RECUSANCY AND THE RISING GENERATION

by LUCY UNDERWOOD

This article examines the involvement of young people in recusancy in Elizabethan England. It explores how two issues – the meaning of recusancy and the appeal of religion (specifically Catholicism) to youth – can illuminate each other. After looking at some of the evidence for the role of recusancy in juvenile experiences of Catholicism, the article focuses on three contrasting cases which illustrate young people's engagement with recusancy and Catholicism, and how it was interpreted by adult authorities, Catholic and Protestant: a case of recusant proselytising by the young men of a gentry household, as reported to the Privy Council; the alleged visions of fourteen-year-old Elizabeth Orton in Flintshire in 1581; and the autobiographical testimony of Robert Colton, a recusant youth imprisoned in London's Bridewell in 1595–6. It is argued that including recusancy will help us to better understand the complexity of youthful engagement with religion in early modern England, and also to appreciate the implications of recusancy.

In the crucially formative period of the reign of Elizabeth I, two issues were of paramount importance to the leaders of English Catholicism: whether, and how, English Catholics were to establish themselves as a separate entity from the Church of England, with a mutually exclusive membership; and how such an entity was to outlast the death of the last survivors of Catholic England.[1]

Recent scholarship has engaged with the first issue largely through the question of recusancy (the conscientious refusal to attend services of the Church of England, punishable by a fine of 12d per time, and after 1581 of £20 per lunar month), and has challenged many previous assumptions about recusancy and religious identity.[2] As to the second issue (long-term survival), I would argue that one of its most significant manifestations was the concern of Catholic leaders to engage with the rising generation – and this subject has received much less scholarly attention.[3] English Catholics sought to provide for the religious formation of children and adolescents; to exhort young people to religious zeal; to celebrate exemplary youths; and to offer models of behaviour which combined pious defiance of the Protestant state with dutiful, Christian obedience in the best hagiographical tradition. Furthermore, young people themselves engaged with Catholicism, participating in Catholic communities, appropriating the ideals with which they were presented, and negotiating conflicts of authority.[4]

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This article asks how these two areas – recusancy and youth – can illuminate each other, and how their intersection affects our perceptions of the development of English Catholicism. It will explore how the much-disputed relationship between traditional (pre-Reformation) religion and recusancy was interpreted by young recusants; how appeals to and through youth were integrated into the promotion of recusancy; and how recusancy impinges on questions of inter-generational relationships and authority patterns in early modern England.

I will begin by surveying some of the evidence for young people's involvement in recusancy, and then, in this context, examine three contrasting cases which illustrate the potential role of the young in this emergent minority culture.

I

The historiography of recusancy and conformity among English Catholics does not need rehearsing at length here. Previous approaches which, although they did not ignore 'church-papists' or 'schismatics', essentially conceived Catholicism as co-terminous with recusancy[5] have been modified by research showing that recusancy was not the default option for any *bona fide* Catholic, and that if it became so, this was a protracted and painful process. This makes the question of why some Catholics *did* trouble to be recusants more interesting, and invites a new exploration of the role recusancy played in the cultural history of English Catholicism.[6] Central to this, I argue, is its significance to upbringing, maturity, intra-family conflict, and how the young perceived recusancy.

A recusant child was technically an impossibility: a recusant was a person convicted under the 1581 statute, and no-one was liable for prosecution under that statute until the age of sixteen. However, not only do Catholic sources (usually persecution narratives in some form) focus on recusancy when talking about the young as much as when dealing with adults, but the attendance (or non-attendance) at church of children and young people also surfaces in government records.[7]

Most recusancy lists do not give ages, but occasionally children or young people are identifiable. A 1596 report on Northern recusants recorded several, including the children of Edward Probin: 'William about 23 years olde. John about 18. Marjorie about six & Mary about 14 years old'. Francis Radcliffe, a recently-conformed recusant, had ten children who 'being all young in house with him' did not attend church: Radcliffe's continuing Catholicism was signalled by raising his children recusant (he also had one secretly baptised).[8] We can only wonder how many of the complete families in various recusant lists included minors.

The 1615 York Diocesan Visitation does list ages and duration of recusancy in some parishes, including forty-nine recusants and eight non-communicants aged twenty-four or under.[9] Twenty-five are listed with

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one or two recusant/non-communicant parents, but thirty-two are not: for example, Grace, Isobel and Francis Kayley, aged twenty, eighteen and sixteen; or twenty-year-old William Atkinson.[10] Fifty-seven is not a high proportion: the small numbers could mean that the recusant population was mainly older and there were few juvenile recusants to present. Alternatively, churchwardens in some parishes, particularly where recusants were numerous, may have named only those whose social standing made them significant (e.g. householders), while in other parishes each person was scrupulously listed.

More intriguing are records of length of recusancy. These were not simply counted from the age of legal liability: Winifred Talbot, aged sixteen, is recorded as recusant for three years; William Atkinson, aged twenty, for nine. Isabel Webster, aged twenty-four, was cited for one year's recusancy, her mother for ten. This could mean that Isabel's recusancy did not matter until she was old enough to be considered an adult; but it could mean that she went to church alone for nine years, and then stopped. In 1593, sixty-one Catholic inmates of various London prisons were examined, and in their responses gave their own accounts of how long they had 'not been to church'. Only two had never been,[11] the others estimated their recusancy at anything from thirty years to six months. Robert Lincoln, aged twenty-four, had not been to church for sixteen years, and Mary Cole, aged twenty-three, for 'these 7 years and more'. Edward Chester, aged twenty-six, had not been to church for eighteen years, making him (like Lincoln) recusant from eight years old. He did not simply say 'all my life', or 'since I was a child': he could date it from the age of eight. Something happened that Chester remembered as significant. What it was is unspecified, unsurprisingly since prisoners under examination would avoid explaining more than was necessary. But other sources reveal further the role of recusancy in children's development of religious identity.

For some, perhaps, recusancy *was* a 'default setting'. When John Fortescue's house was raided in March 1598, his wife and daughters were examined about clandestine Catholic worship, as well as church attendance. Each girl replied that she 'never came to church, neither intendeth to come'. Rather than argue, they took refuge in parental authority: they had been 'otherwise brought up'. These young people, at least in this situation, may not have had a thought-out logic for their recusancy. It was simply what one did. Indeed, asked whether she would go to church 'if the Romish religion should come', fourteen-year-old Elizabeth could only reply that 'she knoweth not'. Sixteen-year-old Katherine declared that 'now though her father and mother should go to church, yet she will not, for that she hath been otherwise brought up'.[12] As the example of Francis Radcliffe indicates, recusancy could be the defining experience even for children whose parents were conformist. Thomas Foster wrote in 1617[13] that while he had never been to Mass during his childhood

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in England, when at home he had not been to church either: perhaps his conformist parents[14] also preferred to keep their children recusant. Thomas Lane of Fishbourne, Sussex was presented in 1626 because 'he cometh to Church himself but suffereth not his son John Lane nor Anne Lane his daughter to come to the divine service'.[15] In the cases of Lane and Radcliffe, Protestant authorities took the children's behaviour as indicative of these men's true religious opinions: it is as though conformists could use their children to adopt a vicarious recusancy, while they themselves compromised with their consciences. Alternatively, men like Lane or Radcliffe may have felt that it was harmless for themselves to attend Protestant worship as a bare affirmation of their civil obedience – but that children, less formed in their religious beliefs, might actually become infected with heresy.

