

Faith, Families, and Rebellion in Sixteenth-Century South-Western England¹

*Pamela Stanton**

ABSTRACT: The questioning of “the English Reformation” as both a definable entity and a usable term by revisionist scholars, provides a timely platform from which to engage in a re-examination of one event which occurred during that period of profound religious change in sixteenth-century England. The 1549 rebellion in the south-west of England has been studied using ‘traditional’ analytical categories of religion, politics, economics, and militarism. However, a new perspective on the rebellion is possible when the kinship ties of a group of leading gentry families in the south-west are examined. Although some historians recognize the close relationships which existed within the group, the focus is on the men of the families as local government officials without placing them in the wider context of their families. A close examination of the connections between the Arundell, Edgecombe, and Grenville families reveals a confused genealogical picture; one that suggests, however, that close kinship ties may have played an important part in the participation or lack of involvement of the family members in the rebellion.

In 1549 a rebellion occurred in the south-west of England during the period of significant religious change historians have traditionally called “the English Reformation.”² By suggesting that family ties should not be ignored with respect to this important period in English history, it is possible to propose a new perspective on the rebellion.

“The English Reformation” has long been an important area of research and debate for historians and current revisionist scholarship challenges “the English Reformation” as both a definable entity and a usable term. Vigorous deconstruction results in an unclear and highly contentious picture of religious reform in sixteenth-century England. It is a picture that reflects important questions about the continuity of traditional religion versus a dramatic change to ‘Protestantism,’ and of change

imposed by the government, as an act of state, as opposed to change initiated “from below.”³ How much change to religious beliefs and practices was supported or opposed and by whom raises the topic of rebellion, an important issue because it leads to the ultimate question of the seriousness of the threat of religious reform to both the stability of the nation and the Crown.⁴

Until the late 1980s, the modern historiographical debate over rebellion and its role and importance in the Reformation largely focused on uprisings in Lincolnshire and the North in 1536 and 1537. In 1979 Joyce Youings noted that the rebellion which occurred in 1549 in the far south-west counties of Devon and Cornwall by comparison had been accorded little attention by historians.⁵ While the revisionist scholarship of the 1980s and early 1990s is significant, it makes only brief reference to the south-west and its rebellion and then only in a national context, leaving room for newer local studies.⁶ For instance, Robert Whiting, H.M. Speight, and John Chynoweth add to the earlier works of Professor Youings and Julian Cornwall to provide interesting perspectives on both the rebellion and the people who lived in the Diocese of Exeter.⁷ Youings investigates and clarifies the events and their timing and suggests further avenues of research for historians. Cornwall’s reassessment of the uprising, from a military perspective, questions how close it came to reversing the course of the Reformation.⁸ Whiting focuses on the populace in the Diocese below the level of the gentry between 1530 and 1570, concluding that the rapid collapse of Catholicism and the successful implementation of religious change was significantly facilitated by the “acquiescence or co-operation” of the local gentry.⁹

Both Whiting and Youings suggest the uprising was a minor rebellion, prompted by hybrid motivations, as opposed to a single “cause...onlye concernynge relygyon,” as John Hooker claimed in the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Although that sole cause as the basis for modern understanding of the rebellion has now

been demolished by Whiting, the questions of importance and motives are still contentious; Haigh takes issue with Youngs and Whiting on both counts.¹¹ Yet, Youngs raises another important question noting that Hooker “can still mislead historians trying to discover why” the uprising “was not promptly dealt with by the local government officials.”¹² Speight suggests that her political study resolves the problem, contending that in the years prior to 1549 intense factionalism developed within the gentry who formed the local government of the south-west, and created such a crisis within the group by the time of the rebellion that they were incapable of responding to the emergency.¹³ Speight’s work adds an important political dimension to the findings of A.L. Rowse and Youngs who agree that divisions based on religion were created in south-west society in 1549.¹⁴

Superficially, the religious and political polarisation of gentry society seems self-evident: the supporters of traditional religion versus those of religious reforms; the adherents of either ‘religion’ in or out of favour with the current regime; and, the traditional leaders of county society in opposition to the rising newcomers. However, several factors blur the clarity of those divisions. Consider first the appropriateness of using absolute terms of ‘Catholic’ and ‘Protestant’ in 1549. Second, the men of the gentry have been examined only in a context of local government. This suggests that the historiography of the rebellion in the south-west is still incomplete. To examine the men of the gentry in a total social and familial context makes it possible to investigate the relationship between religious change, the rebellion, and a specific group of leading gentry families—the Arundells, Edgecombes, Grenvilles, and their relatives.

