The Landmark Trust

CALVERLEY OLD HALL

History Album

Volume I: History

Written by
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The Landmark Trust Shottesbrooke Maidenhead Berkshire SL6 3SW *Charity registered in England & Wales* 243312 *and Scotland* SC039205

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BASIC DETAILS

Built

Earliest Hall (later the Solar Block)	**1320s**	
Great Hall	**1477-97**	**(timber felling range)**
Chapel	**1480-1505**	**(")**
Parlour Block	**1513-39, enhanced 1547-65**	**(")**
Lodging Block	**1566-91**	**(")**
Divided into cottages	**c1750, with additions & alterations in 19th and 20th C**	
Tenure	**Freehold, acquired 1981**	

1980s phase (Landmark accommodation in NW wing only)

Lodging Block restored	**1982-3**
Chapel restored	**1982-3 & 1984-5**
Hall roof restored	**1985**
Architects	**Ferrey & Mennim**
Contractors	**Thompson & Walker**
Opened as a Landmark	**1982**

2017-2024 phase

Architectural competition	**2017-18**
Roofing repairs	**2022**
Main phase of works	**2022-24**
Opened as a new Landmark	**October 2024**

2017-2024 phase: Project Directory summary

Architect	**Karen Lim, Chris Cowper, Simon Murgatroyd, of Cowper Griffiths Architects of Cambridge**
LT Project Manager	**Linda Lockett**
Quantity Surveyor	**Andrew Gaunt & Darren Proctor, BWA Ltd, Leeds**
Structural Engineer	**Ed Morton & Robert Ratcliffe, of The Morton Partnership**
Archaeologist	**Jonathan Clark & Cecily Shakespeare, FAS Heritage, York**
Main contractors	**Dobson Construction Ltd, Leeds**
Site manager	**Andy Dewhurst**
Contracts manager	**Darren Clayton**
Access consultant	**Martin McConaghy, DACS, Leeds**
Fire engineering	**Carol Wilson, DPD Fire & Safety**
Sustainability	**Diane Hubbard, Green Footsteps Ltd**
Wall paintings consultant	**Tobeit Curtis, Cambridge**
Wall paintings conservation	**Lizzie Woolley & Sam Whittaker, Opus Conservation**

Contents

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments

The Supporters of Calverley Old Hall

The National Lottery Heritage Fund

The National Lottery Heritage Fund is the largest funder for the UK's heritage. Using money raised by National Lottery players it supports projects that connect people and communities to heritage. The Fund's vision is for heritage to be valued, cared for and sustained for everyone, now and in the future. From historic buildings, our industrial legacy and the natural environment, to collections, traditions, stories and more. Heritage can be anything from the past that people value and want to pass on to future generations. The National Lottery Heritage Fund believes in the power of heritage to ignite the imagination, offer joy and inspiration, and to build pride in place and connection to the past.

Culture Recovery Fund

Historic England administered a grant towards the re-roofing as part of a rescue package provided by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) to safeguard cultural and heritage organisations from the economic impact of COVID-19. Funds were distributed through the Culture Recovery Fund for Heritage, which was administered in partnership with The National Lottery Heritage Fund. This support was vital to the emergency repairs at the early stages of the project.

We are thrilled that the transformation of Calverley Old Hall was also supported by many others, including generous grants, gifts in wills and a remarkable 2,005 individual supporters.

Guardians of Calverley Old Hall and other lead supporters:

Dr J and Mrs J Bull, Mr P Burfoot and Mr D Boyd, Mr R and Mrs H Button, Dr C Guettler and the late Ms J Graham, Mr R Grigson and Mr A Layng, Dr I and Mrs C Lee, Mrs L Leverett in memory of Mr Peter Parker, Mr G Neame OBE DL, Mr M and Mrs C Seale, Mrs A Seekings, Mr N Strange and Mr M Brecker, Mr T Wise.

