion that Lutheranism destroyed Erasmian classical studies³⁴ can hardly be sustained, since the latter gravitated toward Wittenberg itself, where (despite Melancthon's fears) they retained much of the Erasmian spirit.

My third and last group must be that of the Protestant martyrologists.³⁵ These writers seem at first sight foreign to the Olympian worlds of Sleidan and Ranke: admittedly they need to be handled with discretion. Though almost by definition partisans, they nevertheless remain quite invaluable as biographers of the heroic but in most cases working-class people whose example re-created the Reformation. The martyrologists tell us a great deal about the shifting relations between the classes, the raw suffering, the spiritual dynamics. Without so intending, they also yield much incidental information on the social background. In fact our whole picture of the period and the movement — and especially in the Netherlands and the Swiss Confederation — would be immensely barer without their capacious and circumstantial writings. Since the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the new churches and sects, these stories proved enormously influential, both immediately and across the coming centuries. They inspired a hatred of Catholicism, yet in some respects they also promoted the cause of religious toleration. Even today it is hard to read such writings without feeling their emotional impact, and the force of the martyr-theme does not arise solely from the actual collections, for nowhere does that theme appeal more powerfully than in *Les Tragiques* of the great poet Agrippa d'Aubigné, who has no German equivalent.

Prejudiced, yet neither journalists nor forgers, the martyrologists strove where possible to document their narratives. All the major figures were compiling and publishing during the 1550s, and none confined himself to the martyrs of his own country. Thus an attempt at a purely German approach would prove unrealistic. The four major compilers were Calvin's friend Jean Crespin (c.1520-72), Adriaen Cornelisz. van Haemstede at Antwerp (?1525-62), Ludwig Rabus, the Lutheran superintendent at Ulm (1524-92),³⁶ and of course our own John Foxe. To these four might be added the already mentioned Heinrich Pantaleon, to whom Foxe passed on his continental material, and whose *Martyrum Historia* (Basle, 1563) was intended as a continuation of the *Acts and Monuments*. The Swiss continuator's strength lay in his tolerant spirit; his weakness in his concentration on Lutherans, which deprived his work of the international scope anticipated by Foxe. Printer, teacher at several universities, professor of dialectic, medical doctor, compulsive writer and translator, Pantaleon led a picaresque life, which perhaps enhanced his desire to see the best in each man, whether Catholic or Protestant.³⁷

The wandering internationalism of the martyrologists extends to their selection of subjects and materials, as well as to their spirit and outlook. Crespin used Foxe's materials on the Lollards, while Foxe used Crespin for his passage on the Waldensians. Whereas Crespin was predominantly concerned with the French-speaking world, Haemstede devoted only about one-third of his text to the Netherlands: less in fact than to the French martyrs, concerning whom he borrowed extensively from Crespin. Haemstede had relatively little to say about either Germany or England, though he did use Rabus. Crespin certainly promoted the rise of Huguenotism, Haemstede the Netherlandish Revolt; while Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* remained across the seventeenth century the most widely read (and accepted) of all English books save the Bible. The influence of Rabus can hardly be compared with that of the other three. His *Histories of Martyrs*, first published at Strassburg in

parts between 1554 and 1558,³⁸ was reprinted and enlarged several times before the end of the century. The two-volume edition of 1571–72, which I have recently been reading, surprised me a little in regard to its inclusions and its planning. The work is entirely in German, covers over 2,300 large pages and is furnished with good engravings. Nevertheless, while it is true that all the martyrologists depict the recent persecutions in the light of church history as a whole, Rabus is much less concerned with his own period than are the rest of these compilers. His first volume only reaches the fifth century. In the second volume we find an elaborate account of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, followed not only by Savonarola, but also by Oldcastle and other Lollard sufferers, all these latter taken with acknowledgement from John Bale, the versatile predecessor of Foxe. The concept of martyrdom did not exclusively relate to those who actually suffered death, and Rabus specifically mentions ‘witnesses’ and ‘confessors’ on his title-page. Accordingly, when he at last arrives at the German Reformation, he devotes 101 pages to Luther himself, 91 to Matthäus Zell and nearly 30 to the ambivalent Hermann von Wied, archbishop of Cologne. There remains a plenitude of documentation, but nothing like the graphic readability of Foxe. In regard to Rabus, it should not be forgotten that the Germans, as distinct from the Swiss and the Netherlands, managed to postpone most of the actual killing to the far more political struggles of the seventeenth century. Their Reformation had been a relatively civilized event. Despite the bitterness of the controversy, the number of genuine German martyrs remained relatively small if — as Rabus’s hatred of sectarians dictated — one omitted Anabaptist and other radical sufferers. Therefore, as it were to fill out his second volume, Rabus reverted to foreigners, including the French hero Louis Berquin, and yet more Britons taken from the pages of John Bale, such as Patrick Hamilton, John Lascells and Anne Askew. It was a long way from Anne Askew’s Lincolnshire to Rabus at Ulm, yet she made the journey!

If the output of German Lutheran martyrology is less impressive than that of some other churches, it neither began nor ended with Ludwig Rabus. Long before all these big compilations, individual *Flugschriften* had drawn attention to particular sufferers, and these were extensively used as sources by the major compilers. One of the best examples had been written by Martin Luther himself. It concerned his early friend at Wittenberg, the former Augustinian Heinrich of Zütphen, who was martyred in Dithmarschen in December 1522: *Die recht warhafft und gründtlich Hystori oder geschicht von brüder Hainrich inn Diethmar verprent*.³⁹ The illustrated title-page shows poor Heinrich tied to a short ladder, the foot of which has been planted in the fire. He is being raised upright by two men, while two others are tormenting him, one using a partizan, the other an axe-hammer with multiple spikes. Behind them two obese and grinning monks — he had been condemned at the instigation of a Dominican prior — are observing the scene with sadistic pleasure, and to the left a soldier is kicking a sympathizer who falls to the ground. Luther thus used the visual aids to martyrology which we associate with Foxe. This pamphlet no doubt circulated widely: the copy known to me was actually issued not at Wittenberg but by Heinrich Steyner in Augsburg.

Further back behind these sources lay not only Catholic martyrologies but also Hussite, Lollard and Waldensian records. The path of a 'true' but 'hidden' Church through the otherwise murky landscapes of medieval Catholicism is traced by the German Lutherans, just as it is by Foxe. A good example is that of Flacius Illyricus (1520–75), one of the Magdeburg Centuriators, whose *Catalogue of the Witnesses of Truth* (1556)⁴⁰ claims St Bernard, William of Occam, Dante, Tauler, Huss and Gerson as forerunners of Evangelical Christianity, thus awarding the most sympathetic figures of the Middle Ages a sort of posthumous membership of the Lutheran Church. In the late sixteenth century, German readers were in no sense limited to Rabus. Many must have read Haemstede and Pantaleon, while Crespin himself underwent translation into German by Paul

Crocius (1551–1607), the son of a Lutheran preacher of Zwickau, and a translator also of Calvin.⁴¹

In the German lands the bulk of the martyrs who actually suffered death belonged to one or other of the innumerable sectarian groups, whether Anabaptist or spiritualist. The central concept of their theology of martyrdom was that almost untranslatable quality *Gelassenheit*: a peaceful resignation to God's will, including a readiness to suffer in the cause. In the Netherlands it reappears with Menno Simons as *Leijzaamheid*; and here in the Netherlands the radical martyrs greatly outnumbered those from the 'orthodox' Protestant Churches. Of 874 named and genuinely religious martyrs in the Netherlands under Charles V and Philip II, only about 260 are Lutherans or Calvinists.⁴² Haemstede included few sectarians, and their strength only became apparent in 1562 with the first major collection made by a sympathetic compiler. This was *The Sacrifice of the Lord* (*Het Offer des Heeren*), a collection which by 1599 had gone through eleven editions, printed in Emden or Amsterdam.⁴³ Once again, sectarian martyrologists were indebted to a mass of popular booklets containing accounts of trials and executions, together with the letters and hymns of particular victims. Other collections followed, though the definitive one was to be *The Bloody Theatre* (*Het bloedigh Tooneel*), published at Dordrecht in 1660 and at Amsterdam in 1685 by Tielman Jans van Braght. Taken as a whole, this immense mass of evidence, emanating from both 'orthodox' and radical sources, has left modern historians with many tasks, not least in the correlation of those narratives with the more recently discovered record sources. Even in England, where we possess the fullest of all sixteenth-century martyrologies, we have nothing to boast about, since so far relatively little progress has been made towards a modern critical edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

Most of the broad conclusions I am drawing from this hasty and incomplete survey must by now be apparent. The first I have implicitly regarded as being uncontroversial. I have

assumed that culturally speaking the German world — in the broadest sense — cohered quite strongly, thanks largely to its network of universities, held together not so much by wandering scholars as by migrating professors. To understand this world we must avoid neglecting the Swiss and the Netherlands. Moreover, despite the occasional patriotic fireworks, most of these educated men remained good Europeans and must be seen against their whole European background. Second, I have maintained that, if we seriously intend to write the intellectual and social history of the Reformation, we cannot conceivably discard the contemporary general historians, the biographers, the martyrologists. Of these, the Melanchthonian school, led by Sleidan, actually advanced the science of historiography and advanced it in directions which Ranke admired. The gap between sixteenth and nineteenth-century historical methods, I suggest, is narrower than has been supposed, since the cult of documented history served the former period both as a watchword and as a practical methodology. As Scherer has shown, humanist historical study penetrated deeply into German universities.⁴⁴ Moreover the Lutheran cult of documentation had a more continuous history than Ranke realized.⁴⁵ Altogether we may regard the *praeceptor Germaniae* at Wittenberg and his immense following as tiresomely moralizing and systematizing, yet these traits should be taken as the reverse of a noble, if imperfectly realized zeal for truth. Though Protestants of this school distorted some aspects of their age, this did not involve deliberate misrepresentation: it happened because they defined truth too narrowly as 'true facts', and because the broader truths turned out to be far more complicated than they realized. In particular, the Catholic Church's reserves of power, her capacity for revival, proved in the end far greater than anyone could have anticipated amid the feeble riposte of German Catholicism during Luther's lifetime.

My third contention must be that the social forces as well as the theological bases of the Reformation are well revealed by these contemporary writers. Moreover they show that the ideas

arose from the biblical humanism of the German universities as well as from the experiential life and the dogmatic convictions of Martin Luther. Despite their reverence for him, educated Protestants knew as well as he did that the Reformation was not a symphony played by a one-man band; they knew also that it involved something far more intellectually solid than a sense of guilt and an emotional submission to the saving power of faith. Few of its champions underwent experiences as lurid as those of Luther, while even he did not habitually think in terms of modern philosophical theology, much less luxuriate in his 'religious experiences'. A Scriptural theologian, he made a distinctly reasonable approach to faith: the textual approach through 'the Languages'; and to this he gloriously contributed as Bible-translator and thereby as chief restorer of a documented Christianity. In short, Luther was a scholarly worker for faith even more than a spiritual sufferer or a predestined victim of American psychiatrists and British dramatists. We need to see him — or at least one important part of his many-faceted mind — alongside Melancthon as a biblical humanist. We can also study him profitably in the context of the historians and biographers, those representatives of the university world which cradled the Reformation and ensured its survival. We read these writers in order to see how sixteenth-century men thought, which is a more important objective than discovering merely what the politicians did.

The fourth of my deductions I have hardly implied, but in lecturing to this Institute of Germanic Studies I must make it quite explicit, even though I feel sure I cannot be the first to do so. I have been discussing some relatively neglected aspects of German culture, but for a great deal of the time I have perforce been talking about literature written in Latin. At any period the culture of a community, even that of a nation, forms an organic whole, and when a large part of its literature is in Latin, one must misrepresent both the vernacular and the Latin components by restricting oneself to works in the vernacular. Too many writers on German culture have underestimated the

middle decades of the sixteenth century because they failed to appreciate the great contributions of German scholars to classical and historical studies. The idea that a national culture must be expressed within a single language is revealed as quite untrue. In Reformation Germany the same men write in both languages. Moreover each literary *genre* interacts with others and the bilingual culture does not necessarily impede these interactions. Even in Tudor England, Latin remained a common tool of educated men, yet the contemporary German world adhered to that language with a greater and more natural ease. Of course, one acknowledges that popular enthusiasm stimulated by vernacular writings made the German Reformation a national and popular movement and not a mere bondage to 'godly' princes and *Kirchenordnungen*. Nevertheless, it came upon a world where at least two books out of three were being published in Latin, and where scholars like Ulrich von Hutten had been trained to express themselves in Latin and now needed to retrain themselves with a view to writing expressive German. 'One is astonished', writes Hajo Holborn of Hutten's first German work, 'to see the accomplished master of Latin verse and prose in the role of a gifted child essaying clay modelling'.⁴⁶ But very soon we find Luther and his lieutenants easily using either language according to their targets. But so far from destroying the old élite of Latin learning, Renaissance and Reformation gave it a new lease of life. We all realize that this renewal had its fragilities and its perils. Instead of continuing Luther's work for the vernacular, later generations of scholars tended to fuse the two tongues and to develop a turgid, latinized German, which met its nemesis in the days of Lessing and the *Sturm und Drang*. Even so, it has been calculated that as late as 1780 Latin books still accounted for one-eleventh of German publishing, as compared with only one-twentieth of that in France.⁴⁷

Of the various impressions derived from reading this material, one seems to me of deep general significance. These early Protestant historians have a place in Reformation history

and indeed in European intellectual history as a whole. Their principle of commonsense documentation is the same principle which — following the example of Erasmus — they wanted to apply to the biblical reform of Christianity. In effect they were saying: do not follow the schoolmen by building ideological skyscrapers of your own; look back instead at the source-materials! Against papal and scholastic tradition they produced the only counter-weapon which could contain or overthrow that tradition: the Greek New Testament. All reform of outlook and practice hung on the primacy of this unique set of documents, and on the learning and good sense applied to its elucidation. I now see more clearly than hitherto that the deepest roots of the Reformation consisted in this humanist general principle, rather than in secondary issues such as those concerning Justification and the Eucharist. These latter depended wholly upon the biblicist argument. If this notion is accepted, it makes Erasmus the first great figure of the sixteenth-century Reformation — a fact obscured by his quarrel with Luther over secondary issues. In late life Erasmus chose peaceful scholarship, yet he had been the indiscreet boy who suddenly exclaimed that the Emperor wore no clothes — or, more precisely, that the Pope was far too scantily clad in the basic documents of the Christian faith. When in 1559 the Papacy got around to discerning and punishing its real enemies, it most intelligibly put the whole of the works of Erasmus on the Index.