Historians tend to agree with Hooker that the rebellion leaders were a knight, two esquires, and two gentlemen. This is a simple enough picture, as is the one which reputed to reflect the suppression of the rebellion under the leadership of Lord Russell.¹⁵ However, both pictures reflect a very small percentage of the gentry.¹⁶ The men of many of the most

prominent gentry families seem to have been more noticeable for their absence from the events of 1549 on either side of the dispute. Clearly, the factionalism which reputedly existed within the group in 1549 did not prevent some of the men from being involved in the violent events of the previous decade. John Arundell of Trerice, John Arundell of Lanherne, his brother Thomas, and Piers Edgecombe were commanders of troops raised in the south-west counties in 1536 to support the King's army against the Pilgrimage of Grace rebels.¹⁷ Admittedly, the situation of raising the militia in 1536 was different to that in 1549. In the earlier decade the militia raised by the gentry was deployed in another part of the country. By contrast, in 1549, the armed troops that should have been raised by the men of the south-west gentry had to come from the same populace as the rebels. However, this did not pose a problem for Richard, the son of Piers Edgecombe, who raised troops in Devon and Cornwall in 1548 to quell protests in Cornwall against the government's religious reforms.¹⁸

Despite the argument that families such as the Arundells of Lanherne and the Grenvilles were separated in 1549 by extreme religious and political factionalism, the activities of some of their men in 1536 and 1548 and their relative inaction in 1549 are worthy of further investigation in a different context. The contrast suggests that the difference in 1549 was not that the rebellion created the "deep division" between the leading families, but rather that the family relationships based in both blood and religion were so closely intertwined that to act against the rebels was not only to polarise the families on religious grounds but also to destroy previously indissoluble family ties.

The relationship between the rebellion and the gentry is important because social and political leadership in the provinces was assumed by the leading group of gentry families, and the men of those families were the local government officials. They had a direct relationship with the central government, for they were responsible in the counties both

for implementing and overseeing the legislation enacted in London and for maintaining local law and order. That governmental relationship has been the subject of ongoing investigation by historians but the one between the men who were the local government officials and their families has not been explored, particularly in the context of the 1549 rebellion. While local government is obviously connected to the Centre, it is just as importantly connected to social networks of localities and, by extension, to the families of the government officials in the provinces. This three-way division gives a clearer picture of the actual course of the Reformation, and the relationship between local implementation of policy and the families of the local officials.

In the context of sixteenth-century England, politics and religion were not necessarily definable as entities separate from families and their affairs. However, when discussing the gentry, historians tend to talk mostly in terms of the men who were the local government officials to the exclusion of their other family members. This focus is not without merit as the documentary evidence for that approach is voluminous when compared to evidence for other members of gentry families, particularly the women. However, taking that track makes it easy to forget that the local government officials did not work in isolation from their families. Politicians, in this case the local gentry, should not be seen as representatives of government unconnected with the larger social fabric of familial, religious, economic, political and intellectual networks.

To place into that wider context the Arundell, Edgecombe, and Grenville men who were the local government officials in Devon and Cornwall requires a careful analysis of that family group. While family genealogies might not appear to be vitally important, their value increases when close blood ties are revealed, suggesting an interrelatedness that had an influence on an important historical event. For example, Nesta Evans recently showed that in one region of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, radical religious dissent “was a

family affair," and can be traced through the female line.¹⁹ Evans's work contributes to the larger question of whether family traditions of religious conviction—"the descent of dissent"—were inherited.²⁰ In the context of the rebellion in the south-west, family genealogies contribute to that larger question by showing the complexity of family ties and the difficulty of clearly delineating religious affiliations in 1549.