Patrons and other generous individuals:

Professor M Airs, Mr C and Mrs N Amy, Mr A Baker and Ms S Darling, Mr R Baker, Dr J Barney, Mr J Blaikie, Mr P Chadwick, Mr P Claydon, Mr G Clayton, Mr J Copping, Mr G Dorey, Miss K Edwards, Mr C Giffin, Mr D Giles, Ms F Grimshaw, Dr R Gurd, Mrs S Hands, Mr D Holberton, Mr K Holmes, Mr J Holmfield, Mr C Hughes, Mr G Jennings, Ms J Johnson, Mrs R Jordan and the late Mr S Jordan, Dr P Judkins, Mr J Lambert, Mrs J Leaf, Mrs P Maitland Dougall, Mr S Martin, Mr C and Mrs I McDermott-Spencer, Mr R Nelson, Mrs F Pentney, Mrs P Plunket-Checkemian, Mr M Power, Mr K Prosser, Ms G Rawinsky, Mr G Reed and Mr N Atkinson, Mr E Saunders, Dr D Speller, Dr P Strangeway, Mr J Valentine, Mr J Webb, Miss S Wrightson, Mr T Youngman.

Gifts in Wills:

The late Mr M Edwards, the late Mrs C Mills, the late Mrs V Place, the late Mr P Robinson, and the late Mr C Cundy. Gifts in memory of the late Mr S Curtis and the late Dr P Crimmin.

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We thank all who have supported the appeal, including other Guardians, Patrons and trusts, and those have chosen to remain anonymous.

Thank you!

Our thanks too to the many, many volunteers who helped and participated throughout the project – your contribution is hugely valued!

Research Acknowledgements

Our understanding of the Old Hall and its history has been greatly informed by Jonathan Clark, Cecily Shakespeare & Nicola Toop of FAS Heritage; Charlotte Young of STICKS Research Agency; Martin Wiggins for advice on *The Yorkshire Tragedy;* Cathy Tyers & Historic England's Investigative Science Team for timber analysis; volunteer researchers Elaine Edge and Patrick Hayes, and all in the Calverley Old Hall Local History Group.

Calverley Old Hall, summer 2024

Summary

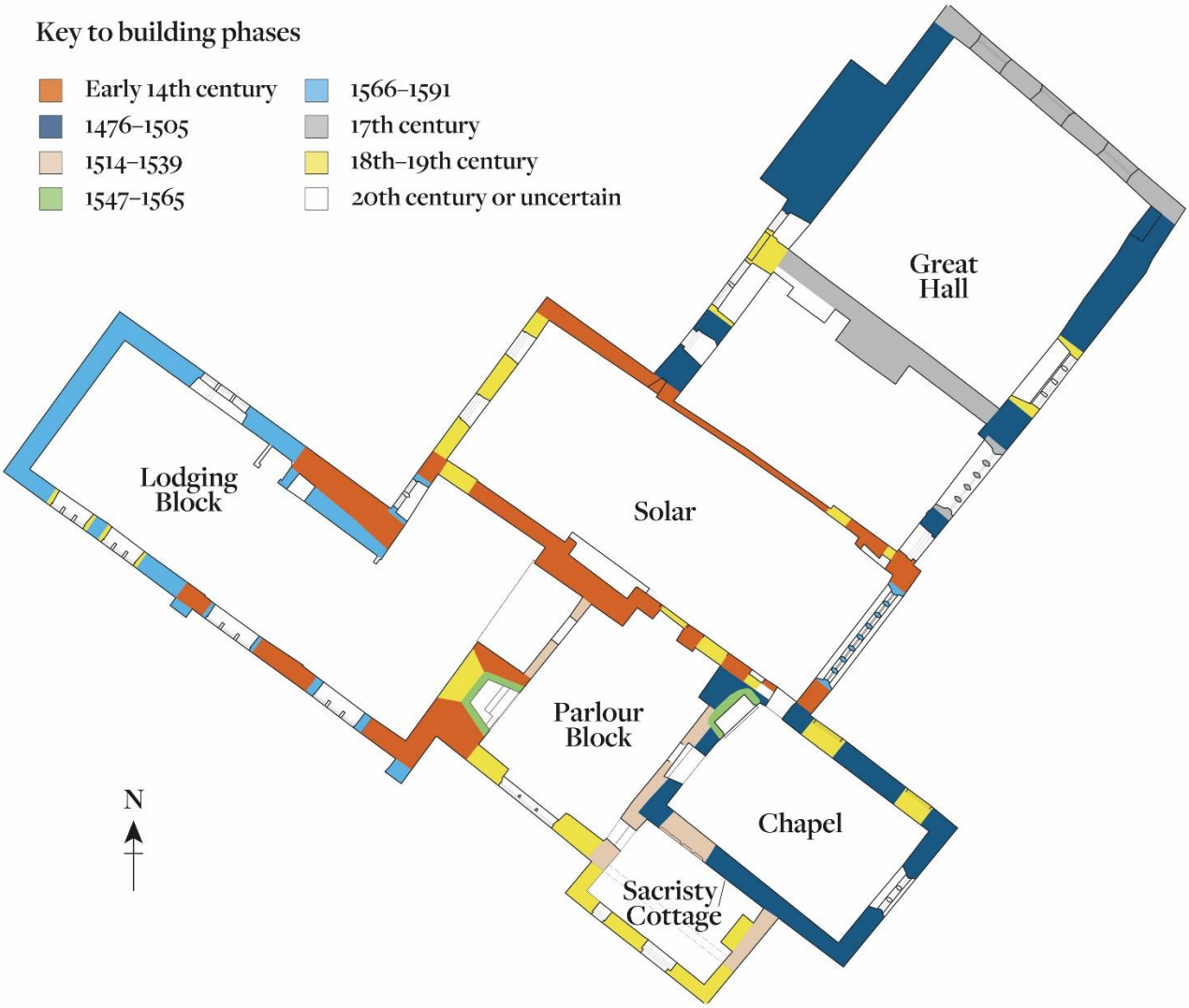
A man called John le Scot was living in Calverley from the 1160s, the Scott family later taking the name of the place as their own. By 1300, they had built a small timber-framed house, of which embedded traces survive. Around 1320, a timber-framed and stone first-floor hall was built with service rooms below and fine stone fireplaces on both floors. A solar (a private room for the family) ran off at right angles to the west. This first-floor hall was enlarged around 1400, this time entirely in stone. New tie beams were inserted in the roof, with ornamental braces.

