

POLITICS, DISSENT AND QUAKERISM IN YORK, 1640-1700

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of politics, Puritanism/Dissent, and Quakerism in the city of York, 1640 to circa 1700.

Chapter one is a study of the first Friends in York, 1651 to 1662 - their religious origins, socio-economic status, and ideological outlook. The influence of civic life on the early Quaker meeting is analysed and it is argued that the first Friends in York were more at home in conventional society, as represented by the civic community, than recent general interpretations of the early movement's history would lead one to expect.

Chapter two deals with the York Quaker meeting from the Restoration to the early eighteenth century. The relationship between Friends and the civic community and establishment is further explored and the strong identity of interests between the Quakers and other godly-minded citizens is emphasised. Particular attention is paid to the schism which occurred in the York meeting during the 1680's and what this tells us about the nature of Restoration Quakerism in general.

Chapter three begins with an account of the Puritan movement and the Presbyterian ministry in York during the Interregnum and how each fared at the Restoration. Further sections describe the rise of civic Dissent after 1662, its organisation, social structure, and theology. The impact of persecution and toleration in the 1680's and 1690's are also discussed.

The last chapter focuses on the city's political history over the period, and in particular on the way in which national events and religious issues helped to shape the course of municipal politics. A case

is made out for the fundamental importance of godly religion in this respect; a theme which is enlarged upon in the conclusion by way of comparison between the political development of York after the Civil War and that of several other major provincial capitals.

ABBREVIATIONS

B.I.H.R.	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research
B.R.S.P.	Bristol Record Society's Publications
Ch.Acc.Bk.	Chamberlains' Account Book
C.S.P.D.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic
D & C, N & Q	Devon and Cornwall, Notes and Queries
F.H.L.	Friends House, London
F.P.T.	N.Penney (ed.), <u>The First Publishers of the Truth</u>
G.B.S.	Great Book of Sufferings
H.B.	York Corporation House Book
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
J.E.H.	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
J.F.H.S.	Journal of the Friends Historical Society
L.F.A.	Legacy Fund Account Book of the York Preparative Meeting
L.R.O.	Leeds Record Office, Sheepscar Library
M.M.S.	Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings
P & P	Past and Present
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
P.Y.P.R.S.	Publications of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society
S.P.	State Papers, Domestic
Surt.Soc.	Publications of the Surtees Society
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
V.C.H.	Victoria County History
Y.A.S.R.S.	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series

Y.C.A.	York City Archives
Y.M.A.M.B,	York Merchant Adventurers' Minute Book
Y.M.M.M.M.B.	York Men's Monthly Meeting Minute Book
Y.M.P.M.M.B.	York Men's Preparative Meeting Minute Book
Y.M.T.C.	York Merchant Tailors Company
Y.Q.M.	Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting
Y.Q.M.M.B.	Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting Minute Book
Y.W.M.M.M.B.	York Women's Monthly Meeting Minute Book
Y.W.P.M.M.B.	York Women's Preparative Meeting Minute Book

INTRODUCTION

Although a great deal has been written about the early modern town during the past few decades, it is plainly the case that certain aspects of urban history in this period have been more thoroughly explored than others; partly no doubt because many of the recent generation of 'urbanists' have been economic or social historians by training. The study of urban political history during the seventeenth century, while by no means neglected, has failed to keep pace with recent work on the socio-economic side of town life over the same period. To date there has been no in-depth general survey of municipal politics in the Stuart Age, and detailed accounts of the political development of individual towns are few in number. Roger Howell's work on politics and religion in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the decades surrounding the Civil War, and J.T.Evans' meticulous analysis of political life in Norwich between 1620 and 1690 are virtually the only ones of their kind.(1) The more recent urban volumes of the Victoria County History have useful political sections but these are largely introductory in nature.(2) The lack of research into provincial urban politics is particularly acute for the Restoration period.

1) R.Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, (Oxford, 1967); J.T.Evans, Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion and Government, 1620-1690, (Oxford, 1979); there are a few other works of a broadly similar nature, notably J.W.F.Hill's Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, (Cambridge, 1956), W.T.MacCaffrey's Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English County Town, (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), and D.H.Sacks' Trade, Society and Politics in Bristol, 1500-1640, (New York, 1985), but only the first of these covers events during the second half of the century and all three, especially the last two, are slanted towards the social, economic and institutional setting of urban politics

2) Notably Leicester (1958), York (1961), Warwick (1969), and Hull (1969)

Only M.A.Mullett appears to have looked at the political experience of English boroughs after 1660 in any great detail.(3)

York in the early modern period was a city of considerable size and importance and as a result its political history has received more attention over recent years than that of most towns. D.M.Palliser's book *Tudor York* provides an excellent general account of York in the sixteenth century and B.M.Wilson's unpublished thesis 'The Corporation of York, 1580-1660' is an invaluable guide to civic politics in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period.(4) The city is also fortunate in having an entire V.C.H. volume devoted to its history which includes a lengthy section by G.C.F.Forster on York in the seventeenth century.(5) Aspects of political life in the city have figured prominently in all these accounts but the emphasis has been on the institutional, social and economic context of civic politics, and especially on the social structure of the governing elite. Although recognising a debt to the work of these historians, this

3) M.A.Mullett, 'The Politics of Liverpool, 1660-88', Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, CXXIV (1973); 'To dwell together in unity': The Search for Agreement in Preston Politics', *ibid.*, CXXV (1975); "'Deprived of our former place": The Internal Politics of Bedford 1660 to 1688', Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, LIX (1980); 'Conflict, Politics and Elections in Lancaster, 1660-88', Northern History, XIX (1983); 'Men of Knowne Loyalty': The Politics of the Lancashire Borough of Clitheroe, 1660-1689', *ibid.*, XXI (1985); perhaps the best analysis of this kind however is that of R.C.Latham on civic politics in Bristol between 1660 and 1710 in R.C.Latham (ed.), Bristol Charters, 1509-1899, Bristol Record Society's Publications (B.R.S.P.), XII, 1947); political matters also figure prominently in P.Styles, 'The Corporation of Bewdley under the later Stuarts' in P.Styles, Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History, (Kineton, 1978); see also his article 'The Corporation of Warwick, 1660-1835', Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society, LIX (1935)

4) D.M.Palliser, Tudor York, (Oxford, 1979); B.M.Wilson, 'The Corporation of York, 1580-1660', (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1967)

5) G.C.F.Forster, 'York in the 17th Century', in P.M.Tillott (ed.), The Victoria County History of Yorkshire: The City of York, (Oxford, 1961)

present study has as its primary concern the actual content of civic political life and the issues and beliefs which informed political action in the city. The growth of political parties, the impact of national events and ideological alignments on the community, the intervention of central government in civic affairs, and above all the place and importance of religion in civic politics are among its principal themes.

Because relatively few surveys of the early modern town extend beyond 1660, discussion about the issues and trends which defined the course of urban politics during the seventeenth century has centred largely on the rise of oligarchy and the widening of the borough franchise. By the end of the Interregnum however, it appears that opposition to oligarchic rule and disputes over parliamentary franchise had ceased to be the mainsprings of political conflict in many towns. The volatile nature of urban politics during the second half of the seventeenth century stemmed from a combination of factors, but pride of place must be accorded to the issue of religion. The attitude of town governors towards Dissent, and the intervention of outside interests - usually prompted by the desire to eradicate the influence of 'malignant' or 'factious' parties in municipal government - were often key elements in the political history of towns after the Restoration.

The basic contention of this study is that the degree of political sensitivity and sophistication which urban communities demonstrated during the second half of the seventeenth century was closely linked to their state of religious development, and in particular their receptiveness to godly religion. According to recent research the 'common denominator' in towns which displayed a pattern of concern for and response to national affairs during the Civil War period was a large and

well-connected Puritan community.(6) Similarly, there is every indication that the issues surrounding the Exclusion Crisis were most fiercely contended in towns where the Dissenting interest was strongest. Godly religion was a spur to political activity on several fronts, either in defence of the Protestant establishment against popery, or along more 'progressive' lines in the pursuit of reform in church, state or society generally. Even loyalist political interests before the 1688 Revolution were defined to some extent in opposition to the creed and conduct of the 'fanatics'. One of the main aims of this study is to explore the connection between York's religious conservatism and its relatively muted response to national political developments and ideological divisions after the Civil War. This is undertaken in the second half of the thesis which is devoted to the city's political history between 1640 and 1715.

The role of the Dissenting interest in civic politics cannot be properly understood without reference to such matters as the number of Dissenters in the city, their socio-economic status, and their ideological outlook. To this end, the first half of the thesis is taken up with a general analysis of the Quaker community in York between 1650 and 1720 and the Puritans and Dissenters over roughly the same period. These sections are intended to stand as local studies of Quakerism and Dissent in their own right of which at present there are all too few. Work in this field has undoubtedly been hampered by the many obstacles which stand between the historian and an accurate reconstruction of Puritan and Dissenting communities. The problem of identification is compounded by a

6) R.Howell, 'Neutralism, Conservatism and Political Alignment in the English Revolution: The Case of the Towns, 1642-9', in J.Morrill (ed.), Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-1649, (1982)

second difficulty, that of establishing satisfactory definitions of Puritanism and Dissent. A working definition of both is to be found in the main body of the text but it is necessary at this point to say something about the use of associated terms such as 'Nonconformist' and 'Dissenter'. As in the case of 'Nonconformity' and 'Dissent', they have been used interchangeably to refer to those Protestants, aside from the Baptists and Quakers, who indulged in godly religious practices not sanctioned or approved of by the Established Church. The Quakers (the Baptists were barely represented in seventeenth century York) scrupulously maintained their separate identity and have only been subsumed in the phrase 'the Dissenting interest', which is taken to mean the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists etc. considered collectively as a political force.

Politics in its modern sense of conflict between rival ideologies began with the Civil War, and hence it is with the slide towards war in the early 1640's that this study commences. The city's political history is examined in depth up to 1688 by which point, hopefully, the basic tenor of civic politics will be sufficiently clear to justify the more summary treatment of events between 1689 and 1715. The sections on Dissent and Quakerism follow a roughly similar pattern although being more thematic in nature they are also rather more open-ended. The second half of the seventeenth century constituted an important period in the city's history. Between 1640 and 1700 York changed from being essentially an administrative and mercantile centre to a social capital. These years also witnessed the culmination and demise of municipal Puritanism; the dismissal of the civic preacher in 1676 brought to an end almost a century of independent godly initiative by the corporation. In political terms the period was characterised by a dramatic increase in the size of

the political public as well as in the range of issues which civic politics encompassed.

The thesis incorporates material drawn from national as well as civic collections. Some of the most valuable evidence relating to the city's history after 1650 is not in York at all but in Leeds, namely the records of the York Quaker meeting and the correspondence of the city's last and most illustrious town governor Sir John Reresby. Inevitably however, it is the records of municipal administration and government, and above all the corporation House Books, which have furnished the bulk of the material. The House Books are extremely informative as such records go and help to offset the lack of private correspondence for much of the period. The corporation was at the centre of the city's political life, and analysis of political developments as they concerned the corporation and in particular the magistracy - the city's oligarchic inner circle - are central to this study. The corporation was the jealous guardian of the city's county status and its attendant political and judicial autonomy. York was a distinct political entity while at the same time serving as the county town of Yorkshire. This dual status contributed a great deal to the city's unsettled political history during the Restoration period.

Dating is in the Old Style, except that the year is taken to begin on 1 January. To avoid any confusion a date such as the 25th January 1661 (new style) is rendered the 25th January 1660/1. In quotations from the original sources the spelling has largely been left unchanged, although many of the more common abbreviations have been expanded and 'the' has been employed in preference to 'ye' when used as the definite article.

CHAPTER 1) THE FIRST QUAKERS IN YORK, 1651-1662

Over the last few decades there has emerged what might conveniently be termed a 'revisionist' view of the first Quakers which appears to be more in keeping with the historical context of early Quakerism. Historians of the early movement, in particular Alan Cole and Barry Reay, have argued that the 'Children of the Light', as the first Friends described themselves, were in a religious and political sense very much the children of the English Revolution and shared the fervent but also somewhat precocious radicalism of the revolutionary milieu in which they originated.(1)

One result of recent work on early Quakerism has been to emphasize the links and similarities between first-generation Quakers and other radicals, in particular the Levellers, and to encourage attempts to reconstruct an early Quaker political manifesto of the sort the Levellers struggled to realise in the late 1640's. To what extent we are entitled to speak of 'the Quakers' before 1661 however, or attribute to them a coherent and distinctive set of beliefs has recently been questioned by Christopher Hill, who has wisely remarked that the 'Quakers' were far more widely scattered across the country than were the Levellers and even less homogenous. The many congregations that went to make up the early

1) See W.A.Cole, 'The Quakers and the English Revolution', Past and Present, X (1956); R.T.Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755, (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); C.Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, (1972); B.Reay, 'Quaker Opposition to Tithes 1652-1660', P.& P., LXXXVI (1980); C.Hill, The Experience of Defeat, (1984); J.F.McGregor, B.Reay (eds.), Radical Religion in the English Revolution, (Oxford, 1984); B.Reay, The Quakers and the English Revolution, (1985); H.L.Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent Historiography of Quaker Beginnings', Quaker History, LXXVI (1987), pp.79-94

movement were the repositories of a variety of religious traditions - Grindletonian, Seeker, Baptist - and as Hill points out there must have been many early 'Quakerisms'.(2) The extremely protean nature of the early Quaker movement has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasised, partly no doubt because a comprehensive, regional history of first-generation Quakerism has yet to be written.

Although more attention has been paid recently to the first Quakers as members of society and not simply as disciples of the Inner Light, the history of the early movement is still that of the lives and thoughts of the 'first publishers' and their fellow itinerant evangelists. Those Quakers who remained within the community in which they were converted have either been overlooked or uncritically incorporated into a conception of early Quakerism which stresses the attitudes and behaviour of the 'public' Friends as normative and is thus likely to over-emphasise the ideological coherency and uncompromising militancy of the movement in the 1650's.(3) The typical early Quaker is now envisaged as a radical religious activist, a social revolutionary, and an ecstatic visionary. While this description, or at least some part of it, fits a great many of the Quakers who became involved in the task of spreading the Quaker gospel, when applied to what must surely have been the majority of Quakers, namely those who were settled members of a local meeting, it seems to raise more questions than it answers. One is left wondering how these

2) Hill, Defeat, p.130

3) see N.J.Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment, 1660-1730, with specific reference to the North-West of England', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1985), p.lxviii; N.J.Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers and the Oath, 1660-1722', Journal of the Friends' Historical Society (J.F.H.S.), LIV (1980), pp.253-4

Quakers succeeded in reconciling their behaviour as religious radicals with the demands made on them by society and their responsibilities as business-owners, family-men, wives, mothers and so on. A good many Quakers must have faced the same dilemma which confronted a 'friendly' captain of a man-of-war who upon realising that he could no longer, with a clear conscience, encourage his men to fight, found that 'the good Spirit strived on the one hand, and my place of honour, and my livelihood, and families, and being counted a fool on the other'.(4) Some Quakers of course did not succeed in overcoming this dilemma and abandoned their families and livelihoods for the life of a Quaker missionary. Others however, may have found the claims of the 'good Spirit' more compatible with their place in society - either that or been forced by their circumstances to seek some form of outward compromise with the world and its people. It would seem that in general, only those Quakers who pursued their spiritual calling outside the moral and economic strait-jacket of their home surroundings or who had acquired a sufficient sense of their own financial, social, and, ultimately, moral independence were likely to display a total disregard for contemporary social standards.

Because the early Quakers relied almost exclusively on what they regarded as the "leadings" of the Spirit in their dealings with society and the unconverted it is sometimes assumed that Friends in the 1650's could not, in conscience, avoid active service in the 'Lamb's War' - the nascent movement's militant proselytising campaign. In fact however, the willingness to antagonise peaceable men and women by open condemnation, which is what involv^ement in the Lamb's War entailed, was developed,

4) O.C.Watkins, The Puritan Experience, (1972), p.170

according to Hugh Barbour, mainly by Quaker preachers and then only after further inward struggles of their own.(5) Although the Light within might lead a Quaker into open and sometimes even unwilling contravention of public order and morality, it would be wrong to assume that all Quakers could not arrive at an honourable working arrangement with their own consciences without inevitably being plunged into open and disastrous conflict with contemporary society. The Light within manifested itself in different ways to different Quakers, being diffused to some extent through the medium of the believers' religious and cultural preconceptions. 'Let your lives speak' was a well observed Quaker maxim but in the movement's early years at least there lacked a precise notion of what they should speak about.(6) Some Quakers, notably the evangelists, appear to have equated 'practical Christianity' with 'sign performances', that is the carrying out of divine commissions to bear public witness against iniquity and uphold the cause of Truth among the unconvinced. Many people, however, came to Quakerism still deeply imbued with the Puritan religious ethic and the need to keep 'low and obedient to the Cross'.(7) The yoke of Puritan moral and intellectual formalism could not be lightly shrugged off; in the words of R.B. Schlatter 'Puritans who turned Quaker did not shed their puritanism'.(8) The Puritan bias of many of the first Friends may well have had a moderating influence upon

5) H.Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England, (New Haven, 1964), p.125

6) Reay, The Quakers, pp.12,45; Hill, Defeat, pp.130-1

7) W.C.Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism, (Cambridge, 1981 edn.), pp.137,139; Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, (Cambridge, 1979 edn.), p.xxvii-xxviii, 498; Reay, The Quakers, pp.15-17; Barbour, The Quakers, pp.26-29

8) R.B.Schlatter, The Social Ideas of the Religious Leaders 1660-1688, (New York, 1971 edn.), p.235

religious conduct within a Quaker community and to some extent offset the example provided by the more extravagant behaviour of the evangelists.

Despite the Quakers' commitment to a belief in the sovereignty and sufficiency of the Spirit, it is possible to detect, behind the various forces at work within the movement itself, the influence of external circumstances, particularly persecution or the threat of persecution, in regulating the religious life of local Quaker meetings. The impact of persecution on the movement served to encourage organisation, which, like the strongly puritanical leanings in Quaker religiosity, stimulated formalism and an emphasis on external authority at the expense of the spirit of inspired individualism exhibited by the early evangelists. The character of early Quaker spirituality and the generally favourable political and religious climate in which Quakerism arose have persuaded historians that persecution only began to have an appreciable effect upon the movement after the Restoration. Some meetings during the 1650's, however, may have been under a great deal more pressure than others to conform to the usages of local community life. Moreover, the ability or willingness of the military during the Interregnum to protect Friends against persecution was probably less than has sometimes been thought. In York in the 1650's for example, the presence of one of the most radical regiments in the Army under the command of Colonel Robert Lilburne, reputedly a Quaker sympathiser, did very little to mitigate the effects of civic hostility towards Friends. The city's magistrates imprisoned Quaker

evangelists and the citizens mobbed Quaker meetings with apparent impunity.(9)

The nature of the community in which a Quaker meeting was situated could have a profound effect on its religious development. Certain aspects of urban society and the urban environment, it could be argued, were especially likely to encourage the growth of conservatism and corporate discipline in the movement. There is certainly evidence to suggest that the 'public' persecution of Quakers - that is, mob violence against Friends, usually with the tacit support of the authorities - could be more severe and sustained in urban centres than in most other types of community, and therefore that its impact on urban meetings was correspondingly greater.(10) Most towns were tightly controlled by an aggressively reactionary elite bent on opposing the sect at every turn. In addition many cities and towns could be made subject to more effective

9) Brotherton Library, Leeds, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting (Y.Q.M.), Record of the Sufferings of Friends, vol.1, part 4, ff.4-16; R.Hutton, The Restoration, (Oxford, 1985), p.62; Reay, The Quakers, p.66; see also M.Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, (Cambridge, 1974), pp.289-290

10) B.Reay, 'Early Quaker activity and reactions to it, 1652-1664' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1979), pp.65-6; Reay, The Quakers, pp.52-53,73-76; R.S.Mortimer, 'Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol', (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Bristol, 1946), pp.7-13,23-38,58-70; Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, pp.258-260; W.Coatesworth, 'Early Quakerism at Newcastle-upon-Tyne', J.F.H.S., L (1962-4), pp.91-6; Friends House Library (F.H.L.), London, An Account of the Travels and Sufferings of...Thomas Briggs (1685); Braithwaite, Beginnings, pp.163-4,294-8; Braithwaite, Second Period, pp.77-8,225-8; S.Allott, Friends in Oxford, (Oxford, 1952), pp.1-7; A.Hughes, Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660, (Cambridge, 1987), pp.312-3,321; J.W.Kirby, 'Restoration Leeds and the Aldermen of the Corporation, 1661-1700', Northern History, XXII (1986), p.150; S.K.Roberts, Recovery and Restoration in an English County: Devon Local Administration 1646-70, (Exeter, 1985), p.57

judicial as well as jurisdictional control than the open countryside, usually to the great prejudice of Friends operating, or attempting to do so, within their boundaries. This is exemplified with cruel irony in York where Quakers were summarily imprisoned for refusing to guard the city gates against the entry of other Quakers.(11)

However, although undoubtedly more sinned against than sinning, the Quakers themselves were partly to blame for the strength of anti-Quaker feeling in some towns. Many features of urban society were fundamentally irreconcilable with the principles inherent in the more radical strains of early Quakerism. Most urban centres were bastions of institutionalised religion, lavish ceremonial, jealously guarded privilege, in fact almost every aspect of establishment rule the early Quakers activists were so fiercely set against.(12) Even simply as men and women from a predominantly rural background many Quaker evangelists appear to have found town-dwellers and their way of life disconcerting not to say spiritually unwholesome.(13) It is not surprising therefore that when Quaker missionaries ventured into a big town or city they generally acted in a chronically antagonistic manner, disrupting church services, rejecting civic ceremony, and issuing public challenges to the inhabitants to repent or be damned, all of which naturally provoked a hostile reaction from the

11) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 2, f.3

12) J.Barry, 'The parish in civic life: Bristol and its Churches 1640-1750' in S.Wright (ed.), Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in lay religion 1350-1750, (1988), p.159; Reay, 'Early Quaker Activity', pp.13,17; see also P.Borsay, 'All the town's a stage': urban ritual and ceremony 1660-1800' in P.Clark (ed.), The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800, (1984); for early Friends' reaction to York see Swarthmore MS I, 373; A.R.Barclay MS 122; Samuel Watson MSS, vol.41, ff.231-2,274-5

13) Vann, Social Development, p.18; Braithwaite, Beginnings, pp.33,156,158, 163,181-2,213

town authorities and the citizens thus affronted. In York in the 1650's hostility aroused by the behaviour of Quaker evangelists occasionally spilled over onto Friends living in the city itself; and in Bristol Naylor's extravagant behaviour aroused such a storm of persecution that Friends there began adopting a quietist attitude some years in advance of the movement as a whole.(14)

The pressure on Friends to conform was probably greater in towns than in many other types of community. Towns were more tightly knit communities than counties, certainly, and even some types of rural settlement (at least until the late seventeenth century), and this made the regulation of their inhabitants' behaviour easier.(15) Oligarchic rule and the vertical ties of patronage and subordination were often reinforced by a high degree of community-imposed obedience. Life in many towns, particularly at parish level it seems, was circumscribed by a complex framework of social, religious and economic constraints and obligations which gave very little scope for innovation or radical nonconformity.(16) As Dr. Wrightson has observed; 'Variations in the social, economic and institutional structures of local communities could deeply influence the relative ability of the innovators in local life to call the tune'.(17)

14) Hutton, The Restoration, p.62; Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 2, f.2; F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MS 73; Barry, 'The parish in civic life', p.159; Mortimer, 'Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol', p.20

15) G.C.F. Forster, 'Government in Provincial England under the Later Stuarts', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXXIII (1983), p.39

16) N.Alldrige, 'Loyalty and identity in Chester parishes 1540-1640', Parish, Church and People, pp.85-124; V.Pearl 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth-century London', London Journal, V (1979), pp.3-34

The world of urban commerce may have exercised a particularly strong restraining force on radical activity in some towns. Because urban economic life was so specialised and closely regulated, comparatively speaking, its participants, especially those in the middle and lower social strata, were heavily dependent upon the good will or approbation of others in the commercial chain as well as an array of economic, political and judicial bodies if they were to make a decent living. Most of the early Quakers householders in York were established middle order tradesmen with little or no property beyond what they lived in, who were dependent upon the corporation (a majority of the city's male Quakers were freemen), the guilds, their business associates and their neighbours for their livelihoods. Several Quakers in the city also owed money to the corporation and many were probably in debt to private citizens. All these facts may help to explain why very few Quakers living in the city were willing to 'let their lives speak' to the point where they annoyed or offended their fellow citizens. Compared with Quaker yeomen or husbandmen, who generally had security of tenure and an independent subsistence of sorts, Quaker urban tradesmen were in a relatively vulnerable position economically and therefore were required to comply more closely with prevailing social norms if they were not to court financial ruin.

One other common feature of urban society which may in some way

17) K.Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, (1982), p.227; see also K.Wrightson, 'The Social Order of Early Modern England: Three Approaches', in L.Bonfield, R.M.Smith, K.Wrightson (eds.), The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure, (Oxford, 1986), p.195

have contributed towards the apparent lack of radical fervour in meetings such as York was the strong influence of Puritanism in the religious life of many towns and cities during the Interregnum. Most early converts to Quakerism appear to have gone through a recognisable Puritan phase in their spiritual development but in general members of urban meetings probably had more experience of Puritan religious forms than their co-religionists in rural areas. Whether this had any appreciable effect upon the character of urban Quakerism, however, remains open to conjecture.

Although there is no evidence of a distinctly urban form of Quakerism in the movement's early years, by the end of the seventeenth century the campaign of the so-called 'weighty Friends' in London to ensure the victory of the 'respectable' and bourgeois elements in the movement over the 'rough' and plebian had probably achieved most success in the urban meetings.(18) The York meeting, which played no significant part in the Lamb's War waged by the movement during its radical heyday, became involved very closely with the Society's attempt, in the years following the Restoration, to create for itself what Dr.Reay has called a 'godly sub-culture', a process which was part of the general development of Quakerism from 'movement' into institutionalised sect.(19) The York meeting never lacked 'weighty, seasoned, and substantial Friends', to use Fox's parlance, and from a relatively early date they proved themselves of the sort 'that understands the business of the church' - namely, the formal requirements of Society membership - to a degree unequalled by

18) Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', pp.28,109,247-8,308-9, 494-6

19) Reay, The Quakers, p.118

Friends in the surrounding countryside (20) Indeed, the emergence of a Quaker separatist movement in York during the 1680's can be directly attributed to the eagerness with which the city's meeting embraced, and even sometimes anticipated, the disciplinary advices of the London leadership. The unusual receptiveness of many Friends in York to the principles of 'Foxonian-unity' may have been the product not only of the civic meeting's close contacts with the county and national Quaker executive but of the urban environment itself. This possibility bears further investigation.

Quakerism first reached York at a very early stage in the movement's history as a result of a brief visit to the city by George Fox in December 1651. Fox was one of a small number of itinerant Quaker evangelists travelling through the north of England in the early 1650's proclaiming the doctrine of the light within and linking together groups of separatists receptive to their message. These 'First Publishers of the Truth' as they came to be known, were men and women from a predominantly rural background and it was in the countryside, among the villages and small market towns, rather than in the cities that their initial efforts were concentrated.(21) As a social and ecclesiastical centre of some size and importance York could not have seemed a very promising or congenial environment to Fox, who was himself country-bred and it is perhaps not surprising therefore that he chose to include nothing of his visit to York in his '*Short Journal of 1664*'. It was only upon compiling his 'Great

20) T.Ellwood (ed.), A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles...of George Fox, (1698), p.290

21) Braithwaite, Beginnings, pp.153-4; Reay, The Quakers, p.8,11

Journal' in 1675, when York had become an important Quaker centre, that he thought fit to leave some account of the birth of Quakerism in the city.(22)

Although the arrival of Fox in York marks the beginning of the Quaker movement in the city, so brief a visit would not account for the establishment of a Meeting. In fact it is clear from Fox's Journal that a number of 'forward spirits' in York had begun to think along what were essentially Quaker lines before Fox arrived in the city. Certainly Fox's meeting on his first day in York with 'severall people that was very tender' implies as much, as well as the possibility that he had prior knowledge of the existence of such a group (it being the usual practice of Quaker evangelists to enquire after and seek out those who were 'honest and well-inclined and...of good report').(23) Fox left York after 'severall had recieved ye Truth' and it was this group which formed the nucleus of the York meeting.(24)

The origins and nature of this gathering of what can best be termed 'seekers' remains obscure. Apart from the Quakers themselves there is little to suggest the existence of a radical religious milieu in York in the 1640's and 1650's. There was no 'second revolution' in York in either a political or religious sense. The ministry of the four Presbyterian Minster preachers, which dominated the religious life of the city from 1645 until the Restoration, represented the only significant step in the development of civic Puritanism during the Interregnum. The ease and

22) S.Allott, Friends in York: The Quaker Story in the life of a Meeting, (York, 1978), p.1

23) *ibid.* pp.1-2; Vann, Social Development, pp.10-11

24) N.Penney (ed.), Journal of George Fox, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1911), vol.1, p.20

speed with which Fox established a following in the city however, suggests that some of the early Quakers arrived at that state of spiritual awareness in which Fox found them late in 1651 through association with a Puritan creed of a more radical nature. It is possible in fact that there was a small Baptist congregation in the city by the mid-1640's. The journal of William Dewsbury, one of the leaders of the early Quaker movement, contains an account of his marriage to a woman called Anne, a native of York, in about the year 1646, at a meeting of the 'Anabaptists' held in the city of which his bride was a member.(25) It is perhaps significant that five years after their marriage Fox met and joined in spiritual fellowship with William and Anne Dewsbury just months before his visit to York.(26)

The presence of a Baptist congregation in York in 1646 is not consistent with the strongly orthodox nature of parochial Puritanism in the city before that date. An altogether more likely agent for the introduction of 'Anabaptism', and indeed radical opinion of all shades, into York was the Army. The number of troops quartered or held captive in the city after the Civil War was frequently considerable. In September 1648 there was reportedly a 'greate number of English & Scottish prisoners now in or neere the...Citty', and at one point Clifford's Tower became so overcrowded that the garrison had to be billeted on the citizens.(27) As a potential source of radical ideas the soldiers undoubtedly posed a threat to the religious authority of the Puritans in

25) E.Smith, The Life of William Dewsbury: an Early and Eminent Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends, (1836), pp.45-46

26) *ibid.* p.122

27) York City Archives (Y.C.A.), E/63, Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty, ff.101,105,112,134

York, particularly as there was not a sufficient number of parish clergy to guard against the possible spread of religious radicalism from the soldiery to the civilian population.(28)

Apart from the Baptists the only other sect, if such it was, whose name can be linked with York in this period is that of the Ranters. Yellowpress pamphleteers writing in early 1651 mention one W. Smith hanged at York "for denying the Deity, Arian-like" and they also report the dispersal and arrest of a Ranter cell in the city.(29) No more reliable is Fox's claim that a Quaker meeting at Handsworth Grange, South Yorkshire, in 1654 was harrassed by a contingent of York Ranters.(30) Although little significance should be attached to the word 'Ranter' in the context of religious radicalism in York, both pieces of evidence do lend substance to the theory that sectarianism of some kind existed in the city before the advent of Quakerism.

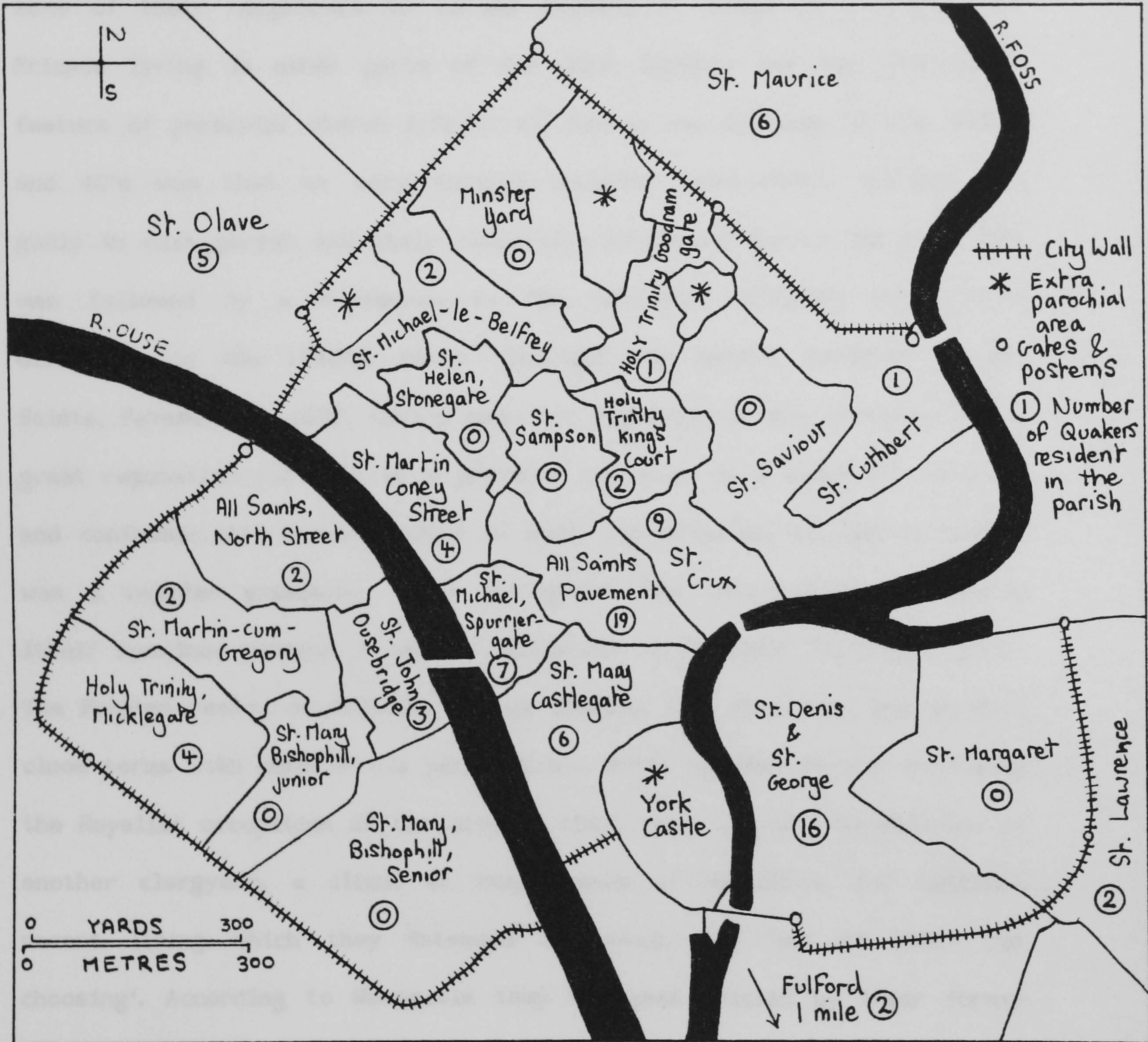
The distribution of early Quakerism provides no obvious clue as to the movement's origins in York (see map 1.). The concentration of Friends in parishes close to the Castle may have some significance, although why almost a third of the city's early Quakers lived in All Saints, Pavement and St.Denis is not easily explained. Both parishes possessed Puritan incumbents before the war but they were by no means alone in doing so. The stronghold of parochial Puritanism in York, St.Martin Micklegate, produced virtually no Quakers at all. It may simply have been the case

28) Christopher Cartwright, one of the city's Puritan ministers, wrote several sermons in answer to claims made by some of the soldiers in York that the magistrate had no authority to restrain heretics - see the entry under Christopher Cartwright in the Dictionary of National Biography

29) A.V.Morton, The World of the Ranters, (1970), p.105

30) Journal, vol.1, p.148

Map 1. The Parochial Distribution of Quakers
in York 1651-1670



that the presence of one or two Quakers of high social standing in a particular parish, for example the Nightingales and Waites in All Saints, Pavement and the Rythers and Garthwaites in St.Denis, either encouraged some of their neighbours to become Quakers or acted as a magnet for Friends living in other parts of the city. Perhaps the one distinctive feature of parochial church life in All Saints and St.Denis in the 1630's and 40's was that an exceptionally intimate relationship between the godly in each parish and their respective ministers before the Civil War was followed by a breakdown in the parochial ministry and church discipline in the 1640's. Henry Ayscough who became minister of All Saints, Pavement in 1632, having been for eight years city lecturer, had a great reputation not only as a preacher but also as a spiritual director and confessor.(31) Ayscough died in 1642 and although All Saints church was a regular preaching venue throughout the Interregnum the parish itself remained without a settled incumbent until after the Restoration. The Puritan rector of St.Denis, George Liddall, like Ayscough, was on very close terms with some of his parishioners. After he fled to Hull following the Royalist occupation of the city in 1642, they opposed the petition of another clergyman, a client of the Marquis of Newcastle, for Liddall's vacant living which they intended to obtain for 'one of their own choosing'. According to Newcastle they had been 'misled by their former minister', and were 'disaffected to any who have given proof of their

31) R.A.Marchant, The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1642, (Cambridge, 1960), pp.226-7; H.Aveling, Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791, (St.Albans, 1970), p.78

loyalty to the king'.(32) In his will, dated August 1645, Liddall left ten shillings to John Ryther of St.Denis who was one of the leading members of the early Quaker meeting in York.(33) Despite the efforts of the parishioners St.Denis remained destitute of a minister until the early 1660's. By contrast, St.Martin, Micklegate retained a Puritan incumbent throughout the Civil War and Interregnum who worked closely with the parish elite to maintain church discipline.(34)

The emergence of religious radicalism in the city also seems to have been linked to developments within civic political life. One of the leading early Friends in York, John Ryther, and the fathers and husbands of a number of others who became Quakers in the 1650's were active in the parliamentary cause during the late 1640's as assessors or collectors in their respective parishes.(35) A few early Quakers were also chamberlains and members of the Common Council prior to their conviction. John Ryther for example was a common councillor for much of the Interregnum but was expelled from office in 1658 for failing to appear at Council

32) C.Cross, 'Achieving the Millenium: the Church in York during the Commonwealth', Studies in Church History, IV (1967), pp.137-8; W.Brown (ed.), Royalist Clergy in Yorkshire, 1642-5, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series (Y.A.S.R.S.), LXI, 1920, pp.164-5 [spelling modernised for clarity]

33) *ibid.*

34) see chapter 3

35) Y.C.A., E/63, ff.140-142 - John Ryther, assessor, and Thomas Bew (husband of Margaret), Edward Horsley (father of Cornelius), Christopher Leadall (father of Richard) and William Hudson (father of William), collectors; Godfrey Nicholson assessor, was the husband of an early woman Friend (Anne Nicholson), and Samuel Glaves, assessor, Ralph Reynolds, collector, and Abraham Smith, collector, were the fathers of early women Friends (Ellinor Glaves, Anne Reynolds, Sarah Smith)

meetings and for refusing to take the necessary oaths.(36) The early meeting contained one or two members like Ryther who might have aspired to higher office had they not become Quakers, and because there were no men of advanced Puritan views among the aldermen or Twenty-Four the early Quakers in York had no real opportunity of breaking into the ranks of the city's ruling elite as Friends in Colchester and Bristol succeeded in doing.(37)

Because Quakerism made such little progress in York in the 1650's the early history of the meeting in the city is exceedingly obscure. About the only details we have of Friends in York before 1659 were supplied by Dewsbury who stopped briefly in York in October 1652 on what was his first journey as a Quaker minister.(38) The meeting Dewsbury attended in the city was held in an orchard which gives some idea of the rather ad hoc nature of Friends' organisation at this early stage in their history.(39) It was Dewsbury's usual practice to set up regular meetings in the places he visited and if he acted true to form in the case of York it would undoubtedly have put the Quaker movement in the city on a surer footing. Nevertheless the meeting rested on shallow foundations before the Restoration and the early Quakers' probable awareness of the vulnerability of their little community may have persuaded them of the need to keep out of the public eye as far as possible.

Not enough is known about the structure of the early meeting to tell

36) Y.C.A., York Corporation House Book (H.B.) 37, f.108 (John Ryther, common councillor); f.41 (Thomas Bew, chamberlain); f.66 (Henry Allanson, Edward Nightingale, chamberlains); f.88 (Henry Allanson, common councillor)

37) Reay, 'Early Quaker Activity', p.67; Reay, The Quakers, pp.51,72; Braithwaite, Beginnings, pp.169-171,381-2

38) Smith, Dewsbury, pp.

39) N.Penney (ed.), The First Publishers of the Truth (F.P.T.), (1907), p.105

us how the Quakers organised themselves or who was responsible for managing Friends' business and deciding matters of discipline. By 1669 and the setting up of minuted meetings for business these functions were already the preserve of a ruling elite of well-to-do Friends, but whether such an elite existed in the early meeting is hard to say. In the few early Quaker wills which survive, the Friends chosen to supervise charitable bequests to the meeting or act as executors and signatories etc, were Thomas Waite, stationer, John and Simon Ryther, tanners, Richard Leadall, shoemaker, and Thomas Garthwaite, clothier.(40)

The relatively poor beginning the Quaker movement made in York appears to bear out Hugh Barbour's contention that where Puritanism in the North was strong, Quakerism failed to make much headway. Barbour maintained that Quakerism spread most easily either in what he called 'untouched territory' as 'an "awakening" among the unchurched', or in those areas where conditions had proved favourable to the growth of separatism, such as on the social or geographical fringes of many Puritan urban strongholds.(41) As the only city in the north, apart from Newcastle, with anything even vaguely resembling a classical church system during the Interregnum, York was indeed an important Puritan centre. But if the early Quakers were largely unsuccessful in the city it was not because of the effectiveness of the Presbyterian ministry or the strength of Puritan feeling among the citizenry. It was the power of the Puritan magistracy and the weakness of parochial Puritanism in the city which all but closed York to the early Quakers. The Puritan establishment in the city appears

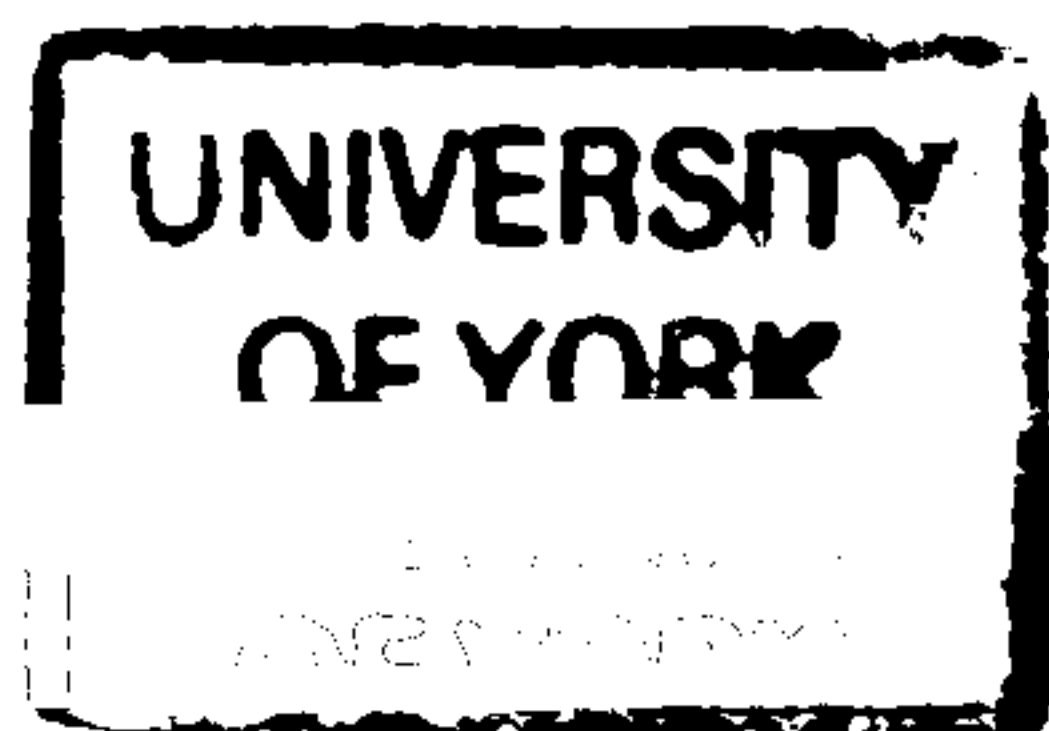
40) Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (B.I.H.R.), Probate Register 44, f.256 (Ann Robson); 45, f.424 (Anne Marshall); 46, f.368 (Simon Ryther)
41) Barbour, The Quakers, pp.42,84,85,88,92

to have possessed the authority and means with which to deter or counteract Quaker proselytisation, and yet godly religion itself had not made a powerful enough impact at parish level to give rise to a 'separatist fringe' in which Quakerism might have taken root. In a sense it was the weakness of the Puritan movement in York rather than its strength which prevented the spread of early Quakerism in the civic community.

Although the Puritan cause had been taken up with some enthusiasm by the city's ruling elite during the first half of the seventeenth century there are signs of what Aveling has described as 'a kind of "go slow" resistance to busy Puritanism' on the part of the middle and lower orders in civic society.(42) Parochial church life in York before the Civil War was an unexceptional blend of godly sermons, the authorised prayer-book service and the usual 'ancient customes' such as beating the parish bounds and giving doles to the poor at Christmas and Easter. The Quaker evangelists could make little headway in a city without a strong Puritan tradition and under the watchful eye of the magistracy. Had there been a general loosening of restraints on individual behaviour in York after the Civil War as was apparently the case in London then the early Quakers might have fared better in the city.(43) However, what Christopher Hill has called the 'fluid society' - a state of societal instability in the

42) Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, p.80; for religious conservatism in York see P.Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, (1988), p.41; C.Cross, 'Parochial Structure and the Dissemination of Protestantism in Sixteenth Century England: A tale of Two Cities', Studies in Church History, XVI (1979), pp.269-278; D.M.Palliser, Tudor York, (Oxford, 1979), pp.252-9; A.G.Dickens, 'Tudor York', in P.M.Tillot (ed.), Victoria County History of Yorkshire: The City of York, (Oxford, 1961), p.151

43) V.Pearl, 'Change and Stability', pp.26-27



1640's and 50's which gave the sects an opportunity to establish themselves alongside conventional geographical communities - never emerged in York and most of the traditional fabric of civic society was preserved intact.(44)

Ironically, the growth of Quakerism in York may also have been hindered to some extent by the Quakers themselves. From 1653 until the Restoration, Quakers from all over the North were arrested in York for disturbing the sermons of the city's Presbyterian ministers - a typical example is that of Agnes Wilkinson of Gargrave who in January 1654 was imprisoned in the Mayor's gaol for 'witnessing against the oppression persecution and ungodlyness in Rulers Priests and people' in the Minster during service time.(45) Recent work on early Quaker evangelisation has characterised such behaviour as a preliminary stage in the process of winning new converts to Quakerism, its purpose being to testify to the illegitimacy of 'priestly' religion and acquaint people with the Quaker message; 'The unscheduled confrontations in the steeplehouses and the preaching in public places...served predominantly to break the ground and plant the seed [of Truth in the listeners' hearts]'.(46) Although the Quakers involved in these 'confrontations' were motivated in almost every instance by what they regarded as divine commands, it was only the Quaker ministers who appear to have acted upon such callings as part of the larger task of separating out those receptive to Truth from the mass of the unregenerate in preparation for their eventual conviction. Many

44) Hill, Defeat, p.291

45) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 4, f.4

46) R.Bauman, Let Your Words be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence among Seventeenth-Century Quakers, (Cambridge, 1983), p.73

Friends it seems were inclined to understand these callings primarily with regard to their own or a recipient's spiritual condition. Fox records one Richard Myer of Lancashire who, after being healed of his lameness at a Quaker meeting, was commanded by God 'to goe to York with a message from him', a command which Fox clearly regarded as a test of faith and not as a call to the ministry.(47)

The pattern of Quaker evangelisation in York therefore, appears to have been uneven. Most of the Friends who confronted the Presbyterians in the city were not ministers. This is obvious in the case of Boswell Middleton, an early York Quaker, who came before the Lord Mayor in 1655 'and declaired that he will henceforth disturbe noe man'.(48) Although by their actions Friends like Boswell Middleton were involved in the process of breaking the ground and planting the seed, few were employed in gathering the harvest. According to Richard Bauman 'the culmination of the ministers' efforts out in the world...was usually conceived of as the harvest itself, gathering in the new converts to Quakerism. This tended to occur in most concentrated form in meetings appointed by the Quaker ministers and attended by those who had already arrived at a state of interest in and susceptibility to the Quaker message'.(49) The only Quaker who remained in York for any length of time with the necessary experience in the ministry to complete the conversion process in this way was Thomas Aldam and he spent most of his time a prisoner in York Castle. York never became the target of a Quaker mission of the sort undertaken in Bristol, London, and to a lesser extent Norwich and

47) Journal, vol.1, p.108

48) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.68

49) Bauman, Let Your Words Be Few, p.79

Durham.(50) The only large public meeting in the city during the Interregnum took place in October 1659. This 'general' meeting (held in the town house of Sir Arthur Ingram in the Minster Yard, whom Friends were hopeful of converting), which was attended by Friends from all over the country, drew a 'mightie assemblie of people', and although many of them were hostile and disruptive, Friends had 'a fare threshing day' and were able 'to reach the witness of God in many'.(51) Before 1659 however, little in the way of constructive proselytising was undertaken by Friends. The evangelists who occasionally visited York in the 1650's appear to have spent much of their time and energy either locked in verbal or written dispute with 'Priest Bowles' (Edward Bowles, the senior Minster preacher) or delivering apocalyptic diatribes to the 'corrupt magistrates'. All the evangelists appear to have shared Aldam's view that the city was sunk in 'horrid opprissions...vanitie...pride, tyranie, fulnes of bread, and abundance of idleness with all lasciviousness'. York is frequently referred to in early Quaker writings as 'this greate Sodome', or words to that effect.(52) Some Friends attempted to reach out to the citizens in the streets (one woman threw Quaker books into passing coaches) but not surprisingly their efforts were not well received.(53) The reason for the early Quakers' rather negative approach towards proselytising in the city probably had a lot to do with the lack of a separatist community on which they could build and also the opposition they encountered from the city's

50) Braithwaite, Beginnings, pp.115-6,133,ch.8; Vann, Social Development, ch.2

51) F.H.L., Swarthmore MS I, 147; A.R.Barclay MS 73

52) F.H.L., Swarthmore MS I, 373; Samuel Watson MSS, vol.41, ff.173-4,231-2,274-5

53) F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MSS 14,113,122

Puritan authorities. But in addition, the daunting and provocative image York presented in the eyes of Friends as the site of the 'greate Cathedrall' and the bastion of establishment Puritanism in the North, not to mention as a centre of conspicuous consumption and worldly enterprise, appears to have brought out the more confrontational and symbolic elements inherent in much of early Quaker proselytising, and made it harder for Quaker ministers to adopt a more organised and in-depth approach to missionary work in the city.

The often quite aggressive nature of Quaker evangelising attracted widespread attention in York and the accounts of Quaker sufferings reveal a high degree of popular hostility towards Friends among the inhabitants. As a rule it was Friends from outside the city rather than York Quakers who were singled out for attack. Although most assaults against Quakers in York at a popular level can be attributed in varying degree to the xenophobia and social conservatism of their assailants, some in addition showed signs of having been orchestrated by those whose concern it was to maintain the religious and social status quo in the city which the Quakers were thought to threaten. When Thomas Aldam (a Doncaster Friend) was assaulted by a group of citizens in 1654 in the presence of alderman Topham, who had a particular dislike of the Quakers, it is likely that they were acting under what has been termed 'magistrate's licence'.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The Quakers themselves were aware of the link between the civic elite's opposition to their doctrines and the violence and paranoia they encountered among the common people; '...the city is in a greate rage'

54) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 4, f.6; E.P.Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (1968), pp.74,79-80

wrote Elizabeth Hooton in 1652 'for truth strikeing at the heade of the deceite, it causes the beastly part to fall into rage and madnesse in many of them'.(55)

The only consistent and organised opposition to the Quakers in York during the Commonwealth period derived from the aldermen and their close allies the Minster preachers. Most of the Quaker sufferings in the city during the 1650's consisted of imprisonment by the magistrates for offences against the Act which forbade disturbance of a minister during time of Divine Service.(56) Between them the magistrates and ministers successfully gaoled numerous Quakers on this charge, some for quite lengthy spells, and without any sign of opposition from those reportedly well-disposed towards Friends among the military in York. Robert Lilburne, Governor of York and commander of one of the most radical regiments in the army was known to be sympathetic to the Quaker cause as were many of his men; 'we have great friendship, and love from the governer of the Towne' wrote Thomas Aldam in 1652 'and many of the souldiers are very sollid and loveing'.(57) Some of Lilburne's men were actively involved in the Quaker movement. Two of his troop commanders, William Bradford and George Watkinson, actually became Quakers and the same was probably true of Cornet Denham who in 1653 had his house broken into by a citizen mob for harbouring a Quaker minister.(58) Although the aldermen and ministry were powerless to the prevent the spread of Quakerism among the military, they were determined to resist the growth of sectarianism in civic

55) F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MS 16

56) Allot, Friends in York, p.3

57) F.H.L., Swarthmore MS I, 373

58) F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MSS 14,17

society and there is no evidence to suggest that they could be dictated to by the Army in their policy towards Friends. When, for example, Captain Bradford wished to secure the release of several Quaker women imprisoned in the gaol on Ousebridge he had to appear at the mayor's court in person and give his word that the prisoners would depart peacefully before the corporation would agree to their discharge.(59) As in Bristol, there is little mention of the soldiery supporting or countenancing Friends after 1654. Indeed in 1659 a group of soldiers joined the 'rude multitude' in disrupting the Quakers' general meeting in York, which moved Aldam to upbraid Lilburne as well as the mayor.(60)

Before the final collapse of the 'Good Old Cause' in 1659 there may have been an unspoken agreement between Lilburne and the corporation that Friends were to be tolerated in their worship and only open to arrest when they acted in a manner that could be construed as a breach of the peace, or when they were thought to have contravened accepted social mores such as refusing to give hat-honour or marrying outside the law. Such at any rate, represent the only grounds upon which the aldermen acted against the Quakers before the fall of the Protectorate. Although many of the soldiers had ceased to be 'loveing' towards Friends by 1659, the garrison under Lilburne was never entirely lost to the Quakers as it would be after the Restoration. An attack by the citizens on a Quaker meeting in August 1659 prompted one of Lilburne's officers to express sympathy at the Quakers' plight.(61)

59) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.63

60) Mortimer, 'Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol', p.352; F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MS 73

61) Hutton, The Restoration, p.62

The Quakers did receive some tacit support from the Assize judges in York, in accordance it seems with Cromwell's religious policy of 'truth in diversity'. Apparently Cromwell intervened personally on Aldam's behalf in 1654, ordering Bowles to speak to the aldermen and Assize judges to get him 'a fare and Legall tryall'.(62) An attempt by Bowles and alderman Dickinson in the same year to get Dewsbury imprisoned for 'dispersing Principles prejudicial to the Truth of the Gospel' came to nothing when Judge Wyndham, wisely denying Dewsbury the opportunity to plead his case in open court, had him quietly released at the end of the Assizes.(63). And in 1658, when Aldam was moved to interrupt a service held in the Minster during Assize week and attended by some of the judges, instead of being cut short in his testimony and thrown out of the church as were several of his contemporaries, Fox included, he was allowed to speak to the 'heady and high minded ones and also to others of the Ruder sort, who had formerly smitten him in that place', after which he was safely escorted away by the judges and so 'preserved from the Rude Multitude'.(64)

With little to favour the spread of Quakerism in the city the indigenous Quaker community in York remained small and went largely unnoticed before the Restoration. Only four York Quakers, three of them women, were arrested for offences which amounted to legitimate

62) F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MSS 113,121,128

63) J.Besse, An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, 3 vols, (1733-8), vol.1, pp.326-331; F.H.L., Swarthmore MS IV, 131

64) F.H.L., A Short Testimony concerning that Faithful Servant of the Lord Thomas Aldam, (1690), pp.7,9-10; Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 4, f.16

engagements in the Lamb's War.(65) Most of the trouble caused by Friends in York involved Quaker itinerants, usually those who had come to the city to confront the Minster preachers during service-time, a compulsion which appears to have gripped few members of the York meeting itself. Any importance the city possessed as a Quaker centre in these years was due entirely to its prison population of Friends which included men and women of great significance in the movement's early history. Quakerism in York must have benefited from the society of the Quakers detained there, especially those occasionally allowed out of the Castle for short periods on parole; indeed, the indefatigable Aldam actually preached four times in the Minster during hours of liberty from his cell, a testimony to his zeal as well as the rather lax regime at the Castle gaol.(66)

The number of Quakers imprisoned in York in the 1650's undoubtedly exceeded that of Friends actually living in the city over the same period. George Whitehead, a public Friend who visited York in 1654 reported that its meeting 'was but small', and in relation to the size of the city's population this was certainly the case.(67) At the Restoration the Quaker community in York consisted of somewhere between forty and sixty adults, which means that during its first decade the movement accounted for fewer than 0.6% of the city's twelve thousand or so inhabitants, as

65) *ibid.*, ff.5 (Anne Nicholson),6,10-11 (Bethia Morley); *F.P.T.*, p.318 (Mary Waite); Besse, *Sufferings*, vol.1, p.485 (Boswell Middleton); see also F.H.L., Caton MSS, vol.2, f.47; A.R.Barclay MS 113; Great Book of Sufferings (G.B.S.), vol.2, f.10, the case of Jane Wilkinson, a woman Friend from York, arrested for disturbing a minister in the church at Crayke (15 miles north of York). She was imprisoned in York Castle for 15 months

66) F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MS 122

67) F.H.L., The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant and Minister of Christ, George Whitehead, (1725), p.22

against an average of 0.9% attained by the movement in the county generally.(68) As a Quaker centre York compares very unfavourably with cities such as Bristol with its 1000 Quakers, or 5.6% of the city's population, and London with between 8000 and 10,000 Quakers, constituting around 1.5% of its inhabitants.(69)

The early Quaker movement in York drew its membership mainly from the 'comfortably off', middle section of the civic community, the wholesale traders, shopkeepers and craftsmen. Unlike some of the city's Puritans none of the first generation of Quakers in York belonged to the city's political and commercial elite which was composed mainly of wealthy merchants with estates worth several thousand pounds, strong pretensions to gentry status, and houses with upwards of seven or eight hearths. At the same time, very few Quakers were drawn from the bottom strata of society, the servants and labouring poor.(70)

The exceptional feature of the early Quaker community in York was its comparatively large proportion of members drawn from the higher, although not the highest, ranks of civic society. The small group of Quakers in All Saints, Pavement, included men such as Edward Nightingale, grocer, whose estate was reckoned to be worth £1000 in 1686, and Thomas Waite, stationer and printer, who left bequests in his will totalling almost £250. The richest Quaker in the city however was undoubtedly John Todd, mercer and milliner of St.Michael-le-Belfrey, whose personal estate alone was worth £987 at his death in 1704 (his debtors included Lord

68) Reay, The Quakers, p.29

69) *ibid.* pp.27,29

70) For sources used in compiling data on the social composition of the York Quaker community see Table 1)

Fairfax).(71). Several of the early Quakers were members of the York Merchant Adventurers Society which included most of the city's wealthier wholesale traders (mainly merchants, grocers, mercers and apothecaries). Henry Allenson, John Marshall, Edward Nightingale, George Preston, John Todd and Henry Wilkinson all entered the Society in the 1650's and 60's, although only John Marshall is definitely known to have been a Quaker at the time of taking up membership.(72)

Most of the Quakers who were given the title 'gentleman' belong to the early years of Quakerism in the city. Five first-generation Friends were labelled gentlemen in one or more of the visitation court books; Thomas Bulmer, landowner, John Ety, a landowner of yeoman status in Fulford, John Taylor, merchant and sugar-refiner, Edward Nightingale, and John Todd. Three men who joined the movement in the mid 1660's were also of nominal gentry status, Abraham Hutton, glover and property-owner in the city, regularly styled 'gent.' in the visitation court books and father of Alderman Christopher Hutton; Henry Allenson, mercer, common councillor and a relative of Alderman William Allenson; and Henry Wilkinson, a wealthy apothecary. All these Friends were designated 'Mr' in the hearth tax returns.(73) In truth, none of the York Quakers - with the possible exception of Thomas Bulmer, an Irish emigre, who pursued no trade in the

71) York Preparative Meeting, Legacy Fund Account Book (L.F.A.), 1707-1849; B.I.H.R., wills of Mercy Nightingale (proved Oct.1691), Thomas Waite (proved July 1695)

72) B.I.H.R., York Merchant Adventurers' Minute Book (Y.M.A.M.B.), 1677-1736; York Merchant Adventurers' Journal, 1420-1795, ff.151-2,154-5

73) B.I.H.R., Archdeaconry of York, Records of Visitation, Y.V/CB.3, 1675, All Saints, North Street (Thomas Bulmer); Archbishopal Visitation, V.1662-3, CB.1, Fulford (John Ety); Y.V/CB.4, 1683, St.Mary, Bishophill, Senior (John Taylor); Y.V/CB.3, 1680, All Saints, Pavement (Edward Nightingale); V.1662-3, CB.1, St.Michael-le-Belfrey (John Todd); Y.V/CB.3, 1669, St.Crux (Abraham Hutton); Y.C.A., Hearth Tax Returns, 1665, M30:22,23, 1671

city but appears to have lived of the rents from his landed estate(74) - had any proper claim to the title of 'gentleman' in so far as it denoted the right to bear arms or the ability to prove several generations of acknowledged gentle descent, and none belonged to the city's mercantile elite which would have ensured their effective assimilation to gentle status, their 'pseudo-gentility', to use Professor Everitt's phrase.(75) Viewed objectively, the more wealthy early Quakers appear to have belonged to the status group immediately below the civic elite, made up of those whom Philip Styles has categorised 'Masters'.(76) Regardless of their precise status however, at least six early York Quakers merited the title 'gentleman' in the eyes of their fellow parishioners, a distinction not shared by any of the later converts in the city. Significantly, although Quakerism in York during the movement's first fifteen years made a number of converts among highly-placed civic families, the children of these converts failed in almost every case to follow their parents' example.

74) B.I.H.R., Probate Register 58, f.139; Brotherton Library, Clauses of Wills and Letters etc. Relating to Trust Property belonging to the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, f.1 (all the trustees of the Meeting House, who included Nightingale, Wilkinson and other leading Friends, are given occupations except Bulmer who is simply styled 'gentleman')

75) A.Everitt, Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century, Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers, Second Series, I (Leicester, 1969), pp.43-6; for an excellent, if brief, analysis of gentry status in the seventeenth century see J.S.Morrill, 'The Northern Gentry and the Great Rebellion', Northern History, XV (1979), pp.66-87 - by Morrill's definition none of the early Quakers with the exception of Bulmer can be regarded as gentlemen

76) P.Styles, 'The Social Structure of Kineton Hundred in the Reign of Charles II', Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society, LXXVIII (1959), pp.96-117; see also J.J.Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism in English Society: A Study of Warwickshire, 1660-1720', Journal of British Studies, XVI (1976), pp.56-7

Several early women Friends in York also appear to have enjoyed a level of prosperity on a par with that of the more affluent male Quakers. The wives of several prominent citizens were attracted to the early movement, notably Margaret Bew (wife of Thomas Bew, a wealthy glover), Elizabeth Simpson (wife of Christopher Simpson, 'gent.' or 'Mr'), and Elizabeth Walker (wife of Samuel Walker, lawyer), who gave £1, 10s, £4 and £3 respectively to Friends' subscriptions in the late 1660's and early 1670's.(77) In fact a large majority of the women Friends about whom anything is known in the early years of the movement in York were either by marriage or parentage members of the middle or upper middle ranks of civic society.

The social composition of the early Quaker community in York is set out in Table 1. The year 1663 was chosen as the terminal date for the first period of analysis in order to accommodate evidence provided by Archbishop Frewen's primary visitation. The occupational categories used to classify Friends were adopted principally for purposes of comparison with Barry Reay's findings for Colchester (see Table 2).(78) As Reay and others have pointed out there are a number of problems involved with analyses of this type, some of identification others concerning definition. The category 'artisans' for example tends to obscure the differences between master craftsmen and artisan wage labourers. Moreover, some of those described as 'artisans' may also have been small retailers, particularly in the case of pewterers and whitesmiths. The difficulty in drawing a line between retailers and artisans has partly been overcome by

77) see relevant entries in Appendix I

78) Reay, 'The Social Origins of Early Quakerism', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XI (1980), p.71

Table 1. Social Composition of Male Quakers in York,
1651-1663

OCCUPATION/STATUS	HEARTH ¹	GIFTS ²	NO.	%
Gentlemen			1	3.7
Rentier*	-	£10		
Agricultural			0	0.0
Professional[A]			1	3.7
Ship's master	2	-		
Wholesale traders, wealthier retailers and producers[B]			9	33.3
Tanner (20)*	1	-		
Clothier (49)	4	£2 10s		
Stationer (49)	4	£10		
Grocer (53)*	6	£50		
Mercer (53)*	5	£13		
Mercer (56p)	-	-		
Grocer (62)*	3	£5		
Tanner	-	-		
Apprentice clothier	-	-		
Retail traders, craftsmen/ retailers[C]			8	29.6
Cordwainer (34p)	2	-		
Tapiter (43)	-	-		
Cordwainer (49p)	5	-		
Glover (50)	-	-		
Watchmaker (57p)	4	£2		
Cordwainer (70p)	2	10s		
Tailor	1	-		
Shoemaker	-	-		
Artisans[D]			3	11.1
Blacksmith (30)	4	-		
Wheelwright (58)	-	-		
Blacksmith (67p)				
Labourers[E]			2	7.4
Labourer (63)	2	-		
Labourer	1	2s 6d		
Unknown			3	11.1
?/c	-	£1		
?/w	-	8s		
?	-	-		
Average number of hearths 3.1			TOTAL	27

¹ 1665 Hearth Tax returns

² Largest Gift to Friends' subscription during lifetime

* = Designated 'gent.' or 'Mr.' in the Hearth Tax or Visitation records/Office-holder in the Corporation/Merchant Adventurer (67p) = became free of the city in 1667, by patrimony

w = status equivalent to a wholesaler (assessment based on parentage, role in meeting, will, hearths, subscriptions etc)

c = craftsman, small retailer, artisan or labourer

[A] architect, barber, barber-surgeon, lawyer, notary, physician, schoolteacher, ship's master(ocean navigator), surgeon

[B] apothecary, brewer(wholesaler), chandler, clothier, draper, fellmonger, grocer, haberdasher, innholder, mercer, merchant, merchant tailor, milliner(mercer), sergemaker(mercer), stationer, sugar merchant, tanner, tobacconist, vintner

[C] baker, bookbinder, bookseller, butcher, clockmaker, cordwainer, distiller, girdler, glover, goldsmith, hosier, keelman(ship owner), instrumentmaker, milliner, pinner, saddler, shoemaker, tailor, tallow-chandler, tapiter, tobacco cutter, watchmaker

[D] artisan dyer, blacksmith, brazier, bricklayer, carpenter, clothdresser, clothworker, cooper, engraver, freemason, linnenweaver, locksmith, pewterer, ropemaker, sergeweaver, silkweaver, slaywright, weaver, wheelwright, whitesmith, woolcomber

[E] keelman, labourer, marriner, ostler, porter, sledman, servant, waterman

Data compiled from the following:

Brotherton Library, Leeds - York Men's Preparative Meeting Minute Books (Y.M.P.M.M.B.), 1670-1720; York Men's Monthly Meeting M.Bs (Y.M.M.M.M.B.), 1669-1720; Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting M.Bs (Y.Q.M.M.B.), 1669-1720; York Women's Prep. Meeting M.Bs (Y.W.P.M.M.B.), 1707-1720; York Women's Monthly Meeting M.Bs (Y.W.M.M.M.B.), 1674-1714; Women's Quarterly Meeting M.Bs, 1674-1720; York Prep. Meeting, Legacy Fund Account Book; York Prep. Meeting, collections; York Prep. Meeting, applications for membership, disownments, documents of discipline; York Prep. Meeting, certificates of removal; Applications to bury in Friends' Burial Ground, York, 1692-1716; Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists; York Prep. Meeting, receipted bills; Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Record of the Sufferings of Friends, 1653-1736; Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Registers of Births, Marriages, Burials 1651-1767

Borthwick Institute of Historical Research - Archiepiscopal Visitation Court Books, V.1662-3 - V.1684; Records of the Archdeaconry of York, Records of Visitation, Y.V/CB.3, Y.V/CB.4; Wills of York Citizens (Exchequer, Prerogative, Vacancy) c.1660 - c.1730

York Minster Library - Dean and Chapter Visitation Court Books, Dean and Chapter Muniments, C.1665 - C.1686

York City Archives - York City Hearth Tax Returns, 1665, M30:22,23, 1671; York City Quarter Sessions Books, F/7-F/12; York Corporation House Books, 36-39; Chamberlains Account Books, 1640-1720

Secondary sources - F.P.T., pp.317-320; Besse, Sufferings, vol.1, pp.319-341,485-488, vol.3, pp.147-175; F.Collins (ed.), Register of the Freemen of the City of York 1559-1759, Surt.Soc., CII (1899); Publications of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society; W.Pearson Thistlethwaite, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting 1665-1966, (Harrogate, 1979)

Table 2. Occupations of Men and Women Who Were Quakers in Colchester
Before the End of 1664

OCCUPATION OR STATUS		NO.	%
Gentlemen		4	13.3
Agricultural		-	-
Professional		1	3.3
Schoolteacher	1		
Wholesale and Large Producers		13	43.3
Baymakers	5		
Saymaker	1		
Stapler	1		
Grocers	2		
Malster	1		
Draper	1		
Merchant	1		
Merchant Tailor	1		
Retail Traders		6	20.0
Shopkeeper	1		
Tailors	2		
Bakers	2		
Shoemaker	1		
Artisans		6	20.0
Weavers	4		
Woolcomber	1		
Carpenter	1		
Labourers and Servants		-	-
		Total: 30	

Taken from B.Reay, 'The Social Origins of Early Quakerism', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XI (1980), p.71

employing the category 'retailer/craftsmen' which includes goldsmiths, leatherworkers (cordwainers, glovers, saddlers), tailors and watchmakers who in most cases would have been engaged in both the manufacturing and retail side of their business.

The correspondence between occupation and wealth in York appears to have been clearest at the very top and bottom of the social scale.(see Table 3) Among the 'middling sort' occupation does not constitute a reliable guide to wealth, although it transpires that textile workers, workers in wood, builders, and certain members of the clothing trade were generally less well off in York than precision craftsmen, craftsmen working with valuable raw materials, leatherworkers and victuallers.(79) There may have been a closer link between occupation and status. Although some Quaker tailors, for example, were apparently less wealthy than most Quaker whitesmiths, they appear to have belonged to a higher status group; probably because tailoring was more likely to involve commerce with the 'better sort' and provided greater opportunities for breaking into the wholesale trade.

Table 1 indicates that whilst the majority of the first Quakers in York were drawn from the middle ranks of society, the early meeting lacked the sizeable proportion of the 'poorer sort' which apparently was a feature of the contemporary movement in general.(80) Perhaps the most significant difference between the social composition of Quakerism in York and Colchester lies in the dissimilarity of the percentage of

79) D.J.Hibberd, 'Urban Inequalities: Social Geography and Demography in Seventeenth Century York', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1981), pp.225,230

80) Reay, The Quakers, pp.21,25

Table 3. Comparison between Number of Hearths and
Poor Relief Rating by Occupation, 1671

Occupational groups in descending order according to average number of hearths per occupation	Percentage of occupational group paying poor relief
1/A menial - labourer, servant	1/A
2/B textiles(flax/hemp) - linnenweaver, ropemaker	2/B
3/C wood - cooper, joiner, wheelwright	3/C
4/D building(masonry) - bricklayer, freemason	4/D
5/E building(wood) - carpenter	5/H
6/F transport(water) - keelman, marriner, waterman	6/M
7/G textiles(silk/lace) - lacemaker, silkweaver	7/F
8/H clothing(cloth) - tailor, tapiter, milliner	8/K
9/I textiles(finishing) - clothdresser, dyer	9/E
10/J non-ferrous iron(base metalworker) - pewterer, whitesmith	10/J
11/K iron - blacksmith, cutler	11/I
12/L furs & leather(leathermaking) - skinner, tanner	12/G
13/M clothing(leather) - cordwainer, glover, shoemaker	13/O
14/N furs & leather(leatherworker) - bookbinder, saddler	14/Q
15/O victualling(production & purveyance) - baker, brewer	15/P
16/P manufacture(tools & intruments) - locksmith, watchmaker	16/L
17/Q professional(medicine) - barber, barber-surgeon	17/N
18/R dealing(cloth) - draper, haberdasher, mercer, milliner	18/T
19/S dealing(food & drink) - grocer, innholder, tobacconist	19/S
20/T dealing(general) - apothecary, bookseller, stationer	20/R
21/U specialist wholesaler(general) - merchant	21/V
22/V status(gentry) - gent., esq., knight	22/U

Taken from D.J.Hibberd, 'Urban Inequalities: Social Geography and Demography in Seventeenth Century York', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1981), p.230

artisans in each community. In Colchester on the other hand, a first generation Quaker was likelier to be a wholesaler and large producer than a retailer or artisan which was apparently not the case in York and is the reverse of what has been found for the early movement as a whole.(81)

The percentage of early Quakers in the city drawn from the upper social strata appears particularly high when compared with the same figure for Friends in York in the decades after the Restoration. The evidence for York lends some support to the view that the movement experienced a discernible shift in the basis of recruitment after the 1660's when proportionately fewer from the wealthier sections of society became Quakers than was the case earlier. The figures in Table 4 show that converts to Quakerism in York between the 1670's and 1715 were generally of lower social rank than the earliest Friends in the city. What is not clear unfortunately is the precise chronology of this alteration in the meeting's social composition. The accuracy of the findings depends to some extent upon the use of statistical populations of suitable size and this entails employing a method of analysis which has the incidental effect of obscuring any short-term fluctuations that might have occurred in the character of the meeting's membership. The change which took place in the social structure of Quakerism in York can be traced, at least in its earliest phase, to the decade after 1660, but whether it was largely confined to that period or continued thereafter is hard to tell. Quakers lower down the social scale such as servants and labourers generally took

81) Reay, 'Social Origins', p.62; Cole 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends', J.F.H.S., XLVIII (1957), pp.115,117

Table 4. Social Composition of Quakerism in York 1650-1715

	1650- 63	1663- 75	1675- 85	1685- 95	1695- 05	1705- 15
Gentlemen	3.7	2.0	1.4	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Agricultural	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.3 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Professional	3.7	6.0	4.3	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	1.6 (1.7)
Wholesalers	33.3	26.0	24.3	23.4 (19.0)	23.0 (19.4)	21.9 (20.0)
Retailers	29.6	30.0	27.1	27.3 (28.6)	27.0 (26.9)	26.6 (26.7)
Artisans	11.1	14.0	12.9	18.2 (20.6)	21.6 (23.9)	29.7 (31.7)
Labourers	7.4	6.0	5.7	3.9 (4.8)	5.4 (6.0)	6.3 (6.7)
Unknown	11.1	16.0	21.4	26.0 (27.0)	23.0 (23.9)	14.1 (13.3)

The percentages in brackets refer to the social composition of the meeting excluding the separatists.

longer to show up in the meeting's records than their wealthier co-religionists. The assumption that practically everyone who maintained the Quaker witness against tithes and Conventicle Acts etc. would appear on record sooner rather than later may be true generally speaking, but in the case of York, where sufferings appear to have been few in number, and the business meetings dominated from the 1670's onwards by a relatively small group of well-to-do Friends, often the only time a poorer member of the meeting can be identified as such is upon the occasion of their disownment.(82) It may therefore be the case that the rise in the percentage of artisans and labourers in the meeting, which is particularly evident in the figures for the fourth decade, in fact occurred coincidentally with the drop in the percentage of wholesalers etc. in the second. The notable increase after 1663 in the percentage of Quakers whose occupation is unknown tends to support this interpretation since it was usually only the poorest members of the meeting who failed to leave a will or purchase their freedom of the city. The numerical superiority acquired by the *petite bourgeoisie* in the meeting, the shopkeepers and artisans, at the expense of the 'Masters' and professional men, may have been a more rapid development than the figures are fully capable of

82) Watkins, The Puritan Experience, p.183; A.Anderson, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers', Quaker History, LXVIII (1979), pp.36-7; Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum', P.& P., XLIII (1969), pp.78-79; Anderson, 'A Study in the Sociology of Religious Persecution: The First Quakers', Journal of Religious History, IX (1977), p.248; for Quakers who first appear in the records on the occasion of their disownment see Y.M.P.M.M.B., Richard Relse (Book 1, f.6), Matthew Fewler (Book 1, f.6), Charles Hall (Book 1, f.99), Thomas Mason (Book 1, f.99), John Adcocke (Book 2, f.178), Mercy Rysam (Book 2, f.178); Y.M.M.M.B., Thomas Etherington (Book 2, f.61), Elizabeth Wilson (Book 2, f.107)

registering, but because of deficiencies in the sources and statistical problems the matter is impossible to settle conclusively.

Despite the statistical shortcomings the overall social complexion of early Quakerism in York seems clear. In terms of the social origins of its members the meeting was respectably bourgeois in character. Over 30% of the early Friends in York were drawn from the upper middle ranks of society, a percentage far above that in the population at large, and the average number of hearths per Quaker household was 3.1 which works out at either slightly above or about equal with the average for the city generally, depending upon which hearth tax returns are consulted.(83) On a discordant note, only approximately 65% of the male Quakers in the early meeting were free of the city, as against 75% or over for the city's adult male population as a whole.(84) Quaker reluctance to take the freeman's oath may account for this figure, although it is evident that many of the first Friends became freemen years before they turned Quaker. Although not enough is known about most of the city's early Quakers to determine exactly how old they were at the time of their conviction, calculations based upon evidence in the freemen rolls (assuming that the average age on becoming a freeman was 23 and using 1657 as the median date of conversion) suggest an average age at conversion for the city's male Quakers of approximately 35.(85) This is slightly higher than the figure Richard Vann has arrived at for the early Quakers in Buckinghamshire and Norwich.(86) Many of the first Friends in York appear

83) V.C.H.: York, p.165; see Table 1

84) D.Hirst, The Representative of the People?, (Cambridge, 1975), pp.94-5

85) see J.T.Evans, Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion and Government, 1620-1690, (Oxford, 1979), pp.9-10

86) Vann, Social Development, pp.83-4

to have been established members of civic society at the time of their conversion with businesses and families to support.

It was to take some time for the city's Quakers to become an accepted part of the local social scene, but even in the meeting's early years there are signs that within the immediate circle of their neighbours and acquaintances, Friends in the city had ceased to be the objects of suspicion and dislike which they remained for many of the city's inhabitants. At a time when there was much ill-feeling towards Quakers in the city a Presbyterian minister living in All Saints, Pavement, Nathaniel Jackson, had enough regard or affection for his fellow parishioner Edward Nightingale, to include in his will of 1662, a bequest of £5 to each of Nightingale's three small children.(87) And when John Taylor, a Quaker merchant, married Frances the daughter of John Ryther, in York in 1663, the union was sealed at a public meeting attended not only by Friends but also by their neighbours '*and others* in the city of York'.(88)

The character of Quakerism in the early meeting, so far as it can be gauged from Friends' behaviour in the community, is not at all consistent with the image some historians have of the sect as 'a movement of protest against the suppression of the "good old cause"'.(89) Some Friends were undoubtedly more politically in touch than others. The printer and bookseller Thomas Waite, for example, who published several tracts by Fox, Naylor, and Farnsworth in 1653, was almost certainly in a position to

87) B.I.H.R., Probate Register 45, f.217

88) F.H.L.,An Account of the Labours, Exercises, Travels and Perils By Sea and Land, of John Taylor of York: And also, His Deliverances; By way of Journal, (1710), p.21 [my italics]

89) Cole, 'The Quakers', p.44

translate his religious beliefs into appropriate political forms but he may have been more the exception in the early meeting than the rule.(90) One or two early York Quakers espoused views of an implicitly egalitarian nature when questioned by the authorities but certainly nothing which constituted a sophisticated political statement.(91) They explained their actions and beliefs with reference to the leadings of the spirit and scriptural arguments rather than any political ideology. The political consequences and implications of their actions were apparently of little concern to them, a fact which often caused their judicial interrogators considerable annoyance. As Nicholas Morgan has rightly argued, '...to suggest that secular arguments took precedence over scriptural arguments is to deny the fact that Friends were brought together initially by a shared religious experience which in turn led to shared theological beliefs. It was this shared experience and these beliefs which determined the Quaker view of the outside world.'(92)

A statement submitted to the consistory court in 1661 by one of the leading early Quakers in York, Edward Nightingale, concerning a case made against him by a local minister for refusal to pay tithes provides at least some insight into the 'sense of the meeting' in certain areas of Quaker thinking in the 1650's;

...I denye to pay him [the minister] Tithe...nether can I for consience sake pay anything to any such Deceivers as he is, whosse Covetous unsatiabile desires will not be satisfied, whoe expects such should put into his mouth for whom he does noe servis nether Affords them any valuable consideration for what he demands butt hither too he with such like hath Gott the sheeps clothing and covered themselves with Crists words...by

90) F.P.T., p.318

91) Besse, Sufferings, vol.1, pp.485-88

92) Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', p.315

which he and they have deceived the people of this nation very long But now the time is come and coming that his and their wolfish spirit shall be discovered...and if this Court have power given them to Afflict the people of the lord (whoe fears and Dreads before him and Dare not therefore pay tithes swear or Give honour unto man, but as he acts for and honours the lord) you may goe on and be suffered A while by the lord, but...know then the lord will repay and avenge the cause of his people and whoe then can resist him, then shall there be calling to the mountains to fall on us and to the Hills to cover us.(93)

The statement is worth quoting at length because it contains all of what Christopher Hill has called the 'traditional features of English radical movements', namely, opposition to tithes, objection to oath-taking, and a rough-hewn egalitarianism.(94) Hill could justifiably have added anticlericalism and millenarian feeling to the list, both of which are also present in the statement. Nightingale's language is not that of the Levellers or the Republicans, nor indeed is there anything in the statement which links it specifically with the revolutionary decades and the advancement of the 'Good Old Cause'. If Nightingale's words faithfully reflect the sense of the meeting in York then the radicalism of the city's first Friends would appear to have been closer in character to that of Hill's 'traditional' radicals, the Lollards, Familists and Anabaptists than the revolutionary movements such as the Levellers, Diggers, Fifth Monarchists etc.(95)

Evidence in the civic parish registers that several early Quakers, Nightingale among them, were having the names of their offspring entered in the books in the 1650's and early 1660's - presumably to avoid any legal tangles or grounds for alleging illegitimacy - again leads one to

93) B.I.H.R., Consistory Cause Papers, C.P.H. 2536, Martin Horbury, cleric, con. Edward Nightingale

94) Hill, Defeat, p.131

95) *ibid.*

question the revolutionary nature of early Quaker radicalism in York.(96) The Quakers involved, being of good standing in their parish, may have had little difficulty in persuading the parson to enter the child as baptised by himself, a ploy commonly in use among the Catholics.(97) The practice ceased among Friends in York soon after the Restoration, either because the Anglican ministry was more vigilant in preventing such abuses or as a result of Friends modifying their behaviour in response to efforts by the movement's leadership to standardise Quaker conduct and encourage Friends to draw apart from a corrupt world. Before the Restoration and the introduction of a formalised Quaker creed Friends in York appear to have been left largely to their own devices in determining the precise nature of their relationship with the wider community. From the evidence cited above it could be argued that the boundaries of Quaker separation from civic society were defined, in part at least, along what John Bossy, writing about the Catholic community, has termed 'the optimum line'; 'one which would provide the maximum of self-determining capacity and the minimum of destructive isolation'.(98)

The role played by women in the meeting during the Interregnum appears to have been a little more in keeping with the radical spirit of early Quakerism. Women constituted around 55% of the city's total Quaker population in the period 1651-1663, and a sizeable proportion of early

96) T.M.Fisher (ed.), The Parish Register of All Saints' Church, Pavement, in the City of York, Publications of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society, C (1935), pp.62,136,138 (Richard Leadall); 63-65 (Edward Nighingale); 63-64,92,135-136,139,(Thomas Waite); M.Loyola Mulgrew (ed.), The Parish Register of St.Mary Castlegate, York, P.Y.P.R.S., CXXXIV (1970), pp.96,110 (Abel Grant)

97) J.Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850, (1975), p.134

98) *ibid.* p.143

Friends were either the wives or daughters of non-Quakers which suggests that many of them joined the movement solely on grounds of conscience, and presumably in some cases against the wishes of their families. Aldam in 1654 described how several 'gentlewoeman', upon 'heareing the truth declared to their Conscience' during a public exchange between himself and Alderman Topham '...was made to Confesse the truth...sayinge this man speakes the truth; our Conscience beare witness...' - Topham told them to leave lest they be 'seduced' by Aldam.(99) The most actively radical members of the York meeting were women. Anne Nicholson and Bethia Morley were arrested several times in York for disturbing ministers during service time and the only member of the early meeting who became a Quaker evangelist was a woman Friend, Mary Waite, who reportedly travelled widely in the ministry 'laying friends sufferings before such as were in Authority, viz., before King Charles 2nd, and the Judges at the Assizes, and Magistrates...and was...Imprisoned on account of her Testimony in Divers places, and Continued Faithfull to the end.'(100)

Why all but a handful of the city's early Quakers appear to have avoided becoming openly involved in the proselytising activities of the movement in York is difficult to explain. It is conceivable that some engagements in the Lamb's War may have gone unrecorded at York, either because they escaped the meeting's attention or because they did not result in Friends suffering. Aldam, for one, had more encounters with the authorities in York than the records allow for, but such omissions were probably rare. Even before the Restoration the Quaker leadership was

99) F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MS 122

100) F.P.T., p.318

enjoining local meetings to keep a detailed written account of Friends' sufferings.(101) Another possible explanation is that many Friends simply felt no inclination to follow the evangelists' lead. Some Friends may well have been possessed of a kind of subliminal Puritan sensibility (a sense of human sinfulness as opposed to spiritual perfectibility) which stopped them short of emulating the extravagant antics of the evangelists. A third hypothesis, linked to the one preceding, is that most of the early movement's converts in York were made after the Naylor episode (perhaps in 1659 during the 'general' meeting) when according to some historians Quakerism began to shed its early individualistic and radical image; thus Charles Cherry writes that after the Naylor affair 'Quakerism would never be the same. Quakers ceased to indulge in miracles or even discuss them, the individualistic appeal to the Inner Light was deemphasised, organisation and discipline received more emphasis...and most Friends stopped going naked as a sign'.(102) The York Quaker activists - Mary Waite, Anne Nicholson, Boswell Middleton and Bethia Morley - all joined the movement before 1656. Nevertheless, a majority of the pre-Naylor Quakers in York cannot be linked with the Lamb's War. Moreover, the repercussions of the Naylor episode were probably not quite as dramatic as Cherry suggests. Between 1658 and 1661 there was an increase in the number of Friends going naked as a sign and in 1659 ministers in counties as far apart as Essex and Yorkshire still went in fear of being railed at by Friends.(103) The 1659 meeting in York featured a mass

101) Braithwaite, Beginnings, pp.315-6

102) C.Cherry, 'Enthusiasm and Madness: Anti-Quakerism in the Seventeenth Century', Quaker History, LXXIV (1984), p.9

103) K.L.Carrol, 'Early Quakers and "Going Naked as a Sign"', Quaker History, LXVII (1978), pp.69-87; Hutton, The Restoration, pp.61-62

procession of 'public' Friends through the city streets and into the Minster during the Divine Service, an act explicitly justified in terms of obedience to the Inner Light. It would be a mistake to write off Quaker extremism, particularly among the evangelists, before the Restoration.

The reluctance of some of the city's Quakers, the men especially, to participate in the Lamb's War may have derived from the nature of their involvement in civic society. Most of the city's male Quakers, as freemen, master traders and members of the city's close-knit business community, were themselves part of the civic establishment. In addition, they were heavily dependent upon their neighbours and trading partners, as well as the good will of the guilds and the corporation, for their livelihoods. Several Friends were also either in debt or receiving money from the corporation which obviously strengthened the community's hold on them both morally and financially.(104) The more economically dependent Friends were upon the 'world's people', the more vulnerable their position in the community and the greater the pressure on them to conform. Friends such as Anne Nicholson and Bethia Morley on the other hand, both widows and both apparently of independent means, occupied a more marginal place in civic society with fewer worldly ties and obligations to weigh in the balance against a life of unflinching obedience to the Light Within. The apparent absence in York of anything resembling Christopher Hill's 'fluid society' meant that Friends could not follow the lead set by the evangelists and at the same time hope to retain their place within the social, economic and moral boundaries of the community.

104) Y.C.A.,H.B. 37, f.23,73, H.B. 38, f.10 (Thomas Garthwaite); H.B. 37, f.67 (Thomas Waite); f.73 (Thomas Ellerton)

Despite the relatively restrained character of early Quakerism in York, by 1659 Friends in the city were beginning to encounter increasing hostility from the civic authorities and the inhabitants, leading ultimately to their first experience of full-scale persecution in the months immediately prior to the Restoration. The reaction against Friends in the city owed much of its intensity to the wave of panic and apprehension which swept the country in the last year of the Interregnum as a consequence of the so-called 'Quaker threat'.(105) In a period lasting from the fall of the Protectorate in April 1659 to the beginning of General Monck's coup in December of the same year the radical wing of the Quaker movement was at the forefront of sectarian and republican efforts to remove what remained of the traditional hierarchical structure of society in order to make way for the political, social, and religious millennium; 'a New Earth, as well as...a New Heaven' in the words of the Quaker Edward Burrough.(106) The fear and consternation aroused by this resurgence of religious and political radicalism was not confined to those with a vested interest in the maintenance of the 'natural order' in society but also spread rapidly by pulpit and pamphlet among the common people.(107) Typically, there is no evidence to suggest that the Quakers in York were caught up in the spirit of renewed militancy which prevailed amongst Friends elsewhere in the county.

During the latter half of 1659 anti-Quaker feeling in York increased to the point where the meetings of Friends in the city were no longer

105) Reay, 'The Quakers, 1659, and the Restoration of the Monarchy', History, LXIII (1978), pp.193-213

106) Reay, The Quakers, p.82

107) ibid. p.91

exempt from attack by the 'rude people'. In August, in the aftermath of Booth's rebellion and amidst rumours of an impending Quaker uprising a meeting of Friends was mobbed after a visiting Quaker evangelist disturbed a sermon in the Minster.(108) Although this incident bears the hallmarks of mob violence under 'magistrates licence', it pre-supposes a high level of popular hostility towards Quakers in the city. Unlike the essentially ideological nature of anti-Quaker feeling among the magistrates and Presbyterian ministers - who were liable to act against Friends whenever the opportunity arose - popular hostility towards the Quakers, in its most vehement form, was more emotional in character, and was usually the product of extra-ordinary circumstances. The attack on Friends in August came at a time of extreme unrest, both locally and nationally, and followed months of anti-sectarian propaganda from York's Presbyterian clergy who reportedly were holding 'many and great meetings' in the city, preaching 'division and distraction'.(109) The lessening of anxiety over Booth's rebellion and perhaps also the presence of the Army prevented any immediate repetition of the August attack. But with the only insurance against further persecution being Lilburne and his men, some of whom were themselves ill-disposed towards Friends, the meeting in York was in a dangerously isolated position by the latter half of 1659.

Ironically, it was fear of an imminent Quaker insurrection, and in particular the threat of an alliance between Lambert and the Quakers in a bid for liberty of conscience, which prompted Fairfax, who had promised Monck support, to rise ahead of plan on the 30th of December 1659 to

108) Hutton, The Restoration, p.62

109) R.M.Faithorn, 'Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth Century Yorkshire', (unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Leeds, 1982), p.62

secure York for the Presbyterian-Royalist party.(110) How far the city's Quakers were involved in Lambert's belated attempt to save the Good Old Cause is not known. Quakers in the general's camp apparently sent letters to various meetings, the York meeting presumably being one of them, urging them to take up arms in support of Lambert early in January but Fairfax's actions scotched this 'furious design' and the part, if any, the York Quakers were to play in the proceedings remains a mystery.(111)

After Lambert's escape from the Tower in April and his attempt to rally the regiments in the midlands and the north in the republican cause, the city's Quakers were once again suspected by the authorities of complicity in his designs, and this time it seems with some justification. On April the 16th a small group of Captain Peverell's troop - one of those who had adhered to Lambert in Lilburne's former regiment - rode into York after dark and acted in a manner which aroused the suspicion of some of Monck's officers in the city.(112) The soldiers were arrested, and under interrogation revealed that at the instigation of their former lieutenant, Walter Merry (a Quaker in York by 1665 at the latest), they had planned to seize York in collaboration with about eighty of the city's inhabitants, 'all Lambertonians and sectaries'.(113) There is certainly

110) British Library, Thomason Tracts, 669 f.22 (52), An Extract of A Letter From York, (1659); A.H. Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XXXIX (1956-8), pp.491-2; Historical Manuscripts Commission (H.M.C.), Fifth Report, (1876), p.193

111) Hutton, The Restoration, p.83

112) H.M.C., Fifth Report, p.199; H.M.C., Leyborne-Popham MSS, (1899), pp.175-7,180

113) Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration', p.504; P.R.O., SP 29/24/64 (Lewis D'Arcy, writing to Col.Robert Sandys in December 1660, referred to one 'Preston' who along with Merry and others had been imprisoned 'for endeavouring to betray Yorke' - this may have been George Preston, an early York Quaker who was described in F.P.T., p. 320, as a 'Zealous fr[ie]nd, who had a Gift in the ministry')

evidence to suggest that millenarian feeling was strong among some of the city's Quakers in the early 1660's, although whether it was of a type which would prompt them to join Venner-style risings is very much open to question. When the city's Quakers were pressed to join the Northern Rebellion in 1663 they refused, saying that they would use no 'carnall weapons'.(114)

It was the outcome of events nationally as much as what was happening in York in early 1660 which made a resurgence of violence towards Friends in the city inevitable. With Monck in control in London from February onwards the see-saw of political fortune began to dip decidedly in favour of those who wished for a return to more traditional values in society and religion and an end to all sectarian licence. Perhaps the most significant development in relation to the city's Quakers however was the importance the Presbyterians appeared to have gained in the early months of 1660 as arbiters of the nation's affairs; in Parliament they carried the debate on the form of any future national church and much time was spent discussing discussing how best to divide the country into Presbyterian classes.(115)

The early triumphs on the road to the full restoration of the 'natural order' in the nation were offset in York by the disturbing

114) N.Penney (ed.), Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, 1654-72 (1913), p.171; there are signs that some radicals in York were not disposed to take the Restoration entirely lying down - P.R.O., SP 29/24/64 (D'Arcy thought that Merry and Preston were still 'very busye' after being released on the Act of Oblivion); Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book, F/7, f.491 (1661 - Richard Smith, a 'friendly' man in the 1650's spoke 'scandalous and reproachful words' about the Duke of Albermarle)

115) G.R.Abernathy, The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration 1648-63, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LV, part 2 (1965), passim; Hutton, The Restoration, pp.117-8,143-4; Reay, The Quakers, p.99

presence of the pro-Commonwealth garrison at nearby Hull, which under the command of the Fifth Monarchist Overton looked set to oppose Monck by force of arms if necessary.(116) As the head-quarters for Monck's troops in the North, York was put in a state of war-readiness and martial law effectively replaced municipal authority. The atmosphere of alarm and uncertainty which prevailed in York at this time, the presence in the city of soldiers violently opposed to sectarianism, and the suspicion (probably well founded) that some Friends had collaborated with Lilburne in his attempt to hold the city against Fairfax in January, raised the level of popular hostility towards Friends in York to fever pitch.(117) Fear and dislike of the sectaries, and the Quakers in particular, also seems to have reached its height among York's political and social elite. Indeed, probably the one point on which the aldermen, the Common Council, the military, and local gentry were fully agreed was that the re-establishment of peace and propriety in the realm could only be achieved by the suppression of Quakerism and all other forms of religious and political radicalism.