That Luther also belonged to this humanist world, I have already tried to demonstrate.⁴⁸ Even more obviously, Melancthon and the teeming biblical humanists from Wittenberg to Zurich proclaimed their adhesion to this same Erasmian movement. Now this evening we have seen these scholars extending the same principles beyond the Bible into modern history, a thing Erasmus had done only in a fragmentary fashion, since in his later years he had tied himself down to the patristic period. But in the long run it proved of the utmost importance that the German, Swiss and Netherlandish historians moved forward into the experiences of their own time, dissecting church affairs

and secular politics concurrently. 'In this history of religion', writes Sleidan, 'I could not omit what concerned civil government, because . . . they are interwoven the one with the other, especially in our own times, so that it was impossible to separate them.'⁴⁹

By so doing, the Protestant historians had not only saved biblical humanism (which Rome had virtually dropped for the time being) but won for it an influence upon the Enlightenment of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That the Germanic lands did not go the way of Voltaire and Hume and rationalist Revolution owed something to this earlier Protestant expansion into modern studies — studies which came to seem so 'relevant' and socially useful to their successors. Why did Christian humanism survive amid so many competing influences? To disentangle the forces which saved it would require another lecture. One obvious factor lies in its continuing harmony with its native element, the north European universities. But far more important was its appeal to the unscholastic minds of the large urban bourgeoisie, which was ready to acclaim proletarian and clerical martyrs, but wanted a moderate, reasonable creed, neither sectarian nor unduly theocratic. These readers also wanted to retain their grasp upon the levers of economic and political power. Perhaps the clearest example is that of the Regent class in the newfangled Dutch Republic, a class which had excellent reasons for being Erasmian rather than strict Calvinist. So, if we insist upon finding at least some elements of a 'bourgeois' revolution in the sixteenth-century German lands, let us look for it where (rather obviously) it should appear: not in the Peasants' Revolt but in the managerial, civic and bureaucratic groups upon which even princes now had to rely. Having used their economic inferiors as religious allies, these governing groups naturally absorbed the clerical-pedagogic men who had sprung from the tradition of biblical humanism. Despite some harsh doctrinal squabbling, such clerics continued their task of organizing churches and schools: they had already domesticated them-

selves as *bürgerlich* family men with modest ecclesiastical ambitions, only too ready to promote an ordered society which can now properly be called *bourgeois*, even in most of those territories where it needed to accept monarchical governments and military aristocracies. Thus on the whole the Reformation became what its early historians wanted it to become. Within the areas it had occupied, it needed a strictly limited series of demolitions engineered by its pamphleteering prophets. This accomplished, control reverted to 'sensible' committees of management. The ageing, increasingly timorous Erasmus would have worried less, had he been able to look half a century ahead. Lutheranism was not after all going to turn the world upside-down!

NOTES

¹ L. von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation in Sämtliche Werke*, I-VI (Leipzig, 1881-82), I, ix-x. Compare *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtsschreiber* (completed in October 1824) in *ibid.*, xxxiv (Leipzig, 1874), iii-iv.

² J. Sleidani *de statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo Quinto Caesare commentarii* (Strasbourg, 1555). A three-volume photo-reprint of the 1785-86 edition was published by O. Zeller at Osnabrück, 1968. For general discussion and many references, see A. G. Dickens, 'Johannes Sleidan and Reformation History' in R. Buick Knox (ed.), *Reformation Conformity and Dissent, Essays in honour of Geoffrey Nuttall* (London, 1977), pp. 17-43.

³ Preface to his edition of Comines (Strasbourg, 1548).

⁴ *Corpus Reformatorum*, VIII, 483, no. 5784; cf. W. Friedensburg, *Johannes Sleidanus* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 72 ff.

⁵ G. W. Sypher, 'La Popelinière's *Histoire de France*' in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xxiv (1963), 43. The French author's comments on objectivity are clearly an echo of Sleidan's.

⁶ Dickens, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-28 summarizes the Preface of 1555 and the *Apologia*, added in the editions from 1558 onwards.

⁷ This and the succeeding quotation occur in the Preface to the *Commentaries* (edn 1785-86), I, 10.

⁸ In *Zur Kritik* (see n. 1 above) Ranke pronounces the *Commentaries* 'durch und durch urkundlich', adding: 'Dieser Schriftsteller nun ist, in soweit er die Sachen wusste, für durchaus wahrhaft zu halten.' On the historiographical background see F. X. von Wegele, *Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie seit dem Auftreten des Humanismus* (Munich and Leipzig, 1885); P. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus* (Leipzig, 1910). Another important work in this context is E. Menke-Glückert, *Die Geschichtsschreibung der Reformation und Gegen-Reformation* (Leipzig, 1912).

⁹ Preface to Comines: n. 3 above.

¹⁰ The relations of Sleidan with Polybius and Melanchthon are more fully discussed in Dickens, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30; 39-41. Polybius 'reappeared' in fifteenth-century Italy but was first edited in Greek at Hagenau in 1530: cf. A. Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford, 1977), Ch. 6.

¹¹ *De quatuor summis imperiis lib. iii* (Strasbourg, 1556).

¹² Ranke, op. cit., II, 48-71.

¹³ *Historia oder Geschichten, so sich verlaufen in der Eydgnoschafft insonders zu Zürich mit enderung der Religion, und anrichten Christlicher Reformation*, &c., ed. J. J. Hottinger and H. H. Vögeli as *Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte*, 3 vols, Frauenfeld, 1838-40. References in E. Fueter, *Histoire de l'historiographie moderne*, translated by E. Jeanmaire, Paris, 1914, pp. 322-25. Extracts in English are in G. R. Potter, *Huldrych Zwingli (Docs of Modern History)*, London, 1978. On Bullinger as a historical controversialist see P. Polman, *L'Élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle* (Gembloux, 1932), pp. 95-109. For recent scholarship on Bullinger, see U. Gäbler and E. Herkenrath (eds), *Heinrich Bullinger, 1504-1575. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag* (2 vols, Zurich, 1975) in *Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte*, Vols 7, 8. Now indispensable for the works is *Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie*, I (Zurich, 1972), edited by J. Staedtke; and for the literature *ibid.*, II (Zurich, 1977), edited by E. Herkenrath.

¹⁴ *Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵ *Johannes Stumpfs Schweizer- und Reformationschronik* is reprinted with a useful introduction in *Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte, Neue Folge*, V, VI (Basle, 1953, 1955). A list of Swiss chronicles and other contemporary sources is in G. R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. ix-xvii.

¹⁶ Zwingli's own claim, 1523. Compare G. R. Potter, *Huldrych Zwingli* (n. 13 above), p. 94.

¹⁷ On Bullinger's *Von dem unverschämten Frevel* (written 1530; printed at Zurich 1531), see G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (London, 1962), pp. 201-03. On *Der Wiedertäufer Ursprung* (1560), *ibid.*, pp. 848-52. Williams extensively used H. Fast, *Heinrich Bullinger und die Täufer* (Weierhof, Pfalz, 1959).

¹⁸ C. G. Neudecker (ed.), *Die handschriftliche Geschichte Ratzebergers über Luther und seine Zeit* (Jena, 1850). Compare G. Wolf, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte*, II(1) (Gotha, 1916), 220; F. Schnabel, *Deutschlands geschichtliche Quellen und Darstellungen in der Neuzeit* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1931), pp. 253-54.

¹⁹ E. S. Cyprian (ed.), *Friderici Myconii Historia Reformationis vom Jahr Christi 1517 bis 1542* (Leipzig, 1718). References in Wolf, op. cit., II(1), 220-21. K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, IV, 3-4, refers to other general accounts by contemporaries.

²⁰ Schnabel, op. cit., pp. 216-23; E. Keyser, *Bibliographie zur Städtegeschichte Deutschlands* (Cologne and Vienna, 1969), pp. 29-31.

²¹ P. Melancthon, *Historia de vita et actis M. Lutheri* (Latin editions from 1546; German from 1555), reprinted in *Corpus Reformatorum*, VI, 155-70; his *Leichenrede* on Luther in *ibid.*, XI, 726-34; his *Oratio de vita Bugenbagii* in *ibid.*, XII, 295-305. Compare Schottenloher, op. cit., II, 18-48; VII, 164-71.

²² J. Camerarius, *De Philippi Melancthonis ortu, totius vitae curriculo . . . narratio* (Leipzig, 1566; later editions with variant titles). It occupies 164 double-column pages in A. F. Neander (ed.), *Vitae quatuor reformatorem* (Berlin, 1841). Compare *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, s.v.; Wolf, op. cit., II(1), 279; J. E. Sandys, *Short History of Classical Scholarship* (2nd edn, 1921), II, 266-67. Another early memoir of Melancthon is J. Heerbrand, *Oratio in obitum M.* (Tübingen, 1560). On the scholastic parties at Tübingen see H. A. Oberman, *Werden und Wertung der Reformation* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 35-37, 424.

²³ In 1534-36: cf. *Brit. Mus. Gen. Cat. of Printed Books to 1955*, s.v. Capito, W. F. and Grynaeus, S. These, together with O. Myconius on Zwingli (n. 24 below) were translated into English and published (1561) by Henry Bennet of Calais: *A famous and godly history*. On Oecolampadius cf. Schottenloher, op. cit., II, 100-02; VII, 178-79.

²⁴ Oswald Myconius, *Vita Huldrici Zwinglii* (1532), reprinted in Neander, op. cit.

Compare H. W. Pipkin, *A Zwingli Bibliography* (Pittsburgh, 1972); G. R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976).

²⁵ Text in P. S. Allen (ed.), *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, I (Oxford, 1906), 56–71; English translation in J. C. Olin (ed.), *Christian Humanism and the Reformation. Desiderius Erasmus* (New York, 1965), pp. 31–54.

²⁶ C. C. Neudecker and L. Preller (eds.), *Friedrichs des Weisen Leben und Zeitgeschichte von Georg Spalatin* (Jena, 1851). The scholarly life by Irmgard Höss, *Georg Spalatin 1484–1545* (Weimar, 1956), gives limited attention to his work as historian, but refers to W. Flack, 'Georg Spalatin als Geschichtsschreiber' in Otto Kerne (ed.), *Zur Geschichte und Kultur des Elb-Saale-Raumes. Festschrift für W. Möllenberg* (Burg, 1939), pp. 211–30. Note also A. Seelheim, *Georg Spalatin als sächsischer Historiograph* (Halle, 1876). Other references in *Biographisches Wörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte* (2nd edn, Munich, 1975), III, 2690–691.

²⁷ A. J. D. Rust (ed.), *M. Johann Mathesius Leben Dr. Martin Luthers* (Berlin, 1841). The text is taken from the first edition (Wittenberg, 1565). Compare Fueter, op. cit., p. 322.

²⁸ *Joannis Calvini vita a Theodoro Beza* (1575; many later edns). It occupies 43 double-column pages in Neander, op. cit.

²⁹ *Historia vom Leben, Lere und Tode Hieronymi Savonarole Anno 1498 zu Florenz verbrand* (Wittenberg, 1556). The text is preceded by a list of fourteen principal sources. For references to Spangenberg see *Biographisches Wörterbuch* (n. 26 above), III, 2692.

³⁰ Compare H. Buscher, *Heinrich Pantaleon und sein Heldenbuch* (Basle, 1946).

³¹ *Plutarchi... opuscula quaedam, D. Erasmo... P. Melanchthone interpretibus* (1518).

³² For example Justus Menius, *Ein tröstliche Predigt über der Leich und Begrebnis der Erwardigen Herrn F. Mecums* [i.e. Friedrich Myconius] (Wittenberg, 1546); *Oratio J. J. Grynæi de vita et morte... Friderici Widebrami Doctoris Theologi* (Heidelberg, 1580). On those of Wigand and Chyträus see Wolf, op. cit., I, 5.

³³ 'Nec tantum illos vocat ad hanc militiam, qui tenent ordinariam potestatem, sed saepe illis ipsis bellum infert per Doctores ex aliis ordinibus delectos' (*Leichenrede* in the 1555 edition of Melanchthon's *Luther*, sigs H3–H4).

³⁴ Sandys, op. cit., II, 258–59 cites Karl Pearson to this effect, yet the remainder of his chapter effectively destroys this pessimistic view.

³⁵ Adriaen Cornelisz. van Haemstede, *De Gheschiedenisse ende den doot der vromer Martelaren* (Antwerp, 1559); Jean Crespin, *Le livre des martyrs... depuis Jean Hus* (Geneva, 1554; best edition by D. Benoit, 3 vols, Toulouse, 1885–89). On Ludwig Rabus, see below, n. 38.

³⁶ Valuable comparisons are made by J.-F. Gilmont, 'La genèse du martyrologe d'Adriaen van Haemstede' in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, LXIII (1968), 379–414; Dr J. C. Grayson has drawn my attention to A. L. E. Verheyden, *Le martyrologe protestant des Pays-Bas du sud au seizième siècle* (Brussels, 1960); and to the articles by L. E. Halkin, 'Les martyrologes et la critique' in *Mélanges historiques offerts à M. Jean Meghoffer* (Lausanne, 1952), pp. 52–72, and 'Hagiographie protestante' in *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXVIII (1950), 453–63. I have not yet seen A. J. Jelsma, *Adriaen van Haemstede en zijn martelaarsboek* (The Hague, 1970). The sources are being printed in *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica*, the first volume of which, *Friesland en Groningen (1530–1550)*, is edited by A. F. Mellink (Leiden, 1975).

³⁷ 'Redlich hat er sich bemüht, unparteiisch Katholiken und Protestanten aufzunehmen und "einem jeden seine Tugend zuzueignen"' (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. Pantaleon). Compare n. 30 above. H. Buscher, op. cit., pp. 86–91 also discusses his martyrology and its relations with the work of Foxe.

³⁸ *Historien der Martyrer... Darinn das Erste und Ander Buch von den Heyligen Ausserwölten Gottes Zeugen, Bekennern und Martyrern... durch Ludovicum Rabum, der*

H. Schrift Doctor unnd der Kirchen zu Ulm Superintendenten (Strasbourg, 1554-58). Works on Rabus are listed in Schottenloher, op. cit., II, 158.

³⁹ Luther's writings on Heinrich are in *Weimarer Ausgabe*, XVIII, 215-50.

⁴⁰ *Catalogus testium veritatis* (Basle, 1556).

⁴¹ *Gross Martyrbuch und Kirchen-Historien* (Hanau, 1606); compare *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. Crocius, Paul.

⁴² *Bibliographie des martyrologies protestants néerlandais* (The Hague, 1890), pp. xlii-lviii, has relevant numerical estimates for the Netherlands. For European estimates see H. S. Bender and C. H. Smith (eds.), *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (4 vols, Hillsboro, Kansas, 1955-59), III, 523-24.

⁴³ For editions of this and other martyrologies see H. J. Hillerbrand, *A Bibliography of Anabaptism 1520-1630* (Elkhart, Indiana, 1962), pp. 212-15; general account of martyr books in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, 517-19.

⁴⁴ E. C. Scherer, *Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte an den deutschen Universitäten* (Freiburg, 1927).

⁴⁵ Even in the early eighteenth century the tradition is represented by scholars like E. S. Cyprian (see n. 19 above), and W. E. Tentzel, who published two volumes of documents, many drawn from the original MSS of Spalatin and others: *Historischer Bericht vom Anfang und ersten Fortgang der Reformation Lutheri zur Erläuterung des Herren von Seckendorff Historie des Lutherthums* (Leipzig, 1717-18).

⁴⁶ H. Holborn, *Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation*, translated by R. H. Bainton (Harper Torchbook, New York, 1966), p. 158.

⁴⁷ P. Gay, *The Enlightenment: an Interpretation* (London, 1973), II, 60.

⁴⁸ A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther* (London, 1974), Ch. 3: 'Luther's Debt to Humanism'.

