

WHO WAS DR JOHN MORE?

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PART 2 - DR JOHN MORE'S LEGACY

As Part 1 has shown, Dr John More's recusant activities ran alongside ambitious land acquisition. He clearly intended to found a line of landed Catholic gentry – he himself being unmarried, this could only be through the progeny of his brother William. How this played out over the ensuing century or so – a tale of mixed fortunes, to put it mildly – will now be shown. The appended pedigree chart includes all the family members referred to in this study – others there may have been who have not come to light.

WILLIAM I AND THE SECOND GENERATION

William More I : d.1631

No register entries have been found for Dr John's brother William's birth or baptism, or for his marriage to Elizabeth Vaudrey - that probably took place around the early 1600s, as their daughter Ellen, apparently the eldest of their seven children, married Richard Rawson at Chester in 1625. William's eldest son, Edward, was born about 1610, and so can be regarded as next heir presumptive after William from almost the start of Dr John's career.

Surviving pedigrees show William (I) as Dr John's younger brother, though he died long before John, in 1631. His wife Elizabeth was of the armigerous Cheshire family of Vaudrey of Riddings and Bank. Part 1 showed that the parentage of Dr John and William is incorrectly shown in the 1662 Nottinghamshire visitation pedigree, and the same applies to Elizabeth's parentage – the details are shown in **Appendix 6**.

It is argued in Part 1, Appendix 4 that there is nothing to suggest otherwise than that Dr John and William More came from a conformist family, despite apparent recusant connections on their mother's side. Alliance with the strongly recusant Houghs, Whitmores and Savages only enters the scene with the marriage of William's son Edward. William's wife Elizabeth's family, the North Cheshire Vaudreys, were by no means all Catholic, some indeed holding Anglican incumbencies; the name does not appear among the Cheshire recusants cited by Wark.ⁱ However in 1669 Richard Vaudrey, gent. of Baguley in Bowdon, of the main Vaudrey line and William and Elizabeth's daughter Alice More's brother-in-law, left a will surprisingly explicit, in which after commending his soul to Our Lord, to the Blessed Virgin St Mary and all the saints, he requested that his body be 'Catholickly buried in the parish church of Bowdon'. In 1630 he had paid £6/13/4d composition; his will accuses his brother Henry of sharp practice by pretending a right to all his estate under deeds made in 1642 to secure Henry whilst standing surety to preserve Richard's lands and goods from 'delinquency from the usurping Parliament'.ⁱⁱ

Where and how did overt Catholicism enter the family picture? Dr John More took it up by 1606 at the latest. His centrality to its confession by his heirs, the family of his brother William is strikingly displayed by William and Elizabeth's fourth son, George - a son suggestively not mentioned in the 1662 Dugdale pedigree.

To illustrate this and for other reasons which will become apparent, the children of William I will be described out of chronological sequence – the attached pedigree chart will assist.

George More : c.1617- >1662 - and William I's will

The *Responsa* of the Venerable English College at Rome record the deposition on 5 November 1638 of George More *alias* Marbury, son of William and Elizabeth More, born and raised at Thelwall, Cheshire. He is, he states, the son of heretical middle-class parents, now dead, although he has numerous kin, some well-to-do, and including Catholic brothers, and uncles (on which side is not stated), though one sister is a heretic.

He was sent by his uncle to Belgium to study the humanities, since when he has been a Catholic. He wishes to learn philosophy rather than to become an ecclesiastic.^{iv} He left the College in 1643, being readmitted in 1646 on 'certain conditions'; the following year he left finally, at around age 30, but 'stayed some months in the city'; what then became of him is unknown, though he is named in a family deed of October 1662.^v

Of most interest is his *Responsum*, not untypically cautious given the ever-present danger that a Government spy might be passing on information to be used against the family at home in England, with dire consequences should the authorities see fit to apply legal penalties. Although irregularly enforced, the threat was always there – a law of 1628 sought 'to restrain the passing or sending of any to be Popishly bred beyond the seas', prescribing forfeiture of *all* lands and goods of those sending kinsmen to or supporting overseas colleges. This case provides clear evidence that an assertion of 'heretical' parentage in a *Responsum* can be quite misleading.^{vi} William had died before George was at St Omer even, and his will of May 1631 is very revealing. A gentleman farmer of Thelwall whose inventory totalled some £430, he says, despite a conventionally conformist preamble:^{vii}

'And I hereby will and devyse that my loveinge brother Mr John More Doctor in Phisicke shall have the whole dispose hereof for the good of wief and children in such sorte manner and forme as to him shall seeme most meete not Doubtinge butt hee will bee unto them in my place and stead a seacond husband unto my wief and of an Nuckle a kind seacond ffather unto my Children whoe have and doe daylie for the better by gods providence and his and doubt but god will requit him for ye same wth a bundance of his blessinges and will in the end prepare for him a Crowne of glory wth eternitye of Coutyanance And therefore I desyre that my said wief and Children wilbe obedient to him and his direction and loveinge one towards another ffirst I am to pay unto my brother an hundred poundes...I give unto my wife one hundred poundes wch I promise to give her when I parted wth Boden house Item I give unto my daughter Ellen Rosonne ffortye poundes [with bequests to her children]...Item I give the remainder of my goods amonge my other Children to be equally devided amongst them att the dispose of my brother.....'

This does not prove William to be a practising or even a believing Catholic. That said, and even though he lived at some distance from Dr John (who was nonetheless lord of Thelwall manor), it seems implausible that he was unaware of John's religious convictions and the direction in which he could be expected to steer the children - all except one of whom, George says, were in fact Catholic by 1638. Explicitly to envisage and wish an everlasting crown of glory for John would hardly be sentiments of one hostile to papistry at this period. Comparison of other *Responsa* with wills or extant family documents might further show how far they concealed family pro-catholic sympathies to protect kin and estates from crippling penal exactions.^{viii}

William More II : d.1647

The pedigrees show William More I's son William as his second son, 'a Spanish merchant, died in August 1647, at Siville in Spaine, without issue' - only in his middle thirties at the time of his death.^{ix}

How far Dr More influenced his education, career path or marriage is not clear – though, as noted in Part 1, John Chamberlain asserted that Dr More was 'very near and dear' to the Spanish ambassador in 1624.

William's marriage was not indicative of Catholicism: his wife Elizabeth was the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Talcott, rector of two Anglican churches in Colchester - three generations earlier one of the most active strongholds of militant Protestantism in England^x - and chaplain to the earl marshal, Thomas Howard earl of Arundel and Surrey, who had officially abandoned his Catholic faith on joining the Privy Council.^{xi} William's own adherence is not in doubt, however, as his will is entirely Catholic in both form and substance, including express provision for the saying of many Masses for his soul.

Remarkably, it was proved by oath of his widow (on 17 November 1647, three months after it was made) in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in the form of a translation from the Spanish original, apparently without any motion for it to be struck down for superstitious uses, nor even with any qualification or rider added:

'I, William Moore lawfull sonne of William Moore and Mrs Elizabeth Moore his wife my n[atu]rall parents of the kingdome of England dwelling in this City of Seville' [expresses his faith in the Holy Trinity and] 'in all that the holy mother Catholick roman Church doth beleeve and confesse.'^{xii}

He requests burial in the English College in a grave to be allotted him by the father governor, with a mass of requiem, and no fewer than a thousand recited [said] masses 'in such places and churches as shall please my wife Elizabeth Talcott, to whose disposall and will I leave and referr it.' He leaves to 'the usuall pious legacies' - weepers? - a ryal (or real - about sixpence) each for his alms, and four ryals each to the fraternity of the Holy Sacrament and to aid the 'soules of purgatory' of Seville. He names his brother-in-law Jeremy Talcott, with Nathaniel Oxwicke, both dwelling in Seville, executors empowered to settle his trading affairs, with much detail regarding trade contacts, debtors and creditors, and his copious records. Each is left two hundred ducats' worth of ryals of double plate. 400 ryals are left to Fr Thomas Pickfords of the Society of Jesus.^{xiii}

'Item I declare that at the time I married with Mrs Elizabeth Talcot my wife I had for her portion 6000 ducats [roughly £600] whereof I made no writeing of dowry'

- she is to recover it from the most appropriate of his goods in Spain and in England, and is made executrix and sole beneficiary of the residuary estate with full powers to dispose of it as she wishes. The probate sentence names her as 'Elizabeth Talcott als More', presumably a tacit recognition of the irregularity of a Catholic marriage.

The impression given is of a considerable operation, highly organised and effectively monitored, with More intent on ensuring all loose ends be properly tied, from satisfaction of the demands of the *Casa de Contratación* to giving the executors full power and discretion to operate flexibly across national boundaries and separate asset classes.^{xiv} In settlement of specified debt, he enjoins Talcott and Oxwicke to realise his

Spanish assets, but should these prove insufficient, they are to pay the shortfall with 'the goods and inheritance w[hi]ch I doe inherit of my Uncle John More, and also with those w[hi]ch I inherit of Sir Edward More'.

Dr John More had left William an annuity of £50; his elder brother Sir Edward, who had died a matter of months earlier, left him £5. No direct communication from either has come to light.

Roger More

The pedigree in the family collection shows a fifth son, Roger, an equal annuitant with his brothers under Dr More's deathbed settlement, but not otherwise in evidence. He appears to have followed his brother George to St Omer's;^{xv} what he did thereafter and when he died has not emerged. Ignored by Dugdale, he may have died before late 1653 as he was not named as an annuitant in a return considered below.