When Sir Thomas Grenville of Stowe in North Cornwall died in 1513 he left the progeny of his two marriages—three sons and seven daughters. At least five of those daughters, Katherine, Honor, Philippa, and Jane—all from Sir Thomas' marriage with Isabella Gilbert—and their half-sister Jane—whose mother's name other than Jane is unknown—contracted marriages that reveal an incredibly complex pattern of family ties and religious affiliations.²¹

Between 1503 and 1507, Katherine, the youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Grenville and Isabella Gilbert, married Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall. A papal dispensation was granted allowing them to wed within prohibited degrees of kinship.²² Over the next three decades there is ample evidence to show that they and their children were the recipients of a constant flow of religious dispensations, indulgences, and recognition from the Catholic Church's hierarchy in acknowledgement for their faithfulness.²³ In addition, on a number of occasions Lady Katherine and her husband were the recipients of confraternity status in different religious orders.²⁴ These documents provide clear evidence of the daily commitment of the Arundells of Lanherne to their religion. Their open devotion to Catholicism appears unchanged throughout the sixteenth century. From 1549 the Arundells of Lanherne's religious affiliation caused concern to a series of governments intent on religious reform. For example, Sir John Arundell's sons, Sir John and Sir Thomas were incarcerated at London at various times between 1549 and 1551. His grandson, Sir John, and three of his daughters, Cecily, Dorothy and Gertrude were clearly practising and devout Catholics

during the reign of Elizabeth. The younger Sir John was arrested for recusancy and for his protection of Catholic priests in the 1580s. In turn, his son John was imprisoned in 1603 for his recusancy. Three sisters became nuns in convents on the Continent.²⁵

Throughout the sixteenth century the religious identity of the Arundells of Lanherne is clear. For some historians that identity, but at the other end of the religious spectrum, is equally clear for families such as the Edgecombes considered to have been amongst “the leading Protestant families” in Cornwall by 1570. This idea accords with the argument that in 1549 “a deep division” based in religion opened up amongst the gentry families. Given this view it is important to examine the close familial links of the Arundells of Lanherne and the Edgecombes dating back to the earlier part of the century.²⁶ The Edgecombes, like the Arundells of Lanherne, owned lands in both Devon and Cornwall.²⁷ In addition to their fortuitous marriages, their fortunes were enhanced after 1485 when Sir Richard Edgecombe’s support of Henry VII’s claim to the throne was rewarded with grants of land and royal appointments.²⁸ In 1516 the Vicar of Plymouth, Richard Huntyndon, published banns for a marriage between John Arundell, the son and heir of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne and his wife Katherine Grenville,²⁹ and Mary Edgecombe, a daughter of Sir Piers Edgecombe. The same document certifies the publication of marriage banns between Mary’s brother Richard, the son and heir of Sir Piers Edgecombe, and John Arundell’s sister, Elizabeth. Thus, an Edgecombe brother and sister married Arundell siblings.³⁰ There may have been no children from the marriage of Richard Edgecombe and Elizabeth Arundell, but after his first wife’s death Richard probably married two other women, one of whom (in 1535) was Elizabeth Tregian, who became the mother of his eight children.³¹ Elizabeth Tregian’s brother, John, had married Katherine Arundell of Lanherne; her brother John married Mary Edgecombe. Thus, Sir Richard Edgecombe’s new wife

was also his sister's sister-in-law. The Tregians were also a devout Catholic family throughout the sixteenth century. Alongside their cousins from Lanherne they suffered the legal penalties of their recusancy during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Katherine Arundell and John Tregian's son Francis was imprisoned from 1577 to 1601; his family never recovered.³²

Two of Elizabeth and Richard Edgecombe's daughters made interesting marriages which add to this genealogy. In 1580 Anne Edgecombe married Hugh Dowriche, the Rector of two Devon parishes, and son of an old and prominent Devon family. His sister-in-law, Mary Carew, came from an equally ancient but far more prominent south-west family.³³ Her brother, Sir Peter Carew, is viewed by his contemporary and biographer John Hooker as a major representative of the King against the rebels in 1549. It is Hooker's account of the rebellion that has been used by historians.³⁴ Although Carew certainly had a role in the rebellion, at least one scholar claims that there is no paper trail leading from London that validates Sir Peter's appointment by the Crown.³⁵ Historians such as Rowse and Youngs do agree, however, that Sir Peter Carew was an early and avid supporter of religious reform.³⁶ Further, his involvement in a plot to overthrow Queen Mary and prevent her marriage to Philip of Spain certainly suggests strong aversion to the more traditional forms of religion.³⁷ Anne Edgecombe is noteworthy for a literary publication in 1589. Her poem reflects deep sympathies with reformed religion, and the profound and lengthy dedication to her brother Piers Edgecombe suggests that he may well have shared her views.³⁸

