

POST REFORMATION
CATHOLICISM
IN
EAST YORKSHIRE

1558-1790

by

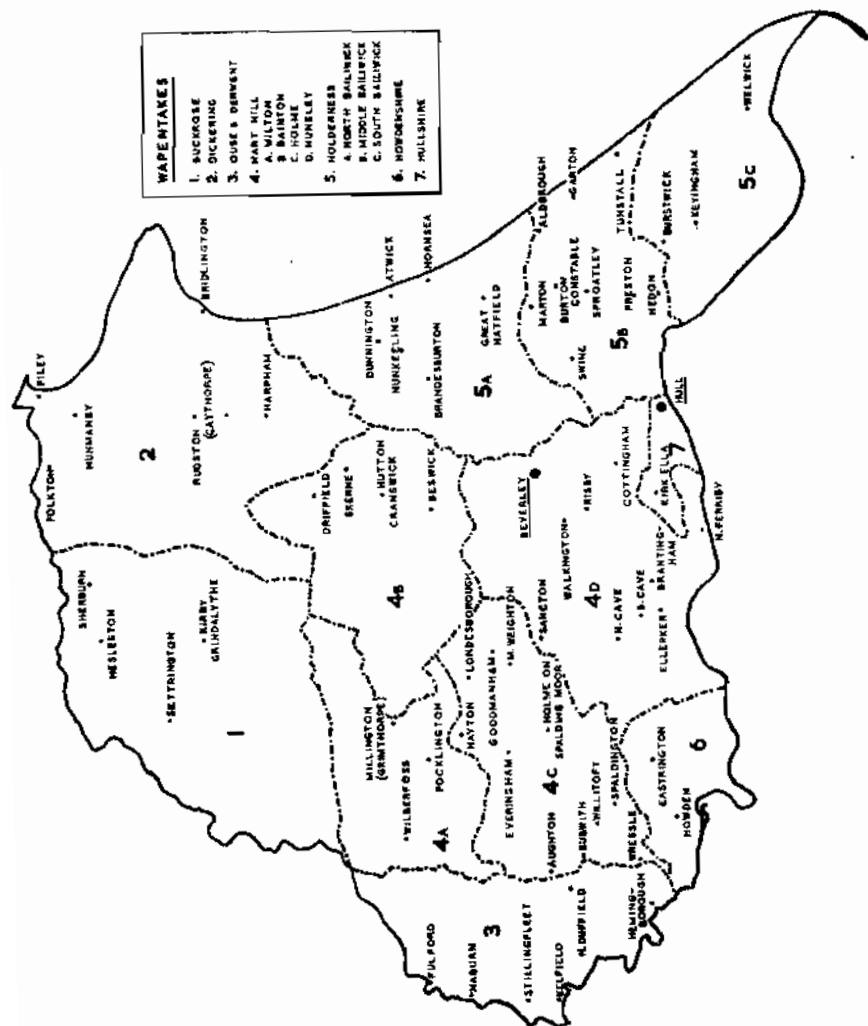
DOM HUGH AVELING
Ampleforth Abbey

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To the East Yorkshire martyrs :---

- Saint John Fisher, Cardinal Bishop - - - Beverley
 June 22nd, 1535.
- Blessed William Lacy, priest - - - Beverley
 August 22nd, 1582.
- Blessed John Fingley, priest - - - Barnby, Howden
 August 8th, 1586.
- Blessed Richard Longley, gentleman - - Grimthorpe
 December 1st, 1586.
- Blessed Alexander Crowe, priest - - - S. Duffield
 November 30th, 1587.
- Blessed Robert Thorpe, priest - - - Holderness ?
 May 31st, 1591.
- Blessed Thomas Watkinson, yeoman - - Hemingborough
 May 31st, 1591.
- Blessed William Knight, yeoman - - Hemingborough
 November 29th, 1596.
- Blessed William Anlaby, priest - - - Etton
 July 4th, 1597.
- Blessed Thomas Atkinson, priest - - - Howden
 March 11th, 1616.

and to the others, known and unknown confessors in the
 gaols of York and Hull.



THE EAST RIDING. Sketch map to illustrate the text. Place names in brackets refer to villages no longer existing as such.

Post Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire

1558-1790.

The Catholic community in post-Reformation East Yorkshire has hitherto lacked a historian, although its history obviously has an important bearing on the early modern history of the area. One reason for this neglect has undoubtedly been a shortage of original sources. 'Internal' sources—the personal letters and papers of Catholics and the archives of Catholic institutions—are very scanty for the years before the 18th century. This is not surprising, since they were years of stiff persecution. What does exist of this kind is widely scattered and has been, until lately, difficult of access. 'External' sources—official 'police-court' records—fortunately exist in some abundance. But they are difficult to interpret, were often carelessly kept, have suffered grievously from neglect and destruction, and also were, until quite recently, not easily accessible or adequately calendared. The recent foundation of a national organisation for Catholic recusant history and the pooling of local records in the Beverley County Record Office and Borthwick Institute at York have made things much easier for students. Nevertheless, the intensive study of local Catholic recusant history is still in its infancy. The following tentative sketch of the course of East Yorkshire recusant history is no more than pioneering, based on a preliminary study of only a part of the available materials. It is offered in the hope that it will not only provide those interested in general in East Yorkshire history with something unfamiliar, but also help to incite students to turn their attention and energies to this neglected, difficult but fruitful field. (1).

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1. BH—Burton. *History of Hemingborough*. B/MS—MSS in County Rec. Office, Beverley. CC—Cartwright. *Chapters in Yorks History*. CM—Challoner. *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*. C/MS—Everingham MSS, Ampleforth Abbey. CRS—Cath. Record Soc. CSPD Cal. of State Papers. Domestic. DD—Knox. *1st & 2nd Douai Diaries*. FR—Foley. *Records of English Prov. S.J.* HB—Hirst. *Blockhouses of Hull*. HMC—Hist. MSS Comm. Reports. H/MS—Hull City Archives. HG/MS—Hogarth MSS, Leeds Dioc. Archives. L/MS—Leeds Central Library MSS. MT—Morris. *Troubles of our Cath. Forefathers*. N/MS—County Rec. Office, Northallerton MSS. PH—Poulson. *History of Holderness*. RH—*Recusant History*. S/MS—Strafford Correspondence, Sheffield Central Library. SS—Surtees Society. TERAS—*Trans. E. Riding Antiqu. Soc.* YAJ—*Yorks. Archaeol. Soc. Journal*. YASRS—*Yorks. Archaeol. Soc. Record Series*. Y/MS—York Diocesan Archives. For a list of MS sources for E. Riding recusant history, see Appendix II below.

(I) 1558-1578. Before the Coming of the Seminary Priests and Jesuits.

The first and most obvious feature of this early Elizabethan period was the vanishing from public view of the last material traces of medieval East Yorkshire Catholicism. The process had begun over twenty years before 1558 and it was completed by the early 1570s—that is to say it was revolutionary and rapid, but more gradual than we sometimes imagine. The governments of Henry VIII and Edward VI, between 1536 and 1553, had destroyed the score of religious houses in the Riding (containing some 250-260 religious), the collegiate organisation and jurisdictions of the great churches of Beverley, Howden, Hemingborough and Sutton. They had destroyed the chantries, the religious guilds, the shrines (notably those of St. John of Beverley and St. John of Bridlington) and pilgrimage centres and venerated statues and crosses. They had removed the Mass, the Latin liturgy and chant and calendar. They had made a good deal of headway (or so it appears) in the work of stripping parish churches and chapels of all Catholic fittings—crucifixes, rood-screen tops, stone altars, wall-paintings, stained glass, statues, holy-water stoups, vestments, chalices and patens, tabernacles and pyxes.

When Queen Mary came to the throne in 1553 and restored the Catholic religion she had neither the time nor the means to do more than secure that every church restored at least the barest essentials of Catholic worship. Thus in 1558, at Elizabeth's accession, England was officially a Catholic country, but one shorn of the great majority of the outward trappings of Catholicism. The new government launched its northern campaign to efface the last vestiges of Catholicism in 1562 and the great effectiveness of that campaign by the early 1570s may well have been due to the fact that there was relatively little left to destroy. But destruction was the order of the day, and now it reached out to the gestures, habits and possessions of private individuals. These ancient Catholic habits were regarded as 'monuments of superstition and idolatry' as much as chasubles, votive candles and stone altars. All private use or possession of rosaries, crucifixes, relics, medals, holy water, Catholic prayer books, books of theology or devotion was proscribed. People presented to official 'visitors' for such practices, or for genuflecting or crossing themselves were put to humiliating public penances (usually involving a public, spoken declaration of detestation of Catholicism as idolatry) or fined and imprisoned for a short period. The objects were confiscated and defaced or burnt—usually with much publicity in market-places before the offenders. In addition, informers, armed with special Commissions, were given *carte blanche* to scour the countryside looking for traces of Catholicism(2).

2. Purvis. **Tudor Parish Documents in the Diocese of York.**

By the early 1570s all that remained to public view, apart from the bare fabrics of the medieval churches and the scanty ruins of religious houses, were—in the whole Riding—the lower parts of rood-screens (the top of the Flamborough screen survived because it was moved to the back of the church to serve as part of a gallery and daubed with paint), one or two intact stone altars, the Patrington Easter Sepulchre (perhaps because it was concealed behind something) and the fonts of St. Mary's, Beverley and Goodmanham, with their Catholic inscriptions. (3) One pre-Reformation chalice survives at Beswick (it can hardly have been in use) and some thirty MSS from the Catholic libraries of religious houses, collegiate churches and hospitals. (4) The assault reached further, to rustic popular customs with Catholic associations, oaths and expressions. They died harder, but perished more completely than they have done, for instance, in Welsh. Thus, even in the late 1630s, so good a Protestant as Sir John Hotham of Scarborough could habitually talk of 'our ladie day' (5). The completeness and revolutionary nature of this astonishing change is, to some extent, concealed from the modern Englishman, partly because he has no imaginative picture of medieval Catholicism and partly because the Church of England has undergone an aesthetic and ceremonial revolution since 1840. He cannot imagine how bleak and empty Elizabethan churches were.

The second feature of this period was the absence of aggressive Catholic resistance. Nowadays we are unaccustomed to rebellions and the idea of taking up arms for one's religion is generally regarded as immoral. Hence the absence of Catholic rebels seems to us natural. But, in the context of the 16th century, it was most unnatural and strange. The East Riding had reacted to the first beginnings of the Reformation—its mildest parts—with a mass revolt in arms. The passivity of the period after 1558 therefore demands a major cause. This was neither pacifism—the Tudor Englishman was renowned on the Continent for the violence with which he expressed his feelings—nor Protestantism (since the work of positive Protestant evangelisation was very little advanced even by the 1570s.) The basic cause seems to have been an increasing spiritual confusion, materialism and inertia, the result of twenty years a vacuum of clear Catholic instruction, example and what Robert Aske called 'ghostly teaching', coming in an age which was not otherwise remarkable for religious fervour. When the world turned upside down and against men's blurred inner convictions and traditional prejudices, they preferred, on the balance, to wait for a lead from others and put the responsibility on to the

3. YAJ, 24/109ff. F. Bond. *Screens & Galleries*, p. 143.

4. N. Ker. *Medieval Libraries of Grt. Britain*.

5. S/MS. 12/114. So also Sir Marmaduke Langdale—Sutherland. *Sir M. Langdale*, p. 37.

Queen and the Law. Then there was the fact that Tudor governments had, long before this, learned by experience how to conduct revolutions effectively, by smothering or bribing prospective leaders. This was clear as early as 1536. The people of the East Riding then gave a strong lead to all the north, when the Yorkshire Pilgrimage of Grace began with a *levee en masse* in Howdenshire and Beverley, and when Aughton provided the most courageous and clear-sighted leader, Robert Aske. At the 'rebel' Parliament at Pontefract he recommended to the rebels the only episcopal martyr of the reign, St. John Fisher of Beverley and his book on the Papal Primacy. But no mass movement of the ill-armed and ignorant commons could effect much without the leadership of the gentry, and they, in their turn, looked to their natural heads, the great northern houses of Percy, Neville and Clifford, whose relatives, tenants and retainers they very often were. But the heads of the great families were already under Henry VIII's control and the gentry, leaderless, were cleverly detached from the commons and won over to the Crown. Aske's own elder brother, the various clans of the Constables, the Babthorpes, Vavasours, Palmes, Methams, Hildyards, Hothams were soon bound to the Crown by links stronger than those which had drawn them to court the magnates—links made up of leases and sales of monastic lands, stewardships of Crown lands, seats on the new Council of the North, membership of Commissions to value and dispose of Church property, commands against the Scots. (6) The commons and a few of the more extremist or disappointed gentry were left in the cold, to attempt futile local risings in Buckrose and Harthill in 1537 and in Dicking in 1549 and to simmer with discontent and apprehension. In 1559 wild rumours, prophecies and 'bruits' were still current in the south of the Riding. (7)

Thenceforward the Crown had only to fear one or other—or both simultaneously—of two possibilities. The first was the re-appearance of aristocratic leadership of a large, disappointed and factious group of gentry. This could only arise through a serious decline in the Crown's powers of ruling. The second possibility was that there would be a religious revival amongst an important section of the gentry, which would impel them to set their principles before their pockets and royal patronage. The East Riding was strategically a dangerous area at this period. It had a long coastline offering numbers of isolated havens (now mostly disused or eroded by the sea) at which aid from exiles or foreign governments could easily be landed. The fortresses of Hull and Scarborough were vital, and lay within easy striking distance of the areas where the northern magnates were a power—the Nevilles in Holderness,

6. *Letters & Papers of Henry VIII*, passim.

7. YAJ 34/151ff: 379ff. and Dickens. *Lollards & Protestants in the Diocese of York* pp. 53ff.

the Percies about Wressle and Leconfield, the Cliffords round Londesborough. North of Dickering, isolated by moors, lay Whitby Strand and its haven, the stronghold of the Catholic Cholmeleys. These dark possibilities, however, only materialised into a real threat to the Crown twice (in part, in 1642 and 1688) and in neither case were Catholics amongst the rebels. Yet the Elizabethan government was always very sensitive to rumours of trouble in the Riding. In the early 1560s there came the Lennox crisis. The presence of the more or less Catholic Scots Earl of Lennox (who had Tudor blood) at Settrington (Buckrose) seemed to be connected with visits of the Catholic Earl of Northumberland to Leconfield and Wressle. A certain Thomas Bishop, of Scots antecedents and holding lands round Pocklington both of the Crown and Northumberland, was secretary to Lennox. Moreover others in the Riding, both 'mislikers of religion' and holders of positions of trust, were associated with Lennox. These included Sir Thomas (later Lord) Wharton, governor of Beverley and steward of Crown lands in the Riding. He was a Marian Councillor and had been imprisoned in the Tower for his Catholicism soon after 1560. He had been released after some sort of recantation and reinstated. But his wife was a strong Catholic and his own later will, with its explicit Catholicism, gives the lie to his supposed change of religion. Another of this kind was William Hussey of North Duffield, and others, Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, Thomas Dolman of Pocklington, the Chamberlains (castellans of Scarborough) and the Cholmeleys of Whitby. The government arrested Lennox and questioned Bishop but found out nothing of any consequence. (8)

A few years later came the 1569 Northern rising. Events again proved the solidity of the Crown's hold over the gentry of the Riding. This time the northern Earls did rise. They gained fair support from their tenants in the North and West Ridings and marched in arms along the south-western edge of the East Riding. Affection for them was still strong in the Riding. There were stirrings, rumours and passing around of a seditious and Papist pamphlet in Ouse and Derwent and excitement in the Seamer-Dickering area. But it seems quite certain that armed response from the Riding was very small indeed. It is significant that as the usual Tudor ceremonial round of executions of rebels in their home areas did not include any executions in the East Riding. The only East Riding men who were indicted for rebellion were Thomas Bishop of Pocklington and his son, John Saltmarsh (resident just over the Riding border, at Redness) and Brian Palmes (of Murton, Durham). It is possible that Anthony Langdale, of Sancton, who

8. Reid, *Council of the North*; CSPD Add. 1547-65 pp. 567ff; 1547-80 pp. 171, 173, 179-80; Y/MS Wills 18/176; *Gentleman's Magazine* Nov. 1865 pp. 619ff.; HMC Salisbury 8/2/18; YAJ 10/63ff., 25/91ff.; C. Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569* pp. 265-8 nn.

fled the realm for religion at this time and died in Rome, was a rebel, and the same may be true of one or two of the younger Methams, who were soon afterwards exiles in Paris. Sir Thomas Metham's former cook brought suspicion on Metham by sending greetings to him later from his new place with the exiled Earl of Westmoreland. Dr. Thomas Vavasour of Spaldington and York, a notorious Catholic, was also afterwards accused by informers of having been a rebel. Even if these doubtful cases were certain rebels, the East Riding's contribution was very slight indeed. (9)

The third feature of this period was the collapse of the great majority of the parochial Catholic priests of the Riding into some sort of acceptance of the new religious order. In September 1559 an itinerant special Royal Ecclesiastical Commission visited York, Beverley, Hull and Malton on its round of the Northern Province. Its main purpose was to extract subscriptions from the clergy to a formula of acceptance of the new order. Of the 170 incumbents of the Riding 35 put in no appearance. 9 benefices were noted as vacant. Of the higher clergy connected with the Riding, Robert Pursglove, suffragan Bishop of Hull, refused subscription definitely and his prebend of York was sequestered. George Palmes, another prebendary, and of the Naburn family, also refused 'obstinate et peremptorie' and was deprived. Robert Babthorpe, prebendary and of Osgodby, asked for time to consider and then subscribed. A few of the vacant parishes were filled and presentments were taken from a very few East Riding parishes. If we are to believe the scanty evidence so far forthcoming, the authorities then proceeded to leave the diocese alone for almost another two years. Archbishop Heath had been deprived for his Catholicism. His first Protestant successor died very soon and the see was left vacant for two years. No records of visitations exist for this two years. The records of the first effective Protestant archbishop, Young, begin in 1561 and those of 1561-7, as they stand, are concerned almost totally with securing subscriptions from clergy and schoolmasters, and hardly at all with the state of churches and the laity.

According to this official evidence, Young (and Grindal his successor) deprived another 5 of the higher clergy connected with the Riding. This took years to complete in some cases, but there is little doubt that, whatever the legal reasons given, all were deprived for Catholicism. Their fate is not always clear. Pursglove was put under 'preventive arrest' and spent the rest of his life with his movements circumscribed. Palmes was put into York Castle and charged with Praemunire for repeatedly refusing conformity and then sent to London, but his later career is a mystery. 8 ordinary East Riding parish priests were deprived. In some

9. Sharp op.cit. YAJ 18/74; Stow's Chronicle. C.S.P.D Add. 1566-79 p. 365

cases the reason is clear, in others obscure. John Bolton, rector of Hilston, Holderness, was early deprived, became a Papist fugitive in his home area of Holderness and died an obstinate Catholic prisoner in Hull. (10). Michael Bolton, a relation of his, seems at most to have been only a curate, perhaps at his home-town, Hedon, in 1558. In 1567-8 he was reported to be a resolute Papist there, avoiding the church and persuading others to do the same. He evaded arrest until 1569, perhaps at Hornsea. Then he was arrested, eventually conformed and subscribed to the 39 Articles and was instituted vicar of Burton Pidsea. After several admonitions (where the charges are not given) he either resigned the benefice or was deprived in 1579 and died an obstinate Catholic in gaol in Hull. (11). Thomas Acreth (or Acrigg), a native of Richmond and perhaps an ex-Franciscan, was rector of Catton, Harthill, from the middle of Edward VI's reign to 1574. His name is not amongst those who refused to attend the visitation of 1559. He subscribed to the 39 Articles in 1571. Then he resigned his living in 1574, became a wanted fugitive Papist, charged with saying Mass 'in corners' and supporting rebellion. He was caught at Sancton in 1576 and died in gaol in Hull. Charles Clerkson, vicar of Yedingham, was instituted by the 1559 visitors, and so presumably then subscribed. In 1564 he was reported to have deserted his parish without reasonable cause and was deprived. We know no more of his case. John Thompson, vicar of Folkton, was a post-1559 institution and so almost certainly a subscriber. He was summoned in 1566 and deprived nine months later, and no cause is recorded. John Swinscoe, vicar of Hedon, and James Creighton, vicar of Bugthorpe, were both deprived in 1567 without a recorded cause. William Ulvason (or Unstanson)—who is not in the 1559 list of absentees—was reported to have deserted his cure at Tunstall by 1568. He was a Catholic prisoner in Hull in 1575. (12).

Then there were 5 other incumbents who were apparently in trouble, but whose subsequent careers are mostly unknown. Thomas Midgeley, vicar of Foston and Barniston in plurality and not one of the 1559 absentees, was reported an open 'misliker' of the new order in 1567. Thomas Pannell, an ex-canon regular, writer and holder in plurality of the rectory of Cottingham with a London benefice, was suspended at York in 1562 and imprisoned for what seems to have been Catholic teaching. In any case he soon died, leaving behind him an aggressively Catholic will (made during Queen Mary's reign). John Walkwyd resigned St. Mary's, Beverley, in 1564, after appointment, but before institution. It is possible that this was due to refusal to subscribe—or it may have been due to unfitness on other counts. Thomas Fugall, vicar of Lowthorpe,

10. P.R.O. SP 16/23; See *Elizabethan Clergy & the Settlement of Religion*.

11. Or was banished in 1586, see CRS 5. Y/MS R.VI/A.1-5, R.VII/HC.

12. Y/MS R.VI/A.I., R.VII/HC.

Hessle and Hull in plurality, was charged in 1561 with a whole calendar of crimes—refusing the Book of Common Prayer and encouraging other incumbents to continue with the Latin Office, not forbidding his parishioners to use rosaries, attacking the marriage of clergy, committing fornication. He seems to have been deprived of Hessle and Hull. (13).

William Scory, vicar of Sherburn (East Riding or Ainsty—more likely the latter) was suspended in 1562 and sent to confer with the Archbishop's chaplains. His offence seems to have been administering Catholic sacraments.