As in August 1659 it was Friends' meetings which were the principal targets for attack, and especially those attended by Friends in the ministry, which were probably larger and more public in nature than would normally be the case. The violence against Quakers in the city entered its most dramatic phase soon after Monck left the city for London in mid-

116) Hutton, The Restoration, p.98; H.M.C., Leyborne Popham, pp.163,170-1; Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1659-60, p.389; Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration', pp.499-500

117) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, ff.134-5,136; Hutton, The Restoration, p.98; Braithwaite, Beginnings, p.470; H.M.C., Leyborne-Popham, pp.146-151; E.Peacock (ed.), The Monckton Papers, Miscellanies of the Philobiblion Society, XV (1884), p.34; F.H.L., Caton MSS, vol.3, ff.123-5

January, when Richard Scostrophe, a visiting Quaker evangelist, and several more Friends were hauled out of a meeting by the 'rude people' and a group of soldiers and 'sore beaten and abused'.(118) Just over a week later the meeting at which Stephen Crisp was preaching was broken in upon and he and his hearers were dragged outside and similarly assaulted. Not deterred Crisp and 'many Friends' met again the same day but this time the city's Puritan mayor, Leonard Thompson, and three aldermen (two of whom, Brian Dawson and Christopher Topham, were also Puritans) took charge of the dispersal of the meeting. The key to the house Friends rented for their meetings was taken by the aldermen who then had the doors of the house nailed up. The Quakers continued to meet in the city however, and in February the 'rude Citizens' and the soldiers broke up a meeting attended by the Quaker evangelist John Whitehead, he and several other Friends being 'much beaten and abused & their Cloathes rent'.(119) Soldiers of Fairfax's regiment were now put on guard outside the Quakers' rented meeting-house and their zeal in preventing Friends access extended to beating them in the streets.(120)

In March the small knot of republican resistance in Hull was broken and tension in York subsided a little. The last meeting of Friends to be broken up as a result of action taken by the citizens was early in April, and significantly in this case the ringleaders claimed that they were acting on the orders of the new Mayor, Christopher Topham.(121) As the time of the King's return drew near a more organised and certainly more

118) F.H.L., G.B.S., vol.2, f.16

119) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 2, f.2

120) Besse, Sufferings, vol.1, f.338

121) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 2, f.3

authorised approach to dealing with the Quaker threat began to take shape. In April, after the incident involving soldiers from Peverell's troop, the Mayor took action against would-be Quaker agitators by enlisting a thousand citizens to mount guard in the city.(122) Any Quakers caught trying to enter the city were taken to the Mayor for questioning before being expelled at another gate. This scheme was improvised upon by Topham who had a Quaker imprisoned for refusing to stand watch at the gates. These measures, whilst of prejudice to Friends 'about their outward lawful occasions', did not touch them in the cultivation of their inner lives.(123) A calculated policy of harassment by the authorities had begun to replace mob violence as the bane of the city's Quakers, and by the time Charles returned to England in May the reaction against Friends in the city had lost much of the immediacy and popular impetus which had characterised it formerly.

Although the resolution of the crisis in local affairs sufficed to reduce the level of popular hostility towards Friends, the magistrates' view of the Quakers was more likely to be influenced by political developments at national level. The active involvement of three Puritan aldermen in the persecution of Friends in the city, suggests that some of the magistrates were concerned to prevent the spread of Quakerism not only in their official capacity as guardians of civic order and morality but also as Puritans and supporters of the movement for a reformed national church. But while the Presbyterian cause appeared worth defending early in 1660, especially against possible subversion by the

122) Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration', p.504

123) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1. part 2, f.3

sects, any hopes the aldermen may have entertained for a general return to religious principles and procedures more to their liking would have been quickly dispelled during the latter half of 1660 as the power of the Presbyterian party rapidly declined and the Anglican Establishment began to re-materialise, substantially as in 1642. In York the writing was on the wall as early as the autumn of 1660 when the Minster chapter began to fill up with Anglicans and the consistory court re-opened for business.(124) With the commencement of the Royalist attack on the charter in February 1661, the aldermen became involved in a long drawn out struggle to defend their authority in the city and by implication their political and religious beliefs.(125) For a variety of reasons therefore, the aldermen had less cause to continue their aggressive policies towards Friends as the tide of events both locally and nationally turned against them.

The official line taken with Friends in the city could vary a great deal of course depending on the views of the particular magistrate or magistrates concerned and much could rest upon the sole fact of who happened to be the city's Mayor at the time. Probably the strongest opponent of Quakerism on the Bench was Christopher Topham, Aldam's adversary, who played such a leading part in the ill-treatment of Friends early in 1660. Despite his Puritan leanings he was not removed from the

124) I.M.Green, The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-63, (Oxford, 1978), pp.61,65,67,79,140; M.C.Cross, 'From the Reformation to the Restoration', in G.Aylmer, R.Cant (eds.), A History of York Minster, (Oxford, 1977), pp.215-6; D.M.Owen, 'From the Restoration until 1822', York Minster, p.233; J.H.Turner (ed.), The Reverend Oliver Heywood, 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books, 4 vols. (Brighouse, 1882), vol.1, p.180

125) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, ff.149-152; V.C.H.: York, pp.174,176

bench by the Corporation Act in 1662 as were five other aldermen, which implies that he was considered by the royal commissioners to be 'conformable' to the new regime, an assessment which his conduct as mayor in 1660/1 appears to confirm. It was partly because his mayoralty coincided with the Fifth Monarchist rising in January 1661 that the Quakers fared quite as badly as they did when news of Venner's exploits in London reached the garrison in York.

The military in York tried several times in the wake of the rising to suppress Quakerism in the city beginning on the 11th of January, just three days after the plot became known, when soldiers from the garrison seized Friends, including William Dewsbury and four country Quakers, as they left a meeting held at Edward Nightingale's house in Ousegate. After employing various intimidatory tactics such as forced marching through the city streets and name-taking, the soldiers let the women go but detained the men in Ousebridge Hall until morning when Mayor Topham sent for Nightingale, Dewsbury and the country Friends and had them imprisoned as a warning to the rest of the city's Quakers.(126) Two days later the military again tried to prevent them meeting, but on this occasion Friends successfully challenged the authority of the soldiers to act in the city (it turned out that the soldiers sent to break up the meeting were only empowered to guard the city gates), and declared that they were not disturbing the peace and would continue to 'wait upon the Lord' come what may. This miscalculated attempt by the military to scare the Quakers into obedience appears to have convinced them that the only way to proceed was in alliance with Topham. When next the soldiers broke up a meeting

126) F.H.L., G.B.S., vol.4, part 2, f.585

they took all the male Friends before the mayor who promptly had them committed for refusing to take the oath of allegiance.(127)

Richard Leadall who kept the Quaker leadership in London informed of events in York wrote that he and those Quakers who had not been at the meeting 'Expect daily when we shalbe committed', and they did not have to wait long.(128) Leadall's next letter came from the gaol on Ousebridge and laid a great deal of the blame for Friends' sufferings at Topham's door: 'they [the Mayor and the military] do not suffer Friends to meet, but pulls them out and committ the men to prison...I had my house searched by a warrant from the Mayor and was carried before him who committed me to this prison. William Dewsbury was committed to this prison; but the last 5th day the Mayor sent for him, and committed him to the Tower [Cliffords Tower]...And I believe, if they go on this week as they did the last, there may be more Friends than the prisons can contain; though many Friends lyes in Straw already'.(129)

As Mayor of the city Topham was undoubtedly under an obligation, in the aftermath of the rising, to take action to preserve his majesty's person and authority against the machinations of the 'fanatics'. Nevertheless in his dealings with the Quakers he showed a resource and thoroughness which by normal standards exceeded the bounds of duty, in fact he was largely responsible for the imprisonment of most if not all of the male Quakers in the city. Subsequent mayors were not nearly so decisive in their handling of the Quaker problem. The last occasion on which a meeting of Friends was broken up in the city before 1670 was in

127) *ibid.* f.586

128) *ibid.*

129) *ibid.*f.506

August 1662 when soldiers pulled Friends from their 'hired-house' and marched them off to the mayor's residence in full expectation of having them gaoled without delay. Topham's successor however, George Lamplugh, refused to imprison Friends in the summary fashion the company captain wished and a protracted three-cornered argument ensued involving Friends, the captain, and the mayor and two other aldermen. Eventually, despite a spirited stand on their part, the Quakers were imprisoned but not before they had gained the satisfaction of seeing the captain 'examined' by the aldermen and concede that Friends had been 'peaceably met'.(130) When the Quakers were brought to trial at the Quarter Sessions in October for meeting in an allegedly 'illicit and tumultuous' manner the jury found them not guilty and they were exonerated by the court.(131) The Quakers for their part promised to keep the peace.

An almost exact repeat of the August incident occurred in January 1663 just outside the city at Tockwith. A Lieutenant of the trained bands arrested fourteen Quakers at a meeting in the village and, according to Friends' report, 'brought them before James Brookes then Mayor of Yorke [made Mayor by royal mandate], who beleiving that they were honest Men, and that they did not meet to injure any, nor for the hurt of the King was very moderate towards them, and would not have comitted them to prison, but the said Hazletine [the Lieutenant] laboured much against them and provoked the Mayor in what he could to imprison them offering to take his Oath that they were mett contrary to the King's Proclamation of the 10th January 1660 and so upon that they were imprisoned on

130) F.H.L., G.B.S., vol.2, f.40

131) Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book F/8, ff.4-5

Owsbridge, where they remained about Tenn dayes and then some tender hearted people (not desired by them) did engage for their appearance at the Assizes'.(132)

It appears that by the mid-1660's James Brooke's opinion of the Quakers loosely represented that of the majority of his fellow magistrates as well as some of the freemen. Certainly the bench after 1661 gives the appearance of being generally more moderate in its attitude towards the Quakers than it had been during the Interregnum; although whether this was really the case or merely a superficial effect resulting from the movement's abandonment of the Lamb's War, which had been the main cause of friction between the civic authorities and the Quakers before the Restoration, is hard to tell. One development which may well have given the magistrates cause to re-assess their opinion of the Quakers was the enforcement of the Corporation Act in York in the early 1660's. The purpose of this legislation was to purge 'disaffected' members from urban corporations but in some boroughs, York included, the Royalists attempted to exploit the circumstances of the Act's implementation in order to undermine corporate liberties and autonomy.(133) In York it was the judicial privileges of the aldermen which the Crown's supporters, mainly local Anglican gentry, particularly sought to challenge, and the experiences of the York aldermen as the victims of Royalist enmity may have impressed on them certain basic similarities between their own predicament and that of the Quakers. This was conceivably the case with the magistrates at Hull also. The aldermen

132) F.H.L., G.B.S., vol.2, f.40

133) Hutton, The Restoration, pp.158-9

there used the Quaker George Whitehead very moderately indeed when he was taken before them by the town's deputy-governor in July 1663: '...so after they had examined me' wrote Whitehead in a letter to Friends, 'and we had reasoned together for a good season, they waived the tendering the oath, and insisted on this that I should give bond for my appearance at the sessions, and in the mean time to be of good behaviour; for the not doing of which they did in...conclusion commit me to prison, though with as much reluctancy as ever I knew any do, often over expressing their unwillingness there unto'. Meanwhile, by contrast, the 'officers military' looked over his papers with a view to printing them to the detriment of the Quaker cause. Whitehead ends with the bemused but revealing comment that the garrison officers looked upon him as 'the grand ringleader of a very dangerous sect'.(134)

The Royalist reaction which greatly troubled the movement in the early 1660's made little headway in York - the corporation beat off an attempt by the Royalists to place country gentry on the municipal bench - and as the magistrates grew more tolerant towards Friends, or at least less inclined to interfere with them, the city became something of a haven for its Quaker community. In turning a blind eye to the activities of the Dissenters in York the magistrates were obliged to show the city's Quakers the same consideration, thereby leaving the task of maintaining religious orthodoxy in the city largely in the hands of local church leaders who proved unable to act as decisively against the Friends in the city as the aldermen and Puritan ministry had during the Interregnum. The

134) The Mount School, York, MS Friends' Letters, George Whitehead to Friends, July 1663 [spelling modernised for clarity]

diocesan church was beset with administrative difficulties and problems arising from poor leadership in the 1660's, and in any case without the support of the civic authorities its powers in the city were relatively limited.(135) Only two York Quakers crossed swords with the Anglicans before Archbishop Frewen's primary visitation in 1663; Edward Nightingale, who had a private case brought against him in the Consistory Court in 1661 by a minister from outside York for non-payment of tithes, and Mary Waite, who was imprisoned by the J.P.s of St.Peter's liberty in September 1661 'for speaking to the priest in the great Cathedrall' - the last recorded instance of a Quaker disrupting a minister in the city. (136). In the mid-1660's the church courts succeeded in having a few York Quakers gaoled on writs of *de excommunicato capiendo* but the meeting itself was not seriously troubled either by the civic or church authorities until 1670 and the enforcement of the Second Conventicle Act.(137)

For some of the Quakers living in the countryside around the city however, it was a different story. The persecution which they endured in the 1660's generally conformed much more closely to the norm as regards Quaker sufferings in this period. Whereas Friends in York attracted very little hostile attention after the early 1660's, several Quaker families in nearby villages were subjected to a prolonged campaign of harassment and repression and faced the worst that the Restoration establishment could offer, from unscrupulous gentry tithe-farmers to intolerant clergy. The Quakers in the villages of Tockwith and Skipwith suffered particularly severely during the 1660's, some of their number actually dying in York

135) Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', pp.178-183

136) F.H.L., G.B.S., vol.2, f.34; B.I.H.R., Consistory Cause Papers, C.P.H., 2536

137) F.H.L., G.B.S., vol.4, part 2, ff.513-4,520

castle for failure to attend church and related offences.(138) Persecution of a less dramatic kind but extremely injurious in the long run was the heavy distraint of goods made against Friends for their refusal to pay tithes; the Burleigh family of Tockwith had produce and livestock distrained annually in excess of £4 throughout the entire Restoration period and beyond.(139) In York on the other hand, sufferings for refusal to pay tithes or church rates were rare, largely because the sums involved were so small.

From 1662 until the Second Conventicle Act was enforced in the city, the Quakers in York were left largely in peace to consolidate their meeting and receive the itinerant evangelists who were the life-blood of the early movement. Once self-preservation replaced Reformation as the movement's principal priority, Friends in York came into their own. The main distinguishing feature of the meeting had been and was to remain its quiet and undemonstrative keeping of the faith and this agreed well with the changed mood of the sect after the Restoration as the 'weighty' Friends in London began to demand a new face to the movement, one in which Friends appeared 'solid and grave, and sat with Reverence upon their Minds, like a people Worshipping God in Spirit.'(140)

138) Y.Q.M., Register of Burials, see entries for Elizabeth Marshall, John Loggan sen., Honora Skipwith, John Thompson, William Winder

139) F.H.L., G.B.S., vol.4, part 2, ff.513-4,516; Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 1, ff.1,3,6,8,10; part 2, ff.8,12,20; part 3, passim.

140) Reay, The Quakers, p.104

CHAPTER 2) QUAKERISM IN YORK, 1660-1714

Since the publication in 1859 of John Stephenson Rowntree's seminal essay on the causes of the decline of Quakerism, the notion of Friends' spiritual degeneration as a people, traceable in its origins to the Restoration period, has been a central feature of early Quaker history. Debate among historians of the early movement has centred not on the fact of decline itself but rather its cause and point of onset. For Rowntree and the great W.C. Braithwaite the enfeeblement of the Quaker witness to the world had its roots in Friends' accumulation of wealth after the Restoration and the effects of George Fox's establishment in the 1660's of local and national 'Meetings for Discipline'.(1) Rowntree argued that the ecclesiastical machinery introduced by Fox was too defensive in character, and offered no incentive to 'Missionary enterprise'. The system did not repress the zeal of the early Friends he concluded, but neither did it sustain that zeal when the hostility of the world abated in the late 1680's. After the Act of Toleration therefore, when the Society was 'no longer kept watchful by persecution', Friends' commercial prosperity and a pettifogging discipline began to clogg the movement's spiritual arteries.(2)

Braithwaite, like Rowntree, regarded the growth of organisation after 1660 as a mixed blessing; 'Fox's action in strengthening Church

1) J.S.Rowntree, Quakerism, Past and Present: being An Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline in Great Britain and Ireland, (1859), pp.55-65,94-96; W.C.Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism, (Cambridge University Press edn., 1955), pp.308-9,339; Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, (Cambridge University Press edn., 1961), pp.160-1,248-9,324,498-502; see also A.Lloyd, Quaker Social History, 1669-1738, (1950), chapters 1 & 2

2) Rowntree, op.cit., pp.63-65,167-8,178-67

government had reanimated Friends, but involved to some extent the subordination of individual guidance to the spiritual leading which came to the meeting'.(3) The system could be worked well by 'men of enlightened spiritual experience', but as the years passed 'a great tradition began to impose itself: and, with the growth of organisation...acceptance, on the authority of the Church, of rules of conduct became in many cases a substitute for the living principles of truth in the heart'.(4)

The basic outline of the Society's early development traced by Rowntree and Braithwaite, in particular the latter's idea of a heroic 'First Period' of Quakerism in the 1650's followed by a post-Lapsarian 'Second Period' commencing sometime after the Restoration, is still discernible in more recent accounts of the movement's early years, although a great deal more importance is now attached to the impact of persecution on the first generation of Friends. According to Richard Vann the transformation of Quakerism after 1660 from "movement" to sect, which was almost complete by 1670, was largely the consequence of persecution.(5) Its effects compelled the Quakers to organise and organisation stimulated conservatism. The establishment of business meetings led to the secession of those Friends who objected to Fox's notions of organisation, and encouraged the more 'businesslike', bourgeois Friends to assume control of the Society.(6) Since persecution, in Vann's words, 'put an exorbitant premium on Friends'innocence', the leaders of

3) Braithwaite, op.cit., p.324

4) ibid. pp.259,498

5) R.T.Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969), pp.91,200

6) ibid. pp.102-5

the Society were forced to discipline everyone who compromised the moral purity of Friends' testimonies. Thus persecution also conspired 'to rivet the idea of group respectability into the structure of Quaker discipline'.(7) The Quakers during the Interregnum have been of primary concern to Christopher Hill and Barry Reay and they have added little to Vann's interpretation of the Society's post-Restoration development, except perhaps in emphasising the importance of the Restoration itself in altering Friends' religious and political priorities.

The durability of the Rowntree/Braithwaite thesis has given rise to what one historian, Nicholas Morgan, has termed a 'traditional' view of seventeenth century Quakerism which he summarises as follows;

One of the effects of persecution...was the development of what was essentially a defensive, and not offensive organisation. This organisation led to an increasing uniformity and respectability among Friends, enhanced by a discipline which gradually began to govern all aspects of Friends' lives. In the years immediately before and after the Toleration Act of 1689 persecution ceased and Friends sank into a torpor of spiritual indifference and missionary inactivity. This condition was sustained by a discipline which led Friends to become obsessive about their own outward appearance and behaviour whilst ignoring the spiritual condition of either themselves or the world which their forbears had sought to overcome.(8)

Dr.Morgan is willing to accept that the development of Quakerism in London, Bristol and Colchester may well have followed such a course but denies that this was the case in Lancashire, his particular area of research, or in meetings outside the immediate orbit of the growing metropolitan centres of Southern England. In fact he rejects entirely the 'traditional' doctrine that the nature of provincial, non-urban Quakerism

7) *ibid.* pp.140-1,201

8) N.J.Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment, 1600-1730, with specific reference to the North-West of England', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1985), pp.483-4

underwent any dramatic change or decline during the seventeenth century. This is largely because he finds no evidence to sustain the view that the majority of early Quakers wished to overturn the world or that their religious radicalism articulated an all-embracing hostility to the social and political order. Friends in Lancashire, he argues, were concerned to overcome rather than overturn the world and the Restoration did not significantly alter their priorities or dampen their missionary zeal. Similarly, the discipline adopted by Lancashire Friends was neither innovatory nor inward-looking, but firmly based upon the earliest Quaker practices and was designed to preserve the purity of Friends' witness against the effects of growing worldliness in the Society and also to boost their missionary activities. The Quakers' 'plainness', which Margeret Fell disparaged as "imaginary practices", was also in Dr.Morgan's view 'one of the most forceful messages of the earliest Quakers'.(9) The concern with reputation which Lancashire Friends showed was, it seems, very different from the desire for respectability which Vann identified;

whilst ^srepectability meant meeting the world on its terms reputation meant meeting the world on Quaker terms...It was in maintaining reputation that discipline ceased to be a defensive device employed by Friends, and became instead a primary tool in their missionary kit...[the disciplinary measures represent] a clear restatement of the original and fundamental outward manifestations of the movings of the Inner Light. The discipline did not mark an inward turning in the attitudes of Friends but rather an outward turning, a bold missionary statement to the world.(10)

The bulk of the Society's membership during the seventeenth century remained, in Dr.Morgan's opinion, true to the fundamentalism of the earliest Quakers. It was the Quakers of London, Bristol and other

9) *ibid.* pp.352-3,357,484,492,500

10) *ibid.* pp.511-12

metropolitan centres who apostatised; their testimony being corrupted by a worldliness born of commercial prosperity and, in the case of the 'weighty' Friends in London, by a desire to seek an accomodation with the establishment and co-operate with their political allies in Parliament and at court. The differences in outlook between the worldly, 'urbane' Quakers of the metropolitan South, and the fundamentalists of the South-West, the North and Ireland were brought sharply into focus by the Affirmation controversy of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.(11)

The controversy was sparked off when the 'politicised mandarins' (Morgan's phrase) of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, the official mouthpiece of the Society, began to explore ways of getting round the obstacle which oaths presented to Friends, the result being the Affirmation Act of 1696. Lancashire Friends, predictably, reacted against what they saw as a compromising offer of relief from the authorities and the majority of Yorkshire Quakers appear to have done likewise.(12) Friends of York Monthly Meeting on the other hand were apparently in favour of the Act and happy to see it renewed in 1702; 'This Meeting being Given to Understand that the Act for friends Solemn affirmation is past by the Parliament for Eleaven years which this meeting are very well satisfied with'.(13) In 1714, at the height of the controversy, the meeting took a more conciliatory line, desiring that if an Affirmation agreeable to all Friends could not be had then it should be left entirely to

11) for the Affirmation controversy see Braithwaite, Second Period, pp.182-204; Lloyd, Quaker Social History, pp.140-3; Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', pp.247-309

12) *ibid.* pp.308-9; Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting Minute Book, vol.3, ff.22a-23

13) York Men's Monthly Meeting Minute Book, vol.2, f.184

Parliament whether to renew the Act or let it drop, 'without any Soliciteing by Friends either for it, or against it'.(14) Friends in York itself appear to have supported the Act but valued unity more; 'Tho' Severall Friends are very well satisfied with the present Affermation yet for Unity's sake and in Consideration to those who are dissatisfied with it This Meeting thinks it most proper it shall not be solicited for But left to...the Parliament...'. A year or so later however, and independently of the Monthly Meeting they decided to write to the city's M.P.s for their help in renewing the Affirmation.(15)

York Friends' acceptance of the Affirmation places them firmly in the camp of the 'worldly' or metropolitan Quakers, which dovetails neatly with Morgan's thesis. York in the later seventeenth century was still one of the nation's largest cities, not to mention a burgeoning social centre, and it might well be supposed that in such an affluent and cosmopolitan environment Friends would be more likely to depart from the testimony of the earliest Quakers and seek some form of outward compromise with the world. It has often been assumed that first and second generation urban Quakers generally attained a higher standard of living than their rural co-religionists and that this together with the worldly influence of town life tended to blunt their spiritual sensibilities and lead them to value material possessions and their standing in the community above inner well-being.(16) This has certainly been argued in the case of Friends in

14) Y.M.M.M.B., vol.3, f.70; York Women's Preparative Meeting Minute Book, vol.1, f.10

15) York Men's Preparative Meeting Minute Book, vol.2, ff.224,251

16) Braithwaite, Second Period, pp.189,195,499; Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', pp.308-9

London and Bristol but does not altogether apply to Quakers in York. There is evidence, for example, that York Friends in the early eighteenth century were generally poorer or at least of lower social standing than they had been in the 1660's and 70's (see Tables 5-11). The idea that the Meeting's support for the Affirmation was a case of spiritual integrity vitiated by growing wealth and worldly success must therefore be approached with caution. Furthermore, there is nothing to indicate that the city's Quakers were substantially wealthier than those in the surrounding countryside or more given to displays of conspicuous consumption. The strong emphasis on 'plainness' and discipline which Dr.Morgan detects among Friends in Lancashire can also be seen in the York meeting. At a comparatively early date (1677), York Preparative meeting appointed several leading Friends to inquire into the 'conversation' of the newly convinced who 'may not be cleare in their Testimony for the Truth either in plaine Language or other Customes and fashions of the world that Truth cannot owne'.(17) At about the same time the meeting pronounced against the exchanging of gifts at funerals, over twenty years in advance of a similar ruling by the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, and urged Friends not to buy or sell 'needless things which gives occasion to the world to speake evill of Truth'. This resulted in some revealing testimonies; John Todd, one of the meeting's wealthiest Friends, declared his intention 'to give over his trade and cleare the Truth as it may be with him concerning those unnecessary things sould by him'. Thomas Waite, another wealthy Friend, proposed 'to quit himselfe of all such bookes as are Contrary to the Truth whereby Truths Adversaryes

17) Y.M.P.M.M.B., vol.1, f.26

Table 5. Social Composition of Male Quakers in York,
1651-1663

OCCUPATION/STATUS	HEARTH ¹	GIFTS ²	NO.	%
Gentlemen			1	3.7
Rentier*	-	£10		
Agricultural			0	0.0
Professional[A]			1	3.7
Ship's master	2	-		
Wholesale traders, wealthier retailers and producers[B]			9	33.3
Tanner (20)*	1	-		
Clothier (49)	4	£2 10s		
Stationer (49)	4	£10		
Grocer (53)*	6	£50		
Mercer (53)*	5	£13		
Mercer (56p)	-	-		
Grocer (62)*	3	£5		
Tanner	-	-		
Apprentice clothier	-	-		
Retail traders, craftsmen/ retailers[C]			8	29.6
Cordwainer (34p)	2	-		
Tapiter (43)	-	-		
Cordwainer (49p)	5	-		
Glover (50)	-	-		
Watchmaker (57p)	4	£2		
Cordwainer (70p)	2	10s		
Tailor	1	-		
Shoemaker	-	-		
Artisans[D]			3	11.1
Blacksmith (30)	4	-		
Wheelwright (58)	-	-		
Blacksmith (67p)				
Labourers[E]			2	7.4
Labourer (63)	2	-		
Labourer	1	2s 6d		
Unknown			3	11.1
?/c	-	£1		
?/w	-	8s		
?	-	-		
	Average number of hearths 3.1		TOTAL 27	

¹ 1665 Hearth Tax returns

² Largest Gift to Friends' subscription during lifetime

* = Designated 'gent.' or 'Mr.' in the Hearth Tax or Visitation records/Office-holder in the Corporation/Merchant Adventurer

(67p) = became free of the city in 1667, by patrimony

w = status equivalent to a wholesaler (assessment based on parentage, role in meeting, will, hearths, subscriptions etc)

c = craftsman, small retailer, artisan or labourer

Table 6. The Social Composition of Quakerism
in York, 1663-75

Gentlemen			1	2.0
Rentier*	4	£10		
Agricultural			0	0.0
Professional			3	6.0
Ship's master	3	-		
Architect	3	£4		
Schoolteacher/clerk	-	£4		
Wholesalers			13	26.0
Tanner (20)*	1	-		
Mercer (49)*	6	£15		
Clothier (49)	5	£2 10s		
Stationer (49)	5	£10		
Grocer (53)*	6	£50		
Mercer (53)*	8	£13		
Apothecary (55)*	7	£10		
Mercer (56p)	-	-		
Grocer (62)*	5	£5		
Tanner (63p)*	6	£1 10s		
Merchant tailor (67)*	4	£2		
Tanner	-	-		
Clothier	-	-		
Retailers/craftsmen			15	30.0
Cordwainer (34p)	2	-		
Tailor (44p)	2	-		
Glover (48p)*	4	£1 10s		
Cordwainer (49p)	4	-		
Watchmaker (57p)	4	£2		
Baker (60)*	5	£3		
Tailor (65)	2	10s		
Tailor (65)	-	2s		
Tailor (66)	-	-		
Tailor (67)	-	10s		
Cordwainer (70p)	2	10s		
Tailor (70p)	-	-		
Tailor (74)	3	10s		
Tobacco cutter (82)	-	10s		
Tailor	1	-		
Artisans			7	14.0
Blacksmith (30)	4	-		
Whitesmith (49)	-	£1 10s		
Wheelwright (58)	-	-		
Blacksmith (67p)	4	-		
Carpenter (59)	-	10s		
Engraver	-	15s		
Artisan dyer	-	-		
Labourers			3	6.0
labourer (63)	3	-		
labourer	1	2s 6d		
labourer	1	-		
Unknown			8	16.0
(2 of wholesaler status; the rest retailer- craftsmen/2 freemen)	3.7		50	

†
hearth tax figures from the 1671 returns
key as in Table 1)

Table 7. 1675-1685

Gentlemen		1	1.4
Rentier*	£10		
Agricultural		1	1.4
Yeoman	10s		
Professional		3	4.3
Schoolteacher/clerk	£4		
Architect	£4		
Ship's master	-		
Wholesalers		17	24.3
Mercer (49)*	£15		
Clothier (49)	£2 10s		
Stationer (49)	£10		
Grocer (53)*	£50		
Mercer (53)*	£13		
Apothecary (55)*	£10		
Grocer (62)*	£5		
Tanner (63)*	£1 10s		
Merchant tailor (67)*	£2		
Innholder (78)	£1		
Sugar merchant (81)*	£4		
Grocer (82)*	5s		
Grocer (83)*	-		
Merchant tailor (83)	10s		
Mercer (84)	5s		
Sergemaker (87)	£2		
Apprentice stationer	-		
Retailers/craftsmen		19	27.1
Cordwainer (34)	-		
Tailor (44)	-		
Glover (48)*	£1 10s		
Watchmaker (57)	£2		
Baker (60)*	£3		
Tailor (65)	10s		
Tailor (65)	2s		
Tailor (66)	-		
Tailor (67)	10s		
Tailor (70)	-		
Cordwainer (70)	10s		
Tailor (74)	10s		
Watchmaker (77)	10s		
Tailor (78)	8s		
Bookseller (80)*	£1		
Tailor (80)	6s		
Keelman (81)	12s 6d		
Glover (82)	6d		
Tobacco cutter (82)	10s		
Apprentice watchmaker	-		
Artisans		8	12.9
Whitesmith (49)	£1 10s		
Wheelwright (58)	-		
Carpenter (59)	10s		
Linnenweaver (76)	-		
Blacksmith (84)	10s		
Silkweaver (69)	-		
Engraver	15s		
Blacksmith	3s		
Linnenweaver	-		
Labourers/servants		4	5.7
Labourer (63)	-		
Labourer (82)	2s 6d		
Labourer	2s 6d		
Servant	1s 6d		
Unknown		15	21.4
(4 of wholesaler status/ 2 freemen)			
	TOTAL	70	

Table 8. 1685-1695

	GIFTS	1691 ¹		
Gentlemen	-		0	0.0 (0.0)
Agriculture			1	1.3 (0.0)
Yeoman[separatist]	10s			
Professional			0	0.0 (0.0)
Wholesalers			18	23.4 (19.0)
Mercer (49)*	£15	6s		
Stationer (49)	£10	£1 1s		
Grocer (53)*[sep]	£50	19s		
Mercer (53)*	£13	£1 10s		
Apothecary (55)*	£10	£1 15s		
Grocer (62)*[sep]	£5	10s		
Tanner (63)*	£1 10s	9s		
Merchant tailor (67)*[sep]	£2	18s		
Innholder (78)	£1	16s		
Sugar merchant (81)*	£4	£2 10s		
Grocer (82)*[sep]	5s	14s		
Grocer (83)*[sep]	-	8s		
Merchant tailor (83)	10s	3s		
Mercer (84)[sep]	5			
Sergemaker (87)	£2	4s		
Tanner (91)	£1			
Clothier	5s			
Fellmonger	-			
Retailers/craftsmen			21	27.3 (28.6)
Tailor (44)	-			
Glover (48)*[sep]	£1 10s			
Baker (60)*	£3	11s		
Tailor (65)	2s	8s		
Tailor (65)	10s	3s		
Tailor (67)	10s	3s		
Cordwainer (70)	10s			
Watchmaker (77)[sep]	10s	1s		
Tailor (78)	8s			
Bookseller (80)*	£1	8s		
Tailor (80)	6s			
Keelman (81)[sep]	12s 6d	7s		
Girdler (82)	-	6s		
Glover (82)	6d			
Watchmaker (86)	10s	8s		
Distiller (93)	10s			
Tailor (99)	5s			
Tobacco Cutter (06)	5s			
Tailor	-			
Apprentice tailor	-			
Apprentice tailor	-			
Artisans			14	18.2 (20.6)
Whitesmith (81)	12s			
Blacksmith (84)	10s	4s		
Whitesmith (87)	6s 6d			
Whitesmith (92)	12s			
Engraver[sep]	15s	2s 6d		
Sergeweaver	5s	1s		
Sergeweaver	-			
Sergeweaver	-			
Flax dresser	-	5s		
Slaywright	2s 6d			
Blacksmith	3s	1s		
Linnenweaver	-			
Apprentice blacksmith	-			
Apprentice sergeweaver	-			
Labourers			3	3.9 (4.8)
Labourer (82)	2s 6d			
Marriner (91)	6s			
Labourer (93)	5s			
Unknown			20	26.0 (27.0)
(6 of wholesaler status/ 1 freeman; 3 separatists)				
		TOTAL	77 (63)	

¹ 1691 subsidy rating on personal and real estate
Figures in brackets refer to the percentages excluding separatists

Table 9. 1695-1705

Gentlemen		0	0.0 (0.0)
Agriculture		0	0.0 (0.0)
Professional		0	0.0 (0.0)
Wholesalers		17	23.0 (19.4)
Stationer (49)	£10		
Mercer (53)*	£13		
Grocer (62)[sep]	£5		
Tanner (63)*	£1 10s		
Merchant tailor (67)*[sep]	£2		
Innholder (78)	£1		
Sugar merchant (81)*	£4		
Grocer (82)*[sep]	5s		
Merchant tailor (83)	10s		
Grocer (83)*[sep]	-		
Sergemaker (87)	£2		
Tanner (91)	£1		
Mercer (95)	1s 6d		
Tanner (03)*	£3 3s		
Sergemaker/mercier (07)	10s		
Sergemaker (08)*	8s 6d		
Fellmonger	-		
Retailers/craftsmen		20	27.0 (26.9)
Baker (60)*	£3		
Tailor (65)	10s		
Tailor (67)	10s		
Watchmaker (77)[sep]	10s		
Tailor (78)	8s		
Bookseller (80)*	£1		
Tailor (80)	6s		
Keelman (81)[sep]	12s 6d		
Watchmaker (86)	10s		
Distiller (93)	10s		
Tailor (98)	6d		
Tailor (98)	-		
Tailor (99)	5s		
Tobacco cutter (06)	5s		
Tailor (08)	5s		
Bookseller (09)*	10s		
Distiller	2s 6d		
Apprentice glover (14)	3d		
Apprentice cordwainer (16)	5s		
Apprentice tailor	-		
Artisans		16	21.6 (23.9)
Whitesmith (81)	12s		
Blacksmith (84)	10s		
Whitesmith (87)	6s 6d		
Whitesmith (92)	12s		
Whitesmith (00)	1s 6d		
Slaywright (00)	2s 6d		
Carpenter (01)	-		
Pewterer (02)	-		
Blacksmith (07)	1d		
Blacksmith (14)*	10s		
Sergeweaver	5s		
Sergeweaver	2s		
Sergeweaver	-		
Linnenweaver	-		
Whitesmith	-		
Apprentice sergeweaver	-		
Labourers		4	5.4 (6.0)
Labourer (82)	2s 6d		
Labourer (93)	5s		
Sledman (99)	2s 6d		
Marriner	-		
Unknown		17	23.0 (23.9)
(4 of wholesaler status/ 1 freeman; 1 separatist)			
TOTAL		74 (67)	

Table 10. 1705-1710

Gentlemen	-	0	0.0 (0.0)
Agriculture		0	0.0 (0.0)
Professional		1	1.6 (1.7)
Scrivener (14)*	10s		
Wholesalers		14	21.9 (20.0)
Grocer (62)*[sep]	£5		
Tanner (63)*	£1 10s		
Merchant tailor (67)*[sep]	£2		
Innholder (78)	£1		
Sugar merchant (81)*	£4		
Sergemaker (87)	£2		
Tanner (91)	£1		
Mercer (95)	1s 6d		
Tanner (03)*	£3 3s		
Sergemaker/mercier (07)	10s		
Sergemaker (08)*	8s 6d		
Tanner (14)	10s		
Tanner (14)	4s		
Fellmonger	-		
Retailers/craftsmen		17	26.6 (26.7)
Tailor (67)	10s		
Watchmaker (77)[sep]	10s		
Tailor (78)	8s		
Bookseller (80)*	£1		
Tailor (80)	6s		
Distiller (93)	10s		
Tailor (98)	-		
Tailor (99)	5s		
Keelman (02)	2s 6d		
Tailor (08)	5s		
Bookseller (09)*	10s		
Apprentice glover (14)	3d		
Cordwainer (16)	5s		
Apprentice clockmaker (33)	2d		
Cordwainer	6d		
Watchmaker*	10s		
Distiller	4d		
Artisans		19	29.7 (31.7)
Whitesmith (81)	12s		
Whitesmith (87)	6s 6d		
Whitesmith (92)	12s		
Whitesmith (00)	1s 6d		
Pewterer (02)	-		
Linnenweaver (06)	-		
Weaver (14)	2d		
Blacksmith (14)*	10s		
Weaver (14)	-		
Flax dresser (17)*	10s 6d		
Sergeweaver	5s		
Sergeweaver	2s		
Sergeweaver	6d		
Sergeweaver	-		
Sergeweaver	-		
Whitesmith	-		
Pewterer	-		
Wool comber	-		
Freemason	-		
Labourers		4	6.3 (6.7)
Labourer (93)	5s		
Sledman (99)	2s 6d		
Marriner (10)	-		
Marriner	-		
Unknown		9	14.1 (13.3)
(1 of wholesaler status/ 1 freeman; 1 separatist)			
		TOTAL	64 (60)

Table 11. Social Composition of Quakerism in York 1650-1715

	1650- 63	1663- 75	1675- 85	1685- 95	1695- 05	1705- 15
Gentlemen	3.7	2.0	1.4	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Agricultural	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.3 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Professional	3.7	6.0	4.3	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	1.6 (1.7)
Wholesalers	33.3	26.0	24.3	23.4 (19.0)	23.0 (19.4)	21.9 (20.0)
Retailers	29.6	30.0	27.1	27.3 (28.6)	27.0 (26.9)	26.6 (26.7)
Artisans	11.1	14.0	12.9	18.2 (20.6)	21.6 (23.9)	29.7 (31.7)
Labourers	7.4	6.0	5.7	3.9 (4.8)	5.4 (6.0)	6.3 (6.7)
Unknown	11.1	16.0	21.4	26.0 (27.0)	23.0 (23.9)	14.1 (13.3)

The percentages in brackets refer to the social composition of the meeting excluding the separatists.

may have occasion to open their mouths against it justly'.(18) York Friends were prepared to put Truth before prosperity and their concern with 'reputation' is clearly visible throughout the period, although the link which Morgan sees between Lancashire Friends' desire to keep worldly decline at bay through discipline and the fulfillment of their 'missionary purpose against the world' is harder to establish where Friends in York are concerned.

As a footnote to any discussion on the Affirmation controversy it should be emphasised that the problem of oaths was generally of much more pressing concern to urban Friends than those living in the countryside. Although seventeenth^{century} English towns were highly independent political worlds, the legal and jurisdictional privileges by which they were largely defined offered no real barrier to wider social and economic change.(19) Oaths were a vital means of emphasising and enforcing corporate unity, of binding together the urban body politic and creating a sense of communal identity. Thus the lives of Friends living in towns were invariably hedged about with oaths. The entire livelihood of urban Friends could depend in some cases upon their success in overcoming the obstacle which oaths presented. In Bristol and Norwich where the civic authorities were often dominated by 'loyal' Anglicans, Friends were sometimes given no option but to take the freeman's oath or face impoverishment. Some Friends in Bristol were 'under such straits' that

18) *ibid.* f.28

19) F.J.Fisher (ed.), Sir Thomas Wilson, The State of England, A.D. 1600, Camden Miscellany, Camden Society, Third Series, LVI, (1936), pp.20-1; D.H.Sacks, 'The Corporate Town and the English State: Bristol's "Little Businesses" 1625-1641', P.& P., CX (1986), pp.76-7

they agreed to swear.(20) In towns where the good will of the authorities towards Friends could not be relied on, the Affirmation Act was more than merely a luxury item for successful members of the Quaker community, as some historians have claimed.(21)

Despite their support for the Affirmation Act and their strong links with the London leadership, Friends in York were by no means indifferent or lax when it came to maintaining gospel order. Indeed, so draconian and legalistic did some Quakers regard the ruling of the Monthly Meeting in 1680 against Friends contracting 'forward and hasty' second marriages that it became the immediate cause of a schism in the city's Quaker community. The separatists accused Friends in the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of introducing 'Rules, Formalities, and Observations, outward...that do not answer the Testimony of the Spirit'. The orthodox Quakers claimed that their ruling was simply a re-assertion of the principles of the earliest Christian churches and 'compliant with our former Practices'.(22) The issues over which the parties fell out are fairly easy to discover from the mass of propaganda material which the separation generated and were well-rehearsed in the Wilkinson-Story schism of the 1670's.(23) The difficulty lies in determining the true

20) Mortimer, 'Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol', pp.340-2; Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p.81; Evans, Norwich, p.315; see also Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, pp.258-9

21) Braithwaite, Second Period, p.189

22) York Monthly Meeting, letters and papers respecting the Separatist, 1683-1708, Truth Exalted And the Peaceable Fellowship and Exercise Thereof Vindicated Against the Abusive Clamours of a Dividing False Spirit (York, 1685)

ω 23) for a concise summary of the principal issues surrounding the Wilkinson-Story Schism see Vann, Social Development, pp.102-5

motives of the protagonists, particularly those who supported the marriage ordinance. Was this indeed a case of Friends introducing a needless formality as the separatists claimed or was the ruling intended first and foremost to strengthen Friends' witness among the uncovered? Although various constructions can be put on the evidence, there is very little sign in either camp of the fundamentalist, missionary zeal which Dr. Morgan associates with the disciplinary drive of Friends in Lancashire. In seeking to strengthen gospel order the city's leading Quakers were to a large extent it seems reacting to the world rather than against it as were Friends West of the Pennines. This difference, which is an important one, may well reflect the contrasting experience of Friends in the Puritan milieu of a large urban community and those in a rural district strong in Catholics.

Friends in York, although strongly influenced by the urban environment, were not the practitioners of a uniformly urbane and materialistic Quakerism. If York Friends were less concerned than their co-religionists in Lancashire to maintain the lines of conflict between themselves and the world, as their acceptance of the Affirmation would seem to suggest, then the explanation probably has less to do with Friends' wealth and more with the social, economic, and above all religious particularities of urban society. What follows is not intended primarily as an account of the internal history of the York Quaker community, that is to say its organisation, church practices, discipline and so forth; this type of analysis has already been undertaken with regard to the Quaker meetings in Bristol, Lancaster and Leeds, among

others, and need not be repeated here.(24) Its main purpose is to uncover the relationship between Friends and the wider community, particularly the municipal establishment (the corporation, guilds, business community, parish vestries etc.), and the ways in which civic society left its imprint upon the character and development of Quakerism in the city.

No account of seventeenth century Quakerism can now afford to overlook the impact of the Restoration upon the movement's early history. The picture of Friends which emerges from recent work on the early movement is one of revolutionary fanatics possessed of a mission to overturn the established order in all things. Apostolic fervour and political radicalism it seems were the keynotes of the first decade of Quakerism when the movement was 'poised on the brink of a genuine radical egalitarianism'. The Restoration was to change all this; '1660 is the crucial year in Quaker history'.(25) By the mid-1660's persecution had already left its mark on the movement and Friends were beginning to withdraw from the world. The Quakers' political aims became more moderate and narrowed in scope, and a Puritan-like emphasis on sin and a modest deportment replaced the perfectionist claims and ecstatic behaviour of

24) R.S.Mortimer (ed.), Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1667-1686, B.R.S.P., XXVI (1971); Mortimer (ed.), Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1686-1704, B.R.S.P., XXX (1977); Mortimer, Early Bristol Quakerism: The Society of Friends in the City 1654-1700, Historical Association, Bristol Branch, (1967), pp.14-21; M.A.Mullett (ed.), Early Lancaster Friends, Lancaster Centre for North-West Regional Studies, Occasional Papers, V (Lancaster, 1978); J.& R.Mortimer, Leeds Friends' Minute Book, 1692 to 1712, Y.A.S.R.S., CXXXIX (1980)

25) Reay, The Quakers, pp.104,110

the earlier years.(26) Thus the Society of Friends during the Restoration period is seen as offering a sharp contrast to the aggressive and politically-oriented movement of the 1650's.

The work of historians such as Christopher Hill and Barry Reay make it hard to doubt that the Restoration was responsible for transforming what might be called the public face of Quakerism. It curbed the more extrovert proselytising activities of the evangelists and removed from public life the highly vocal, politicised core of the movement - the early Quaker apologists and missionary leaders such as Edward Burroughs, George Fox the younger, Richard Hubberthorne and George Bishop. But the impact which the Restoration had upon the rank and file Quakers, the anonymous members of local meetings, has not been followed up in any great depth. Dr. Morgan undoubtedly has a point when he says that the views and opinions of the less public Friends have generally gone by default, 'the assumption being that the unknown majority shared the views of the known minority'.(27) It is worth remembering that Friends were brought together not by similarities in political outlook but by a shared religious experience. The political radicalism of some of the more prominent Friends during the Interregnum may have been merely an accessory to the early Quaker witness rather than an integral part of it; and it is conceivable

26) *ibid.* chapter 6; B.Reay, 'The Authorities and Early Restoration Quakerism', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXXIV, (1983), pp.69-84; C.Hill, The Experience of Defeat, (1984), pp.164-6,291-2; R.Bauman, Let Your Words Be Few: Symbolism of speaking and silence among seventeenth-century Quakers, (Cambridge, 1983), chapter 9

27) Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', p.lxviii; for changes in the 'public face' of post-Restoration Quakerism see also Thomas O'Malley, 'Defying the Powers and Tempering the Spirit'. A Review of Quaker Control over their Publications, 1672-1689', J.E.H., XXXIII (1982), pp.72-88

therefore that the changes which occurred in the movement's public face in the early 1660's were more superficial in nature than some present-day interpretations would allow.

The importance of the Restoration in the history of Quakerism in York is difficult to assess. The Royalist reaction which commenced after the fall of the Rump certainly brought about a change in the pattern of persecution. Before 1659 individual Quakers, usually itinerant evangelists, were attacked or imprisoned but the city's indigenous Quaker population was left largely undisturbed. Between 1659 and 1662 however, Friends' meetings in the city were violently broken up on several occasions and most of the city's male Quakers were imprisoned at least once, although in few cases for longer than a couple of months (imprisonment was a good deal less traumatic for Friends in York than for those living elsewhere in the county who were usually transported to York Castle and thus beyond the help of their families and friends). Nevertheless, despite suffering occasionally severe bouts of persecution, usually at the hands of the military, Friends' numbers increased and they remained defiant throughout the early Restoration period. During the enforcement of the Second Conventicle Act they continued to meet openly despite the activities of the informers and the harrassment of the military; 'I sent some to take their names and would have had them disperse which they refused very angrily questioninge the Authority of the soldiers' wrote an indignant garrison officer in 1670.(28)

During the early 1660's (as in the mid-1680's) the York Quakers were

28) Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Record of the Sufferings of Friends, vol.1, part 2, ff.20-22; N.Penney (ed.), Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, 1654-72, (1913), p.317

living very much in the eye of the storm. York Castle was filled to overflowing with Quakers from all over the county by 1661 but Friends in the city itself largely escaped the Royalists' malice. With one or two exceptions, the aldermen J.P.s were far less hostile towards the Quakers than their rural gentry counterparts and were more resentful of outside intervention in civic affairs than the small Quaker presence in the city. The replacement of five Puritan aldermen in September 1662 with men of supposedly more 'loyal' persuasion had no effect on the bench's lenient policy towards Friends. In October 1662 twenty-four Quakers, seventeen of them York Friends, whom the military had forced the magistrates to indict for conventicling were tried at the Sessions and all were entirely exonerated. The Quakers for their part promised to keep the peace.(29) The moderation shown by the magistrates and the citizen jurymen does not imply a prior history among Quakers in York of political or religious militancy. None of the Friends indicted in 1662 had been arrested during the 1650's for disturbing ministers or similar offences in the Lamb's War.

It is with regard to Quaker proselytisation that the Restoration appears to have had its most pronounced effect upon Quakerism in York. Almost from the movement's beginning, Quaker ministers had two spheres of operation; out in the world among the unconverted, and within the community of those already convinced.(30) Several of the early evangelists who visited York in the 1650's, notably George Fox, Thomas Aldam and William Dewsbury, appear to have been active in both spheres and their work among the world's people was complemented by numerous less

29) Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book, F/8, ff.4-5

30) Bauman, Let Your Words Be Few, pp.32-42

distinguished Friends who felt impelled to make a public profession of their faith in the city's churches. Although most Friends who proclaimed the Quaker message in York were driven to do so primarily by a personal desire to be at peace with their conscience, their activities also had a missionary purpose, namely that of 'ploughing the ground and planting the seed'. Most Quaker missionary work in York appears to have occurred between 1653 and 1655. Thereafter the Naylor episode may have discouraged some Friends from extravagant enactments of the Lord's 'requirings', but it was the persecution of the early 1660's which significantly reduced the amount of time and energy Friends expended among the world's people.(31) After 1660 the 'public' Friends who visited York appear to have confined their activities largely to the city's Quaker community. York became an important staging post for itinerant Friends during the 1660's, indeed a large part of the Preparative Meeting's expenditure between 1669 and 1714 went towards covering their expenses, but there is no record of Quakers, in the ministry or otherwise, disrupting church services or working the crowds in the city's streets as in the 1650's.(see Table 12)

Very few early York Friends appear to have been actively engaged in the Lamb's War and it is conceivable that some of them, perhaps those of higher social standing, were not overly dismayed when the flow of "mechanic" Quaker preachers to the city dried up in the early 1660's. Whether the Restoration was attended by a major change of attitude among York Friends is uncertain. The concept of a Quaker 'withdrawal' after 1660 hardly applies in York since so few of the city's Quakers had been

31) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 4, ff.5-16; see chapter 1

Table 12. Sufferings of Friends in York, 1650-1710

	1650- 59	1660- 69	1670- 79	1680- 89	1690- 99	1700- 10
Jailed/fined/goods distrained for tithes, church rates	1	2	2	1	4	4
Occasions upon which meetings were disturbed	2	9	2	1	-	-
Jailed for attending meeting	-	18(7)	1	9(2)	-	-
Had goods seized for attending meeting	-	-	25	-	-	-
Jailed/fined/indicted for absence from church	-	2	1	2	-	-
Jailed for refusal to take oaths	-	9(5)	-	-	-	-
Occasions upon which Friends jailed for disturbing ministers	5(8)	1	-	-	-	-
Jailed/assaulted for preaching in the streets	4	-	-	-	-	-
Jailed/fined for defying civil authorities, for refusal to give hat honour, for 'illegal' marriages etc	5(1)	1	-	-	-	-
Imprisoned, offence unspecified	-	3	-	3	-	-

figures in brackets refer to Friends from outside York, or incidents involving Friends from outside York

data compiled from Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Record of the Sufferings of Friends, vols. 1 & 2; F.H.L., Great Book of Sufferings, vols. 2 & 4; F.H.L., Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, vols. 1-26; F.H.L., MSS collections (A.R.Barclay, Caton, Howard, Swarthmore); Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Books, F/7,F/8; P.R.O., Assi 45, 14/passim; B.I.H.R., Archiepiscopal and Archidiaconal Visitation Court Books, 1663-85; B.I.H.R., Consistory and Dean and Chapter cause papers; Besse, Sufferings, passim; Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, 1654-72, ed. N.Penney (1913), p.316-7

prominent in the public sphere in the first place. Given the fairly diverse social origins of the first Quakers and the probability that some Friends were not as politically aware as others it is unlikely that the Restoration would have had as immediate or profound an impact for them, at least as Quakers, as it did for the politically involved Quaker leadership. On balance, a stronger case could be made for 1668 as the 'crucial' year in the history of Quakerism in York rather than 1660 for it was in that year the York Men's Preparative Meeting and Monthly Meeting, the first meetings for 'business' in the city, were established.

The composition and criteria for membership of the business meetings have been the subject of some debate among Quaker historians. Perhaps the most searching analysis of the meetings for church government (as Friends called them) has been made by Richard Vann, who came to the conclusion that although there were practically no prescribed criteria for membership of the business meetings, the more 'businesslike', and therefore usually the more wealthy Friends, tended to dominate the proceedings. The poorer Friends, it seems, often either lacked the necessary leisure time and managerial skills or were simply too diffident to attend. Assuming that the wealthier Friends were generally more enamoured of the essentially 'bourgeois' values of the Protestant ethic - prudence, diligence, sobriety and so on - than their poorer co-religionists, Vann suggested that the business meetings became, in both senses of the word, more 'bourgeois' than the membership as a whole. And therefore as the powers of the meetings for church affairs became more extensive so it becomes possible to speak of the "bourgeoisification"

of the Society of Friends.(32) Persecution may have fuelled the drive towards organisation and discipline but it was the 'active Members in the Church' who were responsible for deciding the standards against which Friends' conduct was to be judged.

Obviously, Vann's conclusions can only be tested where there is precise evidence as to the composition of the business meetings. The historian of Quakerism in York is fortunate in this respect in that Friends attending the Men's Preparative and Monthly Meetings were accustomed to signing their names at the end of each session - a practice which ceased in the Monthly Meeting after 1683 but continued over the entire period in the Preparative Meeting. If occupation can be taken as a reliable guide to wealth and status then the findings for York do appear to bear out Vann's contention that Friends' business was dominated by the more well-to-do Quakers (see Tables 13-17). This is not to say however, that all wealthy York Friends participated in church government. Several Friends of high social standing either attended business meetings infrequently or in a few cases not at all. There were no formal qualifications for membership of the Preparative Meeting, the minutes merely state that church affairs were the proper concern of all Friends 'who are in the sence of God's love'.(33) Far from wishing to restrict involvment in the meeting's business its leading members were constantly seeking to encourage a higher level of participation. At regular intervals between the mid-1670's and the turn of the century the

32) Vann, Social Development, pp.101-121; R.H.Evans, 'The Quakers of Leicestershire 1660-1714', Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, XXVIII (1952), p.73

33) Y.M.P.M.M.B., vol.1, f.15

Table 13. Friends attending Monthly Meeting, 1670-83

name	number attended	occupation/ status		
Thomas Waite	78	stationer	EQ	
John Hall	66	clerk/school teacher	?	SEP
John Taylor	61	sugar refiner/merchant	EQ	
Thomas Bulmer	57	gentleman	EQ	
John Cox	55	?[w]	EQ	SEP
Walter Merry	52	?[ex-cornet of horse]	EQ	
Edward Nightingale	45	grocer	EQ	SEP
Thomas Dennison	39	merchant tailor		SEP
George Wainwright	38	tailor[M.H.caretaker]		
Wilfred Chase	25	yeoman	?	
John Todd	16	mercier	EQ	
Robert Stones	15	keelman		SEP
John Kay	14	?[r]	EQ	
Phineas Briggs	9	engraver		SEP
Peter Dennison	6	tailor		
Thomas Hammond	6	bookseller		
William White	5	sergemaker	?	
Mark Hodgson	4	watchmaker		SEP
Edward Evans	4	yeoman	?	SEP
Thomas Garthwaite	4	clothier	EQ	
Thomas Mann	3	architect		
Cornelius Horsley	3	watchmaker	EQ	
Joseph Denton	2	innholder		
John Winnard	2	grocer		SEP
Henry Allenson	1	mercier		
Thomas Harrison	1	yeoman		
John West	1	linnenweaver		
John Cressick	1	tailor		
William Squire	1	linnenweaver	?	
George Newsome	1	tailor		
William Hudson	1	tanner		
Henry Wilkinson	1	apothecary		
Mauger Bradley	1	?[impoverished]		

TOTAL 33 133 meetings held where signatures appended

[r] retail trader/craftsman/artisan
[w] wholesaler/yeoman/professional man
EQ early Quaker - convinced pre 1660
SEP separatist
M.H. Meeting house
* visiting Friend

Table 14. Friends attending Preparative Meeting, 1670-79

John Taylor	31	sugar-refiner/merchant	tr/c	EQ	
Thomas Waite	30	stationer	tr/c	EQ	
John Cox	29	?[w]	c	EQ	SEP
George Wainwright	26	tailor[M.H.caretaker]			
Thomas Bulmer	25	gentleman	tr/c	EQ	
Thomas Dennison	24	merchant tailor	c		SEP
Walter Merry	23	?[ex-cornet of horse]	c	EQ	
John Todd	22	mercator	tr/c	EQ	
Edward Nightingale	19	grocer	c	EQ	SEP
Robert Jeeb	16	baker	c		
Phineas Briggs	15	engraver			SEP
John Hall	15	clerk/school teacher	c	?	SEP
John Kay	12	?[r]		EQ	
Robert Hillery	12	tailor			
George Newsome	12	tailor			
John Bell	12	tailor			
Cornelius Horsley	10	watchmaker	c	EQ	
Mauger Bradley	9	?[impoverished]			
Henry Wilkinson	8	apothecary	tr/c		
Thomas Mann	7	architect	c		
Edward Coulton	5	shoemaker		EQ	
Thomas Garthwaite	5	clothier		EQ	
William Hudson	4	tanner			
William White	3	sergemaker	c	?	
William Squire	3	linnen weaver		?	
Robert Hudson	2	whitesmith			
George Jackson	2	carpenter			
Peter Dennison	1	tailor	c		
Christopher Gilburne	1	?[impoverished]		EQ	
Bartholomew Greer	1	?[r]			
Mark Hodgson	1	watchmaker			SEP
Richard Smith	1	tanner			
Robert Stones	1	keelman			SEP
John West	1	linnenweaver			
Thomas Breatherick*	1	clothier			
Robert Broome*	1	?			

TOTAL 36 42 meetings held where signatures appended

c appointed to collect Friends' subscriptions
 bg trustee of the burial ground
 pf appointed to accompany Friends in the ministry
 tr trustee of the Meeting house

Table 15. Friends attending Preparative Meeting, 1680-89

John Taylor	29	sugar refiner/merchant	tr/c	EQ	
Thomas Waite	19	stationer	tr/c	EQ	
Walter Merry	17	?[ex-cornet of horse]	c	EQ	
George Wainwright	17	tailor[M.H.caretaker]			
John Todd	17	mercier	tr/c	EQ	
William White	16	sergemaker	c	?	
Thomas Hammond	12	bookseller	c		
Joseph Denton	10	innholder	c		
Thomas Dennison	9	merchant tailor			SEP
Edward Nightingale	8	grocer		EQ	SEP
John Cresswick	8	tailor	c		
Robert Jeeb	7	baker	c		
Thomas Waller	7	labourer[M.H.caretaker]			
Robert Stones	5	keelman			SEP
Thomas Bulmer	5	gentleman	tr	EQ	
Timothy Lund	4	tailor	c		
Thomas Wilson	4	?[r]	c		
George Newsome	3	tailor			
John Cox	3	?[w]		EQ	SEP
Phineas Briggs	2	engraver			SEP
William Hudson	2	tanner			
Robert Hillery	2	tailor	c		
John Burnett	2	merchant tailor			
James Marshall	1	baker			
William Harrison	1	blacksmith			
Henry Wilkinson	1	apothecary	tr		
Peter Dennison	1	tailor			

TOTAL 27

30 meetings held where signatures appended

Table 16. Friends attending Preparative Meeting, 1690-99

Thomas Hammond	68	bookseller[clerk of the meeting]	tr/c/bg
John Taylor	55	sugar refiner/merchant	tr/bg
William White	54	sergemaker	tr/c/bg
Robert Jeeb	48	baker	tr/c/bg
William Tuke	45	blacksmith	c
Robert Hillery	44	tailor	c
John Cresswick	42	tailor	c/bg
Matthew Hargreaves	39	distiller	c
Thomas Waller	39	labourer[M.H.caretaker]	
John Todd	36	mercier	tr/bg
Nehemiah Morley	28	tanner	c
Walter Merry	28	?[ex-cornet of horse]	
John Burnett	23	merchant tailor	
Timothy Lund	21	tailor	c
George Stabler	21	yeoman	tr/c
Thomas Waite	19	stationer	bg
James Davison	14	slaywright	
John Smith	13	?[r]	
William Hudson	13	tanner	tr/c/bg
Michael Lazenby	13	yeoman	
Joseph Denton	10	innholder	
John Lazenby	7	yeoman	
Thomas Etherington	6	watchmaker	c
Joseph Todd	6	whitesmith	
Thomas Harrison	6	mercier	
Edward Walker	3	labourer	
George Shaw	3	?	
Robert Webster	3	whitesmith	
Benjamin Foster	2	?[w]	
Jacob Marshall	2	girdler	
Thomas Ewbank	1	tailor	
John Todd	1	whitesmith	
William Belshaw	1	sergeweaver	
Richard Smith	1	?	
TOTAL	34	68 meetings held where signatures appended	

Table 17. Friends attending Preparative Meeting, 1700-09

Thomas Hammond	102	bookseller[clerk of the meeting]	tr/pf
William White	94	sergemaker	tr/pf
Matthew Hargreaves	71	distiller	pf
John Cresswick	70	tailor	pf
Timothy Lund	69	tailor	
John Taylor	67	sugar refiner/merchant	tr
Nehemiah Morley	58	tanner	pf
George Stabler	49	yeoman	tr/pf
Timothy Hudson	44	tanner	
William Tuke	44	blacksmith	pf
John Lazenby	41	yeoman	pf
William White jun	30	serge weaver	
Matthias Adcocke	29	?[M.H.caretaker]	
Marmaduke Boone	28	whitesmith	
Robert Jeeb	24	baker	tr/pf
Thomas Etherington jun	24	watchmaker	
Thomas Etherington	21	watchmaker	pf
John Todd	18	whitesmith	pf
Thomas Ewbank	18	tailor	pf
James Davison	18	slaywright	
William Hudson	17	tanner	tr/pf
Robert Hillery	15	tailor	pf
Benjamin Holmes	11	wool-comber	
Joseph Todd	9	whitesmith	
George Gill	7	?	
Thomas Waller	7	labourer	
Benjamin Rhodes	6	sergemaker	
Robert Taylor	6	yeoman	
John Stones	5	keelman	
Joseph Phipps	5	shoemaker	
Joseph Denton	5	innholder	
Edward Walker	5	labourer	
Matthew Hawkins	4	labourer	
Isaac Peart	4	distiller	
Joseph Seaton	3	sergeweaver	
Benjamin Foster	3	?[w]	pf
Abraham Foggitt	2	?[impoverished]	
Peter Campion[→]	2	farmer	
John Stabler	2	?[w]	pf
James Conyers	2	weaver	
John Pacy	2	blacksmith	
Thomas Hargreaves	1	?	
Nicholas Firbank	1	fellmonger	
Robert Webster	1	whitesmith	
John Todd sen	1	mercier	tr/pf
John Preston	0	yeoman	pf
TOTAL	45	112 meetings held where signatures appended	

minutes complain of 'a great Remisnesse in coming together' and enjoin Friends to be more diligent about Truth's service.(34) Thus in 1683 the six Friends at the meeting urged their colleagues to attend 'more Generally...So that with one consent wee may Answer that duty and service which lies on you and us'.(35) The problem was still present in 1697 when slack attendance was apparently hampering the 'care and Dilligent Management of Truth's Affaires'.(36) Despite the meeting's open door policy it succeeded in encouraging very few of the poorer Friends (artisans, small retailers) to a regular attendance, except, that is, the resident Meeting House caretaker. By default therefore, control of the meeting's financial affairs and disciplinary machinery was concentrated in the hands of a small group of comparatively affluent Friends.

While the Preparative Meeting appears to have been a fairly open affair, the Monthly Meeting, the real seat of executive power at local level, has a definite masonic look to it. By the late 1690's certainly, and probably before, Friends were nominated to attend the Monthly Meeting, and although there was nothing to stop anyone who felt moved to join them from doing so, the mere fact that attendance was 'by authority' appears to have effectively restricted attendance to the accredited delegates. After 1683 and the separatist controversy Friends in the Monthly Meeting may well have implemented in their respective Preparative Meetings the advice they had been given by the Quarterly Meeting 'to send up such friends to the...Meeting to attend the service thereof, as are in

34) *ibid*, vol.1, ff.15,18,20,22,48,50,53,54,58,60,66,67,82,103,106,107,119, vol.2, 54,60,66

35) *ibid.*, vol.1, f.66

36) *ibid.*, vol.2, f.54

unity and fellowship with friends that our Meetings may be comfortable unto us, that a Meeke and quiet spirit (which is with the Lord of great prize) may be continually found amongst us'.(37)

Vann has speculated that participation in the meetings for church government provided an opportunity for those Friends who had not been able to find complete satisfaction in Quakerism 'to resume their search for the pure and perfect religious expression'. He also claims to see a 'substantial discontinuity' between the leading Friends of the 1650's and those who came to prominence in the Quaker administrative hierarchy after 1667/8.(38) There is certainly no denying that the meetings for church government tended to attract Quakers of a particular background and outlook. Friends who were strongly church-minded and accustomed to exercising authority would find in the meetings for business a spirit congenial to their tastes. But whether the differences in opinion among Friends as to the merits or otherwise of organised meetings can be said to reflect some kind of generation gap within the movement is a questionable proposition as far as Quakers in York are concerned. Several Friends who played a leading role in church affairs in York after 1668 were convinced before 1660, namely Thomas Bulmer, John Cox, John Kay, Walter Merry, Edward Nightingale, John and Francis Taylor, John Todd, and Thomas and Mary Waite. Indeed, the three most active members in the men's meeting during the 1670's and 1680's, John Taylor, John Cox and Thomas Waite, all became Quakers very early in the movement's history. Cox and

37) Y.M.M.M.B., vol.2, f.28

38) Vann, Social Development, pp.104-5

Taylor and Mary Waite being evangelists during the Interregnum.(39) The fact that many of the meeting's post-Restoration leaders were men and women from the movement's formative years suggests that the character of Quaker church life in York during the 'First Period' of Quakerism remained largely unchanged in the transition to the 'Second Period'. It was the establishment of the meetings for church government which gave the more church-minded or 'businesslike' Friends, converts from the 1650's as well as the 1660's, the first real opportunity to re-fashion the Society's membership after their own image.

The 'Christian advices' of those Quakers who comprised the informal church eldership in the York meetings often reveal a strong pre-occupation on their authors' part with the mores of contemporary godly society. This is most evident in their dealings with Friends who 'walked disorderly' or who failed to observe Quaker etiquette. Unseemly noise was particularly frowned upon by the eldership, godly people were a quiet people and any 'superfluous' noise appears to have been equated with plebian frivolity. Thus in 1677 Christopher Gilburne, 'a poore man in great need', was asked to forbear making any 'singing noyse' in the meetings for worship as it was offensive to Friends.(40) Even more revealing is the case of Charles Hall, a Quaker artisan living in York, who was admonished by the Monthly Meeting in 1692 for, among other things, consorting with 'Fiddlers, dancers and stage players' and other

39) Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, ff.146-150, Stephen Crisp to John Taylor, 4th July 1691; F.H.L., An Account of Some of the Labours and Exercises, Travels and Perils...of John Taylor of York...By way of Journal, (1710), pp.1-3; N.Penney (ed.), The First Publishers of the Truth, (1907), p.105

40) Y.M.P.M.M.B., vol.1, f.30

'Infamous persons'. Friends hoped, after his disownment, that 'sober and moderate people' would not hold his actions against them or 'judge...as the Rabble may report'.(41) While acknowledging that seventeenth century interpretations of what constituted un-Christian conduct may differ considerably from our own, it could justifiably be argued that Charles Hall had sinned more against the moral precepts of the Protestant middling sort than those of Christ and his apostles. Significantly, the majority of Friends who were censured for offences against Truth by the York meetings were of lower social standing than their admonishers, being mainly artisans, servants and labourers.(see Table 18) The social disparity between the church elders and those they sought to discipline was half-realised by Friends themselves. When Henry Wilkinson, a wealthy apothecary and trustee of the Meeting house, married his second wife in church, he was admonished by Friends 'that the Truth may be kept Clear, and without Partiality or respect of persons'. It is interesting to note that Wilkinson did not question the moral rectitude of marriage with a priest, only the meeting's authoritarian approach, asking 'who are Judges and who is the high Priest there'.(42) His views were echoed by the separatists, most of whom were also from the upper-bourgeoisie, who objected less to the ruling elite's code of ethics as the methods they used to enforce it.

Some idea of social background against which 'gospel order' operated among Quakers in York can also be gained from the arguments which the

41) Y.M.M.M.B., vol.2, ff.96,109; for a facsimile of the Monthly Meeting's public testimony against Charles Hall, published in 1694, see S.Allot, Friends in York: The Quaker Story in the Life of a Meeting, (York, 1978), p.8

42) Y.M.P.M.M.B.,vol.1, f.80; Y.M.M.M.M.B., vol.2, f.48

Table 18. Discipline in the York Mens' Preparative
and Monthly Meetings, 1669-1714

31/1/70	Richard Relse	blacksmith	nfm
	Matthias Harland	labourer	nfm
	John Bradley	wheelwright	nfm/wd
	Henry Fewler	labourer	nfm
3/1/77	Bartholomew Greer	?[r]	wd
	John Savage	?	d
	John Bradley		d
18/4/77	Thomas Smithson	?[r]	o
2/5/77	Christopher Gilburne	?[pauper]	divulging Friends' business
16/5/77	William Squire	linnenweaver	ditto
	John Bradley		ditto
4/7/77	John Bradley		wd
	Bartholomew Greer		?
3/5/79	Matthias Adcocke	labourer	mp
2/8/83	John Bell	tailor	going to law
2/10/83	Margaret Evans		consorting with the Separatists
3/2/87	William Belshaw	sergeweaver	mp
	Henry Wilkinson	apothecary	mp
	Elizabeth Mudd		mp
21/7/87	Margaret Evans		as above
4/5/88	Thomas Etherington	watchmaker	mp
	Rebecca Hall		mp
7/3/90	Mrs William Charlton		craving alms off the world
4/4/90	Mary Lindsley	maidservant	mo/mp
18/2/91	Robert Webster	whitesmith	consorting with scandalous persons
6/2/91	Lucy Bulmer		mp
17/6/91	Christopher Gilburne		malicious gossip
3/2/92	Charles Hall	whitesmith	wd/loose talking/ keeping bad company
	Thomas Mason	?	wd
1/12/93	Elizabeth Wilson	maidservant	consorting with Charles Hall
3/10/94	John Burnett's servant		consorting with a man who is not a Friend
	Robert Webster's wife and servant		nfm
	Thomas Ewbank	tailor	mp
31/7/95	John Kay	?[r]	nfm/mp
22/12/97	Thomas Waller	labourer	malicious gossip
18/1/99	Robert Webster		disorderly management
6/3/01	Thomas Waller		mp
4/7/01	John Kay		illegally purchasing his

			freedom
2/12/02	Thomas Ewbank		?
30/6/03	John Kay		wd
30/8/04	Robert Webster		wd
3/7/06	Robert Hillary	tailor	nfm
1/10/07	John Burton	pewterer	wd/d
3/3/08	John Kay		d/wd
21/6/09	John Kay		not paying debts
30/8/09	Thomas Ewbank		?
29/11/09	Elizabeth Ewbank		wearing gaudy dresses
3/1/10	Mercy Rysam		mp
	William Linsley	glover	mp
	John Adcock	linnenweaver	mp
31/1/10	John Burton		wd/keeping bad company
3/2/10	Elizabeth Merry		disorderly conduct/speaking ill of Friends
2/6/13	Rebecca Lazenby		mp
2/3/14	Thomas Ewbank		nfm
4/5/14	Lydia Bowland		wd/malicious gossip

nfm not frequenting meetings
 wd 'walking disorderly'
 d drink
 o oaths
 mp marriage by a priest
 mo marrying out
 r retailer/craftsman/artisan

Monthly and Quarterly meeting used to justify their ruling against hasty second marriages. As well as the appeal to the Light Within and 'Apostolical Doctrine', it was also claimed that such marriages were 'infamous amongst men, below modesty...and...a thing unbecoming common Civility and the practice of sober people'; 'disowned and Condemned by other sober moderate people boath in our age and generations past'. The people of the world condemn early re-marriage argued Friends and therefore how much more necessary was it for 'God's people' to condemn it also; 'so that the Righteousness theirot in our practice may Exceed the worlds' and that Friends may gain 'a good reputation amongst all sober people of other persuasions'.(43) Friends were urged to practice 'righteousness, self-denyall, Purity, Plainness, and Decency' and to 'keep both in Habitt and practice every way unto that decency, plainness, vertue and moderation, which becomes the Truth'.(44) The character of the discipline Friends sought to establish was in many ways expressive of the moral pre-occupations of 'sober people' - the earnest, Puritan element among the middling sort. The language of the Protestant ethic pervades the 'Christian Advices' of Quaker church leaders; in 1674, for example, the Quarterly Meeting advised each Friend 'to be faithful provident and diligent in his place and...[not to] enterprise or take in hand greate things nor desert their proper vocations or Callings...'.(45) The emphasis was firmly upon reforming the 'habits' and 'practices' of Friends rather

43) *ibid.* vol.1, ff.111-12; Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, Truth Exalted; M.Mullett, 'The Assembly of the people of God: The social organisation of Lancashire Friends', in Mullett (ed.), Early Lancaster Friends, pp.13-14

44) Y.Q.M.M.B., vol.2, ff.86a-88

45) York Monthly Meeting, Advices and Minutes from the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, 1673-1837, f.4

than their spiritual nature.

By the 1680's, if not before, the moral perspective of a great many of the leading Friends in York, and indeed in the county as a whole, was essentially akin to that of godly people in society at large. Friends desired not to establish a wholly different moral order from that of the godly but rather a more acutely realised version of the same. This accounts for the continual mention of the practices and standards of the 'sober and moderate people' as a basic point of reference for Friends when considering what was proper and fitting in their own profession. Friends aimed to outdo their Christian neighbours in the practice of that conventional Puritan morality which the movement's founders, in their radical perception of themselves as reviving early Christianity, had sought to overturn. Quaker culture during the Restoration period was very much Protestant culture. Barry Reay has made much of this point; 'In many respects, the Quaker 'middling sort', with their war against sin and inculcation of godliness, stood firmly in the tradition of the Puritan 'reformation of manners'.(46) York Friends intense concern with the public reputation of Truth reflected in part their desire to impress the godly, the group most likely to furnish new recruits, with their rigorous Puritan standards.

Restoration York furnishes many examples of the mutual respect in which well placed members of the civic community and Friends held each other, examples which do appear to confirm the close affinity between

46) Reay, The Quakers, p.118; for Friends' concern to uphold their 'Protestant standing in the eyes of other Nonconformists' see R.Clark, 'The Gangreen of Quakerism': An Anti-Quaker Anglican Offensive in England after the Glorious Revolution', Journal of Religious History, XI (1981), pp.405,422-4

reputable Quaker culture and morality and that of respectable York society. The will of Nathaniel Jackson, a Presbyterian Minister living in York, has already been referred to and it is by no means unique. The wills of a number of sober-minded York citizens reveal a similar regard on their authors' part for Quaker neighbours or acquaintances. The Dissenter Dorothy Cummins, for example, left twenty shillings to the Quaker Anne Allenson, wife of Henry Allenson mercer, in 1680. The Quaker John Todd was also left 20 shillings in the will of Robert Hillary, merchant, in 1689. Todd for his part left 5 guineas to his 'kind friend' Richard Hewitt gent., eldest son of the Puritan alderman Richard Hewitt. Abraham Hutton made the Dissenter Thomas Cornwell a supervisor in his will in 1689, and Cornwell in turn made Robert Jeeb, a wealthy Friend, supervisor of his will six years later. William Banks, yeoman, gave ten shillings and all his books, except one bible, to the Quaker Thomas Hammond and his wife in 1693.(47) Such examples could be multiplied.

Many Friends were well established in the city's business community at the time of their conviction and their switch in religious allegiance does not appear to have harmed their commercial prospects. The early evangelists were deeply suspicious of York's commercial sector; 'And woe unto all you Covetous Merchants, and Tradesmen of what sort soever, who deceaves the simple by your smooth words and makes Merchandize of them...' proclaimed Mary Killam, a rural Friend, in 1655.(48) York Quakers

47) B.I.H.R., Probate Register 45, f.217 (Nathaniel Jackson), 58, f.255 (Dorothy Cummins), 61, f.148 (Robert Hillary), the will of Abraham Hutton (proved August 1689), the will of William Banks (proved June 1693), the will of Thomas Cornwell (proved June 1695), the will of John Todd (proved November 1705)

48) F.H.L., Samuel Watson MSS, vol.41, ff.231-2

themselves however, being familiar with the world of urban commerce apparently had no difficulty in harmonising their business and religious lives. Nor did the city's business community find anything that was particularly offensive in York Friends' practice. Indeed, when John Taylor fell victim to an informer in 1682 and was imprisoned on Ousebridge it was the protest raised by the city's 'Merchants and Other Tradesmen' who 'looking upon it to be done out of Malice were troubled at it', which was largely responsible for his release.(49) More to the point perhaps, Quaker masters regularly took non-Quaker apprentices, sometimes from respected civic families.(50) Even in the early 1660's the doors to economic advancement in the city remained wide open for Friends. Despite being arrested and put on trial at the Sessions in 1662 for attending an allegedly 'riotous' conventicle, the Quaker John Marshall gained admittance to the York Merchant Adventurers Society in that same year.(51) The leading Quakers in Selby, part of the York Monthly Meeting, enjoyed the confidence of their trading partners in the early 1660's to the extent that they were able to issue tokens on the strength of their commercial reputation.(52) The credit of well-to-do Friends in York was equally as good, particularly it seems among the more godly traders. Thus in 1675 John Halliwell, a Dissenter with a Quaker wife, was lent twenty five pounds by the corporation on the security of Edward Nightingale, Henry Wilkinson, Christopher Lund, a 'friendly' man whose wife was also a

49) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part.1, f.25

50) B.I.H.R., York Merchant Adventurers' Minute Book 1677-1736, ff.238-266

51) B.I.H.R., York Merchant Adventurers Journal, f.152

52) M.Dickinson, Seventeenth Century Tokens of the British Isles, (1986), p.235, [the Quakers were Anthony Collier, George Canby and Mary Carter]

Quaker, and Thomas Jackson, a prominent Congregationalist.(53) Friends also had the trust of the city's godly merchant elite. The Quaker Abel Grant, master of the *Friends Increase*, carried cargoes for the merchants Andrew Perrot (who refused to renounce the Covenant as the price of becoming an alderman) and John Bottomley (presented in 1663 for absenting himself from church).(54)

Trading in York was confined to freemen and becoming free of the city required the taking of an oath. This barrier presented no difficulty to Friends however, which strongly suggests that there was a considerable amount of complicity between the Quakers and the civic establishment on the question of oath-taking. Only one Quaker, John Taylor, appears to have found taking out his freedom a major stumbling block. The corporation effectively fined him £140 in 1681 for the privilege of trading in the city 'in regard he refuses to swear'.(55) As the cost of his freedom alone this was extortionate but soon afterwards the corporation offered to abate the sum to £100 and exempt him from all municipal office (£140 was the usual 'fine' for exemption). Taylor received subsequently from the corporation the lucrative operating rights on one of the cranes on the King's staith.(56) Why Taylor alone of all the city's Quakers had trouble in taking out his freedom is rather a puzzle. Taylor, by all accounts, possessed a somewhat over-active conscience and perhaps this prevented him from making any compromising deal with the mayor. This and the fact that he was a "foreigner" would probably have been grounds enough for a

53) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.109

54) B.I.H.R., Admiralty Court Cause Papers, 1675

55) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.179

56) *ibid*, ff.180-1

fine. He could not have been the only Quaker however, who refused to swear since it is extremely unlikely that a Quaker could have taken the freeman's oath and not ^{have} been disciplined, and there is no mention anywhere of Friends in York failing to uphold their testimony against oath-taking. The Preparative Meeting came down very hard indeed on Thomas Smithson in 1676 when he was accused (falsely as it turned out) of taking an oath in court and no doubt would have dealt severely with any Quaker who compromised his testimony where the freeman's oath was concerned.(57) Many of the early Friends of course were already freemen when they became Quakers, but even so the second and third generation of Friends in the city appear to have found initiation into the city's trading community as trouble-free as the first.

The corporation was not the only institution in York which in theory demanded an oath from the would-be civic tradesman. The guilds were still strong in York in the late seventeenth century and maintained an effective 'searcher' system which ensured that not only non-freemen were prevented from trading in the city but also those who had not taken out their freedom of the appropriate trading company. Most guilds had an oath of membership it seems and in addition required guild office-holders to swear. How precisely the Quakers negotiated these obstacles without compromising their testimony is often impossible to say. Presumably some guilds, like the corporation, made due allowance for Friends' scruples and settled for other forms of assurance. Whatever the case, it seems that Friends had little trouble either becoming guild members or performing

57) Y.M.P.M.M.B., vol.1, ff.32-3

their duties as such.(58) The Quakers in the Merchant Adventurers Society fared no differently from the rest of the free brothers. Several Quakers were fined for not attending sermons in the Merchant Adventurers' chapel (an indication of the strongly Puritan character of the York merchant community - in 1688 the Society allowed the York Huguenots to worship in its chapel) and using defective weights and measures - an offence of which, somewhat surprisingly, several Quakers were found guilty, notably Thomas Etherington, John Marshall, Edward Nightingale and William White - but then so were any number of traders.(59) No complications arose from Friends' refusal to take oaths - at least after 1677, that is, when the first surviving minute book begins. The Merchant Adventurers only introduced fines for refusal to serve office in 1678 so it is unlikely that Friends got into serious trouble before then. After 1696 the Society allowed Friends to use the Affirmation.(60)

The relationship between Friends and the Merchant Tailors Company was less harmonious. According to Company regulations, any free brother elected to hold office was required to take an oath, refusal to do so resulting in a three pound fine. In 1674 Robert Hillary was fined for refusing to take the oath of a searcher, followed by Thomas Dennison in

58) B.I.H.R., Y.M.A.M.B. 1677-1736, ff.100-1 (Thomas Harrison, warden; Emmanuel Nightingale, searcher); Y.C.A., Ch.Acc.Bks., 26, 1668, f.25 (Thomas Garthwaite, searcher for the clothworkers); 26, 1680, f.41 (George Jackson, searcher for the bricklayers); 27, 1683, f.55 (Jacob Marshall, searcher for the girdlers); 27, 1684, f.54 (Abraham Hutton, searcher for the fellmongers and glovers); 27, 1688, f.53 (Robert Jeeb, searcher for the bakers); 28, 1693, f.52 (William Tuke, searcher for the blacksmiths); 30, 1704, f.56 (William Hudson, searcher for the tanners); 30, 1705, f.56 (John Todd, searcher for the whitesmiths) - all searchers were required to swear an oath; British Library, Additional MS 34,604, Account Book of the York Bakers, f.248, passim., (Robert Jeeb)

59) B.I.H.R., Y.M.A.M.B. 1677-1736, passim

60) *ibid*, ff.10,141

1681, and Timothy Lund and Robert Hillary again in 1685, although on this occasion their fines were reduced to 30 shillings apiece. In lieu of his fine Dennison presented the Company with a piece of plate which it accepted and agreed to exempt him from 'all offices wherein an oath is tendered except he shall be elected...Maister'. A subsequent fine for 'setting 4 strangers on work' was abated because of his 'Civill Language'.(61) By the late 1680's the Merchant Tailors could not have been unaware of Friends' position regarding oaths and this makes it all the harder to account for the Company's decision in 1690 to elect Dennison master and four other Quakers - John Burnett, Robert Hillary, Timothy Lund, and Henry Stevens - as searchers. Friends refused to take the oaths of office and were fined by the Company. When they also refused to pay their fines a long court case ensued.(62)

The Company's motive in electing Quakers, for it was clearly no accident, can only be surmised. Judging by Friends' reaction it may have been a deliberate ploy to raise money for the Company coffers which had recently been depleted by expensive legal costs. In addition perhaps, the Quakers' refusal to swear may have been interpreted by some members as unwillingness to shoulder the burdens of office. During litigation Friends stressed their readiness to serve 'if they could be accepted without an oath'.(63)

The Company succeeded in exacting fines from Dennison and Stevens

61) B.I.H.R., York Merchant Tailors Company (Y.M.T.C.), Minutes and Proceedings, 1641-1680, ff.137,157; 1680-1706, ff.5,9-10,26

62) *ibid.* ff.48,49,52-55,59; Y.M.T.C. Accounts, 2/1, Acc. Bk. 1665-1712; B.Johnson, The Acts and Ordinances of the Company of Merchant Taylors in the City of York, (York, n.d.), pp.78-9

63) F.H.L., Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings (M.M.S.), vol.8, f.6

and for some reason decided not to pursue the case against Timothy Lund. Burnett and Hillary held out against payment of any fine and when the Company took them to court asked the Meeting of Sufferings in London for legal advice.(64) Eventually, in November 1692, Hillary and Burnett agreed to pay £8 in return for which the Company exempted them from 'all offices and places of Trust and Service whatsoever'.(65) Thereafter, relations between Friends and the Merchant Tailors improved and in 1699 it was decreed 'that the oath of an Assistant shall be suspended concerning Robert Hillarye and Thomas Ewebank And they upon their promise to performe the office and place of Assistants to all intents and purposes aswell as if they had taken the said oath...[are] Admitted to Act Sitt and vote as...Sworne Assistant[s]'. In August 1703 the Company allowed Ewebank to become a searcher on the same basis.(66) The Quakers clearly preferred to serve office rather than buy exemption and although the option of affirming was open to them the Company's generous terms rendered its use unnecessary.

Although neither the Preparative nor Monthly Meetings in York made any attempt to obtain relief in relation to oaths before the passage of the 1696 Affirmation Act - as Friends in London and Bristol did - the York Quakers were generally in favour of the Act by the early eighteenth century at the latest.(67) Friends in Lancaster, by contrast, although apparently not averse to the idea of affirming found the 1696 Act unacceptable and would not affirm until the passing of the 'acceptable'

64) *ibid.*

65) B.I.H.R., Y.M.T.C., 1680-1706, f.60

66) *ibid.* ff.97,109

67) Mortimer, Minute Book of the Men's Meeting Bristol 1686-1704, B.R.S.P., XXX (1977), pp.xi-xii; Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', p.531

Affirmation Act in 1722. Nevertheless, Friends in Lancaster did come to some kind of arrangement with the town authorities during the Restoration period whereby they avoided the necessity either of taking oaths or using the authorised affirmation.(68)

Why Friends in most major towns, particularly in the South it seems, were generally disposed to accept the 1696 Affirmation Act when Friends in the provinces were not, has not proved an easy question to answer. Braithwaite's interpretation remains largely definitive; the supporters of the 1696 Affirmation Act were the 'worldly', Whiggish Quakers 'who had prospered in trade and were anxious for the ease afforded by the Affirmation...'.(69) Arnold Lloyd made the connection implied by Braithwaite that the 'worldly' element was mainly to be found in towns and cities.(70) The general assumption then, is that Friends living in urban centres were wealthier or had greater opportunities to become wealthy than Friends living in rural areas and that affluence inevitably led to spiritual decline - Braithwaite referred to 'benumbing prosperity'. This argument is attractive, but not altogether convincing. Although the richest Quakers in the movement were to be found in London and Bristol, there is no evidence at all to show that York Friends enjoyed a markedly higher standard of living than their rural counterparts or for that matter than Friends in Lancaster. Lancaster Friends 'prospered' after the Glorious Revolution

68) N.J.Morgan, 'The Social and Political Relations of the Lancaster Quaker Community, 1688-1714', in Mullett (ed.), Early Lancaster Friends, pp.23,25,27,31; for Friends and oath-taking see N.J.Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers and the Oath, 1660-1722', J.F.H.S., LIV (1980), pp.235-254; and H.Forde, 'Friends and Authority: a consideration of attitudes and expedients with particular reference to Derbyshire', J.F.H.S., LIV (1978), pp.115-25

69) Braithwaite, Second Period, pp.189-91

70) Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p.143

when if anything the social and economic status of York Friends declined somewhat.(71) Furthermore, the circumstances in which York Friends used the affirmation do not suggest that their support for it was based primarily upon a desire to make life easier for themselves.