Elizabeth, another of Sir Richard Edgecombe and Elizabeth Tregian's daughters, sister of Anne and Piers, married Thomas Carew some time before 1555.³⁹ Their eldest son, Richard, is one of the most renowned members of the Carew family. He was a prominent and significant member of the Westcountry gentry and a noted historian. In 1577 he married Juliana Arundell of Trevice, the great-granddaughter of Sir John Arundell of Trevice and Jane Grenville who was the eldest

daughter of Sir Thomas Grenville and Isabella Gilbert. F.E. Halliday, a modern editor of Richard Carew's well-known history of Cornwall, comments that Carew was "proud of his alliance" with the Arundells of Trevice who were supporters of the reformed religion.^{40s}

The Arundells of Trevice and Lanherne were cousins. Historians have always viewed them as completely opposite in their religious affiliations—the Lanherne line as Catholics and the Trevice line as Protestants. There is no family archive collection for the Trevice Arundells as there is for those at Lanhern, thus there is no comparable information regarding their religious devotions.⁴¹ References to the Trevices in the sixteenth century are scattered and few in number. They are not found in official documents where the names of their Lanherne cousins penalised for recusancy are recorded.

Despite their reputation as supporters of the reformed religion the actions of their patriarch, Sir John Arundell of Trevice, on at least one occasion are worth noting. In 1554 a group of local justices met at the home of Sir John and conducted a hearing into the suspected treason of two local men reported to have condemned the return to Catholicism under Queen Mary. A report of the hearing was sent by Sir John to the Lord Steward in London. These actions have been used to argue that in Cornwall Catholicism was already extinct and the county was well on the way to Protestantism by 1554.⁴² This claim by Rowse plus Halliday's comment that the Arundells of Trevice were reformers suggests that even if support of the reformed religion was as identifiable as Rowse claims it was by 1554, Sir John was not averse at that time to serving as a government official for the Catholic Queen and sitting in judgement on 'Protestant' sympathisers—a scenario no doubt endlessly repeated in the sixteenth century by the legion of local government officials throughout England.

Evidence of the daily religious commitment of the Arundells of Trevice is not extant. Nor is it for two of the other Grenville daughters, Philippa and her half-sister Jane, the daughter of

Sir Thomas's second wife. However, their marriages do tie in to this genealogy in meaningful ways. Philippa, the fourth sister, also married into the Arundells of Lanherne. She married Humphrey, the brother of the Sir John Arundell who married Philippa's youngest sister Katherine. Humphrey and Philippa Arundell may have been the parents of Humphrey Arundell, the only member of these leading families involved in the rebellion. However, the lineage is somewhat unclear.⁴³ In addition, the Grenville daughter's half-sister, Jane, married Wymond Raleigh about 1514. He was the son of Elizabeth Edgecombe, whose father Sir Richard had supported Henry VII's claim to the throne of England.⁴⁴ While documentary evidence is lacking for the religious devotion of these branches of the Grenville clan, there is clearer evidence of the religious devotion of Honor Grenville, the second youngest of the Grenville sisters.

In 1516 Honor Grenville married Sir John Basset, a prominent member of the gentry who held lands in Devon and Cornwall.⁴⁵ After his death in 1528, she married Lord Lisle, a cousin of Henry VIII and soon to be the King's Governor of Calais. The Lisles lived in Calais from 1533 until Lord Lisle's incarceration in the Tower of London in 1540. After a long period of house arrest Lady Lisle finally returned to England in the early 1540s and appears to have spent the rest of her life in the south-west where she died around 1564. While living in Calais, Lady Lisle caused concern to the government in London because of her open devotion to traditional religion, at a time when that government was instituting significant religious changes. Her commitment to traditional religion at that time is evident from letters she and her husband exchanged with various correspondents in England.⁴⁶ Little evidence pertaining to her life after 1542 remains, thus her continued religious devotion is indeterminable. However, at least one of her Bassett sons remained a devout Catholic. James, for example, was a Privy Councillor to Queen Mary, married the

granddaughter of Sir Thomas More, and his son's godfather was the Queen's husband, Philip of Spain.⁴⁷