8 curates in the Riding were suspended or in serious trouble for non-conformity of a Catholic sort. In 1567 three curates of St. John's, Beverley, Richard and John Levett and Thomas Saunders were arraigned for contumacy and hiding or using 'certain idolatrous and superstitious monuments.' They were made to undergo a dramatic penance—a parade through the streets of York in vestments with paper mitres on their heads proclaiming their crimes. Then they were suspended and inhibited from holding any cure within ten miles of Beverley. A little later the Levetts were found lodging in York and suspected of Popery. In 1568 John Dodding, curate and schoolmaster of Eastrington, was charged with being only a deacon, refusing to advance in orders, concealing Catholic books and 'monuments of superstition' in his room, teaching his boys errors, and fornicating. The case is crossed out in the book, with the marginal note—'vacat hic.' Henry Laughe, curate of Bridlington, was summoned for questioning from 1563 to 1571 and then suspended for continuing to use unleavened wafer breads. In 1568 Roger Brerewood, curate of Watton, was sought in vain by the authorities, though no charge is given. In 1563 Thomas Stainbank, curate of Settrington, ignored two summonses and then was enjoined and forbidden to teach 'nisi ut teneatur in Injunctionibus..Reginae.' In 1563 William Storer, curate and schoolmaster of Hatfield, was summoned but did not then appear. In 1575 a cleric of the same name was charged with Thomas Barneby Esq. of the West Riding with some unstated crimes involving the removal of service books. This Storer evaded appearance before the High Commission, but was later barred from all preferment in the diocese for marrying people irregularly. In 1578 Thomas Bellard, curate of Welwick, was suspended for Catholic tendencies. (14)

Beyond these often obscure cases lies a further hinterland. In this there are, firstly, eight cases where the York episcopal register simply notes that East Riding livings were given to clergy because

13. Purvis op. cit.; Y/MS R.VI/A.I., R.VII/HC.

14. Purvis. p. 30; Y/MS R.VII/G.883 and HC books.

the benefices were 'freely resigned', 'resigned' or 'de jure vacant.' (Winestead, Everingham, Wressle and Hornsea 1567; Lund 1568 and St. Mary, Beverley, Hunmanby and Sproatley 1569). This may mean illness of the previous incumbent, pluralism reduced, promotion or moral and professional unfitness. On the other hand, with the history of the cases cited earlier before us, and considering the incompleteness of the records, we cannot very well rule out the possibility that some of these cases may have concerned Catholicism. Secondly, in the hinterland there are some dozen cases of East Riding clergy cited to the High Commission without any record of their offence or punishment. Here again, it may well be that recusancy was no issue in any of these cases. Thirdly, there are 36 cases where vicars or curates seem to have connived at the keeping of Catholic fittings of their East Riding churches, or where they personally were charged with Catholic practices—though, so far as we can see, in no case punished by suspension or deprivation, since they hastily promised future obedience. Thus the visitors of 1559 noted 'images' kept and concealed at Bridlington church. The vicar of Brantingham in 1561 was still using the Latin breviary. In 1565 the vicar of Weaverthorpe was found to be tolerating stone altars, standing crosses, Communion in one kind, rush bearing, and the vicar of Great Driffield the singing of antiphons in Latin. The vicar of St. Martin's, Coney Street, York, was keeping Catholic books with a lay friend at Kelfield. In 1567 the incumbents of Howden, Hemingborough, Easington, Owthorne, Sproatley, Beeford and North Frodingham were saying Requiems (all prayer for the dead was strictly forbidden.) 17 Holderness parishes were, in that year, found to be keeping Catholic fittings in their churches, and two of them, Roos and Burton Pidsea, did not yet even possess the necessary Anglican service books. In 1569 the vicar and curate of Escrick, the vicar of Stillingfleet, the curate of Wheldrake and a clerical schoolmaster at Sutton on Derwent were found to be copying and passing round seditious and Papist literature. In 1571 the rood remained at Wilberfoss and in 1573 the curate of Kilnwick was keeping a sanctus bell. As late as 1575 the curate of Skerne was found inclined to 'the old errors.' The fourth and last part of the hinterland consists of those incumbents who kept their benefices, but who reveal in their wills the clear signs of Catholic beliefs. The standard ancient preamble to a will consisted of 'I leave my soul to Almighty God, to blessed Mary ever a Virgin and to all the holy company of heaven', and was followed by provisions for Masses and prayers for the testator's soul. This could never be used—even unthinkingly—by a real Protestant. Moreover wills— and especially those of the clergy—passed for probate through the Archbishop's court and were there scrutinised. It has been maintained that the survival of the Catholic preamble in wills made after 1559 is proof of no more than unthinking conservatism. This may possibly be true in some cases. But, considering the temper of the

age, the nature of Protestantism, the relative infrequency of the survival, and the coincidence of provisions for prayers for the dead, the original turns of phrase used, it is impossible not to take these survivals seriously. Clerical wills for this period do not occur in much abundance. But of some 16 East Riding ones examined for 1563-70 Richard Wright of Thwing (1563) invokes the 'celestiall company'; Sir John Gray, vicar of Atwick (1564) leaves his executor to dispose of the residue of his estate 'as he thinks fit for the health of my soul'; Robert Clevinge, vicar of Goodmanham (1565—donor of the great font there, with its request for prayers for his soul and its Hail Mary) invokes the 'celestiall companye'; as does the vicar of Welwick in the same year; in 1569 curates in Hull and Seaton and the vicar of Wressle invoke the saints or make provision for prayers, while the vicar of Cloughton, Scalby, leaves the residue to his executor, as he euphemistically puts it, 'that he may keep a priest of it'—that is, give a stipend for Requiems. In 1573 Anthony Marston, clerk, of Londesborough, is discreet about the preamble, but leaves Catholic books—to William Atkinson a boke called Bartholomeus Anglicus. to Christopher Monckton Esquier (a Catholic) one boke called augustinus de civitate dei. to one Chambers my cosine one lytle booke called the Mr of the Sentences. to Cuthbert Fisher foure bookes which were Sir John Fishers bookes called breve legius. Textus Sentenciarum. pupilla oculi. Sermones discipuli yf hee be a lyve, the reste of my bookes unbequithed I geve to Sir William of Goodmanham.' But the clearest case of clerical conservatism is the will of Robert Hype, vicar of Kilnwick Percy, who, in September 1562 left to the church 'a white cope to be used on our Lady day in honour of her. And two torches to bring me forth to be lighted on the daye of my buryall, and at all other tymes to be used at the sacrament tyme.' (15).

But there was another contemporary element amongst the East Riding clergy—the 'old' or 'Queen Mary' priests. They were unbeneficed clergy, deprived of their livings for Catholicism and wandering at large or living with sympathisers. We know, so far, of some fifty who lived in Yorkshire at this period. Many were emigrants from outside the county or Riding, from Durham, the Midlands or even from Scotland. Some, like William Todd S.T.P., ex-prebendary of Durham and George Palmes, ex-prebendary of York, were so defiant as to be kept in York Castle. Others were confined to small remote areas, away from home and under bonds not to move. Of this sort were Robert Pursglove, confined to the Ughorpe area. Others quietly drifted into the county—men like Henry Cumberland, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and

15. Y/MS Wills 17 passim; SS 121/24; YAJ 16/287. John Tutynge, monk and then canon of Durham, rector of Brantingham from 1556, had kept a MS from the Durham monastic library. (Greenslade, in Durham Univ. Journal N.S.x/107-13).

ex-precentor of Lichfield, Thomas Bedall, ex-canon of Worksop, or Humphrey Natters, ex-monk of Peterborough.

Again, some of the 'old' priests were active missionaries, like Cumberford (whom Archbishop Grindal, with pardonable exaggeration, credited with having inspired all the lay Catholic resistance in the diocese.) These men not infrequently crossed to Douai when the English college there was founded and returned to their mission work after a 'refresher course.' Others stayed abroad as seminary professors or became Jesuits. But the seminary priests later accused numbers of 'old' priests of timidity and inactivity or, worse, of being 'scandalous newters.' Robert Pursglove, who, in 1566, was put under bond by the High Commission 'not to attempt anything by teaching, preaching, open talking or otherwise sinisterly to the disturbance or hindrance of her Maties laws concerning religion', was, in the 1570s, found by the seminary priests a 'newter', to be reclaimed to the Church on his death-bed. However the casualty rate of the 'old' priests under persecution seems to have been very high. In the 1570s and early 1580s the Hull and York prisons invariably contained six to eight 'old' priests who obstinately refused conformity and preferred to die in gaol rather than secure a comfortable benefice by apostasy.

A number of old priests worked in the East Riding or were connected with it. We have already noticed George Palmes, Pursglove, and the deprived incumbents. Two of the first English Jesuits were Thomas Langdale, of South Skirlaugh or Sancton, who may have gone abroad before 1558, and Thomas Metham who was not, apparently, beneficed in Yorkshire. He was a priest of real eminence, proposed by Cardinal Allen as Archbishop of York if England were recovered. His movements are very obscure, but he seems to have worked in England for years. William Stillington, of Kelfield, was Doctor of Theology and professor in Louvain, Douai and Rome. He, like Metham, was a notable figure amongst the English Catholic exiles and thought of by the English government as in the counsels of Cardinal Allen and Fr. Persons S.J. Philip Sherwood, of Walkington, was an 'old' priest ordained before 1558, but perhaps not beneficed in Yorkshire. He was sheltered by the Methams at Metham and North Cave after 1559, spent some time thereafter as a professor at Douai and returned to the English mission. In 1577 Sir Peter Hartfurth seems to have said Mass in the Fowberrys' house at Sandhall in Howden, but he was reported to have died the same year. There are two references to Scots 'old' priests—at Easttrington in 1569 and at Naburn in 1582. It was reported that two 'old' priests served the Babthorpes at Osgodby—Stephen Hemsworth and Peter Cloudsdale. Hemsworth flits through the High Commission records in the early 1570s, was at North Cave in 1574 and soon afterwards was captured and ended his life in gaol in Hull. The list of references to 'old' priests

in the Riding ends with an unnamed 'schoolmaster' maintained by Sir John Constable at Halsham in 1573, though the record is too brief to warrant more than a possibility. Thus between 1558 and 1578 there seem to have been about ten 'old' priests at work, perhaps intermittently, in the Riding. (16)

Our final judgment on the priests of the area at this period is not an easy one to make. In any case we lack statistics of the total number concerned. There were 170 benefices, but in addition there were curacies, chaplaincies and retired priests, in unknown numbers. By 1576 there had been at least 55 changes of incumbency, changes which were especially numerous in Holderness. As we have seen some 15-17 clergy of the ordinary parochial kind were deprived or suspended for Catholicism, so far as we can tell. We have traced another 46 who in some way showed Catholic sympathies. Therefore there seems to have been, as we should expect, a fair amount of religious conservatism. This is borne out by the language used by the archiepiscopal examiners of the clergy in a special visitation in the early 1570s. They distinguished 'senes' or 'pontificales' (men ordained before 1558 by the Roman Rite, from 'iuvenes' (those ordained and instituted under the new order) and seem automatically to regard the older men with suspicion. They were as rarely enthusiastic in their recognition of genuine Protestant belief in an 'old' parson, as they were inclined to doubt the faith of a young man—though cases of both do occur. But the 'senes' were a dying race. On the other hand it is equally obvious that the parish clergy as a class gave no example of heroic devotion to the Catholic Faith. (17)

The fourth feature of this period was a similar state of things amongst the laity. According to the surviving ecclesiastical records, just over 40 adults in the Riding were charged with recusancy (refusal to attend Anglican services) and another 75 adults were charged with offences which imply Catholic beliefs. They were distributed pretty evenly, fitting the contemporary distribution of population in the Riding. This is a very small figure indeed. We may contrast it with the comments of Sir Thomas Gargrave, a strong Protestant and pillar of the royal administration in the county. In June 1568 he wrote to Cecil that 'good affection to religion is not so forward as in King Edward's days; some refuse communion and the church service is not used.' In November 1569 he spoke of 'the open service and sacrament being refused by many.' We may imagine that he was thinking chiefly of the

16. CSPD Add. 1547-65 pp. 521ff.; DD; CC pp. 135ff.; Y/MS R.VII/HC, R.VII/G.502, 159; BH/319n Peter Hartfurth was possibly the priest of that name, vicar of Whixley, Richmondshire from 1557 to at least a visitation in 1562. (YAJ 14/420.)

17. Y/MS Archiepisc. Register 30 (wills & institutions). Purvis op. cit.

North Riding. But in 1572 he compiled (not for the first time) a list of the main Yorkshire gentry, marking their religious opinions. Of his 12 'Principall gents.' of the East Riding he marks 6 as Protestants (John Vaughan, Christopher Hildyard, Edward Ellerker of Risby, John Hussey, John Hotham and Ralph Boucher) and 1 is unmarked (Thomas Boynton). Sir John Constable, of Halsham, is marked 'doubtful or newter', and 4 Catholic (Sir Marmaduke Constable, of Everingham, and Robert Aske, of Aughton, 'lesse evill', and Sir William Babthorpe and Peter Vavasour, of Spaldington, the 'worste sorte.'). Of his list of 14 East Riding 'gents of mener degree', only 4 (Arthur Dakins, Christopher Legard, George Dakins and William Strickland) are marked 'Protestant'. Marmaduke Lacy is left unmarked. 7 were 'doubtful or newter' (Robert Wright, of Ploughland, Robert Haldenby, Brian Lacy, of Folkton, Gabriel St. Quentin, Constable of Caythorpe, Robert Sotheby of Pocklington, and Anthony Smeathley, of Brantingham) and 2 'lesse Evill' (Marmaduke Constable, of Everingham, and Thomas Dolman, of Pocklington.) It is notable that only Vavasour and St. Quentin of these had been prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts. Moreover there are strange omissions from Gargrave's list—Thomas Metham, the Saltmarshes, Wilberfosses, Thirkelds, Moncktons, Longleys, Creykes, Palmes, Stillingtons of whom half were to be prosecuted for offences connected with Catholicism during those years.

We can compare with this Archbishop Grindal's list of 1577, which coincides much more nearly with the slender proportions of the court cases, but adds cases in Hull and Beverley which do not occur in the existing Court Books. Lastly there is a third list, dated 1574, and apparently of Catholic provenance. It lists 37 East Riding gentry as Catholics. Of these only about 10 had been before the courts. But the remainder, or their families, all figure in prosecutions soon after 1578, with the exception of the Asselbys. (18).

There are three possible reasons for the startling discrepancy between these lists and the court records. The first is consistently false returns by parsons and churchwardens, unchecked by authorities who, as yet might be supposed to have been concentrating on clergy and schoolmasters. There seems to be some substance in this hypothesis. There is reason to believe that archdeacons and archiepiscopal visitors and J.P.s did not take their duty of prosecuting recusants very intensively before 1570. The High Commission itself seems to have relied on the returns of the archiepiscopal visitation and casual informations, with the addition of a few local commissions of enquiry, before the 1569 rising. The rising led to intensive enquiries through special juries in Richmond-

18. Gargrave in CC/66ff.; Grindal *ibid.*/144ff.; CRS 13/89ff.

shire and the North Riding, and this seems to have launched a punitive method which was then extended, by the later 1570s, to the East Riding. Thus the long list of East Riding recusants which appears after 1578 must, in some measure, be due to a stepping-up of official pressure.

A second suggested hypothesis is that the vast majority of the Catholic-minded lapsed into the practice of outward conformity after 1560. We have express statements to this effect from Cardinal Allen, Nicholas Sander and Fr. Persons S.J., while it is evident from the writings of the early Jesuit missionaries after 1578 that what they called 'schismatics' (people of residual Catholic sympathies but more or less conformed to the Anglican Church outwardly, as opposed to 'heretics'—that is, definite Protestants) were frequently met with. Sander describes the mentality of these people—

... they thought they might to some extent outwardly obey the law ... if in so doing there was any sin, that must be laid at the Queen's door, not at theirs, for they were of the opinion that the straits they were in somehow or another might be held to excuse them ...

He also maintains that they were, on occasion, sustained in this belief by the fact that the parish clergy shared it, and either said Mass in their houses, or took them Holy Communion from Masses said secretly in presbyteries. It is also commonly said by these missionaries that a large proportion of the population were 'schismatics' before 1578. They imply that missionaries were far more concerned with the reconciling of schismatics to the Church than the conversion of Protestants.

It is clear from the court records that, alongside resolute recusants there existed 'schismatics' at this period. As for the saying of Mass or giving of Catholic sacraments by incumbents, there are a few cases which seem to imply that this was the charge, but none where it is stated clearly. The records cast no real light on the problem of the numbers of 'schismatics'. Those who carried conformity to the point of communicating (and the Catholic authors say expressly that this was frequent) would obviously not appear in court cases anyway. As we have already remarked, the early court records seem to show the signs of an administration which was not yet properly 'in gear' and not yet concentrating on the laity intensively. Moreover, at all periods, the records are very limited and defective. The visitation books abound in cases without note of action taken. There and in the High Commission books we are told little of charges. The conclusion of many cases is not given. Pages, sections and classes of records are now missing. Also the 'cause papers'—full records of cases with examinations of defendants—have almost all vanished. As we shall see, in 1578-81 an official drive (the first) in the Riding dredged up a good many

new cases of recusancy or part-conformity, of whom the great majority speedily conformed, half apparently finally, the others temporarily. It is much harder to believe that these were new and feeble converts from Protestantism made by the first 'seminaries,' than that they were pre-1578 schismatics, either hesitantly emerging into recusancy as Catholic books and word of seminary priests' instructions got around, or suspects whose intermittent conformity had been noted.

In considering the attitude of these 'schismatics' we should notice how often the presence of contacts with the Continent, determined Catholic priest relatives, meeting with recusant 'old' priests, reading English Catholic literature from Louvain and Douai were the causes of them seeking reconciliation with the Church. (By lapsing into conformism they fell under censures and needed not only to go to Confession to a priest himself either reconciled or never a conformist, but a judicial act of reconciliation requiring faculties from ecclesiastical authority abroad.) Thus Blessed Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, was a 'schismatic', converted by reading books and reconciled by one 'Mr. Copley,' Sir Thomas Metham and William Hussey had Catholic books and the latter a determined 'old' priest with Douai connections, Philip Sherwood. Thomas Sherwood of Walkington, Jane Langdale of Sancton, the Stillingtons and Langdales had Catholic priest relatives abroad.

Lastly we should remember that the penalties for recusancy before 1578 were by no means as light as they have sometimes been represented. The only recusant fine was of 12d. per person per Sunday and holiday of obligation (that is, some 75/- a year) which was by no means light for the ordinary man in those days of large families and households. But it is very doubtful whether it was ever widely and consistently collected. The fees, gratuities and inconveniences resulting from court summonses were—together with the legal disabilities resulting from excommunication—a moderate deterrent. An Act of 1571 (13 Eliz. cap. 1.) made it treason to be reconciled to the Church. This, together with High Commission bonds, imprisonment and the loss of offices of profit would be the major deterrent. It is true that determined recusants were still dealt with remarkably gently (hence Gargrave's sour comment that Sir Thomas Metham waxed rich in gaol) and schismatics were M.Ps (Edward Ellerker and Sir John and Sir Henry Constable) and J.Ps. But the iron hand remained in the velvet glove. (19)

A third and minor reason for the lack of recusants was the absence of some at the Universities, Inns of Court, legal jobs, travel abroad or on estates in other counties. Thus in 1557 Edward

19. Bayne. *Anglo-Roman Relations*; CSPD Add. 1566-79 p.52.

Vavasour of Spaldington was a recusant in the Inner Temple, John Vavasour was a recusant attorney in the Court of Requests, and two Dolmans were recusant students at Gray's Inn. There was a Metham at Lincoln's Inn and several abroad. By 1578, of the 30 Yorkshiremen who had been at Douai College, we can identify three from the Riding, Thomas Metham, William Anlaby of Etton and John Finglef of Howden. (20).

There is some evidence to illustrate the mentality of lay Catholics during these years. We have the devout preamble to Sir Thomas Metham's will (1570)—

'First I geve and bequithe my poor sinfull sowle to thinfinit mercye of that my Lorde and god in whome I have firme hope and undoubted beleffe of resurrection unto liffe at his comynge at that dredfull judgement when all fleshe shall rise & geve accomptes & that by the meritts of his most painfull passion and effusion of his moste precieuse bloude for mee & al Mankynde upon the tree of the Crosse I shalbe on of the partakers of the everlastinge & heavenlie Joyes humblie moste ferventlie besichinge the most blessid hollie & gloriouse virgine our blessed Ladie sainte marie his mother & all the Celestiall & blessid Companie of heaven to be intercessors with mee & meanes for mee to attaine to the same. . .'

He leaves as heirlooms to his family 'my Latten byble boke of armes cheane & armoure.' Another determined recusant, Mrs. Ann Vavasour of Spaldington, in 1570 is briefer—'I committ my soule to God my maker dyinge in his Catholicke fathe.' In 1575 Richard Halome, parish clerk of Swine, is 'a defender and maintayner of the Romish religion & saith it wil not from his harte.' In 1570 Mrs. Katherine Lacy of Sherburn affirms 'that the hollie bread was good & the worlde was good when the same was used, & that prayinge to our Ladye & thother saynts was good & she wold use the same, & that she wold use . . . the maiking of crosses upon the founte stone at such tyme as she cometh into the church to be purified of hir children, & she denieth to offer any offering except she shud kisse the patten of the chalyce or the Communion book.' In 1571 William Lacy of Sherburn was questioned by Grindal—'whether he was resolved in such doubts of religion or no, who answered and said he was not resolved. And then . . . asked whether he was a subject of the Queen . . . and believed in the Church of England . . . who answered and said that he believed in the Catholick Church. Asked whether he was one of that church whereof the Pope was head . . . confessus fuit that he was one of that church whereof the Pope had always been taken & was supreme head & vicar-general under Christ in earth . . .' In 1573, when again examined he answered he would enter bond to resort to church but not to be

20. DD; CRS 22/101ff.; Gillow. *Blog. Dictionary of Catholics* ii/94; CM.

partaker of the prayers of the church as they be established by public authority . . . for his liberty has wrought no fruit with him but that he pretended a conformity and of likelihood meant nothing.' From the full schismatics there is the long Catholic preamble to the will of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham (1573). We can note (chosen at random) the Catholic wills of John Aske of Aughton (1562), George Vavasour of Spaldington 1561, Sir Ralph Ellerker of Risby 1562, William Bolton of Swine 1563, James Bolton of Hornsea 1563, Thomas Byrd tanner of Beverley 1566, Will Adamson clothier of Beverley 1568, Thomas Blake of Catton 1566, Thomas Donas of Garton husbandman 1566, Chris. Browne of Dunnington 1566, John Vavasour of Spaldington 1567, Robert Constable of N. Cave 1564, Mrs. Audrey Hungate of N. Dalton 1570. We can find professions of faith in odd places—witness the fine for the manor of Ousethorpe made in 1570 between Marmaduke Thirkeld, Sir Marmaduke Constable, Peter Vavasour, Michael Constable and Christopher Monckton. It is boldly decorated on top and margins with the Elizabethan recusants' sign—the Holy Name, Jesus. (21)

(2) 1578-1600. The Coming of the Seminary Priests and Jesuits.

The 1569 Rising opened a new era of cold war between the government and the Catholic powers. The active planning of Catholic plots and risings from Rome and Madrid and the part played in this by the English exiles led the government into panic legislation. The foundation of a missionary centre by 'old' priest exiles at Louvain in 1560 had led eventually to the setting up by them of an English mission seminary at Douai in Spanish Flanders in 1568. This was followed by the foundation of similar seminaries at Rome, Valladolid, Seville, Madrid and Lisbon. The open association of the founders with plans for military action against the English government, and the notable increase in recusancy as the seminary priests began to enter England after 1574 led to laws designed to destroy the new mission. In 1571 it became treason to reconcile others, in 1581 treason to go abroad to a seminary, or, once ordained abroad, to stay in England. All who aided mission priests thereby became traitors. Thus the mission priests who began to enter England in appreciable numbers from 1578-82 faced great dangers. Moreover they were set in a strange position. Their superiors abroad and, doubtless, most of the priests themselves regarded rebellion against the existing government as fully justifiable. But the seminaries were founded simply to provide men for the pastoral task of rescuing English Catholicism by converting souls, and the missionaries were strictly bidden to steer clear

21. Y/MS. Wills 17-19 passim; B/MS Holme MSS. N. Dalton deeds; Y/MS R.VII/HC.

of political talk or action. It was a dilemma which has confronted others in history—for instance Calvin and his preachers sent into France a decade or two earlier. Of about 100 priests of Yorkshire extraction who came to the mission by 1600, 35-40 died on the scaffold or in prison and the majority of the rest were in gaol at one time or another. That they were not also executed was due to the fact that, later in the reign, political factors to some extent mitigated the government's policy. But the practical effect was that the average priest's life was short and his missionary effectiveness much hampered.

The lives of some of these men are documented, partly by court records, but more due to contemporary Catholic devotion to them. William Anlaby of Etton came of a Protestant family. He went abroad to the Netherlands wars, was converted at Douai during a visit paid out of curiosity, and entered England as a priest in 1578. At first he worked alone, going on foot, carrying his Mass-kit. Later he acquired a horse and joined forces with another Douai priest and native of the Riding, William Atkinson (1587). They ranged widely from Richmond through York to Howden, Hemingborough and Hull. Fr. Anlaby was at last arrested in Richmondshire in 1597 and executed at York. Fr. Atkinson continued alone, still ceaselessly moving around the same area on foot, rarely with safe or comfortable quarters. He was arrested in 1616, in old age, at the Vavasour house at Willitoft, and executed in York. Robert Dalby of Barlby, Hemingborough, the son of a yeoman, was ordained priest in Rome and landed on the North Yorkshire coast in 1587. At that time Grosmont Priory in Whitby Strand was a shelter for priests arriving in the country or resting between mission journeys. They were more or less at the mercy of the sea captains—often Dunkirk privateers—who might land them anywhere on the North-East coast at remote places, since the docks at Hull and Newcastle were watched. The priests attempted to reach the haven of Grosmont and were there set on their way to their mission areas. Fr. Dalby began work round Scarborough and in Dickering, but was very soon arrested and executed in York in 1589. Robert Thorpe, a Yorkshire Douai priest who may possibly have been a native of Holderness, was arrested in 1591 at the house of Thomas Watkinson at Menthorpe, Hemingborough. He and his host were executed in York. He had only been five years on the mission. Edward Dakins, another Douai priest, pretty certainly belonged to the Dakins family of Linton, Buckrose and Brandesburton, Holderness. He seems to have been converted while at Cambridge and entered Douai in 1581. His course to the priesthood took only five months. Few of these men spent even as much as two years on their training, doubtless due to the crying need for missionaries, the pressure of space in the colleges and shortage of endowments. Dakins was soon arrested, imprisoned and deported to the Continent. After two years abroad he returned to the mission in 1586.