⁴⁹ *Commentaries* (edn 1785-86), Preface, I, 15.

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Johannes Sleidan and Reformation History



A PART from being the fullest, broadest and most famous contemporary narrative of the Protestant Reformation, the *Commentaries*¹ of Johannes Sleidan have a long-term interest, since they foreshadow the problems of later historians working in the classical-humanist tradition. The present essay will accord special attention to Sleidan's relationship with that tradition. What limitations were imposed by pagan mentors when he came to depict the religious movements of his day? And given his remarkably international range, what complications arose from his vernacular culture, which happened to be French rather than German or Italian? Again, how should we regard his protestations concerning the 'truth and candour' of his own work? Did he really achieve his obviously sincere ambition to relate events impartially, 'as they had really happened'? What view of the historian's task and what scheme of world-history underlay his view of his own times; and whence did he derive these concepts? Why did he stress so heavily the political aspects of the Reformation while paying so little attention to the interior life? What is his usefulness as a historian of mass-movements? Did he significantly transcend the social prejudices of his class and his patrons? Which successors did he influence, and why was he able to set some durable patterns of historiography stretching into our own day?

Though Sleidan's life-story (1506-56) is not our main

¹ J. Sleidani de statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo Quinto Caesare commentarii, Strasbourg 1555.

concern, his writings cannot be understood in isolation from a career as rich in political contacts as in literary influences.² His very name Sleidanus betrays the modish humanism of the period, since he was born with the surname Philippson or Philippi, but restyled himself by reference to his birthplace: Schleiden in the northern Eifel. From the beginning his fellow townsman and school-companion Johann Sturm, destined to an equal eminence in German cultural history, exercised no little influence upon his career. In 1519 Sleidan went on to Liège, whither he was followed a couple of years later by Sturm. There they both entered into a fine heritage of humanism at the school of St Jerome, founded in 1496 by the Brethren of the Common Life in the fine tradition of Agricola and Hegius. Thence the two young scholars proceeded in 1524 to a more advanced classical academy, the Trilingual College recently (1517) established by Jerome Busleiden at Louvain. Sturm remained there almost until he left for France in 1529, but some years earlier Sleidan had been sent by his parents to study in Cologne. Around this time, the dating of his movements remains imprecise, but he is known to have tutored the son of the local overlord of Schleiden – and Sturm's early benefactor – Count Dietrich of Manderscheid. We also know for certain that Sleidan was back at Liège in the spring of 1530, when he wrote the first of his letters still extant.³ Its recipient was Rutgerus Rescius, his former pro-

² The standard biography is still W. Friedensburg, *Johannes Sleidanus. Der Geschichtsschreiber und die Schicksalsmächte der Reformationszeit* (*Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*), Jahrgang 52, nr. 157, Leipzig 1935, which improved upon the thesis by P. Welz, *Etude sur Sleidan, historien de la Réformation*, Strasbourg 1862. H. Baumgarten in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* xxxiv, 454–61 remains useful, but his major contribution was to edit *Sleidans Briefwechsel*, Strasbourg and London 1881, cited below as *Briefwechsel*. His earlier volume *Über Sleidans Leben und Briefwechsel*, Strasbourg and London 1878, was in effect a preparatory compilation for this latter. Other indispensable aids are A. Hasenclever (n. 5 below) and E. Menke-Gluckert (n. 3 below), the latter being of especial value for the Melanchthon-Sleidan relationship. Modern textual criticism of the *Commentaries* may be said to have begun in 1824 with Ranke's *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtsschreiber*, 2 edn. Leipzig 1874, 65–70, and it was greatly extended in 1843 by the still useful work of Theodor Paur, cited in n. 35 below. For the historiographical background see H. Ritter von Srbik, *Geist und Geschichte vom deutschen Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 edn. Munich and Salzburg 1964, i. ch. 3; and for general background, C. Schmidt, *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*, Strasbourg 1855 photo-reprinted by de Graaf at Nieuwkoop 1970. For further items see K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte* 6 vols., Leipzig 1933–9, ii, nos. 20133–20179.

³ *Briefwechsel*, 1–3. Cf. E. Menke-Gluckert *Die Geschichtsschreibung der Reformation und Gegen-Reformation*, Leipzig 1912, 71.

fessor of Greek at Louvain, and it significantly shows the young man as a devout admirer of Melanchthon's all-conquering scholarship.

Three years later he followed Sturm to France, and at Paris and Orleans he continued to the Licentiate those legal studies through which many a young humanist raised himself to courtly, diplomatic or municipal office. Though Sleidan called himself *homo Germanus*,⁴ his career and writings represented an early phase in the colonization of western Germany by French culture. Recommended by Sturm to Cardinal Jean du Bellay, bishop of Paris, he became in 1537 that prelate's secretary, and thus an agent of the anti-Habsburg group led by the Cardinal and his able brothers, Guillaume and Martin. Accomplished statesmen, the du Bellays had served French interests by promoting the divorce-suit of Henry VIII and by exploring the possibilities of alliance between the French crown and the Lutheran states. And though by 1537 King Francis I had decisively turned against Lutheranism, the du Bellays remained something more than a political faction, for they were cultivated Erasmian reformists who at once patronized Rabelais and maintained contact with Melanchthon and Bucer. In short, the young German scholar achieved intellectual maturity in the same adventurous atmosphere as that breathed a few years earlier by Calvin. Incidentally, the surviving correspondence of Sleidan – doubtless a small remnant of the whole – includes several letters to Calvin: one in 1539 and others in 1553–5.⁵ Some of them show that Sleidan joined the great network which kept the Genevan leader so supremely well informed on European affairs.

⁴ In his preface to Comines (1548; see below n. 8) he asks *Quaerat aliquis unde haec de Cominaeo tibi, bomini Germano?* He then describes his friendship with a former associate of Comines, Matthew of Arras, who had told him much about the historian, and had also read Sleidan's own manuscript.

⁵ On Sleidan's French connections see V. L. Bourrilly, 'Jean Sleidan et le Cardinal du Bellay' in *Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, I (1901), 225–42; and A. Hasenklever, *Sleidan-Studien. Die Entwicklung der politischen Ideen Johann Sleidans bis zum Jahre 1545*, Bonn 1905. On the du Bellays see especially *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay*, ed. V.-L. Bourrilly and F. Vindry, 4 vols. Paris 1908–19. The most interesting of Sleidan's letters to Calvin is that of 2 April 1554 (*Briefwechsel*, 266–9), in which he includes a report on England and his English friends. All this does not make him a Calvinist or even cause him to stress Calvinism in his *Commentaries*. Cf. Friedensburg, *op. cit.*, 60.

Meanwhile Guillaume du Bellay had assembled voluminous materials for a large-scale history of France to be arranged on the pattern of Livy, but his influence upon Sleidan can hardly have been more than confirmatory, since Sleidan's letter to Rescius shows him already a student of earlier French historians and an enthusiastic observer of recent and contemporary affairs. At the end of 1536, just before the German humanist joined the du Bellays, Johann Sturm had left France for Strassburg, there to become internationally famous as a teacher and educational theorist. Sleidan preserved contact with him, as also in numerous letters with his unrelated namesake Jacob Sturm, the distinguished leader of the Strassburg city council. Having in 1540-1 personally witnessed the breakdown of the Catholic-Protestant conferences at Hagenau and Regensburg, Sleidan seems to have become disillusioned by the withdrawal from the French alliance of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who, scared by the legal consequences of his bigamy, was seeking peace with the Emperor Charles. Sleidan now settled permanently at Strassburg, the most liberal and intellectual of the German cities. Under the rather transparent pseudonym 'Baptista Lasdenus' he published two widely-read orations (1541, 1544) addressed respectively to the Diet and to the Emperor in person.⁶ Here he sought to reunite the Emperor and the Protestant powers on the basis of a breach with Rome, thus committing himself openly and finally to the Lutheran cause. Amid his political reflections, he greeted the Reformation as a miraculous work of God; and apparently without attaining any deep understanding of Luther's spiritual experiences, he steadfastly maintained this verdict throughout the rest of his career.

Already in 1537 Sleidan's historical interests had extended to the publication of Latin translations from Froissart,⁷ and this apprentice-work he followed in 1545 and 1548 by two

⁶ *Oration an alle Churfürsten, Fürsten und Stände des Reichs* (1541) and *Oration an Kaiserliche Majestät* (1544). In 1544 he republished both these under his own name, also at Strasbourg but in Latin: *Joannis Sleidani orationes duae*. These are reprinted and edited by E. Böhmer, *Zwei Reden an Kaiser und Reich* (*Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, cxlv, Tübingen 1879).

⁷ *Froissardi . . . historiarum opus breviter collectum et Latino sermone redditum*, Paris 1537.

volumes containing a free Latin version of Comines.⁸ Again, in the latter year he published a Latin translation of Claude de Seyssel's *La grande monarchie de France*.⁹ Originally issued in 1519, this treatise had perhaps attracted his aristocratic French patrons, since it had sought to institutionalize an apparently absolute monarchy. Perhaps Seyssel also appealed to the constitutional instincts of a German. In dedicating the book to Edward VI of England, Sleidan commended its message to all godly princes, whose duty to protect true religion Seyssel had stressed.

As for Froissart and Comines, both attracted him as realistic writers on their own times, and his prefaces display an ambition to follow their examples, especially that of Comines. In his own age he saw everything to attract a historian. He had already asked in 1537:

Has there ever been a century in which such varied and wonderful occurrences have been compressed into the shortest space of time? What mighty changes have we experienced, as well in political as in ecclesiastical affairs!¹⁰

In 1545 he proclaims the ideal of absolute truthfulness in the writing of history, and he urges the leaders of the Schmalkaldic League to ensure that, just as Comines had created a true picture of his age, so now a worthy memorial to their own far greater age should be created.

For you it is to provide that all men should experience what has been transacted through you, and that they should learn to honour therein the unspeakable wisdom and power of God.

⁸ *De rebus gestis Ludovici . . . Galliarum regis, & Caroli, Burgundiae ducis . . . commentarii*. . . . *Ex Gallico facti Latini*, a Joanne Sleidano, Strasbourg 1545; and *Cominaei equitis de Carolo octavo, Galliae et bello Neapolitano commentarii*. Joanne Sleidano, interprete, Strasbourg 1548. The former of these includes a description of France, the latter a brief life of Comines.

⁹ *Claudii Sesellii viri patricii de republica Galliae et regum officiis, libri duo*. It is printed along with a summary of Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, dedicated to Sleidan's friend, the councillor and diplomat William Paget. Roger Ascham, who was among Sleidan's correspondents in 1552 (*Briefwechsel*, 234–6), owned the copy of the 1562 edn. in British Library, C.45 d.7. On Claude de Seyssel see J. H. Hexter, *The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation*, London 1972, ch. 5.

¹⁰ Preface to Froissart (n. 7 above); cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, xxxiv, 456, which also summarizes the Comines Preface of 1545 cited below.

He then soberly observes that such a memorial could not be built upon the archival resources available to any private citizen. When the Strassburg leaders Jacob Sturm and Martin Bucer persuaded the League to employ Sleidan as historiographer and interpreter, he wrote to the former proudly insisting that he should be commissioned to write histories and not mere chronicles.¹¹ Yet while the League granted him special access to its archives, it stipulated that he should submit his text for correction and should refrain from publishing without its express allowance. In our terminology the *Commentaries* would thus be called both 'contemporary history' and 'official history'. And do they not clearly bear the familiar marks of each? When he took up his appointment in 1545 Sleidan had already for six years been collecting materials reaching back to Luther's revolt, and he now approached his task in a spirit of joyful dedication. In contrast with that restraint which marks his actual writing, a letter to Jacob Sturm written on 24 June 1545 shows how deeply the task attracted him.

You would not believe how much this work delights me; it demands great industry and diligence, but since I have a natural leaning in this direction, I find in it a wonderful pleasure.¹²

Nevertheless from the first there occurred interruptions, such as the English mission on which he and the Hessian diplomat Baumbach were sent in the autumn of 1545. In our Public Record Office there remain several informative letters by Sleidan and others describing this visit,¹³ through which the Germans sought to reconcile Henry VIII with Francis I, and thereby to deprive the Emperor of his freedom to attack the Schmalkaldic League. In his first missive to Henry, written in French when he was already at Windsor, he styles himself 'Licentiate of Laws and Historiographer to the Protestants'.¹⁴

¹¹ *Briefwechsel*, 75; 3 July 1545: *in quo nihil est quod mutari velim, nisi, ut loco Chronicæ ponatur Historie*.

¹² *Non credas quantopere me delectet hic labor, qui tametsi magnam requirat industriam et diligentiam, mihi tamen, quoniam naturæ quadam propensione huc inclino, mirifice dulcescit* (Letter of 24 June 1545 to Jacob Sturm in *Briefwechsel*, 72-3).

¹³ *Briefwechsel*, 90-101.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

On his return to Strassburg the *Commentaries* went rapidly ahead. By October 1547 he had completed the first four books, covering the years 1517–25.¹⁵ Nevertheless in the previous April a sensational – though in the event by no means fatal – disaster had overtaken the Protestant cause. For Sleidan the Emperor's victory at Mühlberg over the Elector John Frederick of Saxony was bound to present a series of obstacles and interruptions. Before he could exploit the Saxon and Hessian archives, their princely owners were prisoners, while for a time even the city of Strassburg hesitated to expose its recent documents to publication. Through the influence of Bucer, newly exiled to England, the young King Edward VI promised financial support to Sleidan, who dedicated his second volume of *Comines* to Protector Somerset in a flattering preface to which we shall presently revert.¹⁶ Even so, no substantial English money came his way. Then in 1551 Strassburg sent him to the Council of Trent, where the motley concourse of ecclesiastics and statesmen greatly enlarged those first-hand political contacts which Sleidan deemed essential to any historian. The gathering at Trent had not yet become rigidly Tridentine, and it may have helped him a little to see ecclesiastical history in terms of dialogue rather than in terms of mere polemic.

Whatever the case, on his return home, the worst of the Habsburg threat was over, and he resumed work on the *Commentaries*, invaluable aided by Jacob Sturm, whose experience of Reformation politics rivalled that of any living statesman. The materials must already have been arranged in good order, since the last stages of writing were accomplished with great expedition. In March 1553 Sleidan wrote to Sir John Cheke and Sir William Cecil that he had reached the year 1536, and in the following September he told Calvin, 'I have carried the thing through from the year 1517 to the year 1546 and I am already engaged upon the Emperor's war against our people'.¹⁷ By April 1554 he had finished the narrative up to that present time: a year later the first edition, a folio volume

¹⁵ Menke-Glückert, *op. cit.*, 71.

¹⁶ In addition he dedicated his translation of Seyssel (above n. 9) to Edward VI.