Whether Lady Lisle's devotion to traditional religion was a factor in her husband's downfall is open to debate. However, John Chynoweth suggests that Sir Richard Grenville, the nephew of the Grenville sisters, saw his aunt and uncle's devotion to traditional religion as their downfall at Calais, and determined not to suffer a similar fate. Subsequently, Sir Richard's "retreat" with his family in Trematon Castle during the rebellion is interpreted by Chynoweth as Grenville "demonstrating his support for the existing religious settlement."⁴⁸ Clearly, Chynoweth recognises that by 1549 Sir Richard Grenville's religious affiliation lay with the reformed religion. This opinion, however, does not allow for the highly complex family interrelationships that existed in 1549 between Grenville and the families of his many aunts.

Family interests are rarely, if ever, monolithic. Conflicts can be generational, gender-or-marriage related, politically or economically motivated or the result of many other factors. There is no doubt that the Arundells of Lanherne and the Tregians were staunch adherents to the traditional religion throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. By contrast, the Arundells of Trevice, Carews, Edgecombes, and Grenvilles are seen by historians to be among the leading Protestant families from 1549. While some scholars polarise the Devon and Cornish gentry families in 1549 on religious grounds, they do recognise that there was a great deal of close family interconnectedness. Yet, there is little analysis of those familial ties and no exploration of what they might have meant in the context of the rebellion.

In the summer of 1549, as Devon and Cornwall rang with the cry of rebellion, Sir Richard Edgecombe was the widower of Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne and the husband of Elizabeth Tregian, his dead wife's sister-in-law. Richard was the brother of Mary Arundell, who was both a sister-in-law of his dead wife and of his present wife. All three women were members

by blood or marriage of the Arundells of Lanherne, the most prominent Catholic family in the south-west and among the most prominent in England for the remainder of the sixteenth century. In addition to their Edgecombe relatives, the Arundells were also closely tied to the Grenvilles, Carews, and Arundells of Trecice as a result of the marriages of the five Grenville sisters. Given these close blood ties it is important to ask whether the men of those families—as government officials or as the members of society charged with taking up arms—would have rushed to support the rebels or the government if that meant family waging war against family. A century later, when civil war did engulf the whole country, religion was “the most significant cause of division between members of the Cornish gentry.”⁴⁹ In 1549, however, those same families were not yet ready to destroy their blood ties.

This genealogy of the Arundells, Edgecombes, and Grenvilles reveals very close ties. However, it does not establish by itself where on the religious spectrum between “unyielding Catholics” and “godly Protestants” the members of those families lined up in 1549.⁵⁰ Nor does it reveal the levels of action or inaction of those families during the rebellion. However it does provide a framework within which family ties can be examined when the research net is cast broader afield into the decades before and after 1549. Personally written documents by members of these families are virtually non-existent before the 1580s. Consequently, a picture must be constructed from available government, church, and legal records. Even those documents are notoriously unreliable not only in their individual evidence, but because one source often contradicts another (for example, when attempting to establish marriage partners and the resultant children). However, by carefully reconstructing family relationships and using other historiographical models it is possible to see a different picture of events in the south-west in 1549. That picture may well reveal that the Arundell, Edgecombe, and Grenville families

had a previously unidentified influence on a significant event in English history.

NOTES

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¹ "S[s]outh-west" denotes the Diocese of Exeter, thus the counties of Devon and Cornwall.

² A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964).

³ For example, Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale, 1992); and Dickens who still supports the importance and inseparability of the themes of "from above" and "from below." Dickens also suggests that Haigh's continued view of him as a "champion of quick and easy 'Reformation from below'" is unwarranted, "The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558," *Archive for Reformation History* 78 (1987): 187-89.