His career in Yorkshire thenceforward was obscure and he was not again arrested. Fr. Henry Walpole S.J. who was arrested at Kilham in 1594, was thought to have been making for a rendezvous with Dakins, whom he admitted he had seen once, in London. In 1595 an informer reported that Dakins had been seen at Brandesburton, where he had heard the confession of Hilary Dakins gent. in a hedge-bottom and received a white horse from him.

John Fingley, a Douai priest born at Barnby, Howden, worked in the North from 1581 to 1586 and was then caught and executed at York. Alexander Crowe came on the mission from Douai early in 1584, was arrested while baptising a child at South Duffield and executed at York. William Lacy of Beverley was a Church-Papist, holding an official post in York in the early years of the reign. He was twice married, the second time to a widow named Creswell. He became a recusant in the early 1570s and dodged prosecution by moving about. In 1579, after the death of his second wife, he left England. From Paris he wrote a letter to his brother, an "old" priest in the Amounderness district of Lancashire. He entered Douai College in 1580, passed on to Rome, was ordained there by the Marian bishop, Goldwell of St. Asaph, and returned to Yorkshire. He was arrested very shortly after his arrival, while ministering to the Catholic prisoners in York Castle, and was executed there in 1582. In 1591 Fr. John Beseley *alias* Parker was suspected to be working round Howden and Hemingborough. Two laymen, Dalton and John Wells, were arrested on suspicion of sheltering him. In 1586 a number of secular priests were "flushed" by pursuivants in Richard Longley's house at Grimthorpe. Two, who are named, escaped—John Mush, Blessed Margaret Clitheroe's confessor in York, and one Johnson. Richard was executed in York for sheltering them. (22).

There is very little evidence that Jesuits worked in the Riding yet. Before 1600 there were rarely more than a dozen English Jesuits in the whole country at any one time. They were usually men of great ability and their energies were concentrated on key positions and on attempting to organise the somewhat haphazard work of the seminary priests. Fr. Edmund Campion, on his famous missionary journey to the North in 1580 seems to have paid a short visit to the Babthorpes at Osgodby. But the first great Jesuit director of northern missions was Fr. Richard Holby, a native of Fryton in the North Riding. In the early 1590s his centre was at Durham, and it can only have been after then that he moved into Yorkshire. A third Jesuit, Fr. Henry Walpole, was put ashore at Flamborough in 1594—apparently by mistake—and was

22. CRS 5. CM; DD; HMC Salisbury 5/62, 98 (Dakins). Lacy—RH iv/3/139; CSPD Add. 1566-79. p.562; Yorks. Arch. Soc. Library, Leeds MS 710, Y/MS R.VII/HC.

easily captured the next day at Kilham. A fourth Jesuit was Fr. Thomas Langdale, who almost certainly belonged to the Sancton and South Skirlaugh family. After a long and distinguished career abroad he came on to the English mission to Yorkshire in 1583 and soon apostatised. He joined the band of some five or six apostate priests in York who helped the Council of the North in tracing and identifying missionaries. (23).

The heroic sacrifices of the bulk of the seminary priests were not in doubt, but the Jesuits deplored their haphazard and unorganised methods. In 1598 Rome appointed the first of a series of Archpriests, with powers over all secular priests on the English mission. This solution came twenty years late and was, as we shall see later, by no means an unqualified success.

Nevertheless there was a notable increase in lay recusancy during this period. The court records are such that exact statistics are impossible. But it is evident that the 40 adult recusants and 70 non-communicants of 1570-8 had swelled to some 200 adult recusants and possibly 150 "Church-Papists" by 1590-1600. These were, in general, still fairly evenly distributed over the Riding, though relatively thin in the remote north and Hull, and the Howden-Hemingborough area had now become a strong centre. But in relation to a total population of a Riding which could muster 10,000 able-bodied men in 1584 recusant numbers were still very insignificant. Why then was the government so seriously alarmed? Thus in March 1595 the reaction of the Privy Council to a detailed report on northern recusancy was to write of "this great revolt." In the first place it is true that the East Riding never was a great stronghold of Catholic recusancy. The Council's eyes rested far more on the figures from the other Ridings and Northumberland and Durham. Again, it was a time of war and political panic. The presence of the Catholic fifth-column was, regardless of numbers, alarming. To the good Protestant, who then believed firmly that Rome was Antichrist, the mere existence of English Catholics was revolting. But undoubtedly there was a further consideration—the prevalence of "Church-Papistry." Archbishop Hutton of York's answer to the Council in 1595 was that some recusants were dead, others conformed and the rest "the moste parte of them . . . women or of the meanest sorte that are no danger to the State." But this was hardly reassuring. The small nucleus of known and open Catholics had an obscure and unnumbered aura around it of "Church-Papists." The fact was that suspicion attached itself in the East Riding to the majority of the families of gentry—who were the people who mattered. (24).

23. Campion—Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MS 30/78; Holtby & Langdale—FR; CSPD 1547—80 p.659 (xii); CRS 2/181-2. Walpole—CRS 5.

24. Strype. Annals iv/305.

Thus in 1580-2 the York High Commission made a drive against Popery in the East Riding. Special juries were panelled to make accurate returns and Commissioners with local standing and knowledge held extraordinary sessions in Beverley town hall. Some 75-80 heads of families were presented and dealt with. Of these 46 were families of gentry—that is to say the great majority of the gentry were involved, in the sense that Popery had gained a foothold in their families. In almost all these cases the charge was that a man, his wife and family had ceased to go to church at all. Only about twenty of these families had previously been presented by local juries. A few proved contumacious. Three individuals were already in gaol for obstinate recusancy. 5 or 6 heads of families were dismissed with injunctions to obey (presumably because they had immediately gone through the gestures of conformity after being summoned), or dismissed on promises to obey. One favoured individual, "Mr. Crake," was put on bond to conform but dispensed from certifying his conformity. A few spun out their cases by excuses. 3 were sent immediately to gaol for obstinate refusal to conform, and of these one soon conformed. For the rest, 41 families soon produced certificates from their parsons and churchwardens that they had been to church and received Communion. In a further 9 cases the wife refused to go to church, or, more often, went to church once or twice but refused to communicate. The great majority of these certificates were accepted with no ado. In two cases the court was incredulous. William Bathorpe gent. was dismissed, on certifying, "hoc tempore." William Sherwood "made a shewe of conformitie." He was ordered to repeat the process and this time he defaulted. In one other case an offender was ordered to certify a second time. Thomas Metham of Metham's certificate was rejected as "insufficient." There seems to be no suggestion that parsons and churchwardens were returning deliberately falsified certificates. There was a mass lapse back into "Church-Papistry" of a thorough-going sort. In fact about half of those who now conformed did not, so far as the records go, appear in court again. But the drive of the High Commission faded out and it was a dozen years before any similar sweep was made. (25).

"Church-Papistry" was therefore very prevalent indeed. There are plenty of cases, throughout the period, of gentry 'caving in' under pressure and the main members of even the most determinedly Catholic families either had to move about constantly or live the life of occasional conformists. Thus Sir John Constable of Halsham (d.1587) was accounted by Gargrave "doubtful or newter" and there was only one prosecution of him on a religious charge—apparently for keeping an unlicensed chaplain or schoolmaster—and this mysteriously died at birth so far as we can judge from the

record. His will shows that he had close connections with the Neville family. His son and successor, Sir Henry (d.1608) began his adult career with the official reputation of being a safe Protestant, even if he happened to have a suspect servant. He was one of the wealthiest men in the north, seignior of Holderness, J.P., High Sheriff in 1586, M.P. for Hedon 1584-8, for Yorkshire 1588-92 and for Hedon again 1603-8. His marriage to a determined Catholic, a Dormer with many influential connections in the South, ought to have caused trouble at once. But there was no prosecution of her until 1591, though the Archbishop had been concerned about her since at least 1586-7, thought her influence very dangerous and her husband best out of the Commission of the Peace. By this time, in conjunction with her husband's brother, Joseph Constable, a strong Catholic, she had established Sir Henry's property in the North Riding, Kirkby Knowle, as a receiving centre for priests. In 1591 a new sweep for recusants gathered in Lady Constable. After confinement in York and Sheriff Hutton she was released on an undertaking that she would quit the county for a period. In 1593 she was in danger of indictment for sheltering priests. The authorities were showered with letters from her influential friends and the process against her was stayed in 1596 at the Queen's command, in return for a vague promise from Sir Henry to get her to conform. Joseph Constable had also been caught and he and his wife conformed under pressure in 1597. Sir Henry remained prudently a conformist and did not emerge as a recusant until the very end of his life. (26).

Sir William Babthorpe of Osgodby and his wife became recusants in 1565 but conformed under pressure. In 1580, in their old age, they and their second son and his wife were revealed as recusants. All save Lady Babthorpe quickly went through the gestures of conforming. The next head of the family, Sir Ralph, was either absent from the Riding or an occasional conformist until 1585. In the storm of the 1590s he returned to occasional conformity. The lesser members of his family seem to have been constantly on the move to avoid attention. At Howden and Spaldington-Willtoft, the heads of the Metham and Vavasour families behaved in much the same way. The male Palmes of Naburn showed more fight but, in spite of absence from home, they too were not innocent of all compromises. At Everingham, Sir Marmaduke Constable (d. 1574) was a Church-Papist never prosecuted. His heir, Sir Philip (d.c.1612) behaved like the rest and only became a recusant late in life. (27).

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26. HMC Salisbury 4/258, 5/77, 6/67, 378, 7/105-6, 230; CSPD 1591-4 pp. 304-6, 351, 372, 377-8. 1595-7 pp. 183, 369. Strype. *Annals* III/ii/465; IV/425-6.
27. Y/MS R.VII/HC. for other residences of Babthorpes and Methams see York City Records, Sessions Book 6; York Minster Library MS BB/53; Scarborough Town Records (*Ampleforth Journal* 1905. x/193-4).

The court records give a glimpse of the swaying battle of influences bearing on the gentry from opposite directions. On the one side the itinerant priests exercised an evidently powerful influence. But this was limited by their fewness in numbers. The average Catholic must have heard Mass very infrequently at that period and have had few opportunities of receiving the sacraments. The rise of the strong Catholic area of the remote south-west of the Riding must have been due, not only to the Babthorpes, Palmes and Methams, but to the more frequent ministrations of priests, who congregated at York. Added to that there was the problem of attendance at Anglican services. This was a real problem even for the best-instructed and firmest of characters. Baptisms offered least difficulty, although infant mortality was then very high, since a Catholic midwife (like Alice Colson of York, well-known in the Howden-Hemingborough district) or the parents could give clinical baptism in the absence of a priest. Marriage was more of a problem. The couple could travel off in search of a priest, to London or across the Humber into Lincolnshire and so incidentally hope to avoid enquiries. But if enquiries came, difficulties began, because the authorities seem to have regarded Catholic marriages as invalid. Refusal to go through a Protestant service now meant gaol and endangering the property arrangements that went with marriages. This problem haunted Catholics all through the penal period and marriages in Protestant churches after the Catholic ceremony eventually became normal, even if protested against by the Catholic authorities. Funerals were even more of a problem. A recusant was not infrequently under Anglican excommunication and so could not be buried in a way regarded as lawful. At this period, elsewhere in Yorkshire (though we have not yet come across cases of it in the East Riding) zealous Catholics buried their dead themselves secretly by night in Anglican graveyards in defiance of the law—a practice which could not be hidden. The outcome was that burial by the parson became normal. Beyond this lay the problem of attendance at ordinary Anglican services. The laxists—and some priests were to be found in their ranks—held that there was nothing inherently sinful in mere presence, without taking part or communicating, and that this was advisable when the alternative was gaol and so the loss of Catholic influence in the area. But Papal instructions and the teaching of the great majority of the priests absolutely barred this practice as in fact very dangerous to faith, scandalous and tantamount to public apostasy. But such teaching could only make its way gradually, as priests remained few and persecution increased.

In the circumstances, on the Catholic side, the influence of priests at home was probably equalled by that of Catholic contacts made by the gentry at the Universities, Inns of Court (then notoriously a haunt of Catholics), abroad on educational tours or through their innumerable relations in or out of the Riding. There bore

down on the gentry, from the opposite side, the influence of Protestant divines. This was by no means small. The age of Puritan preachers was beginning and anti-Catholic preaching and literature poured out of the presses. In the 1580s the Saltmarshes were Catholic-minded. After 1600 they were notable for their strong Puritanism. The Hull of the 1560s was still undecided in religion. By the end of the century Puritanism was strongly entrenched there and Catholicism confined to a handful of merchant families, Daltons, Ellerkers, Bacons. Then came the influence of pressure by the authorities. This was not exercised uniformly or with absolute efficiency. There were well-marked waves of persecution, dictated by London and the arrival of a new President of the Council of the North, a Huntingdon or Burleigh. Official action was blunted by the venality of its officials, sheer inefficiency and the influence of powerful friends of Catholics—witness the cases of Lady Ingleby while at Brantingham, and Lady Constable and, perhaps, Mr. Crake.

It has been argued that Yorkshire Catholicism in 1578-1600 was a new creation of the seminary priests, with little personal continuity with the old religious conservatism of 1534-78. It is said, in support of this, that the areas in which the earlier conservatism was rife were not those of later strong Catholicism. However, the court records make it hard to sustain this geographical judgment with any confidence. On the basis of the (admittedly scanty) evidence, we still lack serious grounds for disbelieving the unanimous statements of men like Cardinal Allen, Persons, Gerard and Fr. Augustine Baker that a bewildered and feeble pro-Catholicism was widespread into the early 1580s—the class of person called “schismatics” by them, as opposed to Protestants. The main work of the priests was the reconciliation of precisely these people—not the still comparatively few real Protestants. The changeover from this “residual” medieval Catholicism to the instructed “Counter-Reformation” Catholicism of Osgodby in the 1610s was a real change of temper, but that should not blind us to the basic continuity. The devotions, writers and modes of the Catholic Counter-Reformation were, in many ways, still very medieval. Also the change was not simply one effected by a wave of seminary priests appearing after 1578. The firmness of Catholic principle showed by Sir Thomas and Lady Edith Metham, William Hussey, William Lacy, Pursglove, the labour of the “old” priests, in equivocal times and without a firm lead from abroad shades into the later Catholic community of 1600 gradually. The seminaries abroad were started by “old” priests, who had already run a press and Catholic literature centre at Louvain from 1560. As we have seen, some of the “old” priests were associated with Douai. The new pastoral movement began with literature and “old” priests in 1560, shaded into “old” priests associated with seminarists and ended with the seminarists and Jesuits (some, like

Metham, "old" priests) alone by the early 1590s. Scruples about life in England and lax interpretations of "communicatio in sacris" were continuous. (28).

It has also been argued that Catholicism (and, for that matter, Puritanism) became the religion of the "decaying gentry", unable to adapt themselves to an increasingly competitive and utilitarian world—as a kind of "ivory tower." Unfortunately for this theory, it is a fact that the families of gentry who maintained "conservative" opinions in religion and eventually came out into the open as Catholics were precisely most of the pushing, acquisitive, official families of the Riding. The Babthorpes, Methams, Vavasours, Ellerkers, Dolmans, Daltons, Palmes, Constables of Halsham and Everingham, Langdales, Gales, St. Quentins had risen through devotion to the Law as a profession, to trade and to office. They continued to frequent the Inns of Court to the early 17th century, to buy (not infrequently ex-monastic) land, to hold offices. They long remained "Church-Papists" precisely because they feared that open Catholicism would make of them "decaying gentry". Nor was their emergence as Catholics a sign that they had abandoned the fight. They used, as we shall see, every art to avoid the incidence of recusancy fines, every means to win back office. (29).

Three other features of Catholicism now remain to be mentioned. The first is plotting. In the early 1590s there were rumours of plots and an apostate priest, Samuel Wharton, by his tales of imminent Catholic landings there, caused the government hastily to move Catholic prisoners from Hull. But nothing was discovered. At the end of the century came the Essex crisis. Amongst Essex's supporters were Richard Cholmeley of Whitby ("backward in religion" and said to be needy), Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough (Protestant and certainly needy), and the Wright brothers of Welwick, Holderness and Twigmore, Lincolnshire (then "Church-Papists", related to the Babthorpes). Interrogation of them failed to reveal any Catholic organisation in the Riding. (30).

Another feature of Catholicism was the gaoling of Catholics—in the commodious York prisons (the Castle, Kidcote, Peter's Prison, Ousebridge, sheriffs' houses, pursuivants' houses), at Hull (the two Blockhouses, the Castle and Kidcote) or Beverley (town prison, houses of notables.) Contemporary Catholic writings abound in lurid, rhetorical descriptions of sufferings in prison. Even when one has made all allowances for rhetoric, the court records still corroborate most of the main details. It is true—and the

28. YAJ 35/157ff.

29. Trevor-Roper. *The Gentry*.

30. HMC Salisbury MSS 5/184,202. CSPD 1598-1601 pp. 572, 576; HMC Salisbury II/39-40.

Catholic accounts agree—that, by modern standards, these gaols were informal. Money could buy servants, good food, parole, visitors. The authorities, when they had hopes of securing conformity, or when the prisoner was influential—or just to save money and prevent overcrowding—let prisoners out for their health or for Christmas and Easter or just for business reasons. On occasion access to prisoners was so easy that Catholics at some periods used to send their children to be taught by Catholic priests and schoolmasters in York and Hull gaols. But all this was part and parcel of Tudor officialdom. It had an obverse—filthy conditions, gaol fever, fees innumerable (cell rent, food to be bought, gratuities to keepers), separation of families. It was subject to periodical furious official outbursts of reformation, segregation of prisoners, fines of them for not going to church while in gaol. We know the names of some 75 Catholics who were in Hull gaols between 1570 and 1600, and of these at least a dozen died in gaol. "Old" priests and obstinate laity had no hope of release apart from an amnesty. William Lacy of Sherburn and William Stillington of Kelfield must both of them have spent the best part of 15 years in Hull gaols. The few extant Hull prison lists show that it was normal for there to be 10-12 Catholics there at a time. Periodically York prisoners were drafted off to Hull. In 1599 there were 2 priests and 48 other Catholic prisoners in York Castle alone. In 1606 the Castle held 22 debtors, 7 other civil prisoners, 71 felons and 40 recusants, including 2 priests. In 1619 the Castle held 49 Catholic prisoners, of whom 25 were "in Praemunire"—that is imprisoned at pleasure and their possessions forfeit to the Crown. As the letters of contemporary Jesuits and the memoirs of Mary Ward show, Catholics were very conscious of their brethren in bonds and regular collections were organised for them. (31).

Another feature of Catholicism was Catholic schools. From 1561 the Anglican authorities imposed a special Protestant subscription on schoolmasters. All children were bound to be sent to church to be taught the Anglican catechism. This was regarded as so important that the first volume of the Archbishop's court records (1561-7) is mainly devoted to schoolmasters in parishes or in private houses. Some Catholics persisted in trying to keep their own schoolmasters—perhaps at Halsham in 1573, Eastington in 1568, Howden in 1586, Rowley in 1590 and 1604, Naburn in 1593, Spaldington in 1599. The authorities never caught up with the Catholic school at Kelfield, Stillingfleet, kept by William Stillington in 1598-9. Thomas Emerson, a Douai priest, did his humanities there before going on to the Jesuit school at St. Omer. But there is no evidence that

31. HB: Y/MS R.VII/HC. (several copies of rules for Catholic prisoners in York and Hull); TERAS ix/88ff. (Hull Blockhouses); H/MS L.56 release from Hull by influence.); FR; MT.

these were more than short-lived family affairs. The effort to maintain secret Catholic schools never died out, but, by the 1570s the Stillingtons, Methams and Langdales of South Skirlaugh were reported to be sending their sons abroad where it was easier to get a Catholic education. In the 1580s the Jesuit schools for English boys at St. Omer and Dunkirk were founded and became the normal place of education for the wealthier. The Church-Papists continued to send their children to the grammar schools (viz. the Wrights of Welwick at St. Peter's, York) and Universities. We hear little of Catholic literature and its dissemination. In 1567 John Levett bought Catholic books at Beverley and in 1581 a Flynton man could buy a Catholic catechism from a barrow at Beverley fair, but York was the main centre for Catholic books. The East Riding even contained at this time John Nettleton of Hutton Cranswick a Catholic who took pains to preserve books from the old monastic libraries. (32).

(3) 1600-1660. Consolidation and Growth.

The first feature of this period was the slow increase in the number of mission priests and some measure of stabilisation of mission districts. This was due, not so much to an increase in the output of seminaries, as to the refoundation of English religious Orders and the advent of Jesuit, Benedictine and Franciscan missionaries in considerable numbers. The stabilisation of mission areas was the result of several factors—increased numbers of missionaries, increase in numbers of the Catholic laity, better organisation and discipline, the waning of violent persecution. The average missionary could now expect a somewhat safe, less harried and longer working life.

But all these generalisations are subject to qualifications. Numbers of missionaries did not grow as fast as it was hoped. This was not due to lack of vocations so much as to the poverty of the seminaries and the need of the religious Orders to give their subjects a longer training and to keep considerable numbers more or less permanently abroad to man the convents and schools. As for stabilisation of missions, it proved impossible to divide the country economically into districts and parishes and to allot the available

32. Y/MS R.VI/A. Iff. *Catholic Schools in Yorkshire, 1700*. Kitching (*Durham Research Review* ii/9/193ff.); Y/MS R.VII/HC—Nicholas Banestar recusant sought in the E. Riding in 1570s—compare Strype. *Annals*. I/i/414, an Amounderness schoolmaster of the same name, put under restraint 1560 for recusancy; Wormald & Wright. *English Library before 1700* pp. 157-8. (Nettleton known to the authorities as a collector of monastic MSS); Venn. *Alumni Cantabrig.*; printed registers of Inns of Court; *Downside Review* NS. xvi/76ff. (those with sons abroad); *Cal. of State Papers. Foreign* 1579-80 p. 250 (Englishmen in Paris 1580); P.R.O. E.377/13 (Oldcastle, schoolmaster at Rowley).

manpower accordingly. It is true that the missionaries never lacked some kind of authority and direction from superiors. Up to 1598 it was the authority of the rectors of seminaries and of the Holy See more directly through the nuncio in Brussels. In the mission field they had the advice of the great Jesuit missionaries. From 1598 to 1623 the seculars had Archpriests appointed by Rome, and, from 1623 to 1631, Vicars-Apostolic who were Bishops. From 1631 to 1685 there was a long interregnum without a Vicar-Apostolic, when authority lay with a Chapter of senior clergy. Throughout these years superiors strove, with the help of the Catholic gentry, to build up a strong local organisation. From 1623 Yorkshire was a distinct Province, ruled by an Archdeacon. So also the religious Orders in these years worked out an organisation of their subjects. From 1620 Yorkshire formed the College of St. Michael of the Jesuits, with some dozen Jesuit missionaries under a local superior. From about 1620 the English Benedictine Province of York appeared, and eventually had local officials for each county. The Franciscans, at the same period, created a northern province under a Guardian, who resided at York and then Osmotherley. These organisations looked impressive, but were rendered weak by several factors. The first was the absence of overall unity between seculars and regulars, short of the Holy See. Throughout these years fierce controversies raged, on the one hand between seculars and regulars, and, on the other, between Jesuits and their opponents. It would be untrue to say that this destroyed unity of effort. Many priests, secular and regular, took little or no part in the strife. But nevertheless unity was endangered and an economic overall policy and direction denied English Catholics to a large degree. It is not so easy to trace the impact of these quarrels in the small field of the East Riding Catholic community. The quarrel over the lawfulness of the practice of taking the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance had some local repercussions and Catholic family papers not infrequently contain copies of current pamphlets issuing from the strife.

Another factor weakening these clerical organisations was the strait dependence of missionaries on the gentry for shelter and support which was the consequence of the contemporary effort of superiors to end the era of itinerant priests and establish fixed centres. Chaplaincies came to hang on the will of patrons, the movements and vicissitudes of family history and fortunes, so that superiors had only a very limited power to move their subjects and plan apostolic work. This disadvantage was mitigated by the fact that many of the gentry were educated by the Orders or at the secular College at Douai and so came to have an understanding of clerical difficulties and aims "from the inside" and personal friendships with the clergy. Also priests were, at this period, drawn to a greater extent than later from the ranks of the country gentry. Again, this was a period of religious revival, which smoothed away

many difficulties. It would, therefore, be untrue to imagine that, at this period, superiors had no real power over the missions.