¹⁷ *Briefwechsel*, 259, 263.

of some 940 pages arranged in 25 books, was being distributed. A second edition followed before the end of 1555; two German editions, one French and one Italian in 1557; a third Latin edition with a twenty-sixth book in 1558; then two more in 1559, both published in Geneva. The English translation by John Daus called *A famous cronicle of oure time* appeared in 1560, two further issues being made within the same year.¹⁸ From the first, the sales proved immense and international, while the many editions and copies in old libraries throughout Europe indicate that the stylish Latin version continued to attract countless educated Europeans for nearly three centuries.¹⁹

These particulars might suggest a period of quiet composition followed by immediate literary fame, yet in truth, as his career attained its climax, Sleidan was contending with personal difficulties and sorrows. In 1553 after seven years of happy married life came the loss of his wife Iola von Niedbruck, and the cares of raising a family of three young daughters. In a letter of that year he sadly signs himself *Joan[nes] Sleidanus lugens uxorem suavissimam*.²⁰ At the end of October there died his close friend and helper Jacob Sturm: *Scis quantum virum amisimus*, he writes to Calvin in the December.²¹ In addition he was obstructed and attacked both before and after publication, but less by Catholic adversaries than by influential Protestants, who resented his disclosures or felt irritated by his moderation. Even Melanchthon thought he had revealed many things best left in eternal silence.²² One Job's comforter warned him that he could henceforth expect no employment from princes, and that it might be unsafe for him to leave the shelter of tolerant Strassburg. Saddened by these dismal rewards, the historian had not long to taste fame or notoriety,

¹⁸ Pollard, A. W. and Redgrave, G. R., *Short Title Catalogue*, London 1926, nos. 19848, 19848a, 19848b.

¹⁹ On the early sales see Friedensburg, op. cit., 72-3. About 80 editions culminated in the elaborately annotated version published at Frankfurt in 1785-6. This latter has been photo-reprinted by Otto Zeller in 3 vols., Osnabrück 1968.

²⁰ *Briefwechsel*, 263.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 265.

²² *Multa narrat quas malim obruta esse aeterna silentio* (*Corpus Reformatorum*, viii, 483, no. 5784). On the reception of the *Commentaries*, see especially Friedensburg, op. cit., 72ff., and K. Schottenloher, 'Johann Sleidanus und Markgraf Albrecht Alcibiades' in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, Jahrgang 35, 1958, 193-202.

since in October 1556 he died after a long 'fever' of uncertain character. Among his friends he left attractive memories. Johann Sturm remarked on his musical gifts and agreeable singing voice. The humanist Martin Crusius recalled him as tall, fresh-complexioned and manly, though blind in his left eye. 'Since he combined dignity with cordiality and friendliness, he was in every respect an honoured figure.' The same writer also describes a dinner held in October 1550 along with the Strassburg Protestant leader Kaspar Hedio and the martyrologist Ludwig Rabus, at which Sleidan dominated a discussion concerning the events and personalities of the day. As a young lecturer in law, the political theorist François Hotman also associated with Sleidan during the last year in Strassburg, and later paid tribute to his easy, unassuming character, a thing rarely found in a man so learned.²³

In the event Sleidan's posthumous renown owed much to a factor he cannot fully have foreseen. Only four months before his death he had published a little book destined to rival in fame the massive *Commentaries*. This was an outline of world history called *De quatuor summis imperiis*²⁴ and specifically directed at young students. It followed the 'Four Empires' scheme arising from the Book of Daniel, a scheme already accepted by Melanchthon in 1532 for the so-called Carion chronicle. In course of time Sleidan's textbook won widespread acceptance: it was used even by Jesuit schoolmasters, and expanded by later tormentors of the young, it grew into a stout volume of more than a thousand pages. Thus through Sleidan, Melanchthon imposed upon western historiography a cyclical scheme of history, which made 'modern' times an appendage to the story of Rome; a scheme which differed most radically from the thin red line of historic faith offered to Christians by the eleventh chapter of Hebrews.

Sleidan's most familiar accounts of his professional ideal are contained in his Preface to the *Commentaries* and in his *Apologia*,

²³ Friedensburg, op. cit., 79-81 describes the last years. For the evidence regarding his illness see *Briefwechsel*, pp. xxviii-xxix.

²⁴ *De quatuor summis imperiis lib. iii*, Strasbourg 1556. Ultimately it was to achieve over 70 editions, becoming available in German and French 1557; in English 1563 (Pollard and Redgrave, op. cit., no. 19849). The Four Empires, based on Daniel vii-xi, were the Assyrian or Babylonian, the Persian, the Greek and the Roman, the last being treated by Sleidan down to 1520.

a vigorous riposte to his critics written shortly before his death, and added to the successive editions from 1558 onwards.²⁵ The former of these two pieces he begins with a short reference to the 'Four Empires', the last of which, that of Rome, had been reduced to Germany, but had now been restored to something like world-status through the huge inheritance of Charles V. Here stood an Emperor more powerful than any since Charlemagne; yet by far the most extraordinary event of his reign has been the 'alteration of religion', that dangerous theme upon which Sleidan had embarked and at last, after the interruptions of war, had during the last three years brought to completion. He then proclaims:

Nothing adorns the writing of history more than truth and candour. Indeed, I have taken the utmost care that neither of these may here be wanting. To that end I have assumed nothing upon surmise or light report, but I have studiously collected what I have written from the public records and papers, the faithfulness of which can be questioned by no man.

At this stage he acknowledges the counsels of Jacob Sturm, based upon Sturm's thirty years of arduous public affairs. So far as concerns France, Sleidan has gathered the information personally during his nine years' residence in that kingdom. Throughout he has sought to attain impartiality by refusing to be drawn away from the truth by personal affections, and by a close adherence to the record sources. He has followed the public acts – in many cases already printed – the orations, petitions, answers and the like.

Haec omnia, nude, simpliciter, et bonafide, prout quaeque res acta fuit, recito. I do not add anything of my own, nor do I make any judgment on them, but willingly and freely leave it to my reader. I make no rhetorical flourishes, nor do I write anything out of favour or envy toward any man. No, I only furnish the style, and use my own words, so that the tenor of my language may be harmonious; I digest everything and put it in its proper place, as it came to be done in order and time.

²⁵ I use below pp. 4–21 in the 1785–6 edn., i, with some regard to Edward Bohun's translation, *The General History of the Reformation of the Church*, London 1689.

As might be expected, in the *Apologia* Sleidan defends his values in more militant terms. He insists on the unique character of the Reformation and its central position in his own work. Though he rejoices in his membership of the reformed Church, he calls God to witness that he has never intended to hurt any man's reputation falsely, since it would have been madness to misrepresent transactions which still remained fresh in everyone's memory. Starting from religious affairs, he could not isolate these from their secular context.

In this history of religion, I could not omit what concerned civil government, because . . . they are interwoven one with the other, especially in our own times, so that it was impossible to separate them.²⁶ This union of the sacred and the civil state is sufficiently revealed in the Scriptures, and is the reason why the change of religion in any nation is always immediately accompanied by offences, contentions, strikes, tumults, factions and warfare. For this cause, says Christ, the son shall be against the father and the daughter against the mother; his teaching would not bring peace but a sword, and raise burning contention between the nearest relatives.

Significantly, it is in terms of its secular consequences that Sleidan then proceeds to summarize the Reformation. No sooner, he says, had the Gospel been preached against papal Indulgences and human traditions than the whole of society, and especially the clergy, fell into tumult and so ensured that the matter would be brought before the Imperial Diet. Thereupon some princes and cities embraced the reformed doctrine and the fire spread which was ultimately to break out in a war.

At this point he reverts to those rare gifts of impartiality and restraint. But how can any truthful historian write history without some frank admissions, or without reference to facts and opinions which may displease somebody or other? Platina spoke critically of the popes: Comines did not hesitate to blame certain policies of his own sovereign, while Pietro Bembo, though employed by the Senate of Venice, reported

²⁶ *In describendo autem religionis negocio, politicas causas omittere non mihi licuit, nam ut antea dixi, concurrunt fere semper, et nostra cumprimis aetate minime potuerunt separari* (1785-6 edn., i, 15).

in full the violent attack made by a French spokesman upon Venetian land-snatching. Sleidan also cites the example of Paulus Jovius, whose insults against the Germans have never obstructed the publication of his works. Indeed, Comines and other historians had constantly turned aside to deliver their personal judgements on the actions of history. Yet despite such instances, Sleidan himself has avoided following them. *Et licet hoc ego minime faciam, tamen usitatum est plaerisque.* Cochlaeus published six years ago rival commentaries full of 'horrible, unheard-of and invented slanders'. Likewise Cardinal Pole in a recent work has slandered the Protestant religion lately established in Germany as 'a Turkish seed'. Renouncing all such bitter exchanges, Sleidan has resolved to write 'the story of that wonderful blessing God has been pleased to bestow upon the men of this age'. He has made no undue haste, but during sixteen years has collected and arranged his materials: he now feels sure that the impulse came from God, whose cause he will uphold, however ill men may requite his labours. He even concludes by acknowledging the Emperor and King Ferdinand as supreme and divinely appointed magistrates, to whom he owes all obedience, 'in all things which are not against God'.

The Preface and the *Apologia* form the testament of Sleidan's last years, yet almost equally revealing if far less noticed is that earlier Preface which he had addressed in May 1548 to Protector Somerset, when dedicating to him the second volume of the Latin Comines.²⁷ Here he sees Somerset as charged by God to carry out a holy Reformation in England; but coming to the immediate issue, he then urges the Protector to bring up young Edward VI on a diet of Comines, as a sure method to foster wisdom and teach a statecraft which shall prove at once moral and profitable. Comines is the model for the writer who seeks to depict his own times. Such a historian must not only eschew actual falsehoods; he must avoid being biased by any particular interest or passion. So armed, he must depict with the utmost clarity the designs of those who manage affairs. Ideally the historian should have been a participant in the great transactions he depicts; failing this, he needs direct

²⁷ Cf. above, n. 8.

information from persons who were present. Even so, it is fatally easy to sink from the task of the historian to that of the mere orator or special pleader. Successful generals and politicians who try to write history will make themselves ridiculous unless they can fairly depict their opponents. Sleidan here approvingly quotes Cicero on the high merits of Caesar's plain unaffected commentaries, 'because they are bare, direct and plain, divested of all oratorical ornament'.²⁸ Again, Sallust is known to have been Cicero's personal enemy, yet one would never guess it from his generous account of Cicero's vigilance in suppressing Catiline's conspiracy. So if he aspires to exert a deep moral influence on his readers, the historian must free himself of passion and subordinate ambition to truth. Among the few who have realized these aims, a high place must be given to Comines, a man not very well versed in the Latin tongue, but having great dexterity of mind. Is not this last sentence of Sleidan the most significant of all? Historiography is now freed from at least some of the trammels of fifteenth-century Florentine oratorical humanism; substance is exalted over literary elegance. Here in a word is the great advance of the sixteenth century, an advance which Machiavelli had already in some degree exemplified. Yet at this point we need to remark that Sleidan owed very little to his older Italian contemporaries. He died too early to have read Guicciardini.²⁹ From those Italians whom he cites in detail³⁰ he could not have derived his methods and ideals. Jovius in particular might be regarded as the Horace Walpole, rather than the Polybius or even the Comines, of the High Renaissance.

A historian of historiography has recently remarked that 'Sleidan set out to be the Polybius of the Reformation'.³¹ We have not observed that he ever expressed this ambition, yet would agree that his attitudes and methods often appear strikingly Polybian. Like Sleidan, the renowned Greek proclaims that historical knowledge contributes to the right conduct of life, yet only if its practitioners shun fables and marvels, only if they avoid the emotional excitement which

²⁸ . . . *quod sint nudi, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam veste detracta.*

²⁹ The *Storia d'Italia*, though finished before 1540, was not published until 1561-7.

³⁰ I.e. Platina, Bembo and Paulus Jovius; above, pp. 27-8.

³¹ Burke, P., *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*, London 1969, 124.

characterizes the dramatists. The good historian, adds Polybius, needs personal experience of great events and knowledge of historical topography, yet he must also conduct painful researches, collecting, sifting and weighing all the available evidence. Above all, he needs to be inspired by a calm impartiality and a love of truth.³² Similarly, Polybius anticipated Sleidan in disliking the fictitious speeches put by rhetoric-loving historians into the mouths of their protagonists. Again, both so admire comprehensiveness and chronological tidiness that they will interrupt particular narratives, however enthralling, in order to bring the broader picture up-to-date. Both admire a plain, bald style appropriate to such sober designs. Even so, we have already observed that it was Caesar whom Sleidan selected as his stylistic model. These striking comparisons made, it remains hard to gauge how consciously or directly Sleidan may have studied Polybius, printed editions of whose work stood readily available: in Latin since 1473 and in Greek since 1530. Like his mentor Melanchthon³³ Sleidan certainly knew Polybius at first hand. In the preface to *De quatuor summis imperiis*, he places Polybius alongside Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon as one of the four supreme historians among the Greeks.

Turning from precept to practice, we naturally ask how far the *Commentaries* can be held to justify the idealism and complacency of their author. No one would dispute that he has indeed striven hard to tell everything *prout quaeque res acta fuit*,³⁴ a precise anticipation of Ranke's famous phrase *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. In contrast with the muck-raking Centuriators of Magdeburg or with the dishonest calumnies of Cochlaeus, he provides a model of balance and good manners. Moreover,

³² The relevant passages are in Polybius, *Histories*, i, 4, 35; ii, 16, 35, 56; iii, 36, 48; xii, 25, 28; xvi, 14.

³³ Melanchthon cites Polybius for the adage *oculus historiae est veritas*; and again for the necessity of historical knowledge as a basis of political action and moral principle. He also probably drew from Polybius the idea that geographical study was a leading ancillary to historical studies. Cf. Menke-Glückert, op. cit., 20, 42, 57; and compare Polybius op. cit., ii, 16; iii, 36.

³⁴ Preface to the *Commentaries* (1785-6 edn., i, 10). Some later historians have been accorded excessive praise for their objectivity. For example, La Popelinière's reflections on this theme are little more than a repetition of Sleidan's, which he must have observed. Cf. G. W. Sypher, 'La Popelinière's *Histoire de France*' in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xxiv (1963).

like Beatus Rhenanus and a few other superior contemporaries, he has progressed not merely beyond the superstitious medieval chronicler but also beyond the romantic, legend-loving humanists who continued to distort early German history. When unsure about a fact he uses qualifying verbs like *creditur*, *fertur*, *ut putatur*; or expressions such as *sunt qui putant, qua nescio de causa; nolim istud pro vero ponere, et solent ejusmodi consilia tegi*.³⁵ Archival texts he most often presents indirectly, but sometimes he breaks into direct quotation. He does not allow the occasional stylistic 'improvement' to become the misleading excrescence. Even Luther's hymn *Ein' feste Burg* he introduces merely as sober documentary proof of its author's steadfast courage, and he reduces it to Latin prose.³⁶ His own statements might be taken to imply that he seldom used other than archival sources, but this was far from being the case: indeed, many transactions would have remained unfamiliar to him without such narrative sources as were by then available. Concerning the excesses of the Anabaptists at Münster he was indebted to the eyewitness-account by Heinrich Dorpius, though he prudishly omitted certain of its lurid details. For the war between Charles V and the Protestant princes he drew upon the *Commentaries* of Luis de Avila y Zuniga, by 1550 accessible in a Latin edition. When looking back to the beginning of the Emperor's reign, he used the *De Electione et coronatione* by Georg Sabinus, published at Mainz in 1544.³⁷ Needless to add, the industrious and versatile reading of Sleidan could not ensure factual infallibility, and nineteenth-century scholarship was able to convict him of occasional minor errors.³⁸ For example, in relation to Swiss affairs – including the Marburg Conference – he could at last be put alongside the more intimate witness of Bullinger. The errors nevertheless remain honourable, and one might well have anticipated many more, in the face of difficulties greater

³⁵ Paur, T., *Johann Sleidans Commentare über die Regierungszeit Karls V historisch-kritisch betrachtet*, Leipzig 1843, 76.