Ellen More

The family pedigree shows William I and Elizabeth as having two daughters. The elder, Ellen, married Richard Rawson at Chester, although he is referred to in the family pedigree as 'of Kirklington' - she and her children were mentioned in William I's will of 1631, but she was not named as an annuitant by Dr John - maybe she predeceased him, or maybe she was out of favour through her marriage and/or through not being a Catholic: George's *Responsum* reference to a heretical sister could not have applied to the other sister,

Alice More I

who did qualify for a £40 annuity. Alice married the widowed William Vaudrey of Ollerbarrow, Cheshire, of the main line of Vaudrey of Bank^{xvi} - they and their sons receive detailed attention below.

Edward More : c.1610 - 1644

In 1629 Edward More gentleman, (eldest) son and heir of William More gent. of Thelwall, was admitted to membership of the Inner Temple -^{xvii} a not unusual step in a gentleman's education. No evidence has been found to show that Edward practised as a lawyer, and indeed Catholics were disqualified from proceeding to the Bar or Bench; however he was being described as 'gentleman, of the Inner Temple' as late as March 1633, a year and a half after his father's death.^{xviii}

Keen to advance the family, in 1634 (three years after his brother William's death) Dr More facilitated Edward's marriage to Winifred Whitmore, a daughter of William Whitmore esq. of Thurstaston and Leighton by his wife Margaret. The Whitmores were among the élite of Cheshire recusant families. William's mother Alice was the heiress of the well-to-do William Hough of Leighton by his wife Jane, an illegitimate daughter of Thomas Cromwell earl of Essex; his wife Margaret was the daughter and heiress of another prominent Cheshire Catholic, Sir Hugh Beeston of Beeston Castle, receiver-general for Cheshire and North Wales.

The Buckingham connection may have contributed to the alliance. Echoing his master James, Buckingham willingly made good use of the tightly-woven recusant web whilst taking care not to become enmeshed in it. Winifred Whitmore's elder sister Lady Bridget Somerset, childless widow of a son of the earl of Worcester,

married a son of Thomas the first viscount Savage. Savage, though an avowed Catholic, was prominent at court as chancellor to Queen Henrietta Maria, and commissioner of crown land sales and trade to Charles I.

A close friend of Buckingham and kinsman of his wife, he headed the commission to administer Buckingham's estate after his death.^{xix} The Whitmores and Mores shared other social contacts too, such as Viscount Mansfield - involved with Buckingham and More in selling honours in the Midlands, and a cousin of Viscountess Savage through their mothers the Kitson sisters. Nonetheless Dr More was rather overreaching himself. The bones of the sad story are set out in an unsigned memorandum, summarised in **Appendix 7**. The aim was to utilise all or most of Dr More's not inconsiderable assets, augmented by Whitmore, to secure the future standing of Edward and his heirs male. Through a toxic mix of bad faith and ill fortune, the outcome was to fall far short of Dr More's intentions.

Edward More's career shows his uncle Dr John's dynastic ambition at its height and at its most evanescent. Dr John was surely the moving spirit behind Edward's baronetcy, though what was paid, when and to whom has not emerged – the creation seems to have been curiously casual and its implementation incomplete.

The *Complete Baronetage* states that when Edward was created a baronet of Scotland in June 1636, presumably with remainder to heirs male, the patent was apparently not entered into the Great Seal register of Scotland; that his sons predeceased him (in fact he produced none); that his brother and heir John More (II) did not take the title up; and that seisin was never taken of the 16,000 acres in Nova Scotia which should have been granted to Edward. In the event the baronetcy was deemed extinguished by Edward's death, a mere eight years after its creation and five years after Dr More's own death.^{xx}

The title was far from the only casualty. The dispositions made by Dr More a few days before his death in 1641 envisaged the residue of the estate passing to Sir Edward's sons by primogeniture – at the time there would have seemed no reason to doubt that sons would arrive, and whilst the contingencies specified included education, maintenance and cash portions in the event that he left only daughters, nothing appears to have been said to entitle those daughters to the residue of the estate.

Fatally for Dr More's hopes, Sir Edward died in his thirties, without sons, and even predeceasing his father-in-law William Whitmore, of wounds received whilst fighting for the King at Marston Moor in July 1644. In his will,^{xxi} made just before his death three weeks later, Sir Edward asked to be buried in Kirklington church near his wife Lady Winifred, who he was shocked to learn had died at the Newark royal garrison just days earlier.
xxii

It was not until November 1646 that the sequestration of Sir Edward's Cheshire estates was lifted on petition by his brother John More II - relief which proved only temporary. In that same month probate of Sir Edward's will was granted at Newark on Trent to a nominee, both his chosen executors having renounced, no doubt smelling a poisoned chalice. Edward had nominated his father-in-law William Whitmore together with John Minshall esq. of Minshall, Cheshire - clearly his roots had remained firmly anchored in that county, although as co-supervisors with his brother John II he appointed the Catholic Sir Edward Golding bart. of Colston Bassett in Nottinghamshire, as well as a pair of Lincolnshire gentlemen, connected to each other by marriage.

For tutelage to age thirteen, and guardianship, the four daughters of the marriage, Alice (II), Margaret,

Elizabeth and Frances, were to be 'disposed on, to such persons and places, as my executors and supervisors...think most fit and convenient'.^{xxiii}

To them he left 'the Impropriation of the Parsonage of Langford (w[hi]ch I hold by Lease of Trinity College in Cambridge) to be equally divided amongst them my eldest daughter having the sume of an hundred pounds out of it more than the other three'; they were also left specified parcels of land purchased of John Earl Rivers (a Whitmore connection) in Cheshire, together with all Sir Edward's plate, jewels, household stuff and personal estate, the eldest again gaining £50 more than the rest.

Sir Edward goes on to relate that

'whereas Dr John More my uncle, late of the City of London did by good assurance in the Law, give unto every one of my daughters the sum of £1000, in case I should depart this life not having issue male, *and that the lands should descend to my next brother and heir male*¹ and did likewise give a annuity towards the maintenance of my said daughters' until they should attain the ages specified to receive the £1000, the supervisors should increase the annuities if they considered it needful.'

How, where, and by whom the girls were brought up and the funding administered during the decade or so ensuing does not appear in any documents so far discovered, making it singularly difficult to evaluate the conflicting claims of the parties to a very bitter dispute over the outcome.

All that can be said for certain is that after Sir Edward's death in 1644 it fell to John More II, the next heir, to take on not only his nieces' claims but the outstanding obligation to settle his uncle's surviving debts, which still exceeded £10,000. He inherited a tangle of claims and interests, including the complications portrayed in **Appendix 7**, to resolve as best he might.

John More II : c.1615 - c.1670

William I and Elizabeth's third son John II would have been about 29 years old at the time of his brother Sir Edward's untimely death from war wounds. Presumably he too grew up in Cheshire; where, by whom and to what level he was educated, has not emerged. Whatever personal aspirations he may have had, he found himself burdened with what was left of the estate built up by his uncle Dr John for his brother, much attenuated by sequestration, charged with the nieces' £4000, and lacking the money being withheld by Lady Somerset. Above all loomed the substantial debts still owing on Dr John's estate, which John II appears to have made conscientious efforts to pay off. Following renunciation by both of Sir Edward's named executors, a lengthy delay was eventually ended when John II and the other overseers appointed a local man to apply for probate.

Unfortunately for John II as a faithful Catholic and heir to a Royalist officer, he had to face these challenges in the retributive climate of the civil war and Commonwealth. In 1641, even before succeeding to these obligations, he and his wife had been presented at Nottingham for recusancy.^{xxiv} **Appendix 8** outlines his tug-of-war with the Committees for Compounding of both Nottinghamshire and Cheshire, demanding and costly in terms of time and effort as well as of material assets, from 1648. By then he was already addressing the

¹ my emphasis

estate's debt problem, for example paying off with interest a £500 loan his uncle had taken out in 1633 when making a 99 year leaseback arrangement. To safeguard the Kirklington properties the arrangement was renewed, the trustees including George Vaudrey, gent. of Dunham Massey, of the main Riddings and Bank line and a half-cousin of his brother-in-law William Vaudrey.^{xxv}

Further efforts towards clearing debt and meeting his inherited obligations included the sale of properties in Cheshire originally purchased by Dr More from William Marbury esq. of Marbury;^{xxvi} repayments of £60 here, £100 there, continued on into the late 1660s, not long before John II's death.^{xxvii}

Supplanting the 1634 provision that Dr More's main Nottinghamshire possessions be entailed or remaindered to Sir Edward's descendants, in the deathbed settlement Dr More had bargained and sold on a 99 year lease his entire estate to both Sir Edward and John II. However, while no provision was made for Sir Edward's four daughters to inherit the estate, they were entitled to education and maintenance to age 16, and then to £1000 each. As mentioned earlier no details of the daughters' upbringing seem to have survived, nor of the background to their marriages - Alice II to Thomas Havers esq. of Thelton Hall, Norfolk, the widower of Mary Englefield; Margaret to Hamnet son and heir of Richard Massey (or Masey) esq. of Rixton, Lancs.; Elizabeth to Richard Vyne gent. of Westminster; Frances to John son and heir of Bernard Weedon esq. of Souldern, Oxon. Of these marriages, all except maybe the third were into established recusant families. For girls orphaned in early childhood, these seem impressive enough alliances.