Documents and house together then tell a story of a steady climb in wealth and status as the Calverleys (the heirs all called William or Walter) added to their estates and married into the leading families in the area. Many were knighted or served as magistrates and county sheriff. They never rose higher than that: they were county magnates, not national ones. Some stand out as individuals: Sir Walter, in the 1300s, was an improver, and a pioneer of the iron industry.

In the 1480s, a William married a wealthy Savile heiress and built the current enormous hammer-beamed Great Hall with a great stone fireplace. Its 30-foot span was made possible by projecting hammerbeams, richly carved in the latest fashion. Fragments of the medieval windows can be seen in both north and south walls. The original entrance was at the west end, where there was a cross passage between two doors, behind a screen. The earlier first-floor hall now became a more private chamber, the main solar. The same phase also saw the Chapel built, a very rare survival. It has a private gallery for the family, entered from the solar, a fine altar window (restored in the 1980s) and a miniature hammerbeam roof, very similar in its detailing to the great hall's. A panelled oak ceiling is fitted over the two bays at the altar end. The Chapel was estored in the 1980s, removing the cottage it had become.

More is known about the 16th-century Calverleys as they navigated the difficult years of the Reformation. Chief among them was a William (?1507-72), who possibly joined the 1537 uprising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, as he was briefly imprisoned in the Tower of London for religious opposition in the 1530s. He then embraced the Protestant regime, was knighted in 1545 and became Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1548-9. He had 17 children with his two wives before his death in 1572. Sir William enhanced his father's Parlour Block, where in 2022 a painted chamber was discovered beneath lath and plaster on the first floor. Covered in tightly planned outstanding grotesque-work wall paintings, this is an exceptional survival. In the next generation, the Lodging Block was added (dated to the 1580s).

Tragedy struck the family in April 1605, when Sir William's grandson, Walter Calverley, ran amok, murdering his two small sons, William and Walter. He was executed by pressing to death. A play written about this real-life Jacobean tragedy, *A Yorkshire Tragedy,* was long attributed to Shakespeare but is now believed to be by Thomas Middleton. The surviving son, Henry, had an unlucky life, later burdened by a huge fine imposed by Parliament for being a Royalist during the Civil War of the 1640s.



FAS Heritage/Matt Wilson

The story of the Calverleys ends on a happier note. Sir Walter Calverley (1629-91) was the last of his family to have much to do with the Old Hall, but chose to live in the new mansion he built nearby at Esholt, having married its heiress Frances Thompson. His son, Sir Walter, 1st Baronet, married Elizabeth Ord Blackett of Wallington in Northumberland, and their son the 2nd Baronet left Yorkshire to take up residence on his mother's estate at Wallington. In 1754 the Calverley estate was sold to Thomas Thornhill of Fixby, and the Old Hall was divided into cottages, including the Chapel and the vast volumes of the Great Hall and Solar Block. Many generations of cloth workers, labourers, masons and others lived on the site. Barns and stables around it gradually disappeared, as gardens and orchards were replaced by streets and houses. But the cottage tenants had no reason to make major alterations, and so the shell of the medieval house remained intact.