In the first place, the Affirmation Act appears to have done very little to improve the financial lot of Friends in York. As far as proving wills, importing and exporting goods, becoming free of the city, serving as chamberlain, guild officer etc., or entering copyholds were concerned, the Act was largely superfluous to their requirements. Friends may have made some use of the Solemn Affirmation to facilitate their serving office; they affirmed to serve as chamberlain in the corporation for example, but then the corporation had consistently shown itself willing to dispense with customary oaths which applied to offices like the chamberlaincy - as opposed to the statutory oaths of a sheriff - in Friends' case. Whatever their motives for holding office, material self-interest cannot have been high on the list. The lower rungs of municipal or guild office carried very little social cachet and were usually time-consuming, onerous, and a drain on their occupant's pocket. Moreover, buying exemption from office at this level was not a particularly costly undertaking; the only Quaker elected to the chamberlaincy before 1714 who paid to^{be} exempted was the tanner William Hudson, who paid a 'fine' of £10 in 1704 saying that he was 'unfitt by want of Health to undertake and serve in the same' - he died the following year.(72) The corporation often abated fines and allowed payment by installments. Quakers agreed to

71) Morgan, 'Lancaster Quaker Community', p.23

72) Y.C.A., H.B. 39, f.164

serve largely it seems from a sense of civic duty and a desire to fulfill their obligations towards their fellow traders and parishioners. Dr Morgan has found that Friends in Lancaster were 'anxious to carry out the fiscal obligations expected from prosperous members of the community, even to the extent of overcoming the difficulties of oaths and Affirmation, scrupled by most Lancashire Friends until 1722'.(73) And the same was true of Friends in York. Quakers regularly served as poor rate collectors for example, and on one notable occasion in 1678 the corporation ordered city counsel to defend the Quakers Thomas Waite and Matthias Harland of All Saints, Pavement in a lawsuit brought against them by a citizen 'for a distresse made by them upon him towards the poore of the Parish...and the said sute to be Defended at the Cittyes charge'.(74)

The Affirmation Act was principally of benefit to Friends in that it helped to regularise and consolidate their position within the civic community. Worldliness lay at the root of their acceptance of the Affirmation but it was not primarily a worldliness born of economic success or social respectability. It was not commercial prosperity which weakened Friends' sense of being a separated people, a people at war with the world, but rather life in a community in which many of their social and business peers were motivated by the same pious principles and concerns as Friends themselves. The battle against sin and profanity in late seventeenth century York was not waged by Friends alone although they undoubtedly stood in the front line. By the 1690's the traditional Puritan call for moral reformation in society had been taken up by

73) Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', p.28

74) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.146; E/73; E/74 (poor rate assessment books)

'substantial' and 'sober-minded' York citizens across the religious spectrum as the threat of vice and debauchery, particularly among the lower orders - the 'rabble' as Friends called them - appeared to loom larger. The city reportedly contained 'several sober men of the Church of England that incline to be active in putting the laws in execution against vice'. Attempts were made in the 1690's to found a Society for the Reformation of Manners in York but these were quashed at first by Archbishop Sharp who was opposed to the idea of reforming societies; 'Poor York! The second city in the kingdom and likely to be the last in reformation; but better late than never'.(75) No public display of lewdness escaped the reformers attention. Complaints were made to the corporation about 'Swearing and Blaspheming the Name of God' by the city's sledmen who were made to forfeit half a shilling for every oath they swore.(76) After the Queen's letter to the Justice§ of Middlesex in 1691 urging them to implement the laws against immorality, sabbatarianism found its way back onto the Council agenda to be followed by a spate of charitable and reformatory schemes including a court of conscience, a weaving manufactory, and a free school-cum-workhouse for which the Quaker William White agreed to supply the wool.(77) The city's clergy began making charitable bequests to the corporation to assist the city's poor tradesmen and the corporation in turn praised the clergy for

75) D.W.R.Bahlman, The Moral Revolution of 1688, (New Haven, 1957), pp.40,88

76) Y.C.A., H.B. 39, f.30; the Merchant Adventurers threatened to stop hiring the sledmen if they did not obey the corporation's order, B.I.H.R., Y.M.A.M.B. 1677-1736, f.68

77) Bahlman, Moral Revolution, p.22; Y.C.A., H.B. 39, ff.26,33,124, H.B. 40, ff.116,157,189,199,206, H.B. 41, ff.19,39,54,85,99

their 'excellent' sermons.(78) The precentor of York Minster, Thomas Comber, was remembered in the will of one leading Dissenter, and Friends and their godly neighbours also exchanged parting gifts.(79) On more than one occasion Friends were moved to assist the godly in distress; 'For George Peckett being a separatist and as I think a presbiterian, also very poore - 13s 6d'.(80) George Peckitt's wife Elizabeth was buried in Friends' burial ground as were a number of Ralph Ward's congregation.(81) The application made by the Congregationalist Ellinor Calvert in 1693 for leave to bury her father in Friends' burial ground, which was endorsed by Michael Barstow one of the elders of the congregation, suggests that members of the two communities were well known to each other;

Loveing frinde John Talore

This with tender Love to thee ande other friends desireing you to Considere the deplored Condition of my mother and...to admit him to bee buried in your burieing place [which] If you will be pleased to grant would greatly satisfie my dear mother not with standing the troubls that hath befallen my poor father, hoping you will be pleased to do it in favore to my mother, which is all, your frend

Ellinor Calvert

the same kindenes as above is allsoe desyred by him that is your ffreinde

Michael Barstow(82)

Anti-Jacobitism also helped unite the city's loyal Protestants. Following an attempt on the King's life in 1696 the citizens' association 'to Resist the Papist Conspiracy' was subscribed by almost every member of the corporation, several of the Minster clergy, most of the city's

78) *ibid*, H.B. 39, f.89,138,167

79) B.I.H.R., Bishopthorpe Papers; Correspondence and Papers: Archbishop John Sharpe (1691-1714), Bp. C & P. I/2

80) Y.Q.M.M.B., vol.1, f.13a-b

81) Y.Q.M., Register of burials; Y.M.P.M.M.B., vol.1, ff.58-9; Applications to Bury in Friends' Burial Ground, York, 1692-1716, ff.13,16

82) *ibid*. f.5

parish incumbents, local Dissenting Ministers and members of their congregations, Quakers and Quaker separatists.(83)

There was a fundamental similarity between the objectives and methods of the largely Anglican reforming societies and those enshrined in Friends' 'gospel order'. The Societies emphasised the need for an active, godly existence; 'time was always usefully to be employed in serving God's ends. Self-denial was expected to govern consumption. Only the company of like-minded persons should be sought out. Civil conversation and intercourse for trade or commerce was permitted with the unregenerate but nothing more than that'.(84) Great importance was attached to the leading of an upright and morally exemplary life as a way of bringing sinners to repentance. The reformers held that even if a person lacked the necessary intelligence or education to appreciate the message of moral reform, he or she could not fail to be impressed by the example of a virtuous life. The reformers and Friends even attacked sin under the same headings, as a thing not only offensive in the eyes of God but also 'absurd in Nature', against all reason, and damaging to Christian society as a whole.(85) In the face of the common enemy differences over issues of doctrine and worship between devout Christians in York lost some of their former significance. Underlying the activity of the reforming societies is the sense that the religious needed to unite

83) Y.C.A., M30:32; the celebration of English victories on the continent during the 1690's and 1700's also served to strengthen ties among the city's Protestant establishment, see H.B. 39, f.137

84) T.C.Curtis & W.A.Speck, 'The Societies for the Reformation of Manners; A Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Moral Reform', Literature and History, III (1976), p.50

85) ibid. p.49; Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, Truth Exalted, passim

against the dangers of unbelief and ungodliness, and that, in the words of Jonathan Barry, 'the real distinction in religion was between the children of God and those of the Devil, not between churches'.(86) Something of this feeling can also be detected among Friends in York and obviously ran counter to the early Friends' belief that they alone of all peoples had regained 'the state in which Adam was before he fell'.

It was in the atmosphere of bourgeois pietism which prevailed in York and a number of other towns that the old lines of conflict between Friends and the world began to break down. In 1689 the Yorkshire representatives at the Meeting for Sufferings described the persecution endured by 'a plain Country Friend' who upon coming in from a day's 'hard labour' in the fields upbraided a clergyman's wife and another gentlewoman for their 'excessive pride' in wearing topknots saying 'that it was a shame to such persons to goe in such Pride who were maintained by the sweat of his and others Browes'.(87) This incident stands in marked contrast to the easy-going relationship between Friends and the clergy in some civic parishes at the same date;

Thomas Denison (commonly called Quaker) of All Saints Parish...gave these three vols. of Howells History of the World, to Mr Christopher Jackson then Minister of the said Parish for his life, in satisfaction of all dues to the aforesaid Mr Chr. Jackson, as the parish Minister. And by Agreement of both parties the said 3 vols after the death of Mr Chr. Jackson to be appropriated to the use of the Successors of the said Mr Jackson in the said parish successively for ever.(88)

There is little doubt that Friends' involvement in local community

86) J.Barry, 'The Parish in civic life: Bristol and its churches, 1640-1750', in S.J.Wright (ed.), Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750, (1988), pp.161,169

87) F.H.L., M.M.S., vol.7, f.46

88) B.I.H.R, PR/ASP F 14/2, Feoffees Account Book (unfoliated)

life, as business men, voters, tax-payers and as municipal, guild or parish officers, vitiated their testimony against the world. Part of the problem was the large measure of sympathy, particularly where oaths were concerned, which was shown towards Friends by the corporation, the guilds, and even some parish vestries, so often made up of men with whom Friends either had social or business connections. The concern of the weighty Friends in York neither to do nor to sanction anything which might rock the boat in any way arose partly from a desire not to offend or abuse the trust of the authorities and their 'kind friends' in the city. Thus in 1684 the Quarterly Meeting informed the separatists; 'And had not the Magistrates of the City and others...had better knowledge of Friends faithfulness to their first Practice and principle...and had they not been satisfied that you were a shattered sort...you put an occasion into their hands, which to the exercise of Friends, they might have made use of; We bless God for his care concerning his people, and do acknowledge the moderation and good-will, which he hath brought many into concerning us'.(89) The sympathy of the establishment also threatened to render worthless the testimony of Lancaster Friends yet they were able to retain a strong sense of their embattled peculiarity as a people through their sufferings for refusal to pay tithes. For although their testimony against oaths was generally tolerated by the community, their testimony against tithes, which was seen as a threat to property rights, often was not.(90) This contrasts with the situation in York where Friends' sufferings for non-payment of church rates were negligible even though it is apparent

89) Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, Truth Exalted

90) Morgan, 'Lancaster Quaker Community', pp.27-32

from the visitation records that many Friends remained clear in their testimony against tithes during the Restoration period. Because the city's Quakers were a relatively small and scattered community and the sums involved were usually so modest it would seem that most of the city's parish clergy could not be bothered to go to the trouble of dragging Friends through the church courts just for the sake of a few shillings. In addition, some Friends had their church dues paid for them by relatives or neighbours. In 1683 John Taylor issued a paper repudiating the actions of his neighbours in paying 'steeplehouse Taxes' on his behalf.(91) Taylor's scrupulous opposition to tithes and his prominence as a trader probably explain why he is the only York Quaker on record who suffered more than once for failure to pay church dues; in 1690 he had one sugar loaf distrained and in 1694 a churchwarden helped himself from his till.(92) Taylor's was one of only three written testimonies against tithes from York Friends to be entered in the minutes of the Monthly Meeting in 1678, the other two were from John Cox and John Hall who both later became separatists.(93) Some Quakers are known to have paid church rates yet there is not a single case of a York Friend being disciplined on this account by the Preparative or Monthly Meetings. John Todd diligently paid his dues to the parish minister of St.Michael-le-Belfrey from the first full parish subscription after the Restoration in 1665, when he donated 4 shillings, to his death in 1704. He was regularly

91) Y.M.M.M.B., vol.2, ff.16-17

92) Y.Q.M., Record of Sufferings, vol.1, part 4, f.48; vol.2, f.21

93) Y.M.M.M.B., vol.1, ff.80-1

presented for non-attendance in the parish but never for non-payment.(94)

Whereas from the 1690's onwards tithes became a major problem for those members of the meeting who dwelt in the suburbs, they remained merely an occasional inconvenience for Friends living inside the walls. From the Quaker point of view at least York was a tithe-free zone, a fact which may help to account for the steady stream of rural Friends into the city after the Glorious Revolution.(see Appendix I) Apart from the difficult years between 1659 and 1662 and the Summer and Autumn of 1670 when the informers were busy making the most of the Second Conventicle Act, the city's Friends suffered very little in the way of serious persecution.(see Table 12) The corporation's financial difficulties forced it to mulct a few of ^{the} city's wealthier Quakers between 1717 and 1720 for their refusal to take the shrieval oaths but this was purely 'business'.(95) Generally speaking, Friends and the city's Whig establishment remained on good terms, so much so in fact that by 1736 Friends in York were seeking advice from the Meeting for Sufferings 'respecting the serving of offices of sheriffs, aldermen and on juries'.(96)

The profound identity of social, commercial and religious interests among the sober people in York led to what might be termed a blurring of the edges between Friends and the civic establishment. The same trend can be observed among Friends in London and Bristol, where, significantly,

94) B.I.H.R., PR Y/MB.34, St.Michael-le-Belfrey Churchwardens' Accounts, 1636-1729, unfoliated; for Quaker laxity in their testimony against tithes see E.J.Evans, 'Our Faithful Testimony': The Society of Friends and Tithe Payments, 1690-1730', J.F.H.S., LII (1969)

95) Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', p.30; Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p.82

96) F.H.L., M.M.S., vol.26, 17/1/1736

the reforming societies were able to establish their strongest outposts.(97) Indeed, the Society for the Reformation of Manners was essentially an urban and sub-urban phenomenon. The polite, bourgeois pietism which flourished among the urban middling sort after the Restoration failed to catch on as readily in many backwoods, rural districts, particularly it seems in the North and South-West. The 'plain' country Quakers of upland Yorkshire and Lancashire appear to have retained some of the fundamentalist, millenarian zeal of the First Publishers which Friends in York certainly, and probably in Hull and Leeds also, had largely lost by the end of the seventeenth century. If Friends in Lancaster managed to resist what Morgan has called 'the growing incursion of worldly ways into the Quaker lifestyle' it was largely because of the bracing influence of the harsh religious climate in Lancashire as a whole. The exceptionally large numbers of Quakers and Dissenters in Restoration Lancashire provoked a hostile reaction from the county's Anglican establishment towards a Puritan community already on its mettle as a result of the strong Catholic presence in the area. The 'sharp and divergent tones' of Lancashire's religious life created tension and hostility between the various denominations and in the case of Friends an uncompromising militancy.(98) Lancashire Quakers were noted for their vehement opposition to anything which in their view threatened

97) Mortimer, 'Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol', pp.119,163,223-5,250,340; G.S. De Krey, A Fractured Society; The Politics of London in the First Age of Party, (Oxford, 1985), pp.76,82,99 [De Krey may have underestimated London Friends' willingness to serve; oath-taking appears to have been more rigidly enforced in London than it was in York and Lancaster]; Curtis & Speck, 'Reformation of Manners', pp.48,53

98) Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', p.504; Mullett, 'The Assembly of the People of God', p.12

to erode the basis of Friends' testimonies and thus weaken their witness among the world's people. They therefore rejected anything which smacked of compromise with the world, the Affirmation Act being a prime example, and disapproved of Friends in the Meeting for Sufferings and Yearly Meeting who promoted such initiatives. Lancashire Friends' mistrust of the metropolitan Quaker leadership, however, was not shared by Friends in York. As the site of the county gaol and the meeting place for the Yorkshire Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, York was an important Quaker centre and the city's leading Friends established a close working relationship with the Society's ruling elite in London.(99)

The influence of the moral values and prejudices of godly society upon the city's Quakers can be seen in the 'Christian advices' of the business meetings in York on what constituted acceptable Quaker practice. The Monthly Meeting's ordinance against 'forward and hasty' re-marriages in 1680 is a clear case in point. The order originated at a meeting in which five of the nine men present were York Quakers and was issued soon after a Friend had re-married 'Notwithstanding his former wife's decease is so lately (dead 3/4 of a year)'. The meeting declared that it could not have unity with any marriage contracted within a year after the death of one, or both, of the partners' former spouses. The stated aim of Friends in drawing up this article was 'that the Righteousnesse thei roff in our practice may exceed the worlds'.(100) However, as the supporters of the ruling would later emphasise, the convention of allowing a decent interval

99) Allott, Friends in York, pp.10,18-19; Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, ff.15, George Fox to John Blaykling, 9th May 1684; ff.117-120, John Field to John Taylor, 1st March, 1687; ff.146-50, Stephen Crisp to John Taylor and Thomas Waite, 4th July, 1691

100) Y.M.M.M.B., vol.1, ff.107,110-111

between the death of a spouse and re-marriage was condoned by 'sober people' of other persuasions. It was not therefore a practice peculiar to Friends, they merely aimed to be more rigorous and exact than the godly in observing it. The ruling against unseemly haste in re-marrying undoubtedly arose from a concern to maintain the reputation of Truth in the outside world, but it is difficult to see it as a case of Friends meeting the world on their own terms. In developing a formal code of Quaker practice the leading Friends were engaged in a process of adopting and adapting the cultural and moral values of the Protestant middling sort. The Quaker elite in York was not reacting against growing worldliness among the rank and file but attempting rather to level up the "conversation" of the less scrupulous, often more plebian, Friends to its own standards of propriety and those of the godly in general.

The first signs of disagreement among Friends concerning the marriage ordinance appear late in 1682 when John Hall, a leading York Friend and clerk to the Quarterly meeting, announced his intention to re-marry only a few months after the death of his first wife. The Monthly Meeting refused to grant him a marriage certificate which caused resentment among those already unhappy with the ordinance.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The dispute was exacerbated by ill-feeling between John Taylor, probably the original promoter of the 1680 ruling, and Edward Nightingale, one of John Hall's leading supporters. In 1682 Nightingale had to defend himself against charges that he had informed on Taylor and brought about this imprisonment. He was cleared by the Monthly Meeting but the incident

101) *ibid.* vol.2, f.6; Truth Exalted

plainly rankled with both men.(102) Nightingale may have resented the way Taylor had come to dominate Friends business' in York since his arrival in the city in 1676. Taylor, a rich trader and Quaker minister, was rather a self-centred man and often it seems insensitive to the feelings of others. A champion of 'Foxonian-unity', indeed a personal friend of George Fox himself, he was always 'very ready on all accounts to serve the truth'.(103)

By the end of 1682 county Friends were being drawn into the dispute. A paper against the ordinance by John Cox, a Quaker minister and another leading York Friend, was discussed at the Quarterly Meeting in December, and the debate growing 'somewhat hott' it was agreed that the matter be laid before the Yearly Meeting in London. This order was rec^sinded however, at the next Quarterly Meeting which disowned John Cox's paper and decided that the 1680 ruling represented the true sense of the meeting.(104) In August 1683 the Quarterly Meeting was informed that Friends of Owstwick Monthly Meeting, while agreeing that hasty second marriages were 'dishonourable to the Truth', objected to the imposition of a statutory time-ban on re-marriage believing this to be a restriction upon the free workings of the spirit. They desired to be 'left to our own freedome in the Lord'.(105) Dissatisfaction with the Quarterly Meeting's high-handed approach spread to other Monthly Meetings, particularly those with a financial grievance against the county executive. The persecution

102) *ibid.* ff.4,16,53

103) F.H.L., An Account of John Taylor of York, pp.1,48; N.Penney (ed.), The Journal of George Fox, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1911), vol.2, pp.370,496; F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MS 137, John Rous to George Fox, 1689

104) Y.Q.M.M.B., vol.2, ff.12a,14a

105) *ibid.* f.21

of the early 1680's put a great strain on the Quarterly Meeting's finances and Friends in some areas felt that they were having to contribute more towards the relief effort than by rights they should and that their money was being squandered by the Quarterly Meeting.(106)

The dispute came to ^ahead in York sometime late in 1683. As at Reading during the Wilkinson-Story schism, the dissatisfied Friends took exception to the practice of holding a second meeting for worship on first days and attempted to alter the first day meeting to a form discarded years before. When their attempt to unite the meetings failed, the separatists and their families withdrew from the 'public Assemblies' of Friends in the city and began holding separate meetings in their own houses. By December the separatists had set up their own monthly meeting and fired the opening rounds in what was soon to develop into a very bitter and often highly personal war of words with the orthodox party; '...notwithstanding all thy scurilous language' wrote Taylor to Cox in January 1684, 'yet I desire all your good...althoughe you hate mee...'.(107)

The Monthly Meeting formally admonished the separatists in May 1684, and advised them to rejoin the main body of Friends. The separatists, in reply, advised the orthodox Friends to 'beware what thou and others doe, least your words and workes, not evidenced by the Immediate Leadings of the spirit of Truth...but done in formallytie and to uphold formallytie according to the wills and wisdomes of men *In Immittation* without,

106) R.M.Faithorn, 'Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth Century Yorkshire', (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1982), pp.520-31

107) Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, ff.9,11, John Taylor to John Cox, 17th January, 1684

become your burthen'.(108) In June Friends at the Quarterly Meeting made one last attempt to persuade the separatists to mend their ways and when this failed they issued a paper of condemnation against the 'Discenting party'.(109)

The separatists platform was a familiar one; that the church's leaders aimed to deprive Friends of 'the Law of the Spirit and to...lead us from the rule within to subject us to the rule without'. The separatists demanded that 'all Gods People ought to be left in all Matters of Faith and Discipline (so far as Discipline becomes matters of faith) to the manifestations of Gods spirit in their hearts...and not otherwise'.(110) The issue of authority in the church lay at the centre of the dispute but the separatists also had more particular grievances. As well as the marriage ordinance they objected to women's meetings having any powers of supervision over Friends' marriage arrangements and also the practice of recording papers of condemnation and the names of those dependent upon Friends' charity.(111)

The separatists' argued that the marriage ordinance was not only 'untruthlike' but also unreasonable;

we were never against such a thing to be recommended to people as a matter of decency, but to make it the verry terms of common modesty and civility, lookes very silly, for what person was ever censur'd for being more immodest and uncivile in staying but eleaven months, than that person who staid thirteene(112)

108) Y.M.M.M.B., vol.2, f.26 [my italics]

109) Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, ff.19-30

110) Braithwaite, Second Period, p.292, quoting from W.Mucklow, The Spirit of the Hat, (1673); Truth Exalted

111) *ibid.* the so-called 'Six Particulars'

112) Mortimer, 'Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol', p.205, quoting John Cox's supporters in Bristol

But what exactly they found objectionable in the submission of Friends' marriage proposals for approval by the women's meetings as opposed to the men's, is never spelled out. The separatists clearly disliked hierarchy in the church, and any practice which tended to discriminate against some Friends on the basis of their past conduct or solvency (insolvency often being linked with idleness or extravagance). These complaints were almost identical to those of the separatists in the Wilkinson-Story schism and indeed during the late 1680's the York separatists established links with the remnants of that earlier separation in Westmoreland, Bristol and London.(113)

The arguments used by the orthodox Friends, either in their own defence or against the separatists, were extremely varied. In general, however, they fall into three categories. Firstly, that their 'Christian advices' on discipline were not inconsistent with Friends' sense and judgement of 'Apostolical Doctrine' or the continuing action of the spirit. Secondly, that they were 'compliant with our former practices'. And thirdly, that hasty re-marriage or indeed 'outrunnings' of any kind (as defined by the church's leaders) were ipso facto 'infamous...among^gst Christian Princes and Societies' and therefore to be condemned 'to the end that all things in Gods house and temple may be kept cleane and savoury that wee may have a witness in the hearts of our oposers'.(114) The first argument was founded upon the assumption that the weighty Friends at the Quarterly Meeting were fully in the sense of God's Truth which of course the separatists denied. The second was intended to counter the charge

113) Truth Exalted

114) *ibid*; Y.Q.M.M.B, vol.2, f.14b, Joshua Middleton to Friends of the Quarterly Meeting, 1683

that the marriage ordinance and similar directives had been 'brought in amongst Friends of late years' contrary to their primitive practice. It is more than likely that hasty second marriages were frowned upon in some Quaker circles even during the 1650's but the notion that Friends should wait at least a year before re-marriage was first propounded officially it seems by George Fox in 1667; he added however, 'its better to marry than to burn; if they cannot, let them marry'.(115) The marriage ordinance was therefore an innovation to the extent that it turned advice against 'early and unsavoury second marriages' into a binding rule. The third type of argument came in many forms and sprang from a desire to maintain the Society's reputation and keep Truth free from any taint of public scandal. Friends' concern in this respect was two-fold. On the one hand they wished to avoid giving any opportunity, no matter how slight, 'to the opening of the mouthes of the wicked and the strengthening of the hands of our Publick foes to gett advantage against friends and our Meetings there by, In these trying suffering days'. And on the other, to uphold Friends' witness among 'tender' people, in other words potential converts.(116)

The rigorous code of discipline formulated by Friends in Lancashire was designed, according to Dr.Morgan, 'to enhance Friends' missionary drive'; 'Its whole emphasis was outward looking; it was a tool to improve the condition of the world, and not of the Society of Friends'.(117) The discipline served to set Friends radically apart from the world and to

115) F.H.L., Swarthmore MS 5, f.41, George Fox, 'Right Marriages', (1667); Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p.54

116) Truth Exalted

117) Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment', p.467

perpetuate the difficulties they faced in their dealings with the establishment and society in general. There was still a desire among Lancashire Friends after the Restoration to reach the world, to carry the fight into the enemy's camp. Lancashire Quaker evangelists continued to address the common people in the streets and to hold forth against the clergy. This sense of mission and the millenarian enthusiasm which sustained it are much less evident among Friends in York and the Quarterly Meeting. The only Quaker among the leading participants in the separation crisis who revealed a tendency to think in strongly eschatological terms was John Cox;

This is a Trying Day, that is coming upon all the Earth, and the Inhabitants of the World...a day of Anguish and unexpected Calamity shall overtake them unawares For the day of Recompence is at hand: the Lord is drawing his glittering Sword, and his Arm shall devour flesh...a day of terrour a day of shaking, a day of trembling of winnowing and sifting...For the Lord is on his way, as a Gyant refresht with Wine, and as a Mighty Man of War, he shall thrash the Nations...Therefore awake to Righteousness...take heed of a Spirit of sleep and slumber, or, of easiness to joyn and comply with the Spirits of this world...(118)

John Taylor's ministry by comparison was much more sober. In his journal in 1694 he records visiting Scarborough where 'many Persons of Quality, and others that were at Spaws came to our Meetings and seemed to be well satisfy'd with the Word and Doctrine that the Lord gave me to Deliver amongst them...and were sober and quiet'. The following year he accompanied George Whitehead and several other weighty church leaders to lay Friends sufferings before the King, a ceremony ridiculed by 'plain' Quakers. And in 1699 he and another minister visited a meeting 'which used to be disturbed much with wild and rude People' in order to see if

118) Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, John Cox, A General Epistle to the Christian Churches, (1683), pp.1-7

they could 'keep it quiet', which they did.(119) There was no proselytising among the common people or public harangues against the clergy with Taylor. Almost all Taylor's ministering appears to have been done within the community of Friends rather than out among the world's people. According to Allott 'Friends who read the journal would realise how they [Friends in York] had lost the impulse to 'sally forth and seek the adversary''. By the 1690's at the very latest, Friends in York had abandoned all hope of breaking new ground among the city's unregenerate poor, the 'rabble' as they called them.(120)

When the Quarterly Meeting enjoined Friends to observe the marriage ordinance 'because the Truth had suffered in divers places through the forward attempts of divers in that case' it was not referring to the weakening of Friends' active mission in the world but of their passive example among the sober people.(121) Truth was to be made manifest by example:

The way for to have the Truth to prevail upon those that are unacquainted with it is for us that the Lord has favoured with the knowledge of it to live in the Life and Possession of it so shall we speak plain and convincingly that we are indeed the followers of Christ(122)

Only Friends whose ministry was deemed to be 'in unity' with the church were allowed to preach or proselytise. In 1689 the Quarterly Meeting established a Meeting of Ministers and Elders, the function of which was not to organise missionary work or encourage Friends to take

119) F.H.L., An Account of John Taylor of York, pp.54,56,65,71

120) Allot, Friends in York, p.19; C.Hill, Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution, (1980), pp.75-6

121) Truth Exalted

122) Brotherton Library, Correspondence of Benjamin Holmes, f.40, Benjamin Holmes to York Friends, 1713

up the ministry but to 'check the testimony of Quaker ministers that they be in unity with Friends'.(123) Apart from Taylor, only two York Friends desired to be active in the ministry between 1690 and 1720, Elizabeth Merry and Benjamin Holmes. Friends were dissatisfied with Elizabeth Merry's testimony and on several occasions between 1704 and 1709 ordered her 'to be silent and for bear or desist troubleing their...Meeting with her pretended Preaching and praying with which they have not unity'. By 1710 Friends were considering whether to disown her as a 'Stubborn unruly and Disorderly woman'.(124) Benjamin Holmes's ministry, by contrast, was 'well liked of' by Friends and he travelled extensively in the British Isles, on the continent and in New England preaching the Quaker gospel. Although he spent a good deal of his time among the already convinced he was also a true missionary and would not have been out of place among the First Publishers. He appears to have done particularly good work in Ireland bringing many 'tender people' there to the Truth.(125) The Society of Friends in the early eighteenth century could well have done with more like him.

Although in numerical terms the 1683/4 schism was very small - certainly nothing to compare with the defections which the Wilkinson-Story controversy provoked in Buckinghamshire or Westmoreland - and had no lasting impact at county level, it was, all the same, highly damaging

123) Y.Q.M., Minutes of the Meeting for Ministers and Elders, passim; F.H.L., A.R.Barclay MS 137, John Rous to George Fox, 1689

124) Y.M.P.M.M.B, vol.2, ff.117,122,144,154,165,176-7,179; Y.M.M.M.M.B., vol.3, f.34; Y.W.P.M.M.B., vol.1, f.4

125) Correspondence of Benjamin Holmes, f.1, Holmes to the inhabitants of Warrington, (1699); f.30, Holmes to York Friends, 1712; f.36, Holmes to Jonathan White, 1713; f.43, Holmes to the newly convinced in Sligo; see also his public testimonies against the inhabitants of Warrington, f.1, 1699; and Londonderry, f.29, 1712

for the city's Quaker community. The separation was common knowledge in the city and the acrimonious and petty disputes which arose in its wake must have presented a most unedifying spectacle to the citizens. Friends publicly accused John Cox of philandering with his maidservants, the separatists claimed that John Taylor and others had formed a 'Cabbal' to ruin Cox and his reputation. Accusation and counter-accusation flew back and forth between the two parties, papers were issued, there were scuffles in the city's market place and arguments ending in 'tumultuous noyse'.(126)

About twenty-five York Friends became separatists (see Table 19) or between a quarter and a fifth of the city's entire Quaker community. The separation curtailed almost three decades of steady growth in the city's Quaker population and was responsible in part for the lack of any significant increase in Quaker numbers for some time thereafter. The York meeting appears to have been decreasing in size throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. According to Archbishop Herring's 1743 visitation there were only 24 Quaker families in the city (as opposed to 42 Dissenting families and 63 Catholic families) and the average attendance at first day meetings was a mere fifty (see Table 20).(127) It was only the flow of Quaker immigrants into York from the late Restoration period onwards which to some extent cushioned the meeting against the effects of the separation and the apparent decline in the Quaker conversion rate among the civic population. Benjamin Holmes was just one of several leading figures in the meeting during the early

126) Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, ff.109-128

127) S.L.Ollard & P.C.Walker, Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743, Y.A.S.R.S., LXXI (1927), LXXII (1928), LXXV (1929), LXXVII (1930)

Table 19. Quaker Separatists

Margery Briggs*	
Phineas Briggs	engraver
Grace Briggs*	
John Cox	?
Elizabeth Cox	
Elizabeth Dennison	
Thomas Dennison	merchant tailor
Edward Evans	yeoman
Margaret Evans*	
John Hall	school teacher/clerk
Hannah Hall	
Mark Hodgson	watchmaker
Phoebe Hodgson	
Abraham Hutton	glover
Frances Hutton	
Sarah Hutton	
John Marshall	grocer
Anne Nightingale*	
Edward Nightingale	grocer
Mercy Nightigale	
Emmanuel Nightingale	grocer
Mary Nightingale	
William Nightingale	?
Joseph Orton	mercier
Isabell Orton	
Anne Stones	
Robert Stones	keelman
Margaret Wainwright	
John Winnard	grocer
Thomas Winnard	?
Thomasina Winnard	

* possible separatist

Table 20. Archbishop Herring's Visitation
Returns, 1743

parish	A	B	C	D	
A.S.P.	199	5	4	7	
A.S.N.S.	50-60	1	-	1	
Trin.Good	c.87	-	-	1	1 family & the master of another are Catholics
Delpike	c.92	-	(1) (a lodger)	4(18)	4 families & the master of another are Catholics
St.Maurice	c.57	-	-	1	
King's Court	104	2(5)	2(9)	(2)	
Trin.Mick.	146	2	-	18	site of Catholic meeting house
St.Crux	94	5	3	2	
St.Cuthbert	64	3(12)	-	4(18)	
St.Denis	66	1	4	1	
St.Helen	103	2	-	7	
John Ousebr.	162	4	2	4	
St.Lawrence	c.59	-	2	1	
Mich.Spurr.	150	-	2	2	
Mary Cas.gt.	148	5	1	3	Quaker m.h., they meet 2× every Sunday & once on a weekday; their number is about 50 on the Sunday
St.Margaret	101	1	2	-	
Mart.Mick.	69	3	1	1	
St.M.B.sen.	70+	1	-	1	
St.M.B.jun.	c.50	-	-	1	
Mart.Coney	c.4 score	-	-	1	only 1 <u>constant</u> family of Catholics
St.Olave	121	1	-	2	
St.Sampson	c.90	2	-	-	
St.Saviour	92	4	-	1	Presby. m.h. they meet every Wed. & Sunday; their no. is about 300 on the Sunday
TOTAL		42	23	63	

A = Number of families in the parish/B = No. of Presbyterian families
C = No. of Quaker families/D = No. of Catholic families
figures in brackets refer to the actual number of persons

eighteenth century who settled in the city after the Glorious Revolution.

The drop in membership which the meeting suffered as a result of the schism was probably less damaging however, than the loss it sustained in terms of social prestige and godly respectability. John Cox, Thomas Dennison, Abraham Hutton, John Marshall, Edward Nightingale, Mercy Nightingale, Joseph Orton, and John Winnard were among the wealthiest and most well-connected members of the Quaker community and altogether the kind of people guaranteed to lend Quakerism respectability in the eyes of the world's people and potential converts. The presence of upright citizens like Marshall, Nightingale, Hutton and Dennison among the early Quakers in York contributed greatly to Friends' acceptance and integration in civic life. The separation may also have deprived the meeting of some of its future leaders, men such as Emmanuel Nightingale who became a wealthy grocer like his father and would no doubt have made a fine Quaker patrician.

A majority of the separatists became Quakers before 1670 but the only real link between them was spiritual. There was no common denominator in terms of social background, wealth or occupation. With the separation the meeting in York lost representatives of a distinctive Quaker religious type and in doing so may have suffered a premature decline in spiritual vitality.

The separatists were still holding meetings in the city in the mid-1690's but by then their numbers had dwindled. John Hall, Abraham Hutton, Edward Nightingale, Mercy Nightingale, Joseph Orton, and John Winnard were all dead by the end of the century and John Cox was a 'shattered' man according to Friends, having been rejected by both the Quaker separatists and the Baptists. A few York separatists rejoined Friends in the 1690's,

but most were lost to the Society forever.(128)

Partly as a result of the separation, partly it seems through changing patterns in recruitment, the meeting in York by 1720 was rather more petty-bourgeois in character than it had been during the 1660's and 70's.(for the occupations of the leading Quakers in York in 1723 see Table 21) None of the city's Quakers in the 1720's could quite match up to John Todd or Thomas Bulmer in terms of wealth and social status. Nevertheless, they were every bit as active in the city's commercial and political life as their predecessors. They voted in parliamentary elections, served as chamberlain, and even began to aspire to high office in the corporation. The concern of Friends to perform their civic duty, the interest they took in matters of public welfare and their godly conversation appear to have earned them the good reputation in the community they so ardently desired. At John Taylor's funeral in 1709 a large number of his neighbours and fellow citizens turned out to pay their last respects.(129) Although the increasing emphasis on plainness and simplicity in early eighteenth century Quakerism may have been responsible for accentuating the differences between Friends and mainstream civic society in matters of dress and etiquette, there is every sign that among persons of serious piety in York, as well as in the world of civic commerce, Friends remained very much an accepted part of the local social scene. Moreover, the city's Quakers were apparently less rigorous in their testimonies on plainness than the official line

128) Letters and Papers respecting the Separatists, ff.146-50, Stephen Crisp to John Taylor and Thomas Waite, 4th July, 1691; Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', pp.530-1; An Account of John Taylor of York, pp.40,47,49
129) *ibid.* p.77

Table 21. York Quakers who affirmed the Oath
of Allegiance at the Sessions in 1723

Thomas Hammond	bookseller
Thomas Etherington	watchmaker
William White	sergemaker
George Stabler	yeoman
Nehemiah Morley	tanner
Roger Shackleton	flaxdresser
Jane Shackleton	
Timothy Hudson	tanner
Benjamin Rhodes	mercier
Jonathan White	scrivener
John Lazenby	yeoman
Robert Ward	tanner
Joseph Coates	tanner
James Frankland	schoolmaster
Henry Frankland	sergeweaver
Joseph Phipps	cordwainer
John Tuke	stuffweaver
Thomas Hammond jun.	bookseller
John Pacey	blacksmith
Robert Pickering	tanner
Edward Evans	marriner
John Maude	tea merchant
Elizabeth Maude	
John Hoyland	cordwainer
Richard Backhouse	barber
Sarah Backhouse	

Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book, F/12, ff.142,144,148

required. Some Friends in York were said to be unfaithful in their testimony against church rates in 1714 and had to be admonished for wearing 'Long Bushy Powdered Wiggs' and generally flirting with the 'unnecessary, changeable fashions which abound in the world...[which] are over much run into amongst us'.(130) The practice of visiting families, which was the cornerstone of the new discipline, was not liked in York. Friends were reluctant to undertake the job or enter the names of the visitants in the minute books.(131) Benjamin Holmes was constantly exhorting Friends in the city to be more diligent in visiting families.(132) Friends' laxity in their testimonies and the godly pietism they shared with the sober people helped to bridge the gap between the Quaker community and the city's religious and social mainstream. Friends may have been becoming a more 'peculiar' people in their dress, language and customs, but they were not, at least in York, entirely cut-off culturally and socially from the wider community.

The character of civic Quakerism changed over the period but not entirely along the lines suggested by some accounts of the movement's early development. From what little can be learned about the first Friends in York it appears that the meeting during the 1650's and 1660's contained representatives of several different strands of early Quaker thinking and practice. The Quakerism of some York Friends took a more active and overtly political turn than that of others and often led to involvement in the ministry. Mary Waite was the prime example in York of

130) Y.M.M.M.B., vol.3, ff.82,84; Y.W.P.M.M.B, vol.1, f.4

131) Y.M.P.M.M.B., vol.2, ff.58,165,166,168,244; Y.W.P.M.M.B., vol.1, f.1,3,6,13,14; York Women's Monthly Meeting Minute Book, vol.1, ff.49,53,62.

132) Corr. of Benj. Holmes, ff.13,18,27 and passim; Y.W.M.M.M.B., vol.1, f.56

this type of early Quaker. But there were also first generation Quakers such as John Taylor, respectable business men of more traditional Puritan bent, whose godliness would be recognisable even to a Presbyterian minister.(133) Most of the early York Quakers were well-established members of their parish community and the world of civic commerce and were not given it seems to public displays of religious enthusiasm. The Light Within was interpreted and acted upon in a variety of ways and it is misleading to talk of a definitive 'early Quakerism'. Although the Restoration put a stop to the activities of the highly politicised, militant wing of early Quakerism it did not create a new kind of Quaker, at least not in York, rather it brought to the fore a group which substantially was already present in the movement. The leaders of the business meetings in York included many of the more wealthy early converts, even some from the pre-Naylor years. The establishment of the appropriately named 'meetings for discipline' allowed these 'weighty', church-minded Friends - the bourgeois element - to re-fashion the Society after their own image. Quakerism remained a protean movement into the eighteenth century with strong regional even local differences, but by the end of the Restoration period there existed a standard interpretation of the Quaker ethos, supported by the weighty Friends in London and a canon of authorised texts. Restoration persecution fueled this development but it was also the outcome of a growing identity of interests between Friends and pious, respectable Protestants generally; 'The...better sort of people are very kind and civil to Friends: and they have respect and interest with them yea...I greatly fear that too many Friends, being

133) this is a reference to the will of Nathaniel Jackson, cited earlier

unwilling to give them offence...are too easy towards them in respect to religious matters'.(134) This was written in 1731 but it could equally apply to the relationship between Friends and the civic establishment in Restoration York. Even during the 1650's there is little to suggest that most Friends in the city were radically estranged from civic society. Toleration clarified the legal position of the Quakers in York, but its supposed rewards - freedom from persecution, material prosperity, and acceptance among the sober people - were to a great extent already theirs to enjoy.

134) Braithwaite, Second Period, p.636

CHAPTER 3) PURITANISM AND DISSENT IN YORK, 1645-1700

THE CHURCH IN YORK DURING THE INTERREGNUM

Church life in York at the end of the Civil War looked set to undergo a transformation greater than any it had experienced since the advent of Protestantism in the 16th century. The surrender of the Royalist garrison in July 1644 marked the end of episcopal authority in York and gave its Puritan civic leaders the opportunity to turn church government in the city to more godly account by establishing an effective preaching ministry. The aldermen in particular appear to have favoured the introduction of a form of ministry modelled along Presbyterian lines, and this was undoubtedly the consensus among the city's Puritan clergy. In March 1645 the corporation petitioned parliament for an ordinance making available the sequestered capitular revenues for the maintenance of a preaching ministry in the city and by the end of the year a modified form of Presbyterianism had been established in York with the institution of four preaching ministers to officiate in the Minster and other civic churches.(1) This arrangement, however, fell a long way short of the programme for church reform proposed by the Covenanters and bore more resemblance to the system of civic lectureships which had served the godly in York before the Civil War. The Presbyterian clergy in York, which included eminent divines like John Shaw, who gave the sermon when the corporation and the 'best' citizens took the Covenant in September 1644, and Edward Bowles, the senior Minster preacher, appear to have regarded

1) York City Archives, Corporation House Book 36, ff.129,234; C.H.Firth, R.S.Rait (eds.), Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, 3 vols. (1911), vol.1, pp.669-70

the ministry of the four preachers as only a move in the right direction and by no means the last word in church reform in the city. In January 1646 a Yorkshire minister wrote to Thomas Edwards lamenting the 'want of a settlement of discipline' in the north; 'I could wish we were reduced into Presbyteries' he wrote 'to prevent further mischief'.(2)

Although it is impossible to say how much support there was in the corporation for the introduction of a fully-developed Presbyterian classis in York, it does appear that the majority of the aldermen and a sizeable element in the Common Council favoured something more akin to a Presbyterian ministry in the city than the Minster preachers scheme. In 1646 a petition to parliament 'for settling the Presbeterian government' was approved by the house, 'none contradicting', and at parish level the corporation attempted to promote the new orthodoxy as well as the more traditional godly imperatives such as the strict observance of the sabbath.(3) During 1645 the mayor's officers made sure that each parish received 'a directorey and a booke of the Nationall Covenant and an ordinance for the better observeing of the lords day and an ordinance for disperceing the directorey to every church and an ordinance for the Takeing downe of organs and pictures'.(4) The following year the Puritans organised the removal of fonts, screens, crucifixes, and 'superstitious pictures' from the city's churches and even suspect carvings on Thursday

2) T.Edwards, Gangraena, (1646), part II, p.108

3) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.197

4) Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, PR Y/HTG.12, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, vol.1, 1559-1712, f.397

Market cross were not suffered to remain.(5) By the end of 1646 each parish possessed a Directory, at least a share in a preaching minister, and a church cleansed of what the Puritans regarded as popish profanities. Nevertheless, the traditional format of parochial church life remained more or less intact, and, as it turned out, the provision of a limited preaching ministry, the suppression of popish abuses, and the replacement of the Prayer Book with the Directory, constituted the only significant progress the Puritans in York made after the Civil War towards remedying the 'want of a settlement of discipline' in the city.

The main obstacle in the way of a more thorough-going reform of church life in the city was its obsolete parochial structure. The city was made up of about twenty-five parishes in this period which was far too many for its needs and a hindrance in various ways to the effective

5) Y.C.A., E/63, Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty, f.48; the term 'Puritans' is applied to those citizens who demonstrated a commitment to the further reformation of the Church of England along the lines of the best reformed churches. It is assumed here that those who revealed any such commitment were likely to be the 'hotter sort of Protestants', possessed of a strong sense of personal 'godliness' or 'election' which derived from a belief that they had experienced conversion. The term is also used however, to denote what might be called 'practical' or civic Puritans (usually the better sort of citizens); those who had neither a particular commitment to national church reform nor a profound sense of their elect status, but who greatly valued discipline and sobriety in church worship and civic society generally and were therefore prepared to support local measures designed to promote the better observance of the sabbath and moderate reform in civic church life and the ministry. Used in this context 'Puritan' cannot serve as a political description. Those Puritans who supported the Parliamentary cause have been labelled 'Puritan-Parliamentarians'. 'Presbyterian' denotes those Puritans whose desire for Godly Reformation led them to support moves to introduce some form of national Presbyterian church. Most, perhaps all, of the Puritans in York who were committed to Godly Reformation (i.e. national reform in church and society) were Presbyterians - see M.G.Finlayson, Historians, Puritanism, and the English Revolution: the Religious Factor in English Politics before and after the Interregnum, (Toronto, 1983), p.85; M.Watts, The Dissenters, (Oxford, 1978), pp.15-17

propagation of the gospel. The apparent shortage of godly incumbents in York during the Interregnum - that is, in terms of the low ratio of preachers to parishes in York - was a result of the large number of parishes in the city which were too poorly endowed to support a preaching minister. Parochial church discipline was impossible in parishes without godly ministers. The solution to the problem was to rationalise the city's parochial system and it was to this end that the Common Council presented a motion to the Upper House in 1646 for the uniting of certain civic parishes.(6) In order to effect such a drastic re-organisation however, the corporation needed statutory backing and this was not forthcoming. No doubt the city's M.P.s pursued the matter at Westminster but parliament was too much taken up with other business for the necessary legislation to be passed. When the aldermen petitioned the Committee for Plundered Ministers in 1648 for a union of civic parishes they were informed that 'because of other public affairs of the kingdom this request cannot be yet accomplished'.(7)

The 1648 petition claimed that 24 civic parishes - a somewhat exaggerated figure - were 'voyd of ministers in regard of the inconsiderableness of the maintenance to them belonging'.(8) By 1650 approximately 18 of the city's parishes were without a settled incumbent according to the Commonwealth Commissioners and a new parochial plan for York was proposed which by reducing the number of civic parishes to eight would provide each with sufficient means for the maintenance of a

6) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.192

7) Y.C.A., E/63, f.98

8) *ibid.*

preaching minister.(9) Again however, the project came to nothing and for the rest of the Interregnum the Minster preachers remained the only representatives of anything approaching a classical system in the city and surrounding area.

In the absence of an effective arrangement for the exercise of church discipline, the role of the parochial presbytery in enforcing godly behaviour among the city's inhabitants devolved to a great extent upon the magistrates. Orders to prevent profaning of the sabbath, unseemly merry-making, and the observance of unreformed church rites were regularly issued by the Mayor's court which together with the Quarter Sessions functioned in a limited way as an ecclesiastical court, vetting the appointment of preachers and churchwardens, punishing spiritual offenders, and making sure that parishioners paid their church assessments.(10) While developments such as these served to hold together much of the established fabric of public worship, the state of the Church in York after the war demanded more radical measures, as the aldermen realised, if godly religion was to flourish in the city. The turmoil of the war years, the removal of 'malignant' and 'scandalous' ministers by the Parliamentarians, and natural wastage had seriously depleted the ranks of the city's clergy and left many parishes without a settled incumbent. At the same time, few parochial congregations had a strong Puritan tradition on which the reformers could build and without either a resident minister or godly minded parish officials some vestries appear

9) Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth MS 919, ff.558-82; M.C.Cross, 'Achieving the Millennium: the Church in York during the Commonwealth', Studies in Church History, IV (1969), p.139

10) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, ff.111,131,149,178,200,201,206,235, H.B. 37 f.28 & passim; Quarter Sessions Book, F/7, ff.179,180,187, 194 & passim

to have acted largely as they pleased when it came to conducting parish business and usually more in accordance with parish custom than the views of the Puritans. Pulpits in the city were reportedly turned over to unauthorised strangers, some of whom were probably unsympathetic to the Puritan cause, and the Prayer Book and its attendant rites remained in secret and possibly widespread use.(11)

The failure of plans to reform the city's parochial system meant that the corporation was forced to continue the struggle it had been engaged in since the war of trying to provide each church-goer with viable recourse to a preaching minister on the Sabbath. This meant, in effect, having to fill the pulpit of every parish church, for although services in the Minster were apparently well attended, not all church-goers would see sermon-gadding, even of necessity, as an acceptable alternative to attendance at their own church. The corporation, therefore, detailed the city's small force of parish ministers to take services in churches adjacent to their own which lacked a resident incumbent. John Geldart for example, the parish minister of Trinity Goodramgate, was authorised to preach at St.Maurice's in the late 1640's, and Christopher Cartwright, the minister of St.Martin Micklegate, preached every Sunday to the parishioners of All Saints North Street and various 'other parishes' as well as his own flock of St.Martin's.(12) In addition, one (possibly two) of the Minster preachers was available every Sunday to occupy a vacant pulpit - at least two of the preachers being needed to take services in

11) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.81; J Raine (ed.), Depositions from the Castle of York, Relating to Offences in the Northern Counties in the Seventeenth Century, Publications of the Surtees Society, XL (1861), pp.9-10

12) B.I.H.R., PR Y/MG.19, St.Martin-cum-Gregory, Churchwarden's Accounts, 1569-1670, f.269

the Minster and the church of All Saints Pavement.

While no church in the city was entirely neglected by the Puritans, evidence in the churchwardens' accounts suggests that the municipally-backed ministry was severely stretched during the Interregnum, particularly in the late 1640's and early 1650's, and that some vestries occasionally found it necessary, and perhaps desirable, to employ preachers (mostly itinerants) who did not have the approval of the magistrates. Although this attests to the popularity of sermons with some parochial congregations, it is noticeable that very few indeed of the ministers hired are to be found among the ejected in 1662 or can be identified as Puritans. The magistrates were well aware of the existence of this black market in sermons and sacraments in the city and were forced to put pragmatism before principle in their efforts to strengthen the official ministry. Clergymen whose support for the Puritan cause was at best lukewarm but who were prepared to include preaching in their pastoral duties were allowed to continue in their livings or occupy vacant ones and work alongside the Minster preachers and the handful of Puritan parish ministers. Matthew Biggs (St.Crux, c.1654-68), John Geldart (Trinity Goodramgate, c.1646-71), Tobias Newcome (St.Cuthbert, 1659-70), Henry Proctor (St.Mary Bishophill senior, c.1658-68), and Henry Rogers (St.Mary Bishophill senior, 1614-55) were probably more at home with the prayer-book and episcopalianism than the Directory and Presbyterianism. Simply as regards the number of preaching ministers in York however, the situation improved towards the end of the Interregnum, although the result was what Professor Underdown has called a 'parochial patchwork',

with dedicated Puritans in a few livings, compliant conformists in others.(13)

For all its shortcomings the Commonwealth ministry was undoubtedly seen as an improvement on its predecessor by many of the merchants and the 'best' citizens. Relations between civic and church leaders in York during the Interregnum were closer than they had been since the Reformation or would ever be again. Despite its popularity in established Puritan circles however, it is doubtful whether the Presbyterian ministry succeeded in giving godly religion a more broadly based appeal in the community. If failure to observe the sanctity of the sabbath is any indication it would seem that a sizeable proportion of the citizens remained non-Puritan in outlook. There is certainly evidence to suggest that affection for the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer was strong in some parishes.(14) Nevertheless, while the Presbyterians' austere Directory worship may not have been very popular in certain quarters there is no sign of a dramatic increase after the Civil War in the number of those who neglected to go to church. The real problem for the reformers began after morning service was over when many of the citizens felt inclined to take a stroll in the fields outside the city or just sit around ('idly' as the corporation would have it) in the streets.(15) The Puritans had to exert constant pressure on the inhabitants to prevent them behaving in an openly ungodly fashion, especially on the sabbath, and then not always with complete success. If the Puritans did succeed to the limited extent

13) D.Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion; Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660, (Oxford, 1985), p.244

14) B.I.H.R., Consistory Cause Papers, C.P.H. 2509

15) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.149

of curbing the excesses of popular irreligion in the civic community, it was by invoking the power of the magistrate rather than by instilling a genuine sense of godliness in the profane multitude.

The corporation's sabbath 'searcher' system and the concern among the city's respectable heads of household, often voiced by the Common Council, that the people be encouraged to attend sermons 'to the amendment of their lives and...comforte of their soules' probably ensured that there was no substantial drop in church attendance.(16) If anything discouraged regular attendance in many parishes during the Interregnum it would have been the lack of a settled incumbent rather than Presbyterian worship.

The death or removal of so many parish ministers during the Civil War period was undoubtedly a much greater shock to the parochial church system in York than the introduction of a limited Presbyterianism. Churchwardens' accounts survive for only six of York's parishes in this period but even from this small sample it is clear that church worship and parochial routine were quite badly disrupted in many parishes as a result of the losses the ministry sustained during the 1640's. In St.Michael-le-Belfrey for example, which was without a minister from the early 1640's until after the Restoration, parish administration and church life fell into a state of total disarray between 1644 and 1658. Although churchwardens continued to be elected the accounts were not kept, there were no assessments made for the repair of the church and the payment of parish officers, and perambulation, doles to the poor, the churchwardens' feast, and regular communion all appear to have ceased. Order was

16) J.A.Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York, 1603-1640', (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of London, 1962), pp.175-6; Y.C.A., H.B. 33, f.55

partially restored in 1658 but the parishioners had to wait until after the Restoration before church life in the parish returned to something like its pre-war state.(17)

St.John, Ousebridge, south of the river, fared a little better but not much. After the death of the incumbent in 1643 the living remained vacant until 1650 when one of the Minster preachers, Peter Williams, agreed to serve as parish minister although he demanded a salary of £70 per annum. The corporation helped with a £20 donation in the first year but the parishioners were apparently not prepared to pay the full amount the year after; the minister's 'wage' before the war had only been eight pounds per annum. It was not until 1654/55 that the parishioners found a replacement for Williams who was within their price range, one 'Mr Robinson', an unordained preacher. Without a settled or competent minister parochial church life inevitably suffered. The situation had deteriorated so much by 1656 that nine leading parishioners, mostly Puritans, formed a 'Committee for the good of the parish of St.John's' to re-organise and re-vitalise the parish's affairs. The Committee attempted to persuade Richard Perrott, another Minster preacher, to take Robinson's place but Perrot declined the Committee's offer, probably because the parishioners were unwilling to pay the going rate for the services of a well-educated preaching minister.(18) All this would have been unnecessary if the parishioners had accepted the offer made to them in 1646 by neighbouring St.Martin, Micklegate of the use of its parish minister, Christopher Cartwright. The parishioners of

17) B.I.H.R., PR Y/MB.34, St.Michael-le-Belfrey, Churchwardens' Accounts, vol.2, 1636-1729 (unfoliated)

18) B.I.H.R., PR Y/J.17, St.John, Ousebridge, Churchwardens' Accounts, ff.89-116

All Saints, North Street were not above this kind of arrangement but those of St.John's were determined to have a minister 'soly to themselves'.(19)

The parish history of St.John's during the Civil War period and Interregnum was probably fairly typical of most parishes in York which were destitute of a minister. After their minister fled the Royalists in 1643 the parishioners of St.Michael, Spurriergate managed to get by for a time with the help of Dr.Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, but after 1644 the accounts are bare of references to the purchase of bread and wine for the communion and the 'ancient custome' of giving doles to the poor at Easter and Christmas (a more Puritan version of this custom was attempted in the 1650's). The parishioners managed to secure the services of a number of preachers during the Interregnum but not those of a full-time incumbent, the reason being that the living was worth only four pounds per annum.(20) Unaccountably, in a parish which contained wealthy Puritans like Alderman Brian Dawson, none of the parishioners stepped forward to augment the stipend. It is possible that the 'godly leaven' in some parishes, perhaps frustrated by 'ancient customes' and the complacency of many of their fellow parishioners, largely abandoned their parish church in favour of the ministry of the Minster preachers.

In the few parishes which were fortunate enough to retain their pre-war incumbent or find a suitable replacment church life remained on a more even keel although the Presbyterians did force some changes. In 1645

19) B.I.H.R., PR Y/ASN.10, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1645-1734, unfoliated; PR Y/MG.19, loose folio

20) B.I.H.R., PR Y/MS.5, St.Michael, Spurriergate, Churchwardens' Accounts, vol.4, 1626-1710, unfoliated

or thereabouts, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, lost its minister and it looked for a time as if it would go the way of its neighbour St. Michael-le-Belfrey. However, in 1647 the parishioners found a new minister, John Geldart, and order was gradually restored. Parochial church life in Holy Trinity before the Civil War appears to have been the most traditional in character of the six parishes, probably because the parish had come into less contact with godly ministers than the others. Communion was held at least six times a year and major events in the parish calendar such as perambulation, or the 'procession' as it was called, were made occasions for the sociable consumption of food and drink. The religious ethos of the parish may have been slightly more community-based than most other parishes, sustained in part perhaps by the practice of paying the minister by a rate levied on every householder in the parish; in some parishes the stipend came out of rents on parish property and each parishioner was invited 'to give what he pleases' for the minister's pains.⁽²¹⁾ Any householder who did not pay his share of the assessment in Holy Trinity was sued in the mayor's court by the parish officials. With Geldart's help the parishioners were able to retain most of their pre-war religious practices and it is quite possible that use of the Book of Common Prayer was connived at, several were certainly preserved among the parish ornaments. Communion continued to be held on a regular basis, including at Easter and Christmas, with no attempt made to separate out the 'ignorant and the scandalous' as the Directory insisted. Perambulation however, stopped in 1645, and only began again in 1659 although there is a reference in the accounts to the holding of a 'presesion' in 1656. The

21) B.I.H.R., PR/ASNS; PR MS.5

parish was the first of those with extant accounts to purchase a new Prayer Book after the Restoration.(22)

Geldart was vital in helping to maintain the established tenor of church life in the parish. According to Bowles he was an episcopalian who 'prayed for his own party under the name of orthodox' (the parish was admonished as late as 1651 for not taking down the King's arms). Geldart was a firm believer in the observance of Christmas, preaching in 1657 that those who did not were 'schismatics...who deserves not to live another day'. Bowles thought him 'inconsiderable for learning' and regretted that there was no way of having him ejected.(23)

The evidence from Trinity Goodramgate suggests that civic authorities were to a large extent ignorant of church affairs in some parishes. The ban on traditional Anglican practice only proved possible for the magistrates to enforce with respect to public matters such as perambulation; many of the more discrete Anglican church practices were impossible for them to eradicate. In Trinity Goodramgate, for example, the traditional sacramental cycle survived almost intact throughout the Interregnum. Without the machinery of visitation the magistrates were unable to regulate religious observance in the city with anything like the efficiency of the episcopal church authorities. The centralisation of religious life in York during the Interregnum, as embodied in the ministry of the Minster preachers, was accompanied it seems by a considerable degree of decentralisation at parish level with many congregations being left more or less to their own devices.

22) B.I.H.R., PR Y/HTG.12, ff.394-457

23) T.Birch (ed.), A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, 7 vols. (1742), vol.5, p.711

Another parish that managed to find a replacement for its pre-Civil War incumbent was St.Martin, Micklegate which together with All Saints, Pavement, was the leading Puritan parish in the city, being the place of residence for a large part of the city's merchant community. The vestry and the trusteeship of the parish advowson, purchased in the 1630's, were controlled by a clique of godly parishioners consisting mostly of merchant aldermen and members of the Twenty-Four.(24) By augmenting the stipend out of their own pockets the parish godly were able to make the living attractive to Puritan ministers of the same level of learning and ability as the corporation's preachers. Christopher Cartwright, who became minister in 1642, was commended in 1650 by the parliamentary commissioners as 'a painful and conscientious minister' and was a friend of Richard Baxter.(25) Cartwright received a salary of £80 per annum, nearly twice as much as any other incumbent in the city, which was paid out of the rents on various parish lands and topped up with subscriptions collected from parishioners. Some of the inhabitants even invested money towards payment of the minister's salary, which shows a healthy, and in York at least, unusual degree of commitment on the parishioners part to the maintenance of a godly parish ministry. The ministry was very much that of the leading parishioners however, and by the end of the Interregnum it was they who were largely responsible for its upkeep. When Cartwright died in 1658 the details of his successor's 'covenant' were worked out at a meeting of only eleven parishioners, eight of them

24) R.A.Marchant, The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642, (Cambridge, 1960), pp.74-92

25) Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth MS 923, f.330-1; for Cartwright see Dictionary of National Biography

merchants, in a parish of at least fifty households. The new minister, Nathaniel Rathband, was a former Minster preacher and after his death in 1661 he was succeeded by Edward Bowles who was also one of the eight trustees of the advowson.(26)

Despite St.Martin's long association with the civic Puritan movement, which had been strengthened during the 1630's as a result of Neile's anti-Puritan endeavours, church life in the parish remained very similar to that of most other civic parishes. The only major difference was that the number of 'communion dayes' in St.Martin's (three) was roughly half that in the other five parishes, less than half where Trinity Goodramgate was concerned. The Royalists apparently found nothing objectionable in the way the parish ran its affairs however, unlike the Parliamentarians who ordered that the screen and the font be removed from the church and probably also that perambulation, or again as it was known in St.Martin's, the 'procession', and the parish dinner which accompanied it, be discontinued. Communion continued to be celebrated in St.Martin's, but on a twice-yearly basis; communion at Christmas was stopped. Although a gospel preaching minister, Cartwright, like Geldart, appears to have made no effort to 'hedge in the sacrament'; payments for bread and wine increased during the Interregnum, the unity of parochial church life was preserved.(27) Presbyterianism apparently had as little impact in St.Martin's as it did everywhere else in the city, which helps to explain

26) B.I.H.R., PR Y/MG.19, ff.240-292a; the eight trustees were Alderman Thomas Dickinson (merchant), Alderman Brian Dawson (merchant; not a parishioner of St.Martin's), Alderman Richard Hewitt (merchant), George Scott (merchant; elected alderman 1663), Thomas Nesbitt (merchant), Ralph Bell (merchant), Richard Cholmeley of Breame, gent., Edward Bowles
27) *ibid.*

the relative ease with which prayer-book religion was re-established after 1660. It was probably only the Minster preachers and a relatively small number of the office-holders who had any real liking for Presbyterianism.

For the city's Puritan clergy, propagating the gospel was meant to serve the dual purpose of convincing those wedded to superstitious and popish practices of the error of their ways and also of preventing the spread of radical ideas. Although they may not have had much success in converting the ungodly, the Puritans could take some credit for the lack of any significant sectarian influence in the city. York, like Coventry, was noted for its sternly disciplined, 'orthodox' Puritanism which generally discouraged all but the most determined sectary.(28)

It is not surprising perhaps that Presbyterianism, with its strong emphasis on discipline and hierarchy, failed to generate much enthusiasm among the common people. However, it was not unusual during the Interregnum for godly religion in towns to develop along more spiritually adventurous and socially subversive lines in the shape of Anabaptism or Quakerism. In York, however, the Baptists were largely a figment of the Puritans' imagination and the Quaker meeting, established in the early 1650's, was very small. Civic Puritanism before the Restoration never acquired a 'popular' base. The place and role of the ministry remained central to religious practice in the city, and the amount of Puritan voluntarism was negligible, even within the context of parochial worship. Above all the integrity of the parochial congregation was insisted on and

28) A.Hughes, Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660, (Cambridge, 1987), p.311

to a large extent maintained. The city's handful of Quakers were the only citizens who removed themselves from the public assemblies.

The absence of a popular Puritan movement in the city of the type which emerged in many towns during the 1640's and 50's cannot be explained solely on the basis of developments in the city's religious life during the Interregnum. The Puritans' campaign to resist the spread of sectarianism was made easier by the city's religious conservatism which owed a great deal to the city's antiquated parochial structure. York has been aptly described as a 'church-dominated, while not necessarily a particularly religious city'.(29) Despite an amalgamation of civic parishes in the Elizabethan period York remained over-churched which meant a thin spread of tithes and bequests and thus an inevitable increase in the practice of pluralism and a concomitant drop in the standards of pastoral care. Moreover, because most of the livings were worth so little they did not prove attractive to zealous, university-educated Protestant ministers. The problem was outlined in the 1548 'Statute for the uniting of certain churches within the city of York':

Whereas in the ancient city of York and suburbs of the same there are many parish churches which heretofore...being well inhabited and replenished with people were good and honest livings for learned incumbents by reason of the privy tithes of the rich merchants and of the offerings of a great multitude...[but due to] the...decay of the city and of the trade of merchandise...the revenues and profits of diverse of the same benefices are at this present not above xxvi^{li} viii^d so that a great sort of them are not a competent and honest living for a good curate yea and no person will take the cure but that of necessity...by reason thereof the said city is not only

29) M.C.Cross, 'Priests into Ministers: the Establishment of Protestant Practice in the City of York, 1530-1630', in P.N.Brooks (ed.), Reformation Principle and Practice; Essays in honour of A.G.Dickens, (1980), p.205

replenished with blind guides and pastors but also the people much keep in ignorance as well of their dutys towards God(30)

Most parish livings did not improve much over the next century and by the time the Civil War began few congregations could lay claim to a long association with first-rate godly ministers. Even in the wealthy 'merchant' parishes clustered around Ousebridge, which were the first to acquire godly incumbents, the influence of Puritanism had brought about only subtle alterations in the balance of the prayer-book service by the 1640's.(31)

Godly religion had come very late to York, hindered by the religious conservatism of the city's governing class. In Protestant terms the city lagged at least half a century behind most large towns, particularly in the south. It was not until the 1580's, after the Earl of Huntingdon had persuaded a reluctant corporation to establish a civic lectureship, that members of the civic elite progressed beyond a mere 'cold-statute' Protestantism.(32) The corporation's patronage of civic lecturers during the first half of the seventeenth century sufficed to ensure some advance in the cause of godly reformation in York, and by the 1620's and 30's quite a number of parishes had preaching ministers.(33) Nevertheless, the progress of Puritan evangelisation in the city, which was successfully impeded by the Laudians in the 1630's, and the general calibre of Puritan incumbents, were insufficient to show dividends during the Interregnum.

30) British Library, Additional MS 33,595

31) M.C.Cross, 'The Genesis of a Godly Community: Two York Parishes, 1590-1640', Studies in Church History, XXIII (1986), pp.209-222

32) Cross, 'Priests into Ministers', pp.222-5

33) Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', p.56,210; Marchant, The Puritans and the Church Courts, pp.226-9, 237,242-3,248,251-2,259,264,267,270,277,291-3

Godly religion 'in all its austerity' probably never appealed to more than a small minority of the citizens. There was, however, a more generalised support among the 'best' citizens for godly initiatives, particularly of a sabbatarian nature, which appears to have transcended the divide between orthodox Puritanism and moderate episcopalianism. Most of the city's 'Puritans' had little difficulty in adjusting to religious life in the city after the Restoration which they succeeded in giving a strongly Low Church Anglican emphasis. Forms of liturgy and national church polity appear to have mattered less to the city's pious merchants and master traders than the maintenance of order and hierarchy. The one item of Puritan practice they retained a steadfast interest in was the godly sermon. A preaching ministry rather than a Puritan ministry was their first requirement.

The strong tradition in York of Puritan practice within the parochial church system meant that with the exception of the city's Quakers there was no such thing in pre-Restoration York as a genuine 'godly community'; that is, a community composed of those who, in the words of Patrick Collinson, were 'mentally and emotionally separated by their radical estrangement from conventional society and its mores and recreations, and by the fervour and strength of their own exclusive fellowship'.⁽³⁴⁾ The Puritans in York were very much involved in conventional society, and there is little sign that they formed an 'exclusive fellowship' either in the corporation or the community generally. The Puritans on the municipal bench and the various local parliamentary committees were first and

34) P. Collinson, The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625, (Oxford, 1982), p.268

foremost civic leaders and used their religion to re-inforce the supremacy of the traditional patrician values common to their social group as a whole.

Because so much of civic Puritanism centred on the power of the Puritans in the corporation and the cathedral ministry it was more vulnerable to the kind of institutional and political changes which occurred after the Restoration than a movement which had its roots in parochial religious life or in gathered church communities. This vulnerability became apparent during the latter half of the 1650's when the authority of the Puritans in the corporation began to be questioned as a generation only vaguely familiar with the grievances of the pre-war years but well acquainted with the troubles of the revolutionary decades gradually made its influence felt. By the late 1650's there was a growing body of conservative political opinion in the corporation, especially among the common councillors, and on certain matters of policy this moderate-Royalist group did not see eye to eye with the Puritan old guard in the Upper House.

However, there was never any danger of a serious ideological rift developing between the two interests. York, like several other cities, including Bristol and Newcastle, remained largely untouched by the national confrontation of political Presbyterians and Independents.(35) There was no second revolution in civic politics since there was none in the city's religious life, and the moderate Puritan consensus that had prevailed among the office-holders since the purge of the Royalist aldermen in 1644 remained more or less intact up to the enforcement of

35) Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, p.342

the Corporation Act in 1662. Nevertheless, by 1661 the authority of the aldermen had been compromised in the eyes of a substantial section of the citizenry and a political campaign was mounted in the city to remove them from office. The campaign received little support in the corporation but the Puritan ministry in York could only suffer as a result of this loss of confidence in the rule of its most prominent supporters on the bench.

The gradual undermining of the political influence of Presbyterianism in the corporation and among the city's ruling class generally, appears to have had little effect at first on the ministry. Indeed in the year separating the fall of the Protectorate in May 1659 and the return of the King, the Minster preachers and their fellow ministers in York enjoyed a period of unprecedented importance in the city's affairs. By the summer of 1659 the clergy in the city were at the forefront of local political as well as religious opposition to the rule of the Rump. In June, Edward Bowles, the leader of the Yorkshire Presbyterians, joined twenty-three other ministers in Bradford for the purpose of framing a petition in defence of religious maintenance.(36) Bowles also played a vital part in the Yorkshire rising of January 1660. As a friend and trusted adviser of Fairfax he may well have been instrumental in securing the General's involvement in the rising and during the winter of 1659 he acted as intermediary between Monck in Scotland and Fairfax at Nunappleton.(37)

The city's Puritan clergy appear to have greeted the prospect of a Restoration of the monarchy with more enthusiasm than their co-

36) Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', p.62; British Library, Additional MS 21,425, f.73, D. to Baines, 15th June, 1659

37) A.H. Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XXXIX (1956-8), pp.487

religionists among the aldermen. This was due in part to the considerable influence of Bowles in the affairs of the Yorkshire Presbyterians, the clergy especially. Sir Thomas Wharton described him in a letter to the Marquis of Ormonde as a 'very wise man, understanding men and buysines more than any...of his calling', his aim being apparently 'to bring Episcopall men and Presbyterians to such a condensation in things which are not absolutely necessary, as that ther might be no jarrings, but all agree for publicke good and peace'.(38)

Bowles' attitude reflects the changes that had occurred in the character of English Presbyterianism since the end of the Civil War and indeed since the fall of the Protectorate. The movement to establish a national Presbyterian church had collapsed by the late 1640's and many Presbyterians, valuing order in the Church above any particular polity, had gradually accepted the need to sink their differences with the Anglicans and Independents on nonessential principles and practices in the interest of a comprehensive and ordered religious system. The resurgence of republicanism and militant sectarianism in 1659 put an end to the Presbyterians' hopes of reaching an understanding with the Independents and instead convinced them that the only guarantee of order and unity in the Church lay in an alliance with the moderate Anglicans and the negotiation of a conditional restoration of Charles. Bowles appears to have accepted this fact sooner than most of his fellow Presbyterians and his importance in influencing opinion among the northern Presbyterians was acknowledged by Morley soon after the Restoration when he urged Hyde

38) Bodleian Library, Carte MS 214, f.155, Wharton to Ormonde, 10th May, 1660

to win over Bowles 'at any reasonable rate; for in gaining him, you gain all the Presbyterians both lay and clergy of the north'.(39)

The hope among Puritan clergy in the early months of 1660 was that order could be restored in such a way as would confer unity on a divided nation and make possible the introduction of a comprehensive and acceptable church settlement. To this end many would have liked Monck to restore a Presbyterian monarchy but when it became apparent that this would not happen, the majority of ministers came to accept modified episcopacy as the only likely substitute for Laudianism. Presbyterian hopes for a 'just settlement' were quickly dispelled however as the consolidation of Anglicanism at all levels of church life began to gather pace regardless of the efforts of Charles and his Chancellor to promote comprehension and reconciliation.(40) At York, the Minster Chapter was filled up with such rapidity, possibly by October 1660, that by the time approaches were made to York Presbyterians, notably Bowles, the Chapter was dominated by the Anglicans and not surprisingly the offers were turned down.(41) By the end of 1660 the capitular revenues which had maintained the Minster preachers during the Interregnum were back in the hands of the re-instituted Dean and Chapter and despite the corporation's efforts to preserve it the Puritan ministry collapsed. The Minster, which

39) Bodleian Library, Clarendon MS 72, f.357, Morley to Clarendon, 11th May, 1660

40) Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', pp.68-70; G.R.Abernathy, The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648-63, pp.91-3; Evans, Norwich, pp.222-3

41) I.M.Green, The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-63, (Oxford, 1978), pp.61,65,67,71,79; B.Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity, (Bradford, 1909), pp.30-1

since the Civil War had resounded to the singing of the psalms and the godly sermons of the Puritans, became once again the showpiece of Anglican orthodoxy in the city and all the old barriers, both jurisdictional and theological, separating St.Peter's from church life in the surrounding city parishes were re-erected.(42)

But while Presbyterianism in York declined after 1660 the number of preaching incumbents in the city appears to have increased. For some time before and after the Restoration the names of the ministers preaching baptism and funeral sermons in the church of All Saints Pavement were entered in the parish registers, and of these ministers, seven are known to have remained in the church after St.Bartholomew's Day, 1662 (43); Joshua Stopford (All Saints Pavement, c.1662-75), Henry Proctor, Tobias Newcome, Anthony Wright (St.Sampson and St.Saviour, c.1662-80), Josias Hunter (St.John Ousebridge and St.Michael Spurriergate, 1660-67), Matthew Biggs, and John Geldart. Between them these ministers served cure in fifteen of the city's twenty-five or so churches, and in 1663 the ranks of the preaching incumbents in the city were swelled by the arrival of Tobias Conyers, the minister engaged by the parishioners of St.Martin, Micklegate and one-time member of John Goodwin's Independent congregation in London.(44) There were probably several more preachers among the six other ministers who became civic incumbents between 1660 and 1663.

42) M.C.Cross, 'From the Reformation to the Restoration' in G.E.Aylmer, R.Cant (eds.), A History of York Minster, (Oxford, 1977), pp.215-6,231-2

43) T.M.Fisher (ed.), The Parish Register of All Saints' Church, Pavement, in the City of York, P.Y.P.R.S., C (1935), pp.140-3

44) E.S.Moore, 'Congregationalism and the Social Order: John Goodwin's Gathered Church, 1640-60', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXXVIII (1987), p.214 n.13

The Restoration clergy in York included only four Commonwealth conformists; John Geldart, Matthew Biggs, Tobias Newcome and Henry Proctor. Biggs, like Geldart, was apparently an Anglican of sorts, but it is not known whether Proctor and Newcome were Puritan-minded conformists or Anglican trimmers. There was not a great deal of continuity between the pre and post-Restoration Church in York in terms of personnel, but since the Puritan ministry had been severely undermanned this was inevitable. Vacant livings began to be filled from 1660 onwards as the magistrates lost control of the rights of patronage in the city and were no longer able to exclude clergymen they thought unfit for the ministry. However, it was not until 1663 that the Church in York had its full pre-war complement of parish ministers.(45)

Only one civic incumbent is definitely known to have been ejected and that was Thomas Calvert who as well as being one of the Minster preachers was minister of Holy Trinity King's Court.(46) The minister of St.Saviour's however, John Whittaker, may have left the Church at the Restoration. Whittaker became rector of the parish in 1632 and was still in place in 1650 when he was described by the commissioners as 'a constant preaching minister'.(47) Nothing is known of his ministry thereafter but in 1660 and 1661 he was the guest preacher on several occasions at All Saints Pavement, and may therefore have retained his

45) B.I.H.R., Archiepiscopal Visitation, V.1662-3, Visitation Papers (the livings of St.Helen Stonegate, St.John Ousebridge, St.Mary Castlegate, St.Martin Micklegate, St.Saviour, All Saints Pavement, Holy Trinity Micklegate, and St.Lawrence were all reported vacant late in 1662 but most had been filled within a year. The majority of civic clergy ended up serving cure in more than one parish)

46) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, pp.36-8

47) Lambeth Palace, Lambeth MS 919, f.574

living long enough to face the prospect of ejection on St.Bartholomew's day, although he is not numbered among the ejected.

Despite changes in the composition of the civic ministry the basic tenor of parochial church life in York remained unaltered at the Restoration, much as it had done in 1645/6. Very few parish congregations appear to have entered into the spirit of the Commonwealth religious experiment and probably the only parish in the city where the re-establishment of Anglicanism brought about a significant break with the past was St.Martin Micklegate. A Puritan form of service was maintained in the parish until the last possible moment, in fact until Bowles' death in August 1662, but in September a Common Prayer Book, font and screen were acquired for the church. During 1663 the routine of church life in the parish gradually assumed a more episcopal character, books of 'articles' and 'inquiries' were bought, money paid for 'Inrolling the presentments and entering the absolutions', and prayers read diligently before every sermon.(48) The parish's integration into the Anglican ministry was expedited by Bowles' replacement, Tobias Conyers, who was scrupulous in his orthodoxy.

The re-introduction of Anglican church order appears to have been an uneventful if rather prolonged process in most parishes. Although episcopal administration and the church's traditional methods of enquiry and correction were not in working order in the diocese until the latter half of 1662 at the earliest, several parishes in the archdeaconry of York had openly adopted some of the more basic formalities of prayer-book religion long before the diocesan authorities were in a position to make

48) B.I.H.R., PR Y/MG.19, ff.305-9

them do so. Trinity Goodramgate, St.Michael Spurriergate, St.John Ousebridge and probably All Saints North Street all bought new Prayer Books in 1660 and presumably therefore stopped using the Directory not long after the Restoration.(49). Perambulation and the regular celebration of communion, including at Christmas, were revived in most parishes during 1661 and 1662, although Trinity Goodramgate began holding its annual 'procession' as early as 1659.(50) Most of these developments were initiated by new incumbents but there is no mistaking the general sense of approval with which the events surrounding the Restoration were greeted in most parishes. On parliamentary 'Days of Thanksgiving' the bells of Holy Trinity Goodramgate had been rung 'at my Lord Mayor's command', but no hint of coercion surrounds the celebrations which took place in the parish to mark the King's return and restoration.(51) The churchwardens of St.Michael Spurriergate even had the bells rung 'for Joie' at news of a free parliament, as they had almost twenty years earlier at the passing of the Triennial Act.(52)

The fall of the church-Puritans in York however, did not signal the triumph of Anglicanism in the city. The 'irresistible Anglican reflex' of the early 1660's had very little effect in York, chiefly because civic affairs were not open to influence by crusading Anglican gentry. Added to which, the city's underpaid livings were no more attractive to episcopalian clergy of zeal and ability than to their Puritan predecessors and the parish ministry in the city remained of an unexceptional

49) B.I.H.R., PR Y/HTG.12, f.464; PR Y/J.17, f.117; PR Y/MS.5

50) B.I.H.R., PR Y/HTG.12, ff.446-471; PR Y/J.17, ff.117-120; PR Y/MG.19, f.395; PR Y/MB.34

51) B.I.H.R., PR Y/HTG.12, ff.463,471

52) B.I.H.R., PR Y/MS.5

character with most of the places taken up by quiescent conformists and Low Church Anglicans. Several of the incumbents, in particular Josias Hunter and Joshua Stopford, were moderately Puritan in outlook, although more in a pastoral sense than ideologically. Both men had minor brushes with the church authorities in the early 1660's over their alleged failure to take divine service and perform certain minor church rites but nothing serious appears to have come of these episodes.(53)

Of great importance in preserving a measure of continuity between the Commonwealth and Restoration Church in York was the willingness of some of the city's post-Restoration clergy to maintain a preaching ministry. Indeed, the corporation even went so far as to abolish the office of weekly lecturer at All Saints Pavement in 1664, 'inregard' it declared 'there are sermons at several other parish churches at the same time'.(54) However, if the quantity of 'painful' preaching in the city's churches was not dramatically reduced by the enforcement of the Restoration settlement, the quality certainly was. After being excluded from the Minster, Bowles and the other Minster preachers continued to preach in a number of the city's churches, notably All Saints Pavement and St.Martin Micklegate, but were unable to make the necessary subscription under the terms of the Act of Uniformity and were ejected from the Church on St.Bartholomew's day, August 1662.(55) In fact Bowles died just a few days before August the 24th, a tired and disillusioned man. On his last visit to London earlier in the year he called on Monck, by then the

53) B.I.H.R., Consistory Cause Papers, C.P.H. 2515; C.P.H. 2686

54) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.2

55) B.Dale, Historical Sketch of Early Nonconformity in the City of York, (York, 1904), pp.16-17

Duke of Albermarle, and expressed his sorrow at the outcome of events; 'I have buried the good old cause' he declared 'and I am now going to bury myself'.(56) The death of Bowles as much as the St.Bartholomew day ejections mark the end of an era in the city's religious history. The link between civic government and Presbyterianism was broken permanently at the Restoration although many of the aldermen for several generations to come retained something of that godly sensibility which had informed the actions and intentions of their predecessors.

56) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, p.31

THE EARLY DISSENTERS IN YORK

The month which saw the ejection of the Minster preachers and the removal of the Puritans from the corporation was also that in which Archbishop Frewen began proceedings for his primary visitation. The wealth of material in the visitation court books suggests that there was little reluctance on the part of churchwardens to cooperate with diocesan officials and the returns for York can be assumed to give a fairly accurate picture of the state of parochial church life in the city.(1) Deficiencies in church fabric and ornaments as well as irregularities in the conduct of parish business were alleged in many of the city's parishes but these were rectified in the majority of cases by the time the visitation court arrived in the city in June 1663. None of the offences for which parish officials were presented appear to have been particularly serious or symptomatic of any widespread discontent at the re-imposition of Anglican rites and discipline. In the visitation of 1667 only a few offences of this nature were presented which even allowing for omissions in returns probably indicates the re-establishment of order and decorum in the observance of Anglican church practices in the city.(2)

Of more concern to the church authorities in 1663 was the number of York parishioners presented for non-attendance at church and related offences. The Quakers and Catholics were by far the most numerous offenders in this respect; 44 of the 91 citizens presented for non-attendance etc.were Catholics, and 28 were Quakers.(3) None of the other

1) B.I.H.R., *Archiepiscopal Visitation, V.1662-3, CB.1, City of York, ff.3-17*; W.J.Sheils, Restoration Exhibit Books and the Northern Clergy 1662-4, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, XIII (1987), pp.1-iii

2) *ibid.*; B.I.H.R., *Archiepiscopal Visitation, V.1667, CB.1*

3) see Appendix III

nineteen offenders can be described with any certainty as Dissenting Puritans, and most were probably loyal if negligent members of the Church of England. One or two may have been Baptists. The presentments tell us little about the strength of Puritan feeling in the civic community. The Puritan movement in York had no history of separation from the worship of the Established Church at the Restoration, and after the Act of Uniformity took effect there followed a period of several years in which civic Puritanism remained almost entirely within the bounds of the Anglican establishment, as it had done before the Civil War. During this period many of the city's Puritans succeeded in coming to terms with the Prayer Book service, although with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

To the more moderate Puritans an unreformed national church appeared a lesser evil than Nonconformist conventicles which smacked of sectarianism, even though attendance at such meetings was, of all the Dissenting practices, perhaps the most easily compatible with church membership. Not all the city's Puritans therefore became Nonconformists after the Restoration. Many remained what might be termed 'Anglo-Puritans' who differed from the most conformable Dissenters only in their unwillingness to indulge in any kind of extra-parochial religious activities. The Nonconformists thus tended to be a smaller and less moderate group than the pre-Restoration Puritans and can be defined according to less complex criteria; firstly, attendance at a meeting held by a minister who did not conform to the Act of Uniformity, and secondly, recusancy or rejection of the sacraments of the Church of England. Some Puritans, particularly those of a Presbyterian inclination, adopted a middle course, attempting to reconcile their activities outside the Church as Nonconformists with attendance at parish services and hopes for the

eventual reformation of the Church along more Calvinist lines. These Puritans were commonly referred to as "conformable Nonconformists" and in York many of them, in the manner of Richard Baxter, advocated full participation in the Prayer Book service, although a few were averse to receiving the sacrament in church or would only do so from a sitting position. Among the "conformable Nonconformists" were also those who practiced occasional conformity which strictly speaking differed from the more principled conformity of the committed Presbyterians in that it was done largely for political or social reasons, or simply from fear of persecution, rather than any abiding attachment to the ideal of a reformed national church. Indeed in years when the threat of persecution diminished some occasional conformists may have joined those of the city's Puritans who had chosen to withdraw from public church services altogether. This last course went very much against the grain of Puritan belief in York and in the early days of the city's Nonconformist movement had relatively few adherents. The ideal of a national church had been at the heart of the Presbyterian ministry during the Interregnum and even the more 'forward' Puritans remained within the formal communion and community of their parish churches. Acceptance of the need to sever the traditional bonds of religious society came slowly and painfully to those among the godly whose dislike of prayer-book religion matured into outright Dissent.

At the beginning of the Restoration period the growth of Nonconformity in York was overshadowed by the attempts of the city's Puritans to impose their own practices and beliefs upon the framework of parochial church worship. In the early 1660's as in the pre-war years the struggle between those seeking after godly religion and the upholders of

Anglican orthodoxy was played out within the church establishment, and very often centred on control of church pulpits. In September 1662 some of the city's Puritans attended a service in the church at nearby Nether Poppleton where the Anglican liturgy was dispensed with and the pulpit turned over to the notorious Zachary Crofton who preached 'that no person could impose any edict or Law: the performance of which beinge against the conscience of a gospel preachinge minister'.(4) A similar subversion of the Prayer Book service seems to have occurred in All Saints, North Street in 1665 when the ejected Presbyterian minister Edward Orde was caught preaching in All Saints church, probably at the request of the godly among the parish congregation.(5)

Voluntary religion found an outlet in various aspects of public church life, sometimes in an attempt to turn parish services to more godly account, other times in protest. In 1663 the 'cheife men' in the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate, backed by the minister, tried, unsuccessfully, to keep in office the man they had contrived to have elected parish clerke, who was said to be 'disaffected to the discipline of the Church of England and one that hath reviled the booke of Common prayer'.(6) The following year a small group of Puritans in St.Michael Spurriergate were accused of disturbing the minister whilst he was conducting a burial service for the wife and daughter of one their number, presumably in an effort to prevent the ministration of the Anglican rites. Throughout divine service which followed they sat or

4) Rev.D.Parsons (ed.), The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, Bart., (1836), pp.361-2; Watts, The Dissenters, pp.228-9

5) Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1665-6, p.183

6) B.I.H.R., Consistory Cause Papers, C.P.H. 2450,5498

stood in the church with their hats on 'in manifest contempt of the Lawes, Statutes Canons & Constitucons Ecclesiasticall, the offence of the Congregacon then and there assembled and to the evill example of others'.(7)

Incidents of this kind appear to have become less common after 1665. This may be due to gaps in the evidence or a decline in the zeal with which the church authorities prosecuted such offences. A more likely explanation however is that the growth of Nonconformity in York made the city's Puritans less dependent upon the conduct of public worship as a means of religious expression. The extension of the Puritan movement in York beyond the boundaries of the church establishment was the work of a small group of ejected ministers in the city who remained active in their calling after St.Bartholomew's day, 1662. Among this group were two former Minster preacher, Thomas Calvert and Peter Williams, as well as several ministers who had moved to York following their ejection elsewhere.

The first clergyman in the city to assume the role of a Nonconformist minister was Williams who soon after being silenced by the Act of Uniformity began to preach a week-day lecture at the house of Lady Lister. 'Many envied his liberty' it was said 'but durst not disturb him while under the wings of such an honourable person, who was nearly related to thirty Knights and persons of the best rank'.(8) He was joined for a short time by the ejected curate of Thirsk, Matthew Hill, who preached privately in the city although apparently in great danger,

7) C.P.H. 2664

8) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, p.166

probably due to his lack of a patron.(9) In 1666 10 ejected ministers, all of them Presbyterians, living in or near York and two well known Puritan laymen took the Oxford Oath under the terms of the Five Mile Act, promising 'not at any time to endeavour any alteration either in Church or State'.(10) Not a single ejected minister living in York appears to have refused the oath - described by Dale as 'an oath nonconformist ministers generally refused to take' - which is further proof of the moderate and conformable nature of Puritan belief in the city.(11) At least half of the ministers who took the oath in York were still active in the ministry in one way or another, although it is unlikely that any of them possessed a congregation in the 1660's. At most, Williams and perhaps one or two other ministers may have had a small and informal following among the godly who attended their private lectures and prayer sessions.

York, with its community of pious merchants, was the natural place for dispossessed clergy to seek employment with wealthy patrons as household chaplains or spiritual advisers of some kind. Several ministers, besides Peter Williams, were privately employed in the households of godly citizens from the mid 1660's onwards.(12) The hazards and lack of adequate remuneration which often attended the task of forming a congregation were an unappealing prospect beside the safety, propriety

9) *ibid.* p.79

10) Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book, F/8, f.83

11) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, p.150

12) Thomas Birdsall (ej.Selby) became chaplain to Mrs Hutton of Nether Poppleton; Nathaniel Lambe (ej.Alne) resided with or was a close friend of Mrs Olivia Croft, widow of a York merchant; Joshua Whitton (ej.Thornhill) died in the house of Mrs Palin in St.Martin Micklegate, also a widow of a York merchant

and financial security of a post as private chaplain. Moreover, in York there was neither popular demand for the services of Nonconformist ministers, nor any reasonably sized group of godly parishioners which might provide the nucleus of a Dissenting congregation. Indeed, even the idea of such a congregation would have been disturbing to many Puritans in York who continued to think of themselves as thoroughly loyal members of the Church of England.

Although the line between a select group of 'hearers' who met in the house of a Puritan patron (or, as was often the case in York, patroness) to listen to discourses by their host's chaplain and a Nonconformist congregation in the true sense was certainly fine, it is doubtful whether that line was crossed in York until the late 1660's at the earliest. There is some evidence to suggest the possible existence of a Nonconformist meeting in York in the mid 1660's but it is by no means conclusive. In 1667 Peter Williams and Thomas Calvert, both ex-Minster preachers, were entrusted with a bequest from Lady Geldart, the widow of the Puritan alderman John Geldart, 'to the poore of the congregation in York (whereof I was a member)'.⁽¹³⁾ This congregation may have been a Nonconformist meeting and if so Calvert and Williams can be credited with its establishment, but Lady Geldart's will leaves much room for doubt and the more probable explanation is that Lady Geldart and the two ministers were members of, or closely associated with, the same *parish* congregation in the city - possibly that of St.Saviour - all were certainly regular church-goers. In the same year a parishioner of St.Mary Bishophill junior, Michael Smith, was presented in the Archbishop's visitation for holding

13) B.I.H.R., Probate Register 48, f.640

conventicles in his house which again could be interpreted as evidence that a Dissenting group of some kind was meeting in the city.(14) However, this is the only mention anywhere of such meetings and Smith himself cannot be linked with any Nonconformist ministers operating in York at the time.

The establishment in York of a Nonconformist congregation worthy of the name was the work of Ralph Ward who was one of the last ejected ministers to settle in the city. Ward, who was a Congregationalist, began his ministry in York sometime in the mid 1660's, having been employed for several years as a private chaplain to Sir John Hewley, a Presbyterian who lived at Naburn.(15) Ward's decision to minister to the godly in York represented a challenge to the church-Presbyterian assumptions which dominated the thinking of the city's conformable Nonconformists who took their lead from ministers such as Calvert and Williams. Ward broke with the city's moderate Puritan tradition by denying the necessity of attendance at Anglican services and communion within the parochial congregation, and based his ministry instead on the notion that only by withdrawing from the public assemblies and the worship of those the Quakers aptly termed 'the world's people', could the elect be true to their spiritual calling. It was largely through his efforts that

14) B.I.H.R., Archiepiscopal Visitation, V.1667, CB.1, City of York, f.1; P.R.O., SP 29/266/30 (In a letter to Secretary Williamson dated the 6th October 1669, Thomas Aislabie, a York customs official, described a conventicle held in the city every Sunday 'by one Lucke [William Lucke, ej.Bridlington, a Presbyterian], where a great many of this towne frequents...'. This is the only mention anywhere of Lucke's activities in York and Aislabie was a self-confessed 'stranger' in the city. Nevertheless this appears to confirm the existence of organised Nonconformity in York by the late 1660's)

15) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, p.210

Restoration Nonconformity in York progressed from being a vague and ill-defined tendency on the fringes of the city's Anglo-Puritan mainstream to an organised community possessing many of the characteristics of an independent Dissenting church.

Not all the credit should go to Ward however, for some of the city's more forward Puritans appear to have been thinking along what were essentially Congregationalist lines before his arrival, indeed it is possible that Ward settled in York at their request. The number of citizens presented for Nonconformist offences in Archbishop Sterne's primary visitation of 1667 is too large to have owed anything to the influence of Ward who had only just begun his ministry in the city and did not appear in the returns. Excluding the Quakers and Catholics, about 90 citizens were presented for offences ranging from refusal to kneel at communion to non-attendance.⁽¹⁶⁾ A few of these were either Congregationalists or destined to become so, but the majority appear to have been disgruntled Puritans who had tired of the Presbyterians' conciliatory approach and begun to practice a more rigorous nonconformity of their own.

The parish with most Nonconformists according to the 1667 visitation was St.Martin Micklegate. The growth of Nonconformity in St.Martin's, as in any other parish community, was closely linked to developments within the parish itself as well as the nation at large. The parish's first Restoration incumbent, Tobias Conyers, was chosen by the Puritan trustees of the parish advowson largely it seems on the strength of his performance as a visiting preacher during the late 1650's, but also

16) see Appendix III

perhaps in the hope that he would collaborate with the godly in circumventing some of the more popish requirements of prayer-book orthodoxy. Whatever the reason for his appointment, once installed Conyers proved to be a strict conformist whose ministry apparently did little to reconcile his more godly parishioners to the Church. By 1666 a number of parishioners were in arrears with their contributions towards his salary, including some whose motives for not paying may well have been religious in nature.(17) The full extent of dissatisfaction with the Anglican ministry in the parish was revealed in the 1667 visitation when 34 parishioners (including two Quakers) were presented for neglecting to attend church and failing to receive communion. Most of those presented made their peace with the Church very quickly, but five parishioners - Andrew Taylor, Thomas Nisbett, Susanna Nisbett, Thomas Cornwell, and Augustine Ambrose - refused to conform and were threatened with excommunication. Because it was Sterne's primary visitation the diocesan authorities were set on pursuing the matter in the secular courts if necessary and in the end only Andrew Taylor refused to submit to church discipline and was duly excommunicated. The church authorities then tried to have him imprisoned on a writ of *de excommunicato capiendo* as a 'contumacious and intractable spirit' but Taylor managed to block the proceedings with a counter-writ from the King's bench, and there apparently the matter rested.(18).

Whilst Conyers' actions did little to endear him to the parish godly he undoubtedly succeeded in deterring all but a handful from outright

17) B.I.H.R., PR Y/MG.19, f.313a,329

18) B.I.H.R., Archiepiscopal Visitation, V.1667, CB.1, City of York, ff.7-9

Nonconformity. In a parish like St.Martin Micklegate with a strong Puritan tradition the churchwardens may occasionally have left out the names of Protestant non-churchgoers from their list of presentments and this makes Nonconformity difficult to identify. Nevertheless it seems that no more than two or three parishioners regularly refused to attend church or receive communion and even then they continued to have their children baptised and buried in the parish. Anglo-Puritanism may have survived in St.Martin Micklegate after the Restoration but Nonconformity claimed few adherents. Conyers's determination to resist the spread of Nonconformist influence in his parish helps to explain why St.Martin's after the Restoration was not the hive of Puritan activity it had been during the Interregnum. In part also, the Nonconformists lack of influence in civic government, which derived as much from the smallness of the Dissenting community as the effects of the Corporation Act, meant that no social or political advantages attached to Nonconformity as they had to Puritanism, which was important in a parish where many of the inhabitants were wealthy merchants with a position in the corporation and society to maintain. Most of the chief men in the parish therefore remained wedded to the state religion, which in the form of moderate Anglicanism became synonymous with the principles of order and propriety which had made Puritanism appealing to the civic elite during the first half of the seventeenth century.

The majority of the Nonconformists presented in York in 1667 do not appear again in the visitation court books; partly because the churchwardens in subsequent visitations were not so scrupulous in drawing up their presentments, and also as a result of church disciplinary measures which had their intended effect on some would-be absentees. In

fact most of York's Nonconformists remained churchgoers, although not, it should be emphasised, to the detriment of Ward's ministry. A sizeable proportion of those who owned Ward as their pastor were conformable Nonconformists who for various reasons, practical as well as spiritual, could not subscribe to the Congregational way. A number of York Nonconformists made bequests to Ralph Ward in their wills or attended Congregationalist conventicles but were never presented at visitation. The visitations are therefore not a reliable indication of the total number of Nonconformists in the city, only at the very most of 'intractable spirits' like Taylor who were part of the Congregationalist core of Ward's following.