If some children were simply brought up never to darken the door of a church and not ask why, other young people made personal choices about attending Protestant worship in circumstances where they were isolated from parental influence. The *Responsa Scholarum* (see n.13) record fifty-seven individuals who attended English grammar schools, which were necessarily Protestant. Not all gave details about their experiences, but nine recorded conflict over religion, and in seven cases it was about recusancy. Two remembered being beaten for refusing to attend church; Robert Rookwood (LR612, 1620) said he resisted until he heard a rumour that his father had conformed. George and Edward Jerningham, according to the story George's daughter knew, were regularly beaten at school for their visible adherence to Catholicism, consisting partly of recusancy: 'they refused to go unto their church and to eat flesh upon Fridays and fasting-days'. The Jerninghams were 'three times a week sorely whipped for to make them forsake their religion', and beaten 'on the head' until Edward 'became deaf thereby'.[16] Many Catholic schoolboys doubtless conformed: John Robinson (LR552, 1616) wrote that he had never been a heretic, 'and neither, which is more, while as a boy I frequented their schools for several months, did I ever participate in any of their worship': his emphasis on this point implies that conformity was more normal.[17] But for some children, recusancy fulfilled a need to establish Catholic identity in an environment where Catholic worship was unavailable.

The above examples come from various sources over a time-span of thirty years. Young men analyse their memories of their religious upbringing; Elizabethan pursuivants put teenage Catholics on the spot; recusant prisoners of all ages acknowledge, without elaborating on, their decisions to separate from the Church of England; Caroline ecclesiastical officials survey signs of religious dissidence. But all of them hint at similar things: that the recusancy of children mattered; and that the adoption of recusancy was as important a marker in an individual's religious identity as it was in the formation of English Catholic culture in general.

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There are telling examples of how, even from within a Catholic community, recusancy could be a conscious development in a child's religious formation, strongly linked to increasing maturity. John Butler, for example, wrote in his *responsa* (LR379, 1601) that between his 'seventh and tenth year' he 'sometimes attended the heretics' churches. But hardly had I attained my tenth [year] when informed by my father's counsel I became a Catholic'. He does not explain by what process he 'became a Catholic', but this phrase, used frequently by converts, generally refers to the rite of 'reconciliation' to the Catholic Church: to be 'reconciled' to the Church through confession and the rite of absolution was the means by which Protestants converted to Catholicism; but the rite was, in form, virtually identical to the reception by existing Catholics of the sacrament of penance. I have explored elsewhere the function of reconciliation among English Catholics, and the way that even those brought up in Catholic families often chose to interpret their first confession as a 'reconciliation', and hence their entry into the Church: one example is John Mannock (LR450, 1607) who wrote that 'I was always brought up in the Catholic faith, but was first reconciled by the reverend father Father Roger Floyd'. It seems as though 'reconciliation' or confession became a kind of substitute 'sacrament of initiation' which marked the claiming of religious identity, often in childhood. The relation of reconciliation to recusancy is more tentative; but where it is hinted at (as in John Butler's responsa), it is worth noting that there is often a distinct link with maturity.[18] In 1637, the recusant Richard Fidden was in trouble for his involvement in a clandestine Catholic school in Winchester. His wife was not a recusant, and while the three younger children went to church with her, the two elder did not, and their father was thought likely to 'corrupt' his other children too: again, recusancy is related to the age of the children.[19]

Perhaps it was felt that there was an age after which a child should not be exposed to Protestant worship; there was an age at which he could decide to adopt his parents' recusancy. Not that there was uniformity about *what* age, as the examples above show. Nor can we say anything definitive about the typicality of those young people who made reconciliation and recusancy central to their accounts of themselves. But some children and adolescents found ways of forming an individual religious identity which drew on Catholic tradition, on the concerns of a minority adapting those traditions to survival conditions, and on their own experience of a religion whose practice had been criminalised.

The ability of English Catholic communities to create a space in which young people could form for themselves a Catholic religious identity in Protestant England was crucial to their continued viability. The reasons why recusancy might have had a role in this impinge on the significance of recusancy itself.

Some of the material above characterises recusancy as an educative issue; it was not a case of absolute right or wrong, but it was something

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linked to the depth of one's religious awareness. Recusancy was unnecessary in a small child, more necessary in an adolescent who wanted to call himself a Catholic. But young people's recusancy did not always emerge from within recusant families and communities – as noted above, there were young recusants whose parents were apparently Protestant or conformist. One must ask how they made their decisions, and what the significance of them was. If recusancy is conceived as part of a transitional contest between 'old' and 'new' forms of Catholicism, it can be tempting to see it almost as a 'generation gap': young people who could not remember a time when the parishes of England were the *locus* of Catholic worship caught their Catholicism from the energetic missionary movement of the Counter-Reformation, of which insistent separation from Protestantism was an integral part. Of course there was a dividing-line between post-Reformation Catholicism and surviving pre-Reformation traditionalism: recusant Catholicism versus mere conservatism, recusant children versus conformist parents.

This will not really do as a historical generalisation, firstly because there was not really an absolute 'dividing-line' between religious conservatism and post-Reformation Catholicism, either in terms of ideology or the people involved;[20] and secondly because such data as we have on the incidence of recusancy does not support the notion that it was numerically dominated by young people. But it was a paradigm which some cases certainly fitted; and one which Catholic writers would happily exploit.

II

The problem with quiescent conservatism, from the point of view of the English religious establishment, was its potential to lead to determined separatism. The advent of the seminary priests from 1574 onwards, and then the Jesuit mission in 1580, gave urgency to this problem, and prompted the introduction of more stringent legislation to deal with recusancy and Catholic proselytisation in 1581.

This context was probably what made a series of events occurring in 1580 at Kettleby, Lincolnshire, home of the Tyrwhitts, so worrying. In June 1580, Richard Smith, tutor to Edmund lord Sheffield (who was living at Kettleby), alleged that through Sir Robert Tyrwhitt's sons, Sheffield was becoming inclined to 'popery' and rejecting his Protestant catechism. Smith reported that he, 'intending to read Master Nowell's Catechism[21] unto my Lord did in the presence of Goddard Tyrwhitt offer to give m*y* Lord a lecture therein which my Lord at the first seemed somewhat to mislike and after a little private conference had between his Lordship and Goddard in the presence of Smith the Lord Sheffield did utterly refuse to read it'.[22] Sheffield was seen with 'a book of erroneous doctrine, as prayers to saints to his good Angel for souls in Purgatory &c which book Goddard had then in keeping'. Smith accused Robert and

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Goddard Tyrwhitt of 'perverting' the household to papistry, and said that Goddard had once almost come to blows with him: 'Goddard Tyrwhitt offered to strike Smith in the presence of divers for that he [Smith] said (when the Stewardes whipping one [of] the dogs bid them away to the Church[ )] that there was no Church in England fit for them unless it were the Church of Twigmore, a place suspected where William Tyrwhitt [Sir Robert's eldest son] dwelleth'. Most importantly, the Tyrwhitt boys 'did at no time use prayer with their father and the rest in the great Chamber neither did they go to any other Church to his knowledge', while their sisters 'never since the beginning of Lent would come unto prayers'. Smith's ironic reference to the 'Church of Twigmore' highlights the significance of William Tyrwhitt's and his brothers' separatism – it represented the presence of an alternative Church, outside of and in rivalry with the established Church. While Sir Robert dutifully held Protestant 'divine service' at Kettleby, making his house an acceptable alternative to the parish church, his son had set up a different sort of domestic church. And at Easter – the liturgical high point of the year in *both* Churches – the young Tyrwhitts seem to have physically left their father's for their brother's house (church): 'All the papists in Sir Robert Tyrwhitt's house went to master William Tyrwhitt's at Twigmore betwixt Thursday in the Passion week and Monday in Easter week last past, where it is to be thought they heard Masses', reported Smith.[23] Almost certainly they did 'hear Masses', and possibly celebrated a full Catholic Triduum liturgy.