Trouble was brewing nonetheless. In November 1660, nineteen years after Dr John's death and fourteen years after Sir Edward's, and six months after the restoration of the monarchy, a bill of complaint lodged in Chancery on behalf of all four of Sir Edward's daughters averred that John More II had been plundering an estate that should have fallen to them, a claim he strenuously denied.

In the event all four £1000 portions with interest as appropriate were paid over by John II before August 1664 – the quite complex details are set out in **Appendix 9**.

John More II's efforts to reduce outstanding debt and to secure what was left through leasings and sales of parcels of land and property both in Cheshire and in Nottinghamshire continued unabated. To help secure his own son and heir John More III, he leased a farm at Hockerton near Kirklington for 500 years.^{xxviii}

Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* follows Sir Peter Leycester's *Historical Antiquities* in stating that

'John Moores [*sic*] of Kirklington in Nottinghamshire, nephew of doctor Moores aforesaid, sold [property at Thelwall that Dr More had purchased] to Robert Pickering, councillor at law, 1662, who is now possessed of the manor of Thelwall, 1666'.

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The author of *Chronicles of Thelwall, co. Chester* in 1846 details the sale by John II in December 1661, through his trustee the (by then) Attorney-General Sir Jeffrey (or Geoffrey) Palmer, to Pickering – a lawyer from an Anglican, armigerous Runcorn family - and his associates of the whole of the manor of Thelwall and all its appurtenances for £6500. This sale, enrolled in Chancery in September 1662, ensured that the ancestral territory that John II's uncle had proudly purchased some forty years before was irrevocably lost to the More family. The lands involved were situate not only at Thelwall but at Grappenhall, Lymm, Redditch and other places in Cheshire, and Mar(tin)scroft in Lancashire, and involved many tenants including an Ellen and John

Rawson who were in all probability John II's own sister and nephew, beneficiaries under William I's will.^{xxx} Yet again this was not the end of the tale, as will be shown.

Sharp inequities between kinsmen of the higher social classes resulting from primogeniture were part of the social fabric, facts of life to be accepted, then perhaps a good deal more routinely than in today's world.

That said, it can hardly have been a matter of indifference to John More II that during the whole of the period in which he was exercised in making the substantial provision stipulated for Sir Edward's four daughters by their uncle - and by their father whose untimely death lumbered John II with this unsought responsibility - and in defending himself against their and their husbands' accusations of perfidy, he and his first wife Mary the daughter of William Bennet esq. of Poulton, Cheshire had six children of their own to maintain, of very similar ages to the four heiresses.^{xxxi}

John II (or his son John) certified the Dugdale pedigree of 1662^{xxxii}, and the Kirklington parish registers record the baptisms of the six - John (III) in 1641, a few weeks before Dr More's death; Winifred (II) 1642; Elizabeth 1643; William 1645; Gervase 1648; and Thomas 1649. All except the youngest, Thomas, are mentioned in John II's will and so reached adulthood.^{xxxiii} The eldest, Winifred II, generously treated under the will, married a Mr Arthur and lived locally. Her sister Elizabeth was already married to a Knightley when John II died. William will be encountered below as an executor of a cousin's will; Gervase is known to have survived until 1710.^{xxxiv} Other personal information on junior family members at this period is lacking, but they are not central to what became of the remainder of Dr More's assets following the loss of his Cheshire estates.

In November 1670 John More II made his will, apparently in the face of death as it was proved by his son John III at Southwell on 9 May following. Both of John II's wives predeceased him. Whilst the will is vague as to real property, the core Kirklington area holdings remained to the family. No inventory survives to show whether John II had any valuables to leave, but the will's terms suggest a very modest personal estate when compared with those left by his brothers and the possessions the family had so recently held - his own words best convey this.^{xxxv}

THE THIRD GENERATION

John More III : c.1641 - 1722

As with his father, it is unknown where, by whom and to what level John III was educated. The Jesuits' school at Spinkhill appears to have closed about 1648, and that run by William Allen at Nottingham, even earlier.^{xxxvi} Whatever his occupation had been, at around age 28 he inherited a sea of financial troubles. In February 1670/1, with John II barely cold in his grave, Robert Pickering took the opportunity to complain in Chancery that he had been short-changed by John II when buying the Thelwall estate over nine years earlier. This claim, and John III's answer that this was a cynical opportunist try-on designed to exploit John II's death, is described in **Appendix 10**.

John III's social standing among the more northerly Catholic gentry was well enough regarded to allow him, prior to his father's death, to marry the Hon. Catharine Constable of the Burton Constable line, a daughter of the second viscount Dunbar by his wife Lady Mary Brudenell, only daughter of the earl of Cardigan.^{xxxvii} John III's answer to Pickering mentions that the marriage portion was £3000.

Though the bride's family had financial problems of its own,^{xxxviii} it was an alliance connecting the Mores to the mainstream of socially higher ranking recusant families – although no personal letters or social gossip to shed light on the family's place in seventeenth century society, recusant or otherwise, have yet come to light.

John More, 'Kirthlington', esq. was included in the list of active papists drawn up for proposed relocation by the House of Lords in 1680,^{xxxix} and his religious commitment is evident. In the roundup of Jesuits resulting from the spurious 'Popish Plot' dreamed up by Titus Oates in 1678, a list of lay fundholders found on Peter Walker *vere* Giffard, procurator of the College of St Chad, prompted a royal commission into superstitious uses hearing at Stafford on 17 March 1681.^{xl} Unsurprisingly, most names on the list were from prominent Staffordshire recusant families such as the Astons and Giffards - however the person heading the roll, with the sum of £1480 - easily the largest in the list - was John M(o)re of Kirklington, Notts. Not quite the only name from outside the area - there was also a Beveridge from Derbyshire - but the questions remain: how did John More come to be holding such a sum on behalf of the Jesuits, and what became of it?^{xli}

A list of gentry supporting resident missionaries in around 1701 lists Mr More of Kirklington as one of the 'gentry of considerable estate' maintaining a secular - not a Jesuit - priest, although no details of such a mission at that time have come to light.^{xlii} Five years after this John III and IV, for whatever reason, borrowed £200 at interest from John Stanford, missionary (and kinsman) of the Hunloke baronets at Wingerworth in north-east Derbyshire, some 22 miles away; a further £100 loan was borrowed from Stanford by John IV in 1719. Stanford, himself of the gentry family of Stanford of Handsworth, had wide connections as an archdeacon and Chapter member, but resided at Wingerworth from at least 1692 to 1737, and nothing suggests that he ever ministered at Kirklington.^{xliii}

Though no evidence has come to light to suggest that John III meddled in politics or evinced overt Jacobite sympathies, he did not escape the pressures exerted on Catholic gentry by government agencies reacting to events such as the attempted Jacobite rising of 1708, itself a reaction against the Act of Union. In Nottinghamshire the deputy lieutenant and justices of the peace carved up the county between them 'for the apprehension of papists and searching of papist houses'. John Digby's tranche included John III's house at Kirklington; it was determined that any 'horses seized by... Mr Digby...be kept at the Crown in Mansfield and arms in [his] own custody'.

Formalities having been observed, the affair apparently blew over - neighbours had to live together.^{xliv} Some early eighteenth century recusant peers and gentlemen capitulated to conformity after decades of hassle, restriction, and continuing financial imposts such as the Walpole levy of 1722: John III's religious adherence was unwavering, as will be shown.

At this juncture, however, it will be helpful to step back somewhat in order to follow the fortunes of another

line of descent from William More I.

THE VAUDREYS: William and Alice I and their sons, Fr John SJ and Sir Edward

Dr John More's inheritors did not all retain his surname. As mentioned earlier, Alice I More, the sister of Sir Edward and of John II, married William Vaudrey of the main line of Vaudreys of Bank, and Alice and her sons are significant in the playing out of Dr More's legacy.

Dr More's directions entitled Alice I to an annuity of £40. In July 1651 the Cheshire county committee ruled that only a third of it should be paid to her husband, as she was a recusant convict before marriage - 'she was and still remains a Papist'. This prompted a swift complaint from William Vaudrey of being so treated 'although he has always been faithful to Parliament, and lost a son [by his previous marriage] in the expedition against the Scots'. His claim for £340 owed in arrears of the annuity succeeded, payable from September 1651 - however, the money was still unpaid as late as December 1653.^{xlv}

Alice would have seen at close quarters and over a long period the havoc that could be wrought within a family during the active pursuance of recusants in and after the civil war period: her husband's elder brothers locked horns in a wrangle that lasted to the grave, best summarised in an endnote.^{xlvi}

In 1665 William died, leaving Alice a widow^{xlvii} with two sons, Edward and John. She moved soon afterwards to Nottinghamshire, where she was listed in 1668 as a popish recusant - an active one, as shown below.^{xlviii}

John Vaudrey, born at Bowdon, Cheshire in 1657, was admitted (*alias* More) to the Society of Jesus in 1677, and following a conventional Jesuit formation was ordained in about 1686. He served for some years in the Residence of St John, which served Durham, Cumberland and Northumberland, and was imprisoned at Berwick in 1688-90, later transferring to the College of St Thomas of Canterbury, which extended from Sussex to Wiltshire, until his death in 1725.^{xlix} He receives further mention below.