A last factor making their lives difficult was the fact that circumstances sometimes made the maintenance of clerical discipline hard. New missionaries were on occasion forced to hang about in large towns awaiting places. Then they were drafted to a very restricted life in country houses, often with very small flocks to attend. The modern parish priest with his thousands would find it hard to envisage the furtive life of an early seventeenth century missionary, rarely having more than fifty souls to care for.

Very few records survive of the various clerical organisations in Yorkshire before 1660. This fact in part reflects the deliberate veil of secrecy then kept by Catholics under persecution, but it also reflects the growing pains of the organisations. Also the Civil War period disrupted missions and such records as were then kept. The post-1660 records often refer to this and to the loss of deeds of foundation of Masses made before the wars. The few surviving descriptions of life on the Yorkshire missions at this period (by Fr. Holtby S.J., Lady Babthorpe and Fr. Pollard S.J.) are more moral exhortation and hagiography than detailed accounts. In them we get some sort of picture of Osgodby Hall in the 1620s, frequented by many guests, relatives and visitors and housing never less than two priests, and, on occasion three or four. The custom was to have one chaplain for the family and household (which might be numerous—witness the household of 38 sent to Howden church by Thomas Metham in the 1580s) and one for the neighbouring Catholics. As we shall see, this custom was long observed by the gentry.

“Our house I might count rather as a religious house than otherwise, for though there lived together in it three knights and their ladies with their families, yet we had all our servants Catholic. On the Sundays, we locked the doors and all came to Mass, had our sermons, catechisms and spiritual lessons every Sunday and holiday. On the work days we had for the most part two Masses, and of them the one for the servants at six o'clock in the morning at which the gentlemen, every one of them without fail and the ladies if they were not sick, would even, in the midst of winter, of their own accord be present; and the other we had at eight o'clock for those who were absent from the first. In the afternoon, at four o'clock, we had Evensong, and after that, Matins, at which all the knights and ladies, except extraordinary occasions did hinder them, would be present, and stay at their prayers all the time the priests were at Evensong and Matins. The most of them used daily some meditation and mental prayer, and all, at the least every fourteen days and great feasts, did confess and com-

municate; and after supper, every night at nine o'clock, we had all together litanies, and so immediately to bed..”

This was a mission centre like the Grosmont, Kirkby Knowle and Grimthorpe of the 1590s, and perhaps similar centres existed at Naburn, Metham and in Holderness. But they were hardly typical, for the Catholic gentry were so peripatetic at this period and persecution so spasmodic that the regular mission life of later years could hardly have existed except where conditions were exceptionally favourable. (33).

We get some glimpses of half-a-dozen East Riding secular priests. Fr. Robert Watkinson came from a yeoman family at Menthorpe, Hemingborough. He was instructed at home as a child by a visiting priest, educated at a school in the West Riding at Castleford, kept by a "Church-Papist" schoolmaster and widely used by Catholics, and entered Douai in 1599. Three years later he was set ashore in Sussex, made his way to London and was arrested in the streets there a few days later, betrayed by one Fairweather, a Hull man expelled from Douai. He was executed in London in 1602. Fr. Henry Constable was a son of Sir Philip of Everingham. While his parents were still "Church-Papists", and after an education in Protestant schools and very little religious instruction, he visited Osgodby, was there reconciled to the Church by Fr. Pollard S.J. and went to the English College, Rome, at the age of 24, in 1611. He came back to the Yorkshire mission as a priest in 1618, but fell ill and died in 1620. Fr. Robert Dolman also came of the gentry. His "Church-Papist" parents lived at Gunby, Bubwith. At the age of 16, in 1602 he was entrusted by his parents to Fr. Holtby S.J., sent to the school at St. Omer and there reconciled to the Church. In 1610 he went to the English College at Valladolid, passed on to Rome and died there in 1618, before finishing his studies for the priesthood. Christopher Smith, a yeoman's son, probably from Brighton, went to St. Omer at the age of 19, in 1620, had a year's schooling, was ordained at Valladolid and came to the Yorkshire mission. James Dalton of Nuttles, Holderness, entered the English College, Rome, in 1617, was ordained in 1621 and came on the mission in 1623. William Palmes, probably of Naburn, was ordained priest in Rome in 1618.

But there is no doubt that this was the period of greatest influence of the Jesuits in the Riding. Fr. Richard Holtby moved from Durham into Yorkshire shortly after 1600 and, as the first superior of the College of St. Michael, seems to have done much pastoral work in the East Riding. We hear of him at Bubwith in 1602, at Osgodby, at Everingham. The fact that Anthony Holtby and others of his family appear in Holderness

at this time, implies that he also worked there. His successor as superior was Fr. Michael Freeman, another native of Menthorpe. Fr. James Pollard was a West Riding man, but he worked for some years in the Osgodby-Hemingborough-Everingham district. We hear of Fr. William Stillington, perhaps of Kelfield, superior in 1651, of Fr. William Palmes of Naburn, a member of the College 1649-70, Fr. George Palmes a member in 1621, Fr. Ralph Babthorpe 1625-8, Fr. Richard Babthorpe, superior in 1660 and of Fr. Robert Constable of Everingham, who served 14 years in Yorkshire in the middle of the century.

The career of one East Riding Benedictine is revealed. Fr. Thomas Emerson came of a "Church-Papist" family in Stillingfleet. William Stillington of Kelfield persuaded him to see a York priest, Fr. Thomas Wright, who instructed and reconciled him to the Church. He received some schooling at Kelfield, and then went to Valladolid at Mr. Stillington's expense. After ordination he became a Benedictine of a Spanish monastery, and later came on the Yorkshire mission. (34).

According to the court records, the number of definite recusants in the Riding rose to some 550 adults by 1640. (The records are still such as to prevent any exact statistics. Children seem generally to be excluded. In those days of large households and the power of landlords, no exact check could be kept on the personnel and religion of the servants of gentry. On the other hand we have to beware of counting Protestant separatists and absentees from church through debt, distance or laxity, as Catholics.) Also by now they were coming gradually to be concentrated in the southern half of the Riding, where Holderness was rapidly surpassing the south-west, as the greatest Catholic area. Congregations were forming, headed by Hemingborough district, 54, Howden district, 43, and some 8 or 9 other places with over 20 Catholics. The steadiness of the growth in the years preceding the first Civil War witnesses to more steady and intensive pastoral work and more settled conditions of Catholic life. It is odd to see how even some hitherto stiffly official and Protestant families now came—even if only marginally and briefly—by marriage into contact with Catholicism. In 1606-7 the wife of John Gates Esq. of Howden was a convicted recusant. Edward (later Sir Edward) Payler of Thoraldby took as his second wife—apparently by a Catholic marriage—a Catholic Aston of Cheshire. The next generation of Paylers also had Catholic connections. Frances, daughter of John Hotham the younger married a son of Sir Ingleby Daniell of Beswick (a "Church-Papist") and his Catholic wife. John Hotham's own second wife, Katherine Fairfax, had a Catholic mother and brothers. The families of gentry which had no Catholic relations were comparatively rare. Yet, of course, the

34. FR; DD; CM; CRS Rome registers; Birt. *Necrology of Eng. Benedictines.*

Catholic community was still numerically tiny and socially top-heavy, in the sense that it still consisted overwhelmingly of gentry, their servants, households and tenants. Its fortunes were therefore uncomfortably dependent on those of its patrons. When a landowner moved, the Catholic congregation round his original home wilted, or, if he were still the owner, though nonresident, remained stationary in numbers. Thus the fortunes of Catholicism in much of Holderness were affected by the frequent absences of the 1st Lord Dunbar in London; Catholics in Pocklington suffered by the removal of Robert Dolman in about 1620 to his West Riding estates at Badsworth and Marmaduke Dolman to Bottesford in Lincolnshire; Catholicism in the Hemingborough district became stationary when the Babthorpes abandoned residence at Osgodby for life partly abroad and partly at Folkton. Catholicism at Everingham was affected by Sir Philip Constable's preference, after 1620, for West Rasen in Lincolnshire as a residence. Again, the very distribution of Catholics in small pockets in many places reflects the fragmentation and wide dispersion of the gentry's estates.

The Catholic gentry were strongly affected, not only by the more intensive pastoral work of Jesuits and seminary priests, but also by the contemporary flowering of the English Counter-Reformation. The dogged heroism, the spirit of "red" or bloody martyrdom, of the late Elizabethan age gave place gradually, in the safer and more settled period after 1610, to the spirit of the "white" martyrdom—a remarkable spiritual movement, characterised by an abundant literature of devotion, many religious vocations and the foundation of a considerable number of English religious houses abroad. The autobiographical fragments left by Mary Ward illustrate this. Although she came of a Ripon family, her father's determined recusancy compelled him to break up his home, move about frequently and leave his children with relatives. Mary was first left in the care of her grandmother, Mrs. Ursula Wright, at Ploughland, Welwick, Holderness, from 1590-5. The old lady, herself long imprisoned for the Faith and a support of the Catholic prisoners in Hull, was an embodiment of the spirit of the Elizabethan Catholics. From 1598 to 1605 Mary grew up at Osgodby with her relatives, the Babthorpes. She was deeply affected by the devotion of the younger generation, which was to draw whole families abroad into the religious life. Under the direction of Fr. Holtby she began her extraordinary career, which led to the foundation of the first active Order of sisters, the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. One of her first lieutenants was her cousin, Barbara Babthorpe. The Institute was to include amongst its earliest members two other Babthorpes, two Constables and a Portington. (35).

35. Gates—P.R.O. E.377/15 (Recusant Roll). Payler—1627 Visit. & TREAS 13/i/xxviii; YASRS 54/297 (Dolman); M. Salome Mary Ward.

East Riding Catholics were well represented in this monastic movement. In these years the convent of English Franciscan nuns at Brussels contained Grizel, daughter of Sir Robert Dolman of Gunby, the English Benedictine convent at (Brussels, Flavia, daughter of William Langdale of Lanthorpe, Holderness, the English Austin Canonesses of Louvain Lady Grace Babthorpe, her two ex-servants, Ann Stonehouse and Ursula Whiteseal, Elizabeth Wickham, who was niece of the Langleys of Grimthorpe, Grace Constable of Carethorpe, Dickering, two Constables of Everingham and Dorothy Bishop of Pocklington. The English Augustinian Canonesses of Bruges received Ursula Palmes of Naburn and two Babthorpes. The English Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre of Liege received Helen, daughter of Philip Dolman of Pocklington, and the English Benedictine convent of Cambrai Barbara Constable of Everingham. The English Benedictine convent of Ghent received Grace Palmes of Naburn and the English Carmelite convent of Hopland Sister Magdalen of the Holy Cross Palmes. We have no reason to believe that this catalogue is complete but the profession lists of the convents are not all in print, nor do all note the origins of their subjects. At the same time their brothers were becoming Jesuits (in one generation, 5 Babthorpes, 2 Constables of Everingham or Rasen and 2 Palmes), Benedictines (a Babthorpe, a Palmes and 2 Constables, of Everingham and Carethorpe), Franciscans (a Babthorpe and a Cudworth) or Carthusians (a Dalton of Hull). In this way East Riding Catholics came to be scattered over Europe—Barbara Babthorpe at Munich, other nuns all over the Spanish Netherlands, Fr. Thomas Babthorpe S.J., procurator at Madrid, Fr. Robert Constable S.J. professor at Liege, Fr. Joseph Creswell S.J. rector at Ghent—where he was succeeded in office by Fr. Michael Freeman of Menthorpe—Fr. Bernard Palmes O.S.B., educated at St. Omer, Rome and Douai, monk of St. Gregory's, Douai, and then of the English Benedictine monastery at Lambspring, Hanover, confessor to nuns at Brussels, dying at Graz in Austria on his way to take up office as Procurator in Curia of his Congregation in Rome. Occasionally, led by a desire to escape recusant fines and to live in a Catholic country near their children at school or in religion, their parents went into exile and lived in convent guest-houses or Continental boarding houses—Mrs. Langley of Grimthorpe at Antwerp, the Babthorpes at Bruges and Louvain. (36).

On the other hand the gentry were still under persecution. The weight and multiplicity of oppressions upon recusants were unique and remarkable by any standard. The basis of them was a code of penal laws built up between 1571 and 1586 and added to in 1605-6. It was treason to be reconciled to the Church, to give aid to a priest, to bring Catholic literature or objects of devotion

36. Standard Histories of convents; FR. Birt. op. cit.; SS/34 (Dalton): Thaddeus. Franciscans in England; BH.

into the country. It was a felony (fines and gaol) to hear Mass, possess Catholic objects of devotion, convey children abroad to be educated. Those who refused the Oath of Allegiance proffered to them were subject to confiscation of property and gaol at pleasure. The employment of Catholic servants, the use of Catholic baptism or marriage brought heavy fines. Over and above this, absence from church on days of obligation meant 12d. to the poor, and an absentee over the age of 16 for a month continuously was registered as a recusant and fined £20 a month and £260 a year. If he defaulted on payment he could be sold up as a Crown debtor, or the Crown could seize two-thirds of his goods and lands. The recusant from 1625 paid double taxes and was liable to support light horse for national defence. So much for the penal laws. Ecclesiastical courts could also independently proceed against the recusant with censures and excommunication (which meant denial of ecclesiastical burial and loss of power to plead at law) for clandestine baptisms and weddings and absence from church. The High Commission could proceed against him independently for the same offences, putting him to expense with fees, gratuities and large bonds for the performance of acts which conscience forbade. For obstinacy the Commission could gaol him for indefinite periods. The Council of the North, independently, could proceed against him for the same offences, with bonds and gaol. Gradually almost all the professions and offices of honour and profit were closed to recusants. By custom the husbands of recusants were normally forbidden offices. It was gradually established that such husbands were liable for the value of a third of their wives' property. Finally, the recusant was the prey of local officials. Speculators in farms of recusants' seized lands, men with commissions to smell out old debts of recusants to the Crown, informers, sheriffs' deputies willing to try out distrains of recusants' property to secure gratuities—a host of these converged on the convicted recusant. Behind that closed in the ostracism and cold dislike of his Protestant neighbours.

Our normal reaction to this recital is to doubt that it could all have been enforced in practice. In fact, as we shall see, the vagaries of royal policy, the force of humanity and relationship, the venality of officials, the complexities of the legal system exploitable by a shrewd lawyer, all helped to cushion the impact of a brutal system. But even so, it remained terribly oppressive at its best. It is not surprising that the chief male members of Catholic families went to considerable lengths to avoid conviction as recusants. One way was to shift one's residence constantly—as seen practised by the Babthorpes. It was apparently established custom that a man could not be convicted of recusancy out of his home county, and four successive Sundays away from church had to be proved. However the former principle was *sub judice* and often ignored after the 1630s. This habit of removals may be the reason—quite

apart from relationship, social visits and the lingering survival of education in the household of other gentry—for the way that younger recusants in East Yorkshire appear and reappear in so many places. Some clearly evaded conviction completely and successfully this way—witness the Creykes of Marton (1574-80 Roger Creyke of Patrington reported a notorious shelterer of priests; 1580 Mr. Creyke on bond but in a curiously ineffective way; 1591 Ralph Creyke of Yorkshire a visitor to the English college, Rome) and the Farleys of Filey. (1557 Nicholas Farley a Catholic in Hull; 1594 Leonard Farley of Filey, with a Jesuit, visiting Tregian in the Fleet prison; yet no presentments, apart from Farley Coulson of Filey). There are other families with “marginal” connections with Catholicism which remain very obscure—the Lacys of Beverley (no presentment between 1582 and Thomas Lacy’s refusal of the anti-Catholic Oath of Abjuration 1653; but 1617 Thomas Lacy of Beverley gent. allowed temporary custody of a trunk of “plate and clothes” seized with Benedict Lacy at Hull; 1631 enquiries made about the trunk by the Council of the North); the Wrights of Welwick and Foston (presentments to 1604; John and Christopher Wright Gunpowder Plotters with their brother-in-law, Thomas Percy of Beverley, all Catholics; no other trace until the marriage of their heiress, Mary Wright to a Crathorne of Ness 1621—both Catholics; Welwick then passed in 1656 to the Catholic Crathornes); the Hansbys—though they seem to have moved to Tickhill, West Riding. So also the Northern Recusant Commission in the 1630s tried in vain to secure the conviction for recusancy of Sir Michael Wharton of Beverley, Sir Ingleby Daniell of Beswick, Marmaduke Dolman of Pocklington and Sir Ralph Hansby.

If moving one’s residence failed, one could try to put pressure on to churchwardens and constables to omit one’s name from presentments. There is one piece of evidence for this being tried at Everingham, but it required great local authority. Finally there was the possibility of securing royal letters of grace exempting from conviction. In individual cases this required remarkable influence, such as was only commanded by the 1st Lord Dunbar up to 1630. There never seems to have been a general dispensation from conviction for Catholics at this period. The express royal commands to relax the execution of the penal laws of (perhaps) some parts of James I’s reign and 1626 may have made J.Ps.’ efforts to make convictions slacken at some times and places, but the process of conviction never stopped during this period. (37).

37. Creykes—CRS 13/89ff.; CSPD 1591-4 pp. 377-8; FR vi/546. Farleys—CC/144ff.; CSPD 1591-4 p. 470. Lacey—CSPD 1631-3 pp. 143-4; YASRS Royalist Sequestration Papers III. Wrights—PH; Y/MS R.VII/HC. S/MS 14(a)/8—cases of Wharton & Hansby. *ibid.* 12(c)/205—Wharton, Dolman, Daniell. C/MS. Select MSS—pressure on constables tried 1663, and spoken of as if a past practice; Y/MS R.VII/HC 1572-4 ff. 69v ff. where the practice is suspected. Dunbar—CSPD 1628-9 p. 522. 1629-31 p. 305; 1623-5 p. 498.

When all this failed, the final resort for those less instructed or with less fine consciences was occasional conformity. This practice died hard. The males of the Gale, Vavasour, Creswell, Dolman, Metham, Ellerker and Constable families were very slow to emerge from the class of non-communicants and "negligent attenders at Church." Sir Henry Constable, like a nervous bather testing the temperature, at last became a recusant in 1608. He was appalled at the fate awaiting him (immediate seizure of two-thirds of his estate, let to the clerk of the Privy Council and Sir Henry's imprisonment), tried in vain an anguished appeal to the Earl of Northampton and then conformed again. Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham and Marmaduke Dolman of Pocklington were "Church-Papists" according to their sons' "birth-briefs" at Rome.

Once a recusant was convicted and his name certified into the Exchequer by the clerk to the Justices, he was caught up into the toils of an administrative machine with ponderous methods all its own. The system of fining of recusants went through an evolution between 1581 and 1642. From 1581 to 1586 most recusants fell heavily into arrears, charged as they were with the very heavy flat rate of £260 a year, without consideration of their means. In 1586 the seizure of two-thirds of goods and lands was instituted as a substitute for distraint. Now this opened the way to numerous abuses. Recusants "wangled" the formal valuations of their property before seizure—made by local Commissioners and juries. The appointment of Crown farmers for the seized lands was surrounded by much jobbery, since the farmer could gain a stranglehold on the recusant, including the best parts in his two-thirds and wasting them during his tenure. Sometimes the Crown gave farms to creditors or favourites—thus in 1607 Robert Thorpe of Welwick was "granted" to David Stewart, in 1610 William Babthorpe of "Thornack" and Robert Ellerker of Holme to Alexander Martin and William Langdale of Lanthorpe to David Drummond. In any case the farm or sub-farm was generally awarded to those with most influence at the Exchequer or bigger *douceurs* to the officials. Rings of speculators bought farms in order to drive recusants to offer them large sums for a sub-farm. The ultimate result was often that the effective farming fell to the recusant or his friends, but at a price. In any case the recusant lived in terror of informers, venal sheriffs' deputies and speculators with commissions to smell out old recusant debts. By 1620 it was obvious that a new system must be found, for the existing one was only for the profit of officials and middlemen. By 1627 there were two schools of thought at Court. A pro-Catholic party aimed at dispensing with fining and had secured a royal order to this effect in 1626. It was presumably on the strength of this that William Langdale of Lanthorpe now secured the discharge of seizure and cancellation of his old debts for fines dating from before seizure (originally £1400, but now only £560 remained unpaid) for a lump sum com-

position of £300. But another school of thought favoured the introduction of local Recusant Commissions, which would take over seizures and valuations, would normally farm seized lands to the recusant owners themselves directly, and would have authority to render such "compounders" immune from the operations of touts, minor officials, High Commission and all others who usually mulcted them. This, it was claimed, would cut out corruption, establish a real "means-test", attract recusants to conviction and give the Crown a far higher income from recusants. These Commissions were in fact established in 1627 and endured to 1642. It is not easy to calculate whether recusants in fact benefitted from this. There were few signs of a desire on the part of those who had hitherto avoided conviction to seek it. The Commissioners, local men on the spot, employed spies and informers and certainly forced conviction on some who had avoided it—the 1st Lord Dunbar and Sir Philip Constable of Everingham, John Dawney and Farley Coulson. The rents were high enough—on an estate worth some £1100 nett Sir Philip paid up to £292 a year; Lord Dunbar, worth perhaps £3,500 a year gross (he said—with some truth—that he was heavily in debt) got off with a rent of £250 a year by royal favour; Lady Grace Babthorpe, on the few remnants of the family estate paid £66 a year on an estate valued at £300. The recusants tried to make trusts before valuation, but the Commissioners were usually hard on these. Hitherto some East Riding recusants—for instance Sir George Palmes, in 1604 a "retayned recusant" by his son in his own house—had made good use of conveyances which rendered them legally paupers. It was always worth trying influence on the Commissioners—family feeling and neighbourliness. Thus Thomas Dalton of Nuttles' composition came up before a board of York Commissioners which included his Protestant uncle, Sir Robert Dalton. Another Commissioner, Sir John Hotham of Scarborough, was willing to plead with the head of the Commission, Viscount Wentworth, on behalf of two Catholic friend compounders. Of Joscelin Percy of Beverley he wrote—

. . . he hath that which Sr Edwin Sands wisheth as the greateste mischiefe to his Eanemie: high birthe, good mynde & poor Purse & hard father, alsoe a wife and 5 children: debtes to my knowledge of some lenthe unpayd . . .

Of another Catholic friend he wrote—

. . . He hath lived in Lincs. these tenn yeares laste paste though tis true his land lies in Yorks. . . he hath alwayes lived at the utmost of his meanes, bred upp his sonnes to the warrs which have been Chardgeable to him & to conlude, when he thought to have repayed all, met wife a widdow reputed beyond the moone rich, but he found tow blocks thone. She was valewed treble to trewth . . . and in fine by her he hath

got little but vexation . . . (38).

But the administrative experiment of the Commissions ran head on into the attack of the jealous officials it had supplanted. From after Wentworth's departure to Ireland in 1633, the immunities of compounders were challenged and broken down by High Commission and sheriffs. Nevertheless the Commission limped on until the Civil Wars.

It is notable that there was always a wide discrepancy between the lists of recusants presented to courts and those on the Exchequer Recusant Rolls. Thus in 1592 there were only some 40 East Riding names on the Roll, in 1605-6 50 and in 1606-7 60. A mere 30 or 40 compounded with the Commission 1629-32. To some extent this discrepancy was due to reasons already suggested. In any case there are names on the Rolls which never occur in court records. But there was another main reason—the set policy of the Exchequer of ignoring poorer recusants. Sometimes they were never entered on the Rolls. Sometimes formal lists of their names were entered once only. This policy was adhered to in the face of the lawyers. The Assize Judges, in their charges down to the 1630s, invariably demanded full fining of all—that is, as they say expressly, mass distraint on the poor recusants and gaol for debt indefinitely. In the 1630s they sulkily admitted the legality of the Exchequer's course, but ordered that every legal exaction should be pressed on the poor—the 12d. per Sunday fine and bonds for good behaviour. The middling men amongst the recusants tended to be fined, even if their composition rents brought the Crown no more than 40/- a year. Thus several of the Caleys of Atwick in the 1630s paid composition rents of 30/- a year. This represented a heavy charge. John Barker, yeoman, of Bubwith, was convicted in 1606, underwent valuation (lands worth £5 a year, goods worth £30) and seizure of two-thirds. In 1610 he petitioned the Exchequer that the Justices had distrained on him also for 20/- arrears of the 12d. a Sunday older fine. Lady Babthorpe's memoirs contain a highly coloured picture (c.1610-20) of the poorer Catholics of Hemingborough being subjected to distraints on their household goods. But it is very likely that her facts were accurate. The Exchequer answer to John Barker's petition states that (1610) it was then common for the Justices all over the North to enforce collection of the 12d. fine. The Assize Judges pressed it; the Crown occasionally pressed it; bishops pressed it fitfully, and sheriffs'

38. YASRS *Parliamentary Representation of Yorks II* (Sir Henry Constable); FR (birth briefs); RH 4/5/182ff. H. Bowler. *Some Notes on the Recusant Rolls*; P.R.O. E.377/14-19 (Rec. Rolls); CSPD 1603-10 pp. 222, 264, 358, 529, 584, 591, 607 & HB (leases to Scots favourites); MS *Book of Recusant Compositions 1629-32* (Ushaw College Library, Durham); CSPD 1623-5 p.24 (Langdale discharge).

officers seem to have had the reputation of pressing on such dis-
traints. (39).