Ward was the most active Dissenting minister in the city and according to Calamy soon had 'as flourishing a congregation as most in England'.(19) By 1669 Ward was living in St.Saviourgate, close to the Nonconformist patroness Lady Watson, and was presented at visitation that year with over 20 other parishioners, most of whom had probably been drawn into open Nonconformity as a consequence of his ministry.(20) As in the case of the godly clique in St.Martin, Micklegate, many of those presented in 1669 do not re-appear in the court books and presumably joined the conformable element which seems to have formed the bulk of Ward's congregation. While some of his following came from within established Puritan circles, Ward also managed to recruit a number of men and women during the 1670's who appear to have had no prior connection

19) E.Calamy, The Nonconformists Memorial, being an Account of the Ministers who were silenced or ejected after the Restoration, (1702), abridged by S.Palmer, 2 vols. (1775), vol.2, pp.258-9

20) B.I.H.R., Archdeaconry of York, Records of Visitation, Y.V/CB.3, 1669, City of York, ff.114-121

with the Puritan movement or godly society in York.(21) None of these converts were made in social territory unexplored by earlier godly missionaries in the city, most were middle order tradesmen and their wives or widows.

Because the more committed Congregationalists are relatively easy to identify from the visitation records, it is possible to obtain a fairly accurate picture of the social composition of Congregationalism in the city. Between 1675 and 1685 the core group appears to have consisted of about fifty adults, most of them married couples with families.(22) Six men in the group, excluding Ward himself, were styled 'gentlemen' in successive visitations, although only two, the merchants Brian Dawson and Andrew Taylor, were on a roughly equal footing with members of the gentry in terms of wealth or status, the rest acquired the title as a consequence of having held office (it being the custom in York to call any office-holder or ex-officeholder 'gentleman' or 'Mr') or were given it in polite recognition of their standing as the 'best' or 'chief' men in their parish.

Brian Dawson was an alderman from 1656 until 1662 when he was removed from the bench by the Corporation Act and for many years was one of the wealthiest merchants in the city. He was master of the York Merchant Adventurers in the early 1660's and was also a member of York's most prestigious trading company, the Eastland Company, which was

21) Michael Barstow, Joseph Bell, Brian Dawson, Francis Coulton, Richard Dossey, Thomas Jackson, Wilfred Lazenby, Thomas Nisbett, George Peckett, Ralph Rymer, Abel Seamour and Andrew Taylor were all active in local government and politics during the Commonwealth.

22) see Appendix II

reserved for merchants trading with the Continent.(23) Andrew Taylor, was elected sheriff in 1656, paying £130 exemption money, and by May 1662 he was on the short-list of candidates for a place on the bench, only to be removed from office later that year. He was not an Eastlands' merchant like Dawson but he did play an active part in the York Merchant Adventurers Society - that is until persecution forced him into hiding in the mid-1680's; in 1686 the free brothers received word 'that for severall years, he had been under restraint and other circumstances, by reason whereof he could not with safety come to Courts'.(24) Not surprisingly his estate declined towards the end of his life.(25) Despite their political and economic setbacks however, both men remained leading figures in civic society.

The majority of Congregationalists belonged to the middle or upper bourgeoisie, the wholesalers, minor professional men and wealthier retailers. The leading members of this group were closely related in terms of wealth and type of trade to the merchants who largely made up the city's social and political elite. Michael Barstow 'gent' (mercener/5 hearths), Joshua Drake 'gent' (mercener), Thomas Jackson 'gent' (merchant tailor/5 hearths) and Thomas Paruter (draper/6 hearths), like the city's leading Quakers, belonged to the class of traders Philip Styles has labelled 'Masters'.(26) Jackson (a former lieutenant in the Cromwellian Army and described by the corporation as 'a very great trader'), Drake

23) B.I.H.R., Vacancy Wills, f.149; M.Sellers (ed.), The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917, Surt.Soc., CXXIX (1918), p.325

24) B.I.H.R., York Merchant Adventurers' Minute Book 1677-1736, f.49

25) B.I.H.R., Perogative Wills, will proved 25th February, 1696/7

26) P.Styles, 'The Social Structure of the Kineton Hundred in the Reign of Charles II', pp.96-117

and Barstow were thought fit candidates for the shrievalty.(27) Below these men was a larger group of minor wholesalers, well-to-do retail traders and master craftsmen.(see Table 22) Several of them served as common councillors or chamberlains but none were wealthy enough to aspire to high office. There were also a few farmers among the Congregationalists, most of them apparently of yeoman status.

Although predominantly a religion of the 'middling sort of people', Congregationalism was not without its 'poorer sort', most of them minor artisans and labourers like Robert Dodsworth (bricklayer/1 hearth), Richard Emmerson (free labourer/1 hearth), and George Peckett (pewterer/2 hearths).

If grouping according to 'sorts' is abandoned in favour of an analysis on purely occupational grounds then a similar picture emerges. Although categorisation by trade can often distort a group's social origins, for comparative purposes it is indispensable. To the extent that occupation is an indication of socio-economic rank it would seem that the York Congregationalists were of slightly higher social and economic standing than the population at large. As Michael Watts has observed however, all analyses of this kind are flawed in some respect and the accuracy of these findings is open to question on several counts.(28) In the first place, the number of Congregationalists identified is too small to constitute a viable statistical population. And secondly, evidence from the

27) British Library, Egerton MS 3348, f.101, a petition from the mayor and alderman to Danby, 17th January 1688/9, requesting that Jackson, as a former lieutenant of foot under Monck and someone who was 'very instrumentall in the restoration of the Royall Family in 1659', be made a pensioner in 'Chelsey Colledge'

28) M.R.Watts, The Dissenters, pp.346-8,353

Table 22. Congregationalists in York, 1660-85

name	occupation/hearths	Evidence of Congregationalism
Ambrose, Augustine gen	merchant	67,85
BANKS, William	WHITESMITH	Conv.
BARSTOW, Alice	wo Michael	82,83
BARSTOW, Michael gen	MERCER/5	85/W/QR
Baxter, Mary	wo Hen.Baxter gen.	75,77,78
BELL, Joseph gen	TANNER/6	84,85/W
BELL, Mrs Joseph		84,85
BEST, William	YEOMAN/3	83,84/W
BEVERLEY, James	?	Conv.
BOLTON, Obediah	BRAZIER	85/Conv.
BIRKETT, Mathew	?	Conv.
BLACKETT, Thomas	?	Conv.
BROMPTON, Hugh	TAILOR/4	82,84/Reresby
BROMPTON, Mrs Hugh		82,85
CARTER, John	COOPER	Conv.
Chapman, Christopher	tanner	84,85
Chapman, George	tanner/3	84,85
Chapman, Mrs George		85
Chapman, Richard	tanner	84
Codder, Gerrard	pauper	84,85
Codder, Mrs Gerrard		85
COLTON, Francis gen	BARBER-SURGEON/3	74-77,80-85
DAWSON, Brian gen	MERCHANT/7	67,69,74,82-85/W
DAWSON, SUSANNA	wo Brian	67-85/Conv./W
DAY, Anne	wo Henry	74-77,80/QR
DAY, Henry	BARBER-SURGEON/2	74-77,80/QR
DODSWORTH, Jane	wo Robert	73,84/Conv.
DODSWORTH, Robert	BRICKLAYER/1	73,74,75/Conv.
Dossey, Richard	weaver/5	75,76
DRAKE, Joshua gen	MERCER	82-85/R.c./W
DRAKE, Mrs Joshua		82,84,85
EMMERSON, Richard	LABOURER/1	76,80,82,83
Emmerson, Mrs Richard		83
FISHER, Anne	wo Richard	76-85
FISHER, Charles	FARMER	73,75
FISHER, Dorothy	wo Charles	75,77
FISHER, Richard	PARCHMENTMAKER	76,77,80-85/Conv.
Forster, Thomas	saddler/5	64,85
Forster, Mrs Thomas		85
GARFORTH, William gen	MERCHANT	Conv.
GOWLAND, Elizabeth	wo William	84,85/Conv.
GOWLAND, Elizabeth	wo John	84,85
GOWLAND, John	?	84,85/Conv.
GOWLAND, William	?	84,85/Conv.
HABBER, Joshua	?	Conv.
Hague, Elizabeth	pauper	84,85
Hall, Anne	maid servant	84/W
HALLIDAY, William	YEOMAN	Conv./W

HALLIWELL, John	CLOTHIER/1	73,80-82,84-89/QR
Harness, Thomas	?	84,85
Harrison, Anthony	cordwainer	63,67
Harrison, Elizabeth	wo Anthony	63,67
Harrison, Margaret	wo Charles H. (cordwainer)	74,75
HEWITT, Catherine	wo Richard H. (merchant/alderman)	67,82
HICKSON, Hannah	wo William	77,78
HICKSON, William	JOINER	75,77,78/W
HOBSON, Catherine	wo John H. (minister)	82/Conv./W
HOTHAM, Hannah	wo Martin	80,81
HOTHAM, Martin	MILLINER/3	76-81,89/W/Conv.
JACKSON, Thomas gen	MERCHANT TAILOR/5	73,74,84
JACKSON, Mrs Thomas		73,74,84
LAZENBY, Sarah	wo Wilfred	67,69
LAZENBY, Wilfred	BAKER/5	69,73
Lofthouse, Robert	tailor	84,85
Lofthouse, Mrs Robert		85
LUCAS, Isabell		63,75,81-84
Marshall, William	harness maker/2	84,85
Nelson, Nathaniel	barber surgeon/1	84,85
Ouseman, Anne	wo Richard O. (baker)	84,85
OVEREND, Edward jun	?	84,85
OVEREND, Richard	YEOMAN	Conv.
PARUTER, Rose	wo Thomas	75,82,84,85
PARUTER, Thomas	DRAPER	74,75/W
PECKETT, Elizabeth	wo George	80,85
PECKETT, George	PEWTERER/2	73,76/QR
PICKERING, Mercy		Conv.
Porter, Thomas	labourer	84,85
Porter, Mrs Thomas		84
RAINE, Thomas	?	Conv.
RAINE, Mrs Thomas		Conv.
Redmaine, Charles gen	merchant	84,85
RIDSDALE, John	?	83/Conv.
ROBINSON, Judith		Conv.
ROOME, John	TALLOW CHANDLER/1	63,69,82,83
RYMER, Ralph gen	GENTLEMAN	82,84,85/W/Reresby
SALMON, Thomas	TALLOW CHANDLER	82,84,85/W
SALMON, Mrs Thomas		82,84,85
Seamer, Abel	watchmaker/3	69,75,77
Seamer, Dorcas	wo Abel	69
SLAYTER, Robert	BREWER/4	77/Conv.
Slayter, Ursula	wo Robert	77
SMITH, Abraham	LINNENWEAVER	Conv.
SMITH, Michael	LINNEN-DRAPER/6	64,67,80,83
SMITH, Rosamond	wo Michael	64,67
TAYLOR, Abigail		Conv.
TAYLOR, Andrew gen	MERCHANT/7	67,75,80,82/Conv.
TAYLOR, Martha	wo Andrew	67
THOMPSON, Hannah		Conv.

WARD, Frances	wo Ralph	69-83/Conv.
WARD, Mary		Conv.
WARD, Ralph	MINISTER	69,73-83/W/Conv.
WATERHOUSE, Charles	JOINER	Conv.
WATSON, Anne	wo Samuel W. (grocer/alderman)	73-77/W
WHALES, Henry	?	Conv.

UPPER CASE - known Congregationalists

Lower case - probable Congregationalists/appeared in the visitation records twice for non-attendance and were neither Catholics nor Quakers

Conv. - found at a conventicle held by Ward in 1684

W - evidence in wills

Reresby - evidence in Reresby's correspondence

QR - evidence in Quaker records

wo - wife of

visitation records cannot be relied upon to give an accurate picture of Nonconformist numbers. Not all of the city's Quakers for example were presented at visitation, only it seems the most 'notorious' offenders and then often intermittently. It is also quite conceivable that churchwardens overlooked offenders from the margins of society, non-householders for example, which is perhaps why women Quakers in York were less frequently presented than men when in fact there appears to have been a slight preponderance of women converts in the early meeting. On the other hand of course, some churchwardens may have deemed it prudent not to present the more affluent and well-connected offenders. Nevertheless, even if those who were only presented twice for non-attendance are included in the Congregationalist core (assuming for the sake of argument that persistent non-churchgoers would appear at least twice in the court books, whatever their station in life), the evidence still tends to confirm the impression that the Congregationalists were socially distinct from their surroundings (see Table 23).

Bearing in mind the close ties between the more evangelical wing of orthodox Dissent in York and the conformable Nonconformists it is not unreasonable to suppose that the city's Dissenting community as a whole was on roughly the same social footing as the Congregationalists. The only major difference between the social complexion of the two groups for which there is any evidence, and that circumstantial, is the apparently higher proportion of merchants and other members of the civic elite among the Presbyterians. During the Restoration period the Presbyterians could muster at least eight men of the first rank in civic society; Charles Allanson esq. (7 hearths/son of Alderman Sir William Allanson), Augustine Ambrose (merchant), Matthew Bayocke (merchant/10 hearths/sheriff in 1688),

Table 23. Occupational Structure of Parochial and Congregationalist Communities

	M.M.	M-le-B	K.C. T.G.	M & D	Cong.
Gentlemen	2.2	0.8	0.7	0.0	2.3 (1.7)#
Professions	2.2	5.0	2.8	0.0	4.7 (5.2)#
Merchants	26.1	5.0	0.0	0.0	7.0 (8.6)#
Wholesalers & yeomen	17.4	21.5	13.4	21.9	23.3 (24.1)#
Retailer- craftsmen & husbandmen	19.6	23.1	26.8	17.3	18.6 (19.0)#
Artisans	23.9	26.4	31.0	28.8	18.6 (17.2)#
Labourers/ servants	4.3	2.5	5.6	1.8	2.3 (3.4)#
Unknown	4.3 (100.0%)*	15.7 (84.2%)*	19.7 (85.7%)*	30.9 (91.2%)*	23.3 (20.7)#
Number	46	121	142	110	43 (58)

Parochial occupational structure based on the 1671 hearth tax returns. Adjacent parishes with a similar average of hearths per household have been combined where possible (hopefully) in order increase the accuracy of the findings. St.Martin, Micklegate has been included as a strongly Puritan parish, note the high proportion of merchants.

M.M. - St.Martin, Micklegate

M-le-B - St.Michael-le-Belfrey

K.C./T.G. - Holy Trinity, King's Court and Holy Trinity, Goodramgate

M & D - St.Margaret and St.Denis

Cong. - Congregationalists (men), 1660-85

* percentage of persons of unknown occupation with three hearths or less

percentages after adding the persons presented twice for non-attendance

John Geldart (merchant/8 hearths/fined for sheriff in 1686), Sir John Hewley knight (M.P. for York 1679-81/17 hearths), Thomas Nisbett (merchant and gentleman/9 hearths/sheriff in 1671), John Pemberton (merchant/sheriff in 1684), and Thomas Rokeby esq. (lawyer and later judge).(29) Most of the city's 'elect ladies' were also Presbyterians, namely Mrs Dorothy Cummins (sister of Thomas Hutton esq., a Nonconformist living in Nether Poppleton), Lady Alice Geldart (widow of John Geldart, merchant, alderman and one-time mayor - hence the customary title of 'Lady'), Lady Catherine Hewitt (wife of Richard Hewitt, merchant and alderman), Dame Sarah Hewley (wife of Sir John Hewley and the city's leading Nonconformist patroness), and Lady Lister (widow of Sir William Lister). Because it is impossible to identify all the city's Presbyterians there is no way of knowing what proportion of them was drawn from the civic elite. However, since there is no evidence to suggest that Presbyterianism had been popular among the common people during the Interregnum, it seems safe to venture that the early Dissenters in York were at least equal in social status to the population generally and if anything slightly superior.

As far as one can tell, the social complexion of Dissent in York during the Restoration period was similar to that of Nonconformist congregations elsewhere. The only reliable basis for comparison is Michael Watts' work on the social structure of eight early 18th century urban congregations. Watts concluded that within the manufacturing and commercial communities in which Nonconformity thrived, Dissenters were not distinguished by occupation or social status from the population at

29) see Appendix II

large.(30) The Dissenters in York may have been proportionately better represented in the higher occupational categories than the Anglicans but overall there was apparently not a great deal to choose between the two groups. The social structure of civic Dissent also corresponds roughly with that of early York Quakerism, especially in terms of the high proportion of well-to-do tradesmen in both denominations. Unlike the early Quaker meeting however, the Dissenters included some members of the mercantile elite, although not in the kind of numbers commensurate with the strength of merchant support for the Puritan cause during the Civil War and Interregnum. This was partly because Nonconformity was incompatible with the political and social pretensions of the city's leading merchants; the wives of the city's merchants took to Nonconformity more readily it seems than their husbands. But it also signifies the extent to which the events of the 1650's and in particular the last year of the Interregnum had disillusioned and alarmed many moderate, propertied Puritans. After the Restoration some Puritans may have sought religious fulfillment in the privacy of their personal and domestic lives rather than openly through the exercise of civic office or membership of a Nonconformist congregation. Certainly the figure of the godly magistrate disappears from the city's political scene after 1662. Many of the city's

30) Watts, The Dissenters, p.350; for more impressionistic accounts of the social status of Dissent see Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', pp.127-131,152 ('Dissent drew its support in varying degrees from all but the highest and lowest orders of society, the social composition of Dissenting communities reflected the area in which they were situated'); and B.Williams, 'The Church of England and Protestant Nonconformity in Wiltshire, 1645-1665', (unpublished M.Litt., thesis, University of Bristol, 1971), pp.235-6 ('...the balance of evidence seems to point to persons of middle rank in town and country...as being the strongest supporters of Nonconformity...')

post-Restoration aldermen were 'straite lac'd and of true protestant tender Consciencs', but not one is known to have left money to a Dissenting minister and no evidence exists, even in the form of accusation, to suggest that civic leaders attended conventicles outside church hours as did their counterparts in cities such as Hull, Lancaster and Coventry.(31)

Perhaps because a deliberate effort was made to convert the civic elite to godly religion while no such initiative was undertaken at parish level, Puritanism became very much the religion of the 'better sort' in York and this together with the parochial structure appears to have limited its appeal among other social groups. Despite this fact however, the distribution of post-Restoration Nonconformity conforms to no clear socio-economic pattern and only loosely to the distribution of pre-war Puritan incumbents.(see Table 24) Holy Trinity, King's Court for example, although a moderately affluent parish and the cure of one of the city's leading Puritan ministers from 1638 until 1660 apparently possessed a negligible Nonconformist population. The comparatively sizeable Dissenting populations in St.Martin, Micklegate (St.Martin-cum-Gregory), All Saints, North Street (the figure in the Compton Census is clearly far too low), All Saints, Pavement, St.Denis and St.Saviour almost certainly had their origins in the ministry of Puritan incumbents. But when and how godly religion gained a foothold in St.Crux, St.Martin, Coney Street, St.Maurice

31) Leeds Record Office, Sheepscar Library, Mexborough MSS, Reresby Correspondence, 24/30 Thomas Fairfax to Reresby, 5th March 1683/4; E.Gillett, K.A.MacMahon, A History of Hull, (Oxford, 1980), pp.190-1; J.J.Hurwich, "'A Fanatick Town": The Political Influence of Dissenters in Coventry, 1660-1720', Midland History, 4 (1977), pp.14-47; M.A.Mullett, 'Conflict, Politics and Elections in Lancaster, 1660-1688', Northern History, XIX (1983), pp.62-4

Table 24. The Parochial Distribution of Nonconformity and Quakerism in York, 1660-88

Parish	A	B	C	D	E	F
St.Martin, Coney St.	5.8	83	11 (21)#	2.7%	-	
St.Martin cum-Gregory	4.5	51	30 (33)	11.8%	8 (3.1%)	P
St.Michael-le-Belfrey, Minster Yard & St.Wilfrid	4.5	274	27 (57)	2.0%	-	P
St.Helen, Stonegate	3.5	109	5 (19)	0.9%	3 (0.6%)	
St.Michael, Spurriergate	3.2	113	12 (23)	2.1%	30 (5.3%)	P
St.John, Ousebridge	3.1	94	5 (10)	1.1%	-	
St.Crux	3.0	130	11 (38)	1.7%	16 (2.5%)	
Trinity, King's Court	3.0	118	6 (19)	1.0%	4 (0.7%)	P
All Saints, Pavement & Peter-the-Little	3.0	161	20 (44)	2.5%	30 (3.7%)	P
St.Sampson	2.9	108	5 (10)	0.9%	-	
Trinity, Micklegate	2.9	73	4 (13)	1.1%	0	P
St.Mary, Bishophill, sen	2.9	44	25 (34)	11.4%	2 (0.9%)	
Trinity, Goodramgate & St.John-del-Pyke	2.6	111	6 (9)	1.1%	4 (0.7%)	
All Saints, North St.	2.6	61	12 (27)	3.9%	1 (0.3%)	P
St.Denis	2.6	75	12 (29)	3.2%	14 (3.7%)	P
St.Maurice	2.6	38	8 (13)	4.2%	-	
St.Mary, Castlegate	2.5	124	5 (11)	0.8%	10 (1.6%)	
St.Olave	2.5	34	6 (15)	3.5%	7 (4.1%)	
St.Lawrence & Peter-le-Willows	2.4	35	4 (9)	2.3%	-	
St.Cuthbert, St.Helen-in-the-Wall & All Saints, Peaseholme	2.3	62	10 (31)	3.2%	4 (1.3%)	
St.Margaret	2.2	55	4 (17)	1.5%	2 (0.7%)	P
St.Saviour & St Andrew	2.2	116	23 (55)	4.0%	10 (1.7%)	P
St.Mary, Bishophill, jun	1.8	55	4 (7)	1.5%	-	
Totals and averages	3.2	2124	255 (544)	2.4%	161	

A - Average number of hearths per household

B - Total number of households

C - Highest number of Dissenters and Quakers (including non-churchgoers and non-communicants not positively identified as Dissenters or Quakers) presented at a visitation

D - %

E - the Compton Census

F - Pre-war or Interregnum Puritan incumbent

The Hearth Tax material is taken from the 1672 returns. The figures in column D refer to the percentage of Dissenters etc. (as per column C) in the parochial body as a whole (the approximate population of a parish is obtained by multiplying the number of households per parish by 5 - V.C.H: York, p.163). The second set to the percentage of Protestant recusants, as enumerated in the Compton Census, in the parochial body as a whole.

the figures in brackets refer to the total number of Dissenters etc. presented at visitations between 1663 and 1689

and St.Cuthbert cannot be satisfactorily explained. Because presentments in this period rarely indicate an offender's denomination, it is possible that what looks like evidence of Nonconformity in some of these parishes is in fact quite the opposite. The 'Dissenters' of St.Cuthbert may actually have been a small community of unidentified recusants in the employ of nearby Catholic gentry rather than converts of Peter Williams who lived in the parish.(32) The movement of Dissenters from parish to parish could also account in part for the absence of any clear pattern. The Dissenting presence in St.Mary, Bishophill, senior, for example, was not indigenous to the parish but the result of an influx of Quaker families from the city centre in the early 1680's. Overall, the distribution of Dissent in York appears to bear out D.G.Hey's impression of the 'lack of any urban pattern'.(33)

Although the number of Nonconformists in York appears to have been increasing towards the end of the 1660's and throughout the 1670's, the rise of Nonconformity in York is not susceptible to any sort of quantitative analysis. For some reason York was omitted from the Episcopal returns of 1669 and the so-called 'Religious Census' of 1676, or the Compton Census as it is more properly known, only assesses the number of Protestant recusants in the city, and therefore fails to take into account the mass of conformable Nonconformists. In theory it should be possible to extrapolate a figure for Nonconformist recusants in the city from the total of 161 'Other Dissenters', i.e. Nonconformists and

32) H.Aveling, Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791, (St.Albans, 1970), pp.95-6,99

33) D.G.Hey, 'The Pattern of Nonconformity in South Yorkshire, 1660-1851', Northern History, VIII (1973), p.93

Quakers, given in the York section of the 1676 census. But even allowing for the fact that seven of the city's parishes were omitted from the census there is still reason to doubt the accuracy of the census total. Comparison of census and visitation returns sometimes reveals the census figure to be larger than that given at visitation. Either those who drew up the census returns deliberately exaggerated the number of absentees, which is unlikely given Sheldon's desire to show that fears of increased Nonconformist numbers were groundless, or they were aware that the visitation process failed to take account of many known Nonconformists and that the census figures needed to be adjusted accordingly. If the latter was the case then the Anglican ministry in York probably underestimated the strength of the Dissenting interest in the city - Quakers numbers alone would amount to almost half of the total for 'Other Dissenters'. In 1681 upwards of one hundred people were said to have attended a Nonconformist conventicle in York, which being on a Sunday 'in the time of Divine service' presumably did not include many Presbyterians.(34) On the basis of this piece of evidence at least, it seems reasonable to conclude that there were somewhere between 150 and 250 adult Dissenters in York by the late 1670's.

The obvious place to search for evidence of any increase in Nonconformist numbers in the city are the visitation records. Although only persistent offenders were likely to be presented, fluctuations in the size of this group might be expected to bear some relation to changes in the city's Nonconformist population as a whole. In fact however, this would depend entirely on whether the number of Nonconformists presented

34) L.R.O., Reresby Corr., 18/124 Fairfax to Reresby, 16th January 1681/2

at visitation accurately reflected the number of actual offenders, and by and large this was not the case. The failure of some churchwardens, particularly in parishes with a strong Puritan tradition, to present absentees was partly responsible for obscuring any variations there may have been in the number of offenders. The presentation of a long-established Nonconformist group in Nether Poppleton in 1680 for example, came about only because the then churchwardens had been involved the year before in a tithe dispute with the parish's leading Nonconformist, Thomas Hutton esq..(35) The church courts also dealt with several Nonconformist recusants whose names do not appear in the visitation records.(36) But despite the partiality of some churchwardens the overall efficiency of the visitation process depended upon the disposition of the diocesan authorities towards Nonconformity. This explains why increases in the presentation of Nonconformists in the city occurred in those years when the diocesan authorities, prompted by national political and religious developments, took firmer steps to eradicate Nonconformity and hence put pressure on the churchwardens to submit accurate returns. It was the determination, or lack of it, with which the leading churchmen in the diocese endeavoured to combat Nonconformity rather than the actual incidence of non-attendance etc. which ultimately had the greatest effect on the number of Nonconformists presented.

35) B.I.H.R., Consistory Cause Papers, C.P.H.3464; Y.V/CB.3, 1680, City of York, ff.498-9 (Dorothy Hutton was presented for 'not repairing to Church till divine service be ended', the parish clerk for 'singing the Psalme before sermon' and Thomas Hutton esq. for 'irreverent behaviour in the Church (vizt.) in not kneeling at the Confession and Lords prayer nor standing up when the beliefe is said...[and] for keeping conventicles in his house according to common voice and fame')

36) B.I.H.R., Dean and Chapter Cause Papers, 1672/7, Office con. Joseph and Catherine Harrison; 1681/2, Office con. Ellen De Mullins

During the early 1670's, which saw a general slackening of diocesan activity against Nonconformists in the wake of the 1672 Indulgence, it is very likely that the size of Ward's following in the city, and therefore the number of Nonconformist recusants, increased. Oliver Heywood described how 'a great number' and 'vast multitudes' attended his sermons in 1672 and Ward may have had the same experience.(37) However, because there was less pressure on the churchwardens at that time to present offenders, the number of Nonconformists presented at visitation in the city throughout most of the 1670's actually declined from the levels recorded in the late 1660's, a period of intense persecution by Church and State. Predictably, the numbers increased again in the first half of the 1680's following the defeat of the Whigs and the triumph of the Anglican establishment. In these years the churchwardens undoubtedly acquitted themselves better than they had done in the 1670's and the totals of absentees presented were probably more representative of the actual number of offenders, but with the onset of persecution many fair-weather Nonconformists would already have returned to the Anglican fold.

Although the city's Dissenting movement was apparently thriving by the late 1670's, York probably possessed the smallest Dissenting population of any major city in England.(38) York had fewer Dissenters even than Sheffield, where 300 of the estimated 3,000 communicants

37) J.H.Turner (ed.), The Reverend Oliver Heywood, 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books, 4 vols. (Brighouse, 1882), vol.1, p.289

38) A.Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter, (Manchester, 1962), pp.37-8; Evans, Norwich, p.244; Hurwich, "'A Fanatick Town'", p.17; R.Howell, 'Newcastle and the Nation: The Seventeenth-Century Experience', Archaeologia Aeliana, Fifth Series, VIII (1980), p.25; B.Little, The City and County of Bristol, (1954), pp.138-9

subscribed to Dissenting views. Sheffield, however, was a large industrial parish and therefore very different from York both economically and topographically.(39) York was unique among the 'first division' cities in lacking a large mercantile, textile or industrial base. The disappearance of the woollen industry in York before the Reformation, and perhaps also the long-term decline in its overseas trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may well have helped to shape developments in the city's religious life. Michael Watts has concluded that the 'mobility and degree of economic independence provided by the woollen industry in particular was an important factor in the growth of radical Dissent after the Reformation'.(40) In his view a high degree of economic independence was the most common characteristic of Dissenters, and this may have been easier to attain in the great clothing towns and mercantile centres than in a city such as York where 'prosperity stemmed from service industries, social life and administration, with a deferential view to the wishes of the county aristocracy and gentry'.(41)

Restoration York, however, was by no means entirely unfavoured as a centre for organised Dissent. Lack of ministerial leadership and persecution were the principal retardants of Nonconformity and York possessed at least one dynamic Nonconformist minister in the person of Ralph Ward and the persecution of Dissenters in the city was sporadic and

39) Hey, 'Nonconformity in South Yorkshire', p.91

40) Watts, The Dissenters, pp.354-5; for the apparent connection between Dissent and the clothing trade see Williams, 'Protestant Nonconformity in Wiltshire', pp.248-9; A.E.Jones, 'Protestant Dissent in Gloucestershire: A Comparison between 1676 and 1735', Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions, CI (1983), p.137;

41) D.M.Palliser, 'A Crisis in English Towns? The Case of York, 1460-1640', Northern History, XIV (1978), p.122

generally less severe than in the diocese at large. The disadvantages of living on the Archbishop's doorstep were more than offset by the opportunities which urban life afforded the city's Nonconformists to acquire elite patronage and capitalise on the support of sympathetic civic leaders. The tacit protection the civic authorities gave the Dissenters from the mid 1660's onwards was vital for the growth of Nonconformity in York. The corporation's success in keeping the Anglican gentry at bay meant that the task of enforcing religious uniformity in York fell almost entirely upon the diocesan church which for much of the period had to struggle to keep its own house in some semblance of order and was thus poorly placed to inflict a plague on that of the Nonconformists.(42)

The failure of attempts by the diocesan church to eradicate Nonconformity during the Restoration era was largely the result of legal incapacity and administrative inefficiency. The Court of High Commission which had dealt harshly with many of the city's leading Puritans before the Civil War was not restored in 1660 and the remaining spiritual courts, having only at most the power to excommunicate, were forced to rely upon the secular courts to provide suitable punishment for recalcitrant spiritual offenders. It is clear from the visitation records that the ecclesiastical courts held no fear for the committed Nonconformists whose names appear year after year in the court books. However, the threat of excommunication did prove sufficient to deter many of the more moderate or discreet Dissenters from persistent recusancy. Occasional conformity simply in order to avoid trouble was probably quite a common practice among the city's Nonconformists, as was occasional

42) Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', pp.178-83

nonconformity for the same purpose. The names of many Nonconformists in the visitation court books have beside them entries which include the words 'compuit et promisit conformitatem et ad recipiend: sacramentum', or something similar, and indeed the presence of such formulae often helps to identify an offender as a Dissenter since the presentments of Quakers and Catholics were frequently followed by 'Em[anavilt excom:', 'prius excom:' or simply 'Ex'. In fact relatively few of the city's Nonconformists were excommunicated which attests to the deterrent effect which ecclesiastical discipline had on many Nonconformists as well as the strong church-Puritan character of Nonconformity in York. But while the church courts may have reduced the incidence of open Nonconformity they do not appear to have had any significant effect upon Nonconformist numbers and perhaps partly as a consequence of this the disciplinary procedure employed in the visitation courts, especially that of the Archdeacon, began to break down from the mid 1670's onwards. In the later visitations the list of offenders and the offence are given without any indication of the outcome of their presentation which according to Faithorn is strong evidence of 'the inability on the part of the courts to deal with the growing problem of church absence and an increasing disregard on the part of the absentees for the authority of the courts'.(43)

Although the problems and deficiencies of the Church in the Diocese of York were largely those of the Restoration church establishment as a whole, they were exacerbated in the Northern Province by poor leadership on the part of successive Archbishops. If in 1662 it was true that 'there

43) *ibid.*, p.185

were few places in England in which the national Church was...at a greater disadvantage than in the City of York' then the institution of Frewen as Archbishop was not likely to remedy matters. Frewen was seventy-two at the time of his translation and clearly incapable of providing the kind of lead the diocesan church required if it was to deal in any way effectively with the problem of organised Dissent. The major innovations of policy which the Restoration religious scene and the state of diocesan affairs demanded were entirely and perhaps wilfully overlooked by him. Instead, according to one critic, his four year episcopate was marked by 'Intolerance on the one hand and a total absence of all earnestness and zeal in God's cause on the other' and was 'looked upon with dislike by good and sober minded men'.(44)

Frewen's failure to make any positive contribution to diocesan administration and church life had a particularly adverse effect on the public image of the Anglican establishment in York. The disclosure in 1663 of serious disorders in the conduct of worship in the Minster and corruption in the management of Chapter leases made it essential that the archbishop carry out a thorough and much-needed re-organisation of Chapter policy and administration.(45) The conduct of the Dean according to John Neile, one of the prebendaries, was a disgrace to the Church;

The officers also and Choristers, and poor complain that they are not entertained and relieved as they ought to be; especially not at the Deanes, who they and others say keeps a mean and sordid house By which, and by stern words, and churlish behaviour he brings a great scorn and hatred upon himselfe which reflects upon the Church; and looseth that kindness and respect which we were wont to have from the Citty and Gentry hereabouts...By his

44) *ibid.*, p.179

45) D.M.Owen, 'From the Restoration until 1822', in Aylmer, York Minster, pp.236-7

weakness also, and negligence in learning the duty of his place...things are often carried in such a manner as pincheth the Church both in reputation and profit.(46)

In the event very little was done to improve discipline in the cathedral church or increase its contribution to the city's religious life. Some of the financial irregularities were cleared up but as Professor Cross says, that there could be any changes in the way the Minster was run which would enable it to serve the city and the diocese better in future obviously occurred neither to Frewen nor the Dean and Chapter.(47) The standard of worship in the cathedral was especially in need of improvement yet the disorderliness which attended services in the Minster continued unabated. In 1662 Neile reported that 'There are many people that will walke in the Church at time of Service the sermon, though often admonished to the Contrary. And we not being Justices of the peace, cannot restrain them so well as our praedecessors did [he appears to mean the Minster preachers] though we doe endeavour it'.(48) In 1667 the Vicars Choral reiterated Neile's complaint; '...in time of Divine Service there is such a noise in all parts of the Church, excepting the Quire by walking, and talking, and shouting, with boyes especially upon sundayes and holy dayes; that those who read the prayers and Chapters, can scarce be heard though they streine theyr voices to the uttermost'.(49) Similar

46) B.I.H.R., Archiepiscopal Visitation, V.1662-3, Visitation Papers, Answers to Articles of Enquiry by the Dean and Chapter of York, John Neile to Archbishop Frewen, 7th January 1662/3, f.4

47) Cross, 'Reformation to Restoration', p.216

48) B.I.H.R., V.1662-3, Visitation Papers, Answers to Articles of Enquiry by John Neile

49) B.I.H.R., V.1667, Visitation Papers, Answers to Articles of Enquiry by the Vicars Choral; V.1684, Visitation Papers, Answers to Articles of Enquiry by Dr.Tobias Wickham, Dean, Dr.Thomas Comber, Praecentor etc.: C.S.P.D., 1672/3, pp.546-7 (Dr.John Lake complained of a 'so great disturbance of Divine Service...that nothing could be heard')

complaints were still being voiced in the 1680's. Worship in the Minster must have been extremely disagreeable for many respectable citizens and probably encouraged support for the Nonconformists among the more 'sober minded' churchgoers.

The church hierarchy blotted its copy-book in York even more by needlessly provoking a quarrel with the corporation in the mid-1660's over seating arrangements in the Minster. This dispute was particularly regrettable from the church's point of view in that after the purge of the Puritan office-holders in 1662 the corporation had shown an apparent desire to improve its relations with local church leaders. In fact there is little doubt that with tact and effort on their part church leaders in York could have built up a strong interest in the corporation for themselves and the Established Church. It was not ideological rivalry which prompted the post-Restoration faction-fighting, as was partly the case before the Civil War, merely pique and a sense of injured pride.

The failure of Frewen and his successor, Sterne, to develop a coherent and active policy towards Dissent and the almost total lack of cooperation between the secular and spiritual authorities in the city ensured that the York Nonconformists escaped serious persecution during the 1660's. Sterne's primary visitation in 1667 probably deterred many Nonconformists from non-attendance but without effective leadership and the support of the civic authorities the Church could not inflict any real damage on the growing Dissenting movement in York. State legislation against Nonconformity required the full backing of the aldermen J.P's in York if it was to be effective and this was rarely forthcoming. The first Conventicle Act claimed not a single victim in the city and the Corporation and Five Mile acts, where they were enforced at all, were

capable of being circumvented by Nonconformist ministers or their followers. An indirect effect of such legislation however, may have been to discourage the Dissenters from holding public meetings as the Quakers did, with possible consequences in terms of Nonconformist numbers. When even the city's most energetic and radical Nonconformist minister, Ralph Ward, thought it advisable to live quietly with his family between 1666 and 1672 preaching only in private, it becomes easier to understand why the growth of the York Quaker meeting in the 1660's apparently outpaced that of the city's Dissenting movement.⁽⁵⁰⁾ There was nevertheless at least one occasion on which the Dissenters' low visibility in the civic community worked to their advantage and that was in 1670 when it probably saved them from the worst effects of the Second Conventicle Act.

Despite being the only piece of legislation which had any direct physical impact on the city's Nonconformists before the 1680's the Second Conventicle Act did not hit the Dissenting community in York as hard as it did congregations in many other towns and cities. Indeed for the space of several months it must have seemed doubtful whether the Act would be enforced in York at all. The Act's passage early in 1670 drew no response whatsoever from the city's magistrates who were content to sit tight and await further developments. The insufficient lead supplied by central government and alterations in the legislation appear to have confused the judiciary for a time and the York magistrates, like their counterparts elsewhere in the county, were reluctant to take action against Dissenters

50) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, p.210

without first being sure of their ground.(51) Some magistrates in York may also have had legal and moral reservations about enforcing the Act and appearances suggest that left to themselves the aldermen would not have wished to cause trouble for the respectable citizens who mostly made up the city's Nonconformist and Quaker communities. In the end however, their hand was forced when a group of young Tory gentlemen and officers, frustrated by the inaction of the civic authorities, violently drew attention to the conventicles in the city and thereby compelled the magistrates to move against offenders.(52) The Quakers bore the brunt of the persecution, falling easy prey to informers who were quick to capitalise on the loyalist outburst. The Dissenters did not escape the attention of the persecutors but they were less obtrusive in their meetings than the Quakers and at the same time better connected in civic society which made it harder for informers to operate against them. Only one Nonconformist, Brian Dawson, was fined at Quarter Sessions for holding conventicles in his house, although since much of what befell the Quakers in 1670 does not find its way into the official records it is possible that other Dissenters also suffered under the Act.(53)

The period in which the city's Quakers and Dissenters came under heaviest attack was comparatively short-lived, beginning in June and ending sometime around mid-September. In Norwich and Exeter, by contrast, the Dissenters continued to fall foul of the Act until the issue of the

51) Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', p.330-1; A.Fletcher, 'The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts 1664-1679', Studies in Church History, XXI, (1984), pp.245-6

52) Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, p.92

53) Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book, F/8, f.181

Declaration of Indulgence in 1672.(54) The reason for the precipitate end to the persecution in York is unclear. There are signs that the citizens from the aldermen downwards were beginning to sicken of the whole business by the Autumn and it is unlikely that those who had initially agitated for the Act's enforcement possessed sufficient influence in the community, even with the law on their side, to twist the arm of the civic establishment for very long. Once the Tory gentry had decided, for whatever reason, to quit the field then the informers' position in the civic community became untenable and so the machinery of persecution broke down. The duration of the crack-down on Dissent in the city was not long enough to have any serious effect on its victims, and even the relatively hard-hit Quakers continued to meet when and where it suited them and suffered no appreciable loss of support.

Barring the events of 1670, which were exceptional and largely the work of outside interests, there can be no doubt that from the mid-1660's onwards the civic authorities favoured a policy of practical toleration towards Dissent and Quakerism in the city. An attitude of live-and-let-live towards 'respectable' Protestants of all denominations prevailed among the office-holders, which is not surprising considering that the leading Dissenters and Quakers were themselves part of the civic establishment. Most of the wealthier Dissenters served office in the corporation as chamberlains, common councillors or sheriffs, and Sir John Hewley, the standard-bearer of orthodox Dissent in York, was chosen by the Bench to represent the city in all three Exclusion Parliaments.(55)

54) Evans, Norwich, p.248; Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter, pp.31-33

55) see chapter 4; C.V.Wedgewood, 'Sir John Hewley, 1619-97', Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, VI (1935), pp.9-11

The more affluent Dissenters and Quakers were either neighbours, friends, or business associates of senior office-holders, and a small but nevertheless significant number of aldermen were either related or apprenticed to Dissenters.(56)

Because the Dissenters in York escaped serious persecution during the 1660's the Declaration of Indulgence, although a welcome respite from the threat of persecution, did not constitute a significant turning point in their history. Five ministers were licensed to preach in York in 1672, three Presbyterians, one Congregationalist, and one Baptist. Three more ministers, all Presbyterians, living in nearby villages also obtained licenses.(57) The number of ministers licenced unfortunately tells us little about the strength of Dissent in the city. In Coventry for example, which had a much larger Nonconformist population than York, only four ministers took out licences, whereas in Exeter with a Nonconformist community similar in size to that of Coventry, 18 ministers were licensed.(58) What the licenses do provide us with is a clear indication of the ministerial and lay leadership of orthodox Dissent in the city;

56) Samuel Dawson (ald.1687-1711) & Thomas Dawson (ald.1701-04) were the son and grandson respectively of Brian Dawson; Joshua Earnshaw (ald.1687-93), married the daughter of the Dissenter Thomas Hutton esq. and was an apprentice of Andrew Taylor; Richard Hewitt (ald.1657-1673) was the husband of the Dissenter Katherine Hewitt; Andrew Perrot (ald.1692-1702) was the son of the ejected minister Richard Perrot and refused to renounce the Covenant after being elected an alderman in 1681 (H.B.38, f.174); Charles Redmaine (ald.1702-1732) son of the Presbyterian John Redmaine; William Redmaine (ald.1712-27) was an apprentice of the Dissenter William Garforth; John Welburne (ald.1705-6) was an apprentice of the Quaker Henry Wilkinson; John Wood (ald.1680-1705) was the cousin of Sir John Hewley

57) G.Lyon Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity, 2 vols. (1911), vol.2, pp.646,665

58) Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter, pp.35-6; Hurwich, "A Fanatick Town", p.23

Ralph Ward took out a licence to preach and Brian Dawson, Andrew Taylor and Lady Watson each licensed their house as a meeting place. The three Presbyterian ministers who acquired licences to preach in the city - Peter Williams, James Calvert (nephew of Thomas) and Nathaniel Lambe - also registered their houses as meeting places.

The unusual feature of the early Nonconformist ministry in York is that so few ministers active in the city had links with the civic Puritan movement stretching back beyond the Restoration. Of the ministers licensed after the Declaration of Indulgence only Peter Williams had been associated with the Commonwealth ministry, the rest had come to York in the early 1660's following ejection elsewhere. This lack of continuity between the Commonwealth and Dissenting ministries was not caused by persecution so much as the strongly orthodox tone of civic Puritanism. After 1662 it seems, there were simply not enough potential Nonconformists in York to encourage the city's Puritan clergy to set about the hazardous process of establishing congregations. Some ministers may have had qualms about doing anything which might tend to weaken people's allegiance to the Established Church but had there been a desperate need for their services among the godly in York then doubtless they would have set aside such scruples, as their colleagues in Exeter did.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Most of the Puritan ministers in York however, either conformed, found private patrons, or left the ministry altogether. Only Ward and Williams among the licensed ministers were to operate a public ministry in York and then it is unlikely that there was ever more than one Dissenting congregation in the city.

59) Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter, p.25

Although the Declaration of Indulgence was not essential for the survival of orthodox Dissent in York it undoubtedly boosted the confidence of the city's Nonconformists and marked the beginning of a more relaxed period in their history. After 1672 the Dissenters started to hold their meetings in a more open fashion, perhaps becoming slightly more cautious in the immediate wake of the Declaration's annulment in April 1673 but growing gradually bolder as the decade progressed. Despite its short life and dubious legality the Declaration lent moral and political respectability to a policy of leniency towards Dissent; 'there was very little fruit' it stated 'of all those forcible courses and many frequent ways of coercion that had been used for reducing all erring and Dissenting persons'.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The Declaration effectively undermined the whole basis of the Clarendon Code, not least by making it possible for those in authority who failed to take a hard line against the Dissenters to claim that they were simply complying with his Majesty's known wishes in the matter. It was partly on this pretext no doubt, that the magistrates in York were able to turn a blind eye to the activities of the city's Dissenters for most of the 1670's. The weakness of the 'loyal' party in York (the clergy, civic gentry and the garrison officers) during the 1670's also helped in this respect.

The increase in diocesan activity against Nonconformity in the mid-1670's, prompted by the King's switch to the High Church Party in 1674 and Sheldon's drive to erase the effects of the Indulgence, was barely felt by the Dissenters in York. The situation looked so encouraging to the

60) quoted in J.Hunter, The Rise of the Old Dissent exemplified in the life of Oliver Heywood, (1842), p.223

city's Quakers by 1674 that they built themselves a meeting house in St.Mary Castlegate, collecting money for its construction with the reminder 'that such a day of liberty and freedom as this, which we now have both as to our persons and estates, would have been highly prized by us a few years past'.(61) Although a few Quakers were imprisoned in the mid-1670's for not going to church and refusal to pay tithes, the number of presentments at visitation did not increase, as it did elsewhere in the diocese, and among the city's Dissenters it was only Ralph Ward who suffered serious persecution. His excommunication occurred in 1671 and according to Calamy 'was driven to a capias which...coming out every term, either confined him to his house or obliged him to be very cautious in going out of it'.(62) His evangelising activities were seriously hampered, and for a time he was obliged to leave the city for fear of imprisonment. During his exile he teamed up with the Presbyterian minister Noah Ward (no relation) and together they preached in the surrounding countryside.(63) The attack on Ward was not pursued however, and proved to be only a minor setback for the city's Dissenting movement. The growing number of 'contumacious' citizens (excommunicates etc) after the Indulgence and the open manner in which conventicles were held in the city suggests that the Anglicans were losing the battle against Nonconformity in York during the 1670's.

The city's Dissenters used the relatively calm years of the 1670's to consolidate the gains they had made in the late 1660's and strengthen

61) Brotherton Library, Leeds, York Mens' Preparative Meeting Minute Book, volume 1, f.18

62) Calamy, The Nonconformists Memorial, vol.2, pp.258

63) *ibid.*

their own internal accord. In 1670 Thomas Gower noted that 'several sects' in the York area had 'herded together', and after 1672 interdenominational cooperation between Nonconformists in the city was progressively strengthened to the point where the Presbyterians and Congregationalists effectively coalesced into one Dissenting congregation sharing patrons as well as ministers.(64) In the circumstances this move was perhaps inevitable but it left unresolved very real differences of outlook between the two denominations, particularly over the vexed question of where exactly the Dissenting community stood in relation to the Church of England. When the Yorkshire Presbyterian ministers met at York in May 1672 to thrash out a common policy towards the Indulgence, their words would appear to have ruled out any likelihood of a compromise with the Independents; 'It not our intention' they stated 'to set up any distinct or separate churches in opposition to those already established...in the course of preaching in our licences places we will not take up the canonical hours in any city...but shall preach in other convenient hours before or after...as shall be least prejudicial to the more public and authorised devotions which we also do intend to frequent and to persuade the people we are acquainted with to a constant attendance upon'.(65)

In fact the tone of the ministers' statement was excessively conciliatory, its purpose being to give friendly assurances to the Established Church that their acceptance of the Indulgence was not a mark of sectarian status or resolve. Although the Presbyterians endeavoured to remain true to the Anglo-Puritan ideals which underlay the 1672

64) P.R.O., SP 29/277/12 (Gower referred to the 'connivance' of local J.P.s in allowing the Dissenters to contravene the Second Conventicle Act)
65) Hunter, The Rise of the Old Dissent, pp.228-31

declaration, faced as they were with prolonged separation from the Established Church and under constant threat of persecution they were forced to take up a quasi-Congregationalist position simply in order to survive. As Faithorn has observed 'failure to reach a comprehensive settlement and acceptance of the Indulgence compelled Presbyterians to acquiesce in a practical Congregationalism, the corporate life of which was scarcely distinguishable from that of the Independents'.(66) The Presbyterians in York resisted this process inasmuch as they remained church-goers and partakers of the Anglican sacrament. But their commitment to the 'authorised devotions' did not prevent them playing a prominent part in the establishment and maintenance of the Dissenting movement in the city.

The individual attitude of the ministers themselves was also important in bringing the two groups together. If Williams had not been prepared to work with Ward or Ward had failed to recognise the validity of Presbyterian ordination as some Congregationalists did then the union might never have come about. The conviction of both men however, that faith rested not in 'this or the other opinion, in matters circumstantial' meant that the two men were able to form a solid partnership, apparently free from personal or denominational rivalry. Under their guidance Nonconformist worship in York took on a more regular and organised appearance during the 1670's. Ralph Ward preached twice every Lord's Day and he and Williams took it in turns to preach a week day lecture at Lady Watson's house. Ward repeated his Lord's Day sermon every Tuesday morning and administered the sacrament every six weeks. Ward was certainly the

66) Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', p.450; Dale, Nonconformity in York, p.21

more active of the two ministers; 'He had days of conference with his people, and of answering questions in divinity. He also set times of philosophical disputations with some young scholars who lived in the city; besides his diligence in catechizing youth, calling parents and masters to that work, visiting the sick, and resolving the doubts of many'.(67)

Because of Ward's proselytising ability the Congregationalist element in the city's Dissenting community began to gain in size and importance at the expense of the Presbyterian. Oliver Heywood (a good friend of Ward's) preached several times to 'very numerous' assemblies in York during the 1670's and from his brief descriptions it would seem that by the end of the decade Ward had effectively assumed pastoral control of the Dissenting community.(68) Although this helped to push the movement in York faster along the road towards 'practical Congregationalism', the influence of important patrons like Lady Hewley who continued to regard herself as a Presbyterian ensured that the congregation remained of a hybrid nature. No member of the congregation, apparently, was required to give a confession of faith or a statement of their special experience as a condition of communion after the Congregationalist fashion. All persons were considered eligible to communicate with the congregation who professed belief in the Gospels.(69)

Discipline in the congregation was necessarily of a largely voluntary and informal nature. There was, however, something approximating to a

67) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, pp.210-11

68) Turner, The Reverend Oliver Heywood...His Autobiography, Diaries etc, vol.2, p.44

69) T.S.James, The History of the Litigation and Legislation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Wales Between 1816 and 1849, (1867), p.262

church eldership in the congregation, an inner core of Dissenters - similar to a typical vestry in many ways - which consisted of the ministry and its most devout and committed supporters. These were by no means all non-churchgoers, many in their own eyes remained loyal members of the Church of England. Among the leading lights in the movement were men like Matthew Bayocke, merchant, who was a steadfast church-goer and also held office in the corporation, yet at the same time a 'great conventicler' and close friend of Ward's patron, Brian Dawson.(70) Outside the inner core was a broader range of 'hearers' which included principled church-goers as well as occasional conformists.

The distinction between Congregationalist and Presbyterian did not disappear during the Restoration period. The two groups probably continued to meet separately as well as together, and until Peter William's death in 1680 the city's Nonconformists were ranged about the two princip^a Dissenting ministers rather like the lines of flux around the poles of a magnet. Some Nonconformists were wholly devoted to either pastor and hence we find bequests in the wills of citizens to Williams or Ward alone. Others, however, were not so particular and this is reflected in wills like that of Lady Watson in which money is left to both ministers.(71) The character of Lady Watson's Nonconformity provides a good example of the hybridisation of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism in York; despite leaving most of her estate to Peter Williams and his family she had her house licensed as a Congregationalist meeting place in 1672, and was a persistent non-churchgoer.

70) Reresby Corr., 21/39, Thomas Fairfax to Reresby, 30th September 1682; B.I.H.R., Vacancy Wills, f.149; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.254

71) B.I.H.R., Probate Register 58, f.3

The theology of early Dissent in York became the subject of intense debate in the 1830's following a legal dispute over Lady Hewley's charity, and speculation on the matter continued long after the case ended.(72) According to The Reverend Joseph Hunter 'Lady Hewley herself, if she had ever been a Calvinist, had dropped her Calvinism [by the late seventeenth century], as had the Presbyterian body in general at York'.(73) Seventy years later however, Brian Dale was in no doubt that Lady Hewley (and by inference the entire Dissenting community) was 'of orthodox or evangelical sentiments, and in practice an Independent'.(74) Although Hunter was almost certainly mistaken in thinking that the York Dissenters turned Arminian during the Restoration period, Dale for his part probably over-emphasised the Congregationalist nature of their piety. If Williams and the Presbyterians had adopted an Arminian standpoint then a merger with the Congregationalists under Ward, who has been accurately described as 'thoroughly orthodox' in doctrine, would have been out of the question.(75) But equally, if 'evangelical sentiments' had come to dominate the outlook of the York Dissenters entirely then hopes of eventual comprehension and the practice of regular church attendance would have died out and this was not the case. In 1695 one of the city's most committed Dissenters, John Geldart (who, incidentally, was never presented at visitation), bequeathed £200 'for the use and encouragement of the Dissenting Preaching Ministers of the city of York during their exclusion

72) James, Litigation and Legislation, pp.227-279

73) J.Hunter, An Historical Defence of the Trustees of Lady Hewley's Foundations, (1834), p.40

74) Dale, Nonconformity in York, p.28

75) J.Kenrick, Memorials of the Presbyterian Chapel, St.Saviourgate, (York, 1869), p.40

from public places', with a proviso 'in case of their admittance into beneficed places'.(76)

The evangelicals and the church-Presbyterians differed more in what Ward called 'outward services' than in principle. The fundamental aim of both groups was not the promotion of a particular view of Gospel truth as essential but rather, as Hunter says, 'for doing good to the souls and bodies of men, preparing them, by religious and virtuous lives, for the enjoyment of heavenly happiness'.(77) The Church of England still bulked large in the spiritual lives of many evangelicals. In 1687 Brian Dawson, arguably the city's leading lay Congregationalist, left 20 shillings in his will to the parish minister to preach a sermon at his funeral.(78) And not all of those who refused to attend church lost their interest in parochial church affairs, one or two continued to hold office in the vestry as churchwardens, poor collectors, or trustees of parish property. Michael Barstow remained active in the vestry of St.Michael Spurriergate after he became a Congregationalist in the early 1680's; and Augustine Ambrose was a churchwarden and poor collector (along with the Quaker Edward Nightingale) for St.Mary Bishophill junior in the 1680's where he was also presented for non-attendance.(79) There are one or two instances of Congregationalists refusing to become churchwardens, Hugh Brompton in 1678 for example, but very few turned their backs on the Church

76) B.I.H.R., will proved February 1694/5; Records of the Unitarian Chapel, St.Saviourgate, York, UCSS 8/3, Correspondence concerning the Geldart Charity

77) Hunter, An Historical Defence, p.39

78) B.I.H.R., Vacancy Wills, f.149

79) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.203; B.I.H.R., Y.V/CB.4, 1683, f.137; Y.V/CB.4, 1685, f.182

altogether.(80) No Dissenter persistently failed to pay church rates as the Quakers did which is surely significant. Many non-churchgoers, in addition, continued to rely upon the offices of their own or an amenable parish minister whenever a baptism, marriage or burial was in order. Ralph Ward himself was not averse to having his children baptised in church.(81) A few of the more zealous Congregationalists refused to have their children baptised according to Anglican rights and may instead have had the ceremony conducted in private along more Calvinist lines.(82) Burials presented another problem for the rigorists, which they managed to get round in some cases by appealing to the city's Quakers for space in Friends' burial ground. The Quakers granted such requests only after Ward or one of the church elders had satisfied them in writing that the person in question had 'walked orderly'.(83)

That the Nonconformists made no provision for the burial of their dead before the 1690's says much about the character of early Dissent in York. The formation of a separated church was not the intention of the first generation of Dissenters in the city, despite the emergence in the 1670's of what might be called a semi-separatist wing to the movement. Most of those attracted to Nonconformity in York appear to have been 'pietists' who wished to supplement the sometimes rather mediocre spiritual fare provided by the Established Church with a more strenuous

80) B.I.H.R., Dean and Chapter Cause Papers, 1678/2, Office con. Hugh Brompton

81) E.Bulmer (ed.), The Parish Registers of St.Martin-Cum-Gregory in the City of York, (York, 1897), p.97

82) B.I.H.R., C.P.H. 3236, Office con.Robert Horsefield (who had his child baptised privately and was thought to be 'disaffected to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England')

83) Brotherton Library, Y.M.P.M.M.B., vol.1, ff.58-9

form of religion, and with a more vital union of the godly. Although Ward and his circle thought that the best way to go about this was by forsaking the public services and communion with the ungodly, like all true pietists their concern for the quality and spiritual content of religious life rather than its form tended to encourage in them an essentially ecumenical attitude towards the varying practices of their fellow Protestants. Ward did not deny the importance of the 'communion of the saints in churches' as a vehicle for conveying God's spiritual blessings, but at the same time he held that true godliness derived from inner spirituality and not the performance of any 'outward service' or indeed in being 'of this or the other opinion'.(84) The Congregationalists stopped short of outright separatism largely because it involved shunning the unseparated godly - a requirement usually formalised by the drawing up of a covenant - and this they were not willing to do.

The Dissenting movement occupied a broad section of the religious spectrum in York from the Low Church Anglicans or Anglo-Puritans at one end to just short of the Quakers at the other. In the early 1660's there was a significant gap between the Nonconformist community and the Quakers but this narrowed considerably during the Restoration period as Dissent in York grew less orthodox and the Quakers repudiated their radical past and laboured hard to cultivate the moral outlook and sensibilities of respectable Protestants. By the end of the Restoration period some of the city's Dissenters appear to have been on close terms with members of the York Quaker meeting.(85)

84) Calamy, The Nonconformists Memorial, p.262

85) see chapter 2

PERSECUTION AND TOLERATION

Despite the death of Peter Williams in 1680, the city's Dissenters began the 1680's in a very strong position. With the tacit support and protection of the city's Whig political elite, which included among its leading members Sir John Hewley and Thomas Rokeby, the Dissenters enjoyed almost complete freedom of worship. The magistrates' failure to prevent conventicles being held in the city was one of the Tories principal grievances against them.⁽¹⁾ Late in 1680 three Tory gentlemen, angered by the magistrates' slighting of the laws and with a political axe to grind, decided to take matters into their own hands. Having observed on a Sunday morning 'great numbers of people...with books under their arms' flocking to Andrew Taylor's house, and hearing (in the words of the Tory, Thomas Fairfax) 'the singing of psalmes and a person in a whining snivelling tone preach and pray', they went to the mayor and deputy Recorder and laid information against Taylor and several others who were subsequently fined under the terms of the Second Conventicle Act. The Dissenters appealed their fines however, and the matter went to trial at the Quarter Sessions. The proceedings were described by Fairfax with a fine mixture of gentlemanly contempt for the leading citizens and moral outrage at their judicial partisanship. 'The learned Grocers, Chandlers, Skinners and Weavers', as he called the magistrates, ruled that it was 'against the Law of God, Nature, and Liberty of an Englishmen to be condemned without hearing', and a 'Whiggish Jury being jumbled together', the counsel for the defence, Sir William Boynton and Thomas Rokeby, proceeded to go through

1) L.R.O., Mex.MSS, Reresby Correspondence, 18/93, Fairfax to Reresby, 21st of December 1681

the depositions point by point (the magistrates having disallowed evidence viva voce) suggesting entirely innocent motives for their clients' actions. 'All these frivolous observations and objections', wrote Fairfax, 'were fully answered and sufficiently cleared both by the Recorder and [the]...counsel against the appellants, the notoriety of the fact being sufficient to the Jury to find the appellants guilty...Notwithstanding the appellants were all by the Jury acquitted (being found aggrieved by the Record) and restitution of the money awarded, and thus the Law eluded and made useless'. At the same Sessions apparently, Ralph Ward was tried for contravening the Corporation Act and although eight witnesses swore that he had lived and preached in the city for over 10 years the jury also found him not guilty.(2)

Although the January trials represent an impressive display of elite solidarity in the Whig/Nonconformist cause, the fact that the cases were brought at all is a sign that outside the city the balance of political power was beginning to shift in favour of the Tories. Pressure appears to have been put on the magistrates in December 1681 to see that the laws against Dissent were properly enforced in the city and a number of meetings were broken up and several 'considerable persons' were indicted on charges of conventicling.(3) Almost as an act of defiance it seems, Sir William Ayscough, an eminent Nonconformist patron, had the temerity in 1682 to set up a 'Tickling [preaching] house' in the Minster Yard; Fairfax noted sourly that there was 'a numerous troop of precious Saints

2) Reresby Corr., 18/124, Fairfax to Reresby, 16th January 1681/2

3) C.S.P.D., 1680/1, p.531

assembled there on Wednesday last carrying on the work'.(4) The timing of this affront to Anglican and Tory sensibilities in York was ill-considered for with the Whig party in nationwide decline after 1681 it became increasingly difficult for the York aldermen to give any kind of assistance to the city's Dissenters without dangerously exposing themselves to attack from the Crown and local Tories. This was clearly spelled out to the mayor and aldermen at the 1682 spring Assizes when the judge told them 'that if a Quo Warranto were brought against them he could not see but that their charter was forfeited for their misgovernment and for suffering conventicles to be so openly held (without any control) and by their contrivance'.(5) The judge also dealt severely with Dissenters, 'diverse trials' going against them, including that of Ralph Ward who was fined £20 on information against him for a conventicle. He was later acquitted by a friendly jury on appeal at the Quarter Session but this was small consolation.(6)

The threat of a *quo warranto* against the city's charter and the appointment of the energetic and capable Sir John Reresby in place of the deceased Lord Frescheville in 1681 marked the beginning of hard times for the city's Dissenters. The aldermen, fearing that a new charter would mean the end of many civic privileges not to mention their own tenure of office had no choice but to comply with Reresby's demand that in future they prevent anything being done or said 'to the prejudice of his Majestys service'; otherwise, Reresby added, he would have no choice but

4) Reresby Corr., 21/1, Fairfax to Reresby, 14th October 1682
5) *ibid.*, 20/14, Fairfax to Reresby, 8th April 1682
6) Calamy, The Nonconformists Memorial, p.258

'to represent it to the King'.(7) With the aldermen anxious not to lose Reresby's support or play into the hands of their mutual enemies at court, who were busy trying to initiate *quo warranto* proceedings, the best that the city's Dissenters could expect from the bench was a studied neutrality. As Judge Jeffreys realised, the York bench was not nearly so 'factious' as its opponents liked to make out and Reresby, a firm but moderate Anglican, proved agreeable to most of the aldermen.(8)

By 1683 the city had become unsafe for the Dissenters to the extent that Ralph Ward again found it necessary to go into voluntary exile, this time accompanied by Andrew Taylor and Joshua Drake who had also been served writs of *de excommunicato capiendo*.(9) Their absence did not prevent Reresby having their houses searched for arms in the wake of the Rye House Plot, along with those of Hugh Brompton and Ralph Rymer who were adjudged 'Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom'.(10) Apart from this and few other incidents however, the Dissenting community does not appear to have been seriously troubled in 1683. After the events of 1681 the Dissenters may have begun to meet less openly, which perhaps explains why there is no evidence of any conventicles being disturbed in the city between 1681 and 1684. Unfortunately, the Quarter Sessions records for the years 1675 to 1688 are missing and therefore it is difficult to gauge accurately the pattern of persecution during the last decade of Charles' reign.

7) A.Browning (ed.), Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, (Glasgow, 1936), p.269

8) *ibid.*, p.342

9) *ibid.*, p.308 n.1; Kenrick, Memorials, p.24

10) Reresby Corr., 43/27, search warrant issued to the deputy lieutenants of the city and Ainsty, 4th July 1683

The only case on record of a Nonconformist conventicle being forcibly broken up in the city occurred on Sunday the 22nd of June 1684 when William Lister and Henry Sparling, who were either informers or Tory zealots, told aldermen John Constable (one of only two Tories on the bench) that a 'tumultuous meeting' was in progress at the house of Mrs Rokeby in Micklegate. The aldermen roused the parish constables, one of whom, Robert Benson, flatly refused to give him any assistance, and at about 8 or 9 a.m. they arrived at Mrs Rokeby's house and demanded entrance, which at first was refused.(11) On the alderman's insistence however, he, the constables, and informers were admitted and took the names of 34 people, although 'divers others' were unknown to them. Those present included Andrew Taylor and Ralph Ward (both evidently having returned to the city), who were found in a locked closet upstairs, and a number of leading Congregationalists from the city and surrounding villages.(12) This conventicle appears to have been much smaller than the one which was informed against in 1681 and may have been held in conditions of semi-secrecy. The makeshift hiding places used by Ward and Taylor however, do not give the impression that the Dissenters were accustomed to having their services interrupted. The conventiclers were examined by the mayor and several gave bail for their appearance at the Assizes.

The Dissenters appear to have fallen victim more to political intrigue than religious intolerance. The break up of the conventicle was almost certainly timed to embarrass the Whig aldermen and their

11) P.R.O., Assi 45, 14/1, f.26

12) *ibid.*, f.171; 14/2, f.135B

supporters in the Upper House who had been involved for some months past in a heated dispute with the rest of the corporation, led by the two Tory aldermen, over whether to surrender the charter to the Crown (the Tory line) or make a defence against the *quo warranto*. That the meeting was broken up barely a fortnight before Assize week when Judge Jeffreys was due to intervene on the Crown's behalf in the charter controversy can scarcely have been a coincidence. It also appears that certain parties in York, with help from the Clerk of the Assizes, took great care to have the case tried before Jeffreys where it would receive the maximum amount of damaging publicity, rather than at the Quarter Sessions where a number of previous attempts to prove the Dissenters' guilt had come unstuck. There can be no doubt that by calling attention to the Nonconformist presence in York the aldermen's opponents were able to put increased pressure on them to make a surrender.

Robert Benson's refusal to help break up the meeting was not an unusual response, even for a constable. Persecution, especially of the type where informers were involved, was much frowned upon by some citizens, particularly it seems those of 'credit and reputation' (the group which supplied most of the city's constables and churchwardens) who were of the same social standing and shared the same concerns for public order and morality as many Dissenters and Quakers. After the informers had been active in 1670 during the enforcement of the Second Conventicle Act, several constables showed a marked reluctance to distrain Quaker goods and one was prosecuted for refusing to take away a man's cloak.(13)

13) Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', p.395; Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book, F/8, f.181 (the constables of Peter-the-Little were fined for refusing to collect the Quaker Henry Wilkinson's fine)

Similarly, when a well-to-do Quaker trader was informed against and imprisoned in 1682 a number of York merchants and tradesmen were reportedly 'troubled' by the matter, 'looking upon it to be done out of Malice...which brought the said informer to great shame and reproach'.(14) All in all, the amount of religious zealotry and intolerance which found its way into public life in York during the Restoration period was very small in comparison with that seen in cities such as Norwich and Exeter.

One of the most extreme examples of partisan zeal and religious intolerance in York during the Restoration period was the treatment meted out by Judge Jeffreys and the Church to the twelve conventiclers selected to stand trial at the Assizes. Jeffreys railed at them in his customary fashion calling them 'rogues, traitors, whiggs' etc, and declared that the Kings' pleasure was 'to root out all phanaticks throughout the land'. Ward was singled out for particularly severe punishment; for the 'riot', as the conventicle was termed, he was fined £50 and a capias was served upon him in open court by the ecclesiastical officers, after which he and Andrew Taylor were imprisoned.(15) Jeffreys' willingness to allow what under normal circumstances would have been regarded as an unwarranted encroachment by the inferior court (the consistory court) in the affairs of the superior, is possibly yet another indication of the premeditated nature of the attack on the Dissenters. A mittimus was afterwards sent to the gaoler from the city's sheriffs to detain Ward for the additional fine of £100 from the Court of Exchequer for his failure to surrender himself for imprisonment in compliance with previous capias writs. Both the King's

14) Brotherton Library, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Record of the Sufferings of Friends, vol.1, part 1, f.25

15) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, pp.211-2

writ and the Archbishop's significavit were technically incorrect but the sheriffs were not disposed to contest them. Ward and Taylor petitioned the judge at the next Assizes but to no avail.(16) During Ward's confinement Noah Ward temporarily took charge of the congregation.

Ward and Taylor remained incarcerated for almost two years until they were released under the terms of James II's General Pardon. According to Calamy, Ward was set free after reaching a compromise with the church authorities whereby upon payment of £40 he was given 'absolution'. The reality may have been that prison life broke Ralph Ward's spirit - this at least is the implication in the release warrant from the Attorney General which states that Ward was 'utterly unable' to pay any fine, but because he had been 'reconciled to the Church and absolved from the said sentence of excommunication', his fine would be remitted by the Crown and his freedom granted under the General Pardon.(17) On his release from prison Ward returned to the ministry but his long confinement had ruined his health and he had to enlist the help of Noah Ward in taking the services.(18)

The persecution of the city's Dissenters in the mid-1680's followed a familiar enough pattern - Ward and the leading Dissenters were singled out for attack - but it was pursued with a thoroughness and zeal not before seen in York. Even so, despite its unusual severity, the crack down on Dissent in the city was relatively short-lived and involved no mass prosecution of Dissenters. The city's Whig political elite was forced to distance itself from the Dissenters under the threat of a quo warranto,

16) Calamy, The Nonconformists Memorial, pp.258-9

17) C.S.P.D., 1686-7, pp.97,117

18) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, p.213

but this did not let loose a flood of persecution against Dissent. It was probably political expediency more than anything else which prompted the Tories in York to take action against Dissent and once in power they apparently paid no further heed to the Dissenters. The same was true in Coventry where prosecution of Dissenters ceased after the Tories won control of civic government in 1684.(19) It was only in cities like Norwich or Bristol it seems, where the Dissenters were unusually active in politics and party rivalry was particularly intense that persecution occurred on anything like a systematic or prolonged basis.(20)

The congregation may well have suffered some loss in membership as a result of what it went through in the last years of Charles' reign. Any rise or fall in Nonconformist numbers in the city is very difficult to detect of course, particularly for the period after 1685 when the visitation records cease to be of use. Nevertheless, on the available evidence it does look as though the Dissenting movement in the early 1690's had lost some of the vigour it had shown a decade earlier, and this may well have been as a result of the pressure the Dissenters were under in the mid-1680's. Admittedly, compared with congregations in other towns the York Dissenters and Quakers weathered the storm of Tory reaction remarkably well. Very few were fined or imprisoned and only on two occasions apparently were conventicles forcibly broken up in the city (the Quaker Record of Sufferings, which was meticulously kept, confirms the impression that no determined effort was made to prevent conventicles

19) Hurwich, "A Fanatick Town", p. 26

20) Evans, Norwich, p.297; R.Hayden (ed.), The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640-1687, B.R.S.P., XXVII (1974), pp.66-78,220-66

being held in the city). However, the effect which the *threat* of persecution could have on the morale and discipline of a congregation should not be underestimated. As a precaution against men like Sparling the city's Dissenters were forced to meet on a more clandestine basis which made their gatherings less accessible, and to some of the godly no doubt, less acceptable than formerly. Congregational worship and unity would inevitably suffer under such conditions, the more so with Ward and most of what amounted to the congregation's lay eldership either in prison or in hiding by the end of 1684. In their absence the strain of living in constant fear of arrest and imprisonment must have taken its toll of the less committed members of the congregation. Even the York Quakers whose organisation and discipline were much more robust than the Dissenters could not avoid losing followers in the crisis years of the mid-1680's.

By the time Ward and Taylor were released from prison the lot of the city's Dissenters had improved considerably. Persecution had more or less ceased in 1685. The arrival of the new charter in 1685 brought an end to the period of Whig supremacy in York and the Tories could no longer make political capital out of playing up the Nonconformist presence in the city. The Dissenters' position became even more secure in 1687 with the King's campaign to enlist Nonconformist support for his religious and political programme.

The Indulgence of 1687 was greeted with approval by the majority of Dissenters in and around York who sent an address to the King praising his 'Clemency and Grace' in granting freedom of worship for tender

consciences.(21) Some of the more orthodox Dissenters in York, those who still favoured comprehension within a broadened Anglican Church, probably opposed all forms of address to the King and there may have been friction in the Dissenting community between the church-Presbyterians and the Congregationalists over the issue. According to Reresby the only Dissenters in the area that were pleased with the Indulgence were the Quakers and Independents, 'for notwithstanding they have meeting houses' he wrote 'the churches are observed not to be less full in Yorke, Leeds, Sheffield, in all which places I have been very lately'.(22) Another threat to congregational unity came late in 1687 with James' promulgation of the famous three questions and the accompanying directives to the Lord Lieutenants which gave the wealthier Dissenters in York the chance to gain office in the corporation on condition that they would support men for parliament who were favourable to the removal of the Test Acts and penal laws. The King's motives in courting Nonconformist support were sufficiently clear to everyone by late 1687 and even the city's Quakers showed no interest in taking up civic office. James' catholicising policy notwithstanding, two of the city's Congregationalists, Joshua Drake and William Hickson, apparently agreed to serve as common councillors in a remodelled corporation.(23) This may have caused the Dissenting community some embarrassment and angered those Dissenters who preferred to win the

21) British Library, Burney Collection, London Gazette, 7th July - 11th July, 1687 (the lateness of the address ['though we come behind others in verbal acknowledgment'] may indicate that there was disagreement within the York Dissenting community)

22) Reresby, Memoirs, p.582

23) G.Duckett (ed.), 'King James the Second's Proposed Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Acts in 1688', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, V (1874), p.451

good opinion of moderate Anglicans rather than the dubious friendship of the King. Fortunately for both men perhaps, the James' plans for redomelling the corporation were not realised before the Revolution.

The reaction of the city's Dissenters to William's landing in the West Country is not known but like their co-religionists generally it was probably one of disbelief and anxiety tinged with underlying hope.(24) The Dissenters played no active part in Danby's coup in York in November which was an all Anglican affair, although Sir John Hewley contributed the handsome sum of £500 towards the rebellion.(25) Whether he considered the money well spent once the Revolution had run its limited course through church and state is a moot point. The right to worship as they pleased without fear of persecution was an important gain for the Dissenters but some were disappointed that the prize of a new constitutional and religious settlement which the Revolution had appeared to place within their grasp had not been seized. The Dissenters' failure to obtain a widening of the bounds of Anglican orthodoxy at the Convention Parliament does not seem to have weakened the support of the church-Presbyterians in York for comprehension, as John Geldart's will of 1694 clearly illustrates. Although Faithorn may be right when he says that most Yorkshire Nonconformists would have rejected the chance to rejoin the Church of England, there was undoubtedly an influential body of opinion among Dissenters in York which remained wedded to the Puritan ideal of a reformed national church.(26) Throughout the Restoration period and

24) D.R.Lacey, Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661-1689, (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), p.230

25) P.A.Bolton, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire Boroughs, 1640-85', (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Leeds, 1966), p.210

26) Faithorn, 'Nonconformity', p.560

beyond the church-Presbyterians remained a distinctive element in the city's Dissenting movement, as Thomas Comber, writing from York in 1689, was aware;

...there are some...moderate Presbyterians who always communicated with us on occasion, and the alterations they desire are not many nor dangerous to our constitution, they will submit to a conditionall reordination to this very Liturgy with some slight amendments, and some of them to surplice and crosse yea they approve and practice kneeling at the Sacrament...

But as he went on to point out;

...the greater part of Dissenters here are independents, who seem incapable of any thing but toleration, and cannot be taken in but by such concessions as will shake the foundations of our Church (27)

However much the church-Presbyterians might cherish hopes of eventual comprehension they were forced to make the most of the Act of Toleration and in doing so confirmed their status as de facto Independents.

By calling for the licensing of Nonconformist ministers and their meeting places the Act of Toleration, like the Declaration of Indulgence, affords some idea of the way the Dissenting ministry in the city was organised. Three Nonconformist ministers were licensed at the Quarter Sessions in 1689, Ralph Ward, Noah Ward and Sir John Hewley's chaplain Timothy Hodgson (an Independent who had been recommended for ordination by Ralph Ward in 1680). Each certified that he would hold a meeting at Andrew Taylor's house, and Ralph Ward licenced his house in Goodramgate. (28) The Dissenting church in York in 1689 appears to have been much more compact and unified than it was in 1672. The number of meeting places had contracted from 6 to 2 and the pool of ministers,

27) Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 27, f.93

28) Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book, F/10, f.1

although smaller than it had been at the first Indulgence, now formed a properly constituted ministry in the service of a united body of worshippers.

Nonconformist worship in the city assumed an even more formal character in 1693 with the completion of the St.Saviourgate chapel which was built on a site near Sir John Hewley's city residence. The delay between the coming of toleration and the construction of the chapel, which began late in 1692, was due to Ralph Ward's prolonged decline in health and the disagreement which arose after his death in March 1692 over who should succeed him. As the proposed candidates were all, broadly speaking, Presbyterians, the disagreement does not appear to have been denominational in origin.(29) At length the congregation resolved its differences and invited Dr.Thomas Colton to become pastor. Some members of the congregation would have preferred Noah Ward but the majority probably favoured Colton on the grounds that he was younger than Ward, greater for learning, and generally cut a more impressive figure. As well as being a native of York (the son of Francis Colton, one of the Ralph Ward's early disciples), Colton possessed a degree in medicine from Leiden University, and had for some years been chaplain to Sir William Ayscough.(30)

Although the building of the St.Saviourgate chapel was a notable achievement in its way - and one which strained the Dissenters' financial resources to the limit(31) - it appears that by the 1690's the Old

29) J.Raine (ed.), A Brief Memoir of Mr. Justice Rokeby, Surt.Soc., XXXVII (1860), p.6; British Library, Additional 24,484, (Hunter MSS), f.8

30) Kenrick, Memorials, pp.30-1

31) *ibid.*, p.33

Dissent in York was beginning to feel its age. The Common Fund survey of 1691 describes York as having only one meeting with little prospect of further growth(32); a view shared by Lady Hewley who a few years later lamented the fact that 'God hath taken away severel of the sosity heare, and thos that upholds it are very ould, weke and inferme, so that it is sad to think what grifelat alterationes may be in this plas in a litell time'.(33) While it is impossible to trace clearly the changes which occurred in the size of the Restoration Dissenting community, the balance of evidence suggests that Nonconformist numbers increased steadily from the mid-1660's until about the mid-1680's and after that either levelled off or slowly began to decline. Unfortunately the John Evans' list of Dissenting congregations, an important source for local information on early Hanoverian Dissent, makes no reference to Nonconformist numbers in York.(34) In 1743, according to Archbishop Herring's visitation, the Dissenting congregation on Sunday numbered a respectable 300 so clearly if a decline did set in during the 1680's or 90's it was only of relatively short duration; either that or the Restoration Dissenters numbered over 300 which is unlikely.(35)

32) A.Gordon (ed.), Freedom After Ejection: A Review of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales, (Manchester, 1917), p.136

33) Raine, A Brief Memoir of Mr. Justice Rokeby, p.11

34) Dr.William's Library, London, MS 34.4, John Evans, List of Dissenting Congregations and Ministers in England and Wales, 1715-29, f.128

35) S.L.Ollard, P.C.Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743, Y.A.S.R.S., LXXI (1927), LXII (1928), LXXV (1929), LXXVII (1930); congregational registers for the St.Saviorgate chapel begin in 1722 but are generally very uninformative as to Nonconformist numbers in the city - P.R.O., Register of the Births & Baptisms belonging to St.Saviourgate Chapel, York, [419], ref. RG 4/3780

There were also changes in the social composition of Dissent in York after the Revolution. The only recent work on the socio-economic development of early Dissent is that of Judith Hurwich on the Dissenting community in Warwickshire between 1660 and 1720. According to her findings the gentry and nobility largely abandoned the Puritan cause at the Restoration and their role as patrons and leaders was taken over by the Nonconformist merchants whose numbers remained relatively stable over the period. Hurwich concluded that the social base of Dissent narrowed after the Restoration; 'Puritanism at its height drew adherents from all social classes, though few from the highest nobility or the lowest labourers...After the Restoration...the membership of Dissenting congregations shrank to a more homogenous group of merchants, tradesmen, and artisans'.(36) In York the pattern was slightly different. Although many Puritan gentry in York and the surrounding area conformed entirely at the Restoration, a small but significant number of local gentlemen, whilst remaining committed church-goers, became patrons of ejected ministers and hence of Dissenting congregations. The leading patrons of the Dissenting movement in York and the surrounding villages and townships between the 1660's and the early eighteenth century were all members of the aristocracy or the gentry.(37) Merchants such as Brian Dawson and

36) J.J.Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism in English Society: A Study of Warwickshire, 1660-1720', Journal of British Studies, XVI (1976), pp.46-55

37) local Dissenting patrons included Sir John Hewley (Perogative Wills, will proved October 1697) and Lady Hewley (Perogative Wills, will proved September 1710) at Naburn, Thomas Hutton esq. and Mrs Dorothy Hutton (Vacancy Wills, proved June 1687) at Nether Poppleton, Lady Ursula Barwick (Probate Register 59, f.393) at Tadcaster, Lord Fairfax (Probate Register 52, f.145) at Nun Appleton, and Lady Priscilla Brooke at Ellenthorpe (see T.Lawson-Tancred, Bt., 'The Township of Ellenthorpe and the Brooke Family', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XXXIV (1938), pp.72-79)

Andrew Taylor were important figures in the Dissenting community in York but its most influential member was Sir John Hewley, and after his death Lady Hewley.

Between 1690 and 1715 the Dissenting movement in York lost most of its greater merchants and virtually all of its aristocratic patrons. The congregation did acquire one or two new members in this period who were highly placed in civic society but the movement failed to attract converts or gentry patrons who could take the place of Sir William Ayscough, Sir John Hewley, Lady Hewley, Augustine Ambrose, Brian Dawson, Thomas Nisbett, Thomas Rokeby and Andrew Taylor - all of whom were dead by 1715. The trustees of the chapel (the 'chiefest men of the congregation') in 1692 were overall of higher social standing than those of 1719.(38) This fact notwithstanding, the social complexion of Dissent probably remained at least on a par with that the city's wealthier parishes, particularly if the proportion of poorer Dissenters in York was declining as it was in Warwickshire. As a group, the Dissenters in York had never been very active politically but the loss of their gentry allies and mercantile following within a generation after the Revolution limited their sphere of political influence still further. In York, as elsewhere it seems, Dissent in the early eighteenth century was on the way to becoming just one more facet of urban bourgeois culture.(39)

38) B.I.H.R., UCSS 4/27 (the 1692 trustees comprised 1 gentleman, 2 merchants, 1 merchant/apothecary, 2 mercers, 1 grocer, 1 vintner, 1 milliner, 2 master joiners, and 1 minister; the 1719 trustees comprised 1 gentleman, 1 yeoman, 2 merchants, 2 grocers, 1 tanner, 2 master joiners, 1 tailor, 2 ministers)

39) Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism', p.55; P.Clark (ed.), The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800, (1984), p.48

The persecution of the mid-1680's appears to have sapped the strength of the Dissenting body in York, a loss of vitality the passing of the Toleration Act did little, if anything, to redress. The Dissenters did not possess the organisational robustness of the Quakers and the relatively sheltered life they led in the city during the 1660's and 1670's may well have left them unprepared for the hardships they were to face in the 1680's. Until the last decade of the Restoration period the Anglican Church was in a unusually weak position in York in terms of its ability to tackle the problem of Dissent. The clergy were hampered in their fight against Nonconformity by poor leadership and the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the ecclesiastical courts. The Church required the cooperation of the magistracy or failing that the full backing of central government if it was to prevail against municipal Dissent. As it was, however, the policy of the Church towards the city's Dissenters for most of the Restoration period was characterised by a damaging combination of intolerance on the one hand and impotence on the other. The Dissenters also had little to fear from the Crown or 'loyal' party in York, that is until 1682 when the death of the gout-ridden and ineffectual Lord Frescheville resulted in the appointment of Sir John Reresby as town governor.

The Dissenters' failure to develop a coherent strategy for survival based upon organisation and discipline as the Quakers did, was due largely to the strong reluctance on the part of some of the most influential members of the Dissenting community to abandon the idea of comprehension or embark on any course which might prejudice the chance of reconciliation with the Established Church. Although in general, Yorkshire Nonconformists had rejected comprehension before the Revolution,

this was not true of the conformable wing of Dissent in York. The moderate Presbyterianism of the Minster preachers retained a small but distinguished following in the city throughout the Restoration period and beyond. Members of this group such as John Geldart felt that separation from the Church of England would constitute a betrayal not only of their principles but also of the friendship and understanding of the Anglo-Puritans, the godly, sober-minded yet entirely orthodox church-goers, with whom they had so much in common. The city's Presbyterians were thus sustained in their beliefs by the support and sympathy they received from the city's Low Church Anglican establishment of which they themselves were a part. At the same time, life in the city cushioned them from the persecution which forced many of their co-religionists elsewhere either to conform entirely or to come to terms with the possibility of permanent separation from the Established Church.

It was only with the growth of Ralph Ward's Congregationalist following after the mid-1660's that 'orthodox' godly religion in York gradually began to pull away from its church-Puritan roots. Even then, Ward's moderation and the considerable personal and financial influence of the city's Presbyterians ensured that the congregation included Dissenters of both denominations. Ward was thus unable to introduce strict Congregationalist discipline or church government even had he wished to do so. The growth in Congregationalist numbers and the Dissenters' concern to preserve the immediate future of their 'society' against persecution and the encroachment of age meant that the Dissenting movement in York gradually acquired more of the characteristics of an independent church as the Restoration period progressed. However, the process still had some way to go at the Revolution. Many of the city's

Dissenters, including the Congregationalists, remained dependent upon the Church of England for baptisms and burials until well into the eighteenth century. At his death in 1714 Matthew Bayocke, one of the first trustees of the St.Saviourgate chapel, asked to be buried 'without ceremony or unnecessary expense' in the church of St.Michael-le-Belfrey.(40) Godly religion 'in all its austerity' was as slow to leave the Established Church in York as it had been to enter it.

40) B.I.H.R., will proved October 1714

CHAPTER 4) POLITICS IN YORK, 1640-1714

INTRODUCTION

The four decades between the end of the Civil War and the fall of James II in 1688 cover an important period in York's political history. Although the structure of civic politics remained unaltered, the established patterns of political behaviour and belief in the community began to change after the war, both among the governing elite and the commonalty. There is no more striking illustration of this than the breakdown of political consensus in the freeman body during the Interregnum.

For the first forty years of the seventeenth century York was largely free of internal political unrest. Although the city was often in conflict with the cathedral over jurisdictional matters and quarelled several times with the Council of the North there is no evidence of factional rivalry within the corporation itself.⁽¹⁾ Corporate unity appears to have been maintained despite the spread of Puritanism among the upper ranks of civic society. The city's relations with central government remained good for the most part, or at least not bad enough to excite comment. Parliamentary elections were also fairly uneventful in this period. Disputes arose on only two occasions, in 1628 and 1640 (there is no evidence of electoral contests in 1604 and 1624 as Derek Hirst maintains), and on neither apparently was a poll taken - the request of one of the

1) B.M.Wilson, 'The Corporation of York, 1580-1660', (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1967), pp.252-4,259,262; G.C.F.Forster, 'York in the 17th Century' in P.M.Tillott (ed.) Victoria County History: The City of York, (Oxford, 1961), p.186; J.C.H.Aveling, Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791, (St.Albans, 1970), pp.79,83; Bodleian Library, Gough MS Yorkshire 8, ff.122-138; British Library, Additional MS 33,595, ff.44-53

the candidates for a poll during the 1628 election was refused.(2) The 1628 election caused ill-feeling between certain aldermen, possibly involving differences in political or religious outlook, but no major breach within the civic establishment.

The electorate grew dramatically in size during the first half of the seventeenth century from a little over one hundred at the accession of James I to about one thousand seven hundred, or in other words the entire freeman population, by the early 1660's.(3) An interesting account of the growth of the civic electorate was written by Sir William Robinson, M.P. for the city from 1698 to 1722, using records which now, unfortunately, are no longer extant;

...I do suppose that the Members of parliament were nominated by a house only in the Councill Chamber at Ousebridge, Untill the year 1584, but that for forms sake some Commoners or freeholders [freemen] were summoned to the County Court...and there they were elected.

From 1584 to 1597 some few freeholders such as the house thought fitt were summoned to give in 4 Elights to the house out of which they chose two.

From 1597 to 1603 the house and some freeholders such as the house thought proper voted all jointly, and the two who had the most votes were elected.

From 1603 for a good while after, they voted still jointly, but first for one Member and then another, but how long in that manner I don't find, for towards the latter end of King James 1st reign...the City Books are in a great measure silent, but I suppose the method of chusing by such great number of freemen was introduced in King Charles 1st his Reign and so continues to this time, all freemen whatsoever having a right to vote at present insomuch that at the last Election in 1714/15 there polled about 1,800 men.(4)

2) Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', p.201-2; D.Hirst, Representatives of the People?, (Cambridge, 1975), p.222; Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C 886, ff.183-4; British Library, Additional MS 36,825, f.221

3) Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', p.201; B.D.Henning (ed.), The History of Parliament: The Commons, 1660-1690, 3 vols, (1983), vol.1, p.489

4) Leeds Record Office, Sheepscar Library, Newby Hall MS 2492 (in the 1628 election the candidates were still 'elected' on the basis of the 'shout', which implies a fairly limited electorate - Add.MS 36,825, f.221)

The corporation's apparent willingness to extend the franchise and to experiment with methods of parliamentary selection and election indicate an unusual degree of responsiveness on the part of civic leaders to the wishes of the citizenry. The enlargement of the electorate, although dramatic, left no trace of a franchise dispute.

On the eve of the Civil War the civic body politic was united in its concern to preserve the city's neutrality and political independence.(5) There were several devout Puritans on the aldermanic bench who would probably have endeavoured to rally the city to the Parliamentary cause after the outbreak of war. However, the presence of a large Royalist garrison in the city forced them into exile and ensured that York entered the Civil War on the King's side.(6)

Following Parliament's re-modelling of the magistracy after the fall of the Royalist garrison in 1644 the character of the city's political life underwent a number of changes of which the most significant was the politicisation of civic government. During the Interregnum the corporation became, to a limited extent, the instrument of partisan interests. The upper reaches of the corporate hierarchy were dominated by men of godly principles and efforts were made to maintain the Puritan ascendancy on the bench. Godly sermons accompanied the election of aldermen and mayors and the new oaths of office were strictly applied.(7) Although not all the office-holders were Puritans or even distinctly Parliamentary in sympathy, none were committed Royalists. Municipal office was no longer

5) V.C.H.: York, p.188; Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', p.268-9

6) J.A.Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York, 1603-1640' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of London, 1962), p.201

7) York Civic Archives, Corporation House Book 36, f.191-2,248, H.B. 37, f.117; Y.C.A., Chamberlains' Account Book 24, 1649/50, f.8

accessible simply to Protestant men of wealth. The office-holders occasionally became involved on a broadly partisan basis in national politics, notably in 1653 when the corporation joined the nation-wide petitioning campaign for the establishment of a national Presbyterian church.(8) Some of the city's leaders, its alderman M.P.'s for example, adhered to a more specific party line outside the corporation.(9) Inside civic government local issues naturally tended to predominate and only a generalised political partiality, sympathy for the Parliamentary cause or Presbyterianism, was much in evidence.

Party politics did not emerge in York until the Exclusion Crisis. Even so, by the late 1650's there was clearly a widespread concern with national issues among the citizenry in the shape of support for the King's restoration and popular royalism. Discontent was voiced initially in the corporation. Immediately after Cromwell's death a group of common councillors began a limited campaign of refusing to take oaths, attend meetings etc.(10) Behind their protest was a general desire for a return to the 'natural' order in society and government. Among the inhabitants generally this longing for the restoration of the old order found cultural as well as political expression in popular royalism which in turn contributed to the emergence of an opposition faction in civic politics. The events surrounding the Restoration served to politicise the commonalty in a way that the Civil War apparently did not. The tide of

8) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.44

9) D.Underdown, Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution, (Oxford, 1971), pp.140,220-1,251,302.366, 376; D.Brunton and D.H.Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament, (1954), pp.44,63,234,226; J.Towill Rutt (ed.), Diary of Thomas Burton, 4 vols, (1828), vol.1, p.500

10) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.117

popular Royalist feeling was too powerful for the magistrates to resist and was partly responsible for the temporary eclipse of their electoral interest in the city.

After the Restoration it becomes possible to refer to such a thing in York as public opinion. Although it had little direct influence on municipal government which was dominated by the magistracy, public opinion became an important factor in civic politics during parliamentary elections. Before the Civil War, involvement in the process of selecting and electing parliamentary candidates was limited to interested parties among the gentry and a handful of the 'best' citizens; a group in which there appears to have been a large measure of political consensus, or at least a strong sense of the desirability of such a consensus. During the Interregnum the magistracy assumed almost complete charge of the city's parliamentary affairs and the electorate, although it was probably larger than it had been in the 1630's, retained its passive role of endorsing the aldermen's selection. After 1660 however, borough elections became the sport of competing political interests and the advent of electoral contests in a city where the franchise rested with the entire freeman body inevitably meant that public opinion was listened to and courted.