All this culminated in Lord Sheffield's marriage to Sir Robert Tyrwhitt's daughter Ursula 'at a Mass'. The couple declared their intention of being husband and wife before witnesses (who included Smith) – and next morning it was reported that a priest had married them. Smith saw evidence of the presence of a guest in the house whom he was not allowed to meet.[24]

Sir Robert Tyrwhitt was not a recusant: he held Protestant prayers in his household and attended them. But he connived at his sons' recusancy, stalling Smith's complaints about Lord Sheffield's corruption: the best Smith got was the comment that 'the godly conversation of his sons, and the dissolute life of them of the other religion [was the] cause of my Lord turning', and the suggestion that Smith should try reverse psychology: Sir Robert 'was angry with Smith for crossing my Lord saying it would make him more earnest'.[25] He also seems not to have objected to his family's Easter excursion to Twigmore. Sir Robert's airy refusal to see anything more in Sheffield's behaviour than youthful waywardness acted as a cover for his connivance at his sons' religious dissidence, even if he himself was not prepared to nail his colours to the mast. The leaders of resistance were the younger generation, with their elders' cautiously ambivalent support.

This conversion to recusancy, even extending to the marriage ceremony, among the sons of a religiously conservative gentleman shows

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young people adopting the rhetoric of the missionary priests with a vengeance. The proselytising of a potential brother-in-law suggests the danger-courting self-confidence of a renewed Catholicism. The Tyrwhitts' activity both drew on and helped to create recusancy networks. John Tyrwhitt confessed that he had been 'at a Mass in the house of Doctor Vavasour in the city of York': Vavasour and his wife were pioneers of recusancy in York.[26] Soon after arresting the Tyrwhitts, the Privy Council ordered the sheriff of Lincoln to investigate recusancy, Catholic worship and the use of '*Agnus Dei* and other unlawful stuff' in the county; later, when Robert and William Tyrwhitt were released from prison on bond, the Council soon received complaints of 'much harm' that their presence in Lincolnshire was doing.[27] At Kettleby itself they had also created, as it were, a network of youthful recusancy, pitted against the caution of Sir Robert and the opposition of Richard Smith. Lord Sheffield eventually told Smith that he 'refused to be taught any longer by him because as he said Smith was not of the Catholic Church';[28] he rejected his schoolmaster in favour of the influence and arguments of Sir Robert's ungovernable sons.

The Kettleby recusancy campaign pre-dated the Jesuit mission, but it was reported to the Privy Council at the time of Campion's and Persons' arrival. Evangelising recusancy was particularly bad news in 1580, and the Council acted decisively. Sir Robert and his sons William, Robert, John and Goddard were summoned to London and imprisoned; Sir Robert was released due to ill-health some time before June 1581, and died in November 1581.[29] William was then granted leave from prison to settle his affairs, although Robert junior remained there – he was among those secretly hearing Mass in the Fleet prison in 1582.[30] Of Goddard, no more is heard. He was not at his father's funeral, nor mentioned in his father's will. But Robert Persons' *Epistle of the Persecution* reported that 'Mr Tyrwhitt son to Sir Robert Tyrwhitt', a 'young gentleman', was arrested for being at his sister's wedding, dragged to prison despite evident illness, and died there after a couple of days. Patrick Martin and John Finnis, in their study of the Tyrwhitts, conclude that this was Goddard. His arrest and imprisonment, including an initial plea of sickness, are recorded, and his subsequent absence from the records suggests he died soon after.[31] Persons' inclusion of Goddard's fate in his *Epistle of the Persecution* – one of the earliest works on the English persecution to be published for a European audience – is of a piece with his inclusion of other juvenile heroes, victims of Protestant aggression: a young woman sent to Bridewell prison for answering back to the bishop of London; a young man, a former servant to Nicholas Harpsfield, wasting away in the Tower of London; a Rheims student whipped and branded. The portrayal of youthful steadfastness, expressed through defiance of the illegitimate authority of the Protestant establishment, was very much a part of Catholic propaganda.[32]

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The exact ages of the Tyrwhitt sons and daughters are not known, although the eldest, William, was thirty-two when his father died in November 1581.[33] But whether or not they were adolescents at the time, it is significant that it was the younger generation who were espousing recusancy, going beyond the limited religious commitment of their father. Our knowledge of the Tyrwhitts' recusancy comes from the hostile report of an informer, and a few short references in other records; but the kind of dynamic it suggests has parallels in self-consciously Catholic texts, in which the writers were at pains to analyse their religious identity. Dozens of the entrants to the English College, Rome who gave an account of their past lives in the *Responsa Scholarum* described their parents as 'schismatics': a term which, officially, denoted that their parents were Catholic in belief but attended Protestant churches to keep the right side of the law – i.e. they were conformist Catholics. The actual shades of belief and practice that they referred to were far more complex, as many individual *responsa* show; but there are indications that a key part of these respondents' experiences was discovering a more clearly defined religious identity than that of their parents. If any of the Tyrwhitt boys had ended up writing *responsa* at the English College, they might well have described their father as 'schismatic'. They might even have joined the nineteen respondents who described themselves as former schismatics, and as having converted to Catholicism not from 'heresy' but from 'schism'. The point is that such young people embraced the notion that they were going, if not against, *beyond* their parents, adopting other standards by which to measure their behaviour. This is what had happened at Kettleby: roles were reversed, and the sons set the example, while the father acquiesced even though he did not rise to wholly emulate them.[34]

As the reaction to the Tyrwhitt episode suggests, the Elizabethan government was well aware of the disruptive potential of recusancy among the children of conformists. Not only were young men and women perhaps more inclined to be defiant, rash and tactless about their religious dissidence (as witness Goddard Tyrwhitt's altercations with Richard Smith), but if a separatist Catholic ideology was appealing to a new generation, it meant the perpetuation of the Catholic problem.[35]

III

Ostensibly very different from the Kettleby episode, but worrying for similar reasons, was a case that came to the attention of the Privy Council in early 1581. In the spring of 1582, Barnaby Rich published a tract detailing the 'feigned visions' of Elizabeth Orton, of Orton Maddock in Flintshire, who about a year previously had claimed to see visions of Christ, the Virgin Mary and other saints.[36] Elizabeth allegedly saw (and felt) herself in Purgatory, from which she was eventually released through prayer. In a second vision, Elizabeth was exhorted to

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stay away from Protestant churches. Rich's tract consisted of a preface, an account of Orton's recantation, and hostile comments on a Catholic account, which he claimed to have printed verbatim from a manuscript which was circulating. Orton was thirteen or fourteen years old at the time of the events narrated.

Orton's story is interesting for the way she stands on the cusp between Catholic England and Protestant England; between pre-Tridentine Catholicism and the Counter-Reformation; between traditional piety and the hot, contentious issues of recusancy and religious dissidence. But what makes this far more intriguing is that these transitional conflicts are manifested through the experiences of a girl who could not remember 'Catholic England', who had been born a decade after the last legal Mass was said in England. Her engagement with both tradition and (counter-) revolution, therefore, is that of a new generation grappling with the changed world created by their parents.[37] Orton's message was firmly embedded in the traditional piety of England. The tract's description of Purgatorial fire is as intensely physical as any late-medieval devotional writing; so is that of the saints Elizabeth saw – St Anne was 'of low stature and a hoary head', Christ had black hair and a beard 'somewhat short' (sig.D2r-v). That those responsible for establishing Protestantism in Elizabeth I's kingdoms would have found this kind of thing anathema is obvious; but reforming spirits in the Catholic Church, keen to rationalise, purify and unify religious practice would also have found elements of her story awkward. For example, in Elizabeth's account of her first vision, she received forgiveness for her sins from Christ. She then begged the Virgin to 'forgive me as thy holy Son hath done', but had to suffer 'this fire of Purgatory' first. The Catholic tract attempts an orthodox explanation: she did not ask Mary's pardon for 'her sins… already forgiven by Christ, but for the temporal punishment due to her sins' possibly including 'some sin against the holy Virgin' (sig.B4v). But this does not quite make sense of the delegation of purgatory to Mary.