³⁶ *Commentaries* 1785–6 edn., ii, 433. The first lines run: *firma nobis est arx et propugnaculum, Deus: ille vetus humani generis bostis, rem totis nunc viribus agit, et omnis generis machinas adhibet*.

³⁷ On this and related issues see also R. Fester, 'Sleidan, Sabinus, Melanchthon' in *Historische Zeitschrift*, lxxxix (1902).

³⁸ Paur, op. cit., 96–9.

than those which beset modern 'contemporary' historians.

At the same time his pretensions to impartiality remain a very different matter, and must obviously be regarded with reserve. His selections and rejections create a strongly anti-papal and anti-prelatical atmosphere throughout the book. For example, in the *Apologia* of 1556, he cites only Catholic examples of slanderous history, and while he details the sins of the Farnese family, he has nothing to say of reforming influences at Rome during the pontificate of Paul III. In Book IX he summarizes at length a very bitter anonymous French pamphlet setting forth the superstitions and barbarities characterizing Parisian Catholicism. He loses no opportunity to report the inhumanity of German bishops against rebels and heretics. In lighter vein, he relates how the Catholic Henry duke of Brunswick faked the death of his mistress Eva von Trott ('Eva Trotтина'), and then spirited her away to a remote castle where he could visit her in privacy. Granted the probable truth of this story, it seems not unfair to remark that Sleidan, official historian of the League, does not regale his readers upon the sexual sins of its leader, Philip of Hesse. As one might anticipate, he has little or nothing good to say of any rebel, and he takes the excesses at Münster as typifying Anabaptist behaviour. The list of prejudices could be extended, but to little profit, since it is clear that no man of his time could have achieved anything approaching either angelic impartiality or even modern liberalism. Both in principle and in practice Sleidan overstates the superficial virtues of urbane language and factual correctness, as opposed to that deeper impartiality which selects with fairness and steadfastly seeks to understand the viewpoint of a religious or political opponent. To this day, in Reformation studies such virtues remain rather precarious!

This obvious theme does not, however, exhaust the interest of the *Commentaries*. In re-reading them, the present writer saw certain graces which in earlier years he tended to take for granted. One of these is the international range of the work, a feature which can hardly be paralleled in any other history of that period. It constantly breaks out from Germany to keep abreast of religious and political affairs in France, England, the

Netherlands, the Swiss Confederation, on the Turkish front, at the Council of Trent. With increasing fullness as he reached recent years, Sleidan was clearly making excellent use of his personal experience and friendships all over Europe: as one of the best Europeans of his day, he did not need to fear comparison with men like Erasmus and Vives – and certainly not with the Italians, who tended to equate their own peninsular microcosm with the civilized world. By the same token, he is by no means so unmindful of the medieval background as one might at first suppose. He mentions for example the introduction of Peter's Pence in England, the impact of the Teutonic Order, the sequence of Turkish conquests from the early fourteenth century, the particulars of John Huss's attendance at the Council of Constance. Again, as befits the work of a fine humanist, the *Commentaries* display urbane values and a dimension which can without anachronism be called 'cultural history'. A man's literacy and learning very largely determine Sleidan's overall estimate of his character. Praise is accorded to the writings of Erasmus, Hutten, Lefèvre, Marot, Guillaume du Bellay and Budé; also to enlightened patronage by Francis I and Edward VI.³⁹ In Luther Sleidan admires two attributes: his steadfastness and the fact that he was a very great writer.

By modern (and Polybian) standards we should all complain that the *Commentaries* contain too little searching causal analysis and too much scissors-and-paste rendering of pamphlets and official documents. Yet despite his half-concealed prejudices, Sleidan does fulfil his promise to avoid the moralizing and partisan judgements which disfigure the writing of so many contemporary historians. Quite often we strongly sense the presence of the trained jurist:⁴⁰ we hear the advocates for plaintiff and defendant, but then the author deliberately renounces the office of judge as contrary to the function of the historian. In his own way he rivals the austerity of the impassive Guicciardini himself, since while he lacks the Italian's tireless and intelligent search for motive, he avoids the risk of attributing to politicians imaginatively-conceived but

³⁹ Menke-Glückert, *op. cit.*, 83.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

undocumented aims. Considering the sources available to Guicciardini, it is hard to avoid the suspicion that he often (like Sarpi in later days) presents his own shrewd conjectures as if they were the diarized intentions of his anti-heroes. So much can be said in favour of Sleidan's inhibited caution and scruple, even though these qualities diminish his readability and human interest.

Both in Guicciardini and in Sleidan, attention now seems far too exclusively devoted to princes and rulers. Even had Guicciardini attempted a full-scale treatment of the Reformation, would he have troubled to analyse that medley of religious and secular reactions which marked common townsmen and peasants, the sort of 'grass-roots' which interest us, but which interested neither him nor Sleidan? A straightforward distrust and contempt for that 'foolish animal' the people could easily lead to the cavalier treatment of real if complex mass-movements. Such a contempt, such sins of omission, may have mattered little when Guicciardini described the nine-days wonder of the tumult in Genoa suppressed by Louis XII,⁴¹ yet it mattered everything in regard to the German and Swiss Reformations, which – as modern research shows ever more clearly – cut deep down into the middle and lower social strata. Regarding the Peasants' War of 1524–5, Sleidan for once does provide a sustained account⁴² without Polybian interruptions. Like any member of the governing class, he rejects the right to rebel and he does not fail to recall atrocities by the peasants. Nevertheless he also mentions cruel acts of repression and he emits a note of pity when describing the ghastly slaughter of barely-resisting peasants at Frankenhausen. Faced by the grim spectre of a causal relationship between Protestantism and popular sedition, he takes refuge in the personal adventures of Thomas Müntzer. As already suggested, the elaborate narrative concerning the horrors of Anabaptist Münster⁴³ is not accompanied by any serious analysis of religious radicalism or spiritualism in any of their widely varying forms.

⁴¹ *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vii, cap. 2. Compare his *Ricordi*, no. 140.

⁴² *Commentaries*, lib. iv–v.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, lib. x.

Restrictions of outlook akin to these have been charged against scholars of later periods, including Ranke himself. Even in our own age, many historians of the Reformation have failed to extricate themselves from the simplifying tyranny of high politics, from aristocratic or hero-seeking predilections, from the love of mere external events, from a classic 'dignity' of themes. In other words, we have only just begun to explore with adequate attention and industry those pre-existent social and intellectual forces which enabled Luther to enlist the support of the German nation. Yet narrow politicizing did not merely arise amid the fears of social chaos besetting the sixteenth century; from the start it lay inherent in the very fabric of humanism. As long before as 1405 Lionardo Bruni had expressed the view that history, however elegantly phrased, should form just a straightforward factual sequence.

For, after all, history is an easy subject; there is nothing in its study subtle or complex. It consists in the narration of the simplest matters of fact which, once grasped, are readily retained in the memory.⁴⁴

Closely related was that externalizing habit, which doubtless sprang in part from the models set by the admired ancient historians such as Livy and Caesar, writers who never had to cope with any theme remotely resembling the Protestant Reformation. In the mid-sixteenth century it would have needed an original genius to have plumbed either the individual psychology or the mass-psychology of these religious or part-religious movements. Nevertheless, we are not quite guilty of asking for the moon when we complain that Sleidan devoted so little effort and ingenuity to the theological and religious impulses of the Reformation within the actual society of his day. With all their faults, the Protestant martyrologists Jean Crespin,⁴⁵ Adriaen van Haemstede⁴⁶ and John Foxe were

⁴⁴ Bruni d'Arezzo, L., *De studiis et literis*, trans. W. H. Woodward in his *Vittorino da Feltria and other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge 1897, 128. In the same passage Bruni praises the style of Caesar's *Commentaries* in Ciceronian terms strikingly similar to those of Sleidan.

⁴⁵ Crespin, J., *Le livre des martyrs . . . depuis Jean Hus . . .* Geneva 1554: best edn. by D. Benoît, 3 vols., Toulouse 1885-9.

⁴⁶ On Haemstede's martyrology (1559) see J. F. Gilmont, 'La genèse du Martyrologe

making more progress on this particular front. And again, not long afterwards Jesuit historians like Ribadeneyra,⁴⁷ powerfully aided by the techniques of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and *Autobiography*, were exploring the interior as well as the exterior lives of their heroes. The Lutheran revolution beginning in 1517 was after all Sleidan's chosen theme: as observed, his Preface and *Apologia* make it clear enough that he became deeply involved with the actual movement, that he did not merely aspire to write a *deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*. And by 1550 there stood available to him a vast literature on the religious and theological aspects, a literature just as relevant as the archives of Strassburg or the Schmalkaldic League. A closer study of the available works of Luther – some of which he does baldly summarize – would surely have sufficed to focus these aspects far more sharply. Equally accessible tracts by lesser authors such as those reprinted in the nineteenth century collections by Schade,⁴⁸ Clemen⁴⁹ and others could also have provided myriad insights at all social levels. We may praise Sleidan for rising above the polemical hurly burly of Luther and Cochlaeus, yet may not our approval come dangerously near to praising a modern historian of socialism for recoiling with an expression of pained gentility from the writings of Marx, Engels and their epigoni? We may well ask whether any historian can afford this cloistered virginity. To fish in the troubled waters of popular, even of semi-educated polemics, has become a routine task for the modern historian of religious and social movements; yet this was hardly a task in the classical tradition as understood by scholars of the Renaissance. To Sleidan's calm, legalist, aristocratic eye, state papers and official confessions remained acceptable in the raw, while popular, passionate, self-revealing sources were neglected or toned down in accordance with a Roman *gravitas*.

d'Adriaen van Haemstede' in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, lxiii (1968). He compares it with Crespian and with Ludwig Rabus, *Historien der ... Bekenner und Martyren*, Strasbourg 1554–8.

⁴⁷ Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527–1611) based his biography of Loyola (Madrid 1594) on a Latin version published at Naples as early as 1572. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, xii, 466 gives references.

⁴⁸ Schade, O., *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*, 3 vols., Hanover 1856–8.

⁴⁹ Clemen, O. C., *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, 4 vols., Leipzig and New York 1907–11.

The legitimate (and explicitly grateful) descendants of Sleidan were political and pragmatic authors like Sarpi, de Thou and Camden.⁵⁰ And to illustrate how this attitude has dominated Reformation historiography almost to our own day we British readers need go no further than our own Victorians. Some of these were avowed Tractarians, anxious to defame the English Reformation by pretending it was a secular product, made in Parliament. Others, however, were natural if unconscious Sleidanians, staunch islanders who accepted the constitution of England as the very frame of the cosmos, but who did not very passionately believe that God was an Anglican, either High or Low. Whatever the case, a century ago Canon Dixon began the first chapter of his six-volume work on the English Reformation⁵¹ with the opening of the Reformation Parliament in 1529, just as if Tyndale had not been at work for several years, just as if Wyclif and Lollardy had never existed or any religious unrest seeped through from the Continent. A little later Gee and Hardy filled their standard documentary collection⁵² with parliamentary statutes, with royal and episcopal injunctions, to the almost complete exclusion of material on religion and its dissemination in society. We have all heard of Reformation without tarrying for theology, but here was Reformation without tarrying for religion; and it has owed not a little to the humanist tradition as developed by Sleidan and his disciples. Rather oddly at first sight, pre-Enlightenment historiography in northern Europe did not reconstruct the Reformation in terms of cultural or philosophical humanism, but rather as an emanation of princes, diets, parliaments and councils. This trend was not merely political but institutional, the emphasis of men whose public and literary *personae* were those of jurists and officials first, humanists second and men of religion third. Religious debate and emotion they allowed to escape from the noble hall of history and take up residence in the noisome cellars of polemics. If you would witness this externalizing, read the

⁵⁰ Burke, P., *op. cit.*, 124-30.

⁵¹ Dixon, R. W., *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*, 6 vols., Oxford 1878-1902.

⁵² Gee, H. and Hardy, W. J., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, London 1896.

early pages of the *Commentaries*, where Sleidan, having failed to describe Luther's earlier life, imagines he is displaying the origins of Luther's Reformation. You will find little beyond a Victorian textbook account – innocent alike of theology and of psychology – rehearsing Luther's public protest against Indulgences. While Sleidan's Reformation is initiated by Luther, this hero has not much more depth than, say, Guicciardini's cardboard figure Martino Lutero in Book XII of the *Storia d'Italia*. And when Zwingli appears, he is an even simpler phenomenon. Meanwhile this Luther-without-tears is soon pushed from the centre of the stage by the politicians; though it is fair to add that the later references to Luther's best-known writings do add something to the picture of an otherwise enigmatic titan. Men with Sleidan's training understood Melanchthon far better than Luther, and their values must owe more to classical convention than to mere ignorance. Sleidan may indeed have missed the few passages wherein Luther describes his experiential and exegetical crises, yet he cannot have remained wholly oblivious to their solution in Luther's central doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone. For one thing, few laymen grasped this message of Luther better than did Jacob Sturm, and Sturm was not merely intimate with Sleidan, but carefully advised him concerning his history. Again, Sleidan must have experienced the religious and theological dimension through his close friendship with Martin Bucer, who was by any reckoning one of the half-dozen great religious leaders of the Reformation. In the last resort this situation cannot be elucidated with great precision, yet there exists one more or less pertinent factor: the historiographical concepts of Philip Melanchthon, *praeceptor Germaniae*.

Too easily we tend to think of the classical tradition as a more or less homogeneous complex of ideas; as a decalogue that Renaissance men encountered in solitude, perusing the stone tables of Antiquity on the summit of Olympus, face to face with the gods. On the contrary, did they not always meet the classical tradition within some localized context created not only by their fellow-humanists but also by what we call 'medieval' scholarship and social ideas? This was especially true in Germany from the years around 1530, when Sleidan

first acquired his methodology. As shown in E. C. Scherer's investigation of historical studies within the German universities,⁵³ humanist history had penetrated deeply into these institutions. So many of them, especially those within the Protestant lands, were recent foundations which had never experienced the pre-humanist world. On the other hand, German humanism had long since cast off the laurel-crowned romanticism of Celtis and his rebellious *demi-monde*. Its studies, and in particular its historical studies, now lay safely in the headmasterly hands of the prim little *praeceptor Germaniae*. Sleidan's discipleship to Melanchthon – paralleled by the discipleship in pedagogy of his friend Johann Sturm – cannot be claimed as a recent discovery. As long ago as 1912 it was worked out by Emil Menke-Glückert of Leipzig⁵⁴ in his able little book on Reformation and Counter Reformation historiography. Already we have seen the neat-minded Melanchthon teaching world history by developing the scheme of the Four Monarchies, long beforehand conceived on the basis of that humble forerunner of Arnold Toynbee, the Book of Daniel. Here was a cyclical scheme matching early Lutheran distaste for any notion of human progress in this dark terrestrial life.⁵⁵ As for the *Commentaries*, their debts to Melanchthon are less overt, yet they remain impressive.