⁴ For example, A. G. Dickens, "Secular and religious motivation in the Pilgrimage of Grace," *Studies in Church History* 4 (1967): 39-64; Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions* (London: Longman, 1968; 2nd ed., 1973); C. S. L. Davies, "The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered," *Past & Present* 41, (1968): 54-76; and "Popular Religion and the Pilgrimage of Grace," *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, Eds., Anthony Fletcher & John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 58-91; J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); and C. Haigh, *Reform and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975).

⁵ For newer scholarship see the examples in note 4. By comparison, focusing on the south-west rebellion there are Joyce Youings, "The South-Western Rebellion of 1549," *Southern History* 1 (1979): 99-122, and Julian Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry 1549* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1977). Prior to the works of those two historians there was Frances Rose-Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549: An*

Account of the Insurrections in Devonshire and Cornwall Against Religious Innovations in the Reign of Edward VI (London: Smith, Elder, 1913), and Chapter XI in A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (Jonathan Cape, 1941; rep. ed., Macmillan, 1969).

⁶ This is not to denigrate, for example, Duffy's description of the priest of Morebath, Devon who "conformed and conformed again...", which is intended to convey the priest not as representative of the south-west, but possibly of priests and laity in other parishes throughout England, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 592.

⁷ Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); H.M. Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall, 1509-49, with Special Reference to the South-western Rebellion of 1549" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sussex, 1991); John Chynoweth, "The Gentry of Tudor Cornwall" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Exeter, 1994).

⁸ Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, 7.

⁹ The term gentry is used here to describe the most significant group in society. Generally, they had the most wealth, owned the most land, and provided both the official local government officials and the unofficial leaders of society in the region. Whiting, *Blind Devotion of the People*, 225.

¹⁰ Whiting, *Blind Devotion of the People*, 34-35; Youngs, "The South-Western Rebellion of 1549," 102, 108, & 121; John Hooker, Devon Record Office, Exeter City Records, Book 52, 25-60, printed in John Vowell alias Hooker, *The Description of the Citie of Excester*, Parts I & II, Eds., W.J. Harte, J.W. Schopp, & H. Tapley-Soper (Exeter: Devon & Cornwall Record Society, 1919-1947), 55-56.

¹¹ Haigh, *English Reformations*, 339.

¹² By this statement Youngs refers to Hooker's apparent scorn for the cowardice of the gentlemen, which he seems to retract later. Youngs, "The South-Western Rebellion of 1549," 100 & 112; Hooker, *The Description of the Citie of Excester*, 58 & 66.

¹³ Speight, "Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall," 3-6, for example.

¹⁴ Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 289; Youngs, "The South-Western Rebellion of 1549," 117; and, Chynoweth, "The Gentry of Tudor Cornwall," 227.

¹⁵ Hooker, *The Description of the Citie of Excester*, 67. If anything, in modern scholarship, it is Humphrey Arundell's name which appears most often as the leader. However, his lineage, exact involvement in the rebellion, and how representative he was of gentry opposition to religious reform is a question to be discussed in my dissertation.

Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the Peoplen* 222: “the rebellion was opposed, defeated and subsequently punished by members of several of the region’s most important gentle families. . . .”

¹⁶ Whiting comments that Humphrey Arundell and the other “militant” leaders were “unrepresentative of their social class,” 221.

¹⁷ *Letters & Papers, Foreign & Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, eds. J.S Brewer, J. Gairdner, & R.H. Brodie (1862-1910): XI/580, 2, 3; Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 229.

¹⁸ R.N. Worth, ed., *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records (1893)*, 16; Plymouth, West Devon Record Office, W 130, Receiver’s Accounts called ‘The Old Audit Book’ Borough of Plymouth, f. 246.

¹⁹ Nesta Evans, “The descent of dissent in the Chiltern Hundreds,” *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725*, Ed., Margaret Spufford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 308.

²⁰ Patrick Collinson points out that the idea of the “descent of dissent” has been of interest to historians since the beginning of the twentieth century; “Critical Conclusion,” Spufford, ed., *The World of Rural Dissenters*, 393.

²¹ See Appendix A for family genealogical chart.

²² See Appendix B; Truro, Cornwall Record Office [CRO], Arundell Archive, AR49/5/003; CRO, AR/27/4 provides the two parties with a dispensation for having married within the 3/4 degrees of kinship; I have yet to clarify the exact relationship.