However, in the thirty years before Elizabeth Orton's birth, the traditional piety of England had been thoroughly uprooted, and her message was now dynamite; and one consequence of that was that even a sometimes ungovernable popular piety could be co-opted into the service of confessionalization. Since the doctrine of purgatory was a major point of Catholic-Protestant dispute, the focus on that in itself constitutes Catholic polemic. But the tract engages explicitly with religious tensions by reporting that the visionary condemned Protestantism as 'the naughty Religion now used' (sig.D1r). Not only that, but she, and the tract's readers, are exhorted by St John to 'absent thy self also from that wicked Serice if thou wilt be saved' (sig.D3r).

Alexandra Walsham explores the context which made this saintly exhortation to recusancy such a topical issue. In 1581, Jesuits and seminary priests were preaching formal separation from the Church of

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England as a prerequisite for membership of the Catholic Church, and 'reconciling' those who had fallen away from this standard. Although neither Edmund Campion nor Robert Persons is known to have visited Flintshire, it is not impossible that Campion travelled through the region, or that one or more of Elizabeth Orton's Catholic associates had contact with him.[38]

At any rate, Elizabeth's visions adopted the Jesuits' message. Many details of her visions blend the 'old' traditional religion she might have picked up from adults around her, and the 'new' spirit of Catholic conversion with which the missionaries hoped to re-capture the future of England. St John the Baptist 'laboured much to reconcile me unto Christ, the which he said might not be, unless I would reconcile myself unto his Church'. Elizabeth asked if this meant 'I must believe as my neighbours do, meaning the Catholics, who absent themselves from the new Service', and was told she must (sigs.D2v-D3r). The Baptist's prominence in Orton's visions represents an emphasis on a saint whose feast had been a major holy-day in the crowded pre-Reformation calendar; but it has other resonances. Traditional devotion to St John the Baptist had been linked to Eucharistic devotion, hence perhaps it is appropriate that Elizabeth saw him, in vision, saying Mass (see below); perhaps it is also significant that John Fisher, martyr of Catholic resistance to the Royal Supremacy, had cherished a devotion to the Baptist, and compared his own opposition to Henry VIII with the Baptist's defiance of Herod, though whether Elizabethan Catholics were aware of this comparison is less certain.[39] But, arguably, there was a provocative congruity in making St John the Baptist the bearer of the gospel of recusancy.

Only after promising to abstain from the 'new service' was Elizabeth taken (in vision) to a Mass: 'I was conveyed into a Church very little, where I beheld an Alter furnished for Mass… then stepped forth Saint John (before named) and… went straight towards the Alter, where he began Mass' (sig.D3v-D4r). This was a Tridentine, not Sarum liturgy: a Catholic questioning Elizabeth later found her description 'in all points agreeable to the Mass after Roman use restored by the Council of Trent, and preached by the Seminary [priests] in England' (sig.D4r). The point is intended to emphasise the essential unity of English traditional Christianity and Tridentine Catholicism; and also that Elizabeth has to reject the 'new' Church before she can be admitted to Mass.

This has a parallel with other accounts of 'reconciliation',[40] but Elizabeth's ability to describe a Tridentine Mass suggests that she may already have experienced one – and this would probably have been said by a seminary priest, in which case they were not all as strict as Saint John.

Elizabeth witnessed her visionary Mass in a 'Church very little', which only she could see. Again the significance is clear: the Church is little, implying powerlessness and poverty; and it is hidden except from

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those divinely inspired – a physical 'hiding' necessitated by persecution, and a spiritual one, from a people blinded by heresy. It is nevertheless the church of the apostles: according to the tract, while John the Baptist 'preached in Latin, an unknown language unto me… I [Elizabeth] counted the Apostles' standing around the miraculous altar (sig.D4r).

Although the rite of reconciliation is not mentioned, the word is ('reconcile me unto Christ', 'reconcile my self unto his Church'), according with the promotion of reconciliation as the rite of passage between schism and (recusant) Catholicism. It is also a succinct expression of the ecclesiology and sacramental theology Catholics defended. The Baptist 'laboured much to reconcile me unto Christ, *the which he said might not be, unless I would reconcile myself unto his Church* [my emphasis]' (sig D2v). The idea of personal conversion, the soul turning towards Christ, is invoked; and one result of Elizabeth's visions was a conversion of life – after the first she would 'forgo ragious [sic] oaths, idle talk, with other pleasures of the world, and briefly what thing so ever besides she understood to be an offence against God'. But true conversion is impossible in isolation: she must turn to Christ in 'his Church', via the sacramental ministry of a priest, and by separation from any alternative church. Internal conversion, external rites, and denominational allegiance are inter-dependent.[41]

Orton's visions represent the conversion of the daughter of parents who had lost the true faith, a girl 'brought up according to the corruption of the time' (sig.B2r), to a renewed, separatist Catholicism. Yet the tract simultaneously illustrates the heterogeneous nature of popular devotion in mid-Elizabethan Flintshire, a still undefined area across which both the Catholic tract and its Protestant editor seek to draw denominational lines. Elizabeth was 'amongst them conversant, who had no true knowledge of God'; this was why, even as she committed herself to renewed virtue, she 'refrained not the Service now used in Churches' (sig.C2v). Yet 'one of the company' was able to give her 'a little Crucifix, the which she received with very great reverence' (sig.D1r). Barnaby Rich takes this to prove that the bystanders must have been Catholics, contradicting the Catholic author's claim (sig.E1v), but it rather illustrates that people who were hardly committed Catholic recusants possessed such items.[42] When Elizabeth requests a copy of the Gospel 'written by a priest', she rejects one 'made by… a sinful man' (sig.C4r),[43] but is pacified when the local minister gives her 'the Gospel of his own hand written' (sig.C4v). The Catholic writer is uncomfortable with this easy substitution of Protestant minister for Catholic priest in the provision of idiosyncratic sacramentals, noting '[Elizabeth's] answer… that, although he was a Minister, yet being in heart a Catholic, she took him to be more fit than any other that were about her'; he adds that God allowed it so that '[the minister] might… bear witness to the truth against himself and his own profession' (sigs.C4v-D1r). But perhaps this detail rather bears witness to the lack

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of contradiction in Elizabeth's mind between Catholic devotion (there is no hint that visions of purgatory contradicted her previous belief, or that she was a stranger to Marian devotion), and an acceptance of the Protestant establishment as the Church. Her family – who allegedly tried at first to hush up her controversial visions – may have been, as Walsham says, 'conforming Protestants', but the 'conforming' was perhaps more in evidence than the 'Protestant'.[44] In 1581, Elizabeth Orton became a symbol of the rejection of confessional compromise; but one wonders how many mid-Elizabethan children, who did not remember a Catholic England but who learnt their prayers from parents who did, may have experienced the old religion in similar ways.