Edward Vaudrey, his elder brother, born at Bowdon in 1654, enters the record as James II ascends the throne in 1685, as governor to his two illegitimate sons by Arabella Churchill: James FitzJames, then aged fourteen, and his brother Henry FitzJames, eleven.¹ However it was that he caught the royal eye, the thirty-year-old army officer made speedy progress. When granted a pass to go to Newark in July 1685, he is a lieutenant of horse^{li}. Two months later there is paid 'upon the recommendation of Mr James & Mr Henry FitzJames, £500 for a quarter's advance upon their allowance, and £100 for said Vaudrey, as their governor' from the Secret Service Fund^{lii}. He was in attendance on James during his, James' education in France and the winning of his military spurs in the service of the Emperor in 1686 at the siege of Buda. By March 1687 Vaudrey is being entitled esquire rather than Mr:

'to Edward Vaudrey esq., £1110,...for the last quarter on the old establishment for Mr FitzJames,...as for three quarters on the

new establishment...as also for his equipage to Buda, £292 for his own allowance, and...the respective allowances and disbursements..and ...for fees in passing warrants, and on recovering £1402 at the Exchequer
£1441/15/6' ^{lviii}

By June 1687 James had been created Duke of Berwick by his father, with an allowance of £5000 pa. At the end of the year he was named governor of Portsmouth, while Vaudrey, by now knighted, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel and captain of a troop in the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Horse ^{liv}; still Berwick continued to receive his quarterly payments through Sir Edward until the end of the year.

It will be recalled that Sir Edward's brother Fr John Vaudrey SJ was gaoled at Berwick in 1688-90, and there Sir Edward himself was confined following James II's flight in December 1688. The next September, Sir Rupert Billingsley wrote disdainfully from Berwick to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'in April I gave your Lordship an account of my seizing one Vaudry, a papist [and others] who were going, they said, to serve King James. They are still in custody - I desire your commands in this affair'. ^{lv}

Meanwhile Berwick, having left England with his father for France, joined him in the Irish campaign of 1690, and was a cavalry commander at the battle of the Boyne in that July. Vaudrey, released, went himself to Ireland, aiming no doubt to rejoin Berwick, who was still there. Berwick had forty-four years' highly successful and distinguished military command ahead of him - however within months, Vaudrey was dead, being buried in Dublin in the month of the battle. ^{lvi}

Sir Edward's nuncupative will is dated the day before his burial. It created confusion, litigation, and strained relations within and between the Vaudrey and More families, as will be shown.

Sir Edward's mother Alice I had herself played a part in recusant affairs since being widowed. During the general round-up of Jesuits sparked by the spurious Popish Plot of 1678, the main centre of the much-attenuated College of the Immaculate Conception, Holbeck Hall, was invaded and its extensive library impounded, as described by Hendrik Dijkgraaf. ^{lvii} The Hall lay just inside Nottinghamshire, very close to the Derbyshire and Yorkshire borders and some eighteen miles from Kirklington. It belonged to Gervase and Elizabeth Pierrepont, whose father had gained the earldom of Kingston with Dr More's involvement. The housekeeper was Alice Vaudrey. ^{lviii}

Dijkgraaf describes the exposure to the authorities by a physician, Dr Richard Needham, of the establishment at Holbeck. Needham referred to 'the house of Gervas Pierepoint esq. or Mr Vaudrey'. Though twice mentioned, no 'Mr Vaudrey' is evident at this period. ^{lix} It was 'Alice Vawdery' who, with Lady Elizabeth Pierrepont and others, was indicted to appear at East Retford on 3 May 1680 to answer to the charge of recusancy: she failed to attend, as reportedly 'shee was in flanders and had bine there for some tyme'. Earlier the pursuivants, in search of Fr Edward Turner SJ, had found his breviary 'on the bed of Mrs Vaudrey, the housekeeper, who was herself a Catholic'. Fr Turner told examining justices of the peace that Mrs Vaudrey, warning him against staying longer, provided him with a horse on which he and a servant left Holbeck, only to be apprehended soon afterwards. ^{lx}

Late in 1680 'Elisa (*sic*) Vaudrey, Holbeck, widow' was named in the list of active Nottinghamshire papists proposed for compulsory relocation under the Lords' Disabling and Removal Bill, with a cohort of county gentry including Lady Elizabeth Pierrepont and John More esq. (III) of Kirklington. ^{lxi} The Bill was lost on

dissolution as the post-Plot frenzy gradually simmered down. At some stage thereafter Alice retired to Kirklington, where she was living at her death early in 1696. Her will was not proved until 1702, upon which war broke out between John More III and his cousin Fr John Vaudrey SJ – details are set out in **Appendix 11**. This unseemly squabble is the last interaction so far discovered between More and Vaudrey kinsmen in Dr More's line of inheritance.

'IN MY END IS MY BEGINNING'...THE FOURTH AND LAST GENERATION

At least five children were born of John More III's marriage - John IV, Cecily, Henrietta, Robert Constable, and Winifred III. Their birth/baptismal dates have not been found, and nothing has come to light about their early years or education, indeed nothing at all about Robert Constable beyond the bequest from his great-aunt in 1696. 'Mr Robert More' was buried at Kirklington in 1713.

In 1701, shortly before his mother's death, John IV married Margaret the daughter of Mary and the late Peter Fermor of St Giles in the Fields, London, the second son of Henry Fermor esq. of Tusmore, who in 1670 had set up an arrangement under which, from the proceeds of lands he owned in Northamptonshire, Margaret would be entitled to £1000 on marriage. To this, Mary agreed to add £3000, the whole £4000 to be paid to John More III towards the payment of his debts!^{lxii}

Peter Fermor's manors at and near Deerhurst, Gloucestershire were entailed on John IV and Margaret and their progeny, male and female in sequence; Mary had agreed to sell her lands in Monmouthshire and Middlesex. However, within ten years of the marriage, Mary Fermor died leaving debts of her own, forcing John IV and Margaret to seek a private Act of Parliament empowering them to sell lands to defray her debts and theirs.^{lxiii}

Whilst paying off his mother-in-law's debts, in 1708 John IV borrowed £3500 from Thomas Macro, a gentleman of Bury St Edmunds. When this sum, with considerable accrued interest, remained outstanding, Macro - no doubt sniffing easy pickings - moved to foreclose. Without the private Act of Parliament, the Mores could not sell land to discharge the debt: they had boxed themselves into arrangements giving them only life interests, and having no children, had neither means nor prospect of selling.^{lxiv} The Act therefore made over some 250 acres of Gloucestershire manorial land yielding around £220 pa as from June 1712 to John More IV's uncle, Viscount Dunbar and to Henry Eyre esq. of Gray's Inn, a member of the Catholic family of Eyre of Hassop in Derbyshire, on trust to sell for the Mores' benefit.

A few years later the Mores were obliged to register their real estates under the Act for the Registration of Papists' Estates,^{lxv} passed in the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite uprising; the Mores themselves appear to have had little interest in political activism of any hue. A mid-nineteenth century history of Nottingham alleges that

'In 1715 (the Romanists) endeavoured to disturb public tranquillity, and accordingly the deputy-lieutenant imprisoned the following Romanists: Sir Gervas Clifton and his son; the Hon. Bellasis; Mr Evers and his son; Mr Moore of Kitlington (*sic*); Mr Markham, Mr Eyre, Dr Peat and Mr Pegg, attorneys, "with four yeomen" ' ^{lxvi}

- however a lack of contemporary details rather suggests a storm in a teacup, with any incarcerations brief.

In regard to the registration, Estcourt and Payne summarise John III's and IV's holdings as:^{lxvii}

Notts.: John Mo(o)re senior, esq., Kirklington: Manors of Hockerton & Langford for life - £ 1172/1/- ;

John Mo(o)re junior of Kirklington, life estate at Hockerton & Langford, £ 1300

Liberty of Southwell: John Mo(o)re senior, esq., Kirklington: £ 597/10/5

Glos.: John Moore esq., junior of Kirklington, Notts.: life estate at Deerhurst: £ 284/12/7

There appears no reason to suspect that the Mores understated the valuations. The register records John III's lordship of his manors of and near Kirklington, but whilst providing much detail about individual leases, their rents and appurtenances, it brands the overall value uncertain, the whole estate being encumbered to the extent of around £15,000.

John III has a life interest in two manors, excepting lands securing a £300 life interest for John IV and his wife, with reversion to John III and his heirs should John IV and Margaret fail to have issue - in which event, and if he should outlive them, he stands to recover the reversion of Langford manor also. Clearly he had learned from the Wightfield experience.^{lxviii}

The October 1717 entries for John IV confirm that he is seised of Langford manor, valued at £500 pa, for life without impeachment, the remainder being attached to his sons, if any, in tail; in fact he and his father have leased it out at £800 pa from 1706 for 21 years.^{lxix} As shown above, there were no children of the marriage, and very soon after this return was made John IV died. Margaret, as his widow, made her own return less than four months later, declaring that she is entitled to about £760 pa from various manors under trust provisions set up by her late husband and his mother Catharine More which in effect guarantee her massive capital compensation should her peaceful possession be denied.^{lxx}

John III's widowed sister Winifred (II) Arthur also had to register; as a widow she continued to receive the Kirklington rectory tithes, stating that she is leasing on the rectory and its appurtenances, held of Southwell Minster, to her brother John III for three years for £65 pa.^{lxxi} Winifred died in 1722, having outlived her brother by just a few weeks.^{lxxii} Token shilling bequests, suggesting prior provision, are left to her niece Winifred (III) Heneage and her 'sister More', presumably John III's widow Elizabeth. Her nieces Cecily and Henrietta More, also daughters of John III, and the daughter of her sister Elizabeth Knightley receive a few pounds each.^{lxxiii} Many personal bequests recognise individuals at various social levels from 'my cousins Edward and George Markham' to the steward of Sir Windsor Hunloke of Wingerworth, but the residue is left to Edward Little of Kirklington, her attorney, to dispose of according to her spoken or written directions. This suggests that Catholic causes were to benefit; Kirklington's poor certainly did, as small payments from Winifred Arthur's Charity were being made to a few needy Kirklington residents every year as late as the 1920s.^{lxxiv} John III's inventory mentions 'Mrs Arthur's chamber' in Kirklington Hall, where she had apparently resided in widowhood as her personal estate consisted of £500 on bond, £5 by way of 'her purse and apparel', and nothing else save a gold ring, a chest of drawers and a silver toothpick case, all left as specific bequests.