The period of the Civil Wars and Interregnum was hard for Catholics. In the first place it is evident that the first war disrupted all pastoral work and forced many of the gentry to default on payments to the missionaries. After 1649 things became more stable. Everingham again supported one or two priests. Priests returned to Holderness, where, during the wars, they had been hunted and Lord Dunbar's support had perforce failed. (In 1643 the younger Hotham obligingly sent by flag of truce a letter to the Royalist Marquis of Newcastle to say that Lord Dunbar's son was in gaol in Hull for sheltering a priest, "and I cannot yet release him.") A priest was caught at Malton after the wars, on his way to the Dolmans at Pocklington. Again, the political warfare inside the Parliamentary ranks made it often uncertain from month to month how Catholics would be regarded by the authorities. Treatment varied. Priests were executed, but most often the penal laws were disregarded, especially after 1649. Boys continued to leave for Douai—perhaps, due to the unsettled future in England, in larger numbers than before, though the colleges were impoverished by the wars. It is during the Interregnum that we get a curious glimpse into Pocklington Grammar School. Edward Llewellyn of Pembroke, Cambridge, was headmaster there 1650-7 and resigned on declaring himself a Catholic. In his time there were several Catholic boys in the school—John, eldest son of Peter Vavasour of Spaldington, entered at 16 in 1650; Richard, son of Richard Dolman of Pocklington aged 14; William, son of William Dalton of Sutton, Holderness, aged 18, in 1652; John, son of William Brigham of Wyton. (40).

But if these were hopeful features of the scene for Catholics, the scientific system of sequestrations of 1645-60 was the black spot. Yet even here the persecutors proved more humane than might have been expected. Catholics had been well-represented in the Royalist regimental lists. Some seem to have taken no active part. William Langdale of Lanthorpe maintained afterwards (it is true that this was to the Sequestrian Committee) that he had not taken the King's part and favoured the Parliament. Sir Philip Constable also maintained he had only joined the royalist garrison of Newark Castle late in the war for security. During the Protectorate Thomas Metham, a brother of the head of the family and a Catholic, acted as Cromwell's unofficial agent in Rome. But

39. S/MS 12(b)/99. 114. See a forthcoming CRS volume for MSS on the York Recusant Commission 1629-42. Barker's petition—Salvin MSS, Croxdale Hall, Durham.

40. HG/MS passim: B/MS Hotham MSS 1/24; SS 40/45-7 (Pocklington). DD; YAJ 14/133ff., 25/53ff. (Llewellyn). He became a Benedictine in 1658 and long served in the mission in Yorks. (Allanson MSS, Ampleforth Abbey—including letters from him).

after 1645 Catholics figured in strength in the Treason Acts—Sir George Palmes, Robert Gale of Wilberfoss, William Brigham of Wyton, Farley Coulson of Filey, Lord Dunbar, George Acklam of Nunkeeling—and lost all their property. Many others were sequestered either as delinquents (Royalists) or simply as Papists. As usual, the poorer sort were ignored. The valuations were very accurate, seizure of two-thirds (four-fifths if a delinquent also) automatic, and the lands farmed on short leases to guaranteed Protestants. But by 1653 this rigid policy unbent. Catholics of the lesser sort were often allowed to compound—that is, end the seizure by a lump-sum payment. Thus John Vavasour of Spaldington compounded at £268 for lands worth £80 a year. Major delinquent Catholics generally seem to have been allowed to be farmers of their own seized lands, at high rents and under strict conditions limiting any attempt to increase their incomes by enclosures, selling wood or raising rents. Traitors were able to purchase back their confiscated estates through agents.

Thus Sir Philip Constable of Everingham was sequestered to a fifth in 1646. By 1651 the family had secured for themselves the farm of parts of the seized four-fifths. In 1652 Sir Philip was declared a traitor. The estate was sold up. He only retained Holderness lands (ex-monastic) because they were entailed and on payment of a fine equal to their value. But now Sir William Constable of Flamborough, a Puritan and Regicide but head of the family of which Everingham was a cadet branch, approached in London John Rushworth and urged him to “contracte for the estate that the family might be upheld.” Rushworth, an ex-secretary of Fairfax, Cromwell and the Parliament and an able lawyer who now specialised in saving confiscated Royalist estates, especially Catholic ones, secured the money from Sir Philip’s relation, Richard Shirburne of Stonyhurst, and bought the estate. It was then conveyed by a complicated series of deeds, and in fact reoccupied by the Constables. The total cost to the family was over £19,000 in borrowed money. (41).

We can compare the fate of the Methams. In 1637 the head of the family, Sir Thomas, a Protestant, conveyed away a large part of the estate, ostensibly to ensure payment of his debts. The first war brought about the deaths of Sir Thomas and several of his next heirs. In 1648 his grandson and eventual heir, a Catholic, George Metham, arrived back in England from a Jesuit novitiate. He was found amongst Royalist prisoners captured in the 2nd War and therefore the estate was sequestered. General Lord Fairfax interceded for him and secured a composition at a rate of £1300. He also smoothed the way for George’s marriage to Fairfax’s

41. Hardacre. *Royalists during the Puritan Revolution*; Cal. of Committee for Compounding; YASRS *Royalist Composition Papers*; C/MS sequestration papers.

cousin and ward, Katherine Fairfax of Gilling, a Catholic. But George was unable to cope with his financial difficulties. Within a short space of time he had the bailiffs on his estate, it was sequestered (this time for his recusancy, which seems to have been hitherto overlooked), and the surviving Metham trustee sold the trust lands, since George could not pay his grandfather's debts. We do not know how George managed to keep his head above water, except that he certainly sold more land. Thereafter he left Howden for North Cave and the Methams no longer counted amongst the major landowners in the Riding. (42).

To what extent were Catholic landowners in the Riding beggared by recusant fines and sequestrations? Such evidence as we have seems to show that the Babthorpes did sell out by the 1630s and Lady Babthorpe attributed this to recusancy charges. In 1614 William Stillington seems to have been in Praemunire for refusing the Oath of Allegiance. He was already in gaol in Hull as a Crown debtor for £1000 past recusant fines. His property in Kelfield was sold. Apart from this the Methams—and possibly also the Dolmans and Vavasours—were substantially poorer as a result of sequestration. The disappearance of all members of the Ellerker of Risby and Ellerker, Wharton and Portington families from the roll of the East Riding Catholics during, or soon after, the Interregnum seems in no way to be due to impoverishment. (43).

The Interregnum saw at least three notable conversions in the Riding. One was Edward Llewellywn, master of Pocklington School. Another was Captain Edward Saltmarsh of Thorganby, a Parliamentary officer. He settled in the North Riding and became the father of two priests. It is possible that the Saltmarsh family was not so totally and strongly Puritan at this period as has been thought, since Philip Saltmarsh of Thorganby, Edward's brother, seems to have acted several times as a trustee for trusts of Catholics during the Interregnum. But the most notable convert was Sir Marmaduke Langdale, 1st Lord Langdale, the Royalist

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42. Sir Thomas Metham—FR.3/205, 191 (Protestant 1611 and 1644). CSPD 1603-10 p. 600 (farmer of his Catholic brother-in-law's seized lands); Recusancy of Methams elsewhere—**North Riding Quarter Sessions** ii/78,149 (Dorothy Metham widow, East Layton 1614-6), 161-3 Margaret, wife of Jordan Metham, Wigganhorpe 1617, iii 1639-41 Margaret, wife of Jordan Metham and Nicholas his son. Metham finances—C/MS CC/23/16; the trust lands of 1637-8 were in Newland, Ousethorpe, Hemingborough, Menthorpe, Brackenholme, Armine, Terrington and tithes of Saltmarsh. These were sold by the trustee, with Greneake, non-trust land. TERA 13/ii/164 sale of Laxton by Geo Metham 1649.
43. BH; HB 125-6 (Stillington—but in 1606-7 a relative was farming his seized lands. (Rec. Roll)—CSPD 1611-18 p. 250) Vavasours—see B/MS register of Papists' estates 1717ff. when they owned only Willitof.

general in both Civil Wars. His paternal grandparents were Catholics, as were his cousins in Holderness, but he was certainly a Protestant in his earlier years. By 1651-2, when in exile, his religious opinions were said to be in a state of flux. By January 1653 he was spoken of as an ardent convert. In 1659 he was living in the English Benedictine monastery at Lamspring in Hanover. His heir was also now a Catholic and living at Scarisbrick in Lancashire. In 1656 Lord Langdale wrote to Edward Hyde, in some anxiety about the lack of spirit amongst Royalists in the East Riding—

. . . Mr. Cowper says that my cosine Wharton is verie scrupulous about coming over . . . I cannot tell where to finde one who knowes the Kinges freinds in the East Riding of Yorks nor how to sende to my sonne unlesse the preists will undertake itt. . . (44).

A thick veil of obscurity hides from us the personalities of the Catholics of the Riding of this period. Lady Babthorpe's historical fragments, the "birth briefs" of students arriving at the English College, Rome, covert references in business letters are all we have. Even wills now almost entirely cease to be of use in denoting religious views. A splendid exception to this is the will of Sir Robert Dolman of Gunby, Howden. It is headed (even in the official copy at York) with a cross, set over the Holy Name, IHS and "In ipso die Exaltationis Sancte Crucis Anno Dni 1626." After bequeathing his "books of divinity and humanity" and "my furniture broughte from my chamber in Grayes Inne," he leaves "to my verie lovinge brother in lawe Mr. Robert Constable nowe of Leconf . . . xx li. by him to be bestowed in pious uses by iij li.vjs.viiijd. the yeare, he will knowe my meaninge. . . (45).

(4) 1660-1790. Catholic Recusancy in Transition.

In 1640 there had been about 500-550 adult recusants in the Riding. The figures given by successive archiepiscopal surveys later are—1706 510; 1735 437; 1743 548; 1767 795; 1780 865. In 1787 the Catholic Northern Vicar-Apostolic reported to Rome that there were then 559 communicants in the Riding. He was, of course, excluding the lapsed and those under 14, which was then the average age for first Holy Communion. The archiepiscopal compiler of the 1767 survey regarded the earlier estimates of 1706-

44. Saltmarshes—Meynell MSS (Ampleforth Abbey); B/MS Langdale MSS deeds & C/MS. 1st Lord Langdale—Bodleian Library. *Clarendon State Papers* ii/201. iii/59, 211-2. iv/446. 490-1. Camden Society. *Nicholas Papers* 2/3, 4.

45. These 'Birth briefs' are shortly to be published in full in CRS; Y/MS Wills 40/187v. ff.

43 as "very imperfect" and his own as far more accurate. He thought that Catholic numbers, nevertheless, might well have increased by a third since 1706. In the whole diocese of York (excluding Richmondshire) there were then, he estimated, 6594 Catholics—in a total population he made out (from militia returns) to be about 400,000. He concluded that the possible Catholic increase was of negligible importance and probably only corresponded to the natural increase of the whole population. In any case, as demonstrated by tables, the Catholic clergy were watched and quiet and the Catholic gentry much declined in numbers. His tables contain other interesting statistics, though Richmondshire, a Catholic stronghold, is everywhere omitted. Thus he knows of 45 priests in the county of whom only 3 were in the East Riding. The Riding had 795 Catholics—but the city of York then had 642 and 9 priests. Of the 795, Holderness had 413. The larger Yorkshire missions go in the order (excluding York) Sheffield 361, Mitton in Craven (W.R.) 237, Egton (N.R.) 213, Spofforth (W.R.) 121, Swine-Marton-Hull 117 (surely underestimated) Yarm (N.R.) 108, Bishop Thornton (W.R.) 106, Aberford (W.R.) 104, Coxwold (N.R.) 97, Ripon 94. In the list of "Persons of Estate"—including Richmond this time—he knows of some 75 in Yorkshire, of whom 11 have estates in the East Riding. This list reveals what may well be two unexpected survivals of once East Riding Catholic families elsewhere—in St. Cuthbert's, York, William Saltmarsh Esq. and the wife, Lady Anne, and in Tadcaster Mr. William Daniel.

Contemporary Catholics would have agreed with most of the Archbishop's conclusions, though they did not think that numbers were increasing. On the contrary, they felt a dying race. There were three reasons for this feeling. The first was probably the fact that although Catholic numbers may have increased a little (a fact which is as yet by no means proven for the East Riding) the population of England was in fact increasing far faster than the Archbishop realised. It most probably doubled between 1714 and 1760 and doubled again in the next sixty years. Therefore it is clear that, relative to the population, Catholics were certainly decreasing. The second reason was that they were acutely aware that Catholicism depended straitly on the gentry and they were very visibly a vanishing race. A table could be made of their disappearance from their estates—Babthorpes (1620s); Wrights of Welwick and Ellerkers of Risby (1650s); Whartons and Creswells (1660s); Grimstons (1680s); Methams, Langleys, Daltons of Swine (1720s); Vavasours (1740); Brighams (1767-93 sold out); Metcalfes of Nuttles, Thorpes of Danthorpe (1770); Palmes of Naburn (1784) and at some undetermined date in this period, Constables of Carethorpe, Hansby, Percys of Beverley, Bacons, Portingtons, Gales, Wilberfosses, Ellerker of Hull. Against this could be set only the conversion of the Langdales of Holme and the intermittent residence

of Catholic gentry from elsewhere with properties in the Riding—Withams, Cutlers, Stricklands, Crathornes. But Catholics looked to a third and deeper cause of decline, in the history of their age. (46).

In spite of the troubles of 1642-60, at the Restoration Catholics were full of hope for the future. Their preoccupation with the rehabilitation of their estates and fortunes did not prevent them flocking to London. They were drawn there not only by post-war unsettlement and extravagance, but by political hopes. The tide of the religious revival was actually already on the wane, but its cumulative results were now at their peak. Religious and priestly vocations were at their zenith and the number of missionaries seems to have exceeded places for them. After so many sufferings for the Stuart cause, royal commissions given to Catholics, promises of toleration, Catholics fully expected freedom from fines and a share of offices. For this they relied on the King and Royalist Tories, as against Whigs and Presbyterians. The battle was joined, and, by 1665-7, things seemed to be going well. The penal laws remained, but there was a widespread Protestant disinclination to enforce them, as well as practical royal indulgence. The Assize Judges and Exchequer brought into operation again the machinery of presentments, convictions and entry on the Recusant Rolls. But the Crown stayed further proceedings. After a brisk struggle with objectors, Lord Langdale took his seat in the Lords. Catholics received honours—a baronetcy to Sir Philip Constable, a knighthood to William Langdale of Lanthorpe—and office—the Lord Lieutenancy of the Riding and Governorship of Hull to John, Lord Bellasis of Worlaby, the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding to Lord Langdale, the governorship of Scarborough to Sir Jordan Crosland, Deputy-Lieutenancies and commissions in the forces to Catholics. (47). This aroused deep, elemental fears in the Whigs and led to the great Whig reaction of 1678-80 and the Popish Plot crisis. The King beat a hasty strategic retreat and many of the darkest features of earlier persecution reappeared—the harrying of

46. For reference to archiepiscopal surveys see Appendix I. below. MS Reg. of Vicars-Apostolic of North p. 127 (Ushaw).

47. Some of these Catholic estates passed, on the extinction or departure of the original family, to other Catholics—Willitoft 1753 to Gerrard Strickland of Sizergh, Westmorland. He lived there occasionally, before his marriage in 1779. (B/MS Reg. of Papist Estates; Sizergh MSS) Ploughland, Welwick passed from the Wrights to the Crathornes of Crathorpe & Ness, N. Riding, by marriage in 1656. They held it to the 19th century. A Mrs. Crathorne (Catholic) was at Ploughland in 1735. (CRS 32; N/MS Dugdale MSS) Nuthill passed by inheritance from the Metcalfes c. 1757 to the Withams. (or sale). The Withams sold part of Sutton in 1768. but held the rest through the 18th century and sometimes resided there. (B/MS register) Leonard Metcalfe moved from Nuthill to Fulford, 1757 to at least 1767. (B/MS reg.; Y/MS Bishopthorpe MS H.2/9).

priests, their executions, the searching of Catholic houses, imprisoning of Catholics, seizures of two-thirds of their estates. The force of this was felt in the East Riding. Sir Marmaduke Constable, Mrs. Metham, Lord Langdale and Robert Dolman were imprisoned—the latter to be tried unsuccessfully for treason. On his release, Sir Marmaduke retired to Antwerp, where he died in 1680. Even Tories with Catholic antecedents, like Michael Wharton of Beverley could write at this time (to the Mayor of Hull, December 28th, 1680)—

. . . I have yours and a list of papists. I believe they will not fall within the word considerable except it bee for Bacon and Ellerker for when we have taken the shepherds the sheep we shal easily drive. . . (48).

The Whig frenzy gave way swiftly to a Tory reaction, in the midst of which James II came to the throne in 1685. Totally misjudging the situation, he dispensed wholesale from fining and Oaths and made Lord Langdale governor of Hull and put six East Riding Catholics in the Commission of the Peace—Robert, Lord Dunbar, the Hon. Henry Constable, Sir Philip Constable, George Metham, Philip Langdale and Robert Dolman. The whole position was manifestly unreal and in 1688 came another violent Protestant reaction. Whigs and Tories momentarily united to seize Hull, as William of Orange landed. Into Hull were crowded East Riding Catholics, hoping to shelter behind Langdale's troops. James II fled and a new wave of persecution was unleashed. (49).

But times were changing. Orthodox religion was meeting the growing assault of the "Enlightenment"—rationalism, Deism and progressive liberalism. The methods of persecution reflect this. The old penal laws and fines were increasingly felt to be barbaric and persecution for religious reasons was progressively replaced by more insidious pressures, inspired by a rationalist dislike of Catholicism as the bulwark *par excellence* of belief in supernatural religion, of political and religious obscurantism. Catholicism, High Church Anglicism, orthodox Dissent and Jacobitism were all to be helped to their inevitable graves by humane pressure and liberal propaganda and satire. Here and there the older—and still for long mostly legal—methods were tried by the old-fashioned, but with little official support. The Recusant Rolls fade out after 1689, though the double taxes were retained. This, like Death Duties in a later age, could be justified as helping the Catholic gentry on their way out. It endured in effect down to the last decades of the 18th century, but seems, in its turn, to have been regarded, after the 1720s, as medieval, and to have been less and

48. C/MSS; Popish Plot—H/MS Letters. M.315. L.903, 905, 908, 986; SS 40.

49. ed. A. Browning. *Diary of Sir G. Resesby*.

less enforced. Catholics coolly entered their Protestant tenants as owners of their lands and local Tax Commissioners ceased to object. In the Jacobite crisis of 1715, it was proposed to reintroduce a tax on Papists equal to the value of a seizure of two-thirds of their estates. From 1717 they were required to register the values of their estates on succession, as a preliminary. The registration went on down to the 1780s, but the tax was still-born. So too presentment and conviction of Catholics died a natural death. It continued spasmodically to 1680, reappeared in crises down to 1715 and then died. Bonds for good behaviour and confiscation of Papists' arms and horses lingered to 1745, when there was even an execution of the Jacobean Statute limiting the movements of Catholics to a circle five miles radius round their homes. Yet even here real political panic (in days when most Catholics were still Jacobites) could make no headway against new prejudices. The East Riding Clerk of the Peace, though reprimanded, made very little effort to secure presentments of Catholics. Some antediluvian methods of other sorts recurred occasionally—the raising of extra militia contributions from Catholics, use of the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, the activities of informers. But Judges were soon blandly non-suiting informers' perfectly legal prosecutions under the penal code. Ecclesiastical persecution changed over also to "the new look." The old presentments faded out after 1688. From 1676 they were replaced by special archiepiscopal questionnaires circulated to incumbents every decade or so, at the behest of Parliament. These were most elaborate censuses of every Catholic activity—numbers and ages, conversions, Mass houses, schools, gentry and their incomes, priests. Archbishop Gibson spent much time summoning Catholic gentry to Bishopthorpe lecturing them on the prudence and inoffensiveness expected of them and securing the dismissal of priests thought to be too apostolic-minded. Finally, from 1717 there were passed numbers of Acts of a new kind, devised to help the gentry to die out by assisting the efforts of Protestant relatives to gain the estates. This wholly new kind of contemptuous pressure is evident even in the provisos of the Catholic Emancipation Act. (50).

The extinction of so many families of the Catholic gentry was due to a variety of causes. The lack of male heirs seems, in the case of the Constables of Everingham and Vavasours of Spaldington, to have been due to the celibacy of the last males. This was, in turn, it seems, due to the restricted choice of brides as the Catholic body became more and more a small closed circle. It was also due to a lurking rigoristic spirit, characteristic of orthodoxy under a heavy strain. The even naively hopeful and expansive spirit of the 17th century religious revival had given way to a sort of

pious fatalism, without hope in this world and deeply suspicious of new ways. Yet another, and perhaps more effective cause of extinction, was bankruptcy. The early 18th century was a time of inflation, the failure of many squires and the steady rise of the estates and incomes of the *nouveaux-riches* and Whig magnates. An estate encumbered 1642-60 could only recover if the owners showed great enterprise in increasing income by marriages, farming improvements, trade and offices. Catholics had a restricted marriage-market and no hope of offices of profit in England. Added to this, the burden of war taxation 1689-1714, heavy enough to make the Tory squire explosive, was doubled for Catholics. The Constables of Everingham had paid off their Civil War debts mostly by 1680. But the following summary of their financial position sometime in Queen Anne's reign tells its own story—

The value of the estates when my Father turned them over to me—

Yorkshire estates £1025. taxes £276. annuities £786. Total expenditure £1062.

Lincolnshire estates £672-18-0. taxes £263.

Remains clear £372-15-4. But then debt of £1000, interest £50, salaries of Lincs. steward £10; Mr. Winter (priest) £10. Remains £292-15-4.

Or compare this—

Assessments for 1693 @ 4/- in the £ charged double—Yorkshire estates, Everingham £108-16-0; Thorpe £24-8-0 . . . Lincolnshire, Rasen £224-12-0. . . Total £494-16-8.

That was on the estate valued by the Tax Commissioners then at £2475 a year. If all this means what it seems—and evaluation of estate accounts teems with traps for the unwary—the war taxation of these years doubled was a drain very comparable with the old recusant fines. (51).

Another reason for the decline of the gentry was the impact of the Enlightenment as a cause of loss of the Faith. Catholic parents, for this reason, became nervous of sending their children to France to be educated. The Constable family of Burton Constable contained two—the only two amongst their class in the Riding—cases of collapse before the new world. William, Viscount Dunbar, in October 1716, took the anti-Jacobite Oath of Allegiance

51. C/MS GG/9; Select MSS 159A., 161, 187B. For other traces of financial difficulties of Catholic gentry—1717 Philip Langdale of Houghton, debts and mortgages £4261. (B/MS register); Dolman troubles C/MS K/3/3; W. Heslerton was sold to the Dawnays by the Catholic Lord Fairfax of Gilling c. 1753 because of debt. (Wombwell MSS, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Library). For William Constable of Burton's debts and sales see B/MS Constable. Various Deeds 327.

and also a very Protestant Declaration which enabled the taker to qualify for a seat in Parliament. Two generations later, William Constable, master of the estate from 1747 to 1791, was a man thoroughly indoctrinated with Voltairianism by residence in France. He was a friend of Rousseau, lapsed from the practice of his religion and became a living warning for anxious parents. (52).