There is one glaring absence from the Catholic tract: any acknowledgement that recusancy was illegal. The queen's laws are never mentioned by the Catholic writer – the conflict is imagined entirely as one between true and false churches. This was precisely what the Elizabethan regime tried to avoid, keeping the focus on loyalty versus treason, law versus rebellion. But if the issue is simply about being reconciled to Christ, with the recusancy statutes not worth a mention, then the dilemma disappears – and the very right of the monarch to legislate on such a matter is implicitly denied.

The political and religious authorities were as aware as Catholic propagandists that the activities of a fourteen-year-old girl could have a dangerous power. Barnaby Rich's dedication of his exposé to no less a person than Francis Walsingham is not wide of the mark in terms of the significance accorded the episode (preface, sig.A3r). Elizabeth was interrogated by the Earl of Derby, the bishop of Chester and other Ecclesiastical Commissioners without effect before 'Master Goodman' induced her to recant (sig.B1v).[45] Her visions drew the Privy Council's attention: on receiving Bishop Chadderton's report, they ordered him to discover the Catholic tract's authors by examining possessors of it, and by 'causing the maid (in case by fair means she shall not confess the same) to be secretly whipped, and so brought to declare the truth of this imposture, whereby if he shall not prevail then to send her hither to their Lordships'.[46] The following month, Chadderton was asked to report on progress.[47] What influence this treatment had on Elizabeth's eventual recantation, whether she was sent to London, or if the Privy Council had dealings with the readers of the Catholic account of her visions, is not known.[48]

A fourteen-year-old girl might seem an unlikely challenger of Elizabeth I's rule, yet she had clearly acquired an authority of her own. The allied questions of authority and agency are central to both Catholic and Protestant portrayals of Orton; and in both cases they hinged on her doubly subordinate status, being both female and young.

Rich used Orton's age and gender to discredit her visions; his version eradicates her agency. [49] It is the report, as its title advertises, 'of a late

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Practice enterprised by a Papist, with a young Maiden in Wales…' The recantation also stresses Orton's youth – indeed much more than her gender. Orton was required to state that she had been 'misled by… wicked counsel, and false practices' (sig.A4r), 'seduced by a vile runagate Papist' who in order 'to deceive the simple and ignorant people, and to carry them from the light of the Gospel… abused the simplicity of my tender years'. He had 'caused' her with threats of damnation to claim to have seen visions 'which of truth I did not see'. The language expresses not only the contradictory potential meanings of juvenile claims to communicate the divine, but the ways in which images of childhood were bound up with anti-Catholic polemic. Elizabeth Orton was not, of course, the only 'child prophet' in Elizabethan England; other cases, often involving Puritans, have been studied in which children or adolescents appeared to see visions, and/or assumed the role of divine messenger. How contemporary observers perceived these young people essentially depended on their sympathy with the views endorsed: hostile accounts would view the child as either dupes or deceivers, whose reversal of normal authority patterns indicated the invalidity of their message, rather than any extraordinary divine intervention. On the other hand, to co-religionists, youth could be a sign of special openness to grace.[50] The point of Orton's confession that the 'Papist' had 'abused the *simplicity* of her tender years' to deceive the '*simple* and ignorant people' (my emphasis) is that it connects childishness with Catholicism: lacking reason, easily led (or misled), susceptible to attractive but ultimately irrational beliefs – and, of course, constantly manipulated by Catholic clerics. This was, as it were, the standard Protestant caricature of Catholicism; Catholic anti-Protestantism had other distinctive standard tropes. To underline the point, Orton was made to say that she was 'now… of more discretion than at that time I was, and knowing better of true Religion' (sig.A3v-A4r). She was in fact only one year older, but the language links 'discretion' – reason, maturity, autonomous thought, with Protestantism ('true religion'). Growing up, it is implied, means growing out of Catholicism into Protestantism, for the individual as well as for the nation. In practical terms, the emphasis on her youth may have benefited Orton: her recantation contains virtually no admission of personal guilt, although it ends with a prayer for forgiveness, and Rich does not report that she was punished. In polemical terms, it gave powerful opportunities to deploy perceptions about childhood in attempts to define true and false religion.

The Catholic writer, naturally, perceives Elizabeth Orton's agency differently. Like Rich, he denies that Elizabeth is the origin of her declarations – but the essence of any Christian visionary's claim to validity is that she/he merely transmits a divine message. Elizabeth's visions reject the established Church, but the salient feature is not defiance. Rather, it is submission to an alternative authority, symbolised by Elizabeth's attendance at Mass, within a church building, surrounded by the apostles.

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St John also tells Elizabeth to follow the counsel of a seminary priest, whom he names (although the text cautiously does not) (sig.D3v). Later, when 'certain Gentlemen' asked Elizabeth to describe her visions, 'she had utterly forgotten all, in so much that being asked divers questions… she remembered nothing… at last one of the company suspecting the malice of the ghostly enemy, caused her to make [the] sign of the Cross on her forehead and breast: whereupon… she opened both the Visions at large and uttered *more than she could remember at any time before*' (sig.D4r-D4v, my emphasis). So an obvious indication that Elizabeth was progressively embellishing her story becomes another instance of her passivity as a genuine messenger of God.

Yet this cannot hide what is inherent in the text, that (whether she believed in them or not) the power of relating the content of her visions lay with Elizabeth Orton. The Catholic tract describes each vision twice: what the witnesses saw, and what Elizabeth saw. The former corroborates and validates, but the latter is the 'real thing'. This acknowledgement of youthful authority and youthful agency, is part of the appeal to youth, and the ideal of youth, which the English counter-Reformation constructed. Orton, although her status as mystic and visionary is atypical, is portrayed in a similar way to the youthful converts, prodigies of devotion and victims of persecution who fill the pages of Catholic writings on exemplary youths. They are defiant; but in defence of authority. They are autonomous, yet ruled by grace, and by the teachings of the Church. Elizabeth Orton's report of her visions was not, perhaps, all that a promoter of orthodox Catholic Reformation might have desired; but her story was malleable to paradigms of youth which English Catholics favoured.[51]

IV

Both the examples discussed so far have involved adult reports of young people's engagement with recusancy and Catholicism, hostile and sympathetic. One might ask how much young people's own perceptions had in common with other people's representations of them.

As Elizabeth's reign progressed, and the issue of recusancy became of ever more importance to the emerging Catholic minority (though it did not cease to be contested), how did young people assimilate the ideals presented to them? As was suggested above, there is some congruence between the impression gained from representations, and the self-constructions of youths found in, most especially, the *Responsa Scholarum* of the seminary at Rome. These are a fascinating, and extensive, archive of young people's self-writings, which I have explored elsewhere, but they are not the only English Catholic texts where we can seek the voices of the young.

The earliest *responsa* were written late in Elizabeth's reign, beginning from 1598; their authors came from that particular group of young

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people who had left England, illegally, to enrol at the seminaries in exile, and their audience was the clerical staff of the English College. The text I will discuss below is both similar and very different: it is also an autobiographical religious testament, it is a late Elizabethan document, and its author was a youth – and a youth who at any rate intended to cross the sea to one of the seminaries. However, its context is very different and both its audience and authorship more complicated.

In June 1595, Robert Colton of Wisbech was arrested at Rye, in Sussex, and subsequently imprisoned. Colton had previously attempted to leave the country to cross to Valladolid or St Omers, and been captured at Chester with a group of other boys, so his presence in Rye may have represented a second escape attempt. Colton's vivid testimony is a fairly well-known recusant document: included in the Rutland manuscripts published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, it was reprinted in Philip Caraman's anthology of sources on Elizabethan Catholicism.[52] It details Colton's arrest, his defiance before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and his imprisonment and punishment in Bridewell, and includes a copy of the written statement Colton gave to the Commission to justify his refusal to attend church. It fills about a page and a half of the HMC volume in which it is printed.