John III's daughters Cecily and Henrietta entered religion, Henrietta in 1696 as a choir nun at Rouen where she died in 1745, and Cicely in 1690 as an Augustinian canoness regular of the Lateran at Louvain, where she 'was for twenty-two years prioress of St Monica's, dying in 1755, and her brother John (IV) More of Kirklington, co. Notts., was buried in the convent church'^{lxxv} - having died long before, in 1718.

No record of John III's marriage to his second wife Elizabeth has come to light, but it appears to have been childless, and the prospect of the estates being lost to the More name through the marriage of John IV's sister and heiress Winifred III must have appeared highly probable when, early in 1719, John III opened marriage negotiations with Thomas Heneage esq. of Cadeby in Lincolnshire, a secondary seat of the Heneages of Hainton.

With the good offices of two Yorkshire gentlemen, John Stapylton esq. of Myton and William Wakefield esq. of Huby, a marriage settlement was hammered out under which the manors of Cadeby and Holme, yielding £350 pa, are made over to Winifred III for life as part jointure, then for 300 years on trust for their younger children, with eventual reversion. In fact the chances of there being any children of the marriage must already have seemed slim - her elder sisters having been born in the 1670s, she was already approaching middle age.

Nonetheless, after Winifred is allowed a further £150 of jointure, assets worth some £16,000 are settled by trust deed on the descendants, with the usual complex web of contingency arrangements and provisos. The manor of Langford is to be sold with the proceeds paid to Winifred to be passed on to Thomas; however, Winifred herself is to retain in fee simple and through trustees the More properties remaining at Kirklington and elsewhere in Nottinghamshire for her own exclusive use: it is explicitly stipulated that Thomas Heneage is not to 'intermeddle' with them, and she is given express rights freely to dispose of them as she wishes, whether by will or otherwise.

In addition to all this, she is 'entitled to £2000 under the will of her late uncle Viscount Dunbar: this, and all rents on the estate in her name, are reserved to her exclusive use'.^{lxxvi} What follows strongly suggests that this rather strident departure from the conventional practice whereby the husband effectively took over the wife's assets on marriage, was prompted by John III rather than by his daughter and heiress presumptive herself. Whether in the aftermath the decisions were made by Winifred, by Thomas, or by both in concert, nothing has as yet been found to say.

In July 1720 Thomas Heneage registered the manor of Kirklington as being now in the possession of himself and Winifred III his wife, confirming that she has contracted with John IV's widow Margaret for the latter's interest of £800 pa, under pain of £16,000 compensation should she be deprived. He acknowledges that Winifred is seised of the estates in fee simple in her own right for their joint lives and as survivor; thereafter they are entailed on any issue she might have by him, failing whom on her, not his, heirs, but confirms her overriding right, by virtue of the marriage settlement, jointly with him or 'separate and alone', to dispose of them at her own pleasure. The value of the whole estate he puts at around £18,000. He himself is entitled, he says, to receive to his own use the net proceeds of the sale of the manor of Langford, its rectory and tithes.^{lxxvii}

Back in 1619 the rental yield of Kirklington manor and Roughay had been around £620 pa. Detailed accounts for the ensuing century appear lacking, precluding assessment of the effects of the financial burdens imposed

by measures such as land tax (double for Catholics) from 1692 and Walpole's additional land tax levy of 1722, or of whether other events such as the South Sea Bubble of 1720 impacted on the estate. However the rent book for Kirklington from Michaelmas 1720 to Lady Day 1733 for 'The estate of Thomas Heneage esq. in the right of Winefrid his Lady' shows the rental yield barely changed in cash terms from 1619 at some £600 pa.^{lxxviii} In 1722 - the year of Walpole's levy - Langford Old Hall was duly sold, as the marriage settlement had stipulated: it is said to have made over £25,000.^{lxxix}

Another registration document of July 1720 states that John III is entitled to £200 clear pa for life, and Winifred II to £35 pa for life, plus £20 which as rectory lessee she has to find for a chaplain for Kirklington church; after her death the Heneages would be required to pay out £500 to cover that and the rectory lease.

Just in case, a charge of £1500 is put in place on specific freehold properties to provide for any child(ren) John III might have by his new wife Elizabeth.^{lxxx} However, that was not to be - in August 1722 he died, appointing Elizabeth his sole executrix, supported by attorneys as supervisors.

John III's will^{lxxxi} refers to an indenture of 1719, made in the context of his daughter Winifred III's marriage settlement, under which '£2500.. is secured to me with interest..' - this he leaves to Elizabeth, subject to the payment of only those of his debts for which no provision has been made, some legacies, and his funeral charges, 'which I desire may be very moderate'.

£300 is left 'to Mr George Fairfax who lives with Lady Frances Keighley'; £25 to Mr William Huddleston of Sawston; and £5 to Mr John Shuttleworth. This last may well have been his resident missionary, a relation of the Nottinghamshire gentry family of Shuttleworth of Hodsock Park, who came to England from Douai in 1711 and served in Nottinghamshire until his death in 1739.

Plausibly Mr George Fairfax is Dom Placid Robinson (*vere* Fairfax) OSB: he was professed at and *quondam* Procurator in England for Lamspringe Abbey in Germany, and although it is not known that any family member was educated at the Abbey school, John III is recorded as having given £300 to set up a burse there.
lxxxii

Here, with the death of the last surviving More of Kirklington, the century-and-a-half-old enigma is reprised:

- who was Dr John More?

After leaving his household goods, furniture, plate, jewels, goods and chattels, money and securities, and the residue of his personal estate to his wife Elizabeth, John III goes on to say:

'Whereas I have had of late an intention to give all my real estate after the decease of my said daughter Winifred Heneage without issue of her body unto Mr Thomas More of Lincoln's Inn junior, son and heir apparent of Christopher Cresacre More of Barnborough in the County of York esq. in such manner as that the same might continue in the Male line of the family of the Mores as long as by the Rules of Law it might be continued but in regard I have already given it to or settled it on my said daughter Winifred Heneage and her heirs I cannot now break into that settlement without her consent, I can only now Recommend it to my said daughter Winifred Heneage, but no wise oblige or command her, that if it shall please God that she shall happen to die without issue, that she will out of regard to the memory of me her dying father so far comply to settle all such real estate [that she inherits from me] on Mr Thomas More for his life without impeachment of waste with Remainder to Trustees for his life to preserve Contingent Remainders...after his decease with remainder to his first and other sons and the

heirs males (in legitimate sequence) failing whom...with remainder to her own right heirs for ever'.

Was this a new conceit, prompted by the remote relationship of his first wife Catharine, dead since 1702, with St Thomas' line through the Brudenells - Christopher Cresacre being her third cousin once removed, and both being descended from Sir Thomas Brudenell who died in 1586? No blood tie to St Thomas' line is evident in Catharine's own ancestry, and such an explanation of John III's clearly heartfelt aspiration seems less convincing than the recurrence of a tradition, whether or not factually based, passed down in the family from Dr More a century earlier that the Mores of Kirklington were kinsmen of Sir (St) Thomas More's line. ^{lxxxiii}

The surname More was not at all uncommon at the period, and some other More families were recusant during the period. There were other gentry families named More in Nottinghamshire and the neighbouring counties, and also in the areas near to the family's former estates around Thelwall, so the reference to 'the male line of the family of the Mores' could not simply have alluded to the More surname as such. ^{lxxxiv}

John II wished what remained of the estates founded over a century earlier by Dr John his great-uncle to *continue* 'in the Male line of the family of the Mores' - by which, explicitly, he meant the direct More line of descent from Sir Thomas.

Sadly for his hopes, it was not to be. Fourteen years later, in July 1736, Thomas Heneage of Cadeby esq. and his wife Winifred III, 'sole daughter and heir of John More senior of Kirklington, esq.', indented with Lieutenant General the Hon. Thomas Whetham of Turnham Green in Middlesex to sell to Whetham their manors and lands for £25,000 - 'less £8000 to be retained by him to pay off incumbrances' - reciting for maybe the last time the full list of lands bought by Dr John in November 1618. ^{lxxxv}

What Winifred's feelings about this might have been has not emerged. The foundress of the Catholic mission at Louth, her marriage to Thomas appears to have been childless. Less than four years later, Thomas died, followed by Winifred herself in 1745. ^{lxxxvi}

Quite possibly there still survive, in archives and private and local collections, additional materials to allow fuller light to be shed on the persons, places and events described: until then, the opening question, *Who was Dr John More?* cannot be definitively resolved.

DR JOHN MORE'S LEGACY

After thirty years of medical practice, of ambitious land acquisition, and of services to persons of consequence in both state and (Catholic) church in somewhat astonishingly different arenas, what can be deemed Dr John More's legacy? As with most people, it is not a matter of material possessions alone. In that aspect, on the face of it his aspirations may seem over the course of a bare century to have failed fairly comprehensively.