It would be false, however, to imagine that the life of the Catholic gentry at this period was always and everywhere dominated by financial worries, rigoristic gloom, fatalism, hatred of scientific improvements. Men like Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham and Cuthbert Constable of Burton Constable were pious, garrulous *amateurs* of all the latest improvements, artistic and scientific, and successful improvers of the estates and incomes. In the case of both families, in spite of financial set-backs, the failure of male heirs and continuation of the families through the female line, nothing could prevent them emerging with vigour, their position in the county unimpaired, into the Victorian Age. The rent roll of the Everingham family illustrates this—

1652-5	1672	1693	1766	1770	1775	1795
c.£2000	£2020	£2475	£3094	£3664	£4344	£4914 (53)

To judge from the correspondence of Sir Marmaduke, the Langdales, Cuthbert Constable, Ralph Brigham of Wyton and Fr. Bede Potts O.S.B. of Everingham, Catholic life went on as in the 17th century, with less austerity and enthusiasm as the 18th century progressed, and in a narrowing circle, but in a more settled way. Though Catholics were not of the world around them, they were not separated from it as much as we may imagine. They frequented London in the season, Bath, York (where they subscribed to Lord Burlington's Assembly Room) and Scarborough, the Assize days and the race meetings. They plunged in "the South Sea" as enthusiastically as anyone. Up to about 1730 the flow of religious vocations continued fairly strongly, but thereafter became thin. Boys continued to go to school abroad—though we hear of schools run by Catholics at Beverley (1660) and Nuttles (1735), and Robin Constable died at school at Compton, Winchester in 1697. Girls went abroad until the 1730s and then were increasingly diverted to the Bar Convent at York. Also, now that life gradually became

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52. *ibid.* 236, 321, 328 (latter the papers of William Constable's abortive effort to marry the Hon. Anne Fairfax of Gilling 1755, broken off by her objections to his religious laxity—includes a Deist statement of faith). Unfortunately the Rousseau letters once in this collection were sold in the 1880s.
53. C/MS Fr. Bede Potts' Letter Books & corresp. of Sir Marmaduke (who combined a life of foreign travel with careful estate management by post.); B/MS Constable of Burton MSS 310(i)—letter book of letters received from Catholic correspondents 1719-34 (c.90); *ibid.* Ralph Brigham's correspondence.

safer, liturgical life grew fuller. Hitherto (outside royal or Embassy chapels and the few open town chapels of 1685-8) Mass had been said in secluded upstairs rooms, the "Church stuff" brought out of of a trunk and restored there afterwards. In 1686 Everingham was still at this stage. But, by about 1710 the first floor of one wing of the house was set aside for a permanently—but modestly—fitted-out chapel, sacristy and priest's room. By 1743-5 more lavish fittings appeared—a "Remonstrance" for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, a Tenebrae hearse and Paschal candlestick. The next stage was either the transference of the chapel to the ground-floor, with an outside entrance for tenants, or a new and separate chapel building alongside the house—albeit disguised to look like domestic rooms. Probably the first such separate chapel in the Riding was built at Marton, Holderness in 1789, and the first house to bring its chapel to the ground floor was Holme on Spalding Moor in the 1720s. The early chapels at Naburn, Nuthill and Hull (Posterngate to 1780, then in Leadenhall Square) seem to have been rooms in houses. It was not until the early decades of the 19th century that others dared to follow the example of Marton—Houghton (1820s), Everingham (1830-40). Now also assemblies for episcopal visitations and confirmations became possible. In 1687 Bishop Leyburn confirmed 338, 276 at "Burton and Ld. Dunbars", and 62 at Everingham. In 1728 Bishop Williams O.P. confirmed 216—Naburn 8, Willitof 15, Holme 23, Burton and 2 other places nearby 16, 17, 40, Everingham 44. In 1753 Bishop Petre confirmed 111—Everingham 28, Holme 21, Marton 62. In 1768 Bishop Maire confirmed 167—Everingham 67, Burton 100. In 1776 Bishop Walton confirmed 40 at Holme, Everingham and Houghton. In 1785 Bishop Gibson sang Mass and confirmed at 6 places, confirming 162 and communicating perhaps some 450—a very large proportion of the entire East Riding Catholic community. (Holme conf. 18, comm. 40; Everingham 18—64; Houghton 28—50; Hull 8—40; Marton 58—145; Hull again 7—40; Nuthill 25—110). (54).

The decline of the Catholic gentry produced a major pastoral problem. The clergy had long already been trying to establish missions apart from the "big houses." The history of the first efforts to do this illustrates both the good and bad effects of an almost total dependence on the landed gentry. Between the 1630s and 1670s three "independent" missions came into being. The first was the South and Middle Holderness District. Before the

54. Coleridge. *St. Mary's Convent, York*; CRS 3rd—7th Douai Diaries; HG/MS. chapels—Everingham (C/MS Select MSS—plan of house & chapel c. 1708); *ibid* DD/12/3 1637 Inventory of house; DD/12/9 1746 Inventory; CC/10/13 1686 Inventory.) Confirmations—Brady. *Episcopal Succession* 3/143-4; Westminster Cathedral Archives. MS Leyburne's Register ff.375-6, 393; CRS 25; Ushaw MSS Bishop Petre's Lists; *ibid*. Reg. of Vicars-Apostolic pp. 8, 9, 16; Nuthill, Holme & Everingham Registers (CRS).

Civil Wars the Young family had left £250 to the Archdeacon of Yorkshire to provide a priest constantly to "help" their family. This money—for lack of safe investments or banks—was lent to Lord Dunbar at 10% interest. In the 1630s the obligations to the Youngs expired and Dunbar proposed that, in addition to maintaining a chaplain in his house for his family and servants, he should, out of the Young Fund with additions from his own pocket, keep a second priest to serve all his tenants at Marton, Newton and Halsham. This was accepted and begun. It was, indeed a normal arrangement for gentry to keep two priests in this way—we have seen it done as Osgodby in the early years of the 17th century. The gentry then maintained very large households—witness the 38 at Metham in the 1580s and the 40 at Osgodby—which, in the earlier days of fierce persecution (though not in later times) would have been Catholic in majority for security's sake. The family chaplain also often travelled with his patron. The Civil war upset all arrangements with Dunbar. From 1656 to his death in 1692, the incumbent of this "outside" Dunbar mission was Fr. Richard Frank, who lived with a Mr. Beckwith at Marton. He complained that the post-war situation was unsatisfactory. He had the Young Fund money to live on, but the 2nd Lord Dunbar could allow him no more. Moreover, during Fr. Frank's incumbency there were often as many as three other priests within a circle of radius five or six miles round him, each of whom was a family chaplain, confined by special arrangement to the service only of "his family." The Metcalfes of Nuthill had a priest-son living with them from 1672 to 1729 and the family arrangement was that this situation should continue. The Hon. Henry Constable of Garton had a private chaplain, while there were others at various times at Burton, Halsham and Swine. Fr. Frank had some 80 souls under his care and the oversight of a wide area beyond, including Hull. The result of his complaints was that the endowment of his cure was increased by £2500, subscribed half by members of the Constable family, half by his parishioners and other priests. Henceforward this "independent" mission at Marton flourished and established a Mass centre in Hull. Members of the family chaplaincies—including Burton—remained like islands in the Marton district, though one, Nuthill, later also became independent on an endowment from the last Metcalfes and subscriptions.

The second independent mission was North Holderness, founded by the 1670s from funds left by the last Creswells. It was hoped that this would keep together the Catholics. We hear of some subscriptions and one incumbent, Fr. May. He seems to have had no single centre and to have ranged into the north of the Riding. He was arrested in 1676, while visiting the Constables at Buckton, Bridlington. But declining numbers of Catholics soon brought the scheme to an end.

The third independent mission grew up after the Restoration, as a result of the removal of the Babthorpes from Osgodby and the retirement of the Methams to North Cave from Howden. Mrs. Katherine Hugill of Portington gave £100 to be the basis of a fund. All the main neighbouring Catholic gentry at Selby, Everingham, Holme, and Willitof subscribed on condition that the incumbent should take over the "out" responsibility for their tenants. Thus they would be dispensed in conscience from employing two priests each—or, alternatively (for we cannot imagine that most of them had hitherto been able to afford two in the post-war period) their family chaplains would be set free to move round with the family, escort their children to school and perform the multifarious other duties expected of a good chaplain. These gentry, as trustees of the mission, drew up a set of rules for the incumbent. He was to be responsible for 69 towns and villages, stretching from the edge of Selby through Hemingborough, Howden, Bubwith, Willitof, Spaldington, Everingham, Seaton, Market Weighton, Holme, across to the edge of Hull. He was to visit each place "once in every five weeks, in favourable weather." There is a record of five incumbents in the ten years 1674-84. Then the scheme broke down and the care of outlying Catholics in the whole south and middle of the Riding, excluding Holderness, fell indiscriminately—*ex caritate*—on the family chaplains at Naburn, Selby, Everingham, Holme and Houghton. In these places thenceforward there was a continuous line of chaplains, one per house, who served all comers at request, attended sick calls when required. Presumably there was a division of areas by mutual consent. When Willitof and North Cave vanished as chaplaincies, their depleted congregations fell to the charge of the survivors. Pocklington seems to have been served from Everingham, by arrangement between the Constables and Dolmans, from at least the 1750s. (55).

Therefore by the 1780s Catholics in the northern area were dependent on Scarborough, itself an independent mission, though endowed by local gentry. Two independent missions existed in central Holderness. But the rest of the centre and south was still long served by house chaplains (who, however, now were responsible for outlying Catholics not tenants of their patrons). The awkward transition to independent missions was half accomplished. The letters of Fr. Bede Potts O.S.B., chaplain at Everingham 1730-43, the records of the Yorkshire Archdeacons and Northern Vicars-Apostolic and the registers of the missions at Everingham, Holme, Nuthill and Marton give us a picture of mission life. At the centre lay, in each case, a solid Catholic community composed of families of tenants and servants, some of whom had been Catholics there for generations, some families who had moved in from house-

55. HG/MS. SS.40 (Bridlington arrest); C/MS Rules for Howden Incumbent; *ibid.* MS Everingham chapel register.

missions elsewhere when the family there died out, others who had moved from further afield, from Lancashire, Derbyshire or the North Riding. Although all the families in Marton but two were wholly Catholic in the 1730s, this was unique. By this period the average Catholic great house had some Protestant servants and a majority of Protestant tenants. The numbers of conversions were surprisingly high, in spite of the close watch kept by the Anglican authorities. But the communities were constantly pruned by the lapsing of outlying Catholics and the movement away of families seeking employment elsewhere. (56).

Another feature of this age of slow transition was the rise of the Catholic middle class—of tradesmen and well-to-do farmers. Such had always existed—witness families of the Elizabethan and 17th century periods like the Freemans and Watkinsons of Howden-shire and the Caleys of Atwick. But now they grew more numerous and bulked larger in importance in the Catholic community. The Catholic gentry were themselves not scornful of trade. Most of their families, at all periods, had members engaged in it. A junior branch of the Langdales ran a brewing business in London. Joseph Langdale of Houghton was a master of a trading brig out of Hull in the 1730s. The Constables of Everingham were not averse to apprenticing a younger son to the firm of Scrope, export merchants of Leghorn. The Dolmans of Pocklington took to medicine and tanneries. All Yorkshire Catholics patronised the successful millinery business of Margaret Cholmeley of Brandsby, North Riding, in York and London or Lord Fairfax of Gilling's nephew's apothecary's shop in Drury Lane. On the other hand the prosperous Catholic farmers occasionally intermarried with the gentry and copied their ways, aspiring to, and later achieving, gentility. Archbishop Ullathorne's autobiography conjures up for us a picture of the life of this class in Pocklington, when he was young (1810-20). His family moved to Pocklington in the mid-18th century from the West Riding. The Robinsons and Caleys were two interlinked yeoman families in Holderness. The Robinsons moved from the North Riding to Hedon in the 1720s and were perhaps already Catholics, anxious, as the contemporary euphemism of Catholics went, "to have the conveniency of prayers (Mass)." In 1739 John Robinson married a daughter of Leonard Metcalfe, the squire of Nuthill. Of his sons one was a surgeon in Pocklington, and of his grandchildren, one was a nun and another a Benedictine priest. The Caleys first appear at Atwick in Holderness, a village in which the Brighams, Constables of Burton and Creswells owned property. They became Catholics in the 1620s. In 1710

56. Scarborough Town Archives July 1778—Papist residents—William Langdale Esq. & his daughter Jane; Thomas Jackson merchant. (*Ampleforth Journal* 1905). For conversions see especially 1735 survey (CRS) & CRS Holme Register.

William Caley of Witherwick married into a family of North-umbrian small gentry, who were also brewers. His son, another William, married a well-to-do Lincolnshire squire's heiress and the family moved into North Lincolnshire, where they had as chaplain a priest relation of his wife's, a violent Jacobite living under an assumed name. Of their 16 children, two became nuns at the Bar Convent in York, and another a secular priest. The Williams family of Market Weighton derived from Reginald Williams, an apothecary of Monmouthshire origins, who married Sarah Rand of Hull (probably the daughter of a convert schoolmaster of Burstwick and Hedon) in the early 1760s. The Garstangs of Holme derived from a Lancashire steward imported by the Langdales. The Cattons of Everingham, land-agents and farmers, came thither from the West Riding. (57).

Times were fast changing. Neither the declining gentry nor the solid middle class felt much confidence in the future. The "Second Spring" of English Catholicism was as hidden from their eyes as the "First Spring" of 1590-1640 had been from the eyes of the Catholics of the 1570s. Fifty years later Archbishop Ullathorne of Birmingham was to revisit Pocklington, Everingham and Hull and to marvel at the evident signs that Catholicism in the Riding had not only survived the transition, but was rapidly growing. By that time (the 1850s) there were at least some 3-4000 Catholics in Hull alone, although there can have been only 7-800 elsewhere in the Riding. There were now 9 churches—St. Charles', Hull (built 1835 and hopelessly overcrowded), Marton, Hedon (built 1803), Beverley (about 1846), Pocklington (1790), Houghton (new chapel 1829), Everingham (chapel 1839), Holme, and Howden (started 1850, chapel 1852). Today there are some 21,000 Catholics in the Riding. (58).

57. C/MS; Scrope MSS. Leghorn Papers. (Danby Hall, Masham); W. Ullathorne. *Cabin Boy to Archbishop*; Robinson & Caley MSS (see Appendix II, below); chapel registers as above (CRS).

58. Hull statistics for 1851 (census year)—1200 Catholics at Mass on the census Sunday; 2987 Irish born in the city. Kelly. *Hist. Dict. of Eng. Catholic Missions* under Hull quotes a Hull 1850 estimate of 6500. The Anglican estimate of Yorks. Catholic population in 1767 was c. 7000. The 1851 census for Yorks. gives 20,629 at Mass. and 43,682 of Irish birth. (ed. Beck). *The English Catholics 1850-1950* p.p 50-80.

APPENDIX I.

THE INCIDENCE OF CATHOLIC RECUSANCY.

1. WAPENTAKE OF BUCKROSE

SHERBURN 1569-71 Wm. Lacy gent. & wife, Kath. Lacy, 1571-96 Wm. Lacy in gaol. 1572-3 Henry Kirkman. 1585-90 Thos., Kath., & Mrs. Kath. Williamson. 1602-5 2 non-cts.

HESLERTON 1569-1600 Kath. Thweng. 1585-1607 Wm. Curwen gent. 1585-1600 Mrs. Ursula Dawney and 3 others. 1604-7 Cuthbert & John Dawney. 1607-32 Jo. Dawney & wife.

BURYTHORPE 1567 3 men non-cts. pray on Primers,

WESTOW 1567 man keeps vestments. 1586-90 2 non-cts. 1604 3 men.

WEAVERTHORPE 1565 Cath. fittings. 1604 Mary Isons widow.

BUGTHORPE 1615 1 non-ct. 1627 Mrs. Payler rec. Edw. P. gent. & 7 others negligent.

THORPE BASSET 1596 wife of Rich. Watson gent. 1604 Margt. Welbury. 1610 Henry Watson. 1615 Alice wife of Jo. Welbury gent. Tristram Welbury claim conformity.

NORTON 1604 1 man. 1676 4. 1734-43 1-2. 1767-80 6-8.

KIRBY GRINDALYTHE 1582 1 non-ct. 1594-6 Jane Dyneley gent. 1627-37 Gibb. Hunt & wife, Rich. Garnett gent. & wife Alice, 1666 2. 1676-1780 odd cases.

BIRDSALL 1637 Marm. Thorpe. 1664-1780 odd cases.

KNAPTON 1571 Robt. Lutton to gaol.

LEPPINGTON 1575 Fras. Aislaby. SLEDMERE 1595 Fras. Marshall gent. non-ct.

WETWANG 1571-2 1 non-ct. 1604-5 Thos. Brigham & 2 others.

ACKLAM 1584-6 Edw. St. Quentin gent. 1615 1 non-ct.

RILLINGTON 1632-3 Fras. Anlaby gent., wife & 4 others.

MUSTON 1605-6 Rich. Bennet fined for rec. YEDINGHAM 1590 1 non-ct.

SETTRINGTON 1590 1 nonct. SKIRPENBECK 1735-43 1 family. 1767-80 2-4.

2. WAPENTAKE OF DICKERING

FOLKTON 1573-4 Brian Lacy Esq. 1600 Mr. Babthorpe & 2. 1604 2. 1607-15 Sir Wm. & Sir Ralph Babthorpe & wives, 13 others. 1627 Lady Ursula Babthorpe, 2 sons, Wm. Crake & wife Jane, 6 others. 1633 Wm. Babthorpe & 5. 1637 Thos. Dalton gent. 5. 1640 10.

HUNMANBY 1569 Martin Grimston gent. 1578 same non-ct. 1 absentee. 1581-3 Matthew Grimston gent. & wife. 1586-94 6 negligent or non-cts. 1619 Eliz. wife of Jo. Walter. 1627 Wm. & Ellen Whitfield & 2. 1633 same, Eliz. Walter and 1 more 1637 Mrs. Kath Hungate. Whitfields, Jo. & Eliz. Walter & 4. 1640 same. 1667 Grace widow of Farley Coulson gent. Ellen Whitfield & 4. 1666-8 11. 1676 4. 1706 5.

HARPHAM 1567 Gabriel St. Quentin avoids, and keeps others from, sermons. 1572 same 'doubtful or newter.' 1578 Geo. St. Q. gent. non-ct. 1580 same rec. 1594 he keeps rec. in his house. 1 non-ct.

BURTON AGNES 1594 Ann Gower gent. obstinate. 1666 2.

RUDSTON-CAYTHORPE 1571-2 2. 1577 Mr. Constable 'doubtful or newter.' 1619 Jo. Constable gent. Kath his mother. 1627 same Wm. C.

gent., 1 other. 1633 Wm. C. & wife & 1. 1637 same, Peter C. gent. 1666 Wm. S. Esq. & dau., Thos. & Kath C. 1667 same. 1706 5.

BRIDLINGTON 1571-8 Robt. Shippabotham gent. 1604 Jo. Carleill gent. non-ct. 1633 Buckton—John Constable gent., wife negligent, 2 recs. 1637 Gilbert Hunt gent. wife, John C. gent. 1640 Jo. C., Averilla & Dor. C. and 3. 1676 priest caught at Jo C's Buckton. 1706 1.

FOSTON-BRIGHAM 1590 1 non-ct. 1594 same. 1637 Mary wife of Ralph Wilberfoss gent. 1664-6 Mary Wilberfoss widow. 1706 1.

EITON 1605-6 Thos. Babthorpe gent. & 3 men fined for rec.

FILEY 1633 Farley Coulson gent., wife Grace obst. recs. 1640 same & 1. 1653 same.

GANTON 1633-7 Jo Dawney gent. & wife. BEMPTON 1623 1. 1637 2 non-cts.

BOYNTON 1706. 8. 1765 Jo. Constable Esq. FLAMBOROUGH 1594 1 non-ct. 1604 1.

SCALBY 1735 3. And odd cases at 7 other places.

3. WAPENTAKE OF HARTHILL—WILTON BEACON DIVISION

MILLINGTON-GRIMTHORPE 1571-86 Richard Longley gent., martyr. 1590 Ursula L. non-ct. 1592-1600 Ursula wife of Marm. Dolman gent. a great rec. & 5. 1632 Mary L. widow 1640 same, her 2 daus., Wm. Brigham gent., wife & 2. 1653-66 Rich. L. gent., Ursula L. (Thenceforward M-G recs. included under Pocklington).

OUSETHORPE 1574 Marm. Thirkeld gent. shelters recs. Wm. Lacy gent. 1580 Marm T. & Rich. Aske gents. with wives & families. (Thenceforward see under Pocklington). 1604 Wm. Langdale gent. & wife Eliz. 1606-7 Robt. & Wm. Aske gents. fined.

POCKLINGTON 1572 Thos. Dolman gent.; Robt. Sotheby gent. 'newter.' 1578 1 non-ct. 1581 Robt. Dawtry gent., wife & family. 1586 1 non-ct. 1590 Jo. Bretton non-ct. 1591 Mrs. Eliz. Palmes. 1592-4 Chris. Thirkeld gent., wife, Wm. Dolman gent. & 1. Jane D. & 2 others non-cts. 1595-6 same. 1604-5 Eliz. D. widow, Wm. & Rich. D. gents. & 1 recs. Wives of Roger & Robt. Sotheby gents. & of Thos D. negligent. 1606-7 Wm. D. gent. Eliz. D. widow. 1610 her lands seized. 1615-19 same. Wm. Fawkes gent., wife. 3 negligent. 1637 1 rec. 3 non-cts. 1653 Robt. D. gent. 1657 Edw. Llewellyn. 1664-6 Ann d. widow, Robt. & Jo. D., Ursula wife of Rich. D., Helen Ogleshorpe & 1. 1679 Rich. D. Esq. 1706 14. 1743 11. 1767 17. 1780 19.

WILBERFOSS 1571-2 Roger Wilberfoss gent. keeping rood. 1592-1623 Thomasina Gale widow great rec. & harbourer, her son Fras. & wife, & 7-13. 1627 Robt. Gale Esq. wife & 13. 1 non-ct. 1633 Gales & 11. 1640 18. 1653 Robt D. 1664-5 5.

HAYTON-BEILBY-BURNHOLME 1578 Martin Rudston & Geo. Gascoigne gents.; 4 non-cts. 4 absentees. 1581 Jo. R. gent., wife & family, 3 others. 1582-91 Martin R. & Geo. G. fugitives. M.R. to York Castle. 1591 released by influence of relative, Sir Robt. Stapleton. 1592 Martin R. 1598 Mrs. Frances Thorpe. 1604-5 Jane wife of Philip Monckton Esq. 1715 Henry Cutler Esq. 1780 5.

GIVENDALE 1595 1. 1604 1. 1605 1. & 1 non-ct. 1715 Michael Hansby Esq.

HUGGATE 1578-82 1 non-ct. 1600 Ann Cresswell non-ct.

ALLERTHORPE 1637-40 3. E. STAMFORD BRIDGE 1586 1. 1615 3 non-cts.

YAPHAM 1604 Ursula wife of Marm. Dolman gent. & 3. 1637 Jo. Sotheby gent., wife Joan & 1 non-cts. gone to Wensleydale.

THORNTON 1615-27 Thos. Cudworth, wife & 2-8. 1637 Ann C., Rich. Blanchard & wife & 8. 1640 11. 1664 11. 1666 10 (Blanchards) 1767 2. 1780 12.

CATTON 1594 2 non-cts. 1600-15 Thos. Jerome, wife & 1. 1619 Jeromes to Wilberfoss 1664-6 6. 1676 4. 1706 12. 1735 1. 1767 4. 1780 3. 1633 same. 1767 1.

BISHOP WILTON 1623-7 Wm. Bainton, wife, Agnes Ledes & 2.

4. WAPENTAKE OF HARTHILL—BAINTON BEACON DIVISION

HUTTON CRANSWICK 1578 2 non-cts. 1580 Jo Thweng, servant of Hy. Constable Esq. 1581-2 John Nettleton gent. wife & fam. 1585 John Hotham Esq. & 1. 1586 Marm. Thweng & 5 non-cts. Jo Nettleton has taken 'Jewell agt. Harding' from church. Thos. Warter gent. has taken church Bible. 1590 Marm. Thweng & wife & 2. 1615 1 non-ct. 1735 8 or 9. Mass said there. 1743 2 fams. 1767 5. 1780 1.