REPAIR & RENEWAL

1980s In 1977, the north wing was gutted by fire and in 1981, the site was put up for sale in three separate lots. Landmark bought the Old Hall to keep it in single ownership, its full renewal always planned to be carried out in several phases. In 1982-3, a Landmark holiday let was formed from two fire-damaged cottages in the Lodging Block. Tenancies in other cottages were left to play out. The envelopes of the Chapel and Great Hall were also repaired. The Solar Block and Great Hall were cleared and kept wind- and weathertight while their future use was decided.

2020s By 2017, major maintenance was required and it was decided to address the whole building. Landmark held an architectural competition, for a scheme to bring the whole building back into use by making a new, larger Landmark in all but the Chapel and Lodging Block (which now became a community space on the ground floor and a one-bedroomed flat on the first floor). The approach was to be contemporary, since the building has changed so much over the centuries and it would have been impossible to choose a single period to ‘restore’ it back to. The competition was won by Cowper Griffiths Architects of Cambridge. In 2021, with help from the Cultural Recovery Fund, the roof was repaired. The main works followed on from 2022 and were completed in 2024, thanks to a grant from The National Lottery Heritage Fund and generous support from other grants, trusts, gifts in wills and a remarkable 2,005 individual donations.

Throughout, the conversion of the gutted spaces has been carried out so that the archaeology of the ancient walls and timbers is still legible. The Great Hall is now used as a dining room and kitchen. The Solar is a sitting room with bedrooms beneath, and the Chapel remains a place for quiet contemplation and information. A newly discovered mid-16th century painted chamber, the wall paintings gently conserved, is in use as a bedroom. Outside, the grounds were re-landscaped to improve biodiversity and a community garden was created with input from local residents, including a stone sculpture by Patrick Walls, carved with motifs to represent all aspects of the project. The building is heated by ground source energy, supplied by six deep bore holes. Great care was taken over accessibility, providing a level-access ground floor bedroom and bathroom, a specially designed kitchen and a lift. Calverley Old Hall’s future is assured, its buildings all brought back into full use for the first time since the 1980s.

A Timeline for Calverley Old Hall

DATE	FAMILY EVENTS	CHANGES TO THE BUILDINGS
by 1136	John le Scot is lord of the manor	
1316	First ref to 'John of Calverley'	
1324	Family offered manor of Headingley to church	First-floor hall block built (1275-1324) with solar wing at right angles
1388	Invoice of goods to Joan de Calverley	
1389	Sir Walter de C & wife Joan took lease on manor of Eccleshill	
1404	Death of Sir Walter de C, wife Joan took vow of chastity and managed estate for young son, Walter II	
1414	Lady Joan arranged Walter II's marriage to Elizabeth de Markenfield	
1423	Walter II came of age and asserted rights over Calverley and other manors.	
1442	Marriage indenture between Walter III and Agnes Tempest. Retention of an acre in Pudsey by Walter III 'where he may gett and tak thakstone'	Suggests roofing works in hand
1466	Death of Walter III, son William III inherited	Great Hall built (dendro1477-1497)
1488	Sir William's will refers to Chapel. William IV inherited, wife is Alice Savile.	Chapel built (dendro1480-1505)
1497-8	William IV knighted.	
1506	Death of Sir William IV, son Walter IV inherited. He married Eisabel Drax in 1505, and later Anne Vasavour.	Growing family (7 sons, 8 daughters across 2 marriages.
1513	Walter one of 30 knights dubbed at Lille 14 Oct as part of HVIII's retinue in France	
1523	Sir Walter commissioner for subsidies for West Riding. Oct In the retinue of Lord Darcy (1,750 men) in the war against Duke of Albany regent of Scotland's invasion.	Parlour Block phase 1 (dendro 1514-39)