Having begun his career as a questionably armigerous gentleman of very localised origins, he left to succeed him a family holding land in three counties - significant holdings in Cheshire and Nottinghamshire - with as head not a mere local gentleman, nor esquire even, but a baronet, young enough to produce a male heir and carry on the title.

Yet a mere century later the baronetcy was long extinct, the Cheshire and Lancashire lands lost, the More name extinguished as his main male line ended with the Nottinghamshire estates, absorbed by the Heneage

family, sold to outsiders. How might Dr John have seen this frustration of his hopes and plans? He would have been disappointed, little doubt. Yet his efforts were vindicated over the period in two positive ways.

In respect of his dynastic ambitions, there is the paradox that the more the landed estates of his heirs dwindled, the fuller was their integration into the higher reaches of established recusant society. Through marriage alliances with the families of Constable, Fermor and Heneage, they merged into that wider kinship network linking most of the Catholic aristocracy and gentry of England. In that these ambitions were instrumental in his strenuous and loyal pursuance and promotion of his Catholic faith, he would surely have been gratified by the marked fidelity to that faith shown by his heirs in each succeeding generation, despite all the disabilities this entailed. Even while the landed estates were being lost, several of his brother's descendants continued to serve their church as active religious: and only one family member mentioned above is known to have married out of the faith or to have abandoned it.^{lxxxvii} The ultimate failure of his ambitions was hardly an ignoble one.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAW MS	Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster, Main Series
CPCAM	Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for the Advance of Money
CPCC	Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding etc. 1643-1660
CRS	Catholic Record Society, Records Series
CALS	Cheshire Archives and Local Studies - quotations by permission
HD	Heneage Deeds, Lincolnshire Archives - quotations by permission
NA	Nottinghamshire Archives - quotations by permission
TNA	The National Archives: Public Record Office

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- i For the Anglican clergy named Vaudrey see the Clergy of the Church of England database online at <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/search/index.jsp> [accessed 9 September 2013]. K.R. Wark, *Elizabethan recusancy in Cheshire*, Chetham Soc. 1971
- ii CALS WS 1669; CRS vol. 53 (Miscellanea): *Northern book of compositions 1629-32. Documents concerning the Northern Commission 1627-42.* (eds.) Clare Talbot, Hugh Aveling. The will goes on to claim that as against a bond not exceeding £520, Henry had in fact over the previous twenty years abstracted from Richard's estate by sales or leases over £2000 more than ever Richard's debts came to - either that, or he had made some very poor bargains. It further claims that Henry or his wife had purloined a document confirming Henry's obligations, and called on Henry 'as he will answer at the last day', not to block Richard's wife Mary from the life interest in his estate. The inventory totalled a modest £76/12/2
- iii but shown as fourth son in HD HEN 9/1/1. As noted in Part 1, Gee's list of papist physicians includes a Robert Vawdrey of Snow Hill in London, who was sworn apothecary in 1619 - whether he had any connection to the Riddings and Bank Hill families, or to Dr More, is not evident
- iv CRS 55, *Responsa scholarum of the English College, Rome part 2: 1622-1685* [ed.] Anthony Kenny. He was at St Omer's from c.1634: G.J. Holt, *St Omer's and Bruges Colleges, 1593-1773 - a biographical dictionary*, 1979, p. 183
- v HD HEN 6/5 - deed of release and settlement dated 8 October 1662
- vi Beales, *Education under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the fall of James II, 1547-1689*, 1963, p.98
- vii CALS WS 1631. The inventory is dated 20 September 1631. It is stated to cover all More's 'goods and chattels, real and personal' but does not list any buildings. In his will he leaves his wife Elizabeth 'one hundred poundes which I promise(d) to give her when I parted with Bo(w)den house', which she had presumably inherited - was he a leaseholder? The inventory confirms More's status as a gentleman, but its contents suggest a lifestyle possibly more typical of a substantial yeoman - farming gear, livestock, crops, yarn, the usual household heritables such as fire irons, bedsteads and linen, cushions, silver plate, brass and pewter, cushions and carpets - no jewellery, decorative textiles other than bed hangings, books or anything suggesting cultivated or leisured pursuits, other maybe than 'fishings and boats, £17/13s.'. Rents of £34/12s. are included. William appoints 'my cousins' John Martinscroft an executor and William Martinscroft, yeoman of Standish, Lincs. an overseer - see Part 1, Appendix 4
- viii Among the many detailed accounts of penal legislation and its effectiveness, T.S. Smith, 'The Persecution of Staffordshire Roman Catholic Recusants: 1625-1660', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 30, 1979, pp. 327-351 graphically describes the tightening grip on many recusants during the immediate pre-Civil War period. For comment on changing perceptions of religious identity as reflected in *Responsa* in the preceding generation, see Lucy Underwood, 'Recusancy and the Rising Generation', *Recusant History* vol. 31, no. 4, 2013
- ix *The Visitation of Nottinghamshire begun in 1662* includes the 'Spanish merchant' comment; also HD HEN 9/1/1
- x see for example Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009

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- xi *The Visitations of Essex in....1634*(ed.) William C. Metcalfe, Harleian Society Visitation Series vols. 13 and 14, 1878-89; Malcolm Smuts, *Howard, Thomas, fourteenth earl of Arundel, fourth earl of Surrey, and first earl of Norfolk (1585-1646)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004
- xii TNA PROB 11/202
- xiii Thomas Pickford, a Cornishman born c.1605, was professed of the four vows at Seville in 1642 and served and taught at the English College, eventually returning to England: he died at Oxford in 1676 - Thomas M. McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555-1650* part II, Catholic Record Society Record Series vol. 75, 1995
- xiv A codicil gives a good deal of information about trades with named Spaniards, male and female, some involving significant sums, by far the largest being 'six hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and seventy and five ryalls in double plate' which More and Oxwich were due shortly to repay - matters of possible interest to students of the Spanish trade at this period
- xv *St Omer's and Bruges Colleges*, cit. sup., p. 172, as Marbury, Roger ? *vere* More, 1639-1640 or later
- xvi Both the 1683 (Randal Holme and Ormerod) pedigrees state that William Vaudrey married Alice the daughter of Sir Edward More, but as will be shown, that Alice married a Havers, and was in any case not old enough to be William Vaudrey's wife. William acquired Ollerbarrow through his first wife, a Massey of Hale, i.e. of the same family as the husband of Sir Edward More's daughter Margaret, his second wife Alice I's niece
- xvii *The Inner Temple Admissions Database* - online at <http://www.innertemplearchives.org.uk/detail.asp?id=12669> [accessed 28 August 2013]
- xviii HD HEN 6/5 - Trinity College, Cambridge grants Edward More a 20 year lease of the rectory of Langford
- xix TNA PROB 11/167/353, cit. sup., for Buckingham's will and probate. For detail on Thomas Savage see especially Lyn Boothman and Sir Richard Hyde Parker (eds.), *Savage Fortune - an aristocratic family in the early seventeenth century*, Suffolk Records Society vol. XLIX, 2006. Thomas' great-grandmother Elizabeth Manners was a daughter of the first earl of Rutland. Thomas gained several Cheshire manors through his marriage to Bridget
- xx *The Complete Baronetage* vol. 2, *English, Irish and Scottish Baronetcies 1625-49*, (ed.) G.E. Cokayne, 1900, pp. 420-421. (This follows *The Visitation of Nottinghamshire....*(see Part 2, Appendix 6) for Edward's parentage). Linda Levy Peck, in 'Court patronage...', cit. sup., points out that by 1622 baronetcies were being distributed for a fifth of the price Carr had extracted some eleven years earlier. J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry*, 1969, comments that it was unusual in Charles I's reign for a Catholic to purchase a baronetage – in Yorkshire, only one
- xxi Copy in HD HEN 6/5
- xxii She was buried in the chancel on 27 July and he on 3 August 1644 -NA 995q, Kirklington parish register p. 43. Almost all the entries for the period 1644-1706 are missing, with very few extant Bishop's Transcripts to fill the gap
- xxiii Alice, apparently the eldest, was only seven - she was born and baptised at Grappenhall in April 1637, Margaret following a year and a half later
- xxiv (ed.) H. Hampton Copnall, *Nottinghamshire County Records: Notes and Extracts from the Nottinghamshire County Records of the 17th Century*, 1915 – online at <http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/books/nottsrecords1915/nottsrecords24.htm> [accessed 12 March 2014]
- xxv HD HEN 6/5 - deeds dated 2 May and 1 July 1648
- xxvi HD HEN 6/5 - deed dated June 1649, referring back to the settlement of November 1641
- xxvii HD HEN 6/5 - various deeds between 1650 and 1667, generally between More and individual gentlemen, yeomen or tradesmen, for sums of up to £200 (two dated 23 May 1650, misfiled in HEN 5/5, may now have been added)
- xxviii HD HEN 6/5 - several deeds dated between May 1661 and November 1665 in regard to the properties at Langford and elsewhere
- xxix George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester: Compiled from Original Evidences.....*, 2nd edition, 1882, pp. 747-748
- xxx 'Chronicles of Thelwall, co. Chester.....': see Part 1, Appendix 5, endnote ⁴; the article details a receipt of 20 November 1664 in which John II recites the details of his bargain and sale of December 1661 and Chancery enrolment of September 1662. It may be noted that Sir Jeffrey Palmer's wife Margaret was a daughter of Sir Francis Moore of Fawley, a prominent lawyer and parliamentarian with Catholic connections – however, as stated earlier, no kinship link with the Thelwall Mores is evident
- xxxi possibly they were kin to Sir Edward's daughters on both sides, his wife Winifred Whitmore's sister Jane having married a William Bennet. Later, two further children were born to John II by his second wife, Mary daughter of John Young esq. of Rushton, also in Cheshire; both were called Edward, and died in infancy