Melanchthon publicly despised the ill-informed, withdrawn, monkish historians of past centuries.⁵⁶ So did Sleidan, who from the first consorted with lay historians like Froissart and Comines. In 1532, long before Sleidan started writing, Melanchthon had already demonstrated the use of original sources by organizing materials sent him by Johann Carion and in effect producing the *Chronica Carionis*.⁵⁷ Again, Melanchthon anticipated Sleidan by identifying states with their political rulers, and he parted company with the all-too-human Italians by teaching Protestants to regard every historical event as divinely engineered. *Deus transfert et stabilit*

⁵³ Scherer, E. C., *Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte an den deutschen Universitäten*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1927.

⁵⁴ Cf. n. 3, above.

⁵⁵ Menke-Glückert, op. cit., 46ff.

⁵⁶ E.g. in *Corpus Reformatorum*, iii, 217.

⁵⁷ Menke-Glückert, op. cit., 21–39.

imperia.⁵⁸ Luther's God, that truly omnipotent yet notoriously masked God, alone knew the reasons why things happened. Thence opened an arcadia for the worried historian, who could now literally cast his care upon the Lord. In this comfortable belief, duly echoed by Sleidan, we doubtless find the basis of the latter's conviction that a wise historian will narrate the deeds and reprint the documents, but modestly shrink from assessing the ultimate causes and merits. Sleidan would have applauded Melanchthon's scorn for the undisciplined, subjective historical writing of the sectarian humanist Sebastian Franck. And one may scarcely doubt that the cautious man also shared Melanchthon's as well as Guicciardini's distrust of that wild beast, unredeemed humanity, represented by its unprivileged classes.

Take but degree away, untune that string,
And, hark! what discord follows; each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy.

On the other hand, Sleidan evidently admired Melanchthon's bright-eyed search for heroes, those exceptions fashioned by heaven who could make history a safe subject for the young, could make it into a philosophy-teaching-by-examples. All the world's a stage, says Melanchthon, on which God produces morality-plays. *Totus hic mundus velut proscaenium quoddam est Dei; in quo omnium officiorum exempla quotidie exhibet*.⁵⁹ And one need only read his famous funeral oration on Luther to see the marble effigy of the hero emerging from the ambivalent, disturbing man of flesh and blood.

To that splendid list of most illustrious men raised up by God to gather and establish the Church, and recognized as the chief glory of the human race, must be added the name of Martin Luther. Solon, Themistocles, Scipio, Augustus, and others who established or ruled over vast empires were great men indeed; but far inferior were they to our leaders, Isaiah, John the Baptist, Paul, Augustine and Luther.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Corpus Reformatorum*, xii, 777. Elsewhere in the Carion chronicle (*ibid.*, xii, 870-1023) Melanchthon replaces 'imperia' by 'regna'.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, xi, 166.

⁶⁰ From Melanchthon's *Funeral Oration over Luther*, translated in L. W. Spitz *The Protestant Reformation*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1966, pp. 69-70; cf. *Corpus Reformation*, xi, 728.

Here we may recognize a noble tribute and yet suspect a sigh of relief. For orderly moralists, to live close to genius is hard; to live alongside religious genius, with all its fluctuations of humility and arrogance, must be a recurrent crucifixion. Philip Melanchthon revered Luther and sought his strength so long as it was available, yet who can blame him for burying his friend at last among the cold monuments of the heroic dead?

Armed with this set of convictions, neither Sleidan nor Melanchthon could find a genuinely social dimension in history; they were all too inclined to depopularize as well as to dehumanize the Reformation. As compared with the secularist Italians, they added a theological reason for averting their eyes not merely from the human quirks of genius but from the distasteful spectacle of mankind in general. For this mass of perdition in the world's twilight they saw a short future, and certainly not a future of human freedom or 'progress'. All in all, we can understand Sleidan not merely through the official character of his work, not merely through his French and classical literary models, but by reference to the sententious teutonic world of ethical teachers like Melanchthon and Bucer. Close behind the licensed historian of princes and cities, behind the Strassburg ambassador, there stands a senior assistant in the school of the all-German preceptor from Wittenberg. If Sleidan became an ancestor of the pragmatic Sarpi, was he not also an ancestor of Samuel Pufendorf, over a century later still anxious to apply what he called 'the useful science' of history to the 'youth of high rank' who would one day hold 'offices of state'?

Sleidan's *Commentaries* continued invaluable into the late eighteenth century or even longer. Without them, one can hardly imagine, for example, the Reformation passages of William Robertson,⁶¹ the best historian of that movement to arise from the Enlightenment. But as the nineteenth century reprinted, reconsidered and amplified Sleidan's documentation, his work rapidly lost this indispensable character.

⁶¹ Robertson's writing on the Reformation greatly excels that of the Continental Enlightenment. See especially his *History of the Reign of Charles V*, London 1769, bk. ii; and his *History of Scotland*, London 1759.

Confessional and polemical history took two heavy hammerings: the one from Lutheran pietists like Gottfried Arnold, the other from the secular Enlightenment which so closely followed. The latter movement introduced the idea that the Reformers – despite their now detested intolerance – had willy-nilly contributed much to the liberation of the human mind, a half-truth constantly rediscovered or rejected by naive thinkers ever since. Meanwhile, if nineteenth-century historians achieved an immeasurably fuller knowledge of the facts, a more sensitive feel for the contours, they did not revise the traditional attitudes so radically as might have been expected. Nowadays, as I have already hinted, even Ranke's deservedly famous book on the German Reformation also seems defective in terms of causal analysis. Ranke – also in Döllinger's words *praeceptor Germaniae* – had not fully detached himself from the God-given 'ages' and he made no very sustained departure from the Sleidanian political structure of history. His deeper and more original insights into the German mind and German society are brief, though sometimes precious and prophetic. Was it not the religious partisan Janssen, rather than the virtuous Ranke, who recovered for the common man a place in religious history? Even scholars of our own day have felt happier in turning out books called *The Age of the Reformation*, *Die Neugestaltung Europas*, and so forth; books which 'cover the period' but are scarcely histories of the movement.

Apart from such books, the enterprises of the twentieth century have tended to be narrowly based, even monothe-matic. Today the cloudlands of Weber and Tawney remain little more than the playground for undergraduates fledging their wings,⁶² though by contrast Troeltsch⁶³ did at least point the way toward a firmer sociological analysis of the Reformation. Karl Holl and the theologians of the so-called Luther Renaissance added more intellectual subtlety to Luther – some of it their own subtlety rather than his.⁶⁴ Naturally,

⁶² Kitch, M. J., *Capitalism and the Reformation*, London 1967 summarizes these controversies.

⁶³ *Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, Tübingen 1912, translated by O. Wyon as *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, London 1931.

⁶⁴ A perceptive introduction to the movement is E. G. Rupp, *The Righteousness of God: Luther Studies*, London 1953.

their work contributes very little towards our grasp of the social origins and impacts of religious change, for history can receive little help from disembodied ideas. To more catastrophic effect, a few psychiatrists intervened, certain of them inspired by the concept of a Reformation welling up from the subconscious mind of young man Luther. Their misadventures only convince one that a capacity for assessing historical evidence is not after all inborn: we must all acquire it the hard way, through detailed comparative studies. If Reformation historiography still continues to make progress, it is perhaps because historians are emancipating themselves not merely from the Sleidanian political tradition but also from the pathetic illusion that there must exist some one magic formula, some one golden key which will open the way into the heart of this great historical episode. If general historians are to advance beyond Ranke they must surely follow his rejection of simplifications, slogans, doctrinairism; and though they would be wise to love the people, the streets, the seas and the soil, they should reject insularity and nationalism, for they are dealing with an essentially supranational movement. But unlike Ranke, they will also need to attack at all the social and all the intellectual levels, while at the same time reaching back deeply into those ancient and medieval worlds where lie the roots of both Renaissance and Reformation.

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RANKE AS REFORMATION HISTORIAN

So far at least, the Stenton Lectures have proved a distinguished series and I am duly gratified by the invitation to participate. By universal consent, Sir Frank Stenton is not only the 'great man' of your University but was also one of the brightest luminaries in the British academic firmament of his day. Though he was thirty years my senior, I hardly sensed this in his presence, for even in his later years he remained in touch with the working world. A grown man by the end of Queen Victoria's reign, he combined Victorian courtesy with a receptive attitude toward change. His practical wisdom made him an excellent Vice-Chancellor, but he will chiefly be remembered as one of the ablest among a wonderful generation of medievalists. Stenton possessed all the most necessary gifts: imagination for the great concepts, incisiveness in attacking the detailed problems, lucidity of expression, a sense of human values which enabled him to love and yet transcend the antiquarianism besetting pre-Conquest and medieval England. Certainly he was no history-machine but a man of varied interests: an able musician who nearly entered upon a career in that field, an erudite numismatist, the builder of a marvellous book-collection left to the University Library, the owner of a beautiful home and – by far the most notably – the husband of a great lady, almost his equal in scholarship and a dutiful cultivator of his memory during the years she survived him. I do not recall that either of them had occasion to write about Leopold von Ranke, but I have no doubt they would have heartily approved him as a subject for this series.

A good deal has been written concerning Ranke's philosophy of history, but personally I cannot see that he possessed any mental contraption which deserved so grandiose a title. Though in his young days influenced by Hegel, and above all by Fichte, he then liberated himself from the imaginative, abstract concepts of the idealists and worked his way into the earthy, pragmatic outlook of the practising historian. The general direction of his early progress was from the airy-fairy to the nitty-gritty. This vulgarism has a certain pragmatic truth, yet it remains superficial, for beneath the 'commonsense' change of front lies a religious factor. To say that Ranke discarded Hegelian Idealism and returned to the Protestantism of his youth is broadly true, for in middle and later life he proclaimed himself a convinced Evangelical Christian. He returned to Melanchthon's thesis: that God's hand is upon human history, and especially in the contribution of every devout life. He did not follow Melanchthon's literalism in seeing God as playwright and puppeteer of the human drama. Rather does his deity resemble Luther's *deus absconditus*: the Nominalist God we must seek but cannot

possibly know, save through his unique manifestation in Christ. Sweeping aside the false pillars of the Middle Ages – power-seeking popes, scholasticism, mysticism, pharisaic observances – Ranke nevertheless found the verbal formulation of religious truths, even the Augsburg Confession itself, a most perilous enterprise. Certainly he believed man's search for historical truth ran very near to his search for God. Closely underlying that truth was the revealed truth of the Gospel. Such convictions as these – at once cautious and deeply felt – have a practical effect: the elevation of the struggle for objectivity to a high place in the list of Christian virtues. Thus a certain religious conviction lay at the origin of that modern historicism, which in other hands so soon became secularised and forgot its warm Evangelical basis.

Of course, Ranke retained a Hegelian-Fichtean zest for general ideas, broad conclusions, sententious perorations, memorable sayings and distinct prejudices. But not all his best-remembered aphorisms are original. For example, he certainly believed that you could not divide religious history from secular history; again, he certainly aspired to write about the past *als es eigentlich gewesen*. But back in 1555 both these views had been precisely anticipated by Johannes Sleidan of Strassburg, the first great Reformation historian, whom Ranke at first praised and then – having replaced him – tended to forget. As Acton remarked in 1886, 'of Fichte's philosophy there is little either in Ranke's sixty volumes or elsewhere now'; and one might add that neither was he a Hegelian state-worshipper. His conservatism was that of any educated German bourgeois who grew up in the immediate aftermath of that blood-stained confidence-trick we call 'Revolution and Napoleon', the rationalist experiment which slaughtered millions of people in the blind belief that French prophets had found the key to a future paradise.

Perhaps the grandest and most original of Ranke's aphorisms occurs in the *World History* of his old age: 'I am committed to the view that every epoch stands in an immediate relationship to God, and that its value does not depend on what it produces but simply on its existence'. In effect he bids us examine a period on its own terms, to observe the men and women of the past with a fraternal, even affectionate eye, as creatures living in their own right, people we shall shortly join; but never to regard them as the white rats of political experiment, never as the stepping-stones to the promised land offered us by populist tyrants. I accept that this saying hardly constitutes a philosophy of history, yet does it not provide a good springboard for a political thinker, for a humane and realistic historian?

Coming of a long line of Lutheran pastors, Ranke admitted that he had first been drawn to history by philosophy and religion, yet while recovering a Lutheran framework, he did not venerate the old Orthodox Lutheranism. He was a seeker, not a clerical, and even as the Pope put

his works on the *Index*, he made an ecumenical impression upon liberal Catholics. Ignaz von Döllinger wrote his own work on the Reformation, yet even he venerated Ranke, calling him 'the great master' and even – using Philip Melanchthon's old title – *praeceptor Germaniae*. In 1865 Döllinger and his close friend Lord Acton discussed reunion with Ranke, just as they were getting into trouble with Rome. Acton, who saw Ranke when the latter visited London in that year, wishfully wrote to Döllinger rejoicing that 'his spirit is plainly touched by healthy Catholic ideas'. By contrast Ranke could be somewhat rude to a Lutheran cleric who offered to help him, saying 'You are in the first place a Christian. I am in the first place a historian. There is a gulf between us'. So in the mature Ranke we observe a complex, versatile and wary mind, always hard-headed but sometimes imaginative, open to many stimuli but in the end disciplining them to play restrained rôles in his life as a working scholar. On the one hand he saw good history as an aspect of Christian truth without regard to clerical approval. On the other hand he remained a Christian, which on balance may well be an advantage for a Reformation historian, because he can then better understand the religious motivation which will always form the connecting-thread of that multiple episode. At all events, if you have no instinct for religion you are in more danger of identifying its manifestations with something you do value: for example, like so many of the East Germans today, who in effect identify the Reformation with its illegitimate third cousin, the Peasants' War.

If we wanted to trace Ranke's evolution as a 'historian of the Reformation we should presumably begin with his *Luther Fragment* of 1817, written when, as a clever young man of twenty-two, he observed his all-German hero through Romantic distorting spectacles, through subjective and pantheist notions arising from Herder, Fichte and Hegel. Half a century later he was to recall that his earliest historical studies had been directed by three diverse geniuses; Thucydides, Niebuhr and Luther, *die drei Geister denen ich die Grundelemente verdanke, aus denen sich meine späteren historischen Studien aufgebaut haben*. By the later thirties he was sketching his big Reformation history very differently, and he had (very broadly) absorbed the approaches of Niebuhr. He never again fell into the danger of making the Reformation into a biography of its greatest figure Martin Luther: this indicates the main reason why he cannot become popular in this biography-crazed country of ours, where readers appreciate the solo instrument rather than the full orchestra.

In his three volume *History of the Popes* (1834–9) Ranke deliberately reserved the Protestant Reformation for future treatment, though it was in this earlier book that he invented the term Counter Reformation. But even here, though he is gentle with the Popes, he credits Luther's

Germany 'with the immortal merit of having restored Christianity to a purer form than it had worn since the first ages of the Church'. No wonder many Protestants thought the book Romish, while the Pope put it on the *Index*. Here Ranke also contrasts the characters of the biblicist Luther with that of the vision-seeing Loyola, to the marked disadvantage of the latter.