So while the writers of the *responsa* sought to give an account of themselves to Catholic priests, Robert Colton had to explain his recusancy to Protestant clerics and magistrates: exactly the opposite audience. But his text is in two parts: his 'answer' to the Commission, and his description of his sufferings, which begins with his arrest in Rye and ends with his release from prison towards the end of 1596. So, in fact, there are two audiences – Colton's fellow-Catholics, who (judging from the document's preservation in the Rutland papers) valued the whole text as a persecution narrative, and the Protestant authorities who were given Colton's 'Answer why I will not go to church'; of course, the 'Answer', included in full in the narrative, is also meant for a Catholic audience – perhaps to inspire others, or simply as part of Colton's claim to membership of a (persecuted) Catholic community. As will be discussed more fully below, the authorship of this text, especially of the 'Answer', is also complex, the product of the Catholic community in which Colton found himself as much as of Robert Colton as an individual. One must also consider what may have prompted Colton to write the narrative as a whole: perhaps it was the 'Catholic laymen' who he met in prison.

Colton's story starts in the middle of his arrest, as it were, when the Mayor of Rye 'caused me to be searched'; Colton tells us nothing about how or why he was before the mayor to start with, or how it was that the mayor found thirty shillings (surely a lot of money for a 'poor lad', as he describes himself, to be carrying) sewn into Colton's doublet.[53] Almost immediately, the focus is on the issue of recusancy: 'the principal women of the town did entreat for me to him that he would set me at liberty, but

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he would not in any wise grant it, except I would go to church'. Perhaps the mention of the women's intercession is also meant to draw attention to Colton's youth, making him the object of feminine pity. But Colton stuck to his guns, preferred to forfeit both his liberty and his confiscated money, and three weeks later found himself in front of the Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes (the mayor took the opportunity of a journey to London to hand the youth over). Colton relates that the two things which interested the Commission were hearing that he came from Wisbech – the significance of which will be discussed below – and, once again, his refusal to attend church. Colton asked for, and was given, time to put his answer in writing, and it is the text of this statement which is contained in his narrative.

The effect of Colton's declaration was that he was sent to Bridewell prison. Bridewell was originally established to put vagrants, prostitutes and the 'idle poor' to useful employment, by force if necessary, but its reformative function tended to merge with a penal one.[54] Bridewell's Court Books record numerous 'dishonest' women flogged and set to labour, and a regular supply of vagrants. But it was also a place for disciplining unruly youth: a steady stream of apprentices, servants and other youngsters was brought by watchmen, masters or even irate parents to receive 'correction' from the Bridewell officers and/or terms of imprisonment. Their offences included visiting prostitutes, petty theft, 'abusing' their elders and betters, and other anti-social behaviour; Colton's defiance was perceived as falling into this category.[55] His case illustrates how, as we saw with Elizabeth Orton, defiance of authority and obedience to authority were two sides of the same coin. He was, indeed, a youth who defied his elders and betters; but, in his own view, he was also a pious, dutiful and religious youth who obeyed the authority he judged to be valid. Religious dissidence – here located in recusancy – created the space for this complex interplay of authority, defiance and autonomy.[56]

Colton frames his recusant declaration within a narrative of suffering – arrest, questioning, imprisonment. In Bridewell, he was put to labour: he spent 'eight months in the hemp house work, where every day's task is to bunch five and twenty pounds of hemp or else to have no meat', and also 'went in the mill' for five weeks. Labour was part of the purpose of Bridewell, and all inmates could expect to work, but Colton also listed other hardships: 'I was chained nine weeks to a block and… five months without it in Little Ease… and ten days I stood with both my hands stretched above my head against the wall in the standing stocks…'. In February 1596, Colton was 'released from the hemp house work' and placed 'in commons with the Catholic lay men': this may mean he was moved from the Bridewell proper to another part of the prison where other prisoners (such as recusants) were housed.[57] To close his account as a Bridewell inmate, 'for my freedom and release from the hemp house' as he says, Colton 'had twenty lashes of the whip upon the tross'. But

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during his imprisonment, Colton portrays himself still fighting his corner, by aligning himself with Catholic ritual and against the Protestant regime: 'because I would not work on the Assumption of our Blessed Lady', he records at one point, 'they said I should fast as well as play, and would let me have no food at all'. Finally, Colton chooses to judge his experience in spiritual terms, and insists on seeing himself as the gainer: 'by God and good men… so comforted that I would not have missed my time there spent for a great deal more misery'.

The centrepiece of Colton's miniature memoir is his 'Answer why I will not go to church'. The self-representation which emerges from it is one constructed in the context of the expectations and agendas of the recusant movement. Colton wrote that 'the Commissioners… hearing that I was a boy of Wisbech… were very earnest at me why I would not go to church'. Wisbech castle was the prison which inmates like William Weston the Jesuit were doing their best to turn into a mission centre, a mission which included education: some students at the English College, Rome recorded having studied (and been converted) there.[58] Colton's text further illustrates why 'Wisbech' was the key word for his examiners.

Colton does not tell us whether the text he presents in his narrative was written from a spare copy of the original or set down from memory, but he does say that 'before my coming from Wisbech I had learned [it] by heart to have it always in readiness in any such time of need'. His *credo* was composed under the influence of Weston and company, who were not only preparing the boy for the role of confessor, but providing his weapons for the conflict. This echoes an incident described by Weston, in which two boys employed as servants at Wisbech were converted. One of them, questioned at Ely Assizes, justified himself by appealing to the antiquity of Catholicism: he presented Holinshed's account of St Augustine's mission 'with cross, litanies, and with every appurtenance of Catholic liturgy and ceremonial'. This had been given him by 'a Catholic prisoner in Wisbech, who told the boy to keep it carefully in case he were called to answer for his faith. He would then have no need to say anything or to argue. All he would have to do was to show them this loose page'.[59] Colton also appeals to history, having 'hear[d] say', presumably from the same quarter, 'that England hath been a Catholic Christian country a thousand years afore this Queen's reign and her father's. If that were the old high way to heaven then why should I forsake it?'. Both boys eschew verbal argument in favour of written answers, prepared under adult guidance.

Yet Colton's text is not constructed to minimise his independence. He begins by laying personal claim to his decision: 'First, because I think it not good and godly to go to [Church]'. Only then does he appeal to adult validation, specifically the Wisbech priests who 'so confound' anyone who disputes with them 'that they dare not come there any more'.

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Robert Colton's defiance was compounded not only by his being a youth, but his low social status (which also made him more likely to be committed to Bridewell), and his 'Answer' draws attention to this. At one point, Colton presents himself as not wilful but afraid: 'Fourthly, if I should go to your church I should… exclude myself from all holy sacraments and be in danger to die in my sins like a heathen'. But he follows this up with a spirited rejection: 'although I am but a poor lad, I am not so far to obey you, having a soul to save as well as any other Catholic'. While richer recusants 'leave their lands and lie in prison' rather than go to church, Colton declares 'I have no goods to leave, I pray you give me leave to save my soul'. His being subordinate in material terms does not cancel out Colton's individual responsibility for his own soul. If this statement is a product of Wisbech as well as of the writer, then through him the imprisoned priests are sending a message to the authorities. Their doctrine appeals to young as well as old, and produces articulate resistance in the poor as well as their betters. Colton, indeed, seems to exploit his low status. His refusal is remarkably unapologetic, making no protest of loyalty, expressing no regret at his necessary disobedience. It is, rather, accusatory, blaming 'you' and 'your church' for forcing the writer to 'sin against God'. He finishes, 'while you do keep both them [the priests] and me from the old Mass, I dare not go to your new communion'. If Colton, though poor and young, will not surrender control over his spiritual welfare, that, he implies, does not lessen the responsibility of those who try to make him do so.