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- xxxii *The Visitation of Nottinghamshire...*cit. sup.
- xxxiii John II's first wife Mary (Bennet) apparently died as a result of giving birth to Thomas, as she was buried in March 1650 - NA 995q, Kirklington parish register p. 43
- xxxiv J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* part I, vol. 3 lists a Gervase Moore of Nottinghamshire matriculating and admitted sizar at Jesus College, Cambridge on 2 April 1659 - however according to Dugdale, op. cit., the Gervase who was John II's son would have been barely ten years old at that date. 'Gervasius More' died on 16 September 1710 and was buried near to his parents in Kirklington church - NA PR 24,660
- xxxv NA PR/SW/85/26. He says '...I bequethe my sowle to God and ...my body to the Earth to bee buried in the chancill betwixt my two wives in the parish church of Kirtlington. First I give and bequethe to my daughter Winnefred the £500 in Mr Clay's hands. Secondly after my funeral expenses and debts are discharged I give her £500 more out of my parsonable estate - and I give to Mrs Jane Yonge £10 (various small bequests of a few pounds or shillings follow); to the poor of Kirtlington £10 if it will reach. I give to my son John More and my daughter Knightley 5 shillings apeece. I make my son [John] More and Mr William Clay of Southwell and George Wright of Hockerton my sole executors. I give more to my daughter Winnefrede the tithes of Kirtlington and my houses and land in Newarke if there be any thing over and above these things I wld have it divided betwixt my son William and my son Gervis my daughter Winnefrid and Mrs Jane Yonge. Mr Bradey oweth for Rent the som of £300 and likeways. All the tenants' rents at Michaelmas and Martlemas owing witness my hand the 26 of November 1670.'
- xxxvi R.H. Turner, '“A more unobserved and convenient location”: a Derbyshire school reopened' in *Recusant History* vol. 29 no. 2, 2008; Hendrik Dijkgraaf, *The Library of a Jesuit Community at Holbeck, Nottinghamshire (1679)*, Libri Pertinentes no. 8, 2003, pp. 60-61; Beales, op. cit., p.265
- xxxvii Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the county families of Yorkshire*, vol. 3, 1874, p.91. The details of the marriage have not come to light; *The Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal, being a complete table of all the descendants now living of Edward III, King of England*, (ed.) M.H. Massue Marquis de Ruvigny et Raineval, 1905-1911, *The Mortimer-Percy volume* p.220, says that it took place after 5 September 1665. Throsby, cit. Part 1, endnote ⁸⁵, states that in the chancel of St Swithin's, Kirklington is a 'little monument for lady [*sic*] Catherine More, wife of John More knt [*sic*]. She died in 1702. Below is a floor stone for her husband. Here are several stones for this family, who were sometime owners of the land here...'. Catharine's sister Cecily married Francis Tunstall of Wycliffe – their daughters Anne (Pulcheria in religion) and Cecily (Monica) were choir nuns at Louvain whilst their cousin Cecily More was Prioress – see endnote ⁷⁶
- xxxviii Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series - vol XX, Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers, vol III, (ed.) J.W. Clay, 1896, no. 497, pp. 113-115 indicates harsh effects on the fortunes of Dunbar's widow and six children, commenting that the estate appears to have been very much in debt
- xxxix Papists (Disarming and Removal) Bill, House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers no. 321, 3 December 1680 – never enacted
- xl TNA C205/19/3B; see also T. M. McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in England, 1623-1688: an institutional study', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick 1984, online at <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/4015>, p.422 and footnote 150 [accessed 27 September 2013]. Fr McCoog (pp. 232-3) observes that such commissions were usually granted to petitioners willing to shoulder the costs in return for a share of the proceeds - since the passing of the Statute of Frauds (29 Charles II, c.3) supporting evidence was needed to discourage ill-based opportunist fishing expeditions, so that apostates and others with insider knowledge may have set the ball rolling, but no such individual has been identified in this instance
- xli there seems no evident link between the funds of the Colleges of St Chad and of the Immaculate Conception, which covered Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, nor of any involvement of the Mores of Kirklington at this period with the Society of Jesus. As will be shown, an exception was John More III's aunt Alice Vaudrey: however nothing has emerged to show her as an intermediary in the custody of Jesuit funds. As McCoog shows, the royal commission into the Immaculate Conception's funding, in May 1681, identified quite other families - op. cit. p.416. Fr McCoog comments that the fact that More was outside the St Chad's geographic district is not significant in itself. For reasons not apparent, the Society would have entrusted funds to him or an earlier kinsman, to be invested on their behalf, or in return for an annual fee: the litigation should have cost him no more than loss of custody of the funds, the real loser being the Society itself (private communication - I am indebted to Fr McCoog for this guidance)
- xlii AAW MS 38 no. 2. No likely candidate is evident in D.A. Bellenger (ed.), *English and Welsh Priests 1558-1800 - a working list*, 1984. In Geoffrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests* vol. III, 1660-1715, 1976 the least unlikely individual would seem to be Francis Lovell, solely on the grounds that in 1703 he is known to have

been at Worksop Manor, a Norfolk seat - he may of course have been there for some time before that, and if he was at Kirklington in 1701, who, if anyone, replaced him? There is a possible candidate in the next generation, as will be shown later

- xliii see R.H. Turner, 'Clergy Funds and Episcopal Control: was John Stanford maligned?' in *Recusant History* vol. 27 no. 1, 2004. Stanford left a number of personal and charitable bequests to people in various localities in which he had ministered, but none in Nottinghamshire other than at Cossall, quite close to the Hunloke estates at West Hallam but twenty-five miles from Kirklington. The bonds are at NA, M1508(2) and M1523(2). It was the finding of these whilst researching the Hunlokes that led the writer to look into the Mores' affairs, and hence prompted this essay
- xliv for the details of this incident see Nottingham University Library, MOL 29, *Papers of the Molyneux Family of Teversal, Nottinghamshire, 1677-1868* - summary online on Library site and at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=159-mol&cid=1-28&kw=molyneux#1-28> [accessed on 8 March 2014]. See *inter alia* J.A. Williams, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660-1791*, chap. 1 for government pressures exerted on Catholics between the deposition of James II and the inception of Catholic relief
- xlv CPCC vol. 1, pp. 2546-7
- xlvi The dispute lay between William Vaudrey's older brothers, Richard and Henry. As head of their Baguley (a Bowdon township) branch of the family and a recusant, in 1642 Richard had made his estates over to Henry to protect him and his family from confiscation for delinquency by 'the usurping Parliament'. The Committee for Compounding not surprisingly viewed this as an illicit attempt at alienation, and aimed to sequester two-thirds in Henry's hands. After being given a hard time for two years, in July 1652 the Committee issued an 'Order on report, allowing the deeds whereby in 1641 the premises were conveyed to Henry Vawdry, on condition of paying the debts of his brother Richard, and maintaining him and Eleanor, his wife, for life; with discharge of the sequestration'. However when Richard came to make his overtly Catholic will in 1669, after invoking Our Lady and all the saints and committing his body to be 'Catholickly buried' near his first wife Eleanor, he claimed bitterly that Henry had swindled him out of over £2000 worth of assets, and called on Henry not to wrong his second wife Mary, 'as he will answer at the last day'; though a gentleman, his inventory totalled a mere £76/12/2 - CPCC vol. 1, p. 2548; CALS WS 1669
- xlvii CALS - his inventory of 15 May 1665 survives, but not his will - his inventory totalled a little over £546, much of which consisted of debts due to him. From the Bowdon parish register it appears that five of his sons by Alice predeceased him
- xlviii NA M 463 f. 540: (ed.) Col. Hodgkinson, *Transactions of the Archdeaconry Court of Nottingham*, vol. 3, 1565-1675 lists 'Alice Vaydrey' with other Popish recusants - her parish is not named
- xlix Geoffrey Holt, *The English Jesuits 1650-1829 - a biographical dictionary*, 1984, p. 253
- l Stuart Handley, 'Fitzjames, James, Duke of Berwick upon Tweed (1670-1734)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 for details on Berwick
- li CSP (Dom.), James II, vol. I p. 438, no. 2189, 7 July 1685
- lii J.Y. Akerman (ed.), 'Moneys received and paid for secret services of Charles II and James II, from 30th March 1679 to 25th Dec. 1688', Camden Society Old Series vol LII, 1851, p. 113, 29 September 1685
- liii *ibid.*, p. 149, 22 March 1686/7. A month earlier, James appears to have been required to pay Customs dues like anyone else: Calendar of Treasury Books vol. VIII part III, p.1210, 21 February 1686/7, states 'Henry Guy to Customs Commissioners to deliver to Mr Vaudry, on payment of Customs, a set of harness arrived from France for Mr FitzJames and now in the Custom House, London'
- liv *ibid.*, p. 162, 24 June 1687; CSP (Dom.), James II, vol. III p. 120, no. 630, 21 December 1687, ref. SP 44/165 p.5
- lv CSP (Dom.), James II, vol. IV p. 260, 18 September 1689
- lvi from the parish register of St Nicholas, Dublin in *The Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. 2 (ed.) John Gough Nichols, 1853, p.524: '1690 Sir Edward Vaudery buried 7 July'
- lvii Dijkgraaf, *op. cit.* - the reported activities of Alice and 'Mr' Vaudrey are at pp. 81-88
- lviii CALS WS 1669
- lix Dijkgraaf, *op. cit.* p.85, where he cites Bodl. MS Rawl. A136, f.173 in relation to the earlier occasion. Was there actually a Mr Vaudrey? Five other sons of Alice's who can be identified in the Bowdon parish register died in infancy, and Alexander the son of her late husband William's first marriage had died in 1669. One might surmise that the 'Mr Vaudrey' referred to was Alice's Jesuit son Fr John Vaudrey, but he is listed by Holt as working in the north at that period, and does not appear in Dijkgraaf's list of Jesuits associated with Holbeck. He might of course have been visiting his mother; or maybe Needham simply assumed that there was a Mr Vaudrey