1536-7	Son William V possibly served in Lord Darcy's retinue in the Pilgrimage of Grace; imprisoned in the Tower for his resistance to the Reformation; retracted his rebellion in 'A Dyalogue bitwene the playntife and the Defendaunt.' Death of Sir Walter IV, son William V inherited. Two marriages, to Elizabeth Middelton in 1527 and later to Elizabeth Sneyd.	
1545	William V knighted by the Earl of Hertford at Norham Castle, implying he took part in the campaign against the Scots (Rough Wooing)	
1547		Death of Henry VIII; Edward VI inherits throne.
1548	Sir William V included in the muster of the English army.	
1549-50	Sir William V High Sheriff of Yorkshire.	
1553		(Catholic Mary I inherits throne)
1558		(Elizabeth I inherits throne).
c1560		Parlour Block phase 2 (dendro 1547-65); painted chamber created.
1569		Rebellion of the North.
1572	Death of Sir William V, son Walter V inherited, who had married devout Anne Danby 1556. Both recusants. Son William VI born in 1557.	Addition of Lodging Block (dendro 1566-91)
1589	William VI released from Marshalsea into father's custody 'his backwardness in religion being caused by his lunacy.'	
1596	Deaths of both William VI and Walter V; Walter VI (1578-1605) inherited.	
1605	Walter VI murdered his two young sons and wounded his wife. Refused to plead; executed by pressing to death; his surviving son Henry (aged 2) could then inherit. Passed through the Court of Wards to Henry's stepfather meanwhile.	

1608	*The Yorkshire Tradegy* [sic] published attr by publisher Thomas Pavier to Shakespeare but later credited to Thomas Middleton. Not in 1st folio 1623.	
1624	Estate passed to Henry at his coming of age.	
1626	Henry married Elizabeth More of Grantham, d.1626	
1628	Henry married Joyce Pye of The Mynd	
1640s	Henry fought as a Royalist in the Civil War. Estate sequestered, returned on payment of fine of £1,455.	
1651	Death of Henry, son Walter VII (1629-91) inherited.	
1659	Walter VII married Frances Thompson of Esholt Hall	
1665	Walter VII and Frances move to Esholt Hall.	
1691	Death of Walter VII, Walter VIIII inherited.	
1704	Walter VIII made 1st baronet	
1706	Sir Walter VIII married Julia Blackett	
1707	Birth of Sir Walter Calverley Blackett	
1707	Walter VIII began construction of new Esholt Hall. Likely the family then left Calverley (though other accounts say 1665).	
1715	Walter VIII served under Lord Burlington as Deputy Lieut of the West Riding during the Jacobite rebellion.	
1728	Walt C-B inherited Blackett estates on condition he marries natural daughter Elzabeth Ord and takes Blackett name. Prominent politician.	
1754	Sale of Old Hall to Thomas Thornhill of Fixby. Already subdivided (see valuation), at least five tenancies of the hall.	After 1755 and before 1851, cottages built against SW and SE walls of Chapel, also used as a cottage.
1755	Thornhill map	
1787	Valuation	
1816	The manor house is...so mutilated and defiled...'	
1841	Census : 5 households 18 individuals	
1851	Census 5 households 27 individuals	
1861	11 households 36 individuals	
1871	6 dwellings, 31 individuals	
1881	6 dwellings, 24 individuals	
1891	(Census return unclear)	

1901	(Census return unclear)	
1911	6 dwellings, 16 individuals	
c1960	Removal of large barn to northwest	
1977	Lodging Block gutted by fire	
1981	Bought by LT from Thornhill Estate. By now divided into 8 separate cottages.	
1982-3	Restoration of northwest wing as a Landmark holiday let, with removal of cottages NW of Hall.	
1984	Cottage in solar block vacated.	
1985	Restoration of Chapel completed (a bathroom and kitchen removed). Hall roof restored by highly respected conservation architects Ferrey & Menin. Involved removal of cottages and outhouses SE of Chapel.	
1990	Solar block cleared, floor partially excavated by archaeologist	
2002	LT commissioned feasibility study for the Hall from Richard Griffiths Architects. Resulted in detailed discussions with Quilters' Guild for use of Hall as their library, from which they eventually withdrew.	
2007	May: the last tenant, Mr Hartley, vacated	
2009	Renewed efforts by LT to bring more of the site into use, consultation with EH etc, but economic downturn hit.	
2015	Put on BAR register; large cyclical maintenance burden emerging (£750k-£1m). Doing nothing no longer an option.	
2016	Audit of documentation over past 40 years, renewed building analysis.	
2017	OJEU compliant architectural design competition: 71 Expressions of Interest, 11 architects invited to submit design concepts. Cowper Griffiths of Cambridge emerged as winners.	
(2018/19)	(Heritage Lottery Fund grants programme suspended for strategic review.)	
Nov 2019	National Lottery Heritage Fund Round 1 application submitted after acceptance of expression of interest Aug 2019.	
Nov 2021	Last visitors stayed in the old Landmark in the Lodging Block.	