²³ CRO, AR49/5/Old Nos. 1, 12, 13 later 36, 22, 34; 002.

²⁴ CRO, AR/49/5/Old Nos. 19,42; 000, 004, 005.

²⁵ Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 221, & 288-89.

²⁶ Chynoweth, “The Gentry of Tudor Cornwall,” 226.

²⁷ See Appendix C.

²⁸ Henry VII made Sir Richard Edgecombe a Privy Councillor and Comptroller of the Royal Household, London, British Library, Cotton Titus B 11; a “Grant” of 12 May 1488 provides “Sir Richard Eggecumbe” with manors, lordships, and mineral and stannary rights, CRO, ME 622.

²⁹ It is unclear if this was the son or stepson of Katherine Grenville.

³⁰ This document “MSS, vol. 1., p.58” is quoted in *Records of the Edgecombe Family* (1888), 81. *Records* was published privately with no author stated, but appears to have been written by a member of the Edgecombe family who states that the document was in the library at Mount Edgecombe house (Cornwall). The house was bombed in 1941 and there is now no evidence that the document still exists.

³¹ Which of Sir Richard’s wives were the mother(s) of his children and how many wives he had varies according to the historian, and reflects the difficulty of tracing family lines: J.L. Vivian & the author

of *Records of the Edgcombe Family* show Elizabeth Tregian as the mother, while J. Burke states that Winifred Essex was the mother of Sir Richard's heir Peter Edgcombe. *The Dictionary of National Biography* shows Winifred Essex as the mother of all of Sir Richard's children, and does not mention Elizabeth Tregian. J.L. Vivian & H.H. Drake, eds., *The Visitation of the County of Cornwall, in the year 1620* (London, 1874), 64; *Records of the Edgcombe Family*, 81; *Burke's Genealogical Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, 102nd ed. (London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1959), 1617; *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1949-50 ed., s.v. "Edgcombe or Edgcombe, Sir Richard (1699-1562)"; a "Marriage Settlement" dated 1535 confirms the marriage between Richard Edgcombe and Elizabeth Tregian, CRO, ME 826.

³² John Morris, S.J., ed., *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers related by themselves*, V. 1 (London: Burns & Oates, 1872; repub., Farnborough, Hants: Gregg, 1970), 65-139.

³³ According to *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1949-50 ed., s.v. "Dowriche, Anne," Anne was the "daughter of [the] Peter Edgcombe who died in 1607." However, the *Records of the Edgcombe Family* (pp. 1-2) show she was Peter's sister and the daughter of Sir Richard Edgcombe who died in 1539. Mary Carew was the wife of Hugh Dowriche's brother, Walter, J.L. Vivian, ed., *The Visitations of the County of Devon, comprising The Heralds' Visitations of 1531, 1564, & 1620* (1895), 290.

³⁴ See also note 12; Youings comments that by the time Hooker wrote his account later in the sixteenth century he was "a bigoted Protestant", "The South-Western Rebellion of 1549," 100.

³⁵ Youings, "The South-Western Rebellion of 1549," 110-11.

³⁶ Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 266, "the Carews...were advanced Protestants in their views"; Youings, "The South-Western Rebellion of 1549," 111, Sir Peter was a "known radical...hardly the man to choose to deal gently with religious conservatives. . . ." By contrast, Sir Peter's cousins - the Carews of Haccombe - were imprisoned for recusancy later in the century, *Catholic Record Society*, II, 140, 221.

³⁷ John Vowell alias Hooker, "Life of Sir Peter Carew," Carew MS. 605, Eds., J.S. Brewer, & William Bullen, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth. 1515-1574* (1867; rep. ed., Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1974), **book**

³⁸ Anne Dowriche, "The French Historie" (London, 1589; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms).

³⁹ In the absence of marriage documents providing adate, the assumption is made here that they married prior to the birth of their

first child in 1555.

⁴⁰ Richard Carew's *The Survey of Cornwall* was first published in 1602, and is indispensable for students of English history; F.E. Halliday, ed., *Richard Carew of Antony: The Survey of Cornwall* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), 19, 169, 311-12, 314.

⁴¹ CRO, AR Catalogue, 6.

⁴² Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 304-305.