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- lx Dijkgraaf, op. cit. pp. 84-85, including quotation from H. Hampton Copnall (ed.), *Nottinghamshire county records: notes and extracts from the Nottinghamshire county records of the seventeenth century*, 1915
- lxi 1680 House of Lords Disarming and Removal Bill - drafting and progress summarised in HMC 11th Report, 1887, Appendix Pt II, esp. pp. 222-237; detailed county lists in House of Lords Library
- lxii HD HEN 6/5, dated 26 January 1701/2. The Plowdens of Shiplake and Holmans of Warkworth were involved in the 1670 trust arrangements. Indeed there is no shortage of evidence of borrowings by both John III and John IV - court action was taken against them, or threatened, on a number of occasions. One example of borrowing to pay a tradesman is a bond in £107 to pay Matthew King, undertaker of St Giles-in-the-Fields parish, £53/12s. plus interest on May Day 1713 - NA M1518(2) dated 3 November 1712
- lxiii 10 Anne c.25/43: 'An Act for selling certain lands part of the Manour of Wightfield *alias* Whitefield, and other Lands in the County of Gloucester, for the payment of the Debts heretofore of Mary Fermor Widow, deceased, and of John More Junior of Kirtlington in the County of Nottingham, esq., and Margaret his Wife.' Parliamentary Archive references are HL/PO/PB/1/1711/10An50 and HL/JO/10/6/219/2880; items held at e.g. East Sussex Record Office and Gloucestershire Archives have not been consulted
- lxiv Stella Colwell, *Family Roots- discovering the past in the Public Record Office*, 1991, p.42 remarks that strict settlements, under which the estate holder had only a life interest, 'were favoured by Roman Catholics because they could settle the land on Protestant relations and avoid the rigours of double taxation, confiscation for non-attendance at church, and attainder after the 1715 Jacobite rebellion.'
- lxv 1 Geo. I c.55
- lxvi W.H. Wylie, *Old and New Nottingham*, 1853, pp. 141-2
- lxvii E.E. Estcourt and J.O. Payne, *The English Catholic nonjurors of 1715 : being a summary of the register of their estates, with genealogical and other notes, and an appendix of unpublished documents in the Public Record Office*, 1885, pp. 74, 190, 191, 240
- lxviii NA QDR/1/1 pp. 21-23, dated 29 April 1717; NA DDSP 8/7 dated 14 July 1720
- lxix HD HEN 6/5 dated 8 May 1706; NA QDR/1/1 p. 44, dated 11 October 1717
- lxx NA QDR/1/1 p. 48, dated 4 February 1718
- lxxi Estcourt and Payne, op. cit., p. 240; NA DDSP 8/6, 8/7. The 1717 register entry makes clear that the annual rental charges imposed by the Southwell Chapter in 1664 remained unchanged; however the premises carried a £300 charge
- lxxii The Kirklington parish register records her burial on 13 October 1722, just four days after the date of her will - see NA PR/SW/122/1, which also includes her inventory, which for whatever reason was not taken until 27 December 1723, probate having been granted to her executors Edward Little and Edward Becker esq. of Southwell in a bond of £1000 on 6 December 1723
- lxxiii her cousins Daniel and Christian Arthur also received cash bequests
- lxxiv NA DDCC1 84/1/1-10 - accounts from 1901-08 and 1921-28, latterly amounting to 14s. 8d. annual interest on £29/14/9 in New 3% Annuities
- lxxv Henrietta was professed at age 18 on 17 September 1696 and died on 23 January 1745 aged 67: see <http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/index.html> online [accessed 19 November 2013].
- For Cicely, see (ed.) A. Hamilton, *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St Monica's in Louvain*, vol. II, p.122, and CRS 86, (ed.) R.G. Williams, *Mannock Strickland (1683-1744), Agent to English Convents in Flanders – Letters and Accounts from Exile* 2016, *passim*. See also Part 1, endnote ⁷⁷ for a Roper connection
- lxxvi HD HEN 9/11 for the articles of marriage dated 26 March 1720; also HEN 6/4, deed of 21 January 1719/20; NA M 1523(2), 4 May 1720. There are copies of the will of Viscount Dunbar dated 4 June 1715 and 21 August 1717 in the East Yorkshire Record Office at DDCC/134/23 and 25 - not inspected for this article
- lxxvii NA QDR/1/1 p. 57-58, dated 13 July 1720
- lxxviii HD HEN 3/16
- lxxix M.W. Barley, 'Langford Old Hall' in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* vol. 92, 1988, pp. 43-50, describes Langford as a 'deserted village', deliberately depopulated in the mid-C16, and suggests that, envisaging the village site as a hunting park, Dr John More built the Hall as a hunting lodge, though no More seems to have lived in it; in 1705 it had been leased out for 21 years at £800 pa. The sale, to Thomas Duncombe esq. of Harrogate, was made by Elizabeth, the widowed second wife of John III. NA M1526, dated 2 May 1722, is a receipt from Thomas Heneage to Duncombe for a small sum which completed the payment of the £25,100, excepting £900 set aside to discharge debts of John II and John IV, and £300 to be paid to Duncombe

when 'the release from me and my wife and her two sisters Cicely and Henrietta to the said manor and appurtenances of Langford shall be delivered to Thomas Duncombe duly enrolled in Chancery'. With reference to the hunting park aspect, 'Kertlington' in Thoroton, op. cit., states that '.....John More... brother of sir Edward More, a Scotch baronet, nephew and heir to the Doctor: which sir Edward having only daughters 4, I think the said John, his brother, succeeded by the settlement of his uncle the said Doctor, and hath made a very fair park, into which he hath taken part of Hockerton lordship, whereof he was also proprietor, which he left well stored with deer, to his said son John, who had married — Constable, sister to the earl of Dunbarr'. Virtually no Kirklington manorial documents appear to have survived

- lxxx NA DDSP 8/6 dated 12 October 1717; also HD HEN 6/5 - document dated 14 July 1720. The identity of Elizabeth and marriage details have not yet been found
- lxxxi NA PR/SW/121/25 - will dated 21 May, signed and sealed with the More arms granted in 1627, a personal estate inventory totalling £384/4/8 dated 14 August, the sentence of probate granted to Elizabeth More at Southwell on 16 August, all in 1722. He was buried at Kirklington on 13 August
- lxxxii Anstruther, op. cit., p. 201; also Bellenger, op. cit., p. 107; V.A. McClelland, 'School and Studies', p. 219 in (ed.) A. Cramer, *Lamspringe: an English Abbey in Germany 1643-1803*, St Laurence Papers VII, 2004, where the date of the burse is stated as 1721. For Dom Placid Robinson see also A. Allanson, *Biographies of the English Benedictines*, part 3 of the online edition at <http://www.plantata.org.uk/allanson-biog/ab3.html#DV> [accessed 15 November 2013]. I am grateful to Dom Anselm Cramer for comment on this topic
- lxxxiii (ed.) G.E. Cokayne and others, *The Complete Peerage of England.....*, repr. 2000, vol. III p.13; M. Wood, *The Family and Descendants of St Thomas More*, 2008
- lxxxiv Although John III's late wife Catharine was a Constable, she was of the Burton Constable line and no descent from Sir Thomas More is apparent in that line (the Everingham Constables, some of whom descended from him through his daughter Margaret Roper, were a separate branch. A contact, Mr Bill Moore, drew attention to kinship between the Moores of Beswick, from whom came the Mary Moore who successively married a Philip and a John Constable, and the Mo(o)res of Lower Haddon into which family had married St Thomas' great-granddaughter Mary - however Philip was of the Wassand line and John of the Catfoss line, long after they and the Burton Constable line diverged)
- lxxxv HD HEN 6/5 - indenture dated 29 July 1736
- lxxxvi Thomas Heneage buried at Hainton 7 January 1740, Winifred 23 May 1745: Estcourt and Payne, op. cit., p. 162
- lxxxvii Curiously, even Thelwall Hall seems to have had Catholic ownership for at least a part of its later history. James Nicholson's rather detached remarks of 1870, repeating the sarcastic comments on Dr More of Humphrey Wanley (Part 1 Appendix 3) make no mention of religion - however James' predecessor William Nicholson had written on 30 July 1849 "from Thelwall Hall, Warrington...to the Right Reverend Bishop Ullathorne to ask for an imprimatur for the 'Life and death of Margaret Clitherow, the Martyr of York' " - Archives of the Archbishop of Birmingham B 1650, Z4/2/1/2/339/1