Colton maintains a reasoned but uncompromising disobedience against the established church. Yet this independence is enabled by dependence, an interaction best expressed by his penultimate statement: 'My soul doth hunger after my maker, God made man, under the form of bread, whom none but the priests can give me'. His is a forceful assertion of a personal desire located within the community he has chosen to identify himself with.

Robert Colton's text is an apt expression not only of recusant ideals, but of youthful engagement with religion in the early modern period. Aware of their place within society, and yet also aware of how social convention could be exploited and negotiated, youths could and did set the limits for authority, by choosing to submit to the one whose claim convinced them, and then defending it against all comers.

V

Recusancy among English Catholics represented continuity and revolution, and the cases I have examined give youth a central role in both. The sources show young people drawing their religious experiences from the traditions of previous generations, and from the newer conflicts amongst which they grew up, and often finding in the combination a new power

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in their relationship with adult authority. Recusancy provided examples of what, I would argue, was a typical mode of youthful engagement with religion in the early modern period: piety did not simply mean conformity to adult expectations, and even when it involved disobedience, it was not a straightforward inversion which identified religious commitment with rebellion. Autonomy, conformity and rebellion formed each other. The inter-religious conflicts and competing claims to authority which characterised post-Reformation England presented young people reaching toward adulthood not with a choice between obedience and anarchy, but with the possibility of reasoned defiance and autonomous submission. Recusancy lent itself to such developments, because, as the records of young recusants show, it must not be understood merely as a negative refusal of the new church (or an adherence to the old), but as a grasping at something distinctively new: potentially transformative, and available to be fashioned in terms of its meaning and significance. And this, I argue, was crucial to the development of English Catholicism. Even if the majority of recusants were not young people, insofar as the passage of time made recusancy increasingly important to English Catholicism, this was a victory of each rising generation over its fathers.

NOTES

[1] I am grateful to Professor Alexandra Walsham of Trinity College, Cambridge for reading and commenting on a draft of this article. Note that where sources are quoted, spelling has been modernised throughout.

[2] See below.

[3] Notable exceptions are Alison Shell, 'Furor Juvenilis: Post-Reformation English Catholicism and Exemplary Youthful Behaviour' in Ethan Shagan, ed., *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2005) pp.185–206, and Shell, 'Autodidacticism in English Jesuit Drama: the Writings and Career of Joseph Simons' in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 13 (2001), 34–56; Caroline Bicks, 'Producing Girls on the English Stage: Performance as Pedagogy in Mary Ward's Convent Schools' in N.J Miller and N. Yavneh (eds.), *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood* (Farnham, 2011), pp.139–156; and, less recently, A.C.F. Beales, *Education Under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II, 1547–1689* (London, 1963).

[4] Lucy Underwood, *'Childhood, Youth and Catholicism in England c.1558–1660'* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012). The monograph based on this thesis is forthcoming in 2014.

[5] See for example the comments in D. Mathew, *Catholicism in England 1535–1935: Portrait of a Minority: Its Culture and Tradition* (London, 1936), pp.37–38. See also John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (London, 1975), esp. pp.182–194. 'Church-papists' was a contemporary (and uncomplimentary) term for conforming Catholics; 'schismatics' – i.e. not heretics, but not in full communion with the true Church – was how the Catholic Church officially regarded them.

[6] Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists; Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993), see chapter 3 on pro-conformity tracts, also Alexandra Walsham, '"Yielding to the Extremity of the Time": Conformity, Orthodoxy and the Post-Reformation Catholic Community' in Peter Lake, & Michael Questier, eds., *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.237–261, and Michael Questier, 'Conformity, Catholicism and the Law', ibid., pp.211–236; Peter Lake, and

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Michael Questier, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (London, 2011).

[7] I discussed some examples of the 'recusant child' in Catholic persecution narratives in my MPhil thesis 'Catholic Childhoods and the Childhood of Catholics in Early Modern England' (unpublished MPhil dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2008). My forthcoming book will explore literary portrayals of childhood and Catholicism further.

[8] Publications of the Catholic Record Society (hereafter cited as CRS) 53, 'A true certificate of all the Recusants within the Archdeaconry of York taken *mensae* January 1595[6]…' (from Cecil Papers), pp.15–108, at pp.63, 68. Radcliffe's seat was at Dilston, Northumberland, but he had moved to Cumberland: ibid., p.58.

[9] BIHR V.1615.CB. Non-communicants referred to people who would attend the Protestant church services, but refused to receive communion.

[10] Ibid., ff.216, 320v.

[11] CRS 60, p.51 [John Price, William Price].

[12] HMC Salisbury 8, pp.74–5.

[13] Thomas Foster made this statement in his *'responsa*'', his answers to the questionnaire all entrants to the English College, Rome were required to answer. The *Responsa Scholarum* were edited by Anthony Kenny for the Catholic Record Society, CRS 54 and 55 (1962, 1963). Kenny lists *responsa* in the order in which their writers appear in the College register, the 'Liber Ruber', and gives each the appropriate number. I follow this system, referring to individual *responsa* as LR*xxx,* with year of entry where appropriate. Cf Lucy Underwood, 'Youth, Religious Identity and Autobiography at the English Colleges in Rome and Valladolid, 1592–1685' in *Historical Journal* 55:2 (2012), 349–374. Thomas Foster's *responsa* were LR589.

[14] Forsters of Earswick; J.C.H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558–1790* (London, 1966), pp.187–188.

[15] T.J. McCann, 'The Catholic Recusancy of Dr John Bullaker' in *Recusant History* (hereafter cited as *RH*) 11:2 (1971), 75–86 at 81–82. Lane was a former recusant: Questier, 'Conformity', pp.258–259.

[16] Sister Christina Jerningham's recollections of her family are recorded in *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran: at St. Monica's in Louvain (now at St. Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, Devon)*, ed. A. Hamilton, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1904), II, pp.40–41. It is not clear which school the Jerninghams were attending. See Underwood, 'Childhood, Youth and Catholicism', pp.57–58, 89.

[17] 'neque quod magis est dum adhuc puer illorum scholas menses aliquot frequentarem ne ipsorum quidem officiis unquam interfui'.

[18] See Underwood, 'Youth, Religious Identity and Autobiography', pp.369–374; also Chapter 1 of my doctoral thesis. I explore the nature and role of 'reconciliation' further in my article 'Persuading the Queen's Majesty's Subjects from their Allegiance: Treason, Reconciliation and Confessional Identity in Elizabethan England', which I am currently preparing for publication.

[19] SP16/355/181,181.I,181.II; SP16/356/159.

[20] See Bossy, *Community,* passim, and Christopher Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation' in Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), pp.176–208 for contrasting views on this issue.

[21] Presumably, Andrew Nowell's *Catechism: or institution of Christian religion* (1572), the standard Protestant catechism in Elizabethan England.

[22] SP12/165/28; information of Richard Smith; Patrick Martin and John Finnis, 'Tyrwhitt of Kettleby, Part I: Goddard Tyrwhitt, the Martyr' in *RH* 26:2 (2002), 301–313, examine this case. See also Martin and Finnis, 'Tyrwhitt of Kettleby, Part II: Robert Tyrwhitt, a Main Benefactor of Fr John Gerard, SJ, 1600–1605' in *RH* 26:4 (2004), 556–569.

[23] SP12/165/28.

[24] SP12/165/28.