Despite the widening of the franchise the magistrates retained the right to select parliamentary candidates. Although no candidate backed by the corporation during the Restoration period was rejected at the polls this should not be taken to mean that the electorate was being manipulated or unthinkingly endorsing the magistrates choice of candidate. An electorate over one thousand five hundred strong was impossible to manage effectively or command and thus the bench's choice of candidates was to some extent circumscribed by what it knew would be acceptable to

the voters. This caused no problems in the 1670's and 1680's when the views of the bench and those of the commonalty about liberties and loyalties appear to have coincided. In the early 1660's however, the majority of the inhabitants were decidedly more Royalist in sympathy than the magistrates and it was partly in acknowledgement of the fact that one of their own number would be unacceptable to the freemen that the magistrates effectively surrendered their electoral interest to the Crown and its partisans. The magistrates backed Sir Thomas Osborne in the 1665 by-election - which, incidentally, was probably the first election in York where a poll was taken - when in private most of them would apparently have preferred the seat to go to a leading office-holder, ideally an alderman.(11) In 1673 the bench rejected Osborne's son in favour of Alderman Sir Henry Thompson for precisely this reason.

According to Mark Kishlansky 'such shifts in opinion as can be gauged by the choice of members of Parliament were shifts in the opinions of the elite...The role of freemen and freeholders must still be explained in terms of consent rather than of choice'.(12) In York the freemen had no choice as regards the actual individuals selected by the aldermen and they made no attempt to promote independent candidates. However, they did possess an element of choice to the extent that the corporation found it difficult to advance its own candidates if they did not meet the approval of the freemen. In the 1690 general election the aldermen and most of the commons supported the candidature of Viscount Dunblane and yet as the

11) A.Browning, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, and the Duke of Leeds, 1632-1712, 3 vols, (Glasgow, 1941-4), vol.1, p.18; British Library, Additional MS 28051, f.17

12) M.Kishlansky, Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political choice in Early Modern England, (Cambridge, 1986), p.138

city's Recorder, George Prickett, informed Danby 'what the Mobile will doe, we cannot yet know they are soe numerous and unstable'.(13) When alderman Waller, a strong Whig, announced his candidature the office-holders thought it 'a great vanity in him to thinke of being elected'. According to Prickett the Viscount was assured the corporation interest, 'but yet the Mobile (who have all of them voices) are so unstable and wavering that I durst not write too positively...'.(14) As it turned out it was Viscount Dunblane who withdrew from the running and Waller who was elected with a commanding majority.

The return of Royalists in the early 1660's, Whigs in the late 1670's and early 90's, and Tories in the mid-1680's undoubtedly owed something to genuine shifts of political opinion within the community, not just the elite. As W.A.Speck has recently observed, 'Where over five hundred could poll...they were in a position to exercise some freedom of choice, and to base that choice on opinion'.(15) The voting pattern in Restoration York reveals at least a modicum of sensitivity on the electorate's part to national issues and political debate generally. The impact of parliamentary affairs on the electorate is clearly visible during the Exclusion Crisis, for example, when Sir Metcalfe Robinson, one of the city's standing M.P.s and a court supporter, was beaten at the polls by Sir John Hewley, a Dissenter and Exclusionist, who had himself been resoundingly defeated in a by-election in the city just six years

13) British Library, Egerton MS 3337, f.168, George Prickett to Danby, 19th February 1689/90

14) *ibid*, f.170, George Prickett to Christopher Tancred, 22nd February 1689/90; f.182, Robert Waller to Danby, 12th March 1689/90

15) W.A.Speck, Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688, (Oxford, 1988), p.209

earlier.(16) Hewley attempted to make an interest for himself again in the mid-1680's but by then public opinion had shifted to a new quarter and Robinson regained his seat.(17)

Parliamentary selections, elections and electoral contests in York during the Restoration period often had little to do with ideological issues. The successful contestant in the 1673 by-election, Sir Henry Thompson, was returned largely on the strength of his interest among the city's business community. There were elections where the political views of the contestants did figure prominently, the 1679 election being a case in point, but never to the exclusion of other key considerations. It is no coincidence that all the city's M.P.s, whatever their politics, were men of high social standing and strong local connexions; either leading aldermen, local gentry, or clients of civic patrons (see Table 25). The magistrates selected candidates according to a set of criteria which changed subtly from election to election. In general it seems, they preferred someone who was well known to them, who had what they regarded as the city's best interests at heart, and who could act as an effective champion at Westminster or Whitehall. In 1679 and 1681 they added the proviso that the candidates were firm Protestants and in 1685 that they were men of 'loyal' standing. Sensible of their station as the leaders of the (nominal) second city of the realm, the magistrates did not like to be dictated to in their choice of prospective M.P.s. Patronage was not normally a vital element in parliamentary selection. In the early 1660's the corporation accepted the clients of the King and the Duke of Buckingham (the city's

16) P.R.O., SP 29/370/194; Henning, The Commons, vol.1, p.489, vol.2, p.543

17) L.R.O., Mexborough MSS, Reresby Correspondence, 25/14: Thomas Fairfax to Reresby, 19th December 1683

Table 25. Parliamentary Representation and Electoral
Contests in York, 1640-1715

1640	SIR WILLIAM ALLANSON (ald.) THOMAS HOYLE (ald.)
1654	SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON (city Recorder) THOMAS DICKINSON (ald.)
1656	SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON THOMAS DICKINSON (ald.)
Oct.1656	JOHN GELDART (alderman) <i>vice</i> Widdrington who chose to represent Northumberland
1658	SIR THOMAS DICKINSON (ald.) CHRISTOPHER TOPHAM (ald.)
1660	SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON METCALFE ROBINSON
1661	SIR METCALFE ROBINSON JOHN SCOTT (commander of Clifford's Tower)
1665*	SIR THOMAS OSBORNE <i>vice</i> John Scott, decd. Osborne (majority of 185) bt. Sir Roger Langley
1673*	SIR HENRY THOMPSON (ald.) <i>vice</i> Thomas Osborne, called to the Upper House Thompson (over 1100) bt. Sir John Hewley (under 600)
1679*	SIR HENRY THOMPSON (ald.) + SIR JOHN HEWLEY (former city counsel) Hewley bt. Sir Metcalfe Robinson at polls?
1679	SIR HENRY THOMPSON (ald.) + SIR JOHN HEWLEY
1681	SIR HENRY THOMPSON (ald.) + SIR JOHN HEWLEY
1685*	SIR JOHN RERESBY (town governor) +(Robinson withdrew at the last moment) SIR METCALFE ROBINSON Reresby (937), Robinson (781), James Moyser (770) + Tobias Jenkins (502)
1688/9	PEREGRINE OSBORNE, Visct. EDWARD THOMPSON (ald.)
1690*	ROBERT WALLER (ald.) HENRY THOMPSON (ald.) Waller (1284), Thompson (841), Edward Thompson (841) lost on petition
1695	EDWARD THOMPSON (ald.) TOBIAS JENKINS jun
1698*	SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (ald.) + TOBIAS JENKINS jun (ald.) Robinson (1238) Jenkins (1026) bt. Edward Thompson (669)

- 1700 SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (ald.)
EDWARD THOMPSON (ald.)
- 1701* SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (ald.)
+
TOBIAS JENKINS jun (ald.)
Robinson (1245) Jenkins (784) bt. Marmaduke Prickett (544),
city recorder
- 1702 SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (ald.)
TOBIAS JENKINS jun (ald.)
- 1705* SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (ald.)
ROBERT BENSON (ald.)
Robinson (1282), Benson (823), Marmaduke Prickett (648)
- 1707 SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (ald.)
ROBERT BENSON (ald.)
- 1708 ditto
- 1710 ditto
- 1713* SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (ald.)
ROBERT FAIRFAX (ald.)
Robinson (1368), Fairfax (832) bt. Tobias Jenkins (802)
- 1715* SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (ald.)
+
TOBIAS JENKINS jun (ald.)
Robinson (1388) Jenkins (1225) bt. Robert Fairfax (844)

* contested election

+ joint interest (where known)

data compiled from Reresby, Memoirs; P.A.Bolton, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire Boroughs 1640-85' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Leeds University, 1966); B.D.Henning (ed.), The History of Parliament: The Commons, 1660-1689, 3 vols., (London, 1983); J.F.Quinn, 'The Parliamentary Constituencies of Yorkshire from the Accession of Queen Anne to the Fall of Walpole' (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1979); G.R.Park, Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, (Hull, 1886); L.R.O., Newby Hall MSS. 2482,2483,2492

Lord High Steward and Lord Lieutenant), but more from political necessity than a perceived identity of interest. By the early 1670's the bench was prepared to defy Buckingham and its former M.P. Sir Thomas Osborne, the future Earl of Danby, in order to select Alderman Thompson, a merchant and 'one of our owne body', in preference to Osborne's son.(18)

It is impossible to be precise about what moved the citizens to elect one contestant rather than another. Only once during the Restoration period, the 1679 election, did they have the opportunity to choose between men of widely differing political principles and on that occasion the politics of the candidates may well have been the deciding factor. Be that as it may however, one should not exaggerate the degree of political understanding in the community. Most of the citizens appear to have been politicised at a fairly superficial level, as supporters of the monarchy in defence of property and the natural order in the early 1660's, or as Protestants and enemies of popery in the late 1670's. Involvement in party politics was almost wholly confined to the 'best' citizens, the community's traditional political brokers.(19) Throughout the period, even in the crisis years of late 1670's and early 80's, the middle and lower orders in York remained reluctant to take independent political action. It may have been true, as Melville says, that 'the commonalty lead their

18) British Library, Add. MS 28051, f.23, the mayor and aldermen of York to Danby, 12th September 1673 (in 1632, at the request of the Common Council, the corporation ordered that only freemen of three years standing or more would be chosen as parliamentary candidates and that no recommendatory letters would be read on anyone's behalf - L.R.O., Newby Hall MS 2492); for patronage in York during the first half of the century see Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', p.200; R.Carroll, 'Yorkshire Parliamentary Boroughs in the Seventeenth Century', Northern History, III (1968), pp.73,88-91

19) see pages 317-8

leaders in many...things, at the same time that the leaders little suspect it', but in York one of these was not politics.(20) The freemen in York had a much less pronounced impact on civic political life than their counterparts in cities such as London, Newcastle and Norwich.(21)

Part of the reason for the low level of popular involvement in civic politics lies in the structure of municipal government and the formal distribution of power within the corporation. One of the things most calculated to encourage political unrest in any urban community during the seventeenth century was the right of the common citizen to have a say in the election of his political masters. In London and Norwich the involvement of the citizenry in municipal elections was partly responsible for the spread of factional and party conflict from the politicised elite in civic government to the inhabitants at large, and vice versa.(22) In York on the other hand, the political arena did not normally extend much beyond the city Council. The city's constitution, as defined by successive royal charters, severely limited popular participation in corporate affairs and denied the freeman body any control over the procedures governing recruitment to office. The corporation was a self-contained, self-perpetuating institution, empowered to recruit its own membership by

20) H.Melville, Moby Dick, (Penguin edn., 1986), p.97

21) J.T.Evans, Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion, and Government, 1620-1690, (Oxford, 1979), pp.28-9, 319; G.S.De Krey, A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party, 1688-1715, (Oxford, 1985), pp.39-44; J.Ellis, 'A dynamic society: social relations in Newcastle-upon-Tyne', in P.Clark (ed.), The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800, (1984), pp.203-4; R.Howell, 'Newcastle and the Nation: The Seventeenth-Century Experience', Archaeologia Aeliana, Fifth Series, VIII (1980), pp.17-34

22) Evans, Norwich, p.318; De Krey, A Fractured Society, 40,44; V.Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, (Oxford, 1961), pp.228-236

co-option. Promotion to the bench was also by co-option which meant that the aldermen were able to fill vacancies in their ranks with men of like political mind, thereby reducing the potential for conflict within the magistracy and hence the corporation as a whole. At the same time, the right of the Common Council to nominate candidates for election to the shrievalty and the magistracy ensured that the bench was not monopolised by dynastic or particular trade interests, another common cause of unrest in urban communities.(23) In certain circumstances the bench could arrange to have candidates of its own choosing nominated as 'elites' for Sheriff but these would either be Dissenters or former citizens from whom the corporation hoped to extort exemption money or a fine. Normally the Commons appear to have selected candidates almost entirely on the basis of their wealth. Thus although constitutional control of the city's government was concentrated in the hands of an oligarchic few, namely the mayor and aldermen, it never became the preserve of a closed social elite. If the Upper House in this period was dominated by the merchants it was because they were usually the wealthiest citizens and wealth was the key to political advancement.

Although only the wealthiest citizens might aspire to high office even they usually served their political apprenticeship in the humble capacity of a common councillor, and perforce alongside men of less exalted rank. This diversity of social backgrounds among Council members encouraged communication between various social levels and thus

23) Sacks, 'Bristol's "Little Businesses"', pp.92-3; P.Clark & P.Slack (eds.), Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History, (1972), pp.21-22; Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, pp.60-61

strengthened the bonds of corporate unity. The Council provided an essential channel whereby the grievances and concerns of the freemen could be made known to the magistracy. Because the Council possessed no legislative powers of its own however, it was incapable of taking sustained or sophisticated political action against the aldermen. The role of the Common Council in fact was largely that of an advisory body to the Upper House, 'a sounding board of public opinion', although at a few critical moments during the seventeenth century it kicked over the traces and took the side of an agitated community in opposition to the policies of the bench.(24)

The city's economic stability in the later Stuart period as well as the openness of its franchise also had some effect in keeping political dissension within the community to a minimum. Although York's overseas trade was in decline during the second half of the seventeenth century the city still retained its importance as a market for local produce and imported goods, especially luxury items from London, and in addition was expanding its role as a social centre for the county community.(25) The 1640's and 50's were undoubtedly hard years for the city with a slump in its overseas trade and an influx of poor vagrants in search of relief. However, the city's economy appears to have recovered or at least stabilised during the Restoration period and its well-developed poor relief system was always adequate to the burdens placed upon it.(26)

24) Wilson, *The Corporation of York*, p.28-30

25) V.C.H.: York, pp.166,169,198-9

26) Sir Thomas Widdrington, Analecta Eboracensia, ed. Caesar Caine (1897), p.x; Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', pp.142-3,300; P.Slack, Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England, (1988), pp.43,175-7; V.C.H.: York, pp.166-173

Indeed, if the hearth tax records are any indication the inhabitants of Restoration York enjoyed a generally higher standard of living than many other urban populations in England (see Tables 26 and 27).⁽²⁷⁾ The host of gentry families which flocked to York in this period, in season as well as out, to enjoy its social life and wide range of amenities clearly provided a comfortable living for a large number of the city's tradesmen, victuallers and professional men. Although only freemen were allowed to trade in the city or vote in parliamentary elections, York was one of the most 'liberal' boroughs in England in respect of franchise. The freemen constituting a minimum of 75 per cent of the city's adult male population.⁽²⁸⁾

Perhaps the most common cause of political instability in towns during the Restoration period was intervention by the Crown or its partisans in municipal affairs. Charles II's government and its local agents were moved to intervene in urban politics for a variety of reasons, but their prime objective was the eradication of religious and political dissent in towns by placing municipal government, particularly the magistracy, in loyal hands.⁽²⁹⁾ Even towns in which the dissenting interest was weak did not escape the hostile attention of loyalist political interests. The notion of York as a 'factious' town, a hotbed of Puritan radicalism, was a favourite with local Anglican gentry from the Restoration onwards but in relation at least to the religious loyalties of

27) V.C.H.: York, p.164

28) Hirst, Representatives, pp.94-5

29) J.Miller, 'The Crown and the Borough Charters in the Reign of Charles II', English Historical Review, C (1985), pp.53-84; G.C.F.Forster, 'Government in Provincial England Under the Later Stuarts', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXXIII (1983), p.44

Table 26. Hearth Tax, 1665 (Lady Day returns): Analysis of Hearths

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1)St.Wilfrid	132	-	132	23	5.7	7	5	6	3	2
2)Minster Yard	321	1	322	60	5.4	18	16	16	5	5
3)St,Mart.,Coney St.	379	-	379	71	5.3	22	15	25	4	5
4)All Saints,Pavemt.	235	-	235	49	4.8	15	10	14	9	1
5)St.Michael-le-B.	454	-	454	110	4.1	34	36	34	5	1
6)St.Mart.,Micklegt.	44	-	44	11	4.0	5	3	2	1	-
7)St.Gregory	33	-	33	9	3.6	4	3	2	-	-
8)St.Helen, Stonegt.	241	-	241	71	3.4	32	19	19	1	-
9)St.John, Ousebr.	229	16	245	73	3.4	39	19	7	7	1
10)St.Mich.,Spurrgt.	265	-	265	80	3.3	30	33	16	1	-
11)St.Mary,B.h.,jun.	26	-	26	9	2.9	6	1	1	1	-
12)St.Lawrence	23	-	23	8	2.9	3	3	2	-	-
13)St.Maurice	63	10	73	27	2.7	16	7	4	-	-
14)Kings' Court	263	34	297	110	2.7	65	29	15	1	-
15)St.Crux	348	21	369	138	2.7	89	30	14	4	1
16)St.Margaret	85	-	85	33	2.6	17	14	2	-	-
17)St.Sampson	236	-	236	92	2.6	60	23	8	1	-
18)St.Denis	122	-	122	48	2.5	26	18	4	-	-
19)St.Mary,Castlegt.	219	68	287	119	2.4	86	17	13	1	2
20)St.Olave	70	9	79	33	2.4	27	1	4	1	-
21)Peter-the-Little	103	-	103	44	2.3	29	12	3	-	-
22)St.Helen-in-the-Walls	58	14	72	31	2.3	25	2	2	2	-
23)Trin.,Goodramgt.	121	18	139	60	2.3	43	12	4	1	-
24)St.Mary,B.h.,sen.	74	20	94	42	2.2	32	4	6	-	-
25)St.John-del-Pyke	86	19	105	47	2.2	36	4	6	1	-
26)St.Saviour	107	48	155	70	2.2	57	5	6	1	1
27)All Saints, North St.	78	32	110	54	2.0	39	11	4	-	-
28)St.Andrew	54	23	77	38	2.0	31	4	3	-	-
29)Trin.,Micklegt.	103	44	147	74	2.0	57	11	4	2	-
30)Peter-le-Willows	16	-	16	10	1.6	9	1	-	-	-
31)All Saints, Peaseholme	20	23	43	30	1.4	28	1	-	1	-
Totals and averages	4608	400	5008	1674	3.0	987	369	246	53	19

- A - Hearths paying
- B - Hearths exempt
- C - Total hearths
- D - Total households
- E - Average number of hearths per household
- F - Households with 1 or 2 hearths
- G - Households with 3 or 4 hearths
- H - Households with 5 to 8 hearths
- I - Households with 9 to 12 hearths
- J - Households with 13 hearths or more

data compiled from Y.C.A., M 30: 22

Table 27. Hearth Tax, 1671: Analysis of Hearths

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1)St.Mart.,Coney St.	470	3	473	75	6.3	15	20	24	8	8
2)Minster Yard	368	5/16	389	78	5.0	27	23	16	6	6
3)St.Wilfrid	176	4/5	185	39	4.7	15	7	11	4	2
4)St.Mart.-cum-Greg.	218	2/20	240	54	4.4	25	5	18	6	-
5)St.Michael-le-B.	634	7/17	658	151	4.4	52	43	36	17	3
6)St.Mary,Castlegate	245	28/6	279	67	4.2	25	23	16	1	2
7)St.Helen, Stonegt.	371	-/8	379	96	3.9	38	25	25	8	-
8)All Saints,Pavemt.	296	20	316	86	3.7	46	12	18	9	1
9)St.Lawrence	47	-	47	13	3.6	6	3	3	1	-
10)Trin.,Micklegt.	187	-/27	214	62	3.5	23	22	15	2	-
11)St.John,Ousebr.	263	12/10	285	85	3.4	50	13	14	7	1
12)St.Mich.,Spurr.	329	13	342	106	3.2	46	37	20	3	-
13)Trin.,Goodramgt.	150	4/13	167	52	3.2	24	20	5	3	-
14)Kings' Court	342	11/10	363	115	3.2	54	43	13	5	-
15)St.John-del-Pyke	102	-/8	110	35	3.1	17	11	7	-	-
16)St.Olave	83	-/4	87	28	3.1	18	4	5	1	-
17)St.Mary,B.h.,sen.	121	22	143	47	3.0	35	5	6	-	1
18)St.Sampson	282	3/6)	291	96	3.0	51	27	16	2	-
19)St.Crux	371	20	391	132	3.0	71	36	19	6	-
20)All Saints, North St.	146	7	153	54	2.8	28	18	7	1	-
21)St.Andrew	43	4	47	17	2.8	11	3	3	-	-
22)St.Saviour	132	22/14	168	61	2.8	40	12	6	1	2
23)St.Denis	168	16/5	189	73	2.6	44	16	13	-	-
24)St.Maurice	87	18	105	44	2.4	30	8	6	-	-
25)St.Cuthbert	29	8	37	16	2.3	12	3	-	1	-
26)St.Margaret	104	11/10	125	55	2.3	31	21	3	-	-
27)St.Helen & St.Cuthbt.	85	25/2	112	51	2.2	40	3	6	2	-
28)Peter-le-Willows	25	-/16	41	19	2.2	15	4	-	-	-
29)Peter-the-Little	133	21	154	72	2.1	50	19	3	-	-
30)St.Mary,B.h.,jun.	75	13/17	105	55	1.9	45	8	2	-	-
Total	6082	299/ 214	6595	1934	3.4	984	494	336	94	26

Figures after / refer to the number of hearths in houses which were empty

data compiled from Y.C.A., 1671 hearth tax returns

The average number of hearths per household in Newcastle was 2.06, in Chester 2.1, in Leeds 2.35, in Leicester 2.4, in Exeter 2.59, and in Hull 3.3. In Newcastle 43% of the population was exempt, in Norwich 61.7%, in Leicester 27.4%, and in York approximately 20.4%

R.Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, (Oxford, 1967), p.9; W.G.Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800, (2nd edn., Exeter, 1968), p.115; N.J.Alldrige, 'House and Household in Restoration Chester', Urban History Yearbook, (1983), p.41; J.W.Kirby, 'Restoration Leeds and the Aldermen of the Corporation, 1661-1700', Northern History, XXII (1986), p.131; V.C.H.: York, p.164

the office-holders it was almost entirely without substance. The York Dissenters were too few in number, particularly among the civic elite, to figure prominently in civic government, regardless of the restraints placed upon them by the Corporation Act (see Table 28). The weakness of the Dissenting movement in York reflected the city's Protestant conservatism. For all its success among the 'best' citizens, godly religion attracted very little popular support and retained a strong 'Anglo-Puritan' loyalty to the Church of England.

The actions of the aldermen in seeking to prevent any encroachment on their jurisdiction, any threat to the city's political autonomy, or any offence to civic dignity and their own pride were consistently misinterpreted by loyalist onlookers as examples of the office-holders' 'phanatick humour'.⁽³⁰⁾ Similarly, the Tories regarded the magistrates' notorious laxity in prosecuting Dissent - which was mainly the product of the aldermen's natural unwillingness to persecute fellow Protestants, honest citizens, and in some cases their own trading partners, neighbours and relatives - as prime evidence of their disloyalty to the Crown. Political prejudice, snobbery, and a wish to deflate the social and

30) P.R.O., SP 29/65/46, Sir Metcalfe Robinson to William Darcy, December 1662 (Robinson was a local Royalist gentleman and M.P. for York in the Cavalier Parliament. When he was elected an alderman late in 1662 against his wishes and, as he thought, beneath his station he did not hesitate to put the aldermen's actions down to 'phanatick humour' and the machinations of a 'rebell party'. He was much nearer the mark however when he wrote of their 'foolishly measuring what is fitt for me by themselves' - to the mayor and aldermen he stated that the government of the city was in 'Loyall hands' - L.R.O., Newby Hall MS 2445); for the views of the gentry towards York and other corporations see M.A.Mullett, 'The Crown and the Corporations, 1660-1689', (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1970), pp.40-44; P.Styles, 'The Corporation of Warwick, 1660-1835', Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society, LIX (1935), p.21

Table 28. Quakers and Nonconformists in Civic Government 1662-1720

15/1/1664	Robert Horsefield	Nc?	ch	
	Thomas Cooke sen	Nc?	ch	
16/1/1665	Thomas Jackson	Nc?	ch	
24/9/1666	Michael Barstow	Nc	sh	paid to be exempted
15/1/1668	Jonathan Hobson	Nc??	ch	
21/9/1668	Thomas Cooke sen	Nc	sh	
15/1/1669	Richard Smith	Nc??	ch	
15/1/1670	Thomas Cornwell	Nc??	ch	
	Henry Wilkinson	Q	ch	served office, but did not take the chamberlain's oath
21/9/1670	Thomas Jackson	Nc	sh	paid to be exempted
21/9/1671	Thomas Nisbett	Nc	sh	served office, but did not subscribe to the declaration abjuring the Covenant
21/9/1672	Robert Horsefield	Nc	sh	
	Edward Nightingale	Q	sh	paid to be exempted
15/1/1673	Augustine Ambrose	Nc	ch	refused to serve and was fined by the corporation
21/9/1673	Henry Wilkinson	Q	sh	paid to be exempted
15/1/1676	John Geldart	Nc	ch	
15/1/1677	Robert Rhodes	Nc??	ch	
15/1/1678	Matthew Bayocke	Nc	ch	
	John Pemberton	Nc	ch & cc	
	Robert Addinall	Nc??	ch	
15/1/1679	John Marshall	Q	ch	appears to have taken the chamberlain's oath
15/1/1680	Thomas Cooke jun	Nc	ch	
28/1/1680	Jonanthan Hobson	Nc??	cc	
16/1/1682	Thomas Cooke jun	Nc	cc	
21/8/1683	Samuel Smith	Nc	cc	
21/9/1683	Thomas Cooke jun	Nc	sh	
22/9/1684	John Pemberton	Nc	sh	
15/1/1685	Francis Nicholson	Nc??	ch	
15/1/1686	Charles Redmaine	Nc??	ch	
18/7/1686	Charles Redmaine	Nc??	cc	
21/9/1686	John Geldart	Nc	sh	paid to be exempted
	Arthur Robinson	Nc??	cc	
21/9/1688	Matthew Bayocke	Nc	sh	
15/11/1688	Robert Rhodes	Nc??	cc	
15/1/1689	Martin Hotham	Nc	ch	
15/1/1690	Samuel Buxton	Nc??	ch	
15/1/1692	Joshua Drake	Nc	ch	
16/1/1693	Samuel Smith	Nc	ch	
	Thomas Dennison	Q(s)	ch	
15/1/1694	Thomas Salmon	Nc	ch	
24/9/1694	Joshua Drake	Nc	sh	refused to serve and was fined by the corporation

15/1/1695	Emmanuel Nightingale	Q(s)	ch	refused to serve
	John Winnard	Q(s)	ch	
	Robert Jeeb	Q	ch	served office, but did not take the chamberlain's oath
23/9/1696	Samuel Buxton	Nc??	sh	
15/1/1697	Emmanuel Nightingale	Q(s)	cc	
15/1/1698	Thomas Harrison	Q	ch	served office, but did not take the chamberlain's oath
21/9/1700	Samuel Smith	Nc	sh	paid to be exempted
27/9/1700	William Garforth	Nc	sh	paid to be exempted
15/1/1704	William Hudson	Q	ch	paid to be exempted
21/9/1704	Robert Jeeb	Q	sh	paid to be exempted
15/1/1707	William Banks	Nc	ch & cc	
	Thomas Hammond	Q	ch	took the Affirmation
15/1/1708	Thomas Etherington	Q	ch	took the Affirmation
21/9/1708	Thomas Harrison	Q	sh	paid to be exempted
15/1/1714	Timothy Hudson	Q	ch	took the Affirmation
15/1/1717	William Hotham	Nc	ch	
22/9/1718	Thomas Etherington	Q	sh	paid to be exempted
15/1/1719	Thomas Hammond jun	Q	ch	took the Affirmation
21/9/1719	Timothy Hudson	Q	sh	paid to be exempted

Nc = Nonconformist

Q = Quaker

? = may not have been a Dissenter at time of election

?? = may not have been a Dissenter

cc = common councillor

ch = chamberlain

sh = sheriff

Q(s) = Quaker separatist

governmental pretensions of the civic patriciate were largely responsible for the politico-religious animus of many local gentry towards the corporation, rather than an informed assessment of the ideological temper of municipal politics. The aldermen and leading citizens shared essentially the same lifestyle, or wished to do so, and the same belief in hierarchy and social order as their gentry opponents.

The influence of Dissent could raise the political temperature in towns in a more direct and real sense. Where the Dissenters were able to establish a strong presence among the highest and most politically active sections of urban society, religious issues inevitably became political and corporate issues; Whig factions in a number of boroughs coalesced around a Nonconformist core.(31) Political conflict and divisions were likely to be more sustained and acute it seems in towns with an influential Dissenting element. Religious differences underlay the political divisions in Stuart Norwich for example.(32) In a city such as York however, where the majority of the leading citizens were loyal members of the Church of England, political disagreement among the office-holders was contained within a broad Anglican consensus and there was not the same degree of ideological polarity which London and Norwich experienced. Organised political parties only emerged in Restoration York

31) J.Bradley, 'The Legal Status, Social Structure and Ideology of Nonconformity' (unpublished paper, n.d.), pp.16-17,34-36; see J.Hurwich, 'A Fanatick Town': The Political Influence of Dissenters in Coventry, 1660-1720', Midland History, 4 (1970), pp.15-47 - because the Dissenting interest in York was negligible the early Whig movement in the city was essentially a short-lived Protestant reaction occasioned by heightened fears of a popish conspiracy. There is no evidence that religious reform was an important issue for most of those associated with the Whig cause in York - J.R.Jones, The First Whigs, (Oxford, 1961), pp.170-1

32) Evans, Norwich, p.320

for a brief spell during the Exclusion Crisis and ideological rivalry did not become so intense that civic liberties were sacrificed for political ends.

The York Dissenters' lack of direct influence in municipal government did not render them politically impotent. Dissenters such as Brian Dawson and Andrew Taylor who had been senior office-holders during the Interregnum were not without political experience and probably retained many important contacts in the corporate hierarchy. In fact quite a few of the leading first generation Dissenters and Quakers, as prominent traders, members of the Merchant Adventurers Society (which included most of the city's leading distributive traders), and in some cases ex-office-holders, remained very much a part of the civic establishment. Whether Dissent in York was an 'important force' in civic politics under the later Stuarts as Peter Clark and Paul Slack have suggested is doubtful but there are signs that during the 1670's and early 1680's the Dissenters enjoyed a certain amount of behind the scenes influence with the magistrates via their eminent patrons Sir John Hewley and Thomas Rokeby esq.(33) As the social origins of the Dissenting community in York became more bourgeois towards the end of the seventeenth century and its connections with the ruling elite dwindled the Dissenters' influence appears to have faded from the city's political scene.(34) As a group at least they were politically inactive by the early eighteenth century.

The role of the Quakers in civic politics changed dramatically between 1651, when a visit by George Fox marked the beginnings of a

33) Clark and Slack, Crisis and Order, p.28; A Browning (ed.), Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, (Glasgow, 1936), pp.579-80

34) see chapter 3

meeting in the city, and 1714. In the heroic 'first period' of Quakerism in the 1650's the Quakers, or rather the Quaker evangelists, conceived a deep antipathy towards the civic establishment which centred largely on York as a stronghold of 'priestly' religion but also contained an implicit element of opposition to the socio-political status quo in the city. One Quaker, on trial in 1654 for disturbing a preacher in the Minster, described as Antichrist all such 'as are called of men Masters, and go in Long Robes, and have the chief Places in the Assemblies, Salutations in the Market-Places...'.(35) Although the aims of the early evangelists were primarily religious in nature, being mainly concerned with effecting a spiritual regeneration in what they saw as a godless and forsaken people, their methods had important political implications. By disrupting church services and attempting to turn the citizens against the Puritan ministry the Quakers threatened to undermine the whole basis of godly rule in the city and inevitably they came into conflict with the magistracy. The behaviour of the evangelists aroused deep and widespread hostility among the city's inhabitants which stemmed from a mixture of xenophobia and cultural and religious conservatism. This reaction was often exploited by the aldermen for their own political ends.

The city's own small Quaker community was inactive in the political sphere during the 1650's. It played very little part in the 'Lamb's War' waged by the evangelists in the city and those few of its members who were office-holders at the time of their conversion ceased to appear at Council meetings and were expelled from the corporation. Being such a

35) J.Besse, An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, 3 vols, (1733-8), vol.1, p.486; see chapter 1

small community and having no voice in civic government the York Quakers were severely handicapped as a force for religious or political change in the city and in fact there is evidence to suggest that most of the first Friends were far less estranged from or dissatisfied with the social and political set up in York than the activities of the Quaker evangelists would seem to imply. Several of the leading early Quakers were members of the Merchant Adventurers Society, which only admitted the city's trading elite, and most were freemen and guild members with well established businesses.

After the Restoration the shift in the focus of Quaker religious practice from public to private allowed Friends in York to effect a more thorough separation between their religious lives and their social and commercial activities. This did not mean that they abandoned their stand on oath-taking or the Established Church, and hence they remained outside municipal politics, but it did enable them to achieve a high degree of integration in civic society. Quakers became guild officers, parish poor collectors, contractors on municipal building projects, and acted as sureties on loans from the corporation.(36) The York Quakers appear to have felt happier with the narrower, more moderate political line taken by the movement after the Restoration. They became closely involved in the national campaign mounted by the Quaker leadership in London during the life of the Exclusion Parliaments to have legislation passed that would grant Friends' relief from prosecutions under the laws against Recusancy. In 1679 the York Monthly Meeting, in accordance with advice from the Meeting for Sufferings in London, wrote a letter to the two Whig Knights

36) see chapters 1 and 2

of the Shire requesting their help in securing Friends' exemption from such laws. The Lords were addressed as 'ye' and there is the clear implication in the letter that having voted for them Friends were entitled to expect something in return.(37) The activities of Friends conjure up a political world far removed from that of the York Dissenters, and indeed the civic community in general, in which the role of the gentry and merchants, the traditional political brokers, remained paramount.

The Tory reaction of the mid-1680's temporarily put a stop to Friends' political activities and according to N.C.Hunt they did not resume their role as a political association until after the Revolution Settlement. Evidence from the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting however, suggests that Friends' were becoming active again towards the end of James' reign as the prospect of a new parliament loomed. The Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting attempted to co-ordinate the electoral activity of the rank and file to the end that 'Friends both in the County and Corporations be unanimous in their Votes'. York Friends played an important part in the Quarterly Meeting's political campaigning, 'discoursing' the Society's views and delivering papers to M.P.s and corporations across the county.(38)

York Friends certainly felt that they had an 'interest' in their local members. In 1703 they lobbied their M.P.s concerning a Common's bill dealing with print regulations. The Quakers hoped that the members were

37) Friends House Library, London, Great Book of Sufferings vol.4, part 2, f.688

37) N.C.Hunt, Two Early Political Associations: The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the Age of Sir Robert Walpole, (Oxford, 1961), p.11; Brotherton Library, Leeds, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting Minute Book, vol.2, f.68a

acquainted with Friends' views on the subject and desired them 'to make what Interest you can that nothing may be in the said Bill whereby to lessen or hinder our Present Christian priviledges we now Injoy under the Government...'.(39) Friends were by no means politically passive, although the range of their concerns, as a group at least, was narrow and prescribed to a large extent by the Quaker leadership in London. As private individuals most York Friends appear to have stood squarely in the non-partisan mainstream of civic politics. In the 1713 and 1715 elections the majority of Friends voted for the nominal Whig Sir William Robinson and the quasi-Tory candidate Tobias Jenkins in preference to the Whig Robert Fairfax (see Table 29).(40) The respectable tone of the meeting's politics accords well with the image Friends in York present of a fairly prosperous, bourgeois people, who considered themselves pillars of the civic community. It was to this end that the meeting supported the 1696 Affirmation Act which made it easier for Friends to fulfill their social and financial obligations as honest citizens. When the Act was due to expire in 1715 York Friends decided on their own initiative to write to Robinson and Jenkins via a contact in London to solicit their help in its renewal.(41) The Affirmation Act may have been responsible for a slight increase in the number of Quakers serving as chamberlain in the

39) Brotherton Library, York Men's Preparative Meeting Minute Books, vol.2, f.100a

40) Y.C.A., uncatalogued section of a 1713 poll-book; L.R.O., Vyner MS 5783, 1715 poll-book; In 1720 Tobias Jenkins the city's mayor and M.P., an ex-Tory turned Whig, wrote that his support came from the 'old Interest of the grave People, that are very steady, of the Quakers which I believe I have to a man...', B.L., Add. MS 61496, quoted in J.D.Alsop, 'Manuscript Evidence on the Quaker Bill of 1722', Journal of Friends' Historical Society, (1980), p.255

41) Brotherton, Library, Y.M.P.M.M.B., vol.2, f.251

Table 29. York Quakers and the 1713 and 1715 elections

	A	B	C
1713			
Thomas Ewbank, tailor	*	*	
Robert Hillary, tailor	*	*	
Joseph Todd, whitesmith	*	*	
John Todd, whitesmith	*	*	
1715			
John Bell, tailor			*
Joseph Coates, tanner	*	*	
John Creswick, tailor	*		*
Thomas Etherington, watchmaker	*	*	
Edward Evans, marriner			*
Thomas Ewbank, tailor	*	*	
Thomas Hammond, sen, bookseller	*	*	
Thomas Harrison, mercer	*		*
William Harrison, tailor	*	*	
Robert Hillary, tailor	*	*	
Abraham Hogg, tailor	*	*	
Benjamin Horsley, painter-stainer	*		*
Timothy Hudson, tanner	*		*
John Kay, whitesmith	*	*	
William Linsley, glover	*	*	
George Newsome, tailor	*	*	
Isaac Taylor, tobacco-cutter	*		*
John Todd, whitesmith	*	*	
Joseph Todd, whitesmith	*	*	
Thomas Waller, carpenter			*

A - Sir William Robinson, a Whig inclined neutral

B - Tobias Jenkins, esq., a Whig in his early parliamentary career, stood in 1713 and 1715 with the backing of his 'very watery Tory' predecessor, Lord Bingley, reverted to being a Whig after 1715

C - Robert Fairfax esq., a Whig

corporation, although since the city was apparently willing to waive the chamberlain's oath where the Quakers were concerned it is more than likely that those Friends who affirmed would have agreed to hold office even in the absence of the Affirmation Act. The fact that few Friends in York once elected to the chamberlaincy refused to serve is an indication that not all Quakers were as averse to active engagement in 'secular' affairs as some historians have thought.(42) The Quakers in York, like the Dissenters, could not muster enough support among the 'best' citizens to make significant inroads in civic government, but had it not been for the Corporation Act and the worldly trappings of high office at least one or two of the wealthiest Quakers might have found their way into the Upper House by the early eighteenth century.

The political interests of the Nonconformists and Quakers after 1660 rarely clashed with those of the magistracy and indeed broadly speaking the Dissenters in York could be classed as allies of the bench. Both parties were generally anti-Court or Whig in sympathy and frequently encountered opposition from the same quarter, namely local church dignitaries and representatives of the Crown. It was largely the supposed threat of Puritan disobedience and sedition in York which prompted intrusion into civic affairs by the Church and central government between the 1630's and 1688, to the detriment, as the aldermen saw it, of the community's political stability and their own traditional authority. Order and good government to the leading citizens meant the union of authority

42) De Krey, A Fractured Society, p.97; for Quaker involvement in local and parliamentary politics see N.J.Morgan, 'The Quakers and the Establishment, 1660-1730, with specific reference to the North-West of England', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1985), pp.19,26-30

with 'interest', or wealth and social standing expressed in terms of local influence. Although the Civil War accomplished the removal of episcopacy as a political threat to the aldermen, it introduced another with the establishment of a permanent garrison in the city under the command of a state-appointed town governor. By the mid-1650's the garrison and the city's Presbyterian leaders were out of step politically and relations between the two became strained. The garrison commander and town governor Colonel Robert Lilburne was a staunch opponent of the Presbyterians and a known Quaker sympathiser, as were some of his men.(43) Many in the garrison were probably as estranged from civic life and contemptuous of the ruling pretensions of the magistracy as the cathedral 'doctors' had been before the Civil War. Lilburne for his part thought that some of the aldermen were only lukewarm in their allegiance to the Commonwealth, although the magistrates never gave him cause to intervene forcibly in the city's internal affairs.(44)

It was only after the Restoration that the garrison was routinely employed as an instrument of government in the city. It was used on several occasions in the early 1660's to break up Quaker meetings, guard the city against the rumoured threat of attack by 'fanatics', and secure persons suspected of plotting against the Crown.(45) In the tense political atmosphere of 1660 some of the aldermen appear to have

43) R.Howell, 'The Army and the English Revolution: The Case of Robert Lilburne', Archaeologia Aeliana, Fifth Series, IX (1981), pp.307-10,313; B.Reay, The Quakers and the English Revolution, (1985), p.19

44) T.Birch (ed.), A Collection of State Papers of John Thurloe, 7 vols, (1742), vol.3, p.360

45) V.C.H.: York, p.192; C.S.P.D., 1660/1, p.426, 1663/4, p.16; F.H.L., Great Book of Sufferings, vol.2, f.40, vol.4, part 2, ff.506,585-6; W.G.Johnson, 'Post Restoration Nonconformity and Plotting, 1660-75', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Manchester University, 1967), pp.77,301

accepted the need for a strong military presence in York and they assisted the garrison in rounding up and imprisoning the city's Quakers who were thought to be acting as sectarian fifth columnists. However, as fears concerning the city's safety diminished and civic life returned to normal the aldermen grew less tolerant of military intervention in civic affairs. The zeal of the garrison officers and the city's first Restoration governor, Sir Edward Brett, in suppressing the activities of the Quakers and Nonconformists in the city was not shared by the aldermen who earned the odium of the Royalists in 1665 for refusing to detain a Nonconformist minister caught preaching in York, despite a request to that effect from the governor.(46) By the mid-1660's the aldermen had probably come to regard the governor and other local representatives of the Crown as a greater threat to their interests in the borough than the city's respectable and highly integrated Dissenting communities. The reluctance of the bench to act against the Dissenters in York was again evident in 1670 when it took a determined effort by the garrison officers to get the magistrates to enforce the Second Conventicle Act in the city.(47) Thus relations between the magistracy and the servants and closest supporters of the Crown in York, or the 'loyal party' as they were referred to, began to deteriorate long before they joined battle under the political banners of Whig and Tory.

The political influence of the loyalists in York was limited by a lack of dynamism on the part of the city's first two Royalist governors and

46) P.R.O., SP 29/143/141; for the magistrates' reluctance to co-operate with the military against the Quakers see chapter 1

47) Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, p.92; N.Penney (ed.), Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends, 1654-72, (1913), pp.316-7; see chapter 3

the poor support they received from central government. Lord Frescheville, Sir Edward Brett's successor, owed his appointment in 1665 more to services he had already rendered the King than any he might still be expected to give. The interest which his nephew, and probable architect of his promotion, Sir Thomas Osborne was able to command among the citizenry as one of the city's M.P.s between 1665 and 1673 may have served to strengthen Frescheville's hand in civic politics at the outset of his term in office. But after 1673 and the collapse of the Osborne electoral interest in York he was left very much out on a political limb in the city and it was only in the last year or so of his governorship that the Crown and local Tory gentry came to his rescue. During the 1670's, certainly, he appears to have been accorded scant respect by the aldermen who took advantage of his frequent absences from York and his physical infirmity to advance their own jurisdictional and judicial claims in the city at the expense of the military.(48) When Sir John Reresby took over as governor after Frescheville's death in 1682 he pointedly told the mayor 'I understand that in my Lord Frezwels time the civill power had something entrenched upon the military, which I should not suffer for the time to come'.(49) Reresby proved as good as his word and during his governorship the garrison once again figured prominently in civic life.

Mistrustful of the political temper of the city Reresby deliberately maintained a high military profile in York which both intimidated and angered the citizens. Predictably, the number of incidents involving soldiers attacking or robbing citizens increased alarmingly during the

48) C.S.P.D., 1671, p.238; British Library, Egerton MS 3332, f.1; Reresby, Memoirs, pp.269, 281

49) ibid. p.269

1680's, despite strenuous efforts by Reresby to prevent indiscipline among the troops. Widespread hostility in York towards the military eventually erupted in 1686 when a group of citizens violently set upon a company of musketeers who were trying to keep order at a public funeral in the Minster.(50) This incident led the King to review his decision to dis-garrison York and instead troop numbers were maintained and on occasion increased with army units arriving periodically between 1686 and 1688 for short tours of duty in the city. Some of the companies stationed in York contained not only Catholic mercenaries but also fugitives from justice and were for the most part abominably behaved, respecting neither the civil rights of the citizens nor the authority of the magistrates.(51) At times the military virtually imposed an informal state of martial law in the city with citizens afraid to walk the streets at night for fear of being dragged off to the guard house and beaten.(52)

Although popular hostility towards the military in York reached its height between 1686 and 1688, relations between the civic authorities and the militia and garrison officers were probably at their most strained between 1680 and 1685. The political differences between the 'loyal' Crown officers and the supposedly 'factious' civic leadership were the root cause of this tension which was heightened by the usual arguments over jurisdiction. The situation was complicated after 1682 when the military was split by rivalry between the lieutenancy and the governor. Reresby's

50) *ibid.* pp.337,350-1,409; L.R.O., Reresby Corr., 43/29, George Butler to Reresby, 15th January 1686

51) J.Childs, The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution, (Manchester, 1980), pp.43,95,99,101

52) Reresby Corr., 50/83, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 5th March 1688; 53/6, same to same, 29th February 1688; Reresby Memoirs, p.489

promotion as governor was resented by the Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding and the deputy-lieutenants, particularly Sir Thomas Slingsby, who deliberately sought to undermine his authority in the city.(53) The magistrates were caught in the middle of this quarrel and some of them were removed from the bench as a consequence.

Reresby's powerful court connections and skill as a politician enabled him to outflank his enemies during the early 1680's and he assumed an importance in civic politics unrivalled by his predecessors. Indeed, with the magistrates' backing he was elected M.P. for the city in 1685. After James' accession however, the 'Slingsby party' as it was known, got the better of him and replaced his supporters on the bench with their own allies. Town governor and magistracy were once again estranged, but this time as a result of personal antagonism rather than differences in political outlook. Part of the reason why the magistrates reacted so strongly against the military after the 1686 riot was because the soldiers involved were men of Reresby's company. Significantly, when the soldiers of Lieutenant-Colonel Purcell's regiment attacked the citizens in 1688 there was a 'great murmering' against the mayor among the citizens for his failure to take a tough line with the military authorities.(54)

Reresby managed to retain a great deal of influence in civic affairs throughout James' reign, but by 1688 his unwavering public loyalty to the King left him politically isolated in the city. During Danby's coup in York in November 1688 he was abandoned by both the corporation and the garrison.(55) Reresby died early in 1689 and the office of governor

53) *ibid.* pp.261,279,288-9,295,326,330

54) Reresby Corr., 54/1, Thomas Fairfax to Reresby, 3rd March 1688

55) Reresby, Memoirs, p.531

effectively died with him. In that same year also the garrison was disbanded. These two developments as much as the change in national government at the Revolution considerably reduced the potential for political conflict in the city. After 1688 the magistrates were left to govern in peace with little in the way of local political opposition or interference from central government. Even Anglican church leaders in York, the traditional rivals of the bench, had ceased to pose any threat to the authority of the aldermen by the 1690's.

The leading churchmen in York during the Restoration period sided with the Royalist and later the Tory interest and as advocates of repressive measures against Dissent looked favourably on the loyalists' attempts to promote religious and political orthodoxy in civic government.(56) Although Archbishops Frewen and Sterne were not given to intervention in the city's affairs as Neile had been, at the same time they made no effort to improve their stock with the magistrates. A thaw in relations between church leaders and the magistracy only began to set in during James II's reign. The Tory majority on the bench after 1685 and the King's attempts to undermine the Protestant establishment helped to dispel a good deal of the distrust and latent hostility which for decades had characterised the relationship between the church authorities in York and civic leaders. Much of the opposition in York to James' religious policy came from the Minster, where the precentor, Thomas Comber, became closely involved in the political campaign to defend the Church of England. After the Revolution anti-Jacobitism was a strong force for

56) R.M.Faithorn, 'Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth Century Yorkshire' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1982), pp.179-181

unity among Protestants in York of all denominations.(57)

Though the archiepiscopate played only a minor role in civic politics after the Restoration, the archbishop remained, potentially at least, an important figure in the political scheme of things in York until well into the eighteenth century. In a letter to one of the aldermen in the 1690's Archbishop Sharpe acknowledged the strong interest which he had among the city's tradesmen but declined to make use of it for political ends.(58) With more zeal and dedication the Restoration archbishops might also have been able to make an interest for themselves and the Crown among the townsfolk. Unfortunately for the loyal party in York neither Frewen nor Sterne were particularly energetic or inspiring leaders and Dolben's archiepiscopate was too short to be of much consequence. The only known occasion upon which the archbishop intervened directly in civic politics after the Restoration was in 1684 when Dolben attempted to persuade the corporation to surrender the city's charter to the Crown.(59) His efforts were well received by the Commons but if anything served to accentuate the 'malitious humours' of the bench.

Despite increasing competition from outside agencies for political control in the city during the second half of the seventeenth century, the aldermen, the oligarchic 'inner circle', continued to dominate the corporation and civic political life. The procedures governing recruitment

57) C.E.Whiting (ed.), The Autobiographies and Letters of Thomas Comber, Surt.Soc., CLVI, (1946), p.1-11,19; Bodleian Library, Additional MS A 56, f.4; Y.C.A., M30:32, 'Association of Citizens and others to resist the Papist Conspiracy'

58) T.Newcome (ed.), The Life of John Sharpe, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York, 2 vols, (1825), vol.1, pp.125-6; see also J.F.Quinn, 'Yorkshiremen go to the Polls: County Contests in the Early Eighteenth Century', Northern History, XXI (1985), p.149

59) C.S.P.D., 1683/4, p.338

to the bench in York appear to have ruled out the possibility of intense political rivalry developing among the aldermen, which in London and Norwich tended to undermine the effectiveness of oligarchic rule. Inevitably there were disagreements among the aldermen and occasionally these acquired definite political overtones but never to the extent that one side was prepared to sacrifice the city's 'ancient rights' or political independence for the sake of its own partisan concerns. The defence of corporate and aldermanic authority remained a top priority for Whig and Tory aldermen alike and their role as civic patriarchs tended to supercede any part they played as local party leaders.

For all its cohesiveness however, the magistracy was not a monolithic institution, indeed part of its success as a ruling body was its responsiveness to changes in the city's economic and social structure. For example, as the mercantile interest in York declined towards the end of the seventeenth century so the range of occupations and social backgrounds among the magistrates widened to reflect the city's growing importance as a centre of consumption and its increasingly close contacts with county society and the wider provincial world. The singular lack of internal political dissension in York or indeed the accusations of corruption which were commonly levelled against leading office-holders in many other towns may well have something to do with the relative openness of civic oligarchy in the seventeenth century.

In many large urban communities during the sixteenth century a small number of interrelated families came to dominate the upper reaches of the corporate hierarchy and rule by a 'power elite', or plutocracy, was

replaced by that of a closed social elite.(60) Where governing bodies of this sort developed new aldermen were recruited almost exclusively from the families of existing or past occupants of the bench or "foreigners" who had formed links with the ruling clique through marriage or apprenticeship. York has been seen as typical in this respect; 'From the late sixteenth century' it has recently been observed, 'the influx of wealthy newcomers into the city was slackening, and the York economy, like its civic government, came increasingly under the control of established families. The civic rulers were recruited from a narrow section of the city's trading and manufacturing interests and from a limited number of interrelated families...'(61)

It does indeed appear that the general trend in civic government during the seventeenth century was towards rule by a closed oligarchy but nevertheless the process still had a very long way to go by the early eighteenth century. The twenty-five men recruited to the bench between 1695 and 1720 represented at least twenty-one different families and most of them were not closely related to existing or past magistrates (see Table 31). Unfortunately, the material relating to apprenticeship during the seventeenth century is too incomplete to allow for any accurate assessment of its importance in political recruitment. Only eleven of the twenty-five aldermen elected between 1610 and 1640 can be

60) J.T.Evans, 'The Decline of Oligarchy in Seventeenth-Century Norwich', The Journal of British Studies, XIV (1974), pp.46-49; Clark and Slack, Crisis and Order, pp.21-2; W.T.MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, pp.26-53; L.Stone, 'Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700', P.& P., XXXIII (1966), p.47
61) J.A.Sharpe, Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550-1760, (1987), p.180

Table 30. Occupations of Recruited Magistrates by decade, 1610-1720

TRADES	10-	20-	30-	40-	50-	60-	70-	80-	90-	00-	10-	TOT
apothecary						2		1		1		4
attorney			1	1				2			1	5
butcher							1					1
draper		1	1	1		2		2				7
dyer				1								1
gentleman						2			3	1	2	8
goldsmith								1	1			2
grocer				3	1				1			5
haberdasher								1		1	1	3
innholder	1											1
mercier	1	2	1		1		1			1	2	9
merchant	3	5	5	5	6	7	7	6	3	6	1	54
milliner									1			1
pinner											1	1
rope maker		1										1
saddler	2											2
silkweaver								1				1
skinner						1						1
tanner	1							1			1	3
turner							1					1
vintner						1						1
number of aldermen	8	9	8	11	8	15	10	15	9	10	9	
number of trades	5	4	4	5	3	6	4	8	5	5	7	

Table 31. A comparison between the 25 aldermen elected in the period 1610-1640, and the 25 elected in 1695-1720

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1610-1640	17	1	7	13	2	6	17
1695-1720	10	3	12	8	5	4	13

- A freedom by apprenticeship
- B freedom by redemption
- C freedom by patrimony
- D aldermen whose fathers lived outside the city
- E son of an alderman
- F related to an alderman (nephew, son-in-law) either before or at the time of election
- G member of the Eastlands Merchant Company or the York Merchant Adventurers

assigned masters, and of these only three were apprenticed to aldermen. Details of apprenticeship exist for just six of the twenty-five men recruited to the bench between 1695 and 1720; none of them were apprenticed to aldermen. The number of civic families which supplied more than one alderman appears to have increased slightly as the seventeenth century progressed but before 1700 these aldermanic dynasties rarely lasted for more than two generations.(62) By whatever reckoning, the ruling elite in York cannot justifiably be termed a closed oligarchy, at least not of the type said to be typical in many provincial towns during the Stuart period in which a limited number of interrelated families filled the important civic offices with their offspring, relations and former apprentices.(63)

In some ways the bench became a more catholic institution towards the end of the century. Certainly by 1720 the aldermen represented a greater range of occupations, and perhaps also social backgrounds, than had been the case a century earlier (see Table 30). For most of the seventeenth century the number of merchants on the bench at any one time was usually between seven and ten. By 1700 the bench comprised six merchants, two landed gentry, one apothecary, one goldsmith, one haberdasher, one milliner, and one silkweaver. Twenty years later the number of merchants proper on the bench had dropped to just three.(64)

62) V.C.H.: York, p.181

63) Evans, 'Decline of Oligarchy', p.58

64) Data compiled from R.Skaife, 'Civic Officials and Parliamentary Representation of York', 3 vols (MS in York City Library); Y.C.A., Corporation House Books, 35-41; ACC 104 Ant/3 'Hammond's Diary'; Chamberlains Account Books, 1580-1720; B.I.H.R., Wills, Exchequer, Prerogative, Vacancy; R.Davies, (ed.), Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, Surt.Soc., XXXVI (1861); F.Collins (ed.), Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Surt.Soc., CII (1899); P.Y.P.R.S

The door to high office was still open to men of sufficient wealth in late seventeenth century York. A man aspiring to a place on the bench could lack kinship, apprenticeship and alliance ties with the aldermen but he could not lack wealth. Neither the Civil War, the Interregnum, nor the political upheavals of the Restoration period altered this fundamental fact of political life in York. National political crises affected the rate of turnover on the bench but did not bring to power men of obviously meaner rank or lower financial status. Changes in the occupational structure of the magistracy were gradual and occurred as a consequence of alterations in the nature of the civic economy rather than re-modelling by the state.

CIVIC POLITICS DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND INTERREGNUM

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed the emergence of politics in something like its modern form. The intense party politicking of the early 18th century, the apparently widespread concern with issues of national importance, and a volatile and divided electorate were all features of a political system broadly similar in character to our own.(1) The political world of early Stuart England however, presents a less familiar picture. The parliamentary contests characteristic of the 'divided society' were quite rare before the Civil War and were more likely to involve questions of honour and reputation rather than political issues.(2) Politics was bound up more closely with matters of local interest and political discourse was conducted with reference to a common body of beliefs which largely precluded ideological conflict. Despite a growing divergence between the values and norms of the godly and their more traditionally-minded neighbours, people of all social levels appear to have shared many assumptions about the way society should be ordered and these ideas formed the basis for their political attitudes.(3) Political disagreement was contained within a broad framework of ideals and values which expressed the notion of the 'commonweal' or society as one community whose members were bound together by universal ties of obligation and service to the common good.(4) It was the alleged

1) W.A.Speck, Tory and Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies 1701-1715, (1970), pp.96-7,114

2) Kishlansky, Parliamentary Selection, pp.225-230

3) D.Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660, (Oxford, 1987), pp.106-7 & ch.5 passim

4) K.Sharpe, Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England: essays and studies, (1989), pp.9-20

infringement by community leaders of the traditional precepts of 'good rule' which were the principal cause of political unrest before the Civil War.(5)

Despite the political confrontations of the 1620's, the widespread dislike of the King's policies during the period of personal rule, and the growing awareness of national and religious issues among the populace, it was only the events of the Civil War which appear to have rendered the traditional world-view untenable. The shared political language of the 'commonweal' ideal was still in general use on the eve of the Civil War, even though there was considerable disagreement as to how the perceived distemper in the body politic might be set to rights.(6)

It was not merely the events of the Civil War however, which shattered the traditional political order but also the politicisation of Puritanism. The Puritans alone, it could be argued, possessed a set of beliefs in 1642 capable of turning the world upside down.(7) By forcing the godly to see their aims in a national political context, and politics itself as a struggle between the 'malignant' and the 'well-affected', the war activated Puritanism as an effective ideological alternative to the traditional political order. On an intellectual level certainly, Puritanism

5) Hirst, Representative, pp.44-50

6) this point is clearly illustrated in the several petitions and counter-petitions which the gentry and freeholders of Yorkshire presented to the King at York in 1642 - British Library, Thomason Tracts, 669 f.6 (9),(15),(24),(29); see also 669 f.6 (44), News from Yorke...July 1 1642 in which the petitioners use of the same political motifs is specifically mentioned

7) Sharpe, Politics and Ideas, pp.28-31; M.Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints; A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), passim; J.Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXXIV (1984), pp.155-178; P.Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England, (1988), pp.132-5

had always been difficult to reconcile with the traditional world-view and the 'ideology of communalism'. In practice however, the more moderate Puritans were well-established members of the natural political order in early Stuart England. Nevertheless, the potential in Puritanism as a source of political opposition to the ideological status quo was considerable and came closer to being realised as a result of episcopal efforts under Archbishop Laud to eradicate the influence of Puritanism in church life.⁽⁸⁾ Laud's policy was keenly felt in places such as Norwich and York where godly religion had established deep roots among the governing classes. The Laudian bishop's attack on the church practices of the godly gave rise to Puritan religious factions in a number of urban centres, particularly the cathedral cities, which almost without exception formed the core of support for the parliamentary cause in those communities.

It is questionable how far Puritanism before 1640 was a politically oriented movement but there is no doubt that the pre-war godly in many towns were in close contact with their co-religionists in London and elsewhere and were beginning to see their own afflictions and the means of remedying them in the context of a wider national struggle.⁽⁹⁾ The antipathy of the Court and the episcopate towards the Puritans' most

8) A.Fletcher, 'Factionalism in Town and Countryside: The significance of Puritanism and Arminianism', Studies In Church History, XVI (1979), pp.291-300; P.Clark, 'The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640' in P.Clark, A.G.R.Smith, N.Tyacke (eds.), The English Commonwealth, 1547-1646, (Leicester, 1979), pp.167-89; P.Clark, 'Thomas Scott and the Growth of Urban Opposition to the Early Stuart Regime', Historical Journal, XXI (1978), pp.24-6

9) B.Manning, 'Parliament, 'party' and 'community' during the English civil war 1642-46', Historical Studies, XIV (1981), pp.97-116; Marchant, The Puritans and the Church Courts, pp.47,75-77

deeply held beliefs during the 1630's greatly increased their sense of fellowship and common purpose as the upholders of 'right religion' in the face of what they regarded as the encroachment of popery under Laud and the Arminians. Although there was no such thing as a national Puritan party before the outbreak of war it is clear nevertheless that the cause of Godly Reformation was in the process of being nationalized. Puritanism had become a political force by 1640, if only as one element in a wider movement of protest. By the end of the Civil War the Puritans in cities such as Norwich, Newcastle and York had come to realise that they could not achieve their local aims without the support of a national movement and without participating in the national conflict on the side of Parliament.(10) The inevitable fusion of Puritan idealism and the parliamentary cause during the war served to politicise godly religion.

The main thrust of recent work on the reaction of urban communities to the events of the Civil War period has been to discredit the old generalisation that towns and their leaders were at the forefront of radical opposition to the monarchy in the 1630's and 40's. A more balanced picture of the urban experience in the Civil War period has now emerged, thanks largely to Roger Howell who has been at pains to stress the wide variety of ways in which urban communities responded to national events and issues.(11) There was clearly a marked difference between the reaction of cities such as Exeter and Bristol where a neutralist and 'business as usual' attitude appears to have prevailed and that of Norwich

10) Evans, Norwich, pp.62,102-4,149-150; B.Manning, 'Parliament, 'party' and 'community', pp.110-111

11) R.Howell, 'Neutralism, Conservatism and Political Alignment in the English Revolution: The Case of the Towns, 1642-9', in J.Morrill (ed.), Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-1649, (1982), pp.67-87

and Gloucester which were dominated by the Puritans and showed a strong pattern of concern for and response to national affairs. York is generally located towards the 'sub-political' end of the spectrum and indeed the majority of the city's inhabitants do appear to have favoured non-alignment although this should not be taken to mean that they reacted to outside events exclusively in terms of local perceptions. Nevertheless, by 1645 York possessed a vigorous Puritan leadership which according to Howell was the 'common denominator' of towns with a radical and nationally-oriented outlook.(12)

Although York was a long way behind Norwich in terms of its active involvement in national affairs, its leaders at any rate were clearly not men of limited horizons who prized the restoration of normal trading conditions and the preservation of local autonomy above all else. The setting up of an effective preaching ministry and the zealous propagation of the gospel were at least as important for some of York's leading citizens and, as they were well aware, the accomplishment of these aims depended to a great extent on the establishment of a godly regime at national level. The building of a more godly society in York required the magistrates to adopt a national perspective. While the structure of politics in York may have changed very little during the Civil War period there was a perceptible increase in the range of objectives and the types of behaviour it encompassed. Ideological loyalties became of real importance in certain areas of civic life after 1645 and cannot simply be dismissed as the 'product of duress' or hypocrisy.(13) The spectacle in

12) *ibid.* p.70

13) *ibid.* p.87

1662 of hundreds of aldermen and councillors preferring to quit office rather than accept a political oath and a religious declaration strongly suggests that genuine ideological commitment was a significant factor in urban politics between 1640 and the Restoration.

The top office-holders symbolised the community in a formal sense, although how far their political views and aspirations accorded with those of the mass of York's ordinary citizens is often difficult to say. During the first half of the seventeenth century the citizens generally appear to have been more conservative and narrow in outlook than their leaders, although this may be reading too much into the lack of any overt opposition to the magistrates in the corporation or the freeman body. Although Barbara Wilson has argued that it would be 'stretching the available evidence' to suggest that a city which held out for more ten weeks against the parliamentary forces was not largely Royalist in sympathy, the war-time conduct of most citizens could just as plausibly be ascribed to localist feeling, self-interest, deference or xenophobia.⁽¹⁴⁾ Judging by all appearances the number of those in York who were positively committed to either party in the war was very small. Neither the Royalists nor the Parliamentarians it seems received any appreciable measure of popular support in York, certainly not to the extent where the inhabitants were prepared to challenge the authority of their political masters. Enthusiasm for the parliamentary cause as for

14) Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', p.246; the son of alderman Breary, Samuel, was said to have led 250 'brave volunteir Cittizens' in defending the city against the Parliamentarian forces in 1644 - British Library, Additional MS 33,595, f.51; see also Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.102, where the corporation requested that if any Parliamentarian garrison be placed in the city 'two parts of three at least' be Yorkshiremen

that of the Royalists is only evident among the upper ranks of civic society, and then mainly in the corporation.

It has been implied that the Puritans were effectively in control of the corporation, or at least the Upper House, by the 1630's, but this suggests a degree of cohesion among the Puritans in civic office, not to mention a weight of numbers, which the evidence cannot support.(15) The Puritans in municipal office did not constitute a faction, nor did they exercise any authority as such despite Neile's talk of a Puritan 'party' in the city.(16) Puritan directives concerning civic lecturers and observance of the Sabbath were approved by the whole house, not pushed through by a godly clique. The non-Puritans among the aldermen appear to have recognised the merits of godly ordinances for regulating the social and moral behaviour of the citizenry; certainly without their support it is doubtful whether the Puritans alone would have carried the day. Although at one point in the 1630's no less than eight of the city's thirteen aldermen may have been Puritans, by 1640 this number appears to have dropped to somewhere in the region of six (17):

15) Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, p.79,83

16) C.Jackson (ed.), Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies, Surt.Soc., LXV (1875), p.129

17) V.C.H.: York, pp.200-2; Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, p.79; for a discussion of the political and religious affiliations of the aldermen during the 1630's and 40's see Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', pp.262-8,276-8

The aldermen in 1640

Puritans	future Royalists	neutrals
Sir William Allanson	Sir Robert Belt	Thomas Hodgson
Thomas Hoyle	Sir Roger Jacques	Leonard Besson
John Vaux	Robert Hemsworth	
Henry Thompson(?)	Edmund Cowper	
James Hutchinson(?)	William Scott	
Sir Christopher Croft(?)		

(?) possible Puritans

Of the six 'Puritan' aldermen only Allanson, Vaux and Hoyle demonstrated a strong commitment to godly reform and yet the corporation in the early 1640's maintained a strong Puritan line. The corporation took a keen interest in Parliament's proposals in 1641 for a preaching ministry and in January of that year it set up a committee to decide whether the city should petition 'against Episcopacy and Ecclesiasticall governm[en]t as Kent and other places have done'. The aldermen heading the committee were Hemsworth, Vaux, Thompson and Hutchinson, and they were joined by several members of the Twenty-Four, including the future Royalist alderman John Myers.(18) The establishment of the January committee implies a high degree of awareness among civic leaders of national political affairs. The inclusion of future Royalists and non-Puritans on the committee also suggests that initiatives of this kind could express concerns of a non-partisan and local nature.(19) Archbishop Neile's attack on civic Puritanism during the 1630's had threatened to undermine the corporation's right to determine the way it governed in the city as well

18) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.53

19) A.Fletcher, The Outbreak of the English Civil War, (1981), pp.92,192-4; A.Hughes, Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660, (Cambridge, 1987), pp.130-6

as the efficacy of that government. This was a matter of great concern to all the senior office-holders, not just the Puritans among them. The January committee had its origins largely in local grievances, only some of them religious - and then it seems of an anti-Laudian rather than anti-Anglican kind. One or two of the Puritan aldermen may also have seen the committee's role in the context of a wider struggle against encroaching Catholicism or even as a small step towards Godly Reformation in society but there are no signs that Puritanism in York before the Civil War developed into a politically-oriented or partisan movement.

During the early 1640's the corporation endeavoured to remain neutral and resisted the King's rather clumsy attempts to involve the city actively on his behalf. Once war broke out however, the formidable Royalist military presence in the city gave the citizens little practical alternative but to side with the King. Three of the city's aldermen, Allanson, Hoyle and Vaux went into what amounted to political exile during the Royalist occupation. Allanson and Hoyle were the city's M.P.'s and chose to remain at Westminster, becoming closely involved in the parliamentary war effort.(20) Vaux withdrew to the Parliamentary stronghold of Hull where he died in 1643. Christopher Croft put in his last appearance at the Guildhall in the early 1640's and then seems to have retired permanently from public life. Hutchinson and Thompson remained in the city and periodically attended Council meetings.(21) Even without a strong Puritan presence on the bench and surrounded by the King's forces the corporation retained some of its old Puritan ways. In

20) V.C.H.: York, p.188; Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', pp.209-10,263,268

21) ibid. pp.267-8, 276-77

1643 it refused point-blank the King's nominee for the post of city preacher in preference to its own choice, the Puritan John Shaw.(22) The office-holders truculent behaviour was probably an expression of civic pride more than anything else. The determination which the leading citizens showed throughout the seventeenth century to preserve the city's autonomy from the encroachment of outside interests tended to offset any political and religious divisions within the elite. The cohesiveness of the civic community during the war may be illusory, after all the leading Puritans were absent and the evidence is at best patchy. Nevertheless, the apparent lack of hostility or recrimination shown by the city's Parliamentarians towards the Royalists after 1644 argues for a political community in which men of moderate views held sway.

The town's political temper during the Civil War is difficult to read. The Royalists' insistence on the continuation of Edmund Cowper as Mayor certainly implies a lack of faith on their part in the civic authorities. If the city had not been forced to play host to a Royalist army it is possible that the civic establishment, under the leadership of militant Puritans like Allanson and Hoyle, would have come out in favour of Parliament once hostilities had commenced. Although on the whole there is little to choose between the Royalists and Parliamentarians in York, the latter were probably the more powerful group in terms of wealth, influence, and also, perhaps, sense of purpose.(23)

The capture of York by the parliamentary forces in July 1644 was accepted by the corporation with apparent equanimity, although in truth

22) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, ff.78,85,85b

23) Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', pp.278-9

they had little real say in the matter. The articles of surrender which the Parliamentarian generals sent to the city were perused by the Common Council and about a hundred of the 'best' citizens and were 'well liked of if soe be my Lord Mayor and Governor [the Royalist military governor] assented thereunto which they wholly refered to them'.(24) Within a few months of the surrender there came the first in a series of moves designed to give the 'honest' citizens control over civic government. The city's leading Parliamentarians obviously had a hand in these proceedings but there are signs that much of the impetus for change in civic politics, particularly where it involved re-modelling the corporation, came, initially at least, from Westminster and local parliamentary commanders. It was probably General Fairfax, the new governor, who put pressure on the corporation to have Cowper's bonds of mayoralty cancelled, which it did on September 24th.(25) At a special meeting held six days later to elect a replacement for Cowper the Parliamentarian-Puritan office-holders turned out in greater numbers than on any occasion since the Royalist surrender. Alderman Hoyle announced that by order of Parliament he was to replace Cowper as Lord Mayor for the rest of the mayoral term to which the Common Council 'very readily submitted unto and were very desirous to perform to the utmost'.(26) The Commons were not as craven as this statement suggests however, for it was only after 'long debate' that they agreed to dignify the proceedings by electing Hoyle in the proper manner, thereby legitimising what was in effect a shot-gun election. About a month later the corporation^t decided that the Covenant

24) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.102

25) *ibid.* ff.105-6

26) *ibid.* f.106

was to be tendered to the office-holders and the 'best' citizens in the church of All Saints, Pavement.(27) This step was probably taken more for form's sake than partisan reasons. Edmund Cowper, who had refused to participate in Hoyle's election (though he did promise to 'yeild obedience to the ordinance of Parliament and all assistance in the Mayoralty'), William Scott, Robert Hemsworth and John Myers continued to attend Council meetings as before and it is unlikely that all of them took the Covenant.(28) True, their support for the Royalist cause had been less than wholehearted but Westminster nevertheless considered them 'much disaffected to the service of...Parliament'.(29) In York the Parliamentarians may have known better or simply did not feel threatened by them. There is no indication of any personal or even political animosity in the corporation between the supporters of Parliament and those who had adhered to the King.

By accident as well as design the Parliamentary-Puritan element in the corporation gradually increased in size and prominence. In December 1644 new common councillors were elected by the house to replace those that had died or left the city during the war. Although there is no suggestion of any outside interference in these elections, they may have served nevertheless to swell the ranks of the Puritans in the Council. Among the new men were Brian Dawson (a future Congregationalist), Matthew Hill (father of the Nonconformist minister of that name), Ralph Reynolds (father of the Quaker Anne Reynolds), John Ryther (leader of the

27) *ibid.* f.110

28) *ibid.* f.106

29) *ibid.* f.118; this was also the view of the commissioners on the Committee of Compounding - Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 60, f.125, Pierrepont Danby to the Speaker, 25th April 1645

York Quakers in the 1650's), and Thomas Hebden (husband of the Quaker Grace Hebden).(30) The Council already contained several devout Puritans, in particular William Lovell, a 'friendly' man who was married to a Quaker, and Richard Dossey, arch-sequestrator and future Congregationalist.(31) The more committed Puritans were in a minority in the Common Council but they appear to have attended meetings more regularly than most of their fellow councillors and consequently acquired a strong voice on several important house committees.(32)

The real power in the corporation lay with the aldermen and here Parliament left nothing to chance. In January 1644/5, on orders from Westminster, Sir Roger Jacques, Sir Robert Belt, Sir Edmund Cowper, Robert Hemsworth, William Scott and John Myers were replaced by six members of the Twenty-Four who had taken the Covenant; John Geldart (merchant), Thomas Dickinson (merchant), Leonard Thompson (merchant), Robert Horner (merchant), Stephen Watson (grocer), Simon Coulton (dyer).(33) With the possible exception of the Royalist John Myers (elected in 1643), these were the first aldermen for more than a century whose recruitment to the bench owed as much to their political beliefs as their wealth. All the men were selected in advance of their election - Watson, Dickinson and Geldart were named as parliamentary commissioners prior to becoming aldermen - and all, needless to say, were staunch Puritans and supporters of the

30) *ibid.* f.116; Brotherton Library, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Register of Marriages; B.Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity, (Bradford, 1909), pp.77-9,134

31) B.I.H.R., Probate Register 51, f.68 [the will of John Etyl]; B.I.H.R., Archiepiscopal Visitation, V.1662-3, Visitation Papers, James Scruton's answers to the Articles of Inquiry

32) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.127,140,192-3,197

33) *ibid.* f.119

parliamentary cause.(34) The social and occupational structure of the magistracy remained largely unchanged. Both groups came from similar backgrounds and consisted almost entirely of merchants and other leading members of the distributive trades. Some distinction between the Royalist and the Parliamentarian aldermen can be drawn in that the latter were largely from established York families and were among the city's leading merchants whereas many of the former were of country origin and tended to represent the less prosperous element in the city's mercantile community.(35) But it would be unwise to place too much emphasis on these differences which were of little significance besides the one major discriminating factor of religion. All the city's leading Parliamentarians were Puritans.

The purge, however, did more than merely revive the Puritan ascendancy on the bench of the 1630's. It was the 'root and branch' Puritans, men of the same mind as Allanson and Hoyle who had been in a minority among the aldermen before the Civil War, who now dominated the magistracy. None of these men were radicals, all stood firmly in the orthodox Calvinist-Puritan mainstream, opposed to the sectaries on the one hand and the profane and ungodly on the other. The precise complexion of their religious beliefs is impossible to define but it can be inferred from their actions and allegiances that the majority favoured a maintained, well-educated, gospel preaching ministry, a purified national church (probably some form of moderate Presbyterianism), and a fairly limited but rigorously applied programme of religious and moral reform.

34) C.H.Firth, R.S.Rait (eds.), Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, 3 vols. (1911), vol.1. pp.230,544
35) Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', p.278-9

For the sake of convenience and without doing too much violence to their religious ideals they have been termed Presbyterians.

The aldermen in 1645

Presbyterians	moderate Puritans/ unknown	absentees
Sir William Allanson	James Hutchinson	Leonard Besson
Thomas Hoyle	Henry Thompson	Christopher Croft
Thomas Dickinson*	James Brooke#	
Stephen Watson*		
John Geldart*		
Simon Coulton*		
Leonard Thompson*		
Robert Horner*		

* parliamentary replacements/# elected in 1644 following the death of Thomas Hodgson

From early 1645 it is possible to detect a more thorough approach towards the consolidation of Parliamentary-Puritan power in the corporation and city. In February the foreman of the Common Council, an important position in the corporation, was discharged for 'divers causes' and Percival Levett, one of the 1644 batch of common councillors was elected in his place.(36) Levett was apparently considered a reliable man by the Upper House and on two ^c occasions after 1645 was entrusted with the city's business in London and at Westminster.(37) On the same day that Levett was appointed it was ordered that two or three 'good men' in each parish were to take note of those who had not taken the Covenant and that only those who had done so were eligible for election to the Council.(38) Even relatively unimportant figures in the corporation such

36) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.123

37) Y.C.A., Chamberlains' Account Book 23, 1645, f.31, 24, 1646, f.24

38) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.124

as the city surgeon were pressed to take the Covenant. The corporation was particularly zealous, as one might expect, in settling the city's ministry and religious life. It worked closely with Westminster in establishing and financing the Minster preachers and frequently supplemented parliamentary ordinances on Sabbath observance and the like with stricter and more comprehensive measures of its own devising.(39) This godly zeal was by no means confined to the Upper House. In August 1646 the Common Council made several proposals to the house, requesting among other things, that the Minster preachers be properly provided for if the capitular revenues proved inadequate; that the city's churches be united for a more effective ministry; and that those in the city who had not taken the Covenant be made to do so.(40) Later that year when a county petition for 'setling Presbyterian Government' was read to the house it received the approval of all the councillors present, some of whom agreed to collect signatures for the petition in their respective wards.(41) How genuine support for Presbyterianism was among office-holders is difficult to tell but there can be no doubt about the strength of moderate Puritan feeling in the corporation nor its importance as a political force. On the first page of the 1645 chamberlains' account book is written the following; 'The feare of the Lord is the beginnige of wisdome, A man of understanding will the Lord's Commandement fulfill, Butt hee that understands the same and doth them not shall purchase

39) *ibid.* ff.129,149,190; Acts and Ordinances, vol.1, pp.669-70; M.C.Cross, 'From the Reformation to the Restoration' in G.E.Aylmer, R.Cant (eds.), A History of York Minster, (Oxford, 1977), p.214

40) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.192

41) *ibid.* f.197

Blame'.(42) Taken from the Psalms, this is the closest thing to an independent political comment by junior office-holders in any corporate record of the period. Given the time at which it was written (early in 1645) and its public setting it can only have been meant as a none too veiled criticism of the King's politics. It indicates how godly religion informed political opinion at all levels in the corporation.

Political and religious loyalties became an important factor in recruitment to the Upper House during the Interregnum. This was clearly understood at the time when 'in preparation of the Election of an Alderman', or mayor, one of the Minster preachers would be requested to deliver a sermon to the house, presumably of a suitably exhortatory nature.(43) The predominance of the Puritan-Parliamentarian element on the bench, brought about by the 1645 re-modelling, was maintained throughout the Interregnum, although this did not mean that the customary financial qualifications for political preferment were set aside - wealth remained the key to advancement in the corporation. Nevertheless, the Upper House was forced to relax its financial requirements slightly in order to elect men who were known to be 'well-affected', or at least prepared to take the Covenant or the Oath of Engagement. This at any rate is the implication in one of Edward Bowles' letters to Secretary Thurloe after Brian Dawson's election as alderman in 1656; 'which election' Bowles wrote, 'he hath submitted to as thinking himself bound in conscience to embrace an opportunity of publick service, though it may be an occasion of expence unto him. And indeed the poverty of the city and the scarcity

42) Y.C.A., Ch.Acc.Bk. 23, 1645, front leaf

43) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, ff.117,191; H.B. 37 passim

of well disposed persons puts us upon the difficulty of choosing persons whose estates are not answerable to such a charge'.(44) In the search for men of sufficient wealth and of conformable political disposition the Commons (who nominated candidates) and the Upper House had no choice but to proceed in breach of the rules traditionally governing advancement in the *cursus honorum*. Several aldermen were elevated to the bench within a few years and sometimes just a few months after surrendering their bonds of shrievalty; for example, William Taylor (sh.1644/5, ald.1646), Edward Gray (sh.1646/7, ald.1647), Christopher Topham (sh.1647/8, ald.1650), Brian Dawson (sh.1651/2, ald.1656), and Richard Hewitt (sh.1655/6, ald.1657). Both before and after the Interregnum it usually took upwards of ten years for a wealthy member of the Twenty-Four to secure promotion to the magistracy.(45) Nor was there a particularly rapid turn-over on the bench between 1645 and 1660. The preponderance of merchants among those who became aldermen in the 1650's (6 out of 8, a higher proportion than in any other decade during the seventeenth century - see Table 30) is perhaps another indication that political considerations were affecting recruitment to the magistracy. On some occasions the bench had its choice of new recruit effectively made for it as in the case of Taylor, Dawson, Hewitt, and Ralph Chaitor (elected 1659) who were all nominated in commission whilst still members of the Twenty-Four.(46) Sometimes the corporation was caught out by changes in national government, as in 1653

44) British Library, Add. MS 21, 424, f.173, Edward Bowles to Captain Adam Baines, 30th December 1656

45) see R.Skaife, 'Civic Officials and Parliamentary Representatives of York', 3 vols. (MS in York City Library)

46) Acts and Ordinances, vol.1, p.643, vol.2, pp.970,1068,1324

for example when it elected George Peacock to the bench who stubbornly refused the Oath of Engag^ement despite having taken the Covenant.(47)

The narrow base of the Parliamentary-Puritan group in York, which Bowles alludes to, only began to cause unrest in the city towards the end of the Interregnum. Before the late 1650's the corporation House Books contain no references to the existence of factional strife or political unrest in the city and paint a picture of a community in which there was a large measure of consensus and co-operation between the various levels of civic government and between government and the citizens.(48) The relative tranquility of political life in York for much of the Interregnum belies the fact that the city was dominated by men who in comparison with most of their fellow office-holders were religious and political radicals. Allanson and Hoyle were both members of the 'war party' in the Commons and survived Pride's purge; Thomas Dickinson was knighted by Cromwell for his services to the Commonwealth; John Geldart helped to finance the parliamentary war effort during the Second Civil War and was an active committee-man; and Brian Dawson, Robert Horner, William Taylor, and Leonard Thompson were all displaced by the Royalist Commissioners in 1662 for being disaffected to the monarchy.(49) Moreover, most of the aldermen who survived the Royalist purge of 1662 had either played an

47) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, ff.49-50

48) the first indication of serious political discontent in the city came to light during the 1655 Yorkshire rebellion when it was said that 'the honest Citizens secured the arms of severall souldiers that Quartered with them' as part of a plan, which never materialised, to capture the city for the King. These citizens were presumably Royalist sympathisers but their numbers are not disclosed; clearly there were some heads of household among them - British Library, Lansdowne MS 988, ff.320-1

49) Y.C.A., H.B. 36, f.217; H.B.37. f.177; York Minster Library, Torre MS, 'Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York' (1691), f.38; Y.C.A., ACC 104 Ant/3, 'Hammond's Diary'

active part in the committee of the Northern Association or been chosen on numerous occasions to serve as commissioners for assessments or the militia etc. The precise political stance of most of the aldermen defies detailed analysis and some aldermen may have been willing to serve simply out of a desire to maintain local government or their standing within it. Nevertheless, although many early listings were 'optimistic anglings for support', nomination to committees on a regular basis usually denoted at least a modicum of enthusiasm for the Parliamentary cause, and there is evidence that a fair amount of thought went into the composition of some committees.(50) The York Committee for Scandalous Ministers for example, consisted of only the staunchest Puritans, namely Dawson, Dickinson, Watson, and Geldart.(51) It is noticeable that aldermen who revealed more neutralist inclinations or were politically suspect such as James Brooke, Sir Christopher Croft, Paule Beale and Leonard Besson tended to get left out of commission.

Although the men who assumed the leadership of the bench during the Interregnum were very much in the traditional mould of civic oligarch in social and economic terms, the events of 1644 and 1645 brought to power a politico-religious group whose views appear to have lacked widespread support in the community and even perhaps among the civic elite. If the bench had consisted of twenty-four aldermen, as in Chester and Norwich, then it is extremely unlikely that the Allanson/Hoyle group would have dominated the magistracy without Parliament being forced to bring in men from outside the 'inner ring' of the merchant elite. The success of the

50) D.H.Pennington, I.A.Roots (eds.), The Committee at Stafford, 1643-1645, (Manchester, 1957), p.xxii

51) Acts and Ordinances, vol.2, p.970

Parliamentary-Puritan aldermen in retaining power therefore, was not quite the formality it had been for most of their predecessors. A number of things worked in their favour, however, in particular the fact that those office-holders who were not committed to the new order appear to have taken a detached or opportunistic view of events. As in Chester it seems, the localist or moderate office-holders found it expedient to cooperate with the more politically earnest element for the efficient running of civic government.(52) The government supporters on the bench also possessed a great advantage in that they were the community's 'natural rulers' rather than social upstarts and could command obedience accordingly. Support among the 'better sort' for the Royalist cause or republican-sectarianism would perhaps have encouraged the growth of political opposition to the Presbyterians on the bench but neither had any significant following in the political community. Godly rule in the city was ultimately assured by the presence of the local garrison.

It is important not to overplay the differences in outlook between office-holders in York which were insignificant compared with the kind of divisions which existed among Norwich's political elite during the Civil War and Interregnum.(53) The range of political opinion in the city was narrow and on many issues, particularly those of local interest with which the corporation was mainly concerned, there was a good deal of common ground between the godly and the moderates. On such matters as the regulation and protection of the city's trade, repair of the walls, ridding the city of vagrants, and the maintenance of the ministry, the

52) A.M.Johnson, 'Politics in Chester during the Civil Wars and the Interregnum 1640-62', in Clark and Slack (eds.), Crisis and Order, p.220

53) Evans, Norwich, pp.148-150,198-9

house was of one mind. The same was also true regarding what Howell has termed the 'historic forms' of civic political life, in other words the traditional structure and workings of civic government.(54) All the established procedures of the house were strictly observed, right down to the order of precedence among the chamberlains and the niceties of civic ceremony.(55) The one item of corporate practice which appears to have offended the sensibilities of some of the more zealous Puritans was the customary obligation upon certain office-holders, notably the sheriffs, to provide a feast for the other members of the corporation.(56)

The upkeep of the ministry and the prevention of ungodliness among the common people were high on the list of priorities of all the office-holders, even those who perhaps did not care overmuch for the more advanced religious views of the leading aldermen. The programme of Puritan church reform pursued in York after the Civil War was largely an extension of pre-war godly initiatives and as in the 1630's was accepted by the 'best' citizens, the master tradesmen and 'substantial' householders, as a necessary means of preserving social order. A similar view prevailed among the townsmen of Coventry where moderate church reform and the restraint of ungodliness apparently won the acquiescence of men from a wide variety of political and religious backgrounds.(57) In York the Upper House had no difficulty in winning the Council's approval for a petition to Parliament early in 1653 'for support and maintenance

54) Howell, 'Neutralism, Conservatism and Political Alignment', p.71

55) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.78 and passim

56) *ibid.* ff.42,144; Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', pp.285-6; for resentment at the sheriffs' *failure* to feast their fellow office-holders see British Library, Harleian MS 6115, f.150; Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.130

57) Hughes, Civil War in Warwickshire, pp.311-13

of the ministry in order to propagate the gospell'.(58) This petition was just one of many from around the country in what Worden has termed a movement of 'growing Presbyterian assertiveness...urging the Rump to take a firm stand behind the established ministry and to silence the radical crescendo'.(59) On the other hand, the scheme the bench favoured for uniting civic parishes, possibly as a means of remedying what one minister described as a 'want of a settlement of discipline in the city', may have been less well liked.(60) It had some support in the Common Council but was pursued most forcibly in the alderman-dominated committee of the Northern Association.(61) In the mid to late 1640's Bowles and his fellow Minster preachers were eager that the city, and for that matter the country, be 'reduced into Presbyteries', an aim which some of the aldermen appear to have shared.(62) This would undoubtedly have been unpopular with those office-holders who had no strong ideological commitment to godly religion. Since nothing came of the scheme however, the house remained united in its support for the ministry. In 1656 the Upper House with the unanimous approval of the Common Council awarded Bowles an annual gratuity of fifty pounds out of the city's revenues 'for...his Extraordinary paines in his Ministry'.(63)

Consensus in the corporation was strongest on the need to preserve the city's traditional social and political fabric and above all its right of self-government. The bench was concerned at all times to uphold the

58) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.44

59) A.B.Worden, The Rump Parliament, (Cambridge, 1974), p.322

60) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, p.127

61) Y.C.A., E/63, Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty, f.98

62) T.Edwards, Gangraena, (1646), part II, p.108

63) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f. 84

corporation's powers and privileges and spent a large sum on legal fees between 1646 and 1651 contesting a *quo warranto* action brought against the city's charter.(64) Apart from the re-modelling of 1644/5 however, there was no large-scale intervention by central government in the city's affairs during the Interregnum. Whether from conviction or expediency the city's leaders acquiesced in the rule of Parliament, Cromwell and the Rump alike and consequently they and the corporation were left to govern the city without serious molestation by the state. York like so many other boroughs during the Interregnum remained almost untouched in its autonomy simply by tacitly acquiescing in governmental authority.(65)

Although the military presence in York provided a 'limiting framework for local activities', to use Anne Hughes phrase, there is no evidence at any time during the Interregnum to suggest that the state was pursuing a policy of centralisation with regard to York.(66) To secure its own particular ends central government was largely content to work through the magistracy and whilst it did nothing to threaten the established socio-political order in the city and continued to make possible the promotion of godly religion among the city's inhabitants the magistrates, or most of them, were apparently more than willing to co-operate. In fact the powers of the corporation, and the bench in particular, were more extensive during the Interregnum than at any other time in the seventeenth century. Nor should it be assumed that support for local political autonomy precluded allegiance to the central government of the

64) Y.C.A., Ch.Acc.Bk. 24, 1646, f.31, 1648, ff.17,18, 1649, ff.22, 1651, f.16 (who instigated this action and why is as yet unclear)

65) A.M.Coleby, Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire 1649-1689, (Cambridge, 1987), p.31; Styles, 'The Corporation of Warwick', p.29

66) Hughes, Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, p.276

day. The aldermen were given the opportunity to extend their authority in many areas of civic life - notably the militia, parochial administration and church government - precisely because of the changes in the structure of civic politics introduced by parliament and founded ultimately on the victories of the 1640's. The most dramatic shift in the formal distribution of power in York was not from the city to central government, but from the vestry and parochial congregation to the magistracy. Oligarchic rule was powerfully re-inforced in York during the Interregnum.

The city played little part in national affairs between 1644 and 1659. Nevertheless, its status as the nominal second city of the realm and as a site of major strategic importance prevented it from receding into provincial isolation during the Interregnum. as many other urban centres appear to have done.(67) Indeed if anything the links between the city's political elite and central government were strengthened after the Civil War. The establishment of a committee of the Northern Association in York in 1645 opened up a new channel of communication between the city and Westminster, one which the aldermen could use to forward proposals to parliament without the need to go through the corporation. In addition, the city's links with the network of county government, broken when the Council of the North was abolished, were restored after 1645 as several parliamentary county committees came to use York as their administrative and tax-gathering centre.(68) The city was also connected with central government via its two M.P.s. For much of the period these were Allanson

67) Evans, Norwich, p.198

68) V.C.H.: York, pp.190-1

and Hoyle who were elected in 1640 and remained to serve in the Rump. They were followed in the 1650's by three more of the city's aldermen, Thomas Dickinson, John Geldart and Christopher Topham, all of whom were allied with the Cromwellian group in the Commons and sat on numerous national parliamentary committees.(69) Another civic figure closely involved in national politics was the city's Recorder, Sir Thomas Widdrington, who served as Speaker of the Commons and as Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer and was elected M.P. for the city in 1654. Much of the interplay between the city and the wider political community was conducted on semi-formal basis, as for example when the magistrates wined and dined the Assize Judges or entertained influential political figures, including on one occasion 'dyverse' Yorkshire M.P.s, at the city's expense (the corporation always had an eye on the political main chance and sent presents to 'Lieutenant General Cromwell' in 1648 and Major-General Lambert at Knottingley the following year).(70) The aldermen often acted as the city's ambassadors in London where many of them also had business connections.(71) Finally, the role which Edward Bowles played in representing the city's needs to the powers at Westminster should not be overlooked. Bowles was well known in leading parliamentary circles and kept up a regular correspondence with Thurloe.(72) His role as a mediator

69) P.A.Bolton, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire Boroughs 1640-85', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Leeds University, 1966), pp.315-17,322-5; Journals of the House of Commons, vol.7, pp.461,483,542

70) Bolton, op.cit.,pp.324-5; Y.C.A., Ch.Acc.Bk. 24, 1646, f.33, 1648, f.17, 1649, f.19

71) Y.C.A., Ch.Acc.Bk. 23, 1644, ff.56-7, 24, 1650, f.20, 1651, f.15, 25, 1656, f.24 (Alderman Henry Thompson was paid £24 for what his factor in London disbursed to Alderman John Geldart on city business), f.25

72) *ibid.* 24, 1650, f.19, 25, 1654, f.21, 1658, f.16; State Papers of John Thurloe, Vol.5, p.711; J.Kenrick, Memorials of the Presbyterian Chapel, St.Saviourgate, York, (York, 1869), pp.6-14

between central government and the magistracy may well have been vital in preserving York's political independence.