Throughout the rest of this lecture I shall need to discuss substantially only one of his works, the *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, divided into ten books and published at Berlin in six volumes between 1839 and 1847. This massive work, widely regarded in Germany as his greatest achievement, is here little read. Even among our specialists on the period, it has never become so familiar as it deserves. Indeed, to our discredit we have only an incomplete English translation, done by the admirable Mrs Sarah Austin soon after its original publication, when she was in touch by letter with Ranke. Unfortunately, she only carried it to the end of Book VI, taking us up to 1535, whereas the remaining four books of the original proceed to the Peace of Augsburg, finishing with two of Ranke's best cultural chapters, covering religion and literature around the mid-sixteenth century. Thus our existent translation is not merely truncated; it destroys the balance of the author's concerns. Then to make matters worse the English publisher altered the title to *History of the Reformation in Germany*, which again contradicts the author's intention. Without question Ranke set out to write a double-header: his book was to form a general history of the Empire in that period, while containing as a central theme the Reformation in all its aspects.

On a recent re-reading I found this *German History* far less political than I recalled – and far more anticipatory of modern trends. Few general historians (and none before Ranke) tell us so much about sixteenth-century German society and culture: by 1840 he even seems to be heading toward Voigt and Burckhardt, Symonds and Geiger; in short toward *Kulturgeschichte*. Finally in the *Universal History* he was to place *Kultur* (in its broadest sense) alongside the two giants, Church and State, as a third and independent force in human affairs. Again, Ranke's analysis of the mental and intellectual causes of the Reformation has hardly yet been bettered. He misses few if any of the numerous aspects of the long lead-up which we are still analysing today. He describes the tensions within the cities and the universities, the influence of Nominalism on Luther and Melancthon, the mid-fifteenth-century 'Reformers before the Reformation', the respective claims upon Luther of Valla, Huss and Greek Orthodox traditions. Above all he uses both educated and popular sources to illustrate the mental state of the German nation before and after Luther's revolt. He pioneers the use of the *Flugschriften*, the popular pamphlet-literature, which we are still

cataloguing and reading to our great advantage as social historians and students of *mentalités*. Needless to add, he is familiar with the seminal works of pietists and humanists, and with the *Theologia Germanica*, with Luther's counsellor, Staupitz, with the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, the writings of the moralists, Geiler von Kaysersberg, Sebastian Brant and Erasmus. He illuminates religious themes by allusions to medieval architecture, as well as to Dürer and Cranach. Somewhat in the manner of a contributor to that influential modern journal *Annales*, he counts up the actual number of *Flugschriften* published year by year in the 1520s, proving not merely their swift multiplication, but also the immense numerical preponderance of Lutheran over Catholic pamphlets. All this may counter the common impression of Ranke, but it should not do so, for as early as 1826 his *History of the Revolution in Serbia* had contained both 'oral history' and a chapter on Serbian popular culture. Thus, so far from being ultra-political, he shows a fine sense of history's multilateral dimensions. He managed to include all this not only because of his own breadth of mind, but because at that time people *wanted* to read long books, and again because compositors were not yet paid more than authors. Thus he had ample space also for the more conventional themes, the affairs of the Emperor, the princes, the Diets, the diplomatic missions, the campaigns. Even now, despite the notable developments of more recent scholarship, this book still seems to me the fullest and most rounded one in that field.

But where has it become outdated? Tentatively, one could doubtless suggest some major limitations, most of them not reflecting adversely upon the author. For example, in 1840 Luther's lecture-courses remained in manuscript and so like everyone else Ranke could not adequately trace his early intellectual development. The historian's own contemporaries Karl Hoffmann (d. 1877) and Albrecht Ritschl (d. 1889) were then laying only the first foundations of modern Luther-scholarship. Perhaps it was no unmitigated tragedy that Ranke came several decades too early to study the 'Luther Renaissance' of the twentieth-century theologians. The latter do indeed mark some wonderful advances in that Elysian field, but I suspect that Ranke would have felt uneasy about the ones who start with Luther but then fail to define where Luther finishes, and where they themselves start preaching and assume the leadership of this celestial excursion! Had he encountered these imaginative scholars, Ranke might well have said to them what he said to the officious Lutheran clergyman: 'there is a gulf between us'. As it is, despite that youthful fascination with Luther, the *German History* tells us too little rather than too much about the great Reformer, whom he introduces gradually, almost imperceptibly, into the mainstream of the narrative. With bold perceptiveness in that day of

lingering bigotries, he makes Luther essentially a reforming Catholic who detested the notion of founding a new Church, an anti-papal Catholic who believed himself called to restore orthodox Christian doctrine, an 'early' Catholic opposed to the innovating scholastic theology, and to the vulgar externalized superstitions of his own day, both these latter approaches having no place in New Testament or patristic Christianity. Ranke thus finds himself describing the classic Protestant Augsburg Confession as 'a product of the vital spirit of the Latin Church'. More obviously, Luther's Catholic conservatism explains why he fell almost instantly into conflict with the radical groups which had spawned in his shadow as well as in that of Zwingli.

Scarcely had this second conflict arisen, when both the sectarians and the Lutherans saw their positions immeasurably complicated by the great Peasants' Revolt of 1524-5, related (perhaps rather tenuously) by Müntzer and others to the millenarian sects. This conjuncture placed Ranke himself in a dilemma which modern historical research and sociological criticism have still not altogether resolved. Ranke agreed that a basic reform of the whole Latin Church was then desperately demanded, yet the complex discontents of sectarians and peasants, overlapping all religious bounds, made such reform infinitely hazardous to that fragile social and political structure. On the one hand, even in his early studies Ranke had proclaimed the Reformation to be *eine Sache des Volks*. In other words the receptive capacity of all classes would decide upon the degree of its success. On the other hand, to Ranke's post-revolutionary generation folk-origins did not avail to arouse sympathy with the sort of popular movement which might end by creating anarchy. They could not be expected to appreciate the bizarre mind of Thomas Müntzer, or even clearly to distinguish his purposes from those of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who had tried to impose upon the Enlightenment a fresh set of romantic dreams about the immemorial wisdom of the peasants gathered together to legislate under the village oak-tree. So Ranke and the great mass of his contemporaries could reject sixteenth-century religious radicalism in a wholesale fashion, but I do not think that anybody in their day grasped either its ultimate potential or its outrageous, chaotic diversity. Did any of us grasp the latter until 1962, when we first studied the massive work of G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*? Here for the first time a learned author set out with almost foolhardy courage to tabulate the waves of the ocean.

Any discussion of the radicals is bound to recall once again the still lively historiography of the great Peasants' War. Especially since the solid work of Gunther Franz (1933), a rising tide of literature has produced other interpretations of comparable merit, such as Peter Blickle's *Die Revolution von 1525* (1975), but the tide shows no sign of

receding. New evidence continues to emerge from the affected areas, which covered almost all the German lands apart from Bavaria and the North. In addition, general theories still proliferate, each purporting to restore some distinct pattern to the tumultuous scene, yet each swiftly refuted by counter-theories. Nevertheless in this process much has been learned concerning the social and economic structures of Germany, including the extensive participation in revolt by so many towns. Even the East German historians have been making contributions of some interest, despite their dogmatic need to regard the Peasants' War as an integral stage in the evolution of the new 'bourgeois' society.

I mention these matters chiefly in order to stake the claim of Ranke's chapter (Bk. iii, ch. 6) to be the first 'modern' contribution. At the very least it remains an excellent chapter for its time. He makes most judicious use of the far from negligible array of printed sources and local histories then already available, and he shows himself alert to several problems still on our agenda. He explores the regional differences, the rôles of the townsmen, the influences of Müntzer and other ideological leaders who elevated material grievances into visionary blueprints for a new society. He discusses those new financial exactions by ecclesiastical overlords, which are today occasioning a heavy emphasis upon anticlericalism as a major cause of the rising. When Ranke wrote this chapter, he lacked access to the almost contemporary three-volume account (1841-43) by Wilhelm Zimmermann, which had been partially based on the Müntzer-researches of G. T. Strobel, published back in 1795. Nowadays Zimmermann – despite his scholarship a fanatical Hegelian – is chiefly remembered for his attempted rehabilitation of Thomas Müntzer, and for providing Friedrich Engels with the materials of his vigorous and gripping little book on the Peasants' War, first published in 1850 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Thanks to Zimmermann and Engels, Müntzer had become by the eighteen-nineties a major hero of Marxism – and has so remained. But Zimmermann was no Marxist, while it can now be stated with confidence that he did not understand the religious and social teachings of Müntzer. In consequence of his Hegelian studies – themselves indebted to early German mystics and pietists – Zimmermann believed that the Idea would be merged into the world of reality. In other words the Kingdom of God on Earth announced by Müntzer (and of course denounced by Luther) was reissued in secularised form by Zimmermann, who conveniently crowned the structure by equating the Holy Spirit with human reason. Fortunately for his long-term reputation, Ranke remained untouched by these ebullient contemporaries. All the same, if we leave aside the reckless Zimmermann and simply compare Ranke with Engels, we do not find so stark a clash as we might anticipate between the true Prussian-blue and

the red Mancunian, because in his own way Engels also sought to stick to the realities of the Peasants' War, even though he so grossly exaggerated its relevance to the socio-political conflicts around the year 1848.

As for Ranke, he views the Peasants' Revolt as a revival of old tensions brought about by four main factors: the vacillation of German government at all levels; the public loss of confidence in both Church and State; the influence of visionary preachers lacking Luther's sense of the possible; the predictable loss of moderation shown by the peasant leaders, who began with reasonable grievances, but on gaining a measure of success wanted 'to reconstitute the Empire from the ground-work of society upwards'. On the other side Ranke freely acknowledges the validity of their original complaints and the absence of revolutionary intent in their famous Twelve Articles. He stresses the new exactions imposed by the Abbot of Kempten and other landlords, and describes with sincere compassion the 'barbarity' of the final slaughter. For him the unacceptable elements are the crude inspiration-dogmas of Müntzer and the Anabaptists, which he denounces in unusually sharp terms. Observing the revival of infantry throughout Europe, he regards a peasant victory as a distinct possibility, had a cooler and abler leadership emerged. But he cannot envisage the victorious peasants administering the Empire and imposing some new order. Neither can I; nor for that matter could Engels, whose epitaph on the revolt is not so very different from that of Ranke. Engels likewise shows how Thomas Müntzer rushed far ahead of the ideas and demands of his followers; he also stresses the localism, the arrogance and the rapid demoralisation of the rebels. He does not think that the peasants 'should' have won, or could have ruled a new Germany. I conclude that any real Marxist is committed to the proposition that the underdog cannot effectively jump the gun until the shooting season has arrived! Or in the more sober words of Engels:

The worst thing that can befall a leader of an extreme party is to be compelled to take over a government in an epoch when the movement is not yet ripe for the domination of the class which he represents and for the realisation of the measures which that domination would imply.

Let us return to the possible criticism of Ranke and consider how far his nationalism affected his view of the Reformation, that essentially international phenomenon. At no stage did he resemble one of these effervescent Prussian patriots of the next generation: his moderation, his breadth, his immense international scope attracted the criticisms, even the resentment of extreme nationalists like Droysen, Leo and Treitschke. Nevertheless it might well be urged that he still makes the Reformation too exclusively German and Lutheran:

Our Fatherland has the immortal merit to have again discerned the true religion, to have re-established Christianity in purer form than it has existed since the first centuries.

By contrast, despite writing in later life a huge work on English history in the Tudor and Stuart periods, and despite his justified distrust for Macaulay and Froude, he never understood our British Protestant Reformations as an experience quite distinct from our Henrician Reformation. He says here in the *German History* that

In Germany the movement was theological and popular . . . in England it was juridico-canonical, not connected with appeals to the people or with free preaching but based on the unit of the nation.

I doubt whether any serious specialist would now accept this distinction, but here he got no help from our national historians, nearly all of whom continued in ignorance of the grass-roots religious movements in the various parts of the British Isles.

For Switzerland Ranke had a more perceptive eye, yet he did not escape a certain bias arising from his admiration for Luther, his dislike of Swiss iconoclasm, his rejection of the Zwinglian fusion of Church and State, perhaps even his prejudice in favour of enlightened monarchies as opposed to the civic republicanism of the Swiss. With Luther's spiritual struggles and passionately dogmatic seal for reform, he contrasts the plodding, unemotional character of Zwingli: 'his original views were of a moral and political nature'. On the other hand Ranke does not blame the Swiss alone for the breakdown of their talks with Luther at Marburg. He also does justice to the sincerity of the mediating theologian Martin Bucer, so often regarded as an opportunist by Lutheran zealots. But all in all he can hardly be expected to see the whole international Reformation with our eyes. To him it appeared not simply as a European religious and social episode: it was the supreme landmark in the history of his own nation. With frankness he admits that, most essentially, he is describing the politico-religious energies of the German people. He does not hesitate to claim that this movement held greater significance for the progress of mankind than did the cultural triumphs of the Italian Renaissance.

Despite this patriotic element, Ranke is equally frank about the political failure of the Germans to construct an effective state of their own. He stresses the inconclusive character of the reign of Emperor Charles V. When he investigated the early modern history of other states, he discovered what he took to be great political climaxes: with the Papacy, the pontificates of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V; in France, the monarchy of Louis XIV; in England, the Glorious Revolution of

1688. In contrast, this major teutonic drama had ended in a grievous split between *Kaiserthum* and *Reich*, between dynasty and Empire. The Germans were fated to speak with two voices, even as their largely absentee ruler progressed from Burgundian to Spaniard without pausing long enough to become a German. The residuary legatees of power were of course the territorial princes; too small, too mutually jealous to supply a genuine national leadership. So we have in scholarly form the rise of the familiar hard-luck story of the Germans. In the face of injustice, violence and dishonour, even Ranke has seemed to many critics a true German intellectual in being excessively bland. They claim – I believe with some exaggeration – that he avoids using ugly words for ugly things; that he omits the blood and the tears. Honoured by monarchy, a personal friend of two kings, he tends to genuflect before princely power. As one would expect, in the *German History* a classic case arises with the notorious bigamy of the syphilitic Philip of Hesse, which Ranke seems to dismiss as a political blunder. He even awards Philip a moral consolation-prize for his conscientious scruples in taking care to marry at all. Yet to look on the bright side of this blandness we must recall another German tradition. Unlike our British hanging-judges of his century, Ranke deliberately shrank from condemning historical characters; and once again this refusal to impose judicial verdicts had been precisely anticipated by Sleidan.

I now turn abruptly to a neglected aspect of Ranke's work, and thereby acquire a better prospect of saying something mildly original. Being concerned with a practising professional historian rather than a theorist on mankind, we must come in closer and observe our subject as a researcher and a literary planner, as a discoverer and user of sources. Let us enter his sumptuous study and look over his shoulder. Such an intrusion has a special purpose in regard to a full understanding of the *German History*. I am going to argue that his own Preface to this work misrepresents its actual construction and character through a certain over-insistence upon archival research. Back in 1828-31, Ranke had indeed spent three years in Italian and Austrian archives, with beneficial results for his work on the Papacy. But now, a decade later and in a different field, he seems to want his readers to believe that the *German History* was also predominantly the result of his own recent discoveries among German manuscript-collections. On the contrary, I believe it can be shown that such collections played a relatively minor part in the documentation of this book, and that, despite some useful but brief visits to archives, Ranke largely built up the work from printed sources compiled by a host of earlier scholars.