2020-22	Covid pandemic. Heritage Fund Devt phase works and activities (largely online).	
2022	Re-roofing works began funded by Culture Recovery Fund. Heritage Fund grant awarded.	
2023-4	Repair and conversion works.	
4 Oct 2024	The whole building re-opened for use with all blocks back in use and occupation as a Landmark holiday let for ten people, a community space and a residential flat.	

Prologue

The story of this site stretches back over at least eight centuries. The cast of characters includes knights and fine ladies, cloth workers and a milkman. There will be battles and imprisonments, chivalric deeds and shady dealings, rash marriages and foul murder. Calverley Old Hall has witnessed national events of high drama and just occasionally, its residents have been drawn into these. More often, however, the steady Yorkshire gentry who owned it for six centuries kept their heads down, married well and looked to their land holdings. Their success in (mostly) following this steady path accounts for their long tenure. After the mid-18th century, the Old Hall entered into the lives of ordinary folk, its mighty walls now sheltering stone masons, weavers and farmers who made more humble dwellings within it, ever the centre of its village.

The Landmark Trust's association with Calverley Old Hall began in 1981, when it was acquired by for Landmark through The Manifold Trust by our prescient founder, John Smith. The site had long been divided up into eight separately tenanted cottages, some of them then rundown. A fire in the northwest wing (also known as the Lodging Block) had left this part gutted. The significance of the whole of this haphazardly converted building was just starting to be recognized by architectural historians, as an outstanding survival of an ancient manor that had developed over at least five centuries as the seat of the Calverley family. The previous owners, the Thornhill Estate, had decided to put the Old Hall on the market as three separate lots. Landmark stepped in to keep it in single ownership.

The northwest wing (the burnt-out cottage and its neighbour, whose tenant chose to move out) was then repaired and converted into a Landmark holiday let for six people, which opened in 1982. For the next three decades or so, many thousands enjoyed a holiday there.

The former Landmark in the Lodging Block in 2017 before re-ordering was in 2022-4.

Bottom: Early-14th century framing indicates a doorway from the earliest hall (now Solar Block) into the earliest solar, master bedroom in the former Landmark. The space is now the first floor twin bedroom and bathroom, the framing now in a house-keeping storage area.

Dealing with the rest of the site was less straightforward. A few tenants stayed on. Landmark was quite content with this: a solution for the complete site was always envisaged as a two-stage process. Between 1982 and 1985, the Great Hall was mostly cleared of its three cottages, while leaving a full height 17th-century wall and several fireplaces in its vast volume. It was then re-roofed and the south wall repaired as it was bowing dangerously. The Early Hall/Solar Block was also stripped of later accretions, leaving it as one huge, double height volume. The Chapel, which had also been converted to a cottage, was cleared and restored inside and out, including removing two 20th-century cottages that had been built onto its gable end. The site was now weathertight and it settled down like this for the next thirty-five years until the last tenant vacated in 2007. For the first time, Landmark had full vacant possession, and the building as a whole remained unfinished business.

We made several attempts to find a new, non-Landmark use, for the Great Hall especially, but without success. Buildings never fare well when empty: it sometimes suffered vandalism and the need for further large-scale maintenance became critical, turning this into an expensive major project. We therefore decided it was time to come up with a holistic solution to bring the whole site back into use. After much thought and a feasibility study, a plan was hatched to relocate the Landmark accommodation into the most ancient parts of the building, primarily the Great Hall and Solar Block; to turn the northwest Lodging Block into a flexible space for community use on its ground floor with a one-bedroomed, tenanted flat on its first floor, and to keep the Chapel as a space for interpretation and quiet contemplation.

This at least was a plan, but an ambitious one. To inhabit the huge medieval volumes successfully was going to take considerable imagination, and to fund it all, exceptional persistence. We had faced a similar conundrum at Astley Castle in the 2010s with a very successful outcome, and a similar approach here seemed appropriate: we decided to hold a national architectural competition for

outline designs to convert the whole building and bring it in uses that benefitted not just Landmarkers but also the local community.