There is no knowing the extent of interest in national politics among the junior office-holders and the citizen body generally but there can be little doubt that the magistrates possessed a good working knowledge of national issues, as befitting the leaders of a great city. Their political world like their business empires stretched well beyond the city walls, and although York was undoubtedly the focus of their activities and concerns, to imply that these men were of 'limited horizons' and 'little concerned with national issues' as some historians have done is to misrepresent them.(73) Several aldermen gave a very convincing demonstration of men who were ideologically committed to the parliamentary cause and building a more godly society. These men and their confederates in the Upper House and among the local gentry such as Sir Robert Barwick (husband of the Nonconformist patron Lady Ursula Barwick) and Richard Hutton esq. (father of the Nonconformist patron Sir Thomas Hutton) appear to have formed a recognisable 'interest' in civic politics if not exactly a party. This is more apparent in their role as members of the Committee of the Northern Association than as leaders of the corporation. The corporation was mainly concerned with the day to day running of the town, the role of the Committee on the other hand was much more 'political' in nature, involving the sequestration of delinquents' property, the collection of assessments, the supervision of military forces in the city, and the reform and maintenance of the ministry. A substantial number of the office-holders, especially the

73) Underdown, Pride's Purge, p.318

common councillors, doubled up as collectors, assessors or sequestrators along with many future Quakers and Dissenters.(74) That such men were involved in the activities of the Northern Association highlights the partial nature of its proceedings. It was probably as servants of the Committee that 'honest radicals' scattered in parishes across the city first acquired that sense of group identity which provided the basis for the early Quaker meeting in York.(75)

Not all the aldermen were members of the Committee and among those who were there appears to have been a core group which dominated the proceedings consisting of John Geldart, Thomas Dickinson, Stephen Watson, Robert Horner, Leonard Thompson (treasurer), William Taylor, Christopher Topham, and Henry Thompson. If there was such a thing as a moderate-Presbyterian 'party' in York then this was its leadership (not forgetting Allanson and Hoyle at Westminster). Unfortunately, there is no firm evidence to say whether these aldermen did indeed form a self-conscious group and that if so it was at least in part because they were all Puritans and Parliamentarians which drew them together. There are hints in the House Books and the Committee records that the old pre-war unity on the bench had weakened slightly by the late 1640's and that political differences among the aldermen may have contributed to this process. It would be stretching the available evidence to suggest that the charges levelled against James Brooke in 1645 or Alderman Paule Beale in 1651 of collaborating with the Royalists during the war years were the attempt of

74) Y.C.A., E/63, passim

75) see chapter 1

political opponents to oust them from power.(76) Nevertheless, Brooke was definitely out of favour in the corporation by 1656 when it was ordered that Robert Horner, Christopher Topham and Brian Dawson, among others, prepare a petition to Cromwell 'tuching the severall abuses and vexations by him [Brooke] done against the Citty'.(77) What these 'abuses' were is never made clear but behind this apparent campaign to have him removed from office there may have been an element of political rivalry at work. Although Brooke was a godly man in his private life, his politics, so far as one can judge, were on the Royalist side of neutralist.(78)

Despite some notable departures from established political practice during the Interregnum in York, there was at the same time a large element of continuity in post-war civic politics. The social and financial qualifications for political recruitment remained in place, as did the hierarchical structure of municipal government. The office-holders remained wedded to their role as the guardians of civic order and prosperity, and concern for local affairs appears to have prevailed over any ideological interests. National events and parliamentary developments had only a limited impact on the course of civic politics, despite the changes which occurred in the composition of the city's political community. The men Parliament manoeuvred into power in 1644/5 were, in their own eyes it seems, civic leaders first and foremost and godly Parliamentarians second.

76) Y.C.A., E/63, ff.3,4b,11-15b; Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', p.289; J.W.Clay (ed.), Royalist Composition Papers, Y.A.S.R.S., XX (1896), pp.109,166

77) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.85

78) Marchant, Puritans and the Church Courts, pp.92-6; Wilson, 'The Corporation of York', pp.301-2

THE RESTORATION IN YORK

The first definite sign of political discontent among the office-holders came in January 1656, during Allanson's second term as Mayor, when the chamberlain's took the Oath of Engagement and promised to be 'true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England' but left out the words 'as it is established without king or House of Lords'.⁽¹⁾ Central government attached great importance to oaths as a means of ensuring the political reliability of corporations and to have them bowdlerised in this fashion was no light matter. What prompted the chamberlains to take this action is not immediately obvious. It may have been a veiled attack on the authority of the hard-core government supporters on the bench, but a more likely explanation is that it was a protest of sorts at the attempt by the Protectorate government to pack parliament by means of military intervention in municipal politics. During late 1655 and early 1656 the major-generals carried out purges in corporations all over the country, and although Lilburne's activities have left no trace in municipal records he is known to have taken an interest in electoral affairs generally.⁽²⁾ The chamberlains' refusal to take the full oath proved to be an isolated incident before the death of Cromwell, nevertheless the number of those buying exemption from office increased after 1654 which may be a further indication of growing political unease and resentment in the city.

Following Cromwell's demise on September 3rd 1658 discontent again surfaced in the corporation, this time in the Common Council. At the first

1) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.78

2) Howell, 'The Army and the English Revolution', pp.307-10; G.C.F.Forster, 'County Government in Yorkshire during the Interregnum', Northern History, XII (1976), pp.99-100; Coleby, Central Government and the Localities, p.71

full meeting after the Protector's death, called to elect new sheriffs, 'diverse' of the Common Council refused to take the customary oaths 'as the same hath been always taken' and the house was forced to proceed with as many councillors as were willing to swear.(3) That this was entirely unprecedented is clear from the minutes but what exactly was going on is again difficult to pinpoint. Both this and subsequent acts of defiance by the Commons do not demonstrate the type of behaviour normally associated with organised party politics or opposition of an ideological nature. In fact it was probably a reaction similar to that which occurred in Chester corporation after Cromwell's death; an expression of discontent at the unacceptable face of Cromwellian rule - oppressive assessments, free quarter, and the general violation of traditional rights - and of yearning for a return to government according to the 'ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom'.(4) In Chester however, the moderate-conservative majority endeavoured to overthrow the ruling Cromwellian minority whereas in York, or rather in the corporation, the authority of the Cromwellian magistrates was not seriously challenged until after the Restoration.

Few office-holders in York appear to have harboured old-time Royalist sentiments and it was probably in response to the deteriorating political situation during 1659 that the Common Council, or the greater part of it at least, gradually shifted from its initial standpoint in late 1658 of

3) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.117

4) Johnson, 'Politics in Chester', pp.224-231; the main grievances of the county gentry by 1659 were unconstitutional government, 'Free Quarter, and the Tax that hath been lately imposed upon this County by military power' - British Library, Thomason Tracts, 669 f.22 (52), An Extract of A Letter From York, (December, 1659)

limited opposition to the Protectorate towards a pragmatic acceptance of the need for a return to monarchy. This process accelerated no doubt after the fall of Richard in April and amidst the political chaos and radicalism of rule by first the Rump and then the Army. The existence of moderate-Royalist tendencies in the corporation by 1659 had little effect on the long established Puritan consensus among the office-holders which prevailed more or less until the remodelling of the corporation by the parliamentary commissioners in September 1662. Sabbatarianism remained as strong as ever, as did support for the ministry; in April 1659 Bowles and his manservant were offered their freedom of the city, gratis, with the 'unanimous consent' of the house. By summer the city's Presbyterian clergy, under Bowles' influence, were themselves agitating for change and an end to Army rule, although there is no evidence that they came out openly in favour of the King's return until early 1660.⁽⁵⁾ By steering a middle course throughout the events leading up to the Restoration the ministry managed to retain the support of both the magistracy and the commons.

The build up of moderate-Royalist feeling among the junior office-holders almost certainly reflected a similar trend among the citizens generally. From the manner in which the December 1658 parliamentary election was held it is clear that the Puritan old guard on the bench was unsure of its support in the city well before the fall of the Protectorate. Although the Common Council was 'called to advise on the election of burgesses' in accordance with custom, the aldermen were

5) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.125; British Library, Additional MS 21,425, f.72, John Pease to Baines, 13th June, 1659

apparently worried that their choice of candidates would be opposed at the hustings and resorted to the tactic of a precipitate election in order to secure the return of two of their number.(6) A York man informed Colonel Robert Baines that '...the election at Yorke was so quiete...that they [the citizens] heard nothings of itt till Saturday at night, and Munday the sheriffe proceeded to the election which certainly is contrary to...statute'.(7) Without time for any independent group to put up a candidate, Thomas Dickinson, a Cromwellian knight, and Christopher Topham, a moderate supporter of the Protectorate, were elected without a contest. The bench clearly anticipated opposition from those ⁱcitizens who were unfavourably disposed towards the Protectorate and its supporters in civic government. The rising tide of conservative and neo-Royalist feeling in the city may well have been heightened by concern among the freemen that the power which the government supporters on the bench had acquired under the parliamentary and Commonwealth regimes posed a threat to traditional 'good government' in the city. The 1658/9 election may well have been looked on by some citizens as an example of the aldermen's preparedness to advance their own sectional interests at the expense of the obligation upon them to act for the good of the entire community.

In the last year of the Interregnum a rift developed in the corporation between the magistracy and the Common Council. Despite obvious apprehension in the city by autumn over the so-called 'Quaker threat' and the fraught political situation in general, the bench remained inclined to wait on events and endeavoured as best it could to stay on

6) H.B. 37, f.120

7) British Library, Add. MS 21,427, f.262, Robert Baines to Adam Baines, 7th January 1658/9

the right side of authority, whether it be military or civil.(8) In June the Upper House recognised the authority of the restored Rump and ordered that letters be written to General Lambert, Sir Thomas Widdrington and the city's counsel John Hewley esq. to request their help in presenting the city's 'corrected' Petition of Recognition to Parliament.(9) This move was probably ill-received by the Common Council and the bench itself may have been under some pressure from the military to make a public show of loyalty to the Rump; in general we are told, municipal records kept a 'stony silence' at the changes in national government.(10) The junior office-holders were not in as vulnerable a position as the aldermen and appear to have chafed under their superior's policy of wait and see. Although there was no 'back-bench' rebellion in the corporation during 1659 the junior office-holders made their feelings felt on several occasions before the Restoration. In January 1658/9 the chamberlains would only take a truncated version of the Oath of Engagement as in 1656 and in the following January several chamberlains elect refused to serve altogether and were fined heavily by the Upper House.(11) In September 1659 the Common Council was summoned to appear at the Guildhall for the election of new councillors but so few of the commons turned up that the election had to be postponed until the end of November when a quorum was eventually attained.(12) On the face of it,

8) Add.MS 21,425, f.45, ? (at York) to Baines, 2nd May, 1659 - 'this part of the world is in a strange imaginary confusion by the late great changes, not knowing what will succede, the Martiall officers here are affected as there cheife [Lilburne]'; Hutton, The Restoration, p.62

9) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.127

10) Hutton, The Restoration, p.46

11) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.132

12) *ibid*, ff.128-9

these episodes seem of little consequence but in the light of subsequent events it is clear that they point to a significant split in the civic body politic. For in the final moments of the Interregnum when command of York became central to the plans of both Monck and Lambert it was the Common Council and 'best' citizens, the group the commons represented, which independently of the magistracy took a lead in bringing the city over to the cause for a free parliament and thus the restoration of Charles Stuart. The plot hatched by Fairfax and his associates (who included Edward Bowles, senior army officers, and members of the Yorkshire gentry) in November and December 1659 to seize the city apparently involved not a single member of York's political elite.

In the last days of December 1659, whilst Fairfax was in the final process of marshalling his troops at Knaresborough for the descent on York, Lilburne hastily prepared the city's defences and enforced strict martial law upon the citizens.⁽¹³⁾ On or about New Years' Eve day he demanded possession of the city magazine from the mayor, Leonard Thompson, who was 'ready enough to deliver it' but at an emergency meeting of the corporation (which is not recorded in the House Books) the commons opposed the move unless Lilburne would declare for a free parliament. Lilburne refused and the commons promptly sent an invitation to Fairfax who marched on the city the next day.⁽¹⁴⁾ On the 1st of

13) Peacock (ed.), The Monckton Papers, p.31; Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration', p.495 (for a general account of the rising and its causes see Woolrych, op.cit.; and also British Library, Thomason Tracts, 669 f.22 (52); Thomason Tracts, E 1010 (19), A Narrative of the Northern Affairs, (November 1659); Burney Collection, Mercurius Politicus, 5th January - 12th January, 1659/60, p.1011; Lansdowne MS 988, f.322-6)

14) H.M.C., Fifth Report, p.193

January 1659/60 Fairfax appeared before the walls and demanded entrance but Lilburne was obdurate. As the prospect of armed confrontation loomed it was the citizens under the leadership of the Royalist Sir Phillip Monckton who managed to swing things Fairfax's way. Organised in readiness for just such an event it seems, a small group of between fifty and a hundred citizens on the advice of Bowles and Monckton gathered in the Minster to make a stand against Lilburne's men and rouse the city.(15) Alerted by friendly parties in the city the main guard detached a contingent of musketeers and cavalry to deal with the insurrection but thanks to some chicanery and fast talking by Monckton and loud cries of 'a Fairfax' and 'a free parliament' from inside the Minster, which amplified the citizens' voices and thus exaggerated their numbers, the soldiers came over to Fairfax's side.(16) Meanwhile a group within the garrison seized a church south of the river and also raised a cry for Fairfax. Lilburne tried to dislodge them but without success and in the end was forced to surrender the city to the investing forces - the second time in twenty years that Fairfax had been instrumental in bringing the city into a new political era.(17) On January 11th Monck himself entered York escorted by a great crowd of jubilant citizens and flanked by two Presbyterian ministers, one of whom was Bowles.(18)

15) The Monckton Papers, pp.32-4 (Monckton says about 50 citizens were in the Minster, Gower 80 [Fifth Report, p.193], and Major John Godfrey the highly unlikely figure of between 300 and 400 [P.R.O., SP 18/219/4]; according to Godfrey, Monckton was apprehended by Lilburne before he got to the Minster, which is again almost certainly inaccurate - Monckton reproduces in his writings a letter from the mayor and aldermen in 1669 acknowledging his part in the January rising [The Monckton Papers, pp.97-8])

16) *ibid.*, pp.34-6

17) H.M.C., Fifth Report, p.194

18) Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism, pp.28-9; F.Drake, Eboracum, (1736), p.173

The January rising re-inforces the impression that York was a divided community in the months leading up to the Restoration. On the one hand were the clergy and a large number of the freemen (probably the majority), headed by the Common Council, who looked to the calling of a free parliament, and its inevitable consequence, a return to monarchy, as the only real guarantee of order and stability. And on the other, a small group of radicals who favoured the 'Good Old Cause' but lacked any voice in civic government. In between somewhere were the aldermen who for several reasons, mostly pragmatic, were ambivalent in their attitude towards the moderate-Royalist cause and willing for once to let the political initiative pass to the commons. The aldermen's failure to participate on the winning side in the January rising did further damage to their legitimacy as community leaders. Nor was this the only indication of their reluctance to commit themselves wholeheartedly to the idea of a return to monarchy. On February 10th a petition to Monck, signed by the gentlemen and ministers of the Fairfax group, calling for the reinstatement of the secluded members, or failing that the election of a free parliament, was presented to the corporation for its endorsement.(19) The common councillors gave it their immediate and unanimous approval but the Upper House decided 'by their most voices' that for the present they could not subscribe to the declaration because they had not had sufficient time to study its contents.(20) In the event one night was all the time they needed, or were given, for they signed the petition the

19) P.R.O., SP 18/219/49

20) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.134

next day, but their initial reluctance to do so is not without significance.

According to one contemporary the aldermen were opposed to the calling of a free parliament because they owned land formerly belonging to the King and the Anglican Church.(21) A number of aldermen certainly stood to lose out financially when King and Church came into their own but on February 10th at least the Upper House had more pressing matters to consider. To sign the declaration at such a critical juncture was a hazardous commitment, especially since Monck himself had not yet declared openly for the King and several of his officers in York were angry that the petitioners 'would not rest satisfied in the present Parliament's determinations, nor give them [members of the Rump] leave...to settle these poor distracted nations in peace and quietness'.(22) Not only were the aldermen caught between the army and the Fairfax group, which was almost in armed occupation of the city centre by February, but they also had to consider their position in relation to central government. Of all the office-holders the aldermen were the most accountable to central government and in the absence of any effective lead either from Whitehall or Westminster and with uncertainty increasing over the nation's political future they naturally regarded the February declaration 'as being a matter requiring much time and caution'.(23) The pressures and responsibilities on the magistracy, which tended to encourage a circumspect approach, were not borne by the commons, and this in part

21) O.Ogle and others (eds.), Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1872-1970), vol.IV, p.38

22) H.M.C., Leyborne-Popham, p.148

23) *ibid.*, p.147; British Library, Add.MS 21,425, f.204, Robert Baines to Adam Baines, 11th February, 1659/60

accounts for the difference in conduct between the two bodies during the early months of 1660 and indeed the last turbulent years of the Interregnum.

The aldermens' lack of enthusiasm for the campaign for a free parliament was shared by senior office-holders in many other towns. The Leicester city fathers dissociated themselves entirely from the county petition to Monck and in Bristol the Mayor dealt harshly with popular Royalist agitation. In some cities, notably London and Bristol, it was partly lingering support for the Commonwealth among the civic elite which retarded official backing for the Restoration.(24) In York however, the aldermen were not ideologically committed to the Rump or the 'Good Old Cause' although they may have felt stronger than some of the commons about the need to preserve the ecclesiastical reforms of the 1640's. But while they were opposed to the unconditional restoration of monarchy and the Anglican Church, most of the aldermen probably favoured some form of conservative political settlement by the winter of 1659/60. Above all however, they were fearful for their places, like senior office-holders in other corporations no doubt, and thus inclined to hedge their bets when it was still unclear whether the future lay with Charles or the Rump. At the demise of the Rump the York aldermen like those of nearby Hull acquiesced without fuss to the new political order.(25)

24) Hutton, The Restoration, p.92; H.Stocks (ed.), Records of the Borough of Leicester; Being a series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Leicester, 1603-1688, (Cambridge, 1923), p.459; J.Latimer, The Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century, (Bristol, 1900-8), p.292; W.Cotton, H.Woolcombe, Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the history of the City of Exeter, (Exeter, 1877), p.183

25) Rev.J.Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull, (1798), pp.507-10

The breach between the magistracy and the commons, although not based on any fundamental ideological issue, was exacerbated by local political tensions. The Puritan regimes of the 1640's and 1650's, particularly the rule of Parliament between 1644 and 1649 and the Protectorate in its more conservative phases, had been much kinder to the city's Puritan governing clique than most other sections of the civic community. After the mid-1650's and the experiment with the major-generals, it is possible that the aldermen's acquiescence to central government gradually lost them the good-will of some of the best citizens. Whereas in the 1630's the aldermen had been fighting to protect local liberties, in the 1650's they were willing, in the interests of their political careers and in some cases of godly reform, to pay lip service to successive regimes which threatened such liberties. Until the Restoration however, disenchantment in the city appears to have focused mainly on the policies of central government and the activities of the military and the sects rather than the aldermen, but after 1660 this began to change.

In the immediate aftermath of the January rising political power in the city effectively lay with the commanders of the regiment which Monck had left in the city. Following news of the General's letter to parliament of February 11th calling for the Rump to issue writs for fresh elections, the military organised a celebration in the city with the customary ringing of bells and lighting of bonfires. This was the occasion of 'great jollitie' apparently, although according to Robert Baines 'the generalitie of the private soldiers seemed to be much abashed and troubled and some of the townsmen did not stick in the open street to drinke healths to

the King...'.(26) Clearly the magistrates were not alone in taking a cautious view of events. Once the Restoration became a certainty however, the aldermen jumped adroitly aboard the Restoration band wagon. In March Colonel Charles Fairfax, uncle of General Fairfax, and the Royalist Sir Metcalfe Robinson were given their freedom of the city, the latter at the specific request of the Common Council.(27) That same month the corporation chose Sir Metcalfe Robinson and Sir Thomas Widdrington, both firm supporters of the Restoration, as the city's representatives in the Convention Parliament to which they were returned without a poll.(28) On May 9th the King's arms were set up on Micklegate bar and in the Council chamber and two days later the King was proclaimed in public by the entire corporation and more than two thousand citizens 'with the greatest Expression of Joy that possibly could be Imagined'.(29) By July the corporation was busily petitioning the King about re-establishing the Council of the North in the city, the aldermen obviously feeling confident that they had successfully negotiated the transition from prominent members of the Cromwellian establishment to loyal servants of the Crown.

There was, however, one notable early casualty of the Restoration process, namely Alderman Thomas Dickinson. Dickinson, a member of the Nominated Parliament of 1653 and knighted by Cromwell in 1657, was an open reminder of the bench's 'fanatical' past and as such an embarrassment to his fellow aldermen who were busily covering their tracks after the Restoration. Early in 1660 he retired to his country

26) British Library, Add.MS 21, 425, f.208, Robert Baines to Adam Baines, 20th February, 1659/60

27) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.137

28) Henning, The Commons, vol.1, p.489

29) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.139; 'Hammond's Diary'

estate and the bench deliberately refrained from requesting his presence at Council meetings. It was fortunate too for the magistracy that most of its stauncher Puritan members had died by the time the Restoration occurred; Hoyle in 1650, Allenson in 1656, and Geldart and Watson in 1659. Significantly, the one aspect of its Puritan past the bench was reluctant to let go was the institution of the Minster preachers. By the winter of 1660/1 the capitular revenues were back in the hands of the Anglican clergy and therefore in January the Upper House stepped in with a scheme to maintain the preachers by private subscription.(30) The notion of 'propagateing the Gospell in all parts of the Citty' was still dear to the hearts of the aldermen. The project, however, was an unrealistic one under the circumstances and never got off the ground.

There were no immediate changes in the composition of the bench after the Restoration and the aldermen made no move to displace any of their number who were likely to cause offense to the Crown. This is hardly surprising perhaps but a few corporations did make some effort in 1660 to gratify Whitehall by the judicious removal of Commonwealthsmen or prominent Parliamentarian activists.(31) Admittedly, there were no out-and-out radicals among the aldermen, yet even so it was complacent of them to believe, as they appear to have done, that the composition of the bench as it then stood would be acceptable to the Crown. During 1660 the Crown seems to have made only sporadic attempts to interfere in local town politics but during the winter of 1660 and into 1661 it began to single out some of the larger boroughs, including York, for special

30) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.147

31) Styles, 'The Corporation of Warwick', p.29; Hutton, The Restoration, p.130; Forster, 'Government under the Later Stuarts', p.30

treatment.(32) On 15 February the King sent a letter to the corporation instructing it to remove any aldermen and councillors who had been 'unduely brought in' or who were 'notoriously disaffected' to the monarchy and to elect in their place those who had been displaced for their allegiance to the Royalist cause or 'such persons of integrity as yett remaine'.(33) Similar instructions were received by Norwich corporation which the bench there grudgingly complied with by removing five aldermen.(34) At York however, the mayor, James Brooke wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, ' to acquainte his Majesty with the trueth of the case'.(35) The letter stated that the corporation was 'very ready with all Cheerefulnes to obey his Majesties commandes' but pointed out that only one of the six displaced Royalists was still living (Robert Hemsworth) and he was too old and too poor to bear the burdens of office. Of the six men that were elected in their place, the letter went on, 'duely elected as we conceave', three were dead, and two of the survivors, Alderman Horner and Alderman Leonard Thompson, were men of 'good moderation and...well affected to his Majesty and his Government'; Brooke declined to speak on Alderman Dickinson's behalf.(36) The Crown obviously wanted the bench to remove all office-holders who had been chosen in place of ejected Royalists, which is what it meant by 'unduely brought in', and re-instate those displaced where possible, or elect other loyal men where not. The bench however, chose to interpret 'unduely brought in' as illegally elected and arguing that the elections of the six

32) *ibid.*

33) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, ff.149,150

34) Evans, Norwich, p.230-1

35) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.149

36) *ibid.*, f.150-1

aldermen had been fair and above board and that none of them were disaffected, absolved itself from any obligation to do as the King ordered.

The aldermen later claimed that the King's letter was procured by 'some discontented persons endeavoring to make divisions in the Citty', which although unlikely is true to the extent that organised political opposition to the aldermen had begun to emerge in York by early 1661.(37) As ever, the nature and composition of this group remain obscure. The bench described the opposing faction as a group of citizens who 'seeme to complaine of their Governors and desire an Alteration on that behalfe'.(38) Although these 'discontented persons' gained little or no support in the corporation they appear to have attracted a sizeable following among the freemen and received 'much countenance by persons of honour and Interest'.(39) Smear tactics appear to have been their main weapon, playing up some of the aldermen's involvement with the 'late

37) *ibid.*, f.165

38) *ibid.*, f.155

39) *ibid.*, f.165; the apparent absence in early Restoration York of immoderate partisan zeal and serious conflict of opinion among members of the civic elite is unusual. In many towns after the Restoration, a group of Royalist office-holders or politically dispossessed leading citizens, often survivors and heirs of old pre-war families, challenged the authority of the Parliamentarians in municipal government; not so in York. There were few ardent Royalists among the 'best' citizens, certainly no group of excluded Royalist magistrates as at Lincoln and Leeds. Opposition to the Puritan old guard derived mainly it seems from the middle and lower orders and local gentry (the persons of 'honour and Interest'). The history of York during the Interregnum and early 1660's was very like that of Warwick - Styles, 'The Corporation of Warwick', pp.29-30; for a more typical scenario of urban political events just after the Restoration see J.W.Kirby, 'Restoration Leeds and the Aldermen of the Corporation, 1661-1700', Northern History, XXII (1986), pp.125-7; and also J.W.F.Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, (Cambridge, 1956), pp.171-2; J.H.Sacret, 'The Restoration Government and Municipal Corporations', English Historical Review, XLV (1930), pp.237-41

usurper' in order to persuade central government of the need to replace them with men who were loyal to the Crown. Undoubtedly some of those involved, the campaign's leaders for example, were committed monarchists and episcopalian, and in fact it was not long before a number of Anglican country gentry attempted to exploit the divisions in the community for partisan political ends. But the protest probably originated in local grievances. Popular, 'cultural' royalism of the kind which Professor Underdown is fond of describing was much in evidence in York by 1661 and may well have bred resentment at the aldermen's past conduct and their continuing Puritan authoritarianism.(40) Some of the more informed citizens may also have felt that the presence of men like Dickinson on the bench was potentially damaging to the city's interests.

The protest first became public in April after the commons presented Sir Metcalfe Robinson and John Scott esq. (a former royal servant who was made a freeman at the King's request in order that he might stand for burgess) as 'elites' for sheriff in place of John Peacock, deceased.(41) Election to the shrievalty disqualified a man from representing the city in Parliament and it was with this in mind that the Upper House chose Sir Metcalfe Robinson. This has been seen as an act of Presbyterian assertiveness on the corporation's part; one 'loyal' minister in a sermon described it as 'not the act of the whole congregation the body of this famous and loyall citty, but only of some of the greener heads, Rehoboam's counsellors, Rumpers lately crept in to the counsell in

40) Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion, ch.10; Y.C.A., 'Hammond's Diary'

41) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, ff.152-3

corrupted tymes, and not yet purg'd out'.(42) In fact, however, this 'miscarriage' as he called it had the support of the Common Council, the Twenty-Four, and all the senior aldermen, including James Brooke, Christopher Topham and Richard Hewitt who survived the Royalist purge of 1662. There is no clear-cut evidence that religious or political considerations were uppermost in the minds of those involved. The main purpose of the exercise was to disqualify Robinson in order to ensure the election of Sir Thomas Widdrington who had been chosen by the corporation in February - along with Robinson it should be noted - to serve the city in the next Parliament.(43) The necessity of choosing between Sir Metcalfe and Widdrington was forced on the corporation by the King's recommendation of Scott. Widdrington, it is true, was a moderate Presbyterian, one of Lord Wharton's 'friends', but this was probably not the main reason why he was favoured above Robinson. The office-holders wanted at least one representative in Parliament who was a member of the corporation and familiar with their interests. Widdrington was the city's Recorder and had represented York in parliament on several occasions in the past. Robinson on the other hand, although the son of a former alderman, was a 'stranger', like Scott, with few ties among the city's mercantile elite and little contact with civic society prior to the Restoration. But again like Scott he was well known to the King and therefore the move to exclude him was inadvisable. Some of the office-holders certainly thought so for in the middle of the shrieval election Alderman Lamplugh, Alderman Mancklins, and the surviving sheriff walked

42) L.R.O., Newby Hall MS 2848, Thomas Bradley to Sir Metcalfe Robinson, 24th April, 1661; Hutton, The Restoration, p.153; P.R.O., SP 29/24/64

43) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.150

out of the Council chamber in protest.(44) Robinson refused to acknowledge the election and within a fortnight a letter arrived from the King ordering the corporation to elect another sheriff, which it did.(45) Scott and Robinson were returned to the Cavalier Parliament on a wave of popular Royalist sentiment. The whole affair was not so much a defeat for the aldermen's ideological interests as a blow to their electoral pretensions in the borough.

The attempt to disqualify Sir Metcalfe Robinson was probably the immediate cause of a petition from the some of the citizens to the King at the end of April desiring changes in the magistracy. On the 23rd of April the aldermen wrote a letter to Secretary Nicholas presenting their side of the story:

...very lately there hath beene a Petition promoted amongst us by some persons in this Citty whom wee have no minde to name or reflect upon, wherein they seeme to complaine of their Governours and desire an Alteration on that behalfe; if wee had not beene tender of drawing the Citty into factions Wee could with as much Ease and with better authority have sett on ffoote a Crosse petition signed with a more considerable number of hands...And this wee must needs say that it hath been Carryed on by way of Surpprisall many whoe have signed it have not redd it: And others upon better considerations would retract what they have done And if any proceedings bee made upon that ground wee beleive it would bee found to bee mistaken...For owne sakes we have not reason to bee so much in love with our Station which is to Governe a poore and divided Citty as to desire much the Continuance of it...(46)

The 'proceedings' mentioned in the letter refer to a writ of *quo warranto* which was issued against the corporation at about this time. Again the aldermen described this as the work of the opposition faction although whether it purposed to have a writ brought against the city's

44) *ibid.*, f.153

45) *ibid.*, f.154

46) *ibid.*, f.155

charter is doubtful. During the early part of 1661 the Crown lost patience with some corporations which were either reluctant to restore Royalists or to accept the King's nominees and began to use writs of *quo warranto* to enforce its commands and also to resolve the increasing number of noisy quarrels which were breaking out in municipalities. The situation at York corresponded roughly with that at Taunton and Preston where conflict centred on the attempted removal of 'disorderly and disaffected' persons and the re-instatement of loyalists. Petitions were sent to the Privy Council in both cases and it was there that the notion of a *quo warranto* originated.(47) In York the corporation asked the Attorney General for time to prepare its defence and then began to cast about for allies at court, choosing the Earl of Northumberland for the post of Lord High Steward.(48)

The conflict intensified over the summer when according to the corporation 'some unquiet spiritts of this Citty' attempted to have four Royalist gentlemen, Sir Thomas Slingsby, Sir Miles Stapleton, James Moyser esq. and Richard Roundell esq. made J.P.s for the Ainsty which by right of charter was part of the magistrates' legal domain.(49) Some months later the corporation gave a slightly different version of events, claiming that 'Bystanders [taking] Advantage of our differences amonge our selves endeavoured [to] infringe our Charter e.g. procurringe a new Commission of

47) Hutton, The Restoration, p.159; Miller, 'The Crown and the Borough Charters', p.57; Sacret, 'The Restoration Government', p.238-40; M.A.Mullett, 'To Dwell Together in Unity': The Search for Agreement in Preston Politics 1660-1690', pp.62-3; there is no mention of any petitions from York during the early 1660's either in the Privy Council registers or the State Papers - P.R.O., PC/2/55, PC/2/56

48) Y.C.A., f.155

49) *ibid.*, f.159

peace to foure Gentlemen to bee Justices of peace...'.(50) The leading inhabitants of the Ainsty, who included Sir Thomas Slingsby and Sir Miles Stapleton, had been agitating since 1659 for a say in the choice of burgesses for the city and it is likely that this matter of the J.P.s was a continuation of that campaign in a more political form.(51) During 1661 the gentry in several localities attempted to foist themselves and their politics onto nearby boroughs only to be foiled in each case by Charles' government which was anxious to promote a policy of reconciliation.(52) Whitehall also came to the rescue of York corporation but not before the aldermen had begun to despair of the terms of the Act of Oblivion.

The aldermen sent a letter to Clarendon beseeching him 'not to give way to such a preiudice to the ancient rights of the Citty But bee pleased to supersede the said Commission of peace that soe your petitioners may enjoy their liberties formerly granted to them as hath beene accustomed for above 200 yeares past without interruption by straingers'.(53) The magistrates regarded the gentry's encroachment in the Ainsty as merely the thin end of the wedge. In his reply Clarendon informed the corporation that he had called a hearing for November 2nd to resolve the dispute, but either the hearing never took place or no agreement was reached for in December the corporation wrote to the Earl of Northumberland asking him to use his influence to get the matter referred to a 'full hearing of such fitt persons as his Majestye shall

50) *ibid.*, f.165

51) *ibid.*, f.123

52) Hutton, The Restoration, p.159; Coleby, Central Government and the Localities, p.92

53) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.160

appointe'.(54) By this time the aldermen were beginning to fear the worst. In a letter to Widdrington they were pessimistic about the outcome of the *quo warranto* proceedings, complaining of the 'vyolence of our Adversary' and reiterating their desire for 'a faire hearing before Indifferent men', adding rather ominously that 'the Duke of Buckingham Lord Falconbridge and our Burgesses are not our friends in the business...'.(55)

Although the House Books record no further developments in the dispute after January 1661/2, it is clear nonetheless that the corporation emerged the victor.(56) The *quo warranto* came to nothing and the Ainsty remained the legal preserve of the magistracy. The only explanation for this unexpected turn of events is that the government persuaded the corporation's enemies to await the soon to be implemented Corporation Act, preferring to gain political security by statute rather than by condoning local vendettas.

The Commissioners for Regulating Corporations held court in the Guildhall on the 3rd and 4th of September and displaced most of the commons together with Aldermen Thomas Dickinson, Brian Dawson, Leonard Thompson, William Taylor, and Robert Horner. In their place, as well as that of the recently deceased Ralph Chaitor, the commissioners installed three members of the Twenty-Four - Christopher Breary (sh.1638/9), Cressey Burnett (sh.1650/1), Henry Tireman (sh.1649/50) - Henry Thompson,

54) *ibid.*, f.165

55) *ibid.*

56) the corporation was still writing to Sir Metcalfe Robinson for his support in February - 'the poore Condition of this Corporation makes us unfitt for contests, yet our oathes as freemen obleige us to preserve our previledges as far as wee can', L.R.O., Newby Hall MS 2443, the mayor and aldermen to Robinson, 12th February, 1661/2; the corporation incurred heavy expenses in its defence of the charter, Y.C.A., Ch.Acc.Bk. 25, 1663, ff.41-2

who 'fined' for sheriff, John Taylor who was a chamberlain in 1634, and Robert Hemsworth, the only one of the six Royalist aldermen purged in 1645 still alive.(57) The changes in the magistracy were much as one would expect; gone were the three survivors of the parliamentary remodelling of 1645, who were ejected more or less as a matter of course it seems, and the two staunchest Puritans, Dawson and Taylor. None of them appear to have been given the opportunity to take the oaths. The puzzling thing is the displacement of so many of the Common Council. Only one or two of the common councillors of 1661/2 later became Nonconformists and although many were of moderate Puritan sympathies so for that matter were Aldermen Henry Thompson the elder, Christopher Topham and Richard Hewitt who survived the purge. Either those displaced refused the oaths, or, more plausibly, the commissioners removed them simply as a precaution, having no time to investigate the political lives of all seventy-two councillors.(58)

The purge of 1662 brought about no dramatic changes in the social structure of the bench or indeed in its political complexion. By February 1662/3 when the dust had finally settled (Robert Hemsworth resigned as did Sir Metcalfe Robinson, elected to replace Henry Thompson the elder, deceased) there were 7 merchants on the bench, 2 apothecaries, 1 draper, 1 grocer, 1 vintner, and 1 skinner. This compares with the 9 merchants, 2 grocers, 1 apothecary and 1 skinner before the purge. The new men were basically indistinguishable on grounds of occupation or social background from those they replaced. The changes in the political and religious

57) Y.C.A., 'Hammond's Diary'

58) Coleby, Central Government and the Localities, pp.93-4

temper of the magistracy were more significant although even here there was a good deal of continuity. Obviously, the rump of Puritan-Parliamentarians, including the last of the Presbyterians, did not survive the purge but there were still several church Puritans, or 'Anglo-Puritans', on the bench and among them, ironically, was one of the men the commissioners installed, Henry Thompson the younger. Thompson later became a prominent Whig and the godly preamble to his will and his desire that 'no pomp be used or concourse of people at the interring of my sinfull carcass which hath so much offended and dishonoured God' mark him down as a man of strong Puritan principles.(59) None of the new aldermen could be described as ardent Royalists. Cressey Burnett and Henry Tireman, for example, both served as sheriff during the Interregnum and had therefore shown no scruples about taking either the Covenant or the Engagement. Most of the aldermen in fact had been involved in one way or another in the pre-Restoration government in York though none were deeply compromised. Without exception, they were moderate, non-partisan, civic patricians; church-goers and supporters of the monarchy as distinct from High Church Anglicans and 'loyalists'.

59) B.I.H.R., Vacancy Wills, f.58; Thompson was recommended as a loyal man by several of the local gentry, P.R.O., SP 29/245/64, 29/65/46; the will of Alderman Henry Tireman also has a 'painful', godly preface, Probate Register 53, f.98

The aldermen in 1663

elected before 1660	elected after 1660	installed in 1662
Richard Hewitt E	John Kilvington C	Christopher Breary
Christopher Topham E	Edward Elwicke	Henry Tireman E
George Lamplugh E	Thomas Bawtry E	Cressey Burnett E
James Brooke E	George Mancklins E	John Taylor
		Henry Thompson E

E = taken the Engagement/C = taken the Covenant

In political terms the Restoration in York can be divided into two phases. In the first, which was from late 1658 to early 1660, the commons broke ranks with the Upper House and pushed for political change whilst the aldermen, more mindful of their places and to some extent compromised by the nature of their involvement with central government, adopted a 'business as usual' approach. Because this rift was not the result of ideological differences the office-holders closed ranks again once the Restoration was assured. The corporation, or elements within it, made the running up to mid-1660 but by the end of that year the impetus for further change, especially in civic government, began to come from the freeman body where popular Royalist (anti-Puritan) feeling was strong. Thus it was that the general movement of protest in defence of the traditional order began to give way to internal political factionalism. The second phase was from early 1661 to the enforcement of the Corporation Act and began with an attack on some of the Puritan aldermen by a group of discontented citizens which then precipitated a conflict between the corporation and Royalist landed gentry. Local grievances appear to have prompted the citizens' action. There is no evidence of a Royalist political 'party' in the city, certainly not inside the corporation, only a popular Royalist 'reaction'. The gentry's dispute with

the corporation also had a local theme but its origins lay in the Royalist belief that urban corporations were 'nurseries of faction and rebellion'. An overtly political contest between civic Presbyterians and county Anglicans was only avoided it seems because the gentry insisted on making corporate privileges their prime target which served to unite all the office-holders, even moderates like Aldermen Lamplugh and Mancklins, behind the dominant Puritan clique on the bench. Ideological rivalry was merely implicit in what remained for the most part a struggle between civic and landed interests.

POLITICS AND THE CORPORATION, 1662-88

By the end of 1662 the powers which the aldermen had accumulated during the Interregnum were spread once more among local church, militia, and parish community leaders. The Puritan old guard had endeavoured to retain at least some means of upholding godly rule, the Minster preachers scheme is a case in point, but at a high cost in terms of popularity and political credit. The reconstituted corporation accepted the changes at local and national level with apparent good grace and set about improving its relations with the Crown and the diocesan authorities. Early in 1663 the aldermen commenced plans to renew the charter which they voluntarily surrendered to the King as a gesture of their loyalty and also to ensure that the city's liberties were confirmed by the new regime.⁽¹⁾ The new charter was ratified at Westminster in June 1664 and was virtually identical with that of 1632.⁽²⁾ Only two significant amendments were made. The first was a stipulation that all persons, prior to taking office, be administered the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy - the 1632 charter had specifically prescribed the taking of the 'customary oaths' only for newly elected sheriffs and aldermen. The second was a clause stating that the corporation's choice of Recorder or Town Clerk could only enter office subject to the Crown's approval. The corporation was not entirely happy with the new charter, particularly about the Crown reserving the right to veto the corporation's choice of Recorder or Town Clerk. A 'dispensation

1) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, ff.187,189

2) Y.C.A., A/45, Civic Charters

or licence' was requested on that account, but none was forthcoming.(3) The remodelled corporation may have been more 'loyal' in its composition but it was every bit as jealous of the city's 'ancient rights' as its predecessor. Defence of civic privilege was also partly responsible for the corporation's failure to keep up to date with payment of the fee farm rent in the mid 1660's, which left it with some explaining to do at Whitehall.(4)

Despite the occasional sour note the relationship between the city and the Crown in the 1660's was fairly harmonious, particularly in comparison with subsequent decades. The lacklustre welcome which the Duke of York received from civic leaders in 1679 contrasts sharply with the handsome reception they gave him when he visited the city in August 1665 and which the corporation had to borrow three hundred pounds to finance.(5) At the end of his two month stay in York the corporation made James a gift of its lucrative monopoly on the granting of wine licences in the city.(6)

For several years after 1662 the corporation adopted a conciliatory approach towards the Church. Gifts of plate were made to Archbishop Frewen on two occasions in the early 1660's and in March 1664 the city lecturer, appointed by the Upper House in almost its last act before the

3) Y.C.A., E/85, Letters relating to the Affairs of the City, 1663-1718, f.9, mayor and aldermen to Alderman Henry Thompson in London, 24th February, 1664/5; E/40, Liber Miscellanea, f.47, John Hill to the mayor and aldermen, 30th May, 1665; Miller, 'The Crown and the Borough Charters', p.66

4) Y.C.A., E/85, f.8, mayor and aldermen to Recorder Turner, 31st December, 1664

5) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.18; Ch.Acc.Bk. 25, 1665, f.9

6) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.22; P.R.O., SP 29/128/53

1662 purge, was discharged of his duties.(7) The corporation's efforts to seek accommodation with church leaders were quickly undermined however, by the provocative actions of the Dean and Chapter. There were minor jurisdictional squabbles between the city and the cathedral in 1663 but the real trouble began early in 1664 when the Chapter revived the 1630's dispute over seating in the Minster by placing slips of paper bearing the titles of the archdeacons above the stalls where the senior office-holders usually sat, an act which the Archbishop condoned.(8) This led to a boycott by the corporation and the 'eminent' citizens of services in the Minster at which the Dean and Chapter threatened to 'silence all forenoon preachers in the city'.(9) The dispute was settled by December 1665 only to flare up again with greater violence in 1667. The nature of the dispute, an argument over whose seats were whose, tends to belie the fact that this was a matter of the utmost importance to the office-holders who felt that nothing less than the city's honour and their own public dignity were at stake. The aldermen wrote to the city's M.P.s asking for their support and proceeded to have alternative pews built for themselves and their brethren in All Saints Pavement church; at the same securing their supply of godly sermons by re-instating the civic lecturer (an office finally abolished in 1676).(10) The dispute dragged on into 1668,

7) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.183; 38, ff.2,8

8) P.R.O., SP 29/93/92

9) C.S.P.D., 1663/4, p.447; P.R.O., SP 29/92/17

10) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, ff.38,39; E/85, f.21, mayor and aldermen to Recorder Turner, Sir Thomas Osborne, and Sir Metcalfe Robinson, October, 1667; f.22, mayor and aldermen to Sir Thomas Osborne, 25th January, 1667/8; f.23, same to same, 17th February, 1667/8; f.23, mayor to Archbishop Sterne, same date; P.R.O., SP 29/219/69; SP 29/209/80

by which time of course all hopes of accomodation between civic and church leaders in York had long since vanished.

The first real test of the purged corporation's political loyalties came late in 1664 with the death of John Scott and the resulting by-election. The leading government candidate was initially Sir Roger Langley, the retiring High Sheriff of Yorkshire and a client of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whom the corporation made free, exempted from the shrievalty and elected to the bench in the space of a few days.(11) Two months later, however, in September 1664, a letter arrived from the King directing the corporation to make Sir Thomas Osborne, the future Earl of Danby and one of Langley's competitors, a freeman, 'as a person for whom his Majesty had a particular regard'.(12) Osborne beat Langley at the polls on January 16th 1664/5 with a majority of 185.(13) Osborne attributed his victory to the influence of his patron the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of the city and West Riding, upon whose account, wrote Osborne, 'the greatest number of the best citizens (and particularly all the aldermen but one) were very ready to give mee their assistance'.(14) Osborne's gratitude towards Buckingham however, probably led him to exaggerate the strength of his patron's electoral interest among the citizens and particularly in the corporation. Buckingham wrote to the corporation some weeks before the King, recommending Osborne as a suitable candidate for burgess. The mayor and aldermen declared

11) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.6; Henning, The Commons, vol.1, p.489; Browning, Thomas Osborne, vol.1, p.29

12) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.9

13) British Library, Burney Collection, The Newes, 26th January, 1664/5; Public Intelligencer, 30th January, 1664/5

14) Browning, Thomas Osborne, vol.2, p.18; Y.C.A., E/85, f.8, mayor and aldermen to the Duke of Buckingham, 26th February, 1664/5

themselves 'very much satisfied of his [Osborne's] greate worth' but were careful to add that 'there are like to be soe many competitors for that place as that wee are not able to give your Grace any assurance how the voates will go every freeman though never soe mean having a voyce in the election'.(15) This was far from being a full endorsement of Osborne's candidacy and it was probably not until the King had declared for Osborne that the corporation did likewise. In the event it may well have been the aldermen's influence with the 'best' citizens rather than Buckingham's which tipped the balance in Osborne's favour.

The 1661 and 1665 elections mark the nadir of the aldermen's electoral influence in York during the seventeenth century. Of all the setbacks and losses suffered by the aldermen at the Restoration, the collapse of their electoral interest was perhaps the most keenly felt, particularly since it followed a period in which they had enjoyed an unprecedented degree of control over the selection and return of the city's M.P.s. During the Interregnum central government apparently interfered very little in the selection of parliamentary candidates and many of the local gentry who might have contested the seat under normal circumstances had either retired from politics or were persona non grata. The result was that of the six men who represented the city between 1640 and 1659, five were aldermen and the other was the city's Recorder. After the Restoration however, a combination of Crown intervention and popular Royalist feeling effectively reduced the aldermen's role in electoral politics to that of supporting cast. Even if the bench had refused to

15) Y.C.A., E/40, f.46, mayor and aldermen to Buckingham, 10th September 1664

accept the King's nominees, which was never really an option, none of the aldermen were of sufficiently 'loyal' standing to win over the civic electorate which retained its Royalist fervour well into the 1660's. The remodelled bench bowed to the inevitable and in the 1664/5 election was a credit to the Corporation Act commissioners, although it was later rumoured that Osborne's candidature had been 'against the humour of a great many Aldermen'.⁽¹⁶⁾ Significantly, at the next by-election in 1673 the aldermen declared it their firm intention to 'choose one of our owne body'.

The one major issue on which the government and the corporation were politically out of step in the 1660's was that of Dissent. There was an understandable reluctance on the magistrates' part to deal harshly with the city's Dissenters who were relatively few in number and posed no threat whatsoever to the civic establishment, indeed quite the reverse. The leading Nonconformists and Quakers were prominent traders and respected members of their parish communities whose social values and moral concerns were almost identical to those of the best citizens. The events of 1660-2 did little to affect the strength of godly, patriarchal Protestantism among the 'better sort' of freemen and only temporarily

16) British Library, Add. MS 28051, f.17, Robert Benson to Danby, 23rd August, 1673; Roy Carroll's explanation as to why only one alderman represented the city during the Restoration period - i.e. that the corporation's decision in 1658 to stop paying wages to the city's burgesses forced them out of the market - is clearly erroneous. Most of the aldermen were quite capable of sustaining a parliamentary career from a purely financial point of view, and as he himself notes they began to 'reassert' themselves after 1685 when the cost of electioneering in the city became truly exorbitant. In fact it was competition from outside political interests and the aldermen's insufficiently 'loyal' credentials which forced them to relinquish their electoral interest between 1660 and 1685 - Carroll, 'Yorkshire Parliamentary Boroughs', p.91

weakened its hold in civic government. By 1667 the Common Council was calling on the mayor to revive the system of searchers to enforce Sabbath observance in the city and report on absentees from church - the ungodly that is, rather than those who frequented alternative services on grounds of conscience.(17) The magistrates made no attempt to apply the penal laws against Dissent with any thoroughness. They as good as ignored the first Conventicle Act and enforced the Five Mile Act only once.(18)

The one piece of penal legislation which the civic authorities were careful to take heed of was the Corporation Act. The deputy lieutenants of the West Riding needed convincing of this fact in 1680 however, when an investigation they undertook into how the Corporation Act had been observed in the city revealed an apparent gap in the subscription rolls (the record of those office-holders who had complied with the provisions of the Act) between 1671 and 1677.(19) The town clerk claimed that he had lost a roll which must have raised a wry smile among local Tories but may not be as suspicious as it sounds. If the office-holders observed the Act's provisions between 1677 and 1680 when the Whigs were at the height of their power in civic government, then it is unlikely that ^{they} failed to do so between 1671 and 1677, at least for political reasons. Similarly,

17) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.35

18) Y.C.A., Quarter Sessions Book, F/8, f.83

19) L.R.O., Mex.MSS, Reresby Correspondence, 15/63, Richard Hewitt to Reresby, 18th June 1680; 15/27, same to same, 26th June, 1680; in 1680 central government launched a general enquiry into how strictly the Corporation Act had been observed and in some towns, though not in York, office-holders were removed as a result - Styles, 'The Corporation of Warwick', pp.25,33; Stocks, Records of the Borough of Leicester, p.lv,552-3; J.Dennett (ed.), Beverley Borough Records, Y.A.S.R.S., LXXXIV (1932), p.166; J.C.F.Forster, 'Hull in the 16th and 17th Centuries' in K.J.Allison (ed.), Victoria County History: The City of Kingston Upon Hull, (Oxford, 1969), pp.118-9

the fact that sacrament certificates survive for the years 1675 to 1682, roughly the period of Whig supremacy in York, strongly suggests that the corporation demanded them at all times.(20) One thing is clear, whether the corporation complied with the full terms of the Act or not there was no influx of Dissenters into civic office either in the 1670's or at any other time.

It was not Anglican scrupulousness which prompted the corporation to make at least some effort to enforce the Corporation Act but rather a desire to avoid the possible legal consequences of unlawful elections. This is clear from several letters which the corporation wrote to Sir Thomas Osborne in 1671 following the election of Thomas Nesbitt, a leading Dissenter, to the shrievalty; 'And the said Mr Nesbett then took the oathes [of] office' explained the aldermen, 'as also of Supremacy and Allegiance accordeing to the statute of the 13th [Car II]...but refused to take the other oath by the same act appointed to be taken and to subscribe to the Declaration therein also specified, so our desire is that you would be pleased to Advise with the Lord Keeper...as to the validity of the election, And that his Lordshipp would vouchsafe his Directions to us with all possible speed...otherwise there will be a faylure of Justice in the Sheriffs' Court...'.(21) Before Osborne had time to reply, Nesbitt took the 'other oath', i.e. the oath abjuring resistance to the King, and

20) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.86; Sacrament Certificates c.1675-c.1682 (uncatalogued bundle); see also G/59, a list of office-holders who took the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, the Corporation Act oaths, and abjured the Covenant between 1677 and 1682 - the list includes Aldermen Phillip Herbert, Richard Shaw, John Wood, John Constable, Thomas Carter, Edward Thompson, Robert Waller, Roger Shackleton, and Thomas Moseley

21) British Library, Add. MS 28,053, f.38, mayor and aldermen to Osborne, 25th September, 1671

promised to honour all his duties and charges as sheriff, which was sufficient to satisfy the corporation even though he still refused to subscribe to the declaration denying the validity of the Presbyterian Covenant. The aldermen wrote to Osborne asking that nothing in the first letter be used against Nesbitt and that the Keeper of the Privy Seal send them instructions 'in case the like occasion shall happen for the future'.(22)

The consideration which the office-holders showed to men of tender Puritan conscience also extended to the Quakers. Henry Wilkinson, a Quaker apothecary, was allowed to serve as chamberlain in 1669 without the need to take the obligatory oaths and his 'fine' for exemption from the shrievalty was reduced by £10 'in regard he hath stood chamberlain'.(23) Edward Nightingale was granted exemption from the shrievalty on exceptionally generous terms in 1672 with one of the city's leading merchants standing bond for the abated sum.(24) In general, it was only when Dissenters were thought to have shown contempt for the house, as in the case of Augustine Ambrose who refused point blank to appear at the Guildhall when summoned, that the corporation was inclined to take a hard line with them.(25)

The magistrates' lenient policy towards the Dissenters began to earn the city a bad reputation among local loyalists from the mid-1660's onwards. However, it was not until the 1673 by-election that the city's leaders generally became noted, largely undeservedly, for their

22) *ibid.*, f.40, same to same, 27th September, 1671

23) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, ff.54,92

24) *ibid.*, f.78

25) *ibid.*, f.81

opponentist leanings. The occasion of the election was Osborne's elevation to the peerage as Lord Latimer. Osborne hoped to use his interest with the citizens to secure the seat for his son Peregrine, then aged just 13, but from the start met with stiff opposition in the city.(26) The contest began in June or July with the 'Osborne party' facing challenges from several quarters, the most serious of which was that of Alderman Sir Henry Thompson of Marston, the Puritan installed in 1662.(27) Thompson may have started out as an independent candidate, but certainly by late August he had the backing of most of his fellow aldermen whose determination to regain the electoral and political independence they had lost at the Restoration had prompted them to pass a resolution that only a member of the corporation should represent the city in parliament.(28)

Osborne began to grow annoyed by the Autumn at what he saw as the corporation's ingratitude towards him and on September 6th wrote a carefully worded letter to the mayor and aldermen laying out his wares as a worthy patron. He reminded the aldermen of his 'severall ties of friendship to the Citty', of his past endeavours on their behalf ('I have never been wanting in the performance of what you desired att my hands'), and of the good offices they might yet expect from him in his new station. He also made a point of directing the aldermen to have his letter communicated to the Commons and the freemen, believing privately that it had been the citizens who against the better wishes of the

26) Browning, Thomas Osborne, vol.2, pp.42-45; Henning, The Commons, vol.1, pp.489-90

27) British Library, Add.MS 28,051, f.14, Robert Benson to Danby, 16th July, 1673; f.15, James Moseley to Henry Earl of Ogle, 25th August, 1673

28) Mullett, 'The Crown and the Corporations', p.39

aldermen had secured his election in the first place.(29) Osborne's aim in writing was mainly to embarrass and shame the aldermen into transferring their support to his son but he over estimated the weight which his words as well as his reputation carried with the office-holders. The mayor and aldermen replied on the 12th:

Wee are heartily sorry that wee are utterly incapable of Answeringe your Lordshipps expectation in our Choyce of your sonne, for wee Doe truly owne your Lordshipps soe often repeated favours to this place, which wee have a very deepe sense of, But upon knowledge of your Lordshipps promotion (as wee had longe before purposed) 'twas thought fitt to choose one of our owne body, soe wee made our Application to Sir Henry Thompson...for our Burgesse, whose acceptance then became such a tye and obligation to us the whole towne that...wee humbly conceive the measures of incouragement given you...to introduce your sonne were groundlesse and mistaken...(30)

The letter was signed by the mayor, six aldermen, the Twenty Four and about forty of common councillors. One of the aldermen who did not sign was James Brooke who wrote to the mayor that same day urging the city to support Osborne's son; 'the Citty knowes not what need it may have of a person of such honour and honesty, for tho it bee poore it wants not Enemies, and therefore had need keepe its friends, this change of his Lordshipp to his sonne, noe question but it will much oblige him, and what consequence should it be denyed...I much feare'.(31) Osborne's agents, who included Sir John Hewley, informed him that Sir Henry's men were circulating reports that the Duke of Buckingham favoured their cause and they urged him to have the Duke write to the city recommending Peregrine Osborne's candidacy, it being in their opinion 'the only thinge

29) British Library, Add.MS 28,051, f.21, Danby to the mayor and aldermen, 6th September, 1673

30) *ibid.*, f.23, mayor and aldermen to Danby, 12th September, 1673

31) *ibid.*, f.25, James Brooke to the mayor, 12th September, 1673

[that] will doe the worke the people being possessed that his Grace is for Sir Henry'.(32) It was not Buckingham's contribution which Danby needed however, but rather the firm backing of the King, as in 1664/5, if he was to prevail against the desire of the corporation and the best citizens to preserve the city's political independence and to choose a candidate who was sympathetic to their interests. That Peregrine Osborne was only 13 and once elected would clearly be accountable to his father rather than the citizens weighed heavily against the Osborne interest. Osborne wrote an indignant letter to the corporation on the 16th:

I have received a letter from some of you dated the 12th instant...and I cannot but make this observation upon itt, that whither my son deserve that honour or no I have deserved better from the Citty myselfe...nor can I imagine there are many of the Citty pre-ingaged without the least sort of intimation to one who had served them so faithfully and was now more capable either of doing or obstructing itt...

I heare that many suggestions have been made as if the Duke of Buckingham were for promoteing the interest of Sir Henry, the truth of which you will find by his Graces letter to the Citty by this post [33]...I heare also that itt is made a great inducement to the election of Sir Henry because hee will bee so great a promoter of the trade of the Citty, but certainly itt is the first time any mans interest was thought equal to the Lord Treasurers in promoting of trade in England.

I cannot but complaine also that when your Lordship had adjourned the reading of my letter to a longer day for giveing notice to all the freemen...you should send mee a letter to which I have reason to beleve [not] the tenth part of the Citty has...been privy, and therefore I now desire your justice to lett all who are concern'd have due notice and time to consider what they conceave may bee best for their service...(34)

As Michael Mullett has observed, by attempting to appeal over the heads of the magistrates to the townsmen, Osborne sought to exploit not

32) *ibid.*, f.26, Charles Osborne to Danby, 15th September, 1673

33) H.M.C., Kenyon MSS, (1894), p.96, Buckingham to the mayor and aldermen, 16th September, 1673

34) British Library, Add.MS 28,051, f.28, Danby to the mayor and aldermen, 16th September, 1673

so much any Royalist sentiment among the citizens but rather their resentment at the corporation's 'clique conduct'.(35) His bid for popular support failed however, and he and his son were forced to withdraw before the election.(36) Sir John Hewley belatedly took up the fight but was beaten at the polls by Thompson in November. Hewley petitioned repeatedly against Thompson's return, presumably with Osborne's support, and accused the corporation of 'bribing and menacing people' in the election.(37) The mayor and aldermen had certainly engaged in some sharp practice to ensure Thompson's election, including the mass enfranchisement of men sympathetic to his candidacy, the first time such a thing had been done in the city.(38) Thompson, unabashed, claimed that he had received 'above 1,100 votes on a fair poll, and these were the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and the citizens of the best quality', whereas Sir John Hewley 'had not 600 votes, many whereof were no freemen...'.(39) On March the 15th 1677 Hewley's petition was unanimously rejected by both the committee of elections and privileges and the House, which according to Andrew Marvell, Thompson's friend, 'never happened before in any man's memory'.(40)

For the corporation the principal^a issue at stake in the election was its right to choose a member of its own body in preference to a candidate imposed by outside interests. Although Thompson and Osborne

35) Mullett, 'The Crown and the Corporations', pp.39-40

36) British Library, Add.MS 28,051, f.30, Richard Blanshard to Danby, 1st October, 1673; f.31, same to same, 25th October, 1673

37) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.92

38) F.Collins (ed.), Register of the Freemen of the City of York, 1559-1759, Surt.Soc., CII (1899), pp.139-144

39) P.R.O., SP 29/370/194

40) H.M.Margoliouth (ed.), The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, 2 vols., (1952), vol.2, pp.181,183,314-8

were undoubtedly on different sides of the 'court' 'country' divide, the election was apparently fought on the issues of local rather than national concern. A strong element of personal rivalry was also present; witness the spectacle of Sir John Hewley, a Presbyterian, running against Sir Henry Thompson, a Puritan, a situation which would have been unthinkable just a few years later. This is not to say however, that the citizens were unconcerned with political developments at the centre. The proceedings at Westminster regarding the Dutch War and related issues caused considerable apprehension among the civic elite, 'insomuch', wrote one citizen, 'that people began to divide in discourse, some urging the necessity of state, in case money was not given, others the rights of the subjects...'.(41) Yet a basic political consensus still prevailed among the citizens, support for the King being the principal common denominator; 'All the parties gather about the King as their pillar, the sons of the Church to uphold it, the Dissenters for Indulgence...though they stand at a distance from one another'.(42) At that time there was still no intimation of the impending alliance between the Crown and the persecution-minded Anglicans and the balance of political forces was much as it had been in the 1660's with fissures in the political nation, 'court' versus 'country' for example, running across as well as along the more fundamental ideological divide between those afraid of popery and arbitrary government and the opponents of fanaticism and faction.(43) The reason for this was

41) P.R.O., SP 29/334/146

42) *ibid.*

43) W.A.Speck, Reluctant Revolutionaries, pp.30-32; Coleby, Central Government and the Localities, p.235; M.A.Mullett, 'The Politics of Liverpool, 1660-88', Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, CXXIV (1973), pp.42-3,47; Evans, Norwich, pp.253-4

largely the Crown's support for toleration which made it possible for a Dissenter like Hewley to ally himself with a supporter of the government such as Osborne. The complex and somewhat artificial alignment of political interests in the early 1670's meant that in York at least, the response to parliamentary and national affairs tended to lack that popular dimension apparent in the later polarity of Whig and Tory which was based on potent and widely-held political and religious prejudices.

Danby did not forget the rebuff he had received at York and in 1676 he may have gone out of his way to pick a fight with the corporation over its implementation of the hearth tax statutes in the city.(44) The issue culminated in the mayor, Francis Elcocke, and Aldermen Ramsden and Herbert being summoned before the Privy Council in September 1677 to answer charges that they and their fellow magistrates had acted 'contrary to their duty and the Law established for Raysinge his Majestyes duty of hearth mony, and contrary to the declared Judgements of his Majestyes Judges and very much to the prejudice of his Majestyes Revenue and Contempt of his Royall authority'.(45) The mayor and his brethren apologised for their actions, blamed their legal advisers, and were honoured with the King's hand to kiss. Danby invited the aldermen to dine with him afterwards to show there were no hard feelings but both parties clearly had their own opinion as to which of them had triumphed. On their return to York the aldermen received the congratulations of 'many hundreds' of citizens.(46)

44) Y.C.A., E/85, ff.25-9

45) *ibid*, f.30, the Privy Council to the mayor and aldermen, 25th August, 1677

46) *ibid.*, f.31

The dispute is interesting because it came at a time when the political complexion of the bench was beginning to acquire distinctly Whig overtones. The strength of the aldermen's resistance to Danby and the somewhat excessive measures the Lord Treasurer was forced to adopt to bring them into line suggest that there was a good deal of distrust and dislike of his administration and its widely accredited Francophile and absolutist leanings among the magistrates. Signs of a growing Protestant awareness and trenchancy in the civic elite are evident as early as November 1677 when the corporation made extravagant arrangements to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Orange and Princess Mary.(47) However, it was only in the wake of the Popish Plot in the Autumn of 1678 that widespread popular hostility towards Danby and the court appears to have emerged in the city. The strength of anti-court feeling in York is apparent in February 1679 when the citizens returned the Exclusionists Sir Henry Thompson and Sir John Hewley to the new Parliament, Hewley successfully fending off a challenge from the city's other sitting M.P. Sir Metcalfe Robinson.(48) Both Thompson and Hewley were obviously elected for their impeccable Protestant credentials and their opposition to the court. They were returned without a poll to the second and third Exclusion Parliaments. Hewley's switch from 'court' to 'country' sometime between 1673 and 1679 is a good indication of the

47) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.133

48) H.M.C., Astley MSS, (1900), pp.41-2; it is not clear whether the contest between Hewley and Robinson went to a poll or whether Metcalfe retired through lack of popular support - Henning, The Commons, vol.1, p.489; vol.2, p.543; Bolton, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire Boroughs', p.51; Wedgewood, 'Sir John Hewley', p.9-10

political re-alignment which had taken place following the Crown's alliance with the High Church Party in the mid-1670's.

The Whig character of the bench was confirmed by the reception, or lack of one, which the aldermen gave the Duke of York when he visited the city in November 1679. Only the Tory alderman John Constable and the sheriffs attended James and his entourage on their arrival in the city, the rest of the aldermen waiting upon him in his chambers the following day.(49) To make matters worse, one of the Twenty-Four, Edward Thompson, who owned what was reputedly the most 'commodious' house in the city, refused at first to lend it to the Duke and Duchess and when he did comply took away all the furniture. The Duke never forgot the way the city treated him.(50) The King sent a letter to the mayor and aldermen rebuking them for not receiving James 'with that respect that was due to him and in the manner heretofore accustomed'.(51)

The following year the city further annoyed the King by presenting a petition calling for Parliament to be convened, signed by most of the corporation and its two M.P.s.(52) One report in the *Protestant Domestic Intelligencer* has it that when the writs finally arrived early in 1681 Thompson was met by about 400 of the 'best' citizens on horseback who conducted him through the city to Sir John Hewley and then onto the Guildhall where the two men were re-elected by unanimous consent. After

49) there are differing accounts of the Duke's visit to York and it is difficult to determine precisely what offended James. The aldermen's greatest crime appears to have been not waiting on the Royal entourage when it arrived in the city - York Minster Library, Torre MS, f.41; Y.C.A., 'Hammonds Diary'; H.M.C., Ormonde MSS, New Series, V (1908), pp.231,234-5; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.162

50) Reresby, Memoirs, p.191

51) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.162

52) J.R.Jones, The First Whigs, p.119

which, apparently, the Recorder made a speech declaring the thanks of the city 'for their great and faithful services the two last Parliaments, and desiring they would persevere, in giving their furtherance to such good Laws, as may secure them their Posterities, the Protestant Religion, the King's Sacred Person, and the well Established Government of this Realm, from Popery and Arbitrary Power...'.(53)

According to Sir John Reresby, who became the city's governor in 1682, York was 'one of the most factious towns in the Kingdome' at this time, an assertion which the city's choice of M.P.s and its treatment of James would appear to bear out.(54) Nevertheless, it is easy to over-estimate the strength of Whig feeling in York and particularly on the bench. Virtually the only accounts we have of the political disposition of the city and the civic leadership in the early 1680's come from the pens of Tory gentlemen who were inclined to regard all shades of opposition to the government as Whiggery and republicanism of the blackest kind. Reresby calculated in 1682 that the 'factious' party in York consisted of the mayor, all but two of the aldermen, the sheriffs, most of the Common Council, and three quarters of the citizenry. (The 'loyal' party of the gentry, the clergy and their dependents, the military and a quarter of the citizens). Yet as he went on to point out, the number of those actively involved in Whig party politics in the city was actually very small, 'eight or ten persons' among the civic elite 'with some few others more inferiour'.(55) Many of those who made up the 'factious' element in the

53) British Library, Burney Collection, The Protestant Domestick Intelligencer, 25th February, 1680/1

54) Reresby, Memoirs, p.269

55) ibid., pp.579-580

city were at best Whig sympathisers whose concern as Protestants about how the king's likely successor might behave and fears of a Catholic conspiracy made them willing to go along with the 'party' Whigs to a moderate degree, notably in voting for Exclusionists. But it must be emphasised that besides the return of Protestant candidates at the polls, there is no evidence that the majority of so-called 'factious persons' in the city and the corporation took an active interest in party political matters. Again, so far as one can tell, support for constitutional or religious reform, including toleration or comprehension for the Dissenters, was largely confined to Whig party circles. Indeed, Reresby thought that many citizens who aligned themselves with the Whigs did so less for reasons of principle than personal welfare; 'there ever being a great many in such a body [the citizenry] that either from fear or interest joine with the strongest [i.e.the leading townsmen], and several ther have confessed that they darr not act according to their judgement (viz., for the government) for fear of being undone in their trade. It is now come to that, that ther is not only a separation of interests, but few doe buy of, or have any commerce but with thos of their own principle'.(56)

If Reresby is to be believed, the predominance of Whiggery in York was more a reflection of the aldermen's importance as political trend-setters than a genuine expression of popular opinion. By virtue of their office and as leaders in the city's business community the aldermen J.P.s certainly exercised wide-ranging authority over the economic and social life of their fellow townsmen and in the process disposed of a fair amount of patronage and custom. Nevertheless there were limits to their

56) *ibid.*

influence and as the events of 1661 serve to demonstrate it was dangerous for the aldermen to defy public opinion in the city for any length of time. A contemporary of Reresby's thought that the economic interdependence of townspeople made the leaders of urban society unwilling to act contrary to the views of the business community lest 'their trade...decline and...their credit with it'.(57)

The number of Whig activists on the bench was surprisingly few in a city which was supposedly 'more remarkable then most in England for height of faction'. Only three aldermen, Sir Henry Thompson, his younger brother Edward Thompson (elected in February 1681), and Robert Waller (elected in July 1681) were listed by Reresby as members of the Whig party proper in York, which also included Sir John Hewley, Thomas Rokeby, a Nonconformist lawyer, and Sir John Brooke, son of Alderman Brooke and the Nonconformist patroness Lady Priscilla Brooke.(58) The Thompson brothers were described by Reresby as 'anti-monarchical', by which he seems to have meant republican although in fact neither man was as radical as that.(59) Sir Henry Thompson was what J.R.Jones would term an 'old Presbyterian', and because of his staunch Puritan views was nicknamed 'Judgement Sir Harry' and 'Sir H.T.Rumpsick' by the Tories.(60) Edward Thompson was more extreme in his opposition to the government than his brother and was suspected by some local Tories of complicity in the Rye

57) C.Hill, 'Occasional Conformity and the Grindalian Tradition', in C.Hill, The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill: Religion and Politics in the 17th Century, 3 vols., (1985-6), vol.II, p.314

58) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.579-80

59) ibid., p.303

60) Jones, The First Whigs, pp.10-11; Henning, The Commons, vol.3, p.553; L.R.O., Mex.MSS, Reresby Corr., 18/93, Thomas Fairfax to Reresby, December 1681

House Plot.(61) He was not a Puritan like his brother however, and was on good terms with local church leaders.(62) Robert Waller, a lawyer, attained considerable notoriety among local Tories in 1682 for putting up a 'memorial against the Papists', or 'seditious Tablett' as one Tory described it, in the Minster, and for clapping a gentleman in the stocks for calling him a 'Whiggish alderman'.(63) He appears to have had no connection with the Dissenters. Of all the Whig leaders, Reresby thought that Brooke was 'the only Churchman [i.e. church-goer] amongst them' which again is an exaggeration.(64) Hewley and Rokeby may have attended conventicles but Robert Waller, Edward Thompson, and Sir Henry Thompson were sympathetic towards the Dissenters, nothing more.

Although it suited the Tories' purpose to regard the magistrates as 'rebels' to a man (Thomas Fairfax wrote in December 1681 'I beleive there is not such a Fanatique Bench of Aldermen within the Kinges Dominions'), the majority of the aldermen were significantly more moderate in their opposition to the government than the Thompsons and Robert Waller.(65) They shared with the political Whigs a dislike of persecution and demonstrated the same preoccupation with Protestantism, law, and liberties. But they appear to have been much less partisan in their political behaviour and priorities, both locally and nationally, than the party Whigs and more concerned to maintain the city's day-to-day

61) Reresby Corr., 25/4, Fairfax to Reresby, 17th December, 1683

62) Margoliouth, Andrew Marvell, vol.2, p.313; Y.C.A., E/85, f.57, Edward Thompson to Secretary Jenkins, 17th October, 1683 - Thompson declared that he and the citizens were committed to preserving the King's life and crown, 'and wee are noe less Lovers and mayntayners of the Church of England' - conventional sentiments perhaps, but there is no firm evidence to indicate that they were not genuine in his case

63) Reresby Corr., 20/22, Fairfax to Reresby, 24th April, 1682

64) Reresby, Memoirs, p.580

65) Reresby Corr., 18/93, Fairfax to Reresby, December, 1681

administration and preserve intact its chartered rights. True to their predecessors they attempted to remain civic leaders first and foremost although in the highly politicised climate of the Exclusion Crisis they could not avoid being drawn into the party-political fray. Attracted to the Whig cause initially from conviction, being godly Protestants and of low-key 'country' views, they were forced to abandon the middle ground in civic politics as the issues came to be more clearly defined and uncompromising and the 'loyal' and 'factious' elements polarised.

Much of the passion and hostility which maintained this party mentality was not generated by events within the city itself however, but spilled over from the county political scene. Whig and Tory county gentlemen resorted to York in large numbers during Assize Week to draw up petitions or act as jurors and their presence sustained and often aggravated the city's internal divisions. In March 1682 the Tory grand jury at the Assizes drew up an address abhorring Shaftesbury's 'treachery' which caused 'a great noise in the town, and such distinguishing of Whigs and Toryes, that they are become averse to be seen in one another's company'.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Whig and Tory county magnates relied on the deference of the citizens, including the aldermen, to help marshal support for party-political initiatives. It was almost certainly the Whig aristocracy in alliance with the Thompson brothers who were the inspiration behind the corporation's petition to the King in 1681 (of which no mention is made in the House Books). Without the patronage and encouragement of Whig noblemen and gentry such as Lord Fairfax, Sir John Hewley and Sir William Ayscough, some of the 'Whig' magistrates would probably have kept a lower

66) *ibid.*, 18/65, Thomas Yarbrough to Reresby, 22nd March 1681/2

political profile. As Michael Mullett has observed at Nottingham '...the determination of the whig gentry injected the urban opposition with a courage it would not otherwise have possessed: urban magistrates were used to taking their cue from the leaders of county society'.(67)

The Tories could only muster two aldermen before 1685, John Constable, an apothecary with strong Catholic connections and Sir Henry Thompson of Castlegate who began his political career as the creature of Sir Thomas Slingsby, the arch-enemy of the city's Whigs.(68)

The aldermen 1679-83

'party' Whigs	Whig moderates	Tories
Sir Henry Thompson	Thomas Carter(1)	Sir Henry Thompson
Edward Thompson*(3)	John Wood(2)	John Constable
Robert Waller*(4)	Richard Metcalfe	
	Thomas Carter	
	George Mancklins	
	Richard Shaw	
	Phillip Herbert*	
	Francis Elcocke*	
	William Ramsden*	

(1) replaced York Horner [mod.] (2) replaced William Richardson [mod.] (3) replaced Cressey Burnett [mod.] (4) replaced Thomas Williamson [mod.]

* displaced in 1685

67) Mullett, 'The Crown and the Corporations', pp.79-80; the corporation wrote a letter of thanks to Lords Clifford and Fairfax after the January petition - Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.173

68) British Library, Add.MS 28,051, f.14, Robert Benson to Danby, 16th July, 1673; Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, pp.91,93,97,102-3 (Constable was accused by a fellow alderman of being a papist in 1683 - Reresby Corr., 25/4, Fairfax to Reresby, 17th December, 1683); very little can be deduced about the strength of Toryism in the civic elite, even though by the mid-1680's the Tories in the corporation appear to have formed a more tight-knitly and self-consciously partisan group than the 'Whig' majority which was largely made up of men whose primary concern was the defence of municipal autonomy - regarding early Toryism see Coleby, Central Government and the Localities, pp.220-1; P.Styles, 'Dugdale and the Civil War', Birmingham and Warwickshire Arch. Soc., LXXXVI (1974), pp.145-6; Finlayson, Historians, Puritanism and the English Revolution, pp.129-33

The Whig campaign reached its height in York early in 1681 with petitions from both the corporation and the county Whigs calling for the convening of parliament and the promotion of the Exclusion Bill respectively.(69) Despite the abrupt dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in March the city's Whigs were not unduly disheartened. Events on the national and international scene towards the end of the year convinced them that parliament would be called in February and they even went so far as to choose new, and more radically Whig, candidates, namely Sir James Bradshaw and Edward Thompson.(70) By this time local Tories were exasperated that nothing was being done by the government to put a stop to the Whigs' antics. Fairfax wrote to Reresby in December 1681 asking him to get Whitehall to send a letter of reprimand to the magistrates; 'It would be very seasonable' he wrote 'For they are very remisse in executeinge the Lawes against Conventicles and some of them have denyed to graunt Warrants for Distresse according to the Act...'.(71) In January several Tory gentlemen managed to put sufficient pressure on the magistrates to have them indict a number of ^{the} city's leading Dissenters on charges of conventicling, only to see their quarry escape, unscathed, at the Sessions with the connivance of those same magistrates. Fairfax was absolutely furious and again urged Reresby to take action at court.(72) The Tories had their revenge at the March Assizes, however, when 'divers' trials went against the Dissenters and the Judge warned the mayor and

69) Reresby, Memoirs, p.219; Reresby Corr., 39/26, Christopher Tancred to Reresby, 28th February 1680/1; Henning, The Commons, vol.1, p.490; British Library, Burney Collection, Protestant Domestick Intelligencer, 25th February, 1680/1

70) Reresby Corr., 18/93, Fairfax to Reresby, December 1681

71) *ibid.*

72) *ibid.*, 18/124, same to same, 16th January, 1681/2

aldermen 'that if a Quo Warranto were brought against them he could not see but that their Charter was forfeited for their Misgovernment and for sufferinge Conventicles to be soe openly held (without any controule) and by their contrivance...'(73)

The threat of a *quo warranto* against the city, made all the more real by the attack on London's charter begun the previous December, and the defection of the county's aristocratic Whig leadership from the cause of exclusion caused the aldermen to reconsider their position during the Spring and Summer of 1682. Although the city's Whig gentlemen were still very active at their club in April, drinking the health of Monmouth and confusion to all 'Abhorrers and Papists', there are signs that some of the magistrates were looking to moderate their stand. Certainly when Reresby took up his post as town governor in June the mayor, John Wood, was in a very compliant and submissive mood indeed, brought on according to Reresby by news of the imprisonment of the Middlesex sheriffs and above all by fear that the city's charter 'was not a little in danger'. Reresby felt sure that within a short time the city could be reduced to a better temper.(74)

The main obstacle in the way of an accomodation was not Whig but Tory intransigence.(75) With their party now in the ascendant nationally, the city's Tories were naturally looking forward to the boot being on the other foot for a change. At the same time, they were in the process of acquiring powerful allies at court who had their own reasons for

73) *ibid.*, 20/14, same to same, 8th April, 1682; Henry Marwood to Reresby, 20/15, 23rd March, 1681/2

74) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.269,581

75) *ibid.*

resisting progress towards an internal settlement of the city's political differences. There had been stiff competition for the post of city governor and Reresby's appointment had angered his rivals, chief among whom was Sir Thomas Slingsby, a client of the Duke of York and deputy lieutenant for the West Riding. In order to discredit Reresby's governorship as well as build an interest for themselves and their political views within the corporation, Slingsby, his fellow deputy lieutenants and various other local Tory gentry, or the 'Slingsby party' as they came to be known, began to agitate at court for the issue of a *quo warranto* against the city's charter.(76)

The conflict between Whig and Tory in York entered a new phase with the attack on the city's charter. Before 1682 party politics in the city appear to have lacked that strong grounding in local issues which was apparent in towns such as Norwich and Liverpool where Whig factions emerged partly as a response to the intervention of Tory county gentlemen and the threat this posed to municipal political autonomy.(77) Because of poor management by the government during the 1670's, particularly in keeping on the enfeebled Lord Frescheville as governor, the 'loyal' party in York was too weak and ineffectual on the eve of the Exclusion Crisis to raise fears in the corporation that the city's 'ancient rights' were in any immediate danger from Whitehall or its minions. The first reference to a *quo warranto* in connection with the city appears in March 1680 when the King commanded the Attorney General to enquire whether the citizens had made 'any such slips as might forfeit their

76) *ibid.*, pp.261,288-9,326,330; Reresby Corr., 17/8, Reresby to Lord Halifax, January 1682/3

77) Mullett, 'The Politics of Liverpool', p.47; Evans, Norwich, p.253

charter or any other way bring them under the power of the laws'.(78) The aldermen may have got wind of this enquiry but even so, the origins of Whiggery in York lay not in an assertion of municipal independence, as was the case in Liverpool, but primarily in fears for the Protestant religion, encapsulated in the rallying cry of Whig supporters everywhere, "no popery". Nor was the struggle between Whig and Tory in the city simply a case of county Toryism pitted against urban Whiggery. The Whig movement in York was dominated from the start by county gentry. Sir Henry Thompson, Sir John Brooke and Sir John Hewley despite their strong civic connections belonged primarily to the world of county politics.(79) It was also, by all accounts, the city's resident county gentry who largely made up the membership of the Whig and Tory 'clubs' which sprang up in the city during the Exclusion Crisis.(80)

It was only towards the end of 1682 with the involvement of the Slingsby party and as the government's 'borough policy' began to take effect that the party conflict in York assumed more the outlines of a contest between local landed interests and the corporation. As it did so the ideological element in the struggle declined in importance, particularly on the Whig side where the old leadership of the Thompsons and their gentry allies which had been intent on pursuing party political

78) H.M.C., Ormonde MSS, N.S., V, p.288

79) Henning, The Commons, vol.2, pp.542-3 (Hewley was a J.P. for the West and North Ridings between 1663 and 1680 when he was removed from commission); vol.3, p.552-3 (Thompson was a deputy lieutenant for the West Riding and J.P. for the East and West Ridings between 1667 and 1679); Bolton, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire', pp.102-3,210-11,321-22 - all the leading 'party' Whigs in York were distinguished by their strong links with county society and politics

80) Reresby Corr., 21/26, Fairfax to Reresby, 2nd April, 1683; 24/30, same to same, 5th March, 1683/4

goals was gradually replaced by the moderates on the bench whose main concern was to defend the city's chartered rights.

By September 1682 when news of the Duke of Monmouth's exile broke, the city's Whigs were in full retreat; 'Since this Newes of the Duke of Monmouth' wrote Fairfax 'there is not a Whigg appeares here either att Coffee house or Clubb. Wee feare our Mayor will (doe as the Mayor of Nottingham) break open the Greate Chest where our Charter lyes and poast up to London to renew it without the consent of his breathren'.(81) By December some of the aldermen were prepared to make a deal with Reresby confessing themselves sensible of their past errors and willing to make all possible amends short of surrendering the city's charter. Led by Alderman Ramsden they offered to drop Edward Thompson as mayor elect (if the King would 'command it by letter'), to choose a new Lord High Steward in place of Buckingham, and to elect loyal Members of Parliament for the future.(82) The prospect of Edward Thompson becoming mayor, as he was bound to do being next in line to the chair - 'though if he had his due' quipped Fairfax 'he ought to be as nere the Ladder'(83) - was also an unwelcome one to the Tories. Fairfax asked Reresby in December to get a letter from court replacing Thompson with Alderman Elcocke.(84)

The idea of replacing Buckingham as the city's Lord High Steward had been on the aldermens' minds ever since the Duke's retirement from court in the early 1680's. The city could not afford to be without a patron at court and the aldermen wrote to him in March 1681 or thereabouts

81) *ibid.*, 21/39, same to same, 30th September, 1682

82) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.283-4

83) Reresby Corr., 21/1, Fairfax to Reresby, 14th October, 1682

84) *ibid.*, 22/29, same to same, 26th December, 1682

explaining the city's 'necessityes' and politely asking him to stand down.(85) Although Buckingham failed to reply the aldermen were not unduly worried, probably feeling confident that their exalted Whig allies and the promise of a new parliament would see them through, and it was not until March 1682 when the Assize judge appeared to pass sentence on the city's charter that they sent another letter to the Duke. Again Buckingham ignored their request and in November the aldermen wrote to him a third time;

wee humbly begg Leave to Lay before your Grace the extreeme ill posture of our affaires...[such] that malice and envy have conspired to misrepresent our Loyalty and affection to the Kinge and Court by which meanes wee are reduced to such extreemityes that without the help of a patron who shall have power aswell as inclination to defend us wee must run a great resq of havinge our priviledges and libertyes invaded if not totally lost...(86)

As well as the threat of a *quo warranto* the city was presented with a bill of almost £2,500 in 1682 for money it supposedly owed the Crown on its fee farm rent, which led to calls from the Common Council that the aldermen find a successor to Buckingham who could relieve the citizens of this charge.(87) Buckingham still made no reply and by March 1683 the aldermen could await His Grace's pleasure no longer and chose the Duke of Richmond, one of Charles' illegitimate sons, as the city's new Lord High Steward.(88) By so doing the aldermen hoped to curry favour with the Crown as well as win some influential friends at court, in particular

85) Y.C.A., E/85, ff.45-46, mayor and aldermen to the Duke of Buckingham, 23rd April, 1683; Reresby Corr., 21/27, Fairfax to Reresby, 10th March, 1682/3

86) E/85, ff.43-4, mayor and aldermen to Buckingham, 10th November, 1682

87) *ibid.*, ff.45-6; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.197

88) E/85, f.50, mayor and aldermen to the Duke of Richmond, 9th April, 1683; f.53, Richmond to the mayor and aldermen, 28th April, 1683; Reresby, Memoirs, pp.301-2; Reresby Corr., Fairfax to Reresby, 18th April, 1683

Richmond's mother, the Duchess of Portsmouth. The aldermen expected great things from their new patron, Fairfax noted ironically; 'This Guardian Angell with the assistance of the prayers and intercessions of his blessed Mother is to...defend us from all Quo Warrantos Fee Farmes etc...and represent us a Loyall lively and acceptable Citty to his Majestie'.(89)

During 1683 the magistrates continued their attempt to re-habilitate themselves in the eyes of the King. Apart from the Thompson brothers, all the aldermen showed themselves anxious to win Reresby's good opinion. Reresby and his family visited the city in May and received 'great civilities' from the aldermen and other citizens, 'Only my Lord Maior...I had noe commerce with', wrote Reresby later.(90) The corporation had recently received letters from the ^{Duke of} Richmond and the Duchess of Portsmouth pledging their support on the citizens' behalf and assuring them of the King's pleasure at the city's choice of High Steward. Edward Thompson was 'mightily transported' by these letters according to Fairfax and did not think it necessary to condescend to Reresby or the loyal party; 'The Duke of York's health hath not been Dranke att his Table since he was in the office. Though the Duke of Richmond...and his Mothers are the constant health'.(91) After judgement was given against London's charter in June however, and fears again mounted that York would soon be the government's next target, even Mayor Thompson began to adopt a conciliatory manner. He was careful in the wake of the Rye House Plot to give Reresby every assistance in having the houses of the city's leading

89) *ibid.*, 21/26, same to same, 2nd April, 1683

90) Reresby, Memoirs, p.303

91) Reresby Corr., 17/36, Fairfax to Reresby, June 1683

Dissenters and even those of Alderman Waller and Sir John Brooke searched for arms, and he also helped to organise a loyal address from the corporation abhorring the Plot.(92)

The aldermen's readiness to cooperate with Reresby emphasises the changes which had taken place in civic politics since the days of the Whig supremacy. The collapse of the Whig movement after 1681 and the dissipation of some of the political anxieties aroused by the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis caused the sharp polarity of Whig and Tory in York to break down during 1682 and 1683. As party strife began to subside the Whig moderates on the bench repudiated the Exclusionist cause and through their efforts to stave off *quo warranto* proceedings and to improve the city's relations with the King sought to re-establish themselves as non-partisan champions of the civic interest and loyal servants of the Crown. Inevitably, Tories like Fairfax regarded the aldermen's about-turn as mere hypocrisy born of political desperation and no doubt there was a strong element of self-interest behind the aldermen's actions. Nevertheless, over and above their desire to stay in office the aldermen appear to have been genuinely concerned to preserve the city's political independence which they had good reason to believe a *quo warranto* would seriously undermine. The presence of the former party Whigs Edward Thompson and Robert Waller (Sir Henry Thompson died in May 1683) in the moderate camp strengthened the Tories conviction that the city was still dominated by a Whig 'junto' intent on scoring party

92) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.305,307-8; Reresby Corr., 43/27, search warrant issued to the deputy lieutenants, 4th July, 1683; 25/25, search warrant, 1st August, 1683; P.R.O., SP 29/428/76; Y.C.A., E/85, f.54, the Duke of Richmond to Mayor Thompson, n.d., but July 1683; British Library, Burney Collection, London Gazette, 19th July - 23rd of July, 1683

political points.(93) But whilst both camps retained many of the leading participants of the Exclusion Crisis era, the rivalry between their members was often more personal than political by the mid-1680's and centred on the pursuit and control of civic office rather than constitutional or religious issues. Of course the motives of those involved were mixed, particularly in the case of Slingsby and his followers. They were convinced that York was a Whig stronghold where the laws against Dissent were flouted and thus disloyalty to the Crown encouraged, and they were therefore determined to win it for King and Church. Yet at certain critical moments in 1684/5 they put their desire to discomfit Reresby and his supporters before their wider political interests which were virtually identical with Reresby's own. More often than not however, political and personal antagonism are impossible to separate by late 1683 when it is clear that the party politicking of 1679-82 in York had largely given way to local faction-fighting which owed more to the influence of rivalries at court than ideological differences. The blurring of party lines in the city is implied in the decision of Sir Metcalfe Robinson and Edward Thompson to join interests in November 1683 in the event of a new parliament.(94)

To some extent the 'good understanding' between Reresby and the aldermen, like that between Sir Metcalfe Robinson and Alderman Thompson, was a marriage of convenience; Reresby needed a strong interest in civic

93) Reresby, Corr., 23/2, Fairfax to Reresby, 4th July, 1683; 25/24, Francis Sterling to Reresby, 1st March 1683/4 - the 'Holy Brotherhood' was another phrase employed by local Tories to describe the aldermen

94) *ibid.*, 24/26, Fairfax to Reresby, 17th November, 1683; for the influence of court rivalry and patronage on civic politics see M.K.Geiter, 'Sir John Reresby and the Glorious Revolution', Northern History, XXV (1989), pp.174-187

politics in order to buttress his position as governor and the aldermen required a court patron. In addition, both wished to avoid a *quo warranto* being brought against the city and both had the same enemies. At the same time however, some of the supposedly 'Whig' aldermen found Reresby's brand of non-partisan loyalty and firm but moderate Anglicanism quite to their liking. Francis Elcocke, who like several other aldermen became a client of Reresby's, expressed in his will of 1684 the wish that his family live 'in fear of God free from schisme and faction, in Loyalty and obedience to the King and Governors under him'.(95) These words might almost have been written by Reresby himself. Again it is worth stressing that none of the aldermen were Dissenters; Elcocke made bequests to several ministers specifically chosen for their 'orthodox' views. The aldermen's abhorrence of the Rye House Plot was undoubtedly genuine and probably accelerated their swing back towards church and monarchy.

The breach between Reresby and the Tories of the Slingsby party is apparent by late 1683. When questioned by the King in December whether he knew of sufficient cause for a *quo warranto* to be brought against the city's charter Reresby answered guardedly in the negative.(96) Soon afterwards he helped Edward Thompson clear himself at court of the charge of using seditious language. It was thought in York that the charges pertained to Thompson calling the deputy-lieutenants 'Whiffling officers' after they had allegedly intended to search his house for arms but in fact the articles exhibited against him were of even less

95) B.I.H.R., Vacancy Wills, proved November 1686; Reresby secured offices for some of the aldermen's relatives - Reresby Corr., 38/16, Edward Baldock, 20th July 1685; 42/37, same to same, 25th November, 1685; 44/44, same to same, 2nd January, 1685/6

96) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.320-1

substance.(97) As Reresby makes clear Thompson was the victim of a private vendetta;

I knew the Duke of Yorke, who thought him accessory to his once ill reception at Yorke, wished his punishment. However, I did the man right to justifie him in what I might...for I knew ther was some private animosity in the complaint against him, and I hoped it might be a means to make him a thorow convert to the Government if he was but mercifully handled in this matter.(98)

There was great hostility and numerous minor disputes between the Crown officers, particularly the deputy-lieutenants who adhered to the Slingsby party, and the aldermen during the winter of 1683/4 and Reresby's friendly overtures towards Mayor Thompson and his brethren were not appreciated by his fellow Tories; 'you may represent them fairly...as 'tis reported' wrote one of the militia officers 'but it is doubtful whether they will answer the good opinion you have of them...'.(99)

In February 1683/4, almost four years after the idea had first been broached in Council, a *quo warranto* was issued against York's charter. According to Reresby, the writ was issued after Slingsby and several other Yorkshire gentry had sent an agent to London 'with some matter wheron to ground a forfeiture of the charter...', in an attempt to show that their diligence for the King's service exceeded his.(100) Faced with

97) Reresby Corr., 24/13, Francis Sterling to Reresby, 24th November, 1683; 25/6, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 28th November, 1683; 25/3, Fairfax to Reresby, 1st December, 1683; P.R.O., 29/434/87,106; Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.202

98) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.318-21; the charges against Thompson were dropped because of insufficient evidence - P.R.O., PC/2/70, ff.253,279

99) Reresby Corr., 25/33, Richard West to Reresby, 17th December, 1683; 24/18, Edward Thompson to Reresby, 8th January, 1683/4; 25/27, William Ramsden to Reresby, 12th January, 1683/4; Y.C.A., E/85, ff.59-61, n.d., but late 1683 (the corporation complained that the city had been over-assessed for the upkeep of the militia 'out of malice', and that the militia, 'of late', had been 'put into the hands of such as are generally unfreemen and such who desire to preiudice the Citty rather than otherwise')

100) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.329-30

a fait accompli Reresby was forced to go along with the proceedings in order to prevent any suspicion at court that he was 'too much a friend' of the city. The Crown had obviously been considering the use of a *quo warranto* against the city for some years but prior to the outcome of the action against London's charter it was content merely to threaten its deployment. After judgement was entered against London the Crown may have delayed taking action against York in the hope that the city would surrender its charter voluntarily. If this was the case then clearly the Slingsby party grew tired of waiting and decided to force the government's hand.