SKERNE 1564 Jas. Dodsworth & wife. 1577 2. 1582 2. 1586 Martin Lawson gent. 1615 1 non-ct. 1623 Fras. Salvin gent. 1665 Isabel Langdale sp. Jas. Carnaby & 2. 1676 1. 1706 3. 1733 1. 1767 4.

WARTER 1577 Eliz. Ellerker vid. Isab. Thweng notable recs. 1578 same. 1590 1 non-ct. 1596 1.

WATTON 1580-1 Rich. Harrison, wife & fam. & 4. Odd cases after 1664.

SCORBOROUGH 1586 1 non-ct. 1604-5 Eliz. Carleill.

BESWICK 1615-33 Joan Metham wid. obstinate. 1633-40 same, Lady Frances wife of Sir Ingleby Daniell & 4. 1653 Lady Daniell.

N. DALTON 1580-1 Ralph Hungate gent., wife & fam. & 1. 1604-5 1 non-ct. 1623 1. 1637 2. 1640 Thos. Sleter & wife. Odd cases after 1664.

DRIFFIELD 1563-4 several, Cath. practices. 1573 vestments concealed. 1607 Thomasin Gale vid. Jo. & Phillis Talbot & 5. 1615 3 non-cts. 1633 3 secret baptisms

KIRKBURN 1570 Cath. fittings. 1623 2. LUND 1586 1. 1633 Ann Thweng.

MIDDLETON 1615 Fras. wife of Jo. Gillson. Mtg. G. non-cts.

5. WAPENTAKE OF HARTHILL—HOLME BEACON DIVISION

BUBWITH-SPALDINGTON-WILLITOFT 1563-5 Ann Vavasour vid. Peter & Jo. V gents. 1574 Dr. Thomas V. in gaol. 1572 Peter V. 1578 Robt. Dolman gent. & 2 non-cts. 1580-1 Geo. V. of S., Dame Ann Paycock conformed. 1586 Peter V. of W. conf. wife to gaol. Bridget Maskew to gaol, 1 other. 1589 Wm. Dolman Esq. & 2. 1590 B—5,W—Ann V. & 14, 1 non-ct. 1596 B—9; S—2; W—2, all long obstinate. 1604 Anne wife of Peter V. of W, her 2 daus., Rich. V of S, & 19 (incl. John Hotham) 1606 Alex. V. of S. 1607 34 (incl. Lady Eliz. Dolman of Gunby) 1615 66 (incl. Sir Robert Dolman, wife, Ursula D., Eliz. V. vid. wives of Alex. & Peter V. 7 children), & 3 non-cts. (incl. John son of Sir Rob. D.) 1619 41. 1623 58. 1627 30 & 31 non-cts. (Alex. and Eliz. V.) 1633 43 (Geo. & Alex. V.) 1637 56. 1640 43. 1653 Geo. & Jo. V. sequestered. 1667 48 (Jo V. gent. of W. Peter V. yeoman of B.) 1676 35. 1706 47. 1735 21. 1767 11. 1780 1.

LONDESBOROUGH 1577-94 Chris Monckton gent. obstinate rec. gaol. 1604 Robt. Hewes Esq. 1609-19 Grace Simpson. 1627-40 2. 1780 1.

AUGHTON 1572 Robt. Aske Esq. 1585 2. 1587 Anthony Aske gent.

dies in gaol. 1590 2. 1591 Mary Aske. 1592-4 same & 3 fined. 1596-1600 3. 1604 2. 1605 Rich Vavasour gent. & 1. 1609-15 4-5. 1619 Eliz. Vavasour vid. & 2. 1623 Charles Saltmarsh gent., wife Eliz. V. & 2. 1627 11. 1633 Eliz. V. vid. & 7. 1640 6. 1664 11. 1667 8. 1676 4.

EVERINGHAM 1577 Sir Marm. Constable. 1580-6 Philip C. Esq., wife & family. 1590 9. 1592 Philip C. conformed, wife in gaol. 1596 2. 1615 2. 1623 Sarah C. & 12 non-cts. 1627 Sarah wife of Ralph C. gent., Mary her dau., Gabriel St. Quentin gent. & wife Margt., & 10. 1663 14. 1637-40 16. (Gabriel St. Q. & wife, Sarah C.) 1646 Sir Philip C. 1666 11. (Marm. C. Esq., wife, Geo. C. gent.) 1676 34. 1706 13. 1733 21. 1735 25. 1743 abt. 6 families. 1767 85. 1780 70.

GOODMANHAM 1604 Lady Grimston non-ct., John Grimston & 1 recs. 1605 Sir Marm. G., wife, Francis & Walter G., Wm. Langdale & 1 non-cts. Eliz. wife of Langdale rec. 1633 Waiter G. gent. 1637-40 same. 1664 1. 1683 Mr. & Mrs. Grimston of G. 1676 6. 1706 1. 1762 2.

HARSWELL 564. Cath fittings. 1579 7. 1581 Matt. St. Quentin gent. suspected of Cath marriage. 1676 1. 1733 1. 1735 1. 1767 1. 1780 10.

SEATON 1567-8 Cath practices. 1577 Jane Catton & 4 non-cts. 1585 Margt. Elwick vid. 1586-8 same. 1615 John Cudworth & wife, Jane wife of Rich. Hayton & 3. 1619 Jane Hayton & 2. 1623 same. Isabel & Agnes Brigham & 1 non-cts. 1627 same. 1633-7 Jane Hayton, persuader of recs. 1664 4. 1706 5. 1767 7. 1780 19 (Deans & Clarks).

HOLME ON SPALDING MOOR 1585-6 Constantia & Alex. Ellithorpe, Thos. Mounten gent. (latter to gaol) 1590 1. 1596 3 non-cts. 1600 1. 1605-7 1 & Barbara Ellerker non-ct. 1607-15 1 negligent, 2 recs. 1615 2. 1619 2. 1637 3. 1640 4 & Robert Brigham & 5 negligent. 1644 Thos. Dolman gent., wife, Marm. Lord Langdale, wife & 17. 1667 6 ('Anthony Langdale monk.') 1676 21. 1706 16. 1733-5 28. 1743 6 fams. 1767 67. 1780 54.

SHIPTON 1576 Geo. Turton. 1 non-ct. 1664 Edward Wilberfoss gent., wife & 15.

WRESSLE 1586 1. 1590 1. 1615 Mary wife of Robt. Stapleton gent. rec. 9 yrs. 1619 same & 4 non-cts. 1623 same & 7 non-cts. 1627 3 obst. recs. 1633 6. 1637 15. 1640 same. 1664 4. 1676 3. 1706 5. 1735 3. 1743 2.

MARKET WEIGHTON 1586 1. 1623 7. 1627 same, non-cts. 1637-40 3-4. 1676 3. 1706 13. 1733-5 10. 1743 4 families (Sullaby, Lee, Richardson) 1767 25. 1780 (with Shipton) 25.

GRIBTHORPE 1589 search for Cath. things in 2 houses.

6. WAPENTAKE OF HARTHILL—HUNSLEY BEACON DIVISION

HESSLE 1561 women use rosaries, 1574 Wm. Lacy gent.; Thos. Langdale gent. shelters him, 1 absentee. 1590 1 non-ct. 1600 Mary Hayton non-ct. 1615 1 non-ct. 1667 22 Popish recs. (Ann and Wm. Langdale, Mary L., Chris Bacon gent.) 2 other couples married by a priest. 1676 2. 1706 5.

COTTINGHAM 1574 1. 1580 John Jenkinson, wife and fam. 1596 Jo Grene gent. & wife. 1604 1 rec. 1 non-ct. 1615 Thos. Elwould gent. & wife & 2 non-cts. 1627 Jocelin Percy gent. & wife & 4 recs. 2 other recs. clandestinely married. 1 non-ct. 1633 Lady Everilda wife of Sir Michael Wharton & 9. Cath marriage and baptism. 1637 Lady Wharton, Mrs. Pudsey vid, Ellen & Geo. Pudsey gent. & 11. 1640 Lady W., Everilda W. her grandchild (the child a non-ct.), Ellen Pudsey vid and 7-9 non-cts. 1666 Ralph Smith gent., wife, James Ellerker & wife, Jo. E. & 7. 1674 15 absentees. 1676 12 Papists. 1681 Thos. Edw. & Jo. Ellerker & 3. 1735 Sarah E. gent. & Edw. E. her son. 1780 1.

SANCTON 1577 Jane Langdale vid of Anthony L. gent. fled to Rome; Thos. Accrith priest. 1578 same, Thos. Grimston Esq. denies he is rec. 1579 Grimston, wife & fam. recs. 1580-3 Jane L. 1586-91 same with 2. James Constable & wife non-cts. 1959 Mar. Constable gent. rec. 1640 Frances C. non-ct. 1706 18. (Houghton) 1733 4. 1735 Mrs. Fras. Langdale & 13. 1743 6 fams. 1767 Philip L. Esq. & 23. 1780 P. L. wife, priest, 9 servants, 11 other adults, 16 children.

CHERRY BURTON 1578 2 absentees. 1. 1637 3 non-cts. 1674 2 Cath. marriages.

N. CAVE 1578 2 non-cts. 1580 Marm. Constable gent. of Cliffe, wife & fam. conform. 1600 Thos Metham & Walter Lascelles gents. non-cts. John Metham gent & 1 recs. 1604 Jo. M. rec. Thos. M. Esq. non-ct. 1607 1 absentee. 1615 Wm. Leavins school without licence. 1 rec. 1666 James Smith gent. 1674 2 Cath. marriages. 1676 2. 1706 Cliffe—23. 1733 15. 1735 N. Cave 4; Cliffe 18 (Jordan Langdale Esq.) 1743 4 fams. 1767 17. 1780 2 & 13.

S. CAVE 1578 1 non-ct. Robert Constable gent., Barbara Hylton gent. non-ct. 1580 Roger Hilton gent., wife & fam. 1595-1600, Rich Danby gent. & wife. 1600 Robt. Wright non-ct. 1615 Wife of Nich Girlington Esq. and wife of Thos. Danby Esq. non-cts, 3 recs. 1623 2 recs, seducers of others. 1627 Margt. Danby & 1 recs. 1 non-ct. 1633 wife of Thos. Danby Esq. rec. fine. 1646 same. 1666 2. 1735 1.

N. NEWBALD 1580-90 Geo Fowbery gent. & wife and fam. 1596 1 non-ct. 1615 1 susp. rec.

ELLERKER 1586 Robt. Ellerker Esq. & wife, Wm. E. & wife, Robt. E. & 4. 1590 wives of Wm. E. sen. & Wm. E. jun. gents. Thos. Monckton gent., wife of Robt. 7. & 2. Robt. & Wm. E. non-ct. 1591-3 Barbara E. party conforms. 1594 Alice wife of Robt. E. Barbara E. non-ct. 1596-1600 same. 1604 Alice wife of Robt. E. old rec., her husb. new rec. Barbara E. Non-ct. 1605 Alice E. rec. Barb. & Robt. E. non-cts. 1607 Barbara E. fined & conf. Robt. E. Rec. fined.

RISBY & ROWLEY 1572 Edward Ellerker Esq. called 'Protestant.' 1580 he, wife & fam. on bond to conf. His wife refuses. 1586 Rowley, 3. 1590 John Evers unlic. school in his house. 4 recs, 3 non-cts. 1596 1 non-ct. 1604 James Ellerker alias Oldcastle schoolmaster rec. Lady Ellerker wife of Sir Ralph, Barth Forcer recs. some years. 1607 Risby—Lady E. & 4 excommunicated recs. Eliz. wife of Wm. Lacy of Bentley new rec. 11 very negligent, 1615 Lady E., Lady Jane Constable & 1 recs Sir Ralph Constable non-ct & not at church some months, absolved on promise, 1619-23 same. 1627 12 recs. (Thos. E., Ralph E., Ralph E. Esq., Jane Lady C. & 7. 1637 17 (incl. Kath wife of Mich. Wharton Esq.) 1640 same. 1652-3 Sir Ralph & Ralph E. 1654 John E. of Stillingfleet, eldest son of James, Sir Ralph's 2nd son and Prot. heir. Eleanor widow of Ralph E. of Haltemprice rec. 1666 Bentley—Jo. Garnet gent. 4 Hardys & 2 others recs. 1667-8. 1676 1. S. DALTON 1666 1.

RIPLINGHAM 1592 Robt. Ellerker gent fined. HOTHAM 1633 Ann Brigham.

BRANTINGHAM 1572-80 Anthony Smeatheley gent. 'newter.' Wm. Ingleby gent. (of Ripley W.R.) his son-in-law resident here—from 1581 a rec. with his wife in W.R. but not presented here. His rec. mother, Lady Ann Ingleby res. here. 1600 Mr. Palmes rec. sojourner. 1627-33 James Carr obst. rec. Nich. Hardy rec.

LÉCONFIELD 1582 3, non-cts. 1604 1. 1605 same, 1 non-ct. 1615 1. 1623 Jocelin Percy gent. & wife non-cts. & secret baptisms. 1627 Robt. Constable gent., Jane wife., Robt. C. Esq. & wife & servants recs. 2 non-cts. 1633 Robt. C. Esq. (probably elder bro. of Sir Marm. C. of

Everingham, and normally of Westborough, Lincs.) wife, son & 3. 1631 New Park here let by Earl of Northumb. for 21 years to Jocelin Percy gent. rec. in Beverley, not presented here now. 1653 Jocelin Percy gent.

ELLOUGHTON 1586 1. 1605 1. non-ct. 1666 2. 1674 4 Papists.

BISHOP BURTON 1590 1. 1627 Kath. wife of Wm. Wharton Esq., Mary Longley vid. & 2. 1580-1 Ralph Hansby gent., wife & fam. 1633 Mrs. Wharton. Effort to convict Sir Ralph Hansby of here & Tickhill W.R. (Hansbys recs. there from 1590s.).

ANLABY 1585 Robert Dalton gent. ('the matter is for affirming the real presence of Christ to bee in sacramentall breade.') & wife Jane. 1588 same.

7. BEVERLEY

1567 2 curates gaoled for Cath. practices. 1 non-ct. 1570 1. 1571 Wm. Lacy gent., wife & fam. Hugh Thickpenny gent., 3 non-cts. 1574 Th., Thos. Lacy & Thos. Wilberfoss gents. conceal Wm. Lacy. 1575 3 non-cts. (1 crosses himself) Wm. Lacy & fam. 1577 Edward & Alan Percy gents., Ann P., Thos. Lacy gent., Kath. Webster, Joan wife of Thos. Wilberfoss gent., 3 others absentees. 1580 Wm. Frankland gent., wife & fam. He to gaol for obstinacy. Margt. Wyvell, Wm. Chapman, butcher, wife & fam. Robt. Rassells baker (Cath. books), Rich Webster draper, wife & fam. 1582 Jo. Lacy gent. & 1. 1586 Wife of Wm. Frankland gent. & 1 recs. Ralph Hansby gent. & wife. Michael Wharton gent. & wife. (Wharton—probably M.P. for Bev. that year—himself conformed. Hansby prod. certificate of communion) 4 non-cts. 1595 Ann wife of Mich. W. & 1 non-cts rarely at church. 1604 Eliz. Percy vid. rec. 3 non-cts. 1607 same—harboured by Allan Percy Esq. M.P. for Bev.—with Edw. Wharton gent. & wife & 5 recs. 1619 Edward Brigham gent. 4 negligent, 14 absent from church, 5 non-cts. 1623 Edw. W. & wife, Constable gent. & wife, Thos. & Simon Beckwith recs. 14 non-cts. 1627 Lady Everilda W. vid., Edw. W. gent. & wife. & 8 recs. 5 noncts. 1633 Jocelin Percy gent. & wife, Edw. W. & wife. Bridget Crathorne, Thos. Beckwith gent. & 8 recs, 6 absentees, 1 non-ct. 1637 15 recs. (. . . Metham gent. & wife, Whartons). Wh., Jo. & Magdalen Farley & 1 negligent. 1650 Thos Beckwith & Thos. Lacy gents. 1667 Mrs. Ellerker, Thos. E., Mrs. Wharton, Susan Taylor (keeps unlicensed school & 1 recs. 1676 20 popish recs. 1706 Mrs. Bishop, nun at Louvain, 1 other. 1774 Robt. Watson, wife & fam. 1780 James Stourton Esq. & servant. 1785 Will. Smith, wife & fam.

8. WAPENTAKE OF OUSE & DERWENT

HEMINGBROUGH 1564 Cath. practices. 1565 Sir Wm. & Lady Babthorpe conform. 1580 Sir Wm. B., wife & fam., Wm. B. gent., wife & fam. & about 40 recs. (Jo. Salvin gent.). 1582 Rob. Nelson & Rob Dalby arrested, Wm. B. fined. Cuth. Layton, Marm. Fawkes gent. & family, Francis B. & 27. 1585 Ralph B. & wife & 4 on bond. 1586 25. 1588 3 to gaol. 1590 Wm. Hammond gent. & 23 recs. 6 non-cts. (B males). 1591 Grace & Thos. B. to gaol with 7 others. Thos. Watkinson executed for helping priest. 1592-6 Grace B again gaoled, 22 others recs. 1596 Wm. Knight executed for conversion. 1600 54 recs, 7 non-cts, Robt. Nelson teaches without licence. 1604 37 recs. (Bs, Mrs. Aske 21 non-cts (male Bs). 2 Cath. marriages. 1605-6 55 recs, (Margt. Aske, John Constable gent. & wife), 5 non-cts. 1607 Wm. Lascelles & 15 fined. 1610 Sir Ralph B's estate seized for rec. 1615 53 recs. (of whom 42 women, Jo. Constable): 3 absent, 1 excomm., 2 non-cts. 1619 Jane wife of Thos. Dymbelby (Thimbleby?) gent. & 35 recs. 3 non-cts. 1627 51 recs. 1633 45 (Wm. Vavasour gent. & wife) 1640 45 (Thos. & John Metham gents., Chris Saltmarsh gent.) 1666 Chas. Bowes gent. and 23.

STILLINGFLEET 1564-7 Wm. Acclam gent. & wife of Moreby Hall. she conforms once after his death. 1568 2 clerics with Papist literature associated with Mr. Stillington of Kelfield. 1570 Mrs. Acclam. 1578 Wm. Stillington gent. jun. rec. 4 years to York gaol - possibly keeping Wm. Field 'old' priest, Eliz. S. gaoled, Roland Seamer, fugitive out of Durham. 1580 Thos. S. gent., Lawrence Beckwith Esq. S. has sons abroad at school. Thos. Beswick, Leonard Beckwith recs. 1586 Kath. & Eliz. S. & 1. 1592 Wm. S. Esq., Kath. S. & 2. 1596 Wm. S. gent. & 2. Henry Acclam & 1 non-cts. 1604 Wm. S. & 1 recs. 1 non-ct. 1610 Wm. S.'s estate seized for rec. He to gaol. 1615 his estate sold up. 1 non-ct. 1623 Joyce Acclam rec. 1 secret marriage. 1637 same. 1666 Eliz. Colson sp. 1681 2 Papists. 1684-8 2 Papists.

THORGANBY 1580 Thos. Saltmarsh Esq. & wife. He conforms. 1581-94 Robt. & Philip S. gents. & 4 others recs. 1604 1. 1607 5 recs, 1 non-ct. 1615 Eliz. Saltmarsh & 4 obstinate recs. 1627 3 notorious recs. 1633 2. Odd cases after 1666.

NABURN-ESCRICK 1577 wife of Brian Palmes Esq. Anne wife of Jo Lander attorney. 1579 Mrs. L. to goal, later with husband to Fleet prison London. 1580 Brian P., wife fam. Jo P., wife & fam. Jo Preston cleric, wife of Jo Tinckler gent., Gabriel Fairfax gent. & wife & 1. 1582 13 - old Scots priest kept in guise of gardener. 1585-6 Jo & Joan P. & 2. 1590 Rich. P. & wife non-cts. 1592 Mrs. Jo P. to goal. 1593-5 Jo P., wife, Mary Lander & 2. Jo Thomas non-ct. teaches without licence. 1600 Jo P. & wife non-cts. Brian P. rec. 1604 Sir Geo. P. & wife, Leonard Gower, Mrs. Jo P. & 4 recs. Thos. Babthorpe, Mary Aske and another recs.. resort there. Jo P. non-ct. 1619 Sir Geo. & wife, 6 children & 9 servants (including Geo. Thweng aged 22, John Vavasour, aged 18, Denis Wilden 40) 1623 20 recs. (no Palmes) 1633 Sir Geo., Wm. P. Esq. his wife, Thos. Metham gent. & wife Mary, Francis Hornworth & 17. Baptisms by popish priest. 1637-40 Sir Geo., Lady Wildon, Wm. P. & 25. 1653 Sir Geo. & Wm. P. 1662 Wm. P. Esq. wife & 9. 1666 21. 1676 15. 17355 5. (Miss Mary P.) 1749 Brian, Wm. & Geo. P. 1767 15. 1780 10.

RICCALL 1580-5 Henry Oglethorpe gent. to goal, then removed to Oxfordshire.

SKIPWITH-N.DUFFIELD 1565-9 Wm. Hussey gent. in goal. Agnes Ellithorpe & 3. 1592-9 4. John Freeman in gaol. 1615 3, John Nawton in gaol. 1619-23 3. 1627 4, Rich. Marston gent. non-ct. absentee. 1666 10.

ELVINGTON 1586 2 non-cts. 1633 Hester, wife of Robt. Aske, moved to York. Gabriel Hayton & wife. 1637 the latter negligent.

WHELDRAKE 1586 Isabel, wife of Nich. Gate; Rich. Haxbie 12 yrs. 1604 Nich. Bray 2 yrs sent to Yk. Castle Agnes his wife 9-10 yrs. Servant. 1607 the Brays. 1615 1. 1637 2.

FULFORD 1627 Thos. Metham gent. & wife. 1735-43 1 fam. 1767 12. 1780 10.

9. HOWDENSHERE

HOWDEN 1560-73 Sir Thomas & Lady Edith Metham—gaoled. 1578 Thos. M. gent.—case specially dealt with. John Hall parish clerk. Mary wife of Chris Wells & 5 recs. Robt. Saltmarsh gent. & wife, Geo. Consett gent. & wife & 2 non-cts. 1580-3 Thos. Metham gent. non-ct., his wife, Alice Consett, Francis Babthorpe & 8 recs. Geo. Consett wife & fam. conform. Eliz. Freeman non-ct. 1586-7 Anth. Asks gent. (gaoled), Reg. Consett & wife & 5 recs. Geo. Consett, son Geo. Robt. Saltmarsh gent. & wife non-cts. Barth. Gryme teaches

without licence. 1589-90 Eliz. wife of Thos. M. of Barnill (gaoled), Reg. Consett & wife & 10 recs. Thos. M., Alice wife of Geo. Consett & 3 non-cts. 1592-4 Kath, wife of Thos. M. of Barnill gaoled, Francis Metham, Grace wife of Ralph Babthorpe & 12 recs. Thos. M. conforms. 1604-7 20 recs. (Chris. Aske, Isabel wife of John Gates Esq., Edward Wharton—gaoled, Martha widow of Thos. Percy, Geo. Consett). 1615 21. (4 in gaol). 1619 17. 1623 24 (Thos. M. Esq., wife Barbara). 1627 34 (Thos. M. & wife, Mich. Nicholl teaches without licence). 1633 33 (Thos. M. & wife Eli.). 1640 19 (Wm. Dolman gent. & wife), 2 non-cts. 1653 Geo. M. Esq. & wife. 1666 30 (wife of Rich. Dolman). 1667 'Rich. Dolman my curate ibidem for relinquishing his profession & turning Papist.' 1706 4. 1735 7. 1743 3 fams. 1767 15-16. 1780 7.

EASTRINGTON 1568 Jo. Dodding schoolmaster, Papist teaching, Cath. objects, departs. 1569 Jas. Gower gets Scots priest. 1578 Marm. Mountain & wife & 1 non-cts. 1590 Robt. Aske, Mrs. Metham of Greneoke recs. Chris. Mouten & Barth. Metham non-cts. 1591 Thos. Mouten to gaol. 1592 Robt. Aske gent. 1604-5 2. 1606-8 Anne, wife of Mich. Portington Esq. & 6. 1615 12 (Anne, P., wife of Wm. Mouten). 1619 Anne P. & 6. 1623 Anne P., Isabel wife of John P. gent. & 2. -627 Ann P. & 11. Geo. Bucke teaches & marries without licence. 1640 14. 1666 1. 1783-7 Jackson fam. & 1 at Gilberdike.