We should first look at his Preface to the *German History*. Here he relates that his first ambition had been to concentrate on the history of the Imperial Diets. In the autumn of 1836 he had discovered at

Frankfurt-am-Main ninety-six folio volumes ranging from 1414 to 1613, and containing the Acts of the Diets, together with many valuable reports of deputies from the cities. According to his own claim, he had rapidly assimilated the first sixty-four of these volumes, which went down to the year 1551. Then, however, realising that a single city could not have preserved all the necessary documentation, he had obtained permission at the beginning of 1837 to explore the royal archives of Prussia in Berlin. In the following April he also gained access to those of the Kingdom of Saxony at Dresden. At both places he found not only duplicates of the documents he had already seen at Frankfurt, but also many revealing new records, which threw light on the character and conduct of such influential princes as Joachim II of Brandenburg and Maurice of Saxony. Still feeling the printed sources inadequate to depict the crisis of the Reformation, in August 1837 he filled more of the gaps by moving on to a third princely archive: that of the Ernestine line of Saxony deposited at Weimar. 'The walls and the whole interior space', he remarks, 'are covered with the rolls of documents relating to the deeds and events of that period. Every note, every draft of an answer is here preserved.'

Here then in his Preface we find a stirring narrative of discovery, yet no scholar who has ever conducted research in major repositories could for a moment suppose that even the fast-working Ranke could possibly have inspected more than a tiny proportion of the relevant materials during a total period of scarcely more than one year. I am by no means the first to entertain doubts regarding his archival achievements, which were severely handled by some of his contemporaries. As early as 1861 Anton Gindely, the distinguished historian of the Thirty Years War, wrote of other works by Ranke:

I accepted the general opinion that he had made magnificent discoveries in foreign archives. But I found myself obliged to go critically through the *Popes* and the *French History*. The shallowness of his studies of the latter is astonishing. Not only is he lacking a complete knowledge of the printed literature, but he even resorts to deception, wishing to make his readers believe that he has worked through the archives . . . he repeatedly cites the splendid Simancas collection . . . of which he never saw a dozen volumes. His citations are mere crumbs stuck together in a chance fashion to produce the appearance of being the results of systematic study.

Bohemians are not always charitable towards Germans, and in regard to the *German History*, one cannot accept the charge of deliberate or sustained deception. After all, in the Preface Ranke did not need to give the dates of his archival researches, and had he been dishonest he could

readily have left the reader to suppose that they had been relatively prolonged. With the same object in view, he could also have doctored the footnotes, which (as I shall show) he refrained from doing. All the same, his enthusiasm for manuscript sources, and his desire to excel as a practitioner in this sphere, do tend to obscure his immense debts to other workers, and even to exaggerate the novelty of his own discoveries. Toward the end of the Preface he again records his aspiration to rewrite modern history from the 'narratives of eye-witnesses, and the genuine and original documents. For the epoch treated in the following work, this prospect is no distant one'. He then recalls with entire truth that in preparing his earlier books he had advantageously used archives in Vienna, Venice, Rome and especially Florence. But at this point he lists by name seven or eight of his predecessors in the field of sixteenth-century German history. He begins with F. B. Bucholtz on the reign of Ferdinand I, V. A. Winter on Lutheranism in Bavaria, C. F. Sattler on the Duchy of Württemberg, together with C. von Rommel and C. G. Neudecker, both important authorities on Hesse. On the ecclesiastical side he notes that Walch has published 'a rich mass of authentic documents', while W. M. L. de Wette has edited Luther's works, and C. G. Bretschneider those of Melancthon. Finally, he praises the 'earnest research and labour' of C. E. Förstemann on the 1530 Diet of Augsburg.

This passage may seem at first sight generous, but in fact it acknowledges only an exiguous part of his inheritance from earlier scholars. I could now supply from his own footnotes not a mere list of eight major printed works, but one of more than sixty, all of them significantly employed by Ranke. These German allies were altogether more formidable in their documented bulk than any he had gained from post-Renaissance scholarship in Italy. How do I know this? By listing the more frequent references in Ranke's footnotes and then by actually examining sixty works I had selected, and observing in some detail what sort of information Ranke had gained from each. In fact I spent several weeks of rather tedious labour on this task, being greatly aided by the immense resources of the British Library in German historical works published between the Reformation and the mid-nineteenth century. Though many of these sixty books are rare and now seldom used, I failed to discover only three in that superb repository, which perhaps contains the finest of all such German collections, at all events since the division of the Prussian State Library. Here I can only sketch the mountain of scholarship which by the 1830s awaited the intervention of Ranke's swift and synthesizing mind.

A mountain it is indeed, for German scholarship has always tended to take dynamic industry to the point of megalomania – an excess which we British can generally be relied upon to avoid. F. B. Bucholtz on

Ferdinand I has nine volumes, each of 500 to 700 pages. J. C. L. Gieseler's church history has six volumes, Joseph Hormayr on Vienna nine, Rommel on Hesse and C. F. Sattler on Württemberg ten apiece. I. G. Schellhorn's *Literary Amenities* occupy fourteen volumes, Johannes Voigt's history of Prussia nine, J. H. D. Zschokke on Bavarian history four or six according to the edition, J. C. Pfister on Swabia five volumes containing over 1700 pages. J. G. Walch and his son C. W. F. Walch produced between them a veritable library of texts and commentaries covering Luther and his movement. Many of those with a lesser number of tomes can claim an equally substantial bulk of material. V. A. Winter's two volumes on Bavaria, so often utilized by Ranke, contain nearly 700 pages, F. C. Schmincke's *Monumenta* of Hesse about 1,460, V. E. Löschner's three volumes of Reformation acts and documents over 5,200 pages. So far I have only perused the fifth and sixth volumes of Ludwig von Baczko's history of Prussia, but these two together number close on a thousand pages. Of course, all this sordid arithmetic cannot be placed among the higher flights of historiographical enquiry, yet it remains vital to my present purpose, which is to show how enormous in bulk had become the printed materials used by Ranke. Our own indefatigable compiler John Strype, still useful to English Reformation historians, had a whole host of teutonic rivals. It would seem appropriate to erect a huge cenotaph, a *kolossales Denkmal* to the Forgotten German Scholar!

Of what materials does the pre-1837 mountain consist? To an overwhelming extent it consists of documentary materials. As with Strype, a high proportion of this amazing acreage is filled by the printed texts of documents – in most cases meticulously grouped – or else by narrative and descriptive passages which adhere very closely indeed to documents. Nevertheless it must be admitted that Ranke used the work of these predecessors with outstanding intelligence, raising their dry-as-dust documentation to a higher plane of creative scholarship. Whether he used the printed documents or personally discovered fresh ones in manuscript need not greatly affect his reputation. Whichever he did, the calls upon his intelligence and industry remained enormous, and these he duly met.

A second obvious characteristic of his printed sources lies in their remarkable coverage of regional and civic events. If there is one thing any historian of the Reformation needs, it is a wealth of local history, for here is to be found the all-important social dimension of the religious movement. In England our local and county histories became ever more numerous from Elizabethan to Victorian times, and in our own day they have continued to multiply and to become part of the stock-in-trade of national historians. Much the same has been the case with Germany, but in Ranke's day the historian who needed such local works was perhaps

even better served than were his British colleagues. Compared with that of England the area is huge and diverse, stretching from the haunts of Erasmus to those of Copernicus, from the pastures of Holstein to the towering Dolomites. Germanic Central Europe has also a regionalism profounder than our own, thanks not only to the extent and the geographical complexity of those lands, but also the sheer number of their states and cities, the diversity of ruling families, the decentralization of government, economics, patronage and public opinion. Ranke was among the first national historians fully to understand that one needed to organize voluminous regional and civic data, because in his case a major theme had to be the reception or non-reception of the Reformation by each one among that crowd of German rulers and populations, towns and universities. Especially had he to observe the great cities, so many of which could pursue their own preferences and policies to an extent quite unattainable by their counterparts within an effective, compact and centralized monarchy like that of England. Already Ranke had at his disposal a surprising number of local and regional histories, and his use of such works provides one more reason for refusing to dismiss him as a mere high-level political analyst, a historian of princes, ambassadors and courts. On the contrary, he had more than enough local materials to produce Reformation-history which was also social history.

Thus it was mainly upon prefabricated work and printed sources that Ranke erected the imposing edifice of his German history. In my rough calculation, less than seven per cent of his references relate to his own manuscript researches. But as well as seeking to recover some hitherto 'unknown' documents, he could also make himself the beneficiary of that longstanding German tradition of printing documents, a tradition which had steadily grown from the time of Sleidan until Ranke's own day. Over half the books he used had been published before his own birth in 1795, many of them well over a century earlier still. For example, Friedrich Hortleder compiled a folio volume of 1,359 pages, containing eight books of documents divided into 193 chapters. This blockbuster, mainly devoted to explaining the causes of the Schmalkaldic War of 1546-7, proved most useful to Ranke. But it was first published at Frankfurt-am-Main as far back as 1617, with a second edition at Gotha in 1645. In a few cases Ranke used even earlier printed works, such as the Prussian history of Caspar Schuetz (1592). The seventeenth century is represented by Jacobus Schickfuss, C. Browerus, C. Hartknoch, H. von der Hardt, F. Marquard and Gottfried Arnold; the earlier eighteenth by V. E. Löscher, J. F. Pfeffinger, J. W. von der Lith, J. B. Mencke, B. G. Struve, F. A. von Rudloff, J. C. Fuessli, Bernhard Raupach, J. C. Schellhorn, J. G. Walch, E. S. Cyprian and others. Ranke thus exercised a methodology – mainly but not solely

Lutheran – stretching far back to Sleidan and the early historians and legists of the Reformation, and embracing prolonged researches patronized in many instances by the princely houses. This tradition continued to flourish in the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, yet it has never attracted the attention it deserves from those who have supposedly written the cultural history of Germany. It is easier to write with elegance concerning philosophers and poets.

In short, Ranke should be viewed less as a face-worker in the archival mines, and more as a mighty surface-worker, purifying the metal and purging the dross extracted over several generations by lesser men. This consideration does not in the least impugn his deep respect for documented truth, for writings which he had called *urkundlich* – loyal to the sources – in his acute *Kritik* of 1824. High as was his achievement, his aspiration to be exhaustive in his quest was higher still, indeed well beyond the reach of any historian who covered fields so enormous. As Acton ironically wrote:

Ranke has gone along with the progress which has so vastly extended the range and influence of historians. After starting without manuscripts, and then lightly skimming them, he ended by holding that it is not science to extract modern history from anything less than the entire body of written evidence.

Impossible indeed of total fulfilment: yet perhaps the greatest achievements come only to the Promethean who stakes his will against the timeless apathy of the gods. It was granted to Ranke to outlive most of his critics and to take an unchallenged place in the pantheon of our profession. But there, I suggest, we should not leave him to sit in a grand silence, but rather question his works more often and more narrowly in the light of our slowly enlarging experience. By entering his company we do not merely encounter sterling virtues: we can learn even from his imperfections. We may conceivably sense what needs to be overcome in ourselves if we are to grow in range and stature. Sometimes we can still manage to see further than he could by the simple expedient of standing on his shoulders. But rather than end upon this pompous note, I will tell you an anecdote about another great but very different German: Sigmund Freud. An argumentative psychologist once quoted to Freud that same age-old maxim to which I have just referred: a dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant can see further than the giant himself. But Freud replied: 'That may be true; but a louse on the head of an astronomer cannot'. I am still not entirely certain as to what this riposte may prove – beyond the fact that at least some psychologists have a sense of humour!

On the *German History* (*Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*) the best commentary is probably that by P. Joachimsen in the *Gesamt Ausgabe der deutschen Akademie* (Munich, 1925), i, *Einleitung*, pp. viii–cxvii. See also K. Brandi, *Die Entstehung von Leopold Rankes deutscher Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1947). On Ranke's protestant attitudes a most useful and well-referenced account is Heinrich Hauser, *Leopold von Rankes protestantisches Geschichtsbild* (Zurich, 1950). Note also W. Schultz, 'Der Einfluss lutherischen Geistes auf Rankes und Droysens Deutung der Geschichte' in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, Jahrgang 39* (1942). On the *Popes*, the *German History* and other works of the 1830s, see L. Krieger, *Ranke. The Meaning of History* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 151–79. Another broad survey of Ranke's major works is that by H. Ritter von Srbik, *Geist und Geschichte vom deutschen Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, Salzburg, 1950), especially pp. 239–92. One of the best short introductions to Ranke's outlook is H. Liebeschütz, *Ranke* (Historical Association, G. 26, London, 1954).

Regarding his early idealist and romantic phase, see Ilse Mayer-Kulenkamff, 'Rankes Lutherverhältnis, dargestellt nach dem Lutherfragment von 1817' in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 72 (1951); T. H. von Laue, *Leopold Ranke. The Formative Years* (Princeton, N.J., 1950); C. Hinrichs, *Ranke und die Geschichtstheologie der Goethezeit* (Göttingen, Frankfurt, Berlin, 1954), ch. 2; E. Simon, *Ranke und Hegel* (*Historische Zeitschrift, Beiheft 15*, Munich, Berlin, 1928). Ranke's emergence is perhaps best illustrated by his own *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtsschreiber* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1824).

Concerning Acton, Döllinger and Ranke, see Lord Acton, 'German Schools of History' in *English Historical Review*, (1886); I. von Döllinger, *Briefwechsel 1850–1890* (3 vols., Munich, 1963–71), notably i, pp. 411–12. On the historiographical background in general, see the excellent chapters (vi, vii) in G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1928).

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Study in Nineteenth Century Views (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 91–107. The problem of his objectivity is considered, with special regard to Reformation and Counter Reformation, by G. Berg, *Leopold von Ranke als akademischer Lehrer* (Göttingen, 1968), pp. 104–170. On Ranke and the term 'Counter Reformation', see H. O. Evenett, *The Spirit of the Counter Reformation*, ed. J. Bossy (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 4–5. On the legacy from Sleidan, see A. G. Dickens, 'Johannes Sleidan and Reformation History', in R. Buick Knox (ed.), *Reformation Conformity and Dissent* (London, 1977). See *supra*, pp. 537ff.

In the course of my discussion on the printed works used by Ranke in the *German History*, I have cited the names of thirty-six authors (though without the titles) whose works are all in the Catalogue of the British Library. The same Catalogue also contains the twenty-one other works I examined as typical of Ranke's main printed sources, their authors being W. E. Christiani; J. C. L. Gieseler; J. H. D. Goebel; J. C. A. Grohmann; J. B. Hagenmueller; J. H. Harpprecht; J. Heller; J. N. Hontheim; J. Hormayer; J. J. Hottinger; A. Huene; C. Jaeger; T. Kantzow; J. E. Kapp; I. Katona; F. C. Münte; A. Rauch; J. M. Schrockh; V. L. Seckendorff; W. E. Tentzel; S. W. Wohlbrueck.

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