[25] Ibid.

[26] APC 1580–1581, pp.107–108; Richard Rex, 'Thomas Vavasour, M.D.' in *RH 20:4* (1991), 436–454.

[27] APC 1581–1582 pp.79–80, 238–239.

[28] SP12/165/28.

[29] Martin and Finnis, 'Tyrwhitt' I, 307–308.

[30] SP12/152/54; Martin and Finnis, 'Tyrwhitt' I, 308.

[31] Robert Persons, trans. 'G.T.', *An epistle of the persecution of Catholickes in England* (Rouen, 1582), pp.98–99; Martin and Finnis, 'Tyrwhitt' I, 306–307.

[32] Persons, *Epistle*, pp.79, 90–92, 98–99, 135; Underwood, 'Childhood, Youth and Catholicism', Chapter 8.

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[33] TNA C142/196/10.
[34] See Underwood, 'Youth, Religious Identity and Autobiography' for examples and discussion.
[35] The subsequent history of Catholicism in the Tyrwhitt family is examined in Martin and Finnis, 'Tyrwhitt' II. Lord Sheffield and his wife conformed in religion later; indeed after this first brush with the Privy Council, in July 1581, Sheffield was already pleading that his wife was now 'conformable': Martin and Finnis, 'Tyrwhitt' I, 306; G.E. Cokayne, revd., V. Gibbs et al. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, 13 vols (London 1910-), IX, 388–390.
[36] Barnaby Rich, *The True Report of a Late Practise Enterprised by a Papist…* (London, 1582/3). All references to this edition. The incorporated tract dates the visions to 1 and 24 February, 1580/81; it was circulating by June 1581, when the bishop of Chester sent a copy to the Privy Council: APC 1581–1582 p.98. K.R. Wark's study of Elizabethan Catholics in Cheshire mentions the case; the Elizabeth Orton summoned for recusancy in 1589 may have been the same person: K.R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire* (Manchester, 1971) p.29 & note. Barnaby Rich published numerous works, mainly on Ireland and on soldiering: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (eds) H. C. G. Matthew & B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004), 61 volumes (2004), Rich, Barnaby (1542–1617), soldier and author, Index Number 10102348.
[37] The case of Elizabeth Orton and her visions is the subject of ongoing research by Professor Alexandra Walsham, some of which is detailed in her 'The Holy Maid of Wales: Visions, Politics and Catholicism in Elizabethan Britain', a paper unpublished to date. I am grateful to Professor Walsham for allowing me to read and cite her work-in-progress. The dates given in Rich's printed tract are misleading; Walsham's research makes clear that the episode occurred in 1581, and that the tract was published in 1582.
[38] Walsham, 'Holy Maid'.
[39] Eamon Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition*: *Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformations* (London, 2012), pp.147, 169–173; *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–1580* (New Haven & London, 2005 edn.), p.142.
[40] See above, and note 18.
[41] This was the premise on which Robert Persons based his devotional best-seller, *The Book of Resolution*; see Victor Houliston, 'Why Robert Persons Would Not Be Pacified: Edmund Bunny's Theft of *The Book of Resolution*' in Thomas McCoog (ed.) *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp.159–177.
[42] Walsham, 'Holy Maid' pursues the question of Elizabeth's conformist family, and her connections, further.
[43] This refers to chapter 1 of John's Gospel, read at the end of every Mass and often worn as a talisman: Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp.215–216.
[44] Walsham, 'Holy Maid'; Rich, *True Report* sig.C2v-C3r.
[45] Christopher Goodman. See Walsham, 'Holy Maid' for Goodman's background as a known Puritan; and for Barnaby Rich's possible existing connections with Francis Walsingham.
[46] APC 1581–1582 p.98.
[47] Ibid., pp.122–123.
[48] The Privy Council records for 1582–1586 are lost.
[49] Rich drew attention to a more famous example on his title-page: Elizabeth Barton, the 'Holy Maid of Kent'. Barton's status as a reputed saint, and her transformation into a political threat to Henry VIII when her visions became condemnations of his Reformation, have been discussed by several historians: see in particular Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), chapter 2. Barton's gender was central both to her authority, and to the denial of her agency in her eventual recantation.
[50] Walsham, 'Holy Maid', draws attention to the parallels between Orton's and other cases; these include the Catholic case of the 'Boy of Bilson', which was also publicised via a hostile tract. See also A. French, 'Possession, Puritanism and Prophecy: Child Demoniacs and English Reformed Culture' in *Reformation* 13 (2008), 133–161; F. Young, 'Catholic Exorcism in Early Modern England: Polemic, Propaganda and Folklore' in *RH* 29:4 (2008), 487–507; S. Hardman-Moore, '"Such perfecting of praise out of the mouth of a babe": Sarah Wight As Child Prophet' in Diana Wood, ed., *The Church and Childhood*, Studies in Church History 31 (1994), 313–324; Alexandra Walsham, '"Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings"; Prophecy, Puritanism and Childhood in Elizabethan Suffolk', ibid., 285–300; Shell, 'Furor Juvenilis'. For the Catholic angle, I am currently pursuing further research on Catholic and Protestant representations of childhood and religion.
[51] See further, Underwood, 'Childhood, Youth and Catholicism', chapters 6, 8.
[52] Colton's text is preserved in the Rutland family papers with other Catholic persecution narratives. HMC Rutland 1, pp.334–336: all quotations from this source. Robert Colton of

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Wisbech was among a party of young fugitive students and schoolboys intercepted in Ireland in 1594: Wark, *Cheshire Recusancy*, pp.111ff; and Diego de Yepes, *Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra*, pp.791–820, although Colton makes no mention of any previous stay in Bridewell, such as that claimed by Yepes for the 1594 fugitives. Colton appears in Bridewell prison lists for 1595: CRS 2, 287, committed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Rutland volume names him as Thomas or Robert 'Dowlton', but Caraman takes this as a misreading for Colton, see P. Caraman, *The Other Face: Catholic Life Under Elizabeth I* (New York, 1960), pp.196–197.

[53] Unless the manuscript is incomplete, although the text does not seem to start in the middle; the heading or title is there.

[54] J. Innes, 'Prisons for the Poor: English Bridewells, 1555–1800', in D. Hay, and F. Snyder (eds) *Labour, Law and Crime: An Historical Perspective* (London, 1987), pp.42–122; E.D. Pendry, *Elizabethan Prisons and Prison Scenes,* 2 vols (Salzburg, 1974), I, 39–53; P Griffiths, 'Building Bridewell: London's Self-Images, 1550–1640', in N.L. Jones and D. Woolf (eds.) *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp.228–248; F. Dabhoiwala, 'Summary Justice in Early Modern London' in *English Historical Review* 121 (2006), 796–822.

[55] London Guildhall Library, Bridewell Court Books 33011/3, 33011/4, 33011/5, passim.

[56] Chapter 8 of my doctoral thesis discusses these issues further in the light of other scholarship on early modern youth.

[57] A 1597 report implies that Catholic and certain other prisoners were administered separately: after giving numbers of Bridewell inmates for November and December, the report adds at the end, 'Recusants which remain in the House of Bridewell – 9/ Spaniards remaining in the said house [presumably prisoners of war] – 25/. British Library Lansdowne Mss.84, no.22, f.48-49v.

[58] LR349, LR380; Weston, *Autobiography*, pp.152–156, 165–172; see also Underwood, 'Childhood, Youth and Catholicism', pp.63–64, 93.

[59] Weston, *Autobiography*, p.153; copy of the original Latin MS (now at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome), in the archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus: ASJ 61/1/5/1,f.542r.

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