The question of what response, if any, the city should make to the writ effectively split the corporation - the first indication of serious discord among the office-holders since the early 1660's. At a meeting held on the 19th of March, the mayor (Robert Waller), the ten aldermen present, the Twenty-Four and the sheriffs - the Upper House in other words - agreed 'that an appearance be given to the writt of Quo Warranto...and that the seale of commonalty be putt to such Attorneys as shall appeare on the corporations behalfe'. The Common Council desired further time to consider this proposal and the meeting was adjourned.(101) Two days later when the Council met again Aldermen Sir Henry Thompson and John Constable, together with Thomas Moseley and Roger Shackleton, members of the Twenty-Four, withdrew their support for the motion to contest the *quo warranto* and declared themselves 'very sorry for the same'.(102) Of the 43 common councillors present, 13 voted

101) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.205

102) *ibid.*, f.206

for making an appearance and 30 voted against, whereupon the meeting broke up. The House Books mention nothing about surrendering the charter, although Fairfax was adamant that those who were against making an appearance were for a surrender. He wrote to Reresby on March 22nd as follows;

Our Mayor and Cittizens here...are much devided and in greate heates They have scolded with one another and have outdone the Fishwomen of Billingsgate...All the Aldermen except Sir Henry Thomson and Alderman Constable are for defendinge to the utmost, But the Common Counsell...are all (except 8) for surrenderinge. Mr Joseph Scott the foreman of the Common Counsell (haveinge the Custody of the Common seal) refuses to lett it be sett to a Warrant of Attorney to impower one to appeare for the Corporacon so that of necessity Judgement must be entred by their Default(103)

He informed Reresby on March the 31st that the 'major part of the Cheife Cittizens are for laying their Charter att his Majesties feet' and that the mayor 'knowing himself and his brethren will certainly be out Voted...has taken a finall Resolution not to do it; declaring that it shall never be sayd (in future ages) that the Citty of Yorke had once a Lord Mayor who was one of the Traditores that delivered up their Rights to the betraying his Trust and the enslaveinge their posterity'.(104) The moderates on the bench wished to make an appearance to the writ not it seems for partisan political ends but in order to preserve the city's privileges and probably, in the case of certain individuals, their place on

103) Reresby, Corr., 25/16, Fairfax to Reresby, 22nd March, 1683/4; 26/24, John Thackeray to Reresby, 29th March, 1684

104) *ibid.*, 26/18, Fairfax to Reresby, 31st March, 1684; 26/22, William Ramsden to Reresby, 31st March, 1684 (it is hard to credit Alderman Ramsden's assertion that the commons wanted to petition for the renewal of the charter and then join with the Upper House in contesting the writ of *quo warranto*. Ramsden may have been trying to play down the level of support in the corporation for a surrender which was the course Reresby was known to favour)

the bench as well. Several of the aldermen may also have been genuinely concerned that to surrender the charter was tantamount to perjury on their part, having sworn on entering office to defend the city's ancient rights and constitution. Fairfax himself thought that the aldermen opposed a surrender because they were 'straite laced and of true protestant tender Consciencences'.(105)

The commons were undoubtedly just as concerned as the Upper House to preserve the city's existing rights but they reasoned that making the King a gift of the charter would increase the city's chances of successfully petitioning for its renewal. They were confirmed in this view by Archbishop Dolben who was instructed by the Crown in March to advise the office-holders that if they surrendered the charter and petitioned at the same time the King would 'regrant and confirm their privileges with such reservations as he shall think for his service'.(106) Dolben may have convinced the commons but not the aldermen. Locked in conflict with the Slingsby party, they probably felt, as Reresby did, that the attack on the charter 'was more for private revenge then publique reasons' and therefore that a surrender would avail neither the city nor themselves and that they had nothing to lose in attempting a defence.(107)

A third group in this 'greate Affaire' were the Tories, led by Thompson, Constable, Moseley, Shackleton, and Scott, who whilst being against making an appearance may not necessarily have favoured a surrender. Indeed, the Slingsby party wanted the charter to go by default,

105) *ibid.*, 24/30, Fairfax to Reresby, 5th March, 1683/4 ('Here is as greate an Appearance of Gentry att our Assizes as ever I saw and all well pleased att the Quo Warranto')

106) *C.S.P.D.*, 1683/4, p.338

107) Reresby, *Memoirs*, p.343

which in practical terms was the same as a surrender in that it placed the city's liberties in the King's hands, but unlike a surrender could be held up as proof of the 'factious' humour of the corporation, and in particular the bench.(108)

When the office-holders failed to reach an agreement within the time allowed by the writ, which expired on the 14th of April, and it seemed likely that the charter would fall to the Crown by default, Reresby, Slingsby and several other local Crown officers were asked to draw up a list of persons fit to hold office in the city, 'to which were added' says Reresby 'six gentlemen of the country for justices of the peace (though not freemen of the citty), to be joined with them for the administration of justice within the same'.(109) The intrusion of 'foreigners' onto the bench represented a radical departure from the city's constitution and whereas the Tories in the corporation were probably not averse to minor changes in the corporation's composition it is inconceivable that they would readily support measures which struck at the very root of municipal autonomy. Fairfax wrote later that year 'I doe not heare that any of our Citty intends to seek for a New Charter but to stick by their old one which (they now give out) they will never parte with'.(110) Although the corporate Tories and the Slingsby party occasionally joined forces in the factional struggle against Reresby and the moderates, the 'loyal' element in local politics was divided for much of the time by personal rivalry

108) Reresby Corr., 26/18, Fairfax to Reresby, 31st March, 1683/4 ('I cannott concurr in an Opinion that it will be better that the Charter fall into his Majesties hands by surrender then by Default')

109) Reresby, Memoirs, p.336

110) Reresby Corr., 30/26, Fairfax to Reresby, 27th August, 1684; P.R.O., SP 44/71/47

and the traditional clash of interests between the citizens and their country neighbours.

Just when victory seemed all but assured for Slingsby and his supporters the government in the form of Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys intervened to rescue the corporation. Preferring to gain the charter by surrender rather than default the Crown delayed seizure of the city's liberties until the matter could be looked into by Jeffreys at the July Assizes. To strengthen Jeffreys' hand the King gave him authority by commission to install Sir Stephen Thompson (a freeman though not an office-holder) as mayor plus eleven others to serve as magistrates, including the six members of the Slingsby party.(111) When Jeffreys arrived in York he was waited on by the aldermen and according to Reresby found the temper of the city 'not soe bad as it had been represented'.(112) The aldermen appear to have accepted the fact that a surrender was now their only option. The Slingsby party was poised to strike in the event of a default, and the discovery in June of an allegedly riotous conventicle in the city was another marker against the corporation which the Crown could call in should the aldermen prove obstinate. Jeffreys informed the aldermen that if they would surrender the charter and petition the King 'he doubted not of a gracious Answer'.(113) On July the 14th the corporation agreed unanimously that Jeffreys be asked to present a petition to the King 'for the renewing the

111) C.S.P.D., 1684, pp.33,96

112) Reresby, Memoirs, p.342 (Jeffreys' friends in London were surprised that he dined with the corporation, obviously believing it to be made up of intractable Whigs, Reresby Corr., 30/26, Fairfax to Reresby, 27th August, 1684)

113) see chapter 3; J.Miller, 'The Crown and the Borough Charters', p.73; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.215

charter'. The King was apparently 'well pleased' that the city had decided to surrender its charter and assured the office-holders that their new charter would be unchanged 'with that Proviso or reservation onely of [his] haveing the nomination and approbation of the Magistrates and persons in office'.(114) All this was anathema to the Slingsby party, the more so since several of those named in commission as aldermen had already purchased their gowns of office.

In September Jeffreys sent letters to the various corporations on the Northern Circuit which had agreed to surrender their charters at his behest, advising them to consider what additional privileges they wished to see inserted in their new charters.(115) The corporation promptly set up a committee for amending the city's charter which included Sir Henry Thompson, William Ramsden, Francis Elcocke, Edward Thompson, Roger Shackleton, Thomas Moseley and Joseph Scott.(116) The composition of the committee and the fact that the Council continued to function normally throughout the charter dispute further suggest that the quarrels occasioned by the *quo warranto* mainly involved disagreement over how the city's interests could best be served, rather than ideological issues. Once a surrender became inevitable, the disagreement was resolved. As the mayor informed Jeffreys 'all animosities are wholly laid aside amongst us from the highest to the lowest And next to divine providence wee can

114) *ibid.*, ff.208,215

115) Y.C.A., E/85, f.62, George Jeffreys to the mayor and aldermen, 16th September, 1684 - this was a stock letter, British Library, Add.MS 21,097, f.30; G.W.Keeton, Lord Chancellor Jeffreys and the Stuart Cause, (1965), pp.243-4

116) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.210

assigne noe other cause but your Lordshipps patronage'.(117) There were other causes however, one of which was the lack of political or religious extremism in the corporation; 'among the Aldermen and Sheriffs and Seventy two Common Councill...there is not one Factious or phanaticall person, but they are all hearty lovers of his Majestie and Royall Family and the Government now established in Church and state...'.(118) This was a pardonable exaggeration on the mayor's part for in spite of its factious reputation among local Tories the corporation was more loyal in its composition than many others; indeed, there may have been as few as five Dissenters holding office at that time.(119)

The charter and the petition for its renewal were not formally handed over to the Crown until November when a civic deputation which included the mayor was presented at court by Jeffreys. The general opinion among the interested parties in London was that few changes would be made to the old charter. As Reresby was informed by one of his London correspondents 'tis beleived theire charter will goe on speedily without

117) Y.C.A., E/85, f.65, Mayor Waller to Jeffreys, n.d. but September 1684 ('wee are heartily enemys to all rebellion, ffaction and scisme both in Church and State And shall ever pray...that the Royall Crowne may for ever be on the head of his Royall ffamily')

118) *ibid.*, f.66-7, same to same, n.d. but October 1684

119) out of the 110 or so office-holders there were only five who are mentioned anywhere as being, or having connections with, Dissenters - John Pemberton (sheriff - Fairfax thought him a Presbyterian, Reresby Corr., 28/30, F. to R., 27th September, 1684), Thomas Nesbitt (member of the Twenty-Four - left money to Ralph Ward in his will), Thomas Cooke (member of the Twenty-Four - presented in 1683 for not receiving the sacrament and reckoned by one of Reresby's officers 'a little disaffected', Reresby Corr., 25/6, Edward Baldock to R., 28th November, 1683), Robert Horsefield (member of the Twenty-Four - presented for non-communicating in 1678 and thought by the Church to be 'disaffected to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England', C.P.H. 3236), and Samuel Smith (common councillor - one of the first trustees of the St.Saviourgate chapel)

any alteration'.(120) Disagreement in the Privy Council during the drawing up of a 'list of officers' to be included in the new charter delayed its issue however, and the mayor and his party, who had remained in London in the expectation that the charter would be swiftly renewed, were forced to return to York in late December empty handed.(121)

The death of Charles and the business of handing over the reins of government to his brother appear to have delayed the issue of the charter still further for the list of office-holders was finalised by February the 16th at the latest. The only significant alteration that had been made in the corporation's membership was the replacement of John Turner esq., the city's Recorder, by the Earl of Burlington, Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding.(122) Otherwise the composition of the corporation, including the bench, remained entirely unchanged, thus bearing out Dr Miller's observation that in general only the most obdurate and fanatical Whigs were removed from municipal office.(123) The failure of Tories within the corporation to demand changes in its membership may also have been taken into account when the 'list of officers' was being drawn up. After Charles' death the city petitioned James regarding its charter who

120) Reresby Corr., 27/41, Fairfax to Reresby, 25th October, 1684; 28/17, same to same, 11th November, 1684; 29/7, Edward Morris to Reresby, 15th November, 1684; 28/16, John Peebles to Reresby, 18th November, 1684

121) *ibid.*, 27/29, Fairfax to Reresby, 25th November, 1684; 28/15, same to same, 2nd December, 1684; 27/25, Thomas Yarburgh to Reresby, 30th December, 1684; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.215

122) *ibid.*; C.S.P.D., 1685, pp.19-20; the city sent Charles two loyal addresses just prior to his death expressing hopes for his recovery (E/85, ff.67-8); the proclamation of James as King passed off without incident in the city - H.M.C., Marquis of Downshire MSS, vol.1, (1924), p.36; Reresby, Memoirs, p.350-3

123) Miller, 'The Crown and the Borough Charters', p.79

apparently 'was pleased at first to doe all things which the late Kinge had assented to doe'.(124)

James was publically proclaimed in York by the corporation and the Archbishop on the 10th of February 1685, 'and it is to be noted' wrote the diarist Thomas Hammond 'that it was with Tears in the Eyes of some of the Cheif Actors therein, because the said King James was a Roman Catholick'.(125) The aldermen had more reason than most to regret James' succession since he was known to harbour a grudge against some of them for the way they had treated him in 1679. The office-holders probably rose little in James' esteem by sending him a congratulatory address in which they made a special point of thanking him for his declaration in council to maintain the Church of England as by law established.(126)

The conflict between the aldermen and the Slingsby party came to a head in the general election which James called shortly after his accession. In December 1684 Alderman Ramsden, the leader of the moderate group in the corporation, approached Reresby on behalf of the 'most eminent citizens' and asked him to represent the city in any future parliament, an invitation which the new mayor, John Thompson, and the aldermen were pleased to confirm in February 1685.(127) Reresby was made a freeman on the 24th by order of the mayor and aldermen and invited to join interests with Sir Metcalfe Robinson who was their other choice for M.P. (Reresby having been selected in place of Edward Thompson).(128)

124) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.215

125) Y.C.A., 'Hammond's Diary'

126) Y.C.A., E/85, f.70, mayor and commonalty to king James, 17th February, 1684/5; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.217

127) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.347,354-55

128) *ibid.*; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.217

All seemed set for a quiet election when two other candidates appeared in the field, James Moyser, Reresby's father-in-law, and Colonel Tobias Jenkins of Grimston. Their candidacy, according to Reresby, was supported by 'a party ever ready to oppose the choice of the magistrates or anything they did...Thes were some of the most eminent of the Common Councill [by which he appears to have meant the Twenty-Four] of the citty'.(129) The Slingsby party also backed Moyser and Jenkins. The struggle which ensued was dominated by personal rivalry, the political differences between the two sides remained very much in the background and were in any case hardly sufficient to warrant a contest. Reresby and Robinson were more moderate in their Toryism than Moyser and Jenkins. Reresby, certainly, had a rather old-fashioned view of politics which made him disapprove of faction and division under any name. Nevertheless, even the king himself could not distinguish between the candidates on grounds of loyalty.(130) Similarly, although the opposition to the Reresby in the corporation included some of the stauncher Tories, one looks in vain for any sign of conflict on issues of political principle between the supporters of Moyser and Jenkins in the corporation and those of Reresby and Robinson. In Reresby's view the opposition to the magistrates was 'by a sort of people who only endeavoured to sett up thos persons for burgesses bycaus the magistrates had approved of others'.(131) It appears to have been personal animosity born partly of past political conflict and perhaps compounded by resentment over the aldermens' electoral

129) Reresby, Memoirs, p.355

130) Reresby Corr., 31/43, William Bridgeman to Reresby, 10th March, 1684/5

131) Reresby, Memoirs, p.357

prerogatives rather than any political differences per se which prompted support for Moyser and Jenkins. The office-holders were not divided along purely political lines. The Tories on the bench, John Constable and Sir Henry Thompson, appear to have backed Reresby in the election.

Reresby sought to dispose of his rivals by denying them their freedom and persuading the Earl of Burlington to put pressure on them to stand down in the interest of preventing 'disturbance and heats in the city'. Reresby also directed the aldermen to write to Burlington with the same request. Burlington, however, refused to intervene on Reresby's behalf.(132) Reresby suffered another setback early in March when as a result of 'letters from above' and pressure from the opposition in the corporation the mayor was forced to call a house and proceed to a vote on whether Moyser and Jenkins should be granted their freedom.(133) Reresby's opponents carried the day by one vote, which suggests they had more support in the corporation, at least outside the magistracy, than Reresby gave them credit; and also, thanks to Slingsby, the backing of the King.

The election was extremely hard fought with much canvassing (Reresby went from house to house with the aldermen), treating, and even bribery.(134) Reresby alone spent £350 on liquor and entertainments. At the polls on March the 17th Reresby polled 937 votes and Sir Metcalfe

132) *ibid.*, pp.355-7; Reresby Corr., 31/42, Burlington to Reresby, 17th February, 1684/5; 30/6, Reresby to Robert Waller, 26th February, 1684/5 (the draft of a letter which Reresby proposed the aldermen write to Burlington on his behalf); 21/24, Burlington to Reresby, 26th February, 1684/5; 31/40, same to same, 3rd March, 1684/5

133) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.218; Reresby, Memoirs, p.357-8

134) *ibid.*, p.358; Reresby Corr., 28/33, Phoebe Pilkington to Reresby, 29th February, 1684/5 (Phoebe Pilkington had been spending money among the freemen, 'rabble some of them', to build an interest for Reresby)

Robinson came second with 781 (Moyser received 770, Jenkins 502) and thus the aldermens' nominees were declared the winners.(135) Jenkins and Moyser, however, both petitioned against their rivals' return (unsuccessfully) and accusations of bribery passed back and forth between the supporters of the two camps.(136) Towards the end of April rumours began to circulate that the Slingsby party with the help of Lord Burlington, whose jealousy of Reresby as governor had been revived by the latter's election win, were in a fair way of having removed from the new charter the names of five of Reresby's leading supporters on the bench, Francis Elcocke, Phillip Herbert, William Ramsden, Edward Thompson, and Robert Waller.(137) Neither Reresby nor the aldermen would credit the rumours at first. Thompson informed Reresby that he could not imagine that they had been 'soe far mistaken in our polliticks' in choosing him as their M.P.(138) Though it was reported that the aldermen were being removed for their past disaffection to the government it was clearly their support for Reresby which was most resented, as Robert Waller told Reresby on the 25th of April:

But though the faults assigned be said to be petitioninge and non-addressinge etc (at which times I was not an Alderman) I am satisfied those are not the true causes, but our adhearinge to Your Honour in the late Election to the disappointinge of Mr Moyser; and its plaine my Lord Burlington soe resents it...and God be thanked they can say nothing against us, but that wee onely Petitioned for the Sittinge of A Parliament, and once nonaddressinge, And I wish it be well with the City in the change, and wee shall rejoyce at it, whoe are to be the first

135) Reresby, Memoirs, p.358

136) Journals of the House of Commons, IX, pp.716,723; Reresby Corr., 36/8, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 6th June, 1685; 39/32, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 19th October, 1685

137) Reresby, Memoirs, p.363; Reresby Corr., 36/31, George Butler to Reresby, 23rd May, 1685; 40/23, John Thompson to Reresby, 1st June 1685

138) *ibid.*, 35/9, Edward Thompson to Reresby, 22nd April, 1685

strucke at, but shall not be the last...and I againe repeat it, that what wee did on your behalfe is the onely cause of the change, for before that all was quiet, and the petitioninge and nonaddressinge blowne over(139)

All five men had been Whig supporters during the Exclusion Crisis but then so had most of the aldermen, and since 1681 they had done nothing which could be represented as 'factious' or prejudicial to the Crown's interest. The vindictive and irresponsible nature of the proposed purge alarmed even Archbishop Dolben who told Reresby that he had 'spoake to the King for the aldermen of Yorke to be continued in office; that the King seemd much possessed against them by Sir Thomas Slingsby and his friends; that...[he had] answered that he thought ther might be some sparring one against another by some gentlemen that were truly loyall in and about that citty...for whos sakes they [the aldermen] might be wors represented; but that his Majesty might find it for his service to make as little change ther as it was possible'.(140) Slingsby's interest at court however, was too strong for Reresby to protect his clients. In May Slingsby obtained the signatures of eighteen gentlemen of the county to an address relating the 'notorious crimes' of the five aldermen which appears to have sealed their fate. On the 29th of May the King in council ordered that the aldermen be excluded from the new charter.(141)

Determined to forestall any attempt by Reresby to save his supporters, Slingsby and Moyser sent the mayor a letter in June stating that by command of Lord Burlington they were to inform him that the new

139) *ibid.*, 35/2, Robert Waller to Reresby, 25th April, 1685

140) Reresby, *Memoirs*, pp.365-6

141) *ibid.*, pp.367-8

charter 'stuck only for one to sollicit'.(142) At short notice the mayor called a meeting of the Council, attended by most of the aldermens' opponents (Moseley, Shackleton, Scott etc) and only a few of their friends, at which it was ordered that a letter of thanks be returned to the two gentlemen and that deputy-recorder George Prickett and Joseph Scott go to London to sue for the charter.(143) Not content with removing Reresby's supporters from the corporation, Slingsby, being High Sheriff, had them imprisoned in Hull gaol during Monmouth's Rebellion on suspicion that they were disaffected to the government. The five aldermen were imprisoned as well as about 30 citizens, not one of whom, apparently, had supported Moyser in the election. They remained prisoners in Hull until the end of July. Early in August the new charter came down with the expected alterations, 'which the friends of my opponents did much rejoice at', noted Reresby.(144)

The new charter was ratified on the 29th of July 1685. As in the February draft of the 'list of officers', Burlington, replaced Turner as the city's Recorder. In place of the five aldermen (3 merchants, 1 mercer, 1 lawyer) were Thomas Moseley (apothecary) and Roger Shackleton (merchant), who were members of the Twenty-Four, and Thomas Raines (lawyer), and Henry Tireman and William Thomlinson (drapers) who were citizens but not freemen.(145) The revised list also featured changes in

142) Reresby Corr., 36/16, William Ramsden to Reresby, 18th June, 1685

143) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.218

144) Reresby Corr., 36/21, William Ramsden and Edward Thompson to Reresby, 30th June, 1685; 38/20, Frances Reresby to Reresby, 3rd July, 1685; 38/23, William Ramsden and Edward Thompson to Reresby, 15th July, 1685; 37/10, George Butler to Reresby, 20th July, 1685; British Library, Burney Collection, London Gazette, 13th August - 17th August, 1685; Reresby, Memoirs, p.389; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.215

145) Y.C.A., A/53, Civic Charters

the composition of the Common Council. Fourteen of the councillors included in the February list were replaced in the final draft by other freemen, and since there is nothing in the House Books to indicate that these fourteen died or resigned their places between February 16th and July 29th it would appear that the Common Council was also remodelled by the government.(146) Neither the purged councillors nor their replacements distinguished themselves as devotees of any particular interest during their time in office which again attests to the largely apolitical role of the corporation in civic life. The only major change in the structure of the city's constitution was a clause giving the Crown the power to remove any office-holder and to require the corporation to elect a replacement. This was the most common addition to town charters between 1682 and 1685.(147)

Considering the strength of the opposition, which included Slingsby, Burlington, and the King himself, the corporation got off rather lightly where its 'ancient rights' were concerned. Having said that, the purge of the aldermen was probably the most drastic in political terms of any in the seventeenth century. Three of the new aldermen were not even freemen, never mind office-holders, and hence their elevation to the bench violated the most basic laws of the *cursus honorum*. All five men were Tories (Raines and Moseley had strong Catholic connections) and the selection of men from outside the city's ruling establishment highlights the weakness

146) *ibid.*; H.B. 38, f.215 ('And because 5 of the Aldermen...had beene sollicitors for Sir John and Sir Metcalfe, Mr Moyser and Mr Jenkins tooke offence, and for revenge stirred up severall other Gentlemen to incense the Kinge against the said 5 Aldermen and severall other of the 24 and Commoners which caused the said Aldermen *and others* to be left out in the New Charter'[my italics])

147) Miller, 'The Crown and the Borough Charters', p.77

of Toryism within the corporation.(148) In what relation the five new aldermen stood to the Slingsby party remains unclear. Raines, Shackleton, and Moseley had business and family links with members of the county gentry community which along with their Tory views probably made them well known to Slingsby and his friends. Reresby named Raines and Shackleton among his principal opponents in the 1685 election contest which further suggests that they, and possibly their confederates, also owed their promotion to the support they had given Moyser and Jenkins.(149) Despite the manner of their promotion none of the new aldermen behaved like placemen of the Slingsby party and were just as determined as their predecessors to preserve the city's cherished political independence. The re-modelling was intended more it seems to spite Reresby than serve the interventionist interests of the Slingsby party.

The aldermen in 1685

Tories	ex-Whig sympathisers	unknown
Sir Henry Thompson	Thomas Carter#	Leonard Wilberfoss#
John Constable	Richard Shaw#	John Thompson#
Thomas Moseley*	John Wood#	
Roger Shackleton*	Richard Metcalfe#	
Thomas Raines*		
Henry Tireman*		
William Thomlinson*		

* = installed by the new charter/# = wished to make an appearance against the writ of quo warranto in March 1684

148) Y.C.A., H.B. 37, f.215; Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, pp.91,97-98
 149) Reresby, Memoirs, p.433,485

In acquiring a Tory majority the bench suffered a partial loss in social status. Thompson, Ramsden and Herbert ranked among the city's leading merchants and Waller was a man of sufficient standing to become M.P. for the city in the 1690's (as was Thompson). Although Shackleton and Moseley were suitable alderman material, Raines, Thomlinson and Tireman do not appear to have been quite as wealthy or as well-connected in civic society as the men they replaced. Reresby thought that his supporters on the bench were 'of greater substance and parts than those that succeeded them', and he was probably right.(150)

Politically, the city was fairly quiet for all but the last year of James' reign. The factional rivalry in the corporation of the mid-1680's was stilled by the arrival of the new charter, and the displacement of the erstwhile Whiggish element which represented the culmination of the Tory reaction in York. The Tories on the bench showed no inclination to push their victory to extremes or to collaborate with the Slingsby party to make the city more 'loyal' still. On this note it would be interesting to know what measures, if any, the bench took against the city's Dissenters. Unfortunately, none of the Quarter Sessions records survive for James' reign, although according to the (usually reliable) Quaker account of Sufferings the last meeting of Friends to be broken up in the city was in 1685, and even that appears to have been an isolated incident.(151) Unaccountably, the Slingsby party, which had been a force in civic politics since 1682, ceased to figure much in the city's affairs after James' accession. Possibly Slingsby and his friends regarded the

150) *ibid.*, p.515

151) Brotherton Library, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Record of the Sufferings of Friends, vol.2, part 2, f.101; P.R.O., Assi 45, 14/2, f.152

replacement of their personal and political adversaries on the bench with loyal men as accomplishment enough.(152) In addition, Reresby's tenacious hold on office and his success in retaining the King's good will may have discouraged his rivals, although without doubt the business with the new charter weakened his position in the city.

Most of the heat generated in civic politics between 1685 and 1688 came from the frequent confrontations between the military and the civil authorities in York. The funeral of the Countess of Strafford in the Minster early in 1686 became the occasion of a full-scale riot when the city's apprentices - inflamed by memories of 'Black Tom Tyrant' and arbitrary power - fell upon the military escort which accompanied the casket.(153) Reresby's company and several members of the congregation were very roughly handled by the 'mobbily' and one of Reresby's officers was moved afterwards to describe York as the 'strangest Rebellious place that ever I quartered in in my life'. He informed Reresby that an entire regiment would be needed to quell 'this wicked Rebellious Towne'.(154) The incident aroused considerable animosity towards Reresby among some of the magistrates, particularly Raines and the other newly installed aldermen; 'some of these new Aldermen did much raile against you and

152) after being elected M.P. for Scarborough in 1685 Slingsby became closely involved in the town's internal affairs which probably diverted his attention from York, see P.J.Nash, 'Doncaster, Ripon and Scarborough, circa 1640 to 1750', (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1983); Henning, The Commons, vol.3, pp.440-1

153) P.R.O., SP 44/56/321-2; Reresby, Memoirs, pp.409-11; Reresby Corr., 44/57, George Butler to Reresby, 22nd January, 1685/6; 42/54, same to same, 26th January, 1685/6; 44/26, Henry Watkinson to Reresby, 30th January, 1685/6; Raine, Depositions From York Castle, pp.278-81; Geiter, 'Sir John Reresby and the Glorious Revolution', p.185

154) Reresby Corr., 43/29, George Butler to Reresby, 15th January, 1685/6 (the rioters shouted at the soldiers 'we'l spoyle your Croune', which accounts for Butler's claim 'tis perfect Rebellion')

mightily incensed many people against you telling them that you had represented this Ryott very Ill to the King...', Reresby's serjeant warned him.(155) The mayor, Leonard Wilberfoss, attempted to promote a letter of thanks to Reresby in February for his moderation in the matter but Raines and the others protested that they would 'burne their gounds before they would admit of it'.(156) The dispute was full of ironies; Reresby's strongest supporter in town was the erstwhile Whig radical Edward Thompson who defended the governor vehemently whilst the Tories 'utterly denied' the authority of the King's officers in the city and complained of the 'subjects liberties being invaded...[and] the magistrates, affronted'.(157)

It will be clear by this point that the quarrel between the magistrates and the military in the wake of the riot was considerably exacerbated by the ill-will which the friends of Moyser and Slingsby on the bench continued to bear Reresby and vice versa. The element of personal antagonism in the dispute became even more pronounced when Lord Burlington took the part of Aldermen Raines and Shackleton after they were summoned before the Privy Council in February to explain the conduct of the citizens and their own alledged failure to punish the rioters. 'I heard afterwards' wrote Reresby 'that they came up intending to excuse the corporation by this argument...that I, being a friend to the old aldermen toured out, complained of the present magistrates to cast a

155) *ibid.*, 42/18, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 11th February, 1685/6; 44/49, George Butler to Reresby, 12th February, 1685/6; 42/55, same to same, 17th April, 1686

156) *ibid.*, 42/18, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 11th February, 1685/6

157) *ibid.*; 42/30, Henry Watkinson to Reresby, 22nd March, 1685/6

reflexion upon them, bycaus they had opposed me in my election'.(158) The settling of old scores now dominated civic politics it seems, issues of honour and reputation having largely replaced those of political principle. By 1686 there is little trace in the city of the political groupings out of which Reresby's and Moyser's factions had evolved. The Whig and Tory clubs in York appear to have disbanded and the city's gentlemen met and socialised with apparently little regard for past political differences.(159) After 1684 Reresby's correspondence and diary are largely devoid of references to political parties in the city, only his friends and detractors are mentioned. As the 1685 election became more a thing of the past the hostility between the Reresby and Moyser camps subsided. In 1687 Reresby was asked by citizens from 'all quarters of the town' to stand for parliament in the city in the event of a general election.(160)

The 1686 riot prompted the King to declare York a 'very bad town...that...laid under an ill repute', for which he blamed the magistracy.(161) More troops were stationed in the city following the riot and inevitably hostility between the soldiers and the citizens increased still further. Incidents of the soldiers robbing or killing the inhabitants became all too common.(162) In March 1688 there was another 'tumult' in

158) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.411-16

159) Reresby Corr., 42/18, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 11th February, 1685/6

160) Reresby, Memoirs, p.479

161) ibid., p.414

162) ibid., pp.432,438-9,443,447,468,470-1,481,485,487-93; Reresby Corr., 45/13, Thomas Woodhouse, sheriff's seargent, to Reresby, n.d., but 1686-7, (Woodhouse asked Reresby to punish some soldiers who had assaulted him and helped a prisoner escape); 50/83, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 5th March, 1687/8; H.M.C., Portland MSS, III (1894), p.411; Speck, Reluctant Revolutionaries, p.156

the city, this time caused by the soldiers who indiscriminately set upon the citizens after some apprentices broke the windows of a Catholic chapel in which several of the garrison officers happened to be worshipping at the time. The acting governor, Lieutenant-Colonel James Purcell, a Catholic who had served with the French Army in the 1670's, had fifteen citizens arrested and taken to the guard house where they were tied neck and heels and made to ride the wooden horse. Reresby and the magistrates were agreed on this occasion that the soldiers had overstepped the mark.(163)

The military and Catholic build up in York during James' reign caused much tension and unrest in the civic community, most noticeably among the lower orders. The King's policies were the root cause of the trouble. Not only was James responsible for the heightened Catholic and military presence in the city (although admittedly Reresby was forever asking the King for more troops to be quartered in York) but he also contributed to the undermining of Reresby's authority as governor. The replacement of Reresby's supporters on the bench with allies of the Slingsby party damaged his credit among the citizens and obviously made it harder for him to exert any influence over the civic authorities. Equally, the dismissal of his patron the Marquis of Halifax from the Privy Council in October 1685 left him vulnerable at court and this again weakened his position in relation to the magistracy. To make matters worse, his company of foot, a vital arm of his authority as governor, was repeatedly

163) Reresby, Memoirs, p.487-8; Reresby Corr., 53/6, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 29th February, 1687/8; 53/4, George Prickett to Reresby, 1st March 1687/8; Childs, The Army, James II, and the Glorious Revolution, p.101; C.S.P.D., 1687-9, p.162

ordered to other parts of the country after 1685, to be replaced by units over which he had no direct command.(164) In the end, ironically, it was Reresby's unwavering public loyalty to James that left him stranded on the political limb which Danby and the other 'revolutionaries' cut off in November 1688.

Reresby's adherence to James and the court interest, which he had strong misgivings about in private, left him politically isolated in the city by 1688, possibly earlier. The reaction on the bench to James' religious policy, the gist of which became abundantly clear after the April 1687 Declaration of Indulgence, was generally unfavourable. Reresby informed Lord Halifax in May or June 1687 that the magistrates 'chiefly governed by Alderman Rains...behave themselves with great loyalty, but are not willing (though pressed to it by some)...to make an address'.(165) The Dean and Chapter were equally intractable, but pressure from the government caused the Anglican shield-wall to break. In June 1687 a small group of more extreme Tories in the corporation, consisting of the mayor (Thomas Moseley), Alderman Constable, one other alderman (probably Sir Henry Thompson), Joseph Scott, and about ten of the commons sent an address to the King, without the consent of the other office-holders, thanking him for his promise in the Declaration to maintain and protect the Church of England and, as was later reported, for dispensing with the penal laws; which address was presented at court by the Catholic Judge

164) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.418,432,444,481,486; for the rise of the Catholic 'public chapels' in York, 1686-8, see Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, pp.103-6; York Minster Library, Torre MS, f.43; Reresby Corr., 50/6, Edward Baldock to Reresby, 18th April, 1687; 47/38, same to same, 10th June, 1687, 50/70, same to same, 19th December, 1687; 50/64, same to same, 1st February, 1687/8

165) *ibid.*, p.581

Sir Richard Allibone.(166) Allibone attempted to procure a similar address from the county gentlemen at the York Summer Assizes but without success. According to Reresby 'very few' of the Church of England acknowledged James' promise in the Declaration to protect the Church, 'they concieveing the very indulgence a contradiction to that security'.(167)

The corporation sent another address to the King in June 1688, this time with the 'full consent' of the house, after receiving the 'joyfull news of the Prince's birth'. A strong civic deputation, headed by Mayor Raines, was ordered to go down to London to make the presentation.(168) Aveling conjectures that this address was meant to dissuade the Crown from re-modelling the corporation, which is not implausible.(169) Since late 1687 corporations all over the country had been remodelled by the Crown's 'regulators' as a preliminary to obtaining a subservient Parliament, and hence the magistracy in York had good cause to feel vulnerable.

By the summer of 1688 there are definite indications that James' policies had alienated most of the magistrates. Their failure in July to suppress the popular rejoicing in the city following the acquittal of the seven bishops did not go unnoticed at Whitehall, indeed Reresby has it

166) Y.C.A., H.B. 39, f.73; British Library, Burney Collection, London Gazette, 16th of June - 20th of June, 1687 (the address thanks James for his promise to maintain the Church of England, there is no mention of the penal laws); Reresby Corr., 48/25, Nicholas Johnston to Reresby, 23rd June, 1687

167) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.461-2

168) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.252; British Library, Burney Collection, A Collection of several Addresses in the Late King James' Time, f.9

169) Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, p.105

that the King was greatly angered by the citizens' conduct.(170) Nor would he have been pleased with the answers given by most of the magistrates to the 'three questions', which they were tendered in July 1688. Although extremely evasive in their replies, most of the magistrates give the clear impression that they were not in favour of the repeal of the Test Act and penal laws. The city's deputy-Recorder, George Prickett, and nine of the aldermen, including Raines, Tireman, Shackleton and Thomlinson, submitted identical answers which avoided any reference to the Test Act or penal laws whatsoever. Only Thomas Moseley, John Constable and Sir Henry Thompson composed individual replies; Constable and Moseley along the lines that they were willing to see the Test Act etc removed, Sir Henry Thompson that he would support moves to take away the penal laws but not the Test Act. Besides recording the answers to the three questions, the King's agents made a list of thirteen members of the Twenty-Four and nineteen councillors 'that are not against the King's Interest'. There are some familiar names on the list, that of Joseph Scott for example, but what exactly it was a list of is impossible to say. None of those listed were Catholics or Dissenters and many would later join the 1695 Association 'to resist the Papist Conspiracy'. It is perhaps significant that the words 'not against' as opposed to 'for' were used to describe their commitment to James.(171)

The first steps towards a further purge of the corporation were taken in September after the mayor and aldermen defied the King's wishes in their choice of candidates for the proposed Parliament. The King's

170) Reresby, Memoirs, p.502

171) Duckett, 'King James the Second's Proposed Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Act in 1688', pp.450-4

agents reported in July that the city would choose Reresby (whom they described as 'undoubtedly right', although Reresby had avoided being tendered the three questions because he had strong reservations about the repeal of the penal laws etc) and Sir Metcalfe Robinson (who had declared that if elected he would consent to the repeal of the Test and penal laws), and that Alderman Moseley would act as their campaign manager.(172) Rather reluctantly it seems, Reresby wrote to Mayor Raines in September announcing his candidacy only to be told that the aldermen and most of the Twenty-Four and Common Council had chosen George Prickett and Alderman Sir Stephen Thompson to represent the city.(173) Reresby, who took any defiance of his will very personally, attributed this rebuff to the animosity of Raines but in fact the office-holders' decision was more a reflection of their opposition to the King's policies. This can also be inferred from the corporation's willingness on September 8th to grant the Dissenter Thomas Rokeby his freedom, gratis, 'upon his putting in to be a Citizen in Parliament for this City'.(174) Reresby acquainted the King with his difficulties who promptly ordered the 'lords for the purging of corporations' to re-modell the corporation in accordance with Reresby's wishes; 'I was very careful to act in this matter' he wrote 'considering if I putt out none, it would showe I had noe power...if too many, it might exasperate, and make the city jealous that I was too deep in the Court interest, which might prevent my successe'.(175) Public opinion mattered in a city where 'the Rabble...have the Majority of

172) *ibid.*, p.471

173) Reresby, Memoirs, p.507

174) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.253; H.M.C., Marquis of Downshire MSS, I (1924), p.298

175) Reresby, Memoirs, p.508

voyses and...must be carest and used and spoken kindly too'.(176) Reresby decided to have Raines removed and Stephen Thompson made mayor in his place (thus making it impossible for him to stand) and to re-instate his old allies William Ramsden and Edward Thompson. He also asked Robert Brent, one of the King's regulators, to make him and some other gentlemen J.P.'s for the city, a measure guaranteed to 'exasperate' the citizens.(177) A few days later the King received the aldermen's answers to the three questions which were deemed to be 'soe faulty' that Reresby found he could leave the task of re-modelling the corporation entirely to the government.(178)

On October the 5th the corporation received a letter from the King and Privy Council, dated the 12th of September (two days after the King received the aldermens' answers to the three questions), ordering it to remove Thomas Raines, Sir Stephen Thompson, John Wood, John Thompson, Thomas Moseley and Henry Tireman - along with several members of the Twenty-Four and ten councillors - and in their place elect Charles Fairfax esq., mayor, and four other recusant country gentlemen plus an advocate in the ecclesiastical courts, aldermen.(179) The turning out of Raines and Sir Stephen Thompson was understandable, the removal of the others less so. Perhaps these were also Reresby's 'greatest opposers'. The purge was presumably meant as a warning to the other office-holders for by no means all of those who had opposed the King's policies were

176) British Library, Egerton MS 3336, f.162, Richard Sheldon to Charles Osborne, 17th February, 1689/90

177) Reresby, Memoirs, pp.508-9

178) *ibid.*, p.510

179) York Minster Library, Torre MS, f.43; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, f.255; Y.C.A., 'Hammond's Diary'

removed. In fact Moseley was probably James' most ardent supporter on the bench - the only likely explanation for his removal is that he had reneged on his promise to make an interest for Reresby and Robinson. Shackleton and Thomlinson remained on the bench thus contradicting Aveling's suggestion that the King concentrated his bile on the Tories he had installed in 1685.(180) The aldermen left in office began what Aveling calls a 'sit-down strike', protesting with all humility that 'none of them that are...named for Lord Major, aldermen, and four-and-twenty, are free citizens of this citty; nor can wee (our Major being now turned out) make them free, for no man was ever made free of this citty but by the Major in the presence of one of the chamberlains'. This letter was signed by all the aldermen left in office except the Tories John Constable and Sir Henry Thompson. The corporation, like that of Liverpool, acknowledged the King's power to remove any office-holder but repudiated this power in action.(181)

Within days of the order arriving, Reresby and George Prickett wrote separately to the King, via the Earl of Sunderland and the Duke of Newcastle, advising him 'that to restoor the ould charter and the old aldermen would be the best expedient to settle the present difference'.(182) Newcastle thought that this was to 'make bargaines with his Majeste', but the prospect of an imminent Dutch invasion had convinced James that bargains of this kind were necessary if he was to win back political support.(183) To this end he abandoned his municipal policy and

180) Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, p.94

181) *ibid.*, p.105; P.R.O., SP 31/4/95

182) Reresby, Memoirs, p.515; P.R.O., SP 31/4/122

183) P.R.O., SP 31/4/114; Speck, Reluctant Revolutionaries, pp.135-6; Evans, Norwich, p.315

set about restoring the town charters forfeited and surrendered earlier in the decade. The King's proclamation to restore the 'Ancient Charters, Rights and franchises' of York, dated October the 17th, was read in the Guildhall on November the 9th and should have resulted in the removal of all the office-holders who had been installed or elected under the new charter.(184) In practice however, the corporation filled many of the vacancies left by those who had died since 1685 with men who were in office when the King's proclamation arrived. Even some of the councillors who had been installed by the new charter were re-elected.(185) The same consideration, however, was not extended to the five aldermen installed in 1685, or to Sir Stephen Thompson who had been elected the following year. This was rather hard on Raines and Thompson who had spearheaded the corporation's resistance to the King's demands.

After the elections to replace those aldermen who had died since 1685 the composition of the bench was as follows;

The aldermen at the end of 1688

aldermen displaced in 1685	newly elected/re- elected aldermen	aldermen confirmed in office
Robert Waller*	George Stockton(1)	Sir Henry Thompson#
Edward Thompson*	John Foster*(2)	John Constable#
William Ramsden*	Samuel Dawson*(3)	Leonard Wilberfoss
Phillip Herbert*	Joshua Earnshaw*(4)	John Wood*
		John Thompson*

(1) replaced Thos. Carter, decd (2) replaced Fr. Elcocke, decd (3) elected in 1687 to replace Richard Metcalfe, decd (4) elected in 1687 to replace Richard Shaw, decd

* Whigs/aldermen who had wished to contest the *quo warranto* in 1684

Tories

184) York Minster Library, Torre MS, f.43; Y.C.A., H.B. 38, ff.255-6
185) *ibid.*, f.258

The 'Glorious Revolution' in York, which had as its centre-piece Danby's military take-over of the city on November the 22nd, was similar in many respects to the January rising of 1660. Both were gentry conspiracies, led by great noblemen, which aimed at seizing the city in the name of all that was most hallowed in English life - Protestantism, the rule of law and the parliamentary process. Both even employed the same slogans, 'the Protestant Religion' and 'a free parliament'. Both also had their inevitable victims, not the city's Quakers this time, but the Catholics whose chapels were ransacked by the mob and whose leaders were arrested and imprisoned.(186) Lastly, neither the 1659/60 nor the 1688 conspirators apparently saw fit to involve the mayor and aldermen in their designs. The city's leaders played little or no part in the 1688 uprising and on the whole it is an episode which belongs more to national history than that of the city, and has been fully recounted elsewhere.(187)

Although the civic authorities were not involved in Danby's November coup they were apparently quite happy to accept its consequences. The restoration of the 1665 charter returned the Whig moderates to power and

186) Y.C.A., 'Hammond's Diary' (Danby and his men 'Rode about the streets with their Armour on, and Swords Drawn with Loud Acclamations Crying: Down with Popery,, And ffor the Protestant Religion and a ffree Parliament'); Bodleian Library, Additional MS, A 56, (the diary of a York Huguenot), f.4, 29th November 1688, 'le mobile detruit la Chappelle du Mynt yeard'; Reresby, Memoirs, pp.528-531; H.M.C., Seventh Report, (1879), p.415

187) A.M.Evans, 'Yorkshire and the Revolution of 1688', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XXIX (1929), pp.258-85; W.A.Speck, 'The Revolution of 1688 In the North of England', Northern History, XXV (1989), pp.188-204; Geiter, 'Sir John Reresby and the Glorious Revolution'; for a moral and intellectual justification of the coup see The Thoughts of a Private Person About the Justice of the Gentlemens Undertaking at York Nov.1688, (1689)

they committed the city at a very early stage to the cause of a free parliament and all which that entailed. Just two days after Danby's coup on the 24th of November, when James was still with his troops at Salisbury and victory for William far from certain, the corporation joined with Danby and many other gentlemen in a declaration 'setting forth the cause of their rising'. That the signatories to the declaration included six lords, three lords's sons, five baronets, six knights, and sixty-six gentry would have weighed heavily with the office-holders, perhaps more so than any political considerations.(188) Nevertheless, in an address to William on the 14th of December the office-holders made great play of their promptness in rallying to his cause:

We the Lord Mayor and Comonalty of the City of York being deeply sensible of god Almightyes great blessing upon this nation in inclining your princely heart to hazard your life and Fortune for the restoreing the Protestant Religion Lawes and Libertyes of this kingedome out of the hands of those who have sacrificed them all to their boundless malice doe render our due and humble thankes to your Highness for so transcendent a benefit to this nation...And as we have been the earliest of those (who were not under the imediate protection of your highnesses Armes) that have shewed ourselves and joyned with the Earl of Danby and others of your highnesses Friends in soe glorious A designe soe we as early (as our distance...can admitt) do most humbly and heartily congratulate your happy successe, and promise still to stand by your highnesse in defence of the protestant Religion and the Laws of the Kingdom to the utmost perill of our lives and fortunes...(189)

It is clear from the tone of this address, as indeed from the composition of the bench, that the Whigs once again dominated civic politics. More than that perhaps, that Whiggery itself, as a political interest which certain office-holders could legitimately identify with,

188) Reresby, Memoirs, p.532

189) British Library, Egerton MS 3336, f.61, mayor and commonalty to William of Orange, 14th December, 1688

had been revived in York as a result of James' Catholicising and arbitrary policies. The address recaptures the mood of the Whigs in York at the time of the Exclusion Crisis. Despite this resurgence of the Whig interest there is no evidence of any party political tension in the city in the aftermath of the Revolution. Both Tories and Whigs appear to have welcomed the Revolution, although dissent was bound to be muted with Danby and his supporters in the city. Undoubtedly Danby's influence was important in keeping the political peace in York in the wake of the November coup. All parties looked to him for their lead. He, his son and the gentlemen of his party were much fêted by the corporation. The office-holders unanimously elected Danby the city's Lord High Steward on the 4th of December and under his auspices the city returned a Whig (Alderman Edward Thompson) and a Tory (Danby's son Viscount Dunblane) to the Convention Parliament in December and again in January 1689, on both occasions without a contest.(190)

190) Y.C.A., H.B. 38, ff.259-60; Reresby, Memoirs, p.540; Henning, The Commons, vol.1, p.491; Speck, Reluctant Revolutionaries, pp.93-4; H.M.C., Various MSS, (1895), p.450

EPILOGUE: CIVIC POLITICS IN THE FIRST AGE OF PARTY

The most enduring political consequence of the Glorious Revolution in York was the Whig supremacy in the corporation, and particularly in the Upper House, which lasted throughout the first age of party and beyond. The power of the Whigs in civic politics appears to have been at its height between 1690 and 1695. The city's M.P.s in this period were both Whigs, Henry Thompson, the nephew of Edward Thompson, and Robert Waller who was a strong government supporter and active on several parliamentary committees.(1) The Whiggery of the bench during the early 1690's acquired distinctly 'magisterial' overtones, most noticeably perhaps in the aldermen's reaction to opposition from the Common Council where municipal Toryism established its strongest outpost after the Revolution. Much to the Whigs' annoyance, the commons repeatedly presented Raines, Moseley, and Shackleton to the bench as 'elites' for alderman which eventually forced the magistracy to take back Moseley and Shackleton.(2) The man who appears to have led this campaign was Joseph Scott, the foreman of the Common Council and a pronounced Tory. In 1694 the aldermen attempted to replace him as foreman with a man of their own choosing and in the process turn the foremanship into a one year post with the right of nomination resting with the magistracy. The bench objected to Scott on largely political grounds, that is, that he had betrayed his trust in allowing the Common Seal to be affixed to the 1687 address to James, '...and further that he had kept Caballs and sumoned

1) H.Horwitz (ed.), The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell, 1691-1693, (Oxford, 1972), p.508

2) Y.C.A., H.B. 39, ff.83,92,97,108,113

several of the Commons of every Ward together in their severall Wards on purpose to disturbe the peaceable Government of this City'.(3) The commons defied the bench's ruling however, and Scott remained in office.

The commons' opposition was probably the result of a combination of interests, socio-economic as well as political. William's continental ventures, which the city's Whig merchant aldermen and the M.P.s apparently supported, exacted a heavy price from York's poorer tradesmen. Trade was 'soe much decayed' as a result of the war that Joseph Scott, for one, was unable to pay his rent and was allowed an abatement 'soe long as the Prohibition shall continue'.(4) War-necessitated taxation also made life hard for many of the city's middle and lower order tradesmen, especially during the 'seven ill years' of 1693 to 1700, and the commons may well have felt inclined to vent their economic frustrations and political disillusionment at the Revolution's denouement on the city's Whig merchant princes. The magistrates, however, were not insensitive to the plight of the city's poorer freemen and made repeated attempts to have a Court of Conscience established in York to assist the 'poor tradesmen' who were said to 'much abound' in the city.(5)

Despite political tensions among the office-holders there is no evidence of serious social or party-political conflict in the civic community after the Revolution. Municipal government remained entirely undisturbed by party politics and tension between the town and the corporation and the corporation and central government was minimal. Jacobitism and Dissent, the spurs of much popular political activity and

3) *ibid.*, ff.73,92

4) *ibid.*, f.25

5) *ibid.*, f.157

party rivalry, were thinly represented in the city and hardly at all in civic politics.(6) The city's Whigs and Tories were men of moderation it seems and found much they could agree upon, particularly at local level.

Between 1690 and 1715 the city returned a mixture of Whigs (Edward Thompson, Robert Waller, Robert Fairfax), Whig-inclined moderates (Sir William Robinson, Henry Thompson), Whig/Tory opportunists (Tobias Jenkins), and 'very watery' Tories (Robert Benson).(7) Although a comparatively high proportion of general elections in York were contested it would be difficult to describe any of them as highly charged party political events. None of the city's M.P.s in this period, with the exception of Robert Waller, appear to have been strong party men. Most were returned on their own interest as men of good local standing and mainly it seems for the honour and advantage of representing the city in parliament rather than serving the interests of a particular party.(8) Nominal Whig

6) at least one of three citizens whom Aveling thought were Jacobites on the strength of their refusal to take the statutory oaths of office was in fact a Dissenter, namely Joshua Drake; one of other men, Richard Towne, later took the oaths and went on to become an alderman. Pethuel Fish, whom Aveling does not mention, who refused take the oaths of office in 1692 was of strong Presbyterian sympathies and would not renounce the Covenant. The only man whose refusal to take the oaths after 1688 can plausibly be attributed to Jacobitism was ex-alderman Henry Tireman, one of the aldermen installed in 1685, who was fined £500 in 1693 for refusing to swear after being re-elected to the bench, possibly in the knowledge that he could not subscribe to the oaths. The city had only one non-juring parish minister - Aveling, Catholic Recusancy, p.109-110

7) J.F.Quinn, 'The Parliamentary Constituencies of Yorkshire From the Accession of Queen Anne to the Fall of Walpole', (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1979), pp.236-9; R.Sedgwick, The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715-1754, 2 vols. (1970), vol.2, pp.176,389

8) V.C.H.: York, pp.194,240-1; Sir William Robinson once declared it his intention 'to avoid all Occasions of being too violent in any Party but to act as becomes a prudent and discreet Person; pursuing those Methods which my Reason and judgement tell mee are most conducing to the preservation of our Establishment in Church and State' - L.R.O., Newby Hall MS 2913

and Tory candidates thus formed electoral alliances when it suited them and in some years, 1690 and 1713 for example, Whigs or Whig sympathisers battled against each other with apparent disregard for the niceties of party strategy. (9) On several occasions during the 'rage of party' candidates were returned for the city 'without any opposing'.(10)

Another sign of the lack of any deeply-embedded partisan feeling in the city, of any dominating ideological tendency in civic politics, is the volatile nature of the electorate. York was a "swing constituency" during the reign of Anne, as indeed it had been since the Restoration, which a party or political interest might expect to win or hold if the tide of public opinion was running in its favour at the time the citizens went to the polls.(11) The large size of the electorate probably served to accentuate its lack of political consistency.

As in the early 1680's partisan feeling in the city was often stirred up by the fighting of county political battles on civic soil. During the poll to decide the knights of the shire in 1710 the 'mob' browbeat the Whig candidate with cries of 'Rump, Whigg, Atheist, Presbyterian, Hangdogg, Hair Scutt' and paraded around the city with a picture of Dr.Sacheverell on a pole (the Whig 'turned his backside on't') crying 'Sacheverell, Sacheverall'.(12) The Tories clearly had a strong popular following among the inhabitants, although the mob's antics were not approved of by the 'Modest Partys' in the city's Tory camp. Significantly, the city's

9) C.S.P.D., 1700-2, p.554; Commons Journals, X, pp.417-8; Quinn, 'The Parliamentary Constituencies of Yorkshire', pp.237-9; V.C.H.: York, pp.240-1

10) Y.C.A., 'Hammond's Diary'

11) Quinn, 'The Parliamentary Constituencies of Yorkshire', p.235

12) Y.C.A., 'Hammond's Diary'

representatives, a 'nominal' Tory and Whig were returned a few days later without a contest.(13)

Perhaps the one remarkable feature of political life in York during the second half of the seventeenth century was that it exhibited a degree of moderation not seen in most other provincial capitals, certainly not of its size and importance. There were many reasons for this but undoubtedly the most important was the low level of religious extremism in civic society. The weakness of High Church Anglicanism and Dissent in the community was reflected in the virtual absence of Tory and Whig fanaticism in civic politics. According to Evans the roots of the political turmoil in Norwich during the later Stuart period lay in the religious differences between Anglican and Dissenter.(14) In York on the other hand, where there was no such religious divide to speak of, it was the 'Modest Partys' in civic politics which made all the running.

The legacy of the Civil War in York was not the bitter one it was in some towns. In Norwich the political community emerged from the war years permanently and irreconcilably divided along ideological lines. The war did force into existence in York a crude polarisation between the 'malignant' and the 'well-affected' but this had little effect on the conduct of civic politics. There is no evidence of 'war' or 'peace' parties in the city and no major divisions over religion. The supposedly 'factious'

13) *ibid.*; when a group of about 100 inhabitants threatened to ransack the St.Saviourgate chapel in 1715 (crying 'High Church' and carrying an effigy of Sachaverell and one of Dr.Coulton with the words 'Presbyterian Covenanter' on its hat), it was the gentlemen of the city, Tories some of them, and the militia officers who headed the crowd off and dispersed it - L.R.O., Vyner MS 6006, f.13193, Mary Robinson to Metcalfe Robinson, 9th June 1715; f.13229, same to Thomas Robinson, 9th June 1715

14) Evans, Norwich, p.320

element in the corporation (moderate Presbyterians) was removed at the Restoration and replaced by men who were deemed 'faithfull to his Majesty' although they were not Royalists - that is if the test of a Royalist was a desire to prosecute the laws against Dissent. After 1662 issues which were ultimately political or ideological remained implicit in civic government - the necessity for office-holders to be of suitable social status and loyal churchgoers - but very few members of the corporation can be linked with any particular 'interest' other than the civic one. The political philosophy of the aldermen for example, in so far as they had one, successfully embraced both the idea of 'loyalty and obedience to his Majesty' as well as a strong respect for 'the Law of God, Nature, and Liberty of an Englishmen'. It was as opponents of popery and men of moderate 'country' views rather than as constitutional ideologues or crypto-Dissenters that most of the aldermen and office-holders aligned themselves with the handful of 'party' Whigs in the city during the Exclusion crisis. The number of citizens actively involved in party politics on either side was apparently very small and a great deal of the political play was made by Whig and Tory county gentry. Party conflict was mostly confined to the Assizes and parliamentary elections; there is little evidence that civic elections became party political events. The rift which the Popish Plot and Exclusion crisis created in the civic elite was largely sustained by personal antagonisms, the influence of county politics, and, most importantly, rival patronage networks emanating from Court. The low level of Crown intervention in York compared with many Restoration boroughs, and in particular the government's initial decision to confirm all the office-holders in their places in the 1685 charter, suggests that in spite of all the surface sound and fury civic government

itself was in the hands of moderate men. The spectrum of political and religious opinion in the political community in Restoration York was clearly much narrower than in Norwich or Bristol. The Tories who assumed control of the bench in York after 1685 were no more thorough in persecuting Dissenters or any less determined to resist outside intervention in civic affairs than their 'Whig' predecessors. The community of interest among the best citizens, at least where the good of the city and their own social group were concerned, remained more or less intact despite the advent of the 'divided society'.

Civic politics during the seventeenth century did not become a distinct and separate field of action in which rival parties single-mindedly struggled for control of government and public policy. The transition from 'status oriented' to 'interest oriented' politics which De Krey has observed in Augustan London was proceeding at a slower pace in York.(15) Political activity and the pursuit of power or office remained to some extent entangled in what D.H.Sacks has termed 'the web of undifferentiated social relations' exemplified by family connections, patronage networks and socio-economic groupings.(16) The electoral interest of the Robinson's for example, York's premier political dynasty in the early eighteenth century, was not party political in nature but was based primarily on their long-established ties with civic society, social as well as political, and the support they received from the leading citizens as men of wealth and honour

15) De Krey, A Fractured Society, p.4

16) Sacks, 'Bristol's "Little Businesses"', p.72

CONCLUSION

The political experience of seventeenth century English towns, and in particular the impact of national events and issues on urban communities, is difficult to describe in general terms. It was only the alleged commitment of towns to the parliamentary cause in Charles I's reign which led historians to see a general pattern in the political responses of urban centres during the seventeenth century - and even this assumption has recently been tested to breaking point.⁽¹⁾ The sheer diversity of towns in this period makes the construction of a single working model of urban political behaviour an almost impossible task. Variations in size, in social and economic structure, in the form of municipal government, and even in parochial layout, all affected the nature and sophistication of urban politics. The political development of each town was invariably unique, a peculiar history arising from ancient traditions and local circumstances. The citizens of York were certainly inclined to regard their city's history, political or otherwise, in the most distinctive terms and not without reason. From a modern view-point however, the peculiarity of political life in York during the seventeenth century lies not so much in what did, as what did not happen. York was apparently spared the faction-fighting and the popular opposition to oligarchic rule which figured so prominently on the urban political scene during the early Stuart era. Similarly, there is little evidence in York of the internal

1) R.Howell, 'The Structure of Urban Politics in The English Civil War', Albion, XI (1979), pp.111-127; Howell, 'Neutralism, Conservatism and Political Alignment in the English Revolution: The Case of the Towns, 1642-9'

political feuding and party rivalry which disrupted and divided many towns after 1660.

That York should prove untypical of the normal run of seventeenth century towns is not surprising for it was in itself an unusual city, in size if nothing else. York only invites true comparison with urban centres of roughly similar size, status and institutional complexity, which effectively narrows the field to Bristol, Exeter, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Norwich.(2)

In respect of recent urban case studies, or 'urban biographies' as they have been called, undoubtedly the best served of the large provincial capitals is Norwich. From J.T.Evans' detailed analysis of the city in the seventeenth century it is clear that Norwich was in an almost constant state of political turmoil between 1620 and 1690.(3) The city's unusually large municipal electorate (the entire freeman body no less) as well as its proximity to London were partly to blame, but the problem was fundamentally one of conflicting religious ideologies. Puritanism had become deeply entrenched in the city's religious and political life by the 1620's and Laudian attempts to eradicate it led to the formation of rival Puritan and episcopal factions which the Civil War transformed into political parties. By the mid-seventeenth century party conflict in the city had grown so intense that the leading citizens were prepared to sacrifice civic liberties in order to advance their own ideological interests, something virtually unheard of outside London. In fact as Evans

2) P.Clark, P.Slack, Crisis and Order in English Towns, pp.5-7; A.McInnes, The English Town, 1660-1760, Historical Association, (1980), p.6

3) Evans, Norwich

has observed, Norwich, politically speaking, bore closer resemblance to London than to the other provincial capitals.

Bristol was a more stable political society than Norwich during the early Stuart period. The city's restricted parliamentary franchise and the domination of civic government by the leading merchants were a sore point with many of the freemen, but the political community was not divided on religious issues as was beginning to be the case in Norwich.(4) At the start of the Civil War the city's governors were united in their efforts to steer a neutral course; the vast majority of Bristolians reacting to the breakdown in relations between the King and Parliament with impartial dismay.(5) However, despite attempts by the civic authorities to prevent divisions, there are signs that small groups of Royalist and Parliamentarian supporters had begun to emerge in the city by 1642, a development closely linked to the rapid spread of Puritanism among its inhabitants in the early 1640's.(6) Bristol's first separatist congregation was established in 1640 and within little more than a decade the city had become a great centre for Puritan belief of almost every kind.(7) During the Interregnum the Puritans dominated civic government.

4) Sacks, Trade, Society and Politics in Bristol, pp.708-19

5) P.McGrath, Bristol and The Civil War, Historical Association, Bristol Branch, (Bristol, 1981), pp.4-6,11; Howell, 'Neutralism, Conservatism and Political Alignment', p.72;

6) McGrath, op cit., p.12-17; Latimer, The Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century, pp.155,163

6) *ibid.*, pp.150-1; Hayden, The Records of A Church of Christ in Bristol, pp.13-4,70,90,97-8

7) *ibid.*, pp.70-8; R.Mortimer, Early Bristol Quakerism, Historical Association, Bristol Branch, (Bristol, 1967), pp.1-7; B.Little, The City of Bristol, pp.134-5

With such a large and politically active Puritan community there was to be no return to the old political order at the Restoration. Between 1660 and 1662 Bristol was the scene of incessant disputes between partisans of all kinds, from ultra-Royalists to the more or less openly seditious.(8) Despite their exclusion from civic government after 1662 the Dissenters had powerful friends among the magistracy who sought to protect them from persecution by the city's fiercely Anglican loyal party. Disagreement among the magistrates over the question of the persecution of Dissent was a major cause of party political conflict during the Exclusion Crisis.(9) Although the battle between Whig and Tory was largely fought out within the Anglican establishment, the Dissenting interest was active on the city's political fringes and Bristol came to be regarded as the most disaffected town in England.(10) When the ultra-Tories took control in 1684 they did not scruple to sacrifice the city's chartered rights to Whitehall in order to safe-guard their religious and political interests.(11)

The political situation in Newcastle during the early Stuart period was similar in some respects to that in Bristol. Town government in Newcastle was dominated by a powerful clique of merchants which relied on royal support to help preserve its oligarchic supremacy and quell those outside the 'inner ring' who were agitating for reform on behalf of the freemen.(12) According to Roger Howell the Civil War conflict in

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- 8) Sacret, 'The Restoration Government and Municipal Corporations', p.241-2
9) Latham, Bristol Charters, pp.43-4
10) *ibid.*, pp.45; Latimer, The Annals of Bristol, pp.417-9; Little, The City of Bristol, pp.141; Speck, Reluctant Revolutionaries, p.155
11) Latham, Bristol Charters, p.51
12) Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, pp.47-61

Newcastle was merely a continuation of this local power-struggle under the banner of national party labels. By his own admission however, there was 'another sort of opposition in the town, a religious one'. During the early decades of the seventeenth century a small but well-organised Puritan group emerged in the city and by the 1630's was meeting on a quasi-separatist basis in the house of a wealthy merchant, Henry Dawson, and beginning to attract the unwelcome attention of central government and the Laudians. Once war broke out this Puritan group coalesced with the opposition to the 'inner ring' on the side of Parliament, thereby turning what had been a dispute over local political matters into a struggle involving ideological issues with a national dimension. Following the King's defeat it was Henry Dawson and his circle which assumed power.(13)

More than anything else, the outcome of the Civil War represented a triumph for the Puritan movement in Newcastle. While the structure of civic politics changed very little during the Interregnum, the city's religious life underwent a major transformation. By engaging dedicated preaching ministers for the city's four parish livings and encouraging the formation of a civic classis the corporation helped to turn Newcastle into something resembling the 'all-city consistory' which N.Z.Davies has observed in later sixteenth century Lyon.(14).

At the Restoration, the Dawson circle was toppled from power and the old oligarchy re-established itself. Although godly religion continued to

13) *ibid.*, pp.89,122-4,128,144-5,148-50, 163-4, 174-7,214-5,336-45; R.Howell, 'Newcastle's Regicide: The Parliamentary career of John Blakiston', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fourth Series, XLII (1964), pp.207-30

14) N.Z.Davis, 'The sacred and the body social in sixteenth-century Lyon', *P & P*, XC (1981), pp.65-6

be of importance in the city's religious life, the Newcastle Puritans as a group appear to have remained very much in the political background during the Restoration period and consequently the national political upheavals of the 1670's and 1680's left very little mark on the borough.¹⁵⁾

Exeter remained largely free of internal political discord during the early Stuart period.⁽¹⁶⁾ The freemen of Exeter acquiesced in the rule of the city's merchant oligarchy on political terms which their counterparts in Newcastle and Bristol found unacceptable. In addition, the city was also somewhat backward in religion, part of the reason being that Exeter, like York, was over-churched; its twenty-two parish churches were small, undistinguished and poorly endowed and often destitute of a resident incumbent. Furthermore, the episcopate was a force to be reckoned with in Exeter, more so it seems than in Bristol or Norwich, and its influence helped to prevent any radical changes in the city's religious life.⁽¹⁷⁾ Godly religion was slow to take root in the community and then its appeal was largely confined to the civic elite. There was a small Puritan group of sorts among the top office-holders by the early 1640's but most members of the corporation appear to have had no strong ideological commitment to either side in the Civil War. At any rate, only a handful of the office-holders were removed by the Royalists when they captured Exeter in 1643 and the same was also true when the Parliamentarians

15) R.Howell, 'Newcastle and the Nation: The Seventeenth-Century Experience', Archaeologia Aeliana, Fifth Series, VIII (1980), p.25; Henning, The Commons, vol.1, pp.347-9

16) MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640, pp.24-5; Cotton and Woollcombe, Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records...of Exeter, pp.74,77

17) MacCaffrey, op.cit., pp.196-201

re-took the city three years later.(18) What the majority of ordinary citizens thought is impossible to say, although there appears to have been a fairly sizeable pro-Royalist element in the city by the mid-1640's.(19)

Between 1646 and 1660 the corporation was dominated by men of moderate Presbyterian views, some of whom resigned or were removed from office for refusing to recognise the Republic.(20) The main feature of political life in Exeter during the Interregnum was the friction between the Presbyterian city fathers and the more radically Puritan element in the town garrison. It was the soldiers who made possible the establishment of a large Independent congregation in the city during the 1650's. Exeter, like Bristol, became a great Puritan centre under the Commonwealth, although the Quakers could make little headway in such a strongly 'orthodox' Puritan environment.(21) At the Restoration the godly were excluded from power and the loyalists managed to retain the upper hand in civic politics throughout Charles' reign. The size and wealth of the city's Dissenting community however, ensured that it kept a high political profile, despite the severe persecution it faced from the solidly Anglican town magistracy.(22) The Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis

18) Cotton and Woollcombe, op.cit., pp.77-8,94,116; E.A.Andriette, Devon and Exeter in the Civil War, (Newton Abbot, 1971), p.40,194,n.94; Howell, 'The Structure of Urban Politics in the English Civil War', p.113; M.Coates, 'Exeter in the Civil War and Interregnum', Devon and Cornwall, Notes and Queries, XVIII (1935), pp.339,343; R.J.E.Bush, 'The Civil War and Interregnum in Exeter, 1642-1660', D & C, N & Q, XXIX (1962-4), pp.81-87,104-5

19) *ibid.*, p.84-6,103,105-7; Andriette, op cit., p.66

20) Roberts, Recovery and Restoration in an English County, p.56; Cotton and Woollcombe, op cit., p.141-44,154

21) *ibid.*, p.171; Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter, pp.1-17

22) A.Brockett, 'The Political and Social Influence of Exeter Dissenters', Transactions of the Devonshire Association, XCIII, (1961)

aroused a storm of party political conflict in Exeter, with the Dissenters and their ministers playing a prominent part in the Whig cause.(23) When James' regulators remodelled the corporation in 1687 they had no difficulty in finding prominent Dissenters willing to supplant their Anglican rivals in office. The battle between Whig and Tory, Anglican and Dissenter, continued to rage in Exeter well into the 1690's.(24)

Of the cities here in question, Exeter was probably the closest to York in political terms, at least during the first half of the seventeenth century. The tone of political life in Exeter and York before the Civil War was very similar, right down to the issues of contention between the civic and cathedral authorities, and yet by the end of the century there were clear differences; the political divisions in Restoration Exeter were much more acute and sustained than in York, the party conflict more intense. The contrasting political experience of cities such as York and Exeter, or of Newcastle and Hull, during the second half of the seventeenth century suggests that factors such as population size, political structure, or socio-economic status were not, in themselves, of much importance in determining the impact of national politics and issues on urban political life. A number of seventeenth century urban historians have instead drawn attention to the role of local factional rivalry or communal grievances in helping to foster partisan feeling on issues of national dimension. Roger Howell, for example, has referred to that process by which, in times of national crisis or when national concerns

23) Henning, The Commons, vol.1, pp.197-201; R.Newton, Eighteenth Century Exeter, (Exeter, 1984), pp.10-15,52,59

24) *ibid.*, pp.54-6

impinged closely on local affairs, specific grievances were 'generalised and then elevated to the level of ideological opposition'.(25) The factional rivalry between the Puritans and their episcopal opponents in Norwich during the late 1630's and early 1640's underwent just such a transformation.(26) A similar process also occurred in Salisbury where according to Paul Slack 'concern with national political issues arose out of local controversies'.(27) In Newcastle and Chester it was a combination of local religious and political rivalries which the coming of war galvanised into a conflict involving issues of a general and ideological nature.(28)

Although the Civil War brought about the 'generalisation' of specific grievances and local anxieties, its impact in this respect was most profound it seems in towns and localities where anti-Catholicism was strongest, that is in communities with a strong Puritan presence. Urban factions contesting purely political or 'secular' issues in the early Stuart period rarely, if ever, formed the blueprint for local Royalist and Parliamentary parties.(29) The conflict between the dominant merchant faction and the freeman body in Bristol during the early Stuart period for example, had no apparent connection with the divisions that emerged in the community during the Civil War and which developed into the party the rivalry of the Restoration period; religion was the decisive factor in this case. Leaving aside questions of whether the Civil War was 'about'

25) Howell, 'Newcastle and the Nation', p.30

26) Evans, Norwich, pp.102-4,149-50

27) P.Slack, 'An Election to the Short Parliament', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XLVI (1973), pp.108,110-112

28) Manning, 'Parliament, 'party' and 'community' during the English Civil War', pp.108-9

29) ibid., p.109

religion, there can be little doubt that the Civil War was responsible for the politicisation (or 'generalisation') of the religious scene. If the Laudian attack on Puritanism served, in the words of Patrick Collinson, to redefine godly religion 'as a reactive and broadly-based platform of opposition', it was the war which transformed the 'antithetical doctrine' of the godly, antithetical that is in terms of the traditional political order and world picture, into a new national political movement with the building of a New Jerusalem as its main goal.(30) Royalism too was a religious cause, indeed more so, it has recently been suggested, than it was a political one.(31) In a sense therefore, the second half of the seventeenth century can be said to have witnessed not the separation of religion and politics but their fusion.

The process of 'generalisation' which Howell describes occurred several times in York between 1640 and 1715, most notably at the Restoration. The particular grievances of the citizenry led them to identify with calls for the restoration of monarchy and a return to traditional values in government and society. The national political upheaval in the wake of the Popish Plot had a similar effect, but on this occasion it was fear of a Catholic conspiracy and the supposed threat to the Protestant natural order from popish subversion which drew the citizens into the national political arena. Whiggery in York was above all else an ideology of religious reaction. Both the Restoration and the Exclusion Crisis in York were essentially short-lived reactions in response to a perceived threat to the established order, and gave rise to

30) Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England, pp.140-1

31) *ibid.*, p.134

merely temporary political associations rather than standing parties. In cities such as Bristol and Norwich on the other hand, one can detect by the early 1660's a permanently politicised core of godly citizens with a positive zeal for religious and in some cases political reform, whose ideological outlook and aspirations stood at odds with the prevailing political-religious orthodoxy. In favourable political circumstances, such as the Exclusion Crisis, and where their social position and numbers would allow, these 'fanatics' as their opponents dubbed them were able to participate as such in mainstream politics. The nature of their political involvement and partisanship however, reflected more than simply a response to imaginary threats to the status quo; it not only encompassed the popular ideology of religious and social reaction, it also transcended it.

Permanent political divisions and polarities did not emerge in York until the 1680's. The weakness of godly religion and 'high' Anglicanism in seventeenth century York meant that the city was largely untroubled by the kind of acute party conflict which dominated political life in Norwich, Bristol, and to a lesser extent Exeter, after the Civil War. Other factors may also have played a part in keeping the lid on political unrest in the city - the well balanced structure of civic government for example, as well as its unusually high proportion of the 'middling sort of people' which perhaps helped to make social relations in the community less fraught than in some other towns. But ultimately, the history of politics in York during the later seventeenth century is not about social or economic issues, rather it is an oblique commentary on the repercussions of the Reformation in civic society.

APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX I: QUAKERS LIVING IN YORK AND MEMBERS
OF THE YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING, 1651-1714

ADAMS, Elizabeth(1st wo J Phipps)	YMM3p11(08) - d.1711
ACROYD, Elizabeth	YWMp15(80) - rc(1680-1702) - d.1702
ACROYD, Sarah	YPMp121(94)YPMCp11(96) - 2s d.1677
ADCOCKE, Anne(1st wo M Adcocke)	<u>LINNENWEAVER(1706)</u> - dis.(1710)
ADCOCKE, John(so Matt.)	YPMp18(74) - <u>LABOURER?</u> /5s/mh - r(1702-07) - St.SAV.80-85 - d.1707
ADCOCKE, Matthias(ho A Adcocke, Mrs. M.)	YMMp97(79) - St.SAV.80-85
ADCOCKE, Mrs.M(2nd wo M Adcocke)	YPMp68(83) - <u>SERVANT</u> /1s6d - d.1683
ALLEN, Peter	YMMp92(79) - ASP 69-85 - d.1693
ALLENSON, Anna(wo H Allenson)	YMM2p110(94) - <u>MERCER</u> /11s/ - l.1714
ALLENSON, Anna(do Hen.)	YMMp1(69) - <u>MERCER(1649)</u> /£15/7h ch - St.MARY C.67/ASP 69-85 - d.1691
ALLENSON, Henry(ho A Allenson)	d.1685(QR) of Gate Fulford - d.1699(QR)
?BACCHUS, Margery	QRm(68) - r(1674-77) - St.OLAVE 69 - d.1677
?BARKER, Charles	London→York in 1700/York→London in 1703
BATESON, Jane(1st wo E Coulton)	as above
BATTY, Anne**/*(wo J Batty)	QMBS2p3(60) d.1680
BATTY, John**/*(ho A Batty)	YPMp9(70) - <u>TAILOR(1667)</u> /10s - St.JOHN 73-78/ASP 81-83 - l.1714
BELL, Anne	YPMp80(87) - r(1710) - d.1710
BELL, Frances(1st wo J Bell)	YPMp80(87) - <u>SERGEWEAVER</u> /5s - in poverty(1708) - r(1708-10) - d.1711
BELL, John(ho F Bell, 2nd ho A Jackson)	d.1690(QR)
BELSHAW, Mary(wo W Belshaw)	YMM2p65(88) - York→Leeds c.1697; Leeds→York in 1704 - r(1707) - l.1714
BELSHAW, William(ho M Belshaw)	YMMp104(80) - York→Selby c.1680; Selby→York before she died in 1695
?BENNITT, Anne	QRm(62) - York→Skipwith M. c.1662; Skipwith→York before she died in 1686?
BENSON, Elizabeth**/*(wo J Merry)	YMMp1(69) - £1,10s - d.1673
BENSON, Hester**/*	QRm(62) - <u>GLOVER(1637p)</u> /7h/ch - c/a in ASNS - l.1676?
BEW, Jane**/*?(do Thos., wo R Seaton)	<u>SERVANT</u> - d.1678
BEW, Margaret(wo T Bew)	YPM2p214(12) - <u>WEAVER(1714)</u> d.1676(QR)
?BEW, Thomas(ho M Bew)	QR(73) - <u>WASHERWOMAN</u> - TRIN.GOOD.74 - rc(1674-1703) - d.1703
?BLACKAMORE, John**?	YPMCp17(99) - <u>WHITESMITH(1700)</u> /
BLAKEY, Joseph	
?BOLLAND, Thomas	
BOLTON, Susanna	
BOONE, Marmaduke(ho M Todd)	

BOWLAND, John** (2nd ho L Davison) 1s6d - 1.1714
 Balby MM.→York in 1705 - WATERMAN
 - 1.1714
 BRADLEY, Anne (wo J Bradley) St.DENIS 63-77
 BRADLEY, John (ho A Bradley) F/8 (62) - WHEELWRIGHT (1658) - St.
 DENIS 63-77 - d.1679
 BRADLEY, Mauger (ho S Marshall) QMBS2p22 (70) - 2s - in poverty
 (1670) - d.1680
 ?BRAMLEY, Leonard BGp17 (99)QR (1700)
 BRIGGS, Elizabeth (do Phin.) LFAp14 (12) - r (1712-13) - 1.1714
 BRIGGS, Margery (wo T Mann, QRM (68) - 5s - MICH.S.74-77/St.WILF.
 2nd wo R Jeeb) 82-85 - sep?/if so had rejoined
 the YPM by 1689 - d.1714
 BRIGGS, Phineas (ho G Leavens) YPMp23 (75) - ENGRAVER/15s
 - St.SAMP.78-85 - sep - d.1692
 BROUGHTON, Thomasina (wo J Winnard) YMMp118 (81) - St.MBs 82/ASP 84-85
 sep - d.1706
 ?BROXUP, Abraham (so John) YPMp46 (78) - MERCHANT TAILOR (1680)
 /2s - d.1714
 BROXUP, John YPMp9 (70) - DYER
 BULMER, Anne (do Thos.) YPMp68 (83) - left the Soc?
 BULMER, Barbara** (wo T Bulmer) Drogheda→York c.1662 - MART.MICK.67
 - d.1671
 BULMER, Lucy (do Thos.) YPMp68 (83) - left the Soc.in 1691
 after her disorderly marriage
 BULMER, Mary (do Thos.) YPMp68 (83) - left the Soc?
 BULMER, Thomas** (ho B Bulmer) YMMp1 (69) - Drogheda→York c.1662
GENTLEMAN/£10/4h - MART.MICK.67
 /ASNS 75-80 - d.1680
 BURNETT, John**/* YPMp73 (85) - MERCHANT TAILOR (1683)
 /10s - so Rich.B., of Otley, clothier
 - York→Ireland in 1697
 BURTON, John (ho R Milns) PCp17 (02) - PEWTERER (1702p) -
 dis. (1711)
 CAMPION, Peter* YPM2p76 (00) - 10s - of Stockton-on
 the-Forrest - Stockton→? in 1702
 CANDLER, Rebecca YPMCp25 (04) - 3d - 1.1714
 CHAMBERS, John* (ho D Dobson) YMM2p154 (99) - HUSBANDMAN/5s -
 Acaster Selby→Pennsylvania in 1713
 CHARLTON, William* (ho Mrs. W.) YMM2p74 (89) - in poverty (1689) -
 r (1689-90) - York→London in 1690
 CHARLTON, Mrs.W* (wo W Charlton) YPMpp90-92 (90) - r (1690) - York→
 London in 1690
 CHASE, Wilfred** (3rd ho M Lovell) Masham M.→Fulford in 1672 -
YEOMAN/£10 - FULFORD
 73-77 - d.1680
 CHESSMAN, Mary** Epworth→York c.1703 - 6d - 1.1714
 CHESSMAN, Rebecca** (wo J Seaton Epworth→York c.1703 - 6d - 1.1714
 J Hird)
 CLARK, Judith* (m) York→Handsworth Grange in 1655
 ?CLEASBY, Stephen**? SERVANT - d.1683 (QR)
 COATES, Jane** (wo T Smithson) Aldborough→Acomb c.1676 - ACOMB
 82-85 - d.1694
 COATES, Joseph** Green Hammerton→York c.1713 -

CONYERS, James** (ho B Conyers) TANNER(1714)/10s - 1.1714
 Thirsk MM.→Heworth in 1709 -
WEAVER(1714/2d - r(1712
 -15) - 1.1714
 CONYERS, Barbara** (wo J Conyers) as above - d.1711
 COOPER, Mary** (wo E Stabler) Skipwith M.→Fulford in 1711 -
 1.1714
 COULTON, Anne* (do Edw.) York→Scarborough in 1690 - r(1690
 -1697)
 COULTON, Edward (ho J Bateson, GBS(61) - CORDWAINER(1670p)/10s/2h
 M Muffet) r(1669-89) - St.OLAVE 69 - d.1689
 COULTON, Mary* (do Edw./m) York→Scarborough in 1688 - married
 a BOOKSELLER
 ?COULTON, Susanna (do Edw?) YWmp19(82) - WASHERWOMAN
 ?COWPER, Sarah (wo T Cowper) QRb(83)
 ?COWPER, Thomas (ho S Cowper) QRb(83) - BAKER(1679)?
 COX, Elizabeth** (wo J Cox) Holderness→York c.1672/3 - St.MARY
 C.75 - d.1710
 COX, John** (ho E Cox) as above(YPMp15[73]) - ?(1676)/£1
 St.MARY C.75/St.SAMP.84,85 - sep/in
 1691 he became a Baptist/wished to
 re-join Friends in 1708 (SW)
 CRESSICK, John** (so same of YPMp46(78) - TAILOR(1678)/8s
 Pateley Bridge, yeoman/ MICH.S.80/ASP 84 - 1.1714
 ho J Simpson)
 CRESSICK, Mary (do John) YPMCp31(06) - 4d - married a
TAILOR - 1.1714
 CRESSICK, Sarah* (do John) York→London in 1702 to get work
 in service
 CROW, Elizabeth YWmp9(77) - 1h - rc(1677-97) -
 do Rich.C., tailor - 1.1714?
 DAVISON, James (1st ho L Davison) YPMp114(93) - SLAYWRIGHT/2s6d/mh
 a poor Friend(1693) - rc(1693-
 1702) - d.1702
 DAVISON, Lydia (wo J Davison, YWmp39(97) - 6d/mh - r(1697-1705)
 J Bowland) - 1.1714
 ?DAWSON, Edward GROCER(1678)/ch/a - d.1680 (QR)
 DENNISON, Elizabeth (wo T Dennison) QRb(70) - MICH.S.74-76/ASP 77-85 -
 sep - 1.1714
 DENNISON, Peter** YPMp50-54(79-80) - TAILOR(1666) -
 ASP 69 - so Thos.D., of
 Westmoreland, yeoman
 DENNISON, Thomas**/(ho E Dennison) YPMp7(70) - MERCHANT TAILOR(1667)
 /£2/ch/4h - brothor of Peter -
 MICH.S.74-77/ASP 80-85 - sep -
 1.1714
 DENTON, Joseph**/*/** (ho G Hebden, Headingley→York c.1678/York→
 S Siddall) Tadcaster c.1699/Tad.→York in 1704
INNHOLDER(1678)/£1/mh -
 r(1704-15) - TRIN.MICK.80-84 -
 - 1.1714
 DICKINSON, Henry APPRENTICE TAILOR/a - d.1692 (QR)
 DICKINSON, Henry* (ho M Dickinson) BGp8(93) - a poor Friend(1693) -
 r(1697) - York→? in 1697

DICKINSON, Mary*(wo H Dickinson) w(88)BGp8(93) - York→? in 1697
 DOBSON, Deborah**/*(wo J Chambers) Thirsk MM.→Acaster Selby c.1699/
 Acaster Selby→Pennsylvania in 1713
 ?DOBSON, Richard of Gate Fulford -CLOTHWORKER(1653)
 /2h - d.1698(QR)
 ELLERTON, Thomas* F/8(62)YMMp123(82) - CLOTHIER -
 St.DENIS 67 - York→Deighton in
 1674
 ETHERINGTON, Thomas(2nd ho R Row) Dis.(1688)/re-joined Soc. in 1694
WATCHMAKER(1686)/10s - St.
 HELEN 88-89 - d.1703
 ETHERINGTON, Thomas(so Thos., YMM2p232(06) - WATCHMAKER(?)/10s/
 ho E Middleton) ch - 1.1714
 ETTY, John(2nd ho M Lovell) GBS(65) - YEOMAN - FULFORD
 63-67 - d.1668
 EVANS, Edward**(ho M Evans) Whixley M.→York c.1682/3 - YEOMAN/
 10s - r(1683-85 due to fines) -
 St.HELEN 84 - sep - d.1689
 EVANS, Edward(so Edw., QR(10) - WATERMAN(1711) - 1.1714
 ho Mercy Evans)
 EVANS, Margaret**(wo E Evans) Whixley M.→York c.1682/3 - St.
 HELEN 84 - sep? - d.1691
 EVANS, Mercy(wo E Evans) BGp26(10) - r(1713-4) - 1.1714
 EWBANK, Elizabeth(2nd wo T Ewbank) PCp11(1700) - 1.1714
 EWBANK, Thomas(ho E Hillary, YPMpp119(94) - TAILOR(1699)/5s
 E Ewbank) - 1.1714
 FEARNLEY, Isabell**(wo R Taylor) Leeds→Grimston in 1705 - 1.1714
 FEWLER, Elizabeth(wo H Fewler) YWmp32(93) - r(1693-97) - St.MAU.
 72-84 - d.1697
 FEWLER, Henry(ho E Fewler) QMBS4p6(54) - LABOURER?/2s6d/1h
 St.MAU.63-77 - d.1681
 FEWLER, Jane(wo M Fewler) YWmp4(75) - pauper(1675) - r(1675-
 77) - St.MAU.72-75
 FEWLER, Matthew(ho J Fewler) YPMp11(71) - 1h - r(1671) - St.MAU.
 72
 FIRBANK, Helen**(do Nich.) YPMCp25(04) - 2d - r(1706) -
 d.1706
 FIRBANK, Mary**(wo N Firbank) Malton M.→York c.1690 - mh -
 r(1695-1700) - d.1700
 FIRBANK, Nicholas**(ho M Firbank) Malton M.→York c.1690 - FELLMONGER
 r(1695-1712) - d.1712
 FIRTH, Hannah*(m) Fulford→North Duffield in 1702 -
 married a WEAVER
 FOGGITT, Abraham**(ho S Foggitt) Thirsk MM.→Acomb in 1709 - r(1715)
 - 1.1714
 FOGGITT, Sarah**(wo A Foggitt) as above - d.1710
 FOSTER, Benjamin**/*(ho M Seaton) Skipwith M.→York c.1699/York→
 Whitby c.1706 - £1,1s6d
 FULLTHORPE, Mary**(2nd wo Edw Bentley→York in 1670 - £20 - ASP
 Nightingale) 74-77 - d.1681
 GAREY, Thomas(ho M Smith) YPMCp11(96) - DISTILLER/2s6d
 YMM2p147(98) - left the Soc?
 GARTHWAITE, John*(so Thos.) YPMp108(92) - MARRINER(1691p)/6s
 - York→London c.1694

GARTHWAITE, Rachael*(do Thos./m) YMMp76(78) - St.DENIS 73-76 - York
→Scarborough in 1678 - married a
BOOKSELLER

GARTHWAITE, Rachael(wo T Garthwte.) QRb(51)YMMp76(78) - St.DENIS 63-80
GARTHWAITE, Thomas(ho R Garthwaite) QRb(51)F/8(62) - CLOTHIER(1649)/£2
10s/5h - St.DENIS 63-77 - d.1679
d.1675(QR)

?GILBERT, Margaret Gembling→York in ? (YMPp28[77]) -
GILBURNE, Christopher** pauper - r(1679-95) - d.1695
Knaresborough MM.→York in 1709/
York→Knaresborough in 1712

GILL, George**/* QR(1700) - TAILOR(1658)/1h
d.1700(QR)

?GILMAN, George(ho S Gilman) York→Selby in 1655 - do Sam.G. a/c
?GILMAN, Sarah(wo G Gilman) in St.CRUX, tallowchandler
GLAVE, Ellinor*(m) Reading→York in 1698 - 1.1714

GODDARD, Elizabeth**(2nd wo J,
Taylor) WEAVER - d.1687(QR)
d.1692(QR)

?GOLDSBOROUGH, Thomas NETH.POP.63
?GOWER, Edward YMMp54(76) - MASTER MARRINER/3h
?GRAFTON, Margaret St.MARY C.63 - d.1676
GRANT, Abel YPMp5(70) - ?(1676)/5s - ASP
75 - d.1681

GREER, Bartholomew d.1675(QR)
d.1675(QR)

?GREER, Jane(do Bart?) QR(98) - d.1700(QR)

?GREER, Robert(so Bart?) MILLWRIGHT - d.1698(QR)

?HALDER, Rebecca(wo W Halder) 'West Chester'→York c.1692 - dis.
?HALDER, William(ho R Halder) (1692) - FLAXDRESSER

HALL, Charles** YMMp17(72) - SCHOOLMASTER/CLERK/£4
HALL, John(ho M Hall, H Norrison) St.MAU.72-75/TRIN.GOOD.80/ASP 81
- sep - d.1684

HALL, John jun.(so John,
1st ho R Row) YPMp46(78) - TOBACCO-CUTTER(1682)/
10s - St.MBs 74-82 - d.1683

HALL, Mary(1st wo J Hall) St.MAU.72-75/ASP 81 - d.1682

HALLIDAY, Hannah**/*(m) Strensall→York c.1687/York→Malton
MM.in 1689 - SERVANT

HALLIWELL, Susanna YWMP4(75) - r(1675-82) - wo Jn.H.,
CLOTHIER - St.CRUX 69-89 - d.1692

HAMMOND, Jane(do Thos.) YPMCp25(04) - 3d - 1.1714

HAMMOND, Martha(do Thos.,
wo B Rhodes) YMM3p8(07) - d.1709

HAMMOND, Thomas(ho E Redshaw) YMPp63(82) - BOOKSELLER(1680p)/£1/
ch - St.JOHN 84-85 - 1.1714

HAMMOND, Thomas jun.(so Thos.) YMM2p201(03) - BOOKSELLER(1709p)/
10s/ch - 1.1714

HARDCASTLE, Mary* YPMCp31(06) - York→Wetherby in
1707 - SERVANT/2d

HARDY, William**/* Knaresborough→York in 1701/York→
Hull in 1701

HARGRAVE, Matthew(ho M Stonehouse) YPMp86(89) - DISTILLER(1693)/10s
- d.1707

HARGRAVE, Matthew jun.(so Matt.) YPMCp26(04) - 2d - left the Soc?