⁴³ Halliday claims Humphrey Arundell was the son of Roger of Lanherne, *Richard Carew*, 164; the same parentage is shown in J.J. Howard & H.F. Burns, *Genealogical Collections Illustrating the History of the roman Catholic Families of England* (London, 1887), 227. However, the 12th Lord Arundell of Wardour, states that he was the son of Humphrey Arundell "by Phillipa, daughter of Sir Thomas Grenvyle of Stow," E.D. Webb, ed., *Notes by the 12th Lord Arundell of Wardour on the Family History* (London: Longmans, Green, 1916), 7; see also note 17.

⁴⁴ Roger Granville, *The History of the Granville Family* (Exeter, 1895), 68; *Records of the Edgcombe Family*, 1-2.

⁴⁵ Truro, Royal Institution of Cornwall, The Courtney Library, HB/5/84A.

⁴⁶ Vivian, *Cornwall*, 84; Muriel St. Clare Byrne, ed., *The Lisle Letters*, 6 vols. (Chicago: U of Chicago, 1981).

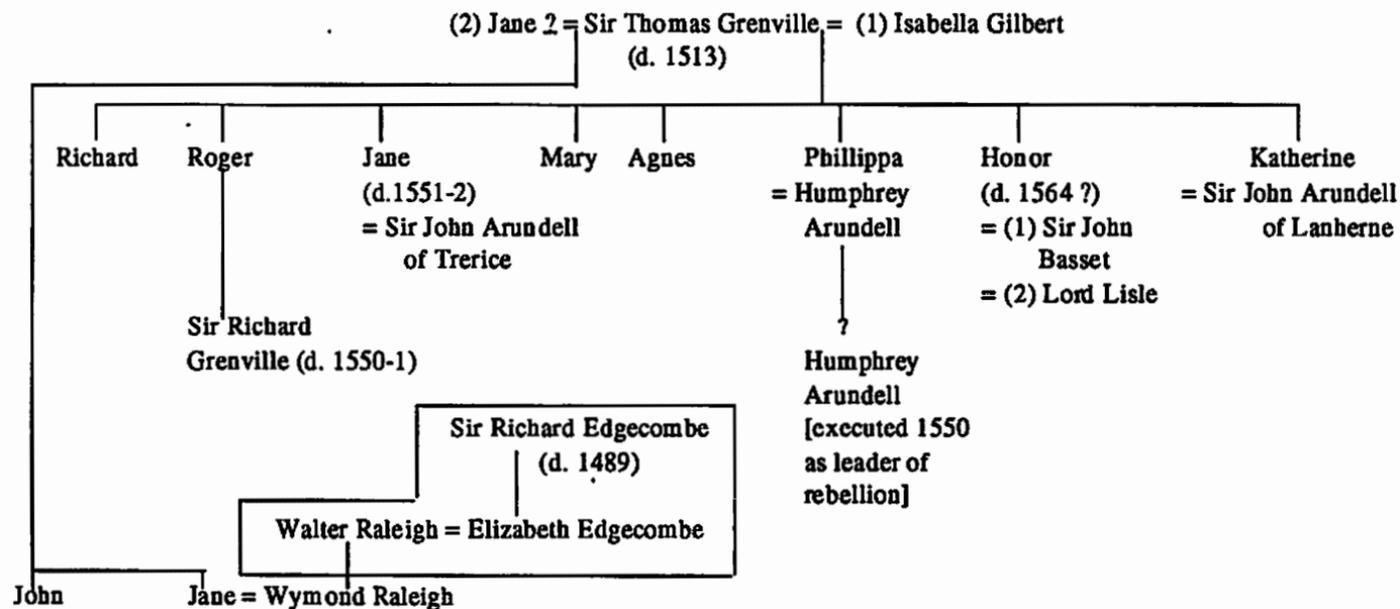
⁴⁷ *Lisle Letters*, Vol. 6, 264-66.

⁴⁸ Chynoweth, "The Gentry of Tudor Cornwall," 174.

⁴⁹ Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry Before the Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1996), 212.

⁵⁰ A.L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the 'Revenge'* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937; rep. ed., 1962), 27; Haigh, *English Reformations*, 292.

GRENVILLE FAMILY

Marriages of Five Daughters

ARUNDELLS OF LANHERNE