WALKINGTON 1572-4 Wm. Sherwood gent. obst. rec. gaoled. 1580-1 Thos. S. gent. suspected Cath. marr. & bapt. 1586 1. 1590-2 1. 1588ff. Wm. Sherwood gent. fined. 1615 1 non-ct.

DUNCOTES 1575-7 Dr. Thos. Vavasour in his bro. Wm's house on bond. SANDHALL 1577-8 Geo. Fowberry gent., wife & fam. Sir Peter Hartfurth priest.

10. KINGSTON UPON HULL 1568 Jo. Cawood. 1570 Papists there. 1574 Wm. Lacy gent. 1577 Nich. Farley, Robt. Terry, Jo. Ruddell of Drypool. 1572-8 6-8 non-cts. 1586 Trinity—Edm. Dalton gent. jun., Jo. Smith & 7. 1 non-ct. Bukelly—wives of Rob. Dalton & Edw. Ellerker Esqs. St. Mary—Wm. Dakins & 3. 1590 Jo. Smith Alderman & 2 non-cts. Kirkella Ann Ellerker. 1594 1. 1595-6 Kirkella. Ann wife of Ralph Ellerker Esq. Jas. E. of Haltemprice non-cts. 1604-5 5 recs, 9 non-cts. N. Ferriby—Ann mother of Rob. Dalton Esq., Eliz. his wife. Thos. D., Rob. Bacon jun. & wife, Mgt. Crathorne & 2 recs. Ann wife of Sir Ralph E. rec. 1607 Kirkella—Ellen wife of Ralph E. Esq. N. Ferriby—Ann wife of Rob. Bacon gent., Jane wife of Philip Monckton gent., Ann Bacon & 3. 1615 St. Mary—Robt. Dalton of Myton Esq. non-ct. wife rec. 20 yrs. Trin.—2 Ferr.—Rob. Bacon gent. conf., wife Ann. Philip Monckton gent. & wife & 2. Kirkella—Ellen wife of Ralph E. Esq. & 1. 1619 Kirk—same with Jas., Thos. & Ann E. 1 non-ct. St. Mary—Rob. Dalton Esq. non-ct. wife. Jo., Rob., Ralph D., Eliz. Bacon & 3 recs. 2 non-cts. Ferr.—Joan Monckton. Eliz. wife of Fras. Haldenby gent. & 2. Trin.—4 (Jas. Nettleton & wife). 1623 Kirk—5 Ellerkers. St. Mary—Rob. Dalton Esq. Jo. & Ralph D. & 3. 2 non-cts. Ferr.—2 & 3 non-cts. 1627 Kirk.—Thos. E. gent. & wife & 2. St. Mary—Thos. Dalton gent. & wife, Ralph D., Wm. Markenfield. Ferr.—2 Bacons & 3. 1633 Dor. Holmes vid. Penelope D. Trin.—Thos. D. Esq. & household. Kirk.—Thos. Ell. gent. & wife & 2. Ferr.—8 Bacons & 2.2 1637 Trin.—James Primrose MD & 3. St. Mary—Pen Dalton vid & 1. Kirk.—3 Es. & 5. Ferr.—7 Bacons & 4. 3 non-cts. 1640 7. (Sam Snawsdell gent. & wife, Dr. Primrose). 1643 Lord Dunbar's son in gaol for sheltering priest. 1662 Kirk.—Jo. E. gent. & wife & 4. Ferr.—4. 1674 Ferr.—8. 1676 & 1706 3. 1735 St. Mary—4. 1767 St. Mary—4. Trinity—29. 1780 St. Mary—16. Trinity—43. Sculcoates—19. 1 other (76).

HESSLE 1590 1 non-ct. 1600 1 non-ct. 1615 1 non-ct. 1667 22 Popish recs. (Wm. & Ann Langdale, Mary Langdale, Chris, Bacon).

11. SEIGNIORY OF HOLDERNESS—SOUTH BAILIWICK

HALSHAM & BURTON CONSTABLE 1568 Cath. fittings. 1573 Sir Jo. Constable, schoolmaster & 3 summoned. 1580 Wm. Const. gent., wife & fam. He conf. 1591—3. Lady C. gaolcd. 1594 Ralph C. gent. & 2. 2 non-cts. 2 1600-4 4, Cath baptisms. 1615 3 recs., 2 suspects. 1619 7 recs, 3 negligent. 1623 10. 1627 6. 1633 Lord Dunbar. wife & fam. & 4. 1637 9. 1640 11. 1664-6 19. (Owsts, Awdas, Moody, Sledd). 1674 7 Owsts. 1676 8. 1706 35. 1733 12. 1735 28 (5 Owsts). 1743 8 fams. 1767 30. 1780 30.

BURSTWICK-SKECKLING 1577-8 Ralph Ellerker & wife recs. 2 non-cts. 1580-3 Ralph E. confs. and relapses. 1586 2. 1596 Margt. wife of Brian Metcalfe gent. 1600 same, Margt. wife of Wm. Ellerker gent., wife of Thos. M. recs. Wm. E. and Ralph Constable gents. non-cts. 1604 same with 2. Brian & Thos. M. non-cts. 1607 Wm. E. & Thos. M. recs. 1615 Margt. M. vid, Fras. Holtby gent, wife & 4 recs. 16 yrs. 1619 Margt. wife of Wm. E., 7 Metcalfe & 8 recs. 2 non-cts. 1623 Lady Constable vid & 19. 1633 Lady C., Leon M. & 18. 1637 18 (Joan C., Ms.) 2 non-cts. 1637-40 Lady Plaxton vid, . . . C. gent & wife 12. 1666 27. (Geo. M. gent.). 1669 Leon M. & wife, Philip Headon gent. & wife & 6. 1676 15. 1706 35. 1733 12. 1735 47. 1743 8 fams. 1767 53. 1780 53.

EASINGTON 1573 Nich. Banester (schoolmaster from Amounderness?) 1586 2. 1600 3 non-cts. 1615 1 non-ct. 1676 15 1767-80 1.

WELWICK 1578 2 non-cts. 1580 Stephen Thorpe & wife gent. 1586 Mrs. Thorpe. 1590 Mrs. Ursula Wright rec. 3 yrs. Jo. Wright gent. & Mrs. Thorpe to gaol. 1592 Mrs. W., Jo. W. to gaol. 1594 Mrs. W. Anne W. 1596 3. 1604 Rob. Thorpe & wife, Mr. T. Anne wife of Wm. W. gent., Robt. T. alias Anth. Berry. 1607 Rob. Thorpe gent. lands seized. Frances T. 1615 1 non-ct. 1666 1. 1681 3. 1735 1.

PATRINGTON 1586 Agnes Hargrave & 2. 1590 Nich & Agnes H. recs. 1 non-ct. 1591 Agnes to gaol. 1637-40 Mrs. Dorothy Holme. 1669 5. 1733 4. 1735 2. 1780 1.

OWTHORNE 1575 1. 1582 Francis Ledes gent. non-ct. 1586 he & wife recs. 1615 Eliz. wife of Wm. Thorpe Esq. & 1. 1664 11. (Matt. & Hy Constable gents.), 1706, 1743, 1767 1.

KEYINGHAM 1569 1. 1590 1 non-ct. 1596 1. 1604 1. 1619 1 non-ct. 1676 1. 1733-5 2. 1743 2. 1767-80 5.

PAULL 1590 Dor. Holme non-ct. Leon H. non-ct. 1607 Dor. wife of Hy. H. Esq. non-st. 1 rec. 1615 same. 1619 same. 1623-7 same. 1633 Mrs. H. 1640 2. 1646 Mrs. H. 1676 6. 1735 5. 1743 1. 1767 1. 1780 (with Thorgumbald) 13.

OTTRINGHAM 1600 3 non-cts. 1615 5 or 6. 1640 5. Thereafter odd recusants.

SKEFFLING 1586 3 non-cts. 1596 1 non-ct. THORNGUMBALD 1627 1. 1640 2. Later odd cases.

12. HOLDERNESS—MIDDLE BAILIWICK

SWINE 1567 1 non-ct.; Cath fittings. 1573 Marm. Langdale gent. suspect. 1575 same, wife & fam., Richard Halome parish clerk recs. 1575-8 1 non-ct. 1580-1 Marm. L. & fam. conform in part, his wife obstinate. 1586 3 non-cts. 1590-2 Anth. Holtby gent., Giles Robinson gent. & 2 recs. 1 non-ct. 1607 7 recs, 1 non-ct. 1615 Wm. Langdale Esq. rec. 1 yr., his wife, Robt. Constable gent. & wife & 9 recs.

Thos. Jackson, L's servant teaches without licence. 1619 same with 3 more. 1623 Ls., Cs. & 16 recs., 2 non-cts. 1627-33 Wm. L., wife, Philip L. & wife & 18. 1637 4 Ls., Wm. Markenfield & wife, Wm. Fenwick & wife & 20. 1640 28. 1652 Wm. sen., Philip & Wm. L. jun. 1662 30. (Jo. Dalton Esq., Sir Wm. L. & wife). 1664-8 Swine—25; Arnold—4; Ellerby & Lanthorpe—28; Ganstead—6 (Ann & Thos. Constable); Skirlaugh—13. (80). 1676 47. 1681 18. (Wm. & Mary L., Hy. Brigham gent.). 1684—8 Swine 36; Skirlaugh 6. (Thos. C., Hy. & Rich. Brigham). 1706 26. 1733 28. 1735 Swine 17 and more. Bilton 3. Ellerby 14. 1767 114. 1780 137. (last 2 with Marton).

MARTON 1581 Mr. Crake. Brian Headon gent., wife & fam. 1591 John Wells in gaol. 1595 Jo & Margt. Wells, Robt. & Jane Owst. 1600 same. Richard Ratcliffe suspect schoolmaster non-ct. 1604-5 8 recs. (wives of Brian & Henry Headon Esqs.), 1 non-ct. 1607 Jo Wells & wife . . . Holtby gent. & wife & 2. 1615 Anth. Holtby gent. & wife & 2 children & 9 recs. 1619-23 same. (Thos. Metcalfe). 1633 31. 1637 30. 1640 28. 1664-6 14. 1735 14. 1767-80—numbers with Swine, above.

WYTON 1604 Ralph Brigham suspect. 1605-7 same & wife. 1615-40 same & 5-6. 1650 Wm. B. gent. 1664-6 Bilton & Wyton 8. Thenceforward included under Swine.

HEDON 1567 Geo. & Wm. Bolton. 1575 Jo. Bolton priest gaoled. 1580 Wm. Bolton gaoled. 1586 Geo. Bolton & 2. 1590 Geo. B., wife & fam. 1594 Rich. Hammond gent. & 1. 1595 2. 1604 2. 1628 Guildford Herridge gent. 1633 2. 1637 7. 1640 3. 1662 2. 1706 23 (with Preston). 1733 (distinct) 15-18. 1735 17 (Rob. Rand schoolmaster of Burstwick now here) 1743 5 or 6 fams. 1767 27 (Eliz. Wheelhouse keeps a school). 1780 15.

PRESTON 1585 3. 1595 2 non-cts. 1600 Mich. Constable gent. Hy. his son, Ann his dau. & 1 negligent non-cts. 1604-7 same recs. 1615 Wm. Ellerker gent., wife & 2, 2 non-ct. 1619 Ann & Ralph Marston. 1627 Jo. & Eliz. E., Wm. E. & wife, Margt. wife of Anth. Neville & 5. 1633 Jo. E. & wife & 10. 1637 Es. & Wilfred Metcalfe & 6. 1640 same. 1666 8. 1706 23. 1735 12. (Mary Champney). 1743 2 or 3 fams. 1767 23. 1780 25. (Matt. Witham Esq.)

SPROATLEY 1582 several suspects. 1595-6 1. 1953-1600 2. 1605-6 same. 1607-15 1. 1623 1 non-ct. 1640 2. 1664 5. 1674 4. 1676 6. 1681-2 2. 1706 2. 1733 1. 1743 1 fam. 1767 17. 1780 21.

TUNSTALL 1567 Rich. Palmes gent.; Cath. fittings. 1573 same, wife & 1. 1607 1 non-ct.

HUMBLETON 1576 Cath. fittings. 1590 5 absent. 1604-5 2 non-cts. 1615 1 ec., 1 non-ct. 11 negligent. 1627-37 1. 1662 8 Popish recs. 1666 10. 1674 10. 1676 14. 1706 6. 1733 1. 1735 Jo. Thorpe gent. & wife, priest & 8. 1743 3 fams. 1767 10. 1780 24 (with Elstron).

ELSTRONWICK 1633 Margt. Ellerker & 2. 1637 7. 1640 6. 1662 1. 1664 6. 1666 12. 1767 8. 1780 24 (with Humbleton).

BENNINGHOLME 1586 4, 9 suspect, (then goes with Skirlaugh, Swine & Marton).

FLYNTON 1581 Thos. Hunter, wife & fam. Jo. Hunter.

AUDBOROUGH 1586-90 2. 1594-5 1. 1623 Hy. Yorke gent., wife & 14. 1637 21 (Wm. Leeds & wife), 2 non-cts. 1646 Anth. Metcalfe. Anth. Rooome, Anth. Singleton. 1662 25 Popish recs. 1664-6 29 (Jo. Visct. Dunbar & wife, Alice Raines wid. Aspinalls). 1667 Margt. Constable Esq. & 16. 1676 30. 1706 29. 1735 17. (Champneys, Caleys, Aspinalls). 1767 50. 1780 44. (Caleys, Helmes, Hopwoods, Kiplings, Mastermans, Nutts).

GARTON-GRIMSTON 1578 Mr. Grimston & wife, Martin G. jun. gent. & 2 suspect; Chris Tompson keeps Cath. things. 1596 Walter G. gent. & wife. 1662 1. 10 refuse church. 1667 3 Papists. 1669 4. 1706 2. 1735 4. (Harrison, Dunning). 1743 2 fams. 1767 7.
BURTON PIDSEA 1580-1 Leon Sisson gent., wife & fam. 1600 same non-cts. 1662 1. 1706 9. 1743 2 fams. 1767 10. 1780 1.
ROOS 1994 1 non-ct. Odd recs after 1660. SUTTON 1767 7. 1780 15.

13. HOLDERNESS—NORTH BAILLWICK

BRANDESBURTON 1573 Walt. Fenwick & Jo. Watson gents. suspect. 1 other. 1623 John Lamplugh gent. & 2 non-cts. 1633 Phil Ellerker gent. & fam. & 1. 1640 Ann E. & 2. 1666 4. 1676 9. 1733 1.

HORNSEA-RISTON 1568 Mich. Bolton priest. 1581 Jo. Thewlis pro-Cath. to gaol. 1582 2 recs., 2 non-cts., 1586 3. Jerome Bolton rec. 1590 1. 1607-19 6 suspects. 1623 Jo. Dakins non-ct. 1627 Thos. Dakins, Jo Dunnington & servants. 1633 Dakins & wife & 3. 1640 2. 1662 1 popish rec., 12 refuse church. 1669 11 popish recs. 1706 1. 1733 1. 1736 3. 1743 1 family. 1767 1. 1780 2.

HATFIELD 1580 Chris. Constable gent., Jo. C. gent. to gaol (holds 'the opinion of transubstantiation') & dies there. 1581 Chris. C. & 4 men conform, 10 others declare marriage of clergy wrong. 1594 Eliz. Dakins non-ct. 1590-4 8-12. 1615 1. 1623 Eliz. Dekins. 1633-7 1. 1666 4. 1735 1 farmer. 1780 1. (a; Mappleton).

ATWICK 1604 Margt. wife of Geo. Fenwick & 3. 1607 Geo. F. 1615 Margt. F., 4 Caley women recs. 1 non-ct. 1619 same, John Helme of Skipsey for teaching Lawrence Caley, he (presumably Helme, since C. a child and so no rec.) a rec. 1623 Percival Fenwick, 5 other Fs, and 4 Caleys. 1627 7 Fs., 6 Cs, Wm. and Grace Hunt & 3 Hunts. (18). 1633 9. 1637 11. 1654 Jo. and Francis Caley. 1676 . 1706 5. 1733 1. 1735 nil. 1743 1. 1780 nil.

DUNNINGTON 1604-5 Ann Creswell vid. non-ct. 1607 same and 1 recs. 1615 she conforms, 1619 Fras. C. gent. rec., Ralph C. gent. non-ct. Geo. & Kath. C. recs. 1623-7 same all recs. 1633 same with 6. 1637-40 13recs. 1653 Geo. C. gent., 1666 Kath Caley & 2. 1733 5.

NUNKEELING-BEWHOLME 1573 Geo. Cresswell gent. suspect non-ct. 1580 as rec. he is in gaol, on release he and family conform, his wife refuses. 1581 wife to church but ref. to communicate. 1588 Ralph C. gent. confesses Cath. marriage in the Inner Temple, bond to conform and marry in Anglican ch. 1589 he confs. but wife 'is rather to dye.' 1590 His wife rec., he & Walter Errington gent. & 1 non-cts. 1600 Mrs. Joanna Metham non-ct. & 1. 1604 Mrs. M. Walt. E. gent., wife of Fras. C. gent. recs. Ralph & Fras. C. & 2 non-cts. 1615 Fras. C. & wife, Mrs. Hornby vid., Ann Acclam, Ann Fairfax & 6 recs., Ralph & Geo. C. non-cts. Several other suspect, Cath. marrs. & bapts. 1619 6. 1623 11 recs. 3 non-cts. 1627 16 recs. Geo. Acklam gent., Alex. Hancote gent.), 1633 12 recs. (Fenwicks, Acklams, Fussies), 1637 Wm. & Beatrice C. & 19. 1 negligent, 1640 19 recs. (Eggesfields). 1653 Geo. Acklam gent. 1662 same & 15 popish recs. 1664 26 (Caleys, Acklams, Fussies, Fenwicks). 1667 33. 1676 24. 1681-2 Geo. Acklam & 9. 1684-8 same. 1706 7. 1735. 1767 & 1780 nil.

SKIPSEA 1590 1. 1627 1. 1 non-ct. 1640 5. 1662 4.

BEEFORD 1607 Robt. Owst. & wife, Jo. & Jane Mountain recs., 1 non-ct. 1615 Margt. wife of Rob. Fussie rec., 4 non-cts. 1619 2 Fussies. 14 absentees. 1623 1 rec., 4 non-cts. 1627 Rob. & Margt. F. & 3. Cath. baptisms. 1637 7. 1666 9. 1735 5.

ROUTH 1637 and 1662 1. 1667 7. 1780 6. LISSETT 1615 2. 1619 2. 1640 2. 1735 1.

WITHERNWICK 1637-40 2. 1780 2. N. FRODINGHAM 1595 2 non-cts. 1640 3. 1662 1.

APPENDIX II.

RECUSANT HISTORY. MS SOURCES FOR E. YORKS. CATHOLIC RECUSANT HISTORY.

(A) Central Government Archives.

372-420.

- (1) Recusant Rolls. (duplicates, Chancery & Exchequer—latter PRO E.
- (2) Exchequer Memoranda Rolls; Pells Receipt Books; Depositions.
- (3) State Papers. Domestic.
- (4) Assize Records—N.E. Circuit. (1604 ff. only—from York Castle.)

(B) Local Civil Government Archives.

- (1) **Quarter Sessions Records.** B/MS.. Very defective; only a few references in Sessions Minute Bks. A, B, and C. (1708-58), Register of Papists' Estates 1717ff., Roman Catholic Oath Rolls 1778-1839. (A few lists of presentments to the Assize Judges 1662-6 are printed in SS/40).
- (2) **Hull City Records.** (a) Quarter Sessions Rolls & Books, 1 of mid-16c., rest 168ff. (b) Oath Rolls. (c) Registration of estates. (d) Bench Books uncalendared. (e) Letters—a dozen items of recusancy.
- (3) **Beverley Town Records.** Mostly in B/MS—little on recusancy.
- (4) **Bridlington Town Records.** Not seen, but unlikely to contain much.
- (5) **York Commissioners for Compounding with Recusants, 1627-42.**
 - (a) Book of Compositions 1629-32. MS (Ushaw Library).
 - (b) Strafford Correspondence, Sheffield City Library.
- (6) **Shrievalty Papers.** N/MS Hutton MSS. Recusancy Summons of the Pipe Book of Sir Timothy Hutton, sheriff of Yorks. 1606-7. Other books of this kind may turn up in family collections.
- (7) **Council of the North.** (a) Temple Newsam MSS. Leeds City Library. Secretaryship III & LA/8 petitions of recs. and decrees. (b) B/MS Hotham MSS 20/4. petitions, lists of recognisances, accounts 1625-37.

(C) Archives of Anglican Authorities.

York Diocesan Archives—Y/MS. (Borthwick Institute. York).

- (a) Visitation Books — Archiepiscopal R.VI/A. If. Archidiaconal books are few, late and disappointing.
- (b) High Commission Act Books — R.VII/HC 1561-1641.
- (c) Cause Papers — R.VII/G,H. A dozen of recusant interest.
- (d) Bishopthorpe Papers — H.2/9.IIc. (1767. 1780 survey returns with note and statistical tables).

(D) Archives of Catholic Institutions.

- (1) **Secular priests** — Hoearth MSS. Leeds Diocesan Archives. (2) **Jesuits** — the records of the Yorks. College, used by Foley cannot now be found: Stonyhurst College Library — MS Anglia, some letters of 17c. priests in Yorkshire: MS.AV/12. Prisoners for religion in York Castle 1635. (7pp.) (3) **Benedictines** — N.Provincial Records

(Downside Abbey), Record Bk. 1640ff.; Chapter & Account Bk. 1665-1776. Account Bk. 1747-75. Ampleforth Abbey — MS Extravag./261 (4 letters of chaplain at Holme on Spalding Moor 1773-5). (4) **Ushaw Library.** (a) Ushaw MSS — 1/5/III & 3/94C. lists of priests in Yorks. in 18C.; Register of N.Vicars-Apostolic 1750sff. (b) Eyre MSS — briefs of a Catholic 18C. lawyer with some relating to N.Cath. families and I, li, liv, xvii, lists of Yorks. priests in 18C. (5) **Westminster Cathedral Archives.** — a large unexplored mine, including Bishop Leyburne's Register 1686ff. (6) **Somerset House.** Registers of Catholic missions. (7) **Bar Convent, York.** (archives received a direct hit in bombing). Procuratrix's Bk. 1735-41; a few 17C. & 18C. letters.

(E) **Collections of Family Papers.**

(1) **Constable of Burton MSS** — B/MS, now lacking 16C. recusancy items, for which see Sotheby's Catalogue, June 24-26th 1889. (2) **Constable of Everingham MSS.** Ampleforth Abbey, soon to go to B/MS.Rec. material begins c.1660. (3) **Langdale MSS.** In 3 parts two (Harford & Holme MSS) in B/MS, the other Brit. Mus. Add.MSS 40132-7, 41168 — altogether a large collection. See letters of 1st Lord Langdale in Bodleian Lib. Clarendon MSS. & Nicholas Papers. (Camden Soc.). (4) **Vavasour Willitoff & Spaldington.** Yorks. Arch. Soc. Lib., Leeds. MSS MD/175 — deeds and rec. fine quietuses. (5) **Wright of Ploughland.** A few deeds in N/MS Dugdale MSS. (6) **Metham.** a few deeds, settlements & letters in Const. of Burton MSS, Everingham MSS, Strafford Corresp., Yorks. Arch. Soc. Lib. (7) **Brigham.** deeds & 18C. letters in Constable of Burton MSS. (8) **Caley-Robinson MSS.** (T. M. Robinson, Shadows, Hassocks, Sussex). (9) **Babthorpe.** deeds, printed in BH, transcripts of others in Burton MSS, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Library. (10) **Hansby.** early 17C. letters in Const. of Burton MSS.. (11) **Monckton.** papers printed in Philobibliol. Lib. Miscellanies, only of indirect interest.

(F) **Miscellanea.**

(i) Wills. (Yorks Wills. Y/MS). (ii) Parish Registers. (occasional records of Catholics).