HARLAND, Matthew (ho Mrs. M.) F/8 (62) - LABOURER (1663)/3h
- St.MARY C.63/ASP 69-80 - d.1680

HARLAND, Mrs.M (wo M Harland) ASP 75-80/St.MARY C.82 - left the
Soc?
d.1697 (QR)

?HARRISON, Anne QRb (76) - 10s - of Grimston -
1.1714

HARRISON, Elizabeth (wo T Harrison) of Grimston - d.1710 (QR)

?HARRISON, Elizabeth jun. (do Thos.) St.MBs 83 - d.1684

HARRISON, Frances (1st wo W
Harrison)

HARRISON, Hannah* (do Thos./m) Grimston→Selby in 1697

?HARRISON, Margaret ASP 74-75

HARRISON, Mary* (do Thos.) York→London in 1710 to enter
service

HARRISON, Rachael (wo T Harrison) QR (99) - d.1707

?HARRISON, Sarah (do Will.) d.1709 (QR)

HARRISON, Thomas (ho E Harrison) QRb (76) - YEOMAN/10s
- of Grimston - d.1695

HARRISON, Thomas (so Thos.,
ho R Harrison) QR (99) - MERCER (1695)/ch/1s6d -
1.1714

HARRISON, William (ho F Harrison,
1st ho M Liversedge) QRb (84) - BLACKSMITH/3s - St.MBs
82-85 - d.1690

?HARRISON, William LABOURER (1689) - d.1699 (QR)

HARRISON, Willia (so of above) BGp18 (99) - TAILOR (1698) - 1.1714

HAWKINS, Matthew (ho M Ryther) YPMpp112-3 (93) - LABOURER (1693)/5s
- mh - a poor Friend (1693) - rc
(1693-14) - ESKRICK 74-84 - 1.1714

HEBDEN, Grace QMBS2p21 (70) - £2/3h - TRIN.MICK.
63-77 - d.1677

HEBDEN, Grace (do Grace,
1st wo J Denton) YMPp46 (78) - 5s - TRIN.MICK.77-82
/St.MBj 78 - d.1683

HEBDEN, Hannah* (do Grace/m) York→Ardsley in 1671

HEBDEN, Jane* (do Grace/m) York→Fewston in 1667

HEBDEN, Mary* (do Grace/m) York→Halifax in 1677

?HEWITT, George APPRENTICE SERGEWEAVER/a - d.1695
(QR)

HILLARY, Elizabeth (1st wo T Ewbank) YPMpp119,123 (94) - d.b.1699

HILLARY, Robert (ho H Hillary) YPMp23 (75) - TAILOR (1665)/10s/2h
M.le B.78-85 - d.1703

HILLARY, Helen (wo R Hillary) YPM2p136 (06) - M.le B.82-85 -
d.1708

HILLARY, Robert jun. (so Robt.) YPMCp11 (96) - TAILOR (1708p)/5s
- 1.1714

HIRD, Anne**/* (wo J Hird sen) Knaresborough MM.→York c.1710/
York→Knaresboro MM. in 1713

HIRD, John** (2nd ho R Chessman,
so John sen) Knaresborough MM.→York c.1711 -
SERGEWEAVER - d.1712

HIRD, John sen.** (ho A Hird) Knaresborough MM.→York c.1710 -
d.1711

HIRD, Thomas** (so John sen,
ho Mrs. T., G Hodgson) Knaresborough MM.→York in 1711 -
STUFFWEAVER/6d - 1.1714

HIRD, Mrs.T** (1st wo T Hird) Knaresborough MM.→York in 1711 -
d.c.1712

?HOBSON, John d.1673 (QR)

HODGSON, Alice YWmpp7(76) - rc(1676-80)
HODGSON, Grace(2nd wo T Hird) YPMCp31(06) - 6d - 1.1714
?HODGSON, John(so Mark) WATCHMAKER/a - d.1719
(QR)
HODGSON, Mark(ho P Leavens) YMPp46(78) - WATCHMAKER(1677)/10s
MART.CONEY.78-85 - sep - d.1709
HOLMES, Benjamin** Brighthouse MM.→York in 1706 -
WOOLCOMBER - 1.1714
HORNER, Mary YPMCp5(92) - 10s - r(1713-4) r
1.1714
HORSLEY, Benedict(so Corn.) QM(82) - WATCHMAKER/a -
sep?/left the Soc
HORSLEY, Cornelius(ho E Hunt) F/8(62)70) - WATCHMAKER(1657p)/£2/
4h - MART.CONEY.63-78 - so Edw.H.,
a/c St.HELEN, painter/stainer
- d.1681
HORSLEY, Elizabeth jun.(do Corn.) YWmp23(85) - MART.CONEY.78 - left
theSoc?
HORSLEY, Emma(wo J Kay) YMMp33(74) - St.DENIS 73/St.MARG.76
- d.1689
HORSLEY, Jane(do Corn.) YWmp23(86) - r(1686-93) - WEAVER/a
left the Soc?
?HORSLEY, Margaret MART.CONEY.85
HORSLEY, Susanna(wo M Weightman) QRm(56) - St.DENIS 73 - d.1673
HUDSON, Mary(1st wo W Hudson) St.LAW.70-78 - d.1681
HUDSON, Robert*(m) WHITESMITH(1649)/£1 10s - York
→Keighley M.c.1677
?HUDSON, Samuel(so Will.) d.1699(QR)
HUDSON, Samuel*(so Will.jun) Philadelphia→York in 1712/York→
Philadelphia in 1713
HUDSON, Timothy*/**(so Will., YPMCp11(96) - York→America in
ho H Stonehouse, F Stonehouse) 1699/America→York c.1701 -
TANNER(1703p)/£3 3s/ch
- 1.1714
HUDSON, William(ho M Hudson, YPMCp2(73) - TANNER(1663p)/£1 10s/
S Morley, J Waite) 6h - so Will.H. a/c in St.LAW.,
tanner - St.LAW.70-85 - d.1704
HUDSON, William jun.*(so Will.) York→Pensylvania in 1686
HUNT, Elizabeth**(wo C Horsley) Northampton→York in 1665 - MART.
CONEY.77,78 - r(1682-93) - d.1693
HUNTER, Isabell(wo M Lazenby) YMM2p6(82) - lived in Stockton-on-
the-Forrest - 1.1714
?HUTCH, John YMMp56(76) - r(1676)
HUTTON, Abraham(ho F Hutton) YMPp42(78) - 'GENT' & GLOVER(1648p)
/£1 10s/ch/3h - St.CRUX 69-80/St.
SAV.84 - sep - d.1689
?HUTTON, Anne**(wo S Hutton) Ireland→York in ? - QR(90)
HUTTON, Frances(wo A Hutton) £1 - St.CRUX 80/St.SAV.84-85 - sep
/re-joined the YPM b.1695 -
d.1706
?HUTTON, Samuel**(ho A Hutton) Ireland→York in ? - QR(90)
HUTTON, Sarah(do Abr., w(1688) - sep - d.1693
wo Emm Nightingale)
?JACKSON, Anne d.1667(QR)

JACKSON, Anne (wo G Jackson,
2nd wo J Bell) QR(77) - 6s - r(1682) - ASP 81-83
- 1.1714

JACKSON, George (1st ho A Jackson) YPMCp3(74) - CARPENTER(1659)/10s/
5h - d.1679

?JACKSON, George (so Geo.) YPMp61(78) - BRICKLAYER(1673)

JACKSON, Grace YPMp91(90) - mh - a poor Friend
(1694) - r(1690-96)

JEEB, Robert (ho Mrs R.,
2nd ho M Briggs) YPMp8(70) - BAKER(1660)/£3/5h/ch

JEEB, Mrs.R (1st wo R Jeeb) MICH.SPURR.74-85 - d.1704

JEEB, Robert jun. (so Rob.) QR(70) - MICH.SPURR.74-85 - d.c.
1690

JONES, Sarah* (wo W Shilling) YPMCp25(04) - BOOKSELLER(1716p)/6d
/ch - left the Soc?

KAY, Anne (do Jud., wo S Ryther,
3rd wo R Leadall) York→Tadcaster in 1663 - MART.
CONEY.63

KAY, Frances* (do Jud.,
wo G Preston/m) ARB(54) - St.DENIS 63 - d.1671

KAY, Grace (do Jud.) ARB(54) - 10s - St.CRUX 67 - York→
Hull MM. in 1669

KAY, John** (ho H Taylor) ARB(54) - St.CRUX 67-82

KAY, John (so Jud., ho Em Horsley) ?→York in 1700 - WHITESMITH
- 1.1714

KAY, Judith F/8(62) - SCHOOLMASTER?/£1/3h
- r(1671-77) - MART.CONEY.70/St.
SAMP.74-75/St.MARG.76 - d.1697

LANGSTAFF, Daniel**/* (ho S
Langstaff) ARB(54) - 6h - r(1673-82) - St.
MARY C.63-82/St.CRUX 67 - d.1682

LANGSTAFF, Sarah**/* (wo D Langstf.) Leeds M.→York c.1687/York→Leeds M.
b.1696 - CLOTHIER/5s

LATTIMER, Jennet**/* (m) SW(87) - as above
do Rich.L.of Cumberland - York→
Crigglestone in 1715 - married a
LINNENWEAVER
w(1695)

?LAYKIN, Elizabeth YPMp25(76) - r(1676)

?LAYKIN, Thomas STOCKTON (ON-THE-FORREST) 82

LAZENBY, Elizabeth (wo R Lazenby) ACASTER MALBIS 81-85 - d.b.1698

LAZENBY, Jane (wo J Lazenby) YPMp89(89) - YEOMAN/£1 - ACASTER
MALBIS 81-85 - 1.1714

LAZENBY, John (ho J Lazenby,
E Sharprey) STOCKTON 82 - 6d- Stockton→
Fladmore in 1705

LAZENBY, Mary* (wo T Lazenby/m) YPMp63(82) - YEOMAN/6s - of
Stockton

LAZENBY, Michael (ho I Hunter) YPMCp26(04) - £1 - of Stockton -
Stockton→Knaresborough MM. in 1707

LAZENBY, Rachael* (do Mich/m) PCp41(13) - of Stockton

LAZENBY, Rebecca (do Mich.) STOCKTON 82

LAZENBY, Richard (ho E Lazenby) Stockton→Beverley in 1709

LAZENBY, Sarah* (do Mich./m) YPMp18(74) - STOCKTON 67-82 -
d.b.1704

LAZENBY, Thomas (1st ho M Lazenby) York→London in ?/London→York b.
1684/York→Masham Masham M. in 1684

LEADALL, Mary*/*/* (m) QRb(52) - CORDWAINER(1649p)/5h -
ASP 63 - so Chr.L., a/c ASP, pinner

LEADALL, Richard (ho S Leadall,
E Thomlinson & 2nd ho A Kay)

LEADALL, Sarah(1st wo R Leadall)	r(1671-73) - d.1673
LEAVENS, Grace**(wo P Briggs)	QRb(52) - d.1657
LEAVENS, Phoebe**(do Grace, wo M Hodgson)	Killinghall→York in 1676 - St.SAMP. 78
LEDGER, Mary**?	YMMp88(78) - 6d - MART.CONEY.84-85
LICKERS, Dorothy	- sep - returned to the YPM b.1706
LICKERS, Jane	- 1.1714
LINDLEY, Mary**	YPMCp25(04) - Churwell→York? - 6d
LINSLEY, Elizabeth(wo R Linsley)	YPMCp31(06) - 2d
LINSLEY, Enoch(so Rich., ho Mrs.E.)	YPMCp26(04) - 2d - 1.1714
LINSLEY, Mrs.E(wo E Linsley)	Malton MM.→York b.1690 - <u>SERVANT</u>
LINSLEY, Richard(ho E Linsley)	QR(62)
LINSLEY, William(so Enoch)	YMPp63(82) - <u>GLOVER(1682)</u> /6d
LIVERSEDGE, Mary**(2nd wo W Harrison, 3rd wo T Lund, 2nd wo J Phipps)	- ASP 83-85 - left the Soc?
LOCKWOOD, Martha	ASP 84-85
LONSDALE, Mary*(m)	<u>GLOVER(1650)</u> - d.1662
LOVELL, Mercy(J Etty, W Chase, 4th wo Edw Nightingale)	YPMCp25(04) - <u>GLOVER(1714)</u> /3d - dis.(1710)
LUCAS, Francis**	Hunslett→York in 1685 - 5s -
?LUCAS, Isabell	- 1.1714
LUND, Anne(wo C Lund)	YMPp18(74) - 10s - 1.1703
?LUND, Christopher(ho A Lund)	York→Thirsk MM. in 1694
LUND, Mary(do Tim.)	QMBS2p22(70) - of Fulford -
LUND, Rebecca*(do Tim.)	FULFORD 73-77 - £1 - wo Will. L., <u>STAPLER</u> - sep - d.1691
LUND, Timothy(ho M Rowntree, A Sharprey, 2nd ho M Liversedge)	Richmond MM.→York in 1711 - d.1714
MANN, Thomas(1st ho M Briggs)	2h - KINGS COURT 63-84 - d.1706
MARSDEN, Mary	YMPp42(78) - <u>MERCER</u> /£4 -
MARSHALL, Anne	YMPp68(83)
MARSHALL, Elizabeth	YMPp23(75) - <u>MERCER(1652)</u> /6h/ch/ d.1677(QR)
MARSHALL, Jacob	York→London in 1705 to enter service
MARSHALL, James*	York→London in 1710 to enter service
MARSHALL, John	YMPp46(78) - <u>TAILOR(1680)</u> /5s - d.1712
MARSHALL, Sarah**/*/**(wo M Bradley)	QRm(68) - <u>ARCHITECT</u> /£4/3h - MICH.S.74-77 - d.1680
MARSINGALE, Robert	YPMCp25(04) - 3d - 1.1714
	YMPp121(94) - 10s - 1.1714
	YMMp1(69) - 5s - d.c.1671
	YMPp114(93) - <u>GIRDLER(1682)</u> - d.1694
	YMPp18(74) - <u>BAKER(1670)?</u> /5s/4h - York→Pensylvania in 1686
	F/8(62) - <u>GROCER(1662)</u> /£5/5h/ch - ASP 69-85 - sep? - 1.1714
	'East Rueswick'→York in 1665/York →Barmston in 1669/Barmston→York in 1670 - 8s
	YMPpp82(87) - <u>TAILOR?</u> - a poor Friend(1687) - rc(1687-91)

MAWMAN, Charles	YPMp91(90) - a poor Friend(1687) r(1687-90)
MEAD, Anne	WPMp3(09)
MENSON, Elizabeth	WPMp2(08)WPMp7(11)
MERRY, Elizabeth(do Walter, 1st wo W White)	YMMp74(78) - d.1686
MERRY, Jonathan*(so Walter, ho E Benson)	YMM2p65(88) - <u>SERGEWEAVER</u> - York→Leeds b.1697 - dis.(1699)
MERRY, Mary(do Walter, wo J Newman)	York→Stockton in 1681 - STOCKTON 82 - Stockton→York b.1696 - 4s - d.1699
MERRY, Sarah(do Walter, 1st wo W Tuke)	YMM2p57(88) - St.DENIS 89 - d.1692
MERRY, Walter	GBS(65) - <u>CORNET OF HORSE</u> under the Commonwealth/8s - a poor Friend(1695) - r(1675-97) - St. MAU.72-84 - d.1697
MIDDLETON, Boswell*	ARB(52) - <u>SHOEMAKER</u> - York→ Knaresborough b.1660
MIDDLETON, Elizabeth**(do Bosw., wo T Etherington)	Knaresborough→York in 1706 - 1.1714
MILNS, Rachael**(wo J Burton)	Notts.→York in 1702 - 1.1714
MONK, Mary*(m)	QR(60) - York→Stainforth in 1664
MORLEY, Bethya?	QMBS4pp6,10,11(54/5)
MORLEY, Nehemiah(ho M Turner)	YPMp108(92) - <u>TANNER(1691)/£1</u> - 1.1714
MORLEY, Robert(so Neh.)	YPMCp31(06) - <u>CLOCKMAKER(1733p)/2d</u> - 1.1714
MORLEY, Susanna*(do Neh./m)	York→Churwell in 1702 - 5s
MORLEY, Susanna**(2nd wo W Hudson)	Selby M.→York in 1684 - LAW.85 - d.1700
MUDD, Elizabeth	KINGS COURT 74 - YPMp80(87) - left the Soc?
MUFFET, Mary**(2nd wo E Coulton)	Stillington→York b.1678 - <u>WETNURSE</u> mh - d.1690
NEWMAN, John(ho M Merry)	YMMp113(81) - <u>CORDWAINER/3s</u> - of Stockton - STOCKTON 74-82 - d.b.1696
NEWMAN, Sarah*(do John)	YMM2p160(99) - York→London in 1700 to enter service
NEWSOME, Elizabeth(wo G Newsome)	YWMP11(77) - <u>WETNURSE</u> - mh - r(1682-1715) - 1.1714
NEWSOME, George(ho E Newsome)	YPMp27(77) - <u>TAILOR(1670p)</u> - MICH.S.75 - d.1681
NEWSOME, George(so Geo.)	YMM2p38(85) - <u>TAILOR(1700p)/a</u> - left the Soc?
NICHOLSON, Anne	QMBS4p5(54)
NICHOLSON, Elizabeth	YMMp1(69) - 6s/2h - KINGS COURT 63 d.1673
NIGHTINGALE, Anne(3rd wo E Nightingale)	St.MBs 85 - sep - d.1685
NIGHTINGALE, Edward(ho E Nightgle., M Fullthorpe, A Nightingale, 4th ho M Lovell)	QRb(55) - <u>GROCER(1653)/£50/6h/ch</u> - ASP 63-82/St.MBs 83-85 - sep - d.1693

NIGHTINGALE, Elizabeth(1st wo E. Nightingale) QRb(55) - d.1666

NIGHTINGALE, Emmanuel(so Edw., ho S Hutton) GROCCER(1683p)/cc - St.MBs 83 - sep - 1.1696

NIGHTINGALE, Mary(do Edw.) sep - 1.1696

NIGHTINGALE, William(so Edw.) sep - St.MBs 83 - d.1690

NIXON, Mary*(m) York→Selby in 1693

NORRISON, Hannah**(2nd wo J Hall) Whitby→York in 1683 - sep

ORTON, Joseph**(ho I Orton) YPMp60(81) - Richmond MM.→York b. 1681 - MERCER(1684)/5s - M.le B.84/ASP 85 - sep - d.1687

ORTON, Isabell(wo J Orton) ASP 85 - sep

PACY, John**? YPMCp26(04) - Balby MM.→York? - BLACKSMITH(1714)/10s/ch - 1.1714

PARKE, John* York→London b.1688

PARKER, Anne*(m) York→Tadcaster M. in 1680

PAUL, Mary LFAP8(07) - r(1707-12)

PEACOCK, Daniel**(ho U Peacock) Malton M.→Murton in 1711 - 1.1714

PEACOCK, Ursula**(wo D Peacock) as above - 1.1714

PEALE, Elizabeth YWmp18(81) - r(1681) - d.1681

PEARSON, Christopher(so Geo.) YPMCp19(01) - 1s6d - of Fulford? - 1.1714

?PEARSON, George(ho J Pearson) of Fulford - d.1698(QR)

?PEARSON, Jane(wo G Pearson) of Fulford - d.1712(QR)

PEARSON, Jennet**(1st wo R Stones jun) Hull→York in 1677 - d.1681

PEART, Isaac**/*(ho E Topham) York→Leeds in 1707/Leeds→York in 1709/York→Bridlington in 1713 - DISTILLER/4d

?PECKETT, Thomas YWmp9(76) - 2h

?PECKETT, 'Widow' YWmp11(77) - r(1677) - St.LAW.74?

PENNINGTON, John** YPMCp19(01) - SLEDMAN(1700)/6d Sutton-upon-Derwent→York b.1700 - YPMCp31(06)

PERROT, Thomas YPMCp25(04) - TAILOR(1698)/a/6d - left the Soc?

PHIPPS, Joseph**/*(ho E Adams, 3rd ho M Liversedge) York→London in 1705/London→York b. 1708 - CORDWAINER(1716)/5s - r(1709-10) - 1.1714

?PHILLIPS, John QRb(82)

?PICKERING, William**? SERVANT - d.1687(QR)

PLACKETT, Jonathan(so Will.) YMM2p67(89) - BLACKSMITH/a - left the Soc?

PLACKETT, William YMpp81(87) - lived in Holgate - a poor Friend(1687) - r(1687-8) - d.1688

'the PLANTER', John** Maryland→York in ? - d.1667

?POTTER, Thomas QR(06)QR(12)

PRESTON, Anne YMPCp11(96)YMPCp27(04) - of Dunnington?

PRESTON, George(ho F Kay) QMBS2p3(60) - MERCER(1656p) - d.1666

PRESTON, John F/8(62) - YEOMAN/£5 - DUNNINGTON 74 - 1.1714

PRESTON, William
 QUARE, John** (2nd ho E Smallwood)
 RAPER, Margaret
 ?REAKBY, Elizabeth
 REDSHAW, Anne
 REDSHAW, Elizabeth** (wo T Hammond)
 RELPH, Richard
 REYNOLDS, Anne* (do Anne/m)
 REYNOLDS, Anne* (m)
 RHODES, Benjamin (ho M Hammond)
 RHODES, Isabell* (m)
 ?RILEY, Elizabeth
 ROBINSON, Elizabeth* (m)
 ROBSON, Anne
 ROBSON, Edward
 ROW, Rebecca (wo J Hall jun,
 T Etherington)
 ROWNTREE, Mary** (1st wo T Lund)
 RYSAM, Mercy
 RYTHER, Elizabeth (do John)
 RYTHER, Frances (wo J Ryther)
 RYTHER, Frances*/** (do John
 1st wo J Taylor)
 RYTHER, Grace
 RYTHER, John (ho F Ryther)
 RYTHER, Lydia* (do John/m)
 RYTHER, Mary (do John, wo M Hawkins)
 RYTHER, Rebecca (do John)
 RYTHER, Simon (so John, 1st ho)
 A Kay
 SAMPSON, Henry (ho Mrs. H.)
 SAMPSON, Mrs.H (wo H Sampson)
 SAVAGE, Elizabeth (wo J Savage)
 SAVAGE, John (ho E Savage)
 SAVILLE, Lydia* (m)
 SCHOLLES, Mary* (m)

DUNNINGTON 63-67
 Wistow→York in 1713 - CORDWAINER
 - 6d - 1.1714
 YPMp91 (90) - a poor Friend (1690) -
 r (1690)
 YPMp63 (82) - 1s
 d.1710 (QR)
 Beckwithshaw→York b.1682 - St.JOHN
 84 - 1.1714
 F/8 (62) - BLACKSMITH (1667)/4h
 - left the Soc. c.1670
 York→Selby in 1651 - do Ralph R.,
 a/c in St.CUTH., innholder
 YMMp1 (69) - £1 - York→Thirsk in
 1674 - married a BUTCHER
 YPMCp25 (04) - MERCER (1707)/10s -
 1.1714
 York→Selby in 1671
 d.1678 (QR)
 York→Selby in 1696 - married a
MARRINER
 d.1661, wo Conyers R., TANNER
 QR (57) - TAPITER (1643) - d.b.1661
 YMMp121 (82) - St.MBs 82 - dis.
 (1688) - d.1698
 Westerdale M.→York in 1680 - 3d -
 St.CUTH.81 - d.1697
 dis. (1710)
 St.DENIS 69/St.MARG.81
 YPMp13 (73) - St.DENIS 63-81 -
 r (1673-79) - d.1686
 York→Jamaica in 1663/America→York
 in 1676 - St.MBs 82-85 - d.1696
 d.1662
 F/8 (62) - TANNER (1620)/1h/cc
 r (1669-73) - St.DENIS 63-73 - a/c
 in St.DENIS - d.1673
 St.DENIS 81? - York→'Howden' in
 1684 - married a LINNENWEAVER
 YPMp121 (94) - 5s - 1.1714
 St.DENIS 81/St.MBs 82-83 - d.1683
 QRm (56) - TANNER - St.DENIS 63 -
 d.1664
 YPMp46 (78) YMMp97 (79) - TAILOR
(1674)/10s/3h - M.le B.73-
 78
 M.le B.73-75
 YWMP10 (77) - WETNURSE -
 of Heslington - HES.77
 YPMpp26-28 (77) - of Heslington -
 HES.77
 York→Richmond MM. c.1693/4
 York→Skipton in 1703 - SERVANT -
 married a LINNENWEAVER

SEATON, Joseph** (so Rich.,
1st ho R Chessman)
SEATON, Mary** (do Rich.,
wo B Foster)
SEATON, Richard**/* (ho J Bew)
SHACKLETON, Roger**
SHARPNEY, Anne** (2nd wo T Lund)
SHARPNEY, Elizabeth** (2nd wo J
Lazenby)
SHAW, George**?
SHAW, Phillip
?SHEPPERD, Margaret (wo W Shepperd)
?SHEPPERD, William (ho M Shepperd)
SHILLING, William* (ho S Jones)
SIDDALL, Susanna**/*/** (2nd wo
J Denton)
SIMPSON, Elizabeth
SIMPSON, Jeridine (wo J Cressick)
SLACKE, Elizabeth (wo T Slacke)
?SLACKE, Thomas (ho E Slacke)
?SMAILES, Jacob**?
SMALLWOOD, Elizabeth** (wo R
Webster, J Quare)
?SMITH, Anne
SMITH, Anne** (2nd wo R Stones jun)
SMITH, John* (ho M Smith?)
SMITH, Martha** (wo T Garey)
SMITH, Mary (wo T Waite)
SMITH, Mary*? (wo J Smith?)
SMITH, Rebecca** (2nd wo W Tuke)
?SMITH, Richard (ho S Smith?)
SMITH, Sarah (wo R Smith?)
SMITH, Sarah* (m)
SMITH, Thomas

YPM2p87 (01) - Skipwith M.→York in ?
- SERGEWEAVER/2s - d.1705
Skipwith M.→York c.1699 - d.1700
Lincs.→York c.1662/York→Skipwith
M. in ?
Norfolk→York in 1714 -
SCHOOLMASTER turned FLAXDRESSER
(1717)/10s/ch
Knaresborough M.→York in 1698 -
d.1699
Knaresborough M.→Gill Rudding in
1698 - l.1714
YPM2p65 (98) - Balby MM.→York? -
2s6d
YPMCp26 (04) - BLACKSMITH(1707)/a
/1d - left the Soc?
of Gate Fulford - d.1693 (QR)
QR (93) - MERCHANT-TAILOR(1687) -
of Gate Fulford
GBS (61) - York→Tadcaster c.1663 -
1h
Tadcaster→York in 1691/York→Tad.
c.1699/Tad.→York b.1704 - mh -
- 1.1714
YMMp1 (69) - £4 - wo Chr.Simpson,
'GENT'/6h - St.MAU.72-84 - d.1690
YMMpp87 (78) - 1s6d - ASP 84 -
1.1714
YPMp4 (70) - £2 - MICH.S.75-82 -
d.1698
YWMp7 (76) - UPHOLSTERER(1669p)/6h
d.c.1680
APPRENTICE STATIONER/a - d.1684 (QR)
Selby M.→York in 1686 - 6d -
- 1.1714
d.1679 (QR)
Barnsley→York in 1682 - £1 - sep?
/if so rejoined the YPM by 1692
- d.1711
YMM2p123 (95) - 10s - York→America
in 1699
Co.Durham→York in 1698
FPT (52) - ASP 69-84 - d.1689
YPMCp11 (96) - York→America in
1699? - 6s
Thirsk MM.→York in 1693 - 1s -
r(1707-8) - 1.1714
FPT (52) - TANNER(1638)/3h/ch -
ASNS 67? - YPMp43 (78)?
FPT (52) - TRIN.MICK.63 - d.1663
York→Thorne in 1663 - do Abraham
S., a/c in TRIN.MICK., baker
F/8 (62) - LABOURER/2s6d -

SMITH, Thomas? of Deighton - a poor Friend(1681)
 SMITH, William(ho Mrs. W.) - r(1681) - d.1684
 SMITH, Mrs. W(wo W Smith) d.1697(QR)
 SMITHSON, Abel LFAP14(13) - FREEMASON -
 SMITHSON, Thomas**(ho J Coates) r(1713) - d.1713
 ?SPENCE, Hannah**? YPM2p229(13) - 1.1714
 SQUIRE, William**(ho M Vallance) LFAP14(12) - r(1713-15) - 1.1714
 STABLER, Anne(wo G Stabler) Aldborough→Acomb c.1676 - ACOMB
 STABLER, Edward(so Geo., 78-85 - d.1699
 ho M Cooper) SERVANT - d.1684(QR)
 STABLER, Emmanuel(so Geo.) Askwith MM.→York in 1676 - LINNEN
 STABLER, George(ho A Stabler) WEAVER - St.CRUX 80-84 - a poor
 STABLER, John(so Geo.) Friend(1681) - r(1681-3) - d.1698
 STEVENS, Henry(ho J Stevens) of Fulford - FULFORD 80-84 -
 STEVENS, Jane(wo H Stevens) 1.1714
 ?STEVENS, Jane(do Henry) YPMCp26(04) - YEOMAN/10s
 STEVENSON, John of Fulford - 1.1714
 STEVENSON, Robert YPMCp26(04) - HOSIER(1711)/ch/cc/sh
 STONEHOUSE, Frances**(2nd wo left the Soc
 T Hudson) YEOMAN/£5 - FULFORD 80-88 -
 STONEHOUSE, Hannah**(1st wo T 1.1714
 Hudson) YPM2p72(00) - 5s - of Fulford -
 STONEHOUSE, Mary**(wo M Hargrave) d.1701
 STONES, John(so Robt.) QRb(75) - TAILOR(1665)/2s -
 STONES, Robert**(ho J Pearson, left the Soc?
 A Smith) QRb(75) - d.1683
 STRAKER, Elizabeth d.1703(QR)
 TAYLOR, Elizabeth(wo J Taylor jun) YPMp44(78) - SILKWEAVER(1669)? -
 TAYLOR, Grace*(m) St.MARY C.80-82
 TAYLOR, Hannah(wo J Kay) YMMp123(82) - r(1682-3) - d.1690
 TAYLOR, Isaac(so John) Scarborough→York in 1707 - 1.1714
 TAYLOR, John**(ho F Ryther, Malton M.→York in 1704 - d.1705
 E Goddard) Malton M.→York in 1692 - 3d -
 a poor Friend(1712) - r(1707-15)
 of Deighton - a poor Friend(1681) - r(1681-3) - d.1698
 of Fulford - FULFORD 80-84 -
 1.1714
 YPMCp26(04) - YEOMAN/10s
 of Fulford - 1.1714
 YPMCp26(04) - HOSIER(1711)/ch/cc/sh
 left the Soc
YEOMAN/£5 - FULFORD 80-88 -
 1.1714
 YPM2p72(00) - 5s - of Fulford -
 d.1701
 QRb(75) - TAILOR(1665)/2s -
 left the Soc?
 QRb(75) - d.1683
 d.1703(QR)
 YPMp44(78) - SILKWEAVER(1669)? -
 St.MARY C.80-82
 YMMp123(82) - r(1682-3) - d.1690
 Scarborough→York in 1707 - 1.1714
 Malton M.→York in 1704 - d.1705
 Malton M.→York in 1692 - 3d -
 a poor Friend(1712) - r(1707-15)
 - 1.1714
 YPM2p166(09) - KEELMAN(1702p)/2s6d
 - 1.1714
 Balby MM.→York in 1678 - KEELMAN
(1681)/12s6d - St.MARY C.82 - sep
 - d.1703
 YPM2p45(96) - rc(1681-1705) -
 d.1705
 BGp1(93) - 5s - of Grimston -
 1.1714
 York→Guisborough M. in 1689
 YMM2p176(01) - 9d - of Grimston -
 1.1714
 YPMp43(95) - TOBACCO-CUTTER(1706p)
 /5s - left the Soc? - 1.1714
 America→York in 1676 - MERCHANT
SUGAR-REFINER(1681)/£4 - St.MBs
 82-85 - d.1709

TAYLOR, John jun.(so John, ho E Taylor)	York→Grimston in 1683 - 2s - St.MBs 83 - d.1693
TAYLOR, Jonathan(so John)	YPMp108(92) - 15s - d.b.1708
TAYLOR, Robert(so John T. jun?, ho I Fearnley)	YMM2p163(1700) - <u>YEOMAN</u> /10s - of Grimston - 1.1714
THOMLINSON, Elizabeth**(2nd wo R Leadall)	Selby→York in 1660 - d.1665
TODD, Anne(wo J Todd)	1.1714
TODD, Grace(wo J Todd)	QR(75) - M.le B.82-85 - married a <u>HUSBANDMAN</u> - d.1689
TODD, John(ho A Todd)	YPMCp5(92) - <u>WHITESMITH(1681)</u> /12s 1.1714
TODD, John(ho G Todd)	GBS(64) - <u>MERCER(1653)</u> /£13/6h - M.le B.63-85 - d.1704
TODD, Joseph	YPMp121(94) - <u>WHITESMITH(1692)</u> /12s - 1.1714
TODD, Mary	YWMp4(75) - r(1675) - St.HELEN 77- 83
TODD, Mary**(wo M Boone)	Selby→York in 1700 - 1.1714
TOPHAM, Elizabeth**/*(wo I Peart)	Bridlington→York in 1711/Brid.→ York in 1713
TORR, Elizabeth**/*(wo R Torr)	Bawtry→York in 1707/York→Bawtry in 1712
TORR, Richard**/*(ho E Torr)	as above - <u>PEWTERER</u> - in poverty(1708) - r(1707-12)
TRUEMAN, Rebecca**(wo W White jun.)	Darlington→York in 1706 - 1.1714
TUKE, Anne(wo W Tuke)	YPMp30(77) - St.DENIS 63-82 - d.1684
TUKE, Anne(do Will.)	YPMCp11(96) - 2s6d - mh - r(1708- 1715) - 1.1714
TUKE, Mary(do Will jun.)	1.1714
TUKE, William(ho A Tuke)	GBS(61) - <u>BLACKSMITH(1630)</u> /4h - St.DENIS 63-69 - d.b.1677
TUKE,William(so Will., ho S Merry, R Smith)	YMM2p57(88) - <u>BLACKSMITH(1684p)</u> / 10s - St.DENIS 80-89 - d.1704
TURNER, Mary**(wo N Morley)	Bridlington→York in 1706 - 1.1714
VALLANCE, Elizabeth	SWARTH(54) - 5s/3h - r(1670-77) - St.CRUX 63-69 - do Wm.V., wheelwright - d.1677
VALLANCE, Jane	SWARTH(52) - St.CRUX 63 - sister of Elizabeth - d.1666
VALLANCE, Mary(wo W Squire)	YMMp57(76) - <u>SCHOOLMISTRESS</u> - St.CRUX 80-84 - d.1698
WAINWRIGHT, George(ho M Wainwright)	GBS(65) - <u>TAILOR(1644p)</u> /2h - mh - r(1671-83) - St.OLAVE 73-84 - d.1687
WAINWRIGHT, Margaret(wo G Wainwright)	YWMp11(77) - mh - r(1677-83) - St.OLAVE 73-80 - sep - d.1713
WAITE, Jane(3rd wo W Hudson)	YPM2p43(95) - £5 - d.1705
WAITE, Thomas(ho M Smith)	FPT(53) - <u>STATIONER(1649)</u> /£10/5h - ASP 63-88 - d.1695
WALKER, Edward**(ho M Walker)	Thorton-le-Moor→Skelton b.1697 - <u>HUSBANDMAN</u> /2s6d - 1.1714
WALKER, Elizabeth	YMMp1(69) - £3 - wo Sam.W., lawyer/

WALKER, Margery** (wo E Walker) 6h - d.1673?
 QRb(98) - Thornton-le-Moor→Skelton
 b.1697
 WALLER, Anne**/* (do Thos.) York→London in 1700/London→York b.
 1706/York→London in 1710 to enter
 service - mh
 WALLER, Anne (wo T Waller) YWmp34 (94) - mh - r(1694-1709) -
 St.MAU.82/St.CUTH 84 - d.1709
 WALLER, Joseph (so Thos.?) APPRENTICE TAILOR/a - d.1699(QR)
 ?WALLER, 'Nanne' YPM2p178 (10) - r(1710-15) - 1.1714
 WALLER, Mary* (do Thos.) York→London in 1698 to enter
 service
 WALLER, Thomas (ho A Waller) YPMp49 (79) - LABOURER(1682)/2s6d -
 mh - a poor Friend(1681) - r(1680-
 1700) - St.MAU.77-82/St.CUTH.84-85
 - d.1700
 WALLER, Thomas (so Thos.) YPM2p82,85 (01) - CARPENTER(1701) -
 left the Soc
 WARD, Mary YPM2p143 (06) - r(1706-14) - d.1714
 WARD, Robert YPM2p241 (14) - TANNER(1714)/4s
 WARD, Sarah YPMcp31 (06) - SERVANT/2d - 1.1714
 WATSON, Jane* (m) York→Scarborough in 1708 - 3d -
 married a LINNENWEAVER
 ?WATSON, Thomas (ho G Weightman) 3h - ASP 69-73 - a/c - d.1673
 WEBSTER, Robert (1st ho E Smallwood) YMM2pp45,46 (86) - WHITESMITH(1687)
 6s6d - d.1705
 WEBSTER, Susanna**/* (m) Selby→York b.1688/York→Hunslett in
 1688
 WEBSTER, Susanna YPMp108 (92)YPMcp11 (96) - 2s
 ?WEIGHTMAN, Grace (wo T Watson) ASP 69
 WEIGHTMAN, Matthew (ho S Horsley) QRm (56) - TAILOR/1h -
 d.1667
 WELLS, Sarah**/* (m) London→York b.1685/York→Aughton
 in 1685
 WEST, John** (ho M West) Balby MM.→York in 1675 - LINNEN-
WEAVER(1676) - St.MARY
 C.82 -left the Soc?
 WEST, Mary** (wo J West) as above - d.1680
 WHEELER, Mary YMM2p9 (83) - LABOURER - r(1683)
 WHITE, Elizabeth (do Will.) YPMcp25 (04) - 6d - 1.1714
 WHITE, Jonathan (so Will.) YPM2p194 (11) - SCRIVENOR(1714p)/
 10s/ch - 1.1714
 WHITE, Mary* (do Will.) York→London in 1702 to enter
 service
 WHITE, William** (ho E Merry,
 M Wilkinson) Masham M.→York in 1677 - SERGE-
MAKER/£2 - ASNS 80-83/St.JOHN 85 -
 - 1.1714
 WHITE, William jun. (so Will.,
 ho R Trueman) YMM2p201 (03) - SERGE-MAKER(1708p)/
 8s6d - 1.1714
 WHITELEY, Samuel** Brigghouse MM.→York in 1713 -
STUFFWEAVER - 1.1714
 ?WHITTAKER, John**? KEELMAN - d.1691(QR)
 WILKINSON, Anne YPMp8 (70) - £5/1h - d 1685
 WILKINSON, Elizabeth (1st wo H QR(73) - ASP 75-83 - d.1683

Wilkinson)	
WILKINSON, Henry (ho E Wilkinson, Mrs. H.)	YMMp1 (69) - <u>APOTHECARY (1655)</u> /£10/ 7h/ch - ASP 74-83 - d.1692
?WILKINSON, Mrs.H(2nd wo H Wilkinson)	YPMp80 (87)
WILKINSON, Jane	KINGS COURT 63 - d.1689?
WILKINSON, Mary(2nd wo W White)	YMM2p48 (87) - r(1690) - St.MARY C. 83 - 1.1714
?WILKINSON, Rebecca	YWMP4 (75)
WILSON, Anne(wo W Wilson)	St.DENIS 63-67 - d.1673
WILSON, Elizabeth	YMM2p107 (93) - <u>SERVANT</u>
?WILSON, John	YPMp103 (92) - <u>SERGEWEAVER</u>
WILSON, Thomas*	YPMp63 (82) - 5s - M.le B.78-84/ St.CUTH 82 - York→Selby in 1691
WILSON, William (ho A Wilson)	F/8 (62) - <u>CORDWAINER (1634p)</u> /2h - r(1670-79) - St.DENIS 63-80
WINNARD, John (ho T Broughton)	YMMp118 (81) - <u>GROCER (1682)</u> /5s/ch St.MBs 82/ASP 83-85 - sep - d.1697
WINNARD, Thomas (so John)	sep
?WRIGHT, Joseph**?	<u>SERVANT</u> - d.1702 (QR)

Key

MM. - Monthly Meeting

YMM2p1 (84) - the first reference to that person as a Quaker is in the
York Monthly Meeting Minute Book 2, f.1, 1684

YPM - York Preparative Meeting Minute Book

YWM - York Women's Monthly Meeting Minute Book

YPMC - York Preparative Meeting, Collections

BG - Applications to bury in Friends' Burial Ground

LFA - Legacy Fund Account Book

PC - Papers of Condemnation

SW - Separatist Writings

QMBS - Quarterly Meeting Book of Sufferings

QRb - mentioned in the Quaker Registers, under baptisms

QRm - Quaker Register, marriages

ARB (54) - mentioned in the A.R.Barclay MSS of 1654

GBS - Great Bookj of Sufferings

FPT - First Publishers of the Truth

F/8 - Quarter Sessions Book, F/8

w(78) - reference to that person in a Quaker will made in 1678

?(before a name) - doubt exists as to whether that person was a Quaker

?(after the name) - a Quaker, but may have lived outside the YPM

** - moved into the ambit of the YPM

* - moved outside the ambit of the YPM

*(m) - left the meeting on account of marrying a Quaker from elsewhere

York→London - moved from York to London

TAILOR(1660p) - was made free by patrimony as a tailor in 1660

ho - husband of

wo - wife of

do - daughter of
so - son of
sep - separatist
Soc - The Society of Friends
a - apprenticed to a Quaker
ch - served as chamberlain
cc - served as a common councillor
sh(ex) - bought exemption from the shrievalty
c/a - collector or assessor during the Interregnum
dis.(1710) - disowned in 1710
2s - largest contribution to Friends' subscriptions
7h - rated at 7 hearths in the 1671 hearth tax assessments
r(1669-90) - in receipt of relief from Friends between 1669 and 1690
rc - in receipt of relief from Friends and the city
mh - a servant of the meeting (guarding the doors, sweeping up etc)
d.1710 - died in 1710
d.b.1710 - died before 1710
l.1714 - still living in 1714

ASP 63-85 - presented at visitation in All Saints, Pavement between 1663
and 1685

ASNS - All Saints, North Street
M.le B. - ST.Michael-le-Belfrey
St.MAU. - St.Maurice
St.MBs - St.Mary, Bishophill, senior
St.MARY C. - St.Mary, Castlegate
MICH.S. - St.Michael, Spurriergate
St.SAMP. - St.Sampson
SAV - St.Saviour
TRIN.GOOD. - Holy Trinity, Goodramgate

APPENDIX II: NONCONFORMISTS IN YORK, 1660-1714

ABBEY, Joseph	<u>JOINER(1688)</u> - trustee(92)(17)
?ADAMSON, Thomasina	OLAVE 84 r/nc
?ADDINALL, Robert	TRIN.GOOD.82 r/nc/a; 83,84,85 CW offences - <u>PAINTER/STAINER(1652)/</u> 6h/ch - d.1691
?ALDRIDGE, Anne(wo W Aldridge)	MARG.81 r
?ALDRIDGE, William(ho A Aldridge)	MARG.81 r
ALLANSON, Charles esq	SAVIOUR 69,76 nc - <u>ESQ(1672p)/7h</u> - so William Allanson, merchant & alderman, who was active in the parl.cause in the Interregnum
ALLANSON, Mrs C	SAVIOUR 69 nc
AMBROSE, Augustine	MART.MICK.67 r/nc; St.MBs 84 CW offence; 85 r - <u>MERCHANT(1664)/ch/</u> MA/EM- apprentice to Thomas Nisbett
?APPLEBY, Francis [C]	POP.SUP.84 r/nc
?ARAM, Oliver	ASP 83 r - 5h
ATKINSON, William	SAVIOUR 69 nc - <u>?(1641)/2h/cc</u> (?-62)
?AUSTIN, John	ASNS 83 r/nc - <u>BAKER(1673p)/2h</u>
?BALL, Thomas gen	M-le-B.85 r/nc
BANKS, William	Conv.84 - <u>WHITESMITH(1687)/</u> <u>CHANDLER(1689)ch</u>
BARSTOW, Alice(wo M Barstow)	MICH.82,83 r/nc - d.1702 (founded a hospital for poor widows in Blossom Street)
BARSTOW, Michael(ho A Barstow)	MICH.82 r/nc; 83 nc - <u>MERCER(1649)/</u> 5h/cc(1656-62)/sh(ex)/MA - a/c - trustee(92) - so Thos.B., of Northallerton - d.1698(see will)
?BATCHELOR, Matthew	TRIN.MICK.67 nc - <u>CARPENTER(1655p)/</u> 3h
?BAXTER, John	JOHN 84 r/nc - <u>SKINNER(1655p)/4h</u>
?BAXTER, Mrs J	JOHN 84 r/nc
?BAXTER, Mary	LAW.75,77,78 r/nc - wo Henry B., 'GENT'
BAXTER, Thomas	<u>MINISTER</u> /assistant to Colton 1692- 98
BAYOCKE, James	SAVIOUR 80 r/nc
BAYOCKE, Mrs J	SAVIOUR 80 r/nc
BAYOCKE, Matthew	<u>MERCHANT(1667p)/10h/ch/sh/MA</u> - trustee(92) - d.1714(see will)
?BECKWITH, Catherine	CUTH.80 nc - wo William B., <u>LINNENWEAVER(1657)/2h</u>
?BEEFORTH, Anne(wo W Beeford)	HELEN 67 nc
?BEEFORTH, William(ho A Beeford)	HELEN 67 nc - <u>TRUNKMAKER(1660)/3h</u>
BELL, Gabriel(ho L Bell)	MART.MICK.67 nc - <u>MERCHANT(1649)/</u> 10h/MA
BELL, Hannah(wo R Bell)	MART.MICK.67 nc
BELL, Joseph	ASNS 67,83 nc; 84,85 r/nc -

BELL, Mrs J	<u>TANNER(1658)/6h/ch</u>
BELL, Lydia(wo G Bell)	ASNS 67 nc; 84,85 r/nc
?BELL, Phineas	MART.MICK.67 nc
BELL, Ralph(ho H Bell)	ASP 63 r - <u>GROCER(1654)/MA</u>
	MART.MICK.67 nc - <u>MERCHANT(1655)/</u>
	ch/cc(1659-62)/MA
BELLAY, Dinah(wo J Bellay)	CRUX 67 nc
BELLAY, John(ho D Bellay)	CRUX 67,69 nc - <u>MERCER(1640)/3h/MA</u>
	an officer in Lilburne's regiment
BENSON, Robert	SAMP.67 nc - <u>MERCER(1638p)/5h/ch/</u>
	cc(1657-62)/MA - a/c
?BERRISFORD, -	CHRIST 74 nc
BEST, William	ASNS 83 r; 84 r/nc - <u>YEOMAN(1664p)</u>
	/3h
BEVERLEY, James	Conv.84
?BEVERLEY, Richard	M-le-B.85 r/nc - <u>APOTHECARY(1680)</u>
BEVERLEY, Thomas	<u>GROCER(1702p)/ch</u> - trustee(19)
BIRDSALL, Thomas	NETH.POP.80 nc/holding conventicles
	<u>MINISTER</u> - took Oxford Oath
BIRKETT, Matthew	Conv.84
?BLACKBURN, John	CHRIST 75 nc - <u>MILLONER(1666p)</u> -
	d.1690
BLACKETT, Thomas	Conv.84
?BLANSHARD, Charles(ho S Blanshard)	MARG.69 nc - cc/6h - d.1674
?BLANSHARD, Sarah(wo C Blanshard)	MARG.69 nc
?BLYTHE, wid [C]	CRUX 80 r/nc - wo Thomas B.?,
	<u>DRAPER(1648)/2h</u>
?BOLTON, Faith wid	TRIN.GOOD.82 r/nc - d.1694
?BOLTON, Josiah	TRIN.GOOD.82 r/nc - <u>COOPER(1673p)</u> -
d.1696	
BOLTON, Thomas	LAW.84 r/nc/not performing his
	duties as CW - <u>FELLMONGER(1679)</u>
?BOTTOMLEY, John	ASP 63 ex - <u>MERCHANT(1653)/12h/ch/</u>
	MA
BOUGHTON, Obediah	SAVIOUR 85 nc - see LUPTON
BOVILL, John	MART.MICK.67 nc - <u>CORDWAINER(1654p)</u>
	/2h - d.1709
BOVILL, Mrs J	MART.MICK.67 nc
?BOWES, Edward	CUTH.67 ex
BRAMLEY, Arthur	MART.MICK.67 r/nc - of Fulford
	- d.1673
BRAMLEY, Mrs A	MART.MICK.67 r/nc
?BREARY, Elizabeth	MBs.83 nc
?BRECKON, Elizabeth	LAW.84 r/nc - d.1686
?BRIAN, Mr [C]	MBs.73 nc
?BRIAN, Mrs [C]	MBs.73 nc
BROWN, Catherine(wo W Brown)	SAVIOUR 69 nc
BROWN, John	took Oxford Oath
BROWN, William(ho C Brown)	SAVIOUR 69 nc - <u>MILLER(1648)</u>
?BROWNLOSSE, George	SAMP.64 ex - <u>BUTCHER(1647p)/4h</u>
BROMPTON, Hugo	M-le-B.78 nc; 82 r/nc; 84 r -
	<u>TAILOR(1670)/4h</u>
BROMPTON, Mrs H	M-le-B.82 r/nc; WILFRID 85 r/nc
?BUCK, Anne	SAMP.73 nc/a - d.1677

BUCKLE, William	FULFORD 81 r/nc/refusing CWs oath
?BULMER, Elizabeth(wo F Bulmer) [C]	GREG.67 r/nc
?BULMER, Francis(ho E Bulmer) [C]	GREG.67 nc - <u>LIEUTENANT/9h</u>
?BURTON, Catherine(wo F Burton)	ASNS 67 nc
?BURTON, Francis(ho Catherine)	ASNS 67 nc - <u>GLOVER(1653p)/4h</u>
?BURTON, Mary(wo Thomas B) [C]	JOHN 78 r/nc
?BUTLER, Alice(wo G Butler) [C]	OLAVE 77 r; 84 r/nc
?BUTLER, Giles(ho A Butler) [C]	OLAVE 77,82 r; 84 r/nc
BUXTON, John gen(ho P Buxton)	trustee(92) - of Bilborough
BUXTON, Mary	3h - left money to Ralph Ward in her will - d.1682(see will) of Bilborough
BUXTON, Phoebe(wo J Buxton)	<u>GROCER(1688)/ch/sh/MA</u> - so John d.1743
?BUXTON, Samuel	CUTH.81,82 r/nc
?CAID, Elizabeth(wo W Caid) [C]	CUTH.82 r/nc - <u>LABOURER/1h</u>
?CAID, William(ho E Caid) [C]	<u>MINISTER</u> - took Oxford Oath
CALVERT, James	<u>MINISTER/11h</u> - took Oxford Oath - d.1679
CALVERT, Thomas	Conv.84 - <u>WINE-COOPER(1673)</u>
CARTER, John	ASNS 84,85 r/nc - <u>TANNER(1673p)</u>
CHAPMAN, Christopher	ASNS 84,85 r/nc - <u>TANNER(1673p)/2h</u>
CHAPMAN, George	ASNS 85 r/nc
CHAPMAN, Mrs G	ASNS 84 r/nc - <u>TANNER(1678p)</u>
CHAPMAN, Richard	NETH.POP.80 disturbing the service - <u>GRAZIER</u> - d.1701
?CLARKSON, Samuel	SAVIOUR 85 nc
?CLOUGH, Christopher [C]	SAVIOUR 85 nc
?CLOUGH, Mrs C [C]	MARG.63 r - wo Jas.C., <u>BAKER(1651)/</u> 5h
?COATES, Elizabeth	SAMP.84 nc - wo Wm.C.?, <u>WATCHMAKER</u> <u>(1660p)/2h</u>
COBB, Grace	SAMP.84 nc - mentioned in Susanna Dawson's will
COBB, Jane	ASP 83 r - <u>BLACKSMITH(1674)</u>
?COBB, John	ASNS 84,85 r/nc - <u>PAUPER</u>
CODDER, Gerrard	ASNS 85 r/nc
CODDER, Mrs G	MICH.67 ex; 74,75,76,77,80,83,84 r/nc
COLTON, Francis	M-le-B.85 r/nc - <u>BARBER-SURGEON</u> <u>(1633p)/3h/ch</u>
COLTON, Margaret(2nd wo T Colton)	<u>MINISTER</u> - trustee(92)(19) - so Francis - d.1731
COLTON, Thomas (ho M Ward, M Colton)	ASNS 67 nc
COOKE, Mrs T	CUTH.69 r/nc
?COOKE, Anne[C]	CUTH.69 ex - <u>ARTISAN SKINNER(1666p)</u>
?COOKE, Richard	ASNS 67 nc - <u>MERCHANT(1661)/4h/ch/</u> sh/MA - d.1673
COOKE, Thomas	ASNS 75 CW offences; 77 b; 83 nc - <u>MERCHANT(1677p)/ch/cc/sh/MA</u> -d.1687
COOKE, Thomas(so Thos.)	MART.MICK.67 nc - d.1690
CORNWALL, Elizabeth(wo T Cornwall)	MART.MICK.67 r/nc - <u>GROCER(1653)/3h</u> /ch/MA - d.1695
CORNWALL, Thomas(ho E Cornwall)	

CROFT, Olivia wid	SAVIOUR 67 nc - presented with N. Lambe - wo John Croft ' <u>GENT</u> '(1646p)
?CROSBY, Richard	BISH.81 r/nc
?CROSBY, Thomas	FULFORD 84 r/nc - <u>MARRINER</u> (1664p)?
?CROSBY, William	M-le-B.84 r/nc - <u>GLASIER</u> (1673p)
CUMMINS, Dorothy	SAVIOUR 69 - d.1681 (see will)
?CUNDALL, Francis	M-le-B.63 nc
?CUNDALL, Helen(wo T Cundall) [C]	M-le-B.82 r/nc
?CUNDALL, Thomas [C]	M-le-B.78 b - <u>ARMOURER</u> (1673p)
?CURREY, John	MART.CONEY 78 nc
CURTIS, William	NETH.POP.80 nc
?DALE, John	CRUX 82 r/nc - <u>CORDWAINER</u> (1673p)
?DANIEL, John gen	CUTH.74 nc/a - 10h
?DARKE, Anne(wo R Darke)	CHRIST 67 nc/a - d.1667
?DARKE, Robert(ho A Darke)	CHRIST 67 nc/a - <u>COOKE</u> (1648p)/2h - d.1672
DAWSON, Brian (ho S Dawson)	MICH.67,69,74,82,83,85 r/nc - <u>MERCHANT</u> (1634)/7h/ch/sh/ald/MA/EM - d.1687 (see will)
?DAWSON, Edward	DENIS 81 r/nc - <u>COOPER</u> (1668)/2h
?DAWSON, Mrs E	DENIS 81 r/nc
?DAWSON,Edward	<u>GROCER</u> (1678)/ch/MA - apprentice to Edward Nightingale - d.1680/buried Frds bg
DAWSON, Susanna(wo B Dawson)	MICH.67,69,74,82,83,85 r/nc - Conv. 84 - d.1703 (see will)
DAY, Anne(wo H Day)	MICH.74,75,76,77,80 r/nc - d.1690/buried Frds bg
DAY, Henry(ho A Day)	MICH.74,75,76,77,80 r/nc - <u>BARBER-SURGEON</u> (1649p)/2h/ch - d.1681/buried Frds bg
?DAY, Israel	CRUX 74 nc - <u>DRAPER</u> (1669p)/1h
?DAY, John	M-le-B.84 r/nc - <u>MERCER</u> (1681p)
DAY, Judith(wo L Day)	MICH.75 r/nc
DAY, Leonard(so Hen., ho J Day)	MICH.75 r/nc - <u>BARBER-SURGEON</u> (1673p)
?DEARLOVE, Henry [C]	M-le-B.84 r/nc
?DEARLOVE, Mrs H [C]	M-le-B.84 r/nc
DENNIS, John	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc; 85 nc - <u>GROCER</u> (1653)/MA
DENNIS, Mrs J	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc; 85 nc
DOBSON, Elizabeth(wo R Dobson)	MARG.67 r/nc
DOBSON, Richard(ho E Dobson)	MARG.67 r/nc - <u>CLOTHWORKER</u> (1653)/2h - d.1698/buried Frds bg
DODSWORTH, Jane(do John?)	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc; 85 nc - Conv.84
DODSWORTH, Robert	SAVIOUR 69 ex; 73,74,75 r/nc; 76 nc - <u>BRICKLAYER</u> (1655p)
DODSWORTH. Mrs R	SAVIOUR 73 r/nc
?DONKING, John	CUTH.80 nc - <u>WHITESMITH</u> (1677p)
DOSSEY, Richard	HELEN 75 r/nc/a; 76 r - <u>WEAVER</u> /5h/ch - a/c - sequestrator/bailiff of St.Peter's liberty until 1658 - d.1676
DOSSEY, Mrs.R	HELEN 67 receiving the communion

DOVE, Margaret (wo S Dove)
 DOVE, Silvester (ho M Dove)

DRAKE, Joshua

DRAKE, Mrs J
 ?ELLISON, George
 EMMERSON, Richard

EMMERSON, Mrs R
 EMPSON, Jacob

EWBANK, George
 EXTABIE, Thomas
 EXTABIE, Mrs T
 ?FARRAND, wid

?FAWCETT, Anne
 FISHER, Anne (wo R Fisher)

FISHER, Anne (wo N Fisher)
 FISHER, Charles (ho D Fisher)

FISHER, Dorothy (wo C Fisher)
 FISHER, Nicholas (ho A Fisher)

FISHER, Richard (ho A Fisher)

?FOSTER, Francis [C]
 ?FOSTER, John
 ?FOSTER, Mrs J
 ?FORSTER, Jillian (wo J Forster)
 ?FORSTER, John (ho J Forster)

FORSTER, Thomas

FORSTER, Mrs T
 FOX, Thomas

?FROST, George
 ?GAINFORD, John
 GARFORTH, William

GELDART, Dame Alice

GELDART, Hannah (wo J Geldart)

sitting
 MART.MICK.67 nc
 MART.MICK.67 nc - CORDWAINER(1664)
 - d.1675
 M-le-B.82,84 r/nc; 85 r/nc/b -
MERCER(1675)/ch/MA - apprentice
 to the Quaker John Todd - trustee
 (92) - his second son Samuel
 became an Anglican minister
 M-le-B.82,84 r/nc; 85 r/nc/b
 BISH.81 r/nc/a
 HELEN 73,75,84,85 a; 76 r; 80,82,83
 r/nc - ?(1655)/1h
 HELEN 83 r/nc
 HELEN 73,75 a; 76 r - TAILOR(1655)/
 1h
MINISTER - took Oxford Oath
 M-le-B.78 nc; 82 r/nc - ?(1673)
 M-le-B.82 r/nc
 M-le-B.85 r/nc - wo Thos.F.,
MERCHANT(1665)/9h
 OLAVE 84 r/nc
 DENIS 76 r; 77 r/nc; 80,81,83,85,89
 r/nc; 84 r/ex
 d.1716/buried Frds bg
 FULFORD 73,75 r/nc; 77 ex -
'AGRICOLA'(1676p) -
 so Nicholas Fisher, tanner
 FULFORD 75 r/nc; 77 ex
?(1701p) - so Richard - d.1721/
 buried Frds bg
 DENIS 76 r; 77, r/nc/b; 80,81,83,
 85,89 r/nc; 84 r/ex - Conv.84 -
PARCHMENTMAKER(1668p) -
 brother of Charles
 TRIN.MICK.75 r
 TRIN.MICK.84 r/nc/b
 TRIN.MICK.84 r/nc/b
 M-le-B.85 r/nc
 M-le-B.85 r/nc - CORDWAINER(1666)/
 2h
 M-le-B.63 opening his shop on
 holidays; 64 r; 78 a; 85 r/nc -
SADDLER(1650p)/5h
 M-le-B.85 r/nc
 St.MBs.83 boasting he had been at
 100 conventicles - TANNER(1656)/2h
 MARG.63 r - CORDWAINER(1631p)
 LAW.78 nc - MILLINER - d.1700
MERCHANT(1700p)/MA - Conv.84
 - trustee(19)
 wo Jn.G., MERCHANT(1619p) &
 alderman - d.1667(see will)
 indicted for disturbing the service

GELDART, John (ho H Geldart)	at MICH.SPURR. in 64 <u>BREWER/9h/ch/sh(ex)</u> - s-in-law of Dame Alice? - trustee(92) - d.1695 (see will)
?GIBSON, David	ASP 83 r
?GIBSON, Matthew	HAXBY 84 r
GIBSON, Richard	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc; 85 nc - <u>MILLINER</u> (1682p)
GIBSON, Mrs R	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc; 85 nc
GILBURNE, Richard	TRIN.MICK.67 nc; 76 r/nc - <u>CARPENTER(1660)/1h</u> - d.1695
?GILL, Isabell (wo Francis G)	MARG.67 r/nc - wo Francis G., <u>TAPITER(1665)</u>
GOODWIN, Edward gen	TRIN.GOOD.67 r/nc; 74,80 a - 11h - a/c - d.1686
GOODWIN, Mrs E	TRIN.GOOD.67 r/nc
GOWLAND, Elizabeth (wo W Gowland)	ACOMB 84,85 r/nc - Conv.84
GOWLAND, Elizabeth (wo J Gowland)	ACOMB 84,85 r/nc
GOWLAND, John (ho E Gowland)	ACOMB 84,85 r/nc - Conv.84 - of Knapton - <u>BARBER-</u> <u>SURGEON(1687)?/ch</u>
GOWLAND, William (ho E Gowland)	ACOMB 84,85 r/nc - Conv.84 - <u>TANNER(1689p)</u>
?GRAY, Anne (wo J Gray)	CRUX 82 r/nc
?GRAY, Helen [C]	GEORGE 74 r/nc
?GRAY, John (ho A Gray)	CRUX 82 r/nc - <u>SILKWEAVER(1657p)/</u> 1h
?GREENSIDE, Matthew	CUTH.69 ex - <u>LINNEN-WEAVER(1643p)</u>
GREENUPP, Elizabeth (wo J Greenupp)	MART.MICK.67 nc - d.1692
GREENUPP, John (ho E Greenupp)	MART.MICK.67 nc; TRIN.MICK.73 a - <u>TAILOR(1649p)</u>
HABBER, Joshua	Conv.84
HAGUE, Elizabeth	CRUX 82,84 r/nc
?HAINES, Rhodes [C]	HELEN 84 r/nc - <u>SURGEON(1681)</u>
?HAINES, - (wo Rhodes H) [C]	HELEN 82 r/nc
HALL, Anne	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc - the <u>SERVANT</u> of Anne Watson
HALLIDAY, William	Conv.84 - of Huntington - <u>YEOMAN</u> - of Huntington
HALLIWELL, John	CRUX 63 r/b; 67,69 nc; 73,80,81,82, 84,85,89 r/nc; 76 r/a - <u>CLOTHIER</u> (1658)/1h - ho the Quaker Susan Halliwell
?HARLAND, Thomas	CUTH.83 nc - <u>CORDWAINER(1685p)</u>
HARNESS, Thomas	ACOMB 84,85 r/nc
HARRISON, Anthony (ho E Harrison)	CUTH.63 r; 67 r/nc; 69 ex - <u>CORDWAINER(1638)</u>
HARRISON, Catherine (wo J Harrison)	M-le-B 68-71 r/nc
HARRISON, Elizabeth (wo A Harrison)	CUTH.63 r; 67 r/nc; 69 ex
HARRISON, Joseph (ho C Harrison)	M-le-B 68-71 r/nc - <u>BRICKMAKER</u> (1669p)?
HARRISON, Margaret (wo Charles H)	ASP 74 r/nc; 75 r
?HARRISON, Thomas	DENIS 81 r/b; 82 b - the Quaker?

?HART, John	CHRIST 67 ex - <u>CUTLER(1647p)/1h</u>
?HARWOOD, Humphrey	OLAVE 67 nc
?HARWOOD, Mrs H	OLAVE 67 nc
?HASTINGS, John [C]	LAW.84 r/nc
?HASTINGS, gen [C]	M-le-B.84 r
?HASTINGS, Mrs [C]	M-le-B.84 r
?HATFIELD, George	OLAVE 67 nc
?HAWTON, Thomas	M-le-B.85 r/nc - <u>INNHOLDER(1677)</u>
?HAWTON, Mrs T	M-le-B.85 r/nc
?HAXFIELD, Elizabeth [C]	TRIN.MICK.75 r
HEELAS, Dorcas(wo S Heelas)	MART.MICK.67 r/nc
HEELAS, Samuel(ho D Heelas)	MART.MICK.67 r/nc - <u>LINNEN- DRAPER(1654p)/1h - d.1677</u>
HEWITT, Lady Catherine	MART.MICK.67 r/nc; CUTH.82 r/nc - wo Rich.H., <u>MERCHANT(1641)</u> & alderman - d.1689
HEWLEY, Sir John(ho S Hewley)	<u>(1659 gratis)</u> - <u>LAWYER/city counsel</u> 1656-?/17h - d.1697(see will)
HEWLEY, Lady Sarah(wo J Hewley)	d.1710(see will)
HICKSON, Hannah(wo W Hickson)	MART.CONEY 77,78 r/nc
HICKSON, William(ho H Hickson)	HELEN 75 r/nc; MART.CONEY 77,78 r/nc - <u>JOINER(1668)</u> - trustee(92) - d.1704
?HILL, John	CRUX 74 r/nc - <u>GROCER(1648)/10h/MA</u>
HILL, Matthew	took Oxford Oath - <u>TANNER(1631)</u> /ch/cc(1653-62) - a/c - father of the NC Minister of same name
HILL, Thomas	ACOMB 85 r/nc
HIRD, Anne	d.1678(see will)
HOBSON, John(ho K Hobson)	<u>MINISTER</u> - living in Saviour's c.1667-1672 - d.1672 - buried in Friends bg.?
?HOBSON, Jonathan	MART.CONEY 78 nc - <u>INNHOLDER(1658)</u> /11h/ch/cc
HOBSON, Katherine(wo J Hobson)	CUTH.82 r/nc; 83 nc - Conv.84 - d.1695(see will)
?HODGSON, Anne spr	CUTH.80 nc
?HODGSON, Elizabeth spr	CUTH.80 nc
?HODGSON, Frances spr	CUTH.80 nc
?HODGSON, Margaret spr	CUTH.80 nc
HODGSON, Timothy	<u>MINISTER</u> - ordained by WARD and others in 1680; Lady Hewley's chaplain
?HOGG, David(ho M Hogg)	DENIS 69 r/nc
?HOGG, Mary(wo D Hogg)	DENIS 69 r/nc
?HOLDERNESS, Thomas	MARG.63 r - <u>TAILOR(1656)</u>
?HOLMES, Anne [C]	CUTH.81 r/nc
?HORNE, William	CUTH.80 nc
?HORNER, Mary(wo George H gen)	CRUX 89 r/nc - wo Geo.H., <u>MERCER</u> <u>(1645)/9h</u>
HORSEFIELD, Robert	MART.CONEY 78 nc - <u>TAILOR(1662)/5h</u> ch/sh - d.1711
HOTHAM, Hannah(wo M Hotham)	CRUX 80,81,89 r/nc
HOTHAM, John(so Mart.)	<u>TANNER</u> - trustee(19) - so Martin

HOTHAM, John(so Mart.)
 ?HOTHAM, Margaret spr
 HOTHAM, Martin(ho H Hotham)
 HOTHAM, William
 HOTHAM, William(so Mart.)
 ?HOUGH, Ralph
 ?HOUGH, Mrs R
 ?HOWGILL, Margaret
 ?HUGHES, Owen gen.
 HUMPHREY, Elizabeth(wo J Humphrey)
 HUMPHREY, John(ho E Humphrey)
 ?HUNTER, Anthony [C]
 ?HUTCHINSON, John[C]
 HUTTON, Dorothy
 ?HUTTON, Mrs
 HUTTON, Thomas esq
 ?INGLEBIE, John
 ?JACKSON, Alice
 JACKSON, Anne(wo T Jackson)
 ?JACKSON, John
 ?JACKSON, John
 ?JACKSON, Margaret
 JACKSON, Thomas gen(ho A Jackson)
 JEFFERSON, Samuel
 ?JOBSON, Matthew
 ?JOHNSON, Richard
 KIDD, William
 KIRBY, Welcome
 ?KIRKBY, Christopher
 ?KNAGGS, Elizabeth wid [C]
 ?KNAGGS, William [C]
 LAMB, Nathaniel
 MINISTER/assitant to Colton from
 1698 to 1731 - trustee(19)
 CHRIST 85 r/nc
 CRUX 76 r; 77,80,81,89 r/nc; 84 nc -
 Conv.84 - MILLINER(1668)/3h/ch
 - trustee(92) - d.1695(see will)
 MARG.80 nc; 81 b - TANNER(1670)/ch
MERCHANT(1716p)/MA - trustee(19)
 M-le-B.84 r - SILKWEAVER - d.1696
 M-le-B.84 r
 MARG.69 nc
 M-le-B.63 nc - TAILOR(1651)/ch
 MART.MICK.67 nc - d.1700
 MART.MICK.67 nc - BAKER(1658)/3h
 - d.1709
 CHRIST 74 nc - INNHOLDER/9h
 CUTH.69 r/nc
 NETH.POP.80 r/nc - wife of Rich.H.
GENT/deputy-Recorder
 during the Interregnum - sister of
 Lord Thomas Fairfax - d.1687(see
 will)
 HELEN 69 r - 5h
 NETH.POP.80 not kneeling at the
 confession/not standing when the
 creed is said/holding conventicles
 - brother of Dorothy
 BISH.75,81 r/nc - LINNENWEAVER
(1689)?
 BISH.81 r/nc
 SAVIOUR 69,85 nc; 73,74,84 r/nc
 BISH.81 r/nc
 DENIS 80 nc
 SAMP.64 ex
 SAVIOUR 69,85 nc; 73,74,84 r/nc -
GENTLEMAN(1656)/MERCHANT-
TAILOR/5h/ch/sh(ex) - a
 lieutenant during the Interregnum
 MART.MICK.80 refusing CWs oath; 81
 CW offence - GROCER(1673)/ch/cc/MA
 apprentice to Edward Nightingale -
 QR(75)
 SAMP.64 ex - PEWTERER(1636)/3h
 ASP 83 r - WHITESMITH(1681)
 TRIN.MICK.63 for burying an NC
 plotter and illegally intruding on
 the office of pish.clerk - TAILOR
(1655p)/1h
 NETH.POP.80 nc
 BISH.81 r/nc
 CUTH.67 r; 69 ex; 73 r/nc - 1h
 CUTH.63 r - TAILOR(1636p) - 1h
 SAVIOUR 67 nc - MINISTER - took
 Oxford Oath

?LANCASTER, John	MBs.83 nc
?LANCASTER, William	MBs.82 nc - of Dringhouses
LANGBOTTOM, Susanna	SAVIOUR 85 r/nc - 1h
?LAWRENCE, Jacob(ho M Lawrence)	CHRIST 67 nc - <u>TANNER(1636p)</u> - d.1669
?LAWRENCE, Mary(wo J Lawrence)	CHRIST 67 nc
LAZENBY, Sarah(wo W Lazenby)	SAVIOUR 67 ex; 69 r/nc
LAZENBY, Wilfrid(ho S Lazenby)	SAVIOUR 67 ex; 69,73 r/nc - <u>BAKER(1641)/5h/cc(1652-62)</u> - a/c
LEACH, Jasper	SAVIOUR 69 nc - <u>SURGEON(1667p)/7h</u>
LEACH, Mrs J	SAVIOUR 69 nc
?LINSLEY, Anne(wo Jacob L) [C]	DENIS 74,75,77,81,82,83 r/nc; 76 r; 80 r/nc/a - wo Jas. Linsley, <u>BLACKSMITH(1670)/2h</u> - a Quaker?
?LOFT, Dorothy(wo J Loft)	CRUX 82 r/nc
?LOFT, John(ho D Loft)	CRUX 82 r/nc - <u>SILKWEAVER(1644p)</u>
LOFTHOUSE, Robert	M-le-B.84,85 r/nc - <u>TAILOR(1673)</u>
LOFTHOUSE, Mrs R	M-le-B.85 r/nc
LUCAS, Isabell	CHRIST 63,75 r; 67 ex; 74 nc; 81, 83,84 r/nc - 2h - d.1706
?LUND, William	M-le-B.78 nc - <u>BAKER(1648)/6h</u>
LUPTON, Obediah	Conv.84
?MACHELL, -	MARG.63 b
?MAKEPEACE, William	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc - <u>COOPER(1645)/2h</u>
?MAKEPEACE, Mrs W	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc
?MARKENFIELD, William	CUTH.83 nc - 2h
MARSH, Thomas gen	trustee(19) - of Bilborough
?MARSHALL, Anne(wo R Marshall)	JOHN 78 r/nc
?MARSHALL, Robert(ho A Marshall)	JOHN 78 r/nc - <u>CARPENTER(1665)/1h</u>
MARSHALL, William	M-le-B.84 r/nc; 85 r/nc/CW offences - <u>HARNESS-MAKER/2h</u>
MARTINDALE, William	CUTH.67,69 ex - <u>LINNENWEAVER</u> <u>(1655p)</u>
?MARTON, John	OLAVE 73 r/a - of Fulford
MASCALL, Anne(wo W Mascall)	MART.CONEY 78 nc
MASCALL, William gen(ho A Mascall)	MART.CONEY 74 CW offence; 78 nc - <u>GOLDSMITH(1665p)/5h</u>
MATTHEWS, George	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc; 85 nc - <u>SURGEON</u> <u>(1659)</u>
MATTHEWS, Mrs G	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc; 85 nc
?MATTHEWS, Robert	CRUX 67 nc - <u>SADDLER(1659p)/1h</u>
?MAWMAN, Bartholomew	MBs.83 nc - 1h
?MAWMAN, Mrs B	MBs.83 nc
?MAWMAN, Ellis	MBs.73 nc
?MAXWELL, John sen	ASNS 84 r/nc - <u>BRICKLAYER(1629p)</u>
?MAXWELL, John jun	ASNS 84 r/nc - <u>BRICKLAYER(1673p)</u>
?MEASE, William	OLAVE 80 r
?MEASE, Mrs	OLAVE 80 r
?METCALFE, George	ASP 81 r/nc
?MILLES, Christopher	MBs.83 nc
?MILLES, Mrs C	MBs.83 nc
MITCHELL, Elizabeth	d.1678(see will)

?MOORE, Elizabeth
?MORLEY, wid

?MORTON, Robert
?MOSELEY, Mary [C]
?MOULIN, Helen du [C]
?MUDD, Christopher
?MURTHWAITE, Judith wid [C]
NELSON, Nathaniel

NELSON, William
NEWBY, Edward

NICHOLSON, Frances (wo F Nicholson)
NICHOLSON, Francis (ho F Nicholson)

?NICHOLSON, - gen [C]
?NICHOLSON, Mrs - [C]
NISBETT, Isabell (wo T Nisbett)
NISBETT, Susanna wid

NISBETT, Thomas gen (so Sus.,
ho I Nisbett)

?NUNNS, John [C]
?NUNNS, Mrs J [C]
?OLIVER, Anne (wo J Oliver)
?OLIVER, John (ho A Oliver)
?OLIVERSON, Thomas
?ORTON, Elizabeth
OUSEMAN, Anne

OVEREND, Edward jun

OVEREND, John
OVEREND, Richard

OVEREND, Thomas
PARUTER, Thomas (1st ho R Paruter)

PARUTER, Rose (wo T Paruter,
R Rymer)

?PALLISER, Anne
PATRICK, Francis
PATRICK, John (ho M Patrick)

PATRICK, Mary (wo J Patrick)
PAWSON, Mrs

CHRIST 75 r
M-le-B.85 r/nc - wo Chris. M.,
BARBER-SURGEON(1647p)/7h
MARG.69 nc - CORDWAINER(1635p)
ASP 81 r/nc
M-le-B.74-81,84 r
CUTH.67 ex - LABOURER(1661)/2h
M-le-B.82,85 r/nc; 84 r
M-le-B.84,85 r/nc - BARBER-
SURGEON(1663)/1h
NETH.POP.80 nc/a - d.1685
SAVIOUR 63 a/69,85 nc -
CORDWAINER(1647p)/3h
MART.CONEY 78 nc
MART.CONEY 78 nc - UPHOLSTERER
(1672p)/ch - d.1697
M-le-B.82 r/nc/b
M-le-B.82 r/nc
MART.MICK.67 r/nc - d.1669
MART.MICK.67 r/nc - wo Ph.Nisbett
MINISTER - 7h - d.1694
(see will)
MART.MICK.67 r/nc - MERCHANT(1646)
/9hch/cc(1658-62)/sh/MA/EM - a/c -
trustee(92) - so Phillip Nisbett an
ejected minister - d.1694 (see will)
M-le-B.82 r/nc; 84 r - 10h
M-le-B.82 r/nc; 84 r
MBs.83 nc
MBs.83 nc - CORDWAINER(1653)/1h
MBs.83 nc - LABOURER(1680)
CHRIST 74 nc - 7h
JOHN 84 r/nc; 85 r - wo Rich.O.,
BAKER(1659)/3h
FULFORD 83,84 r/nc - MERCHANT-
TAYLOR(1679p)
FULFORD 77 r/nc
Conv.84 - YEOMAN of Fulford
- trustee(19)
FULFORD 73,77 r/nc
CRUX 74 r/nc; M-le-B.75 r/nc/CW
offence - DRAPER(1669)/6h
- so Robt.P. of Westmoreland, gent
- d.1679 (see will)
M-le-B.75,82,85 r/nc; 84 r

FULFORD 63 r
GEORGE 80 nc - of Bell Hall
MBj.70 nc; TRIN.MICK.84 CW offences
- LINNENWEAVER(1658p)/2h - looked
after a sick Quaker (YPM[87])
MBj.70 nc - d.1682
MBs.73,83,85 nc - wo Hen.P.,
MERCHANT(1666)/3h

PEARSON, Barbara (wo Henry P) CHRIST 63 r; 67 ex - wo Hen.P.,
TAILOR(1634)/7h - a/c
LAW.74 r/nc

?PECKETT, Anne CHRIST 67 ex; 80 r/nc; CRUX 77 a;
85 r/nc - PEWTERER - d.1698/buried
Frds bg

PECKETT, Elizabeth (wo G Peckett) SAMP.64 ex; CHRIST 67 ex; 73 r/nc;
CRUX 76 r/a - PEWTERER(1642)/2h
- d.1677

PECKETT, George (ho E Peckett) LAW.74 r/nc

?PECKETT, Mary wid MERCHANT(1676)/ch/cc/sh/MA/EM

PEMBERTON, John SAVIOUR 69 nc - 6h

?PENFORD, Francis gen SAVIOUR 69 nc

?PENFORD, Mrs MINISTER - took Oxford Oath -
d.1671 as a 'Dr.of Phisicke'
Conv.84

PERROT, Richard MART.CONEY 63 r - wo Jas.P.,
GOLDSMITH(1620p) - a/c -
d.1671

PICKERING, Mercy M-le-B.78 nc - GOLDSMITH(1649p)/4h

?PLUMMER, Jane SAVIOUR 76,85 nc; 84 r/nc -
LABOURER(1657)

?PLUMMER, John (so Jane) SAVIOUR 84 r/nc

PORTER, Thomas HAXBY 84 r

PORTER, Mrs T CRUX 85 r/nc - PANNIERMAN/1h

?POTCH, wid CRUX 85 r/nc - BRICKLAYER(1678)

?POTTER, Leonard CRUX 85 r/nc - BRICKLAYER(1656p)/
1h

?POTTER, Seth CRUX 85 r/nc

?PRESTON, Edward CUTH.80 nc

?PRESTON, Mrs E M-le-B.63 opening his shop on
holidays; CHRIST 73r/nc - PINNER &
HOSIER(1645p)/2h - d.1681

?PRESTON, John MBj.70 r/nc

?PRESTON, Lowther MBj.70 r/nc - of Poppleton - d.1683

?PRINCE, Dorothy (wo T Prince) CHRIST 67 nc/a - BUTCHER/4h
Conv.84

?PRINCE, Thomas (ho D Prince) Conv.84

?RAGGETT, Robert MART.MICK.67 nc - CARPENTER
- d.1672

RAINE, Thomas M-le-B.84,85 r/nc - MERCHANT(1679)/
HABBERDASHERof SMALLWARES/ch/cc/sh/
ald

RAINE, Mrs T MART.MICK.67 r/nc - d.1688

RAWLING, Robert MART.MICK.67 r/nc - of Fulford -
GENT - d.b.1688

REDMAINE, Charles UPHOLSTER(1661p)/ch/cc -
mentioned in NC records, signatory
to Lady Hewley's will

REDMAINE, Elizabeth (wo R Redmaine) SAVIOUR 69 nc

REDMAINE, Robert esq (ho E Redmaine) MBs.83 nc - ?(1672)
Conv.84 - of Naburn

?RHODES, Robert ASP 83 r - wo John R., BAKER/2h

RICHARDSON, Mary JOHN OUS.78 a; CRUX 81 r/nc -

?RICHINSON, Michael

RIDSDALE, John

?RIVLAY, wid

?ROBINSON, Arthur

?ROBINSON, John	<u>MERCHANT(1681)/ch/cc/MA</u>
ROBINSON, Judith	SAMP.84 nc - <u>MERCER(1673)</u>
?ROBINSON, Richard [C]	Conv.84
?ROBINSON, Richard [C]	ASNS 83,84 r/nc - MERCER(1673)?
	M-le-B.84,85 r/nc - <u>WOODHEELMAKER</u>
	<u>(1666)/3h</u>
?ROBINSON, Robert	OLAVE 73 r/a - of Fulford
?ROBINSON, William	SAMP.64 ex; HELEN 80 r/nc - 3h
ROOKSBY, Thomas esq(ho Ursula)	<u>LAWYER later JUDGE(1688)</u>
ROOKSBY, Ursula(wo Thos.)	TRIN.MICK.80,82,83,84 r/nc; 81 r -
	Conv.84 - do James Danby gen of
	Newbuilding, nr.Thirsk - d.1707
	ASP 63,83 r; 69,82 r/nc - <u>TALLOW-</u>
	<u>CHANDLER(1655)/1h</u>
ROOME, John	MBs.82,83 nc; 82 CW offence -
	<u>WRIGHT</u> - d.1725
ROSE, Andrew(ho E Rose)	MBs.82,83 nc
ROSE, Elizabeth(wo A Rose)	SAVIOUR 85 nc - <u>MERCHANT(1689)</u>
?ROWESBY, Robert gen	ASP 83 - 2h - d.1685
?RYMER, Bartholomew	M-le-B.82,85 r/nc; 84 r - so Ralph
RYMER, Ralph gen(2nd ho R Paruter)	Rymer, a/c, executed for his part
	in the 1663 Northern Rebellion
	M-le-B.82,84 r/nc; 85 r/nc/b -
	<u>TALLOW-CHANDLER(1680p)/ch</u> - appr.
	to the Quaker sympathiser Chr. Lund
	- d.1703
SALMON, Thomas	M-le-B.82,84 r/nc; 85 r/nc/b
	M-le-B.84 r
SALMON, Mrs T	GEORGE 80 nc
?SANDERSON, Isabell	ASNS 67 nc - d.1683
?SANDWICH, gen [C]	ASNS 67 nc - <u>BUTCHER(1638p)</u>
?SAWER, Frances(wo S Sawyer)	- d.b.1683
?SAWER, Samuel(ho F Sawyer)	BISH.67 r; 81 r/nc
SCERRIE, Rebecca(wo Jacob S)	SAVIOUR 69 nc
SCOTT, Elizabeth	HELEN 67 ex.b; 69 r; 75,77 r/nc -
SEAMER, Abel(ho D Seamer)	<u>WATCHMAKER(1650p)/3h</u> - so Wm.S.,
	sequestrator - d.1682
	HELEN 69 r
SEAMER, Dorcas(wo A Seamer)	M-le-B.85 r/nc - <u>WHIPMAKER</u>
?SEWDALL, Henry	M-le-B.85 r/nc
?SEWDALL, Mrs H	BISH.76 r - <u>MARRINER(1657)</u>
?SHAW, Edward	ASP 81 r/nc
?SHEPPERD, Elizabeth	OLAVE 84 r/nc
?SHERWIN, Mary	SAMP.67 nc - <u>CORDWAINER(1637)</u>
?SIMPSON, Christopher	MART.MICK.67 nc - <u>LABOURER(1673)</u>
SIMPSON, John	- d.1704
	MART.MICK.67 nc
SIMPSON, Michael	MAURICE 67 r/nc - 6h
?SIMPSON, William gen [C]	MAURICE 67 r/nc
?SIMPSON, Mrs W [C]	TRIN.MICK.77 r/nc - Conv.84 -
SLAYTER, Robert(ho U Slayter)	<u>BEARBREWER(1669)/4h</u>
	TRIN.MICK.77 r/nc
SLAYTER, Ursula(wo R Slayter)	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc - 2h
?SLAYTER, William	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc
?SLAYTER, Mrs W	

?SLEGGs, George	DENIS 69 r/nc - <u>TAILOR(1666p)/4h</u>
SLINGER, Mrs	CUTH.80 nc; 82 r/nc - 4h - wo Jos. S.?, a/c
?SMAILES, Thomas	CRUX 85 r/nc - <u>JOINER(1677p)</u>
?SMITH, Abraham	TRIN.MICK.63 opening his shop on holidays - <u>BRASIER(1636)/4h</u> - d.1672
SMITH, Abraham(so Mich.)	Conv.84 - <u>LINNENWEAVER(1688p)</u>
?SMITH, Catherine	CHRIST 67 ex
?SMITH, Henry	SAVIOUR 85 nc - <u>BAKER(1673p)</u> - signatory to Noah Ward's will?
?SMITH, Mrs H	SAVIOUR 85 nc
SMITH, Joana(wo T Smith)	ASNS 67 nc
SMITH, Michael(ho R Smith)	MBj.64 r/b; 67 ex/a/holding conventicles; TRIN.MICK.73,74 a; MART.MICK.80 r/nc; ASNS 83 r <u>LINNENDRAPER/6h</u>
SMITH, Richard	ASNS 67,83 nc - <u>TANNER(1638)/3h/ch</u> - a/c - possibly the Quaker sympathiser of that name
SMITH, Rosamond(wo M Smith)	MBj.64 r; 67 ex
SMITH, Samuel	<u>GROCER(1686)/ch/MA</u> - trustee(92)(19) - d.1733
?SMITH, Stephen	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc
?SMITH, Mrs S	SAVIOUR 84 r/nc
SMITH, Thomas(ho J Smith)	ASNS 67 nc; 74 CW offence - 5h - d.1674
?SPAWTON, John	CHRIST 67 ex - <u>BUTCHER(1652p)</u>
SPENCER, Anne wid	MART.MICK.67 r/nc - wo Ambrose S. <u>GROCER(1658)</u>
?SQUIRE, Timothy	CHRIST 75 nc - <u>DRAPER(1639)?</u> - d.1682
STANLEY, Thomas	MART.MICK.67 r/nc - <u>?(1625)</u> - a/c - d.1675
?STEPHENSON, Amos [C]	CUTH.84 r/nc
?STEPHENSON, Mrs A [C]	CUTH.84 r/nc
?STOCKDALE, William	OLAVE 67 nc - 2h
?STONES, John	HELEN 82 r/nc
?STONES, Mrs J	HELEN 82 r/nc
STRAKER, Richard	OSBALDWICK 67 nc
?STRAKER, William	CRUX 69 a; 74 r/nc - <u>DRAPER(1649)/2h</u>
SWIFT, Henry	<u>MINISTER</u> - took Oxford Oath
TAYLOR, Abigail(do Andrew)	Conv.84
TAYLOR, Abigail(2nd wo A Taylor)	d.b.1696
TAYLOR, Andrew(ho M Taylor, A Taylor)	MART.MICK.67,75,80,82 r/nc - <u>MERCHANT(1650)/7h/ch/cc(1654-56)/sh(ex)/MA</u> - Conv.84 - trustee(92) - d.1696 bur.pish.church(see will)
TAYLOR, Martha(1st wo A Taylor)	MART.MICK.67 r/nc - d.1667
?TEILE, Edward	MBj.67 r - <u>LABOURER(1660)/1h</u> - d.1682
TENNEY, George(ho M Tenney)	SAVIOUR 69 nc; SAMP.72 a - <u>INNHOLDER(1661)/3h</u> - d.1696

TENNEY, Mary (wo G Tenney)	SAVIOUR 69 nc
THOMKINSON, Thomas	MART.CONEY 64 r - <u>CLERK</u>
THOMPSON, Hannah	Conv.84
?THOMPSON, Henry Sir (ho A Thompson)	MBs.83 nc; 85 r - <u>ESQ(1666p)/13h/</u> ald - d.1692
?THOMPSON, Lady Anne (wo H Thompson)	MBs.83 nc; 85 r
?THORNTON, Rosamond vid	ASNS 67 nc
?THORPE, John	MICH.89 nc - <u>GROCER(1666)/2h</u>
?THORPE, William	MICH.76 nc/a - <u>STATIONER(1671)</u>
?THORPE, Mrs W	MICH.76 nc/a
?TIREMAN, Jane	MARG.63 r
TODD, Cornelius	<u>MINISTER</u> - took Oxford Oath of Nether Poppleton - d.1671 (see will)
TURNER, Isabell	SAVIOUR 69 r/nc - 2h - d.1670 (see will)
TURTLE, Elizabeth	CRUX 74 r/nc - <u>TURNER(1664p)</u> brother of the Eliz and Jane, Quakers
?VALLANCE, William	FULFORD 77 r/nc
?VARLEY, Helen	CHRIST 81 r/nc
?VESSY, William	CUTH.63 r
?WAIDE, Jane (wo N Waide)	CUTH.63 r - <u>PINNER(1656p)</u>
?WAIDE, Nathaniel (ho J Waide)	MBs 83 nc - 1h
?WAINMAN, Bartholomew (ho E Wainman)	MBs 83 nc
?WAINMAN, Elizabeth (wo B Wainman)	Conv.84
WALES, Henry	Conv.84
WALKER, Anne	CRUX 80 r/nc - wo Thos.W., - <u>TRUNKMAKER(1636p)/3h</u>
?WALLER, Isabell	SAVIOUR 69,73,74,75,80,81,82,83 r/nc; 76 nc - Conv.84
WARD, Frances (wo R Ward)	Conv.84
WARD, Mary (do Ralph. 1st wo T Colton)	<u>MINISTER</u> - d.1699 (see will)
WARD, Noah	SAVIOUR 69,73,74,75,80,81,82,83 r/nc; 76 nc - Conv.84 - <u>MINISTER/2h</u> - d.1692 (see will)
WARD, Ralph (ho F Ward)	Conv.84 - <u>JOINER(1685p)</u>
WATERHOUSE, Charles	SAVIOUR 69,76 nc; 73,74,75,77 r/nc - 6h - wo Steph.W., <u>GROCER(1614p)</u> and ald - d.1680 (see will)
WATSON, Lady Anne	took Oxford Oath - <u>STATIONER(1620)</u> /1h - sequestrator
WAUDBY, William	ASP 83 r
?WAWKINGTON, Mary	MART.CONEY 78 nc - wo Leo.W., <u>LAWYER(d.1668)/8h</u> - d. 1718
?WEDDELL, wid	<u>MERCHANT TAILOR(1708)</u> - trustee(19)
WELL, Thomas	MART.CONEY 78 nc - d.1684
?WENINGTON, Jane	MICH.76 nc - <u>MARRINER(1655)/2h</u>
?WHEATLEY, Thomas	MICH.76 nc
?WHEATLEY, Mrs T	MAURICE 82 r/nc
?WHITTON, Dorothy	<u>MINISTER/8h</u> - took Oxford Oath
WHITTON, Joshua	

WILCOCK, Thomas	- d.1674
?WILD, - gen [C]	<u>JOINER(1703)</u> - trustee(19)
WILLIAMS, Peter	CUTH.82 r/nc
	<u>MINISTER/8h</u> - took Oxford Oath -
?WILLIAMSON, Anne	- d.1680
	MART.CONEY 63 r - wo Robt.W. -
	<u>GOLDSMITH(1654p)/4h</u> - a/c
	- d.1667
?WOOD, Stephen	CUTH.84 r/nc - <u>VINTNER(1660p)</u>
?WOODCOCK, Martin(ho S Woodcock)	OSBALDWICK 77 ex
?WOODCOCK, Susanna(wo M Woodcock)	OSBALCWICK 74 r/nc; 77 ex
?WRIGHT, Catherine	CUTH.80 nc
WRIGHT, Helen	MBj.64 r; CRUX 67 nc

Key

r - recusancy
 nc - not receiving the sacrament
 a - not paying church assessments
 b - not having his/her child baptised in church
 ex - excommunicated for spiritual offence
 wo - wife of
 ho - husband of
 do - daughter of
 so - son of
 ch - served as chamberlain
 cc - common councillor
 sh - sheriff
 ald - alderman
 CW - Churchwarden
 EM - Eastland's merchant
 MA - member of the Merchant Adventurers
 [C] - possible Catholic
 a/c - assessor or collector during the Interregnum
 7h - rated at 7 hearths in the 1671 hearth tax assessments
 Conv.84 - present at the 1684 conventicle

d.1710 - died in 1710
 d.b.1710 - died before 1710
 trustee(92) - made a trustee of the St.Saviourgate Chapel in 1692
 ?(before name) - no proof that they were Dissenters
 MINISTER - ejected minister
 MARRINER(1660p) - was made free by patrimony as a marriner in 1660
 (see will) - will either important in determining their NC credentials or
 to the understanding of early Dissent in York

ASNS 63 r - presented at visitation in All Saints, North Street for not
 going to church
 ASP - All Saints, Pavement
 BISH - Bishopthorpe
 CHRIST - Holy Trinity, King's Court
 CUTH - St.Cuthberts

LAW - St.Lawrence
MARG - St.Margaret
MART.MICK - St.Martin, Micklegate
MBj - St.Mary, Bishophill, junior
M-le-B - St.Michael-le-Belfrey
TRIN.GOOD - Holy Trinity, Goodramgate

APPENDIX III: PRESENTMENTS OF SPIRITUAL OFFENDERS* IN YORK
AT ARCHIEPISCOPAL VISITATIONS, 1662-84

* absentees from church, non-communicants, conventiclers, those named as Dissenters etc, those refusing to have their children baptised in church

PARISHES	1662/3	1667	1674	1682	1684
All Saints, North Street					
Dissenters	-	12	0	0	10
Quakers	-	0	0	0	0
Catholics	-	0	0	0	0
All Saints, Pavement	2	-	1	1	0
	3	-	8	5	13
	1	-	0	3	1
Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	-	16#	2	3	0
	-	0	0	0	0
	-	7	5	2	0
# mostly Minster clergymen and their wives					
Holy Trinity, Kings Court	2	5	5	0	1
	2	0	1	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0
Holy Trinity, Micklegate	0	2	0	1	3
	2	0	0	2	0
	3	3	4	3	5
St.Crux	1	5	0	7	3
	2	4	0	3	3
	2	0	0	0	1
St.Cuthbert	5	6	0	6	3
	0	0	0	1	2
	3	11	0	4	8
St.Denis	0	0	1	1	2
	12	8	6	2	1
	4	6	4	3	2
St.Gregory	-	2	-	-	-
	-	0	-	-	-
	-	0	-	-	-
St.Helen, Stonegate	0	3	0	4	1
	0	1	0	0	2
	0	1	0	2	2
St.John, Delpike	0	-	-	-	-
	0	-	-	-	-
	4	-	-	-	-
St.John, Ousebridge	-	0	0	0	3
	-	0	0	0	2
	-	0	4	0	0
St.Lawrence	0	0	2	0	2
	0	0	2	1	1
	0	0	0	1	3
St.Margaret	4	3	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0

	1	0	0	0	0		
St.Martin, Coney Street	2	0	0	-	0		
	2	1	0	-	0		
	8	3	0	-	5		
St.Martin, Micklegate	0	32	0	2	0		
	0	2	0	0	0		
	0	0	0	0	0		
St.Mary, Bishophill, jun.	0	3	0	0	0		
	0	0	0	0	0		
	4	3	1	1	0		
St.Mary, Bishophill, sen.	0	0	0	3	0		
	0	0	1	8	0		
	0	0	2	1	0		
St.Mary, Castlegate	0	0	0	0	0		
	3	0	0	5	0		
	2	0	0	1	0		
St.Maurice	0	2	0	1	0		
	1	1	0	4	3		
	3	0	0	1	0		
St.Michael-le-Belfrey	3	-	0	11	20		
	1	-	0	4	7		
	4	-	0	6	9		
St.Michael, Spurriergate	0	3	5	4	1		
	0	0	6	2	1		
	0	0	0	3	4		
St.Olave	0	4	0	0	3		
	0	0	2	0	1		
	2	3	7	2	4		
St.Sampson	-	2	0	0	3		
	-	0	1	0	2		
	-	3	2	0	1		
St.Saviour	0	4	6	2	18		
	0	0	0	2	4		
	3	2	8	4	2		
St.Wilfred	-	-	-	0	-		
	-	-	-	0	-		
	-	-	-	3	-		
TOTALS		Dissenters*	19	104	22	46	73
		Quakers	28	17	27	39	42
		Catholics	44	42	37	40	47
		TOTAL	91	163	86	125	162

* including those non-churchgoers and non-communicants who were not Catholics or Quakers but who cannot be positively identified as Dissenters

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