The competition was held in 2017-18 and Cowper Griffiths Architects of Cambridge emerged as the winners. In parallel, we were delighted to be awarded an enabling grant from the National Lottery Heritage Fund, alongside generous support from other trusts and foundations and thousands of individual supporters. The last visitors stayed in the old Landmark in November 2021. The transformation of the Old Hall in the early 2020s effectively represents a fresh start, so the old Log Books from these earlier years are safely stored at Shottesbrooke, the memories of all those stays kept safe.

On the journey that followed, our understanding of the fabric of the Old Hall increased immeasurably, crowned by the exceptional discovery in 2022 of the painted chamber. This album is the story of that reinvention of Calverley Old Hall, the last of many such over the centuries on this shapeshifting site. It significantly updates the research done in the 1980s by Landmark's previous historian, Charlotte Haslam, and the understanding of the site's evolution.

The Great Hall (top) and gutted first-floor hall/Solar Block in 2020.

Cowper Griffiths Architects very first visualisations for the same spaces.

The Calverley Papers

A full account of the Calverleys has been an aspiration for at least three centuries. On 11th December 1711, after a century of family troubles, the latest Walter Calverley obtained a baronetcy[1] and wanted a pedigree of his family drawn up. The reply of his researcher set out the task and its challenge in a way that still applies to us today:

> Noble Sir – I have returned the abstract of your ancient pedigree, and have seen that of Scot, or Scoty, before they took the name of Calverley. Your descents are very noble, it is a pity but that a good hand should draw up an account of your family, to be inserted in the History of baronets; Ralph Thoresby has your line in his printed book, but I would have the account of your house at Calverley drawn more fully, and the dates of the kings' reigns added; you have long been Walters and Williams, and seldom had any other Christian name, but the Gascoigns outgo you, having had 16 or 17 Williams successively. This identity of names oft puzzles those who draw the descents of families: I hope that you will take care that a just and fair account be given of your ancient family, that posterity may know what we admire. You may vie descents with half our nobility, for though we all spring from one parent, and have all the same pedigree and ancient genealogy, yet noble actions, worthy deeds, brave achievements, have raised some families above the level of others, and whilst some of the sordid and inactive sons of Adam wallow in their means and poor cottages, other by their public and glorious performances are raised into an higher sphere, and enjoy deserved honours. May your family long flourish, and be crowned with health, wealth and happiness, is the best wish of,
>
> Worthy Sir,
> Your most faithful servant.
> GEO. PLAXTON

Accordingly, in 1714 a genealogist named Simon Segar visited Sir Walter's house at Esholt in Yorkshire, where he was shown a chest in which were stored the personal and estate records of one family, collected over 500 years. From these he extracted and copied 'evidences' of Walter's family, and compiled a

[1] A baronetcy, which carries the title 'Sir', is a hereditary title, unlike a knight bachelor (also a Sir), which is discretionary title awarded for chivalry or service that expires with its holder.

pedigree. When this was done, the relevant papers were bound together in a large volume.

This was not the first time that the documents had been examined, nor the first pedigree drawn up. The College of Heralds had included the Calverleys of Calverley in their *Visitations of Yorkshire* since 1530. In 1694, after the papers had been moved from the old family house at Calverley to a new home a few miles away at Esholt, the steward, Samuel Hemingway, had roughly arranged and catalogued them and placed then 'in a firre deale presse with drawers in Mr Calverley's closett.'

When the Yorkshire estates were sold in the mid-eighteenth century, these papers moved with the family to Wallington in Northumberland. There they descended through the female line to the Trevelyan family. In 1866 Walter Calverley Trevelyan bound them into four folio volumes and presented them to the British Library together with papers compiled by Simon Segar. Other documents have ended up in the National Archives and the Brotherton Library in Leeds; occasional others pop up in other repositories and across the internet. The fir press remained at Esholt, where it was seen in 1904, still with the original labels on its drawers. Today its whereabouts is unknown.

A series of medieval charters from the Calverley papers was published in 1904 by the Thoresby Society, edited by Samuel Margerison and W. Paley Baildon. The Surtees Society also published the journal of the first baronet of the family, Sir Walter Calverley (1670-1749). The collection as a whole forms an invaluable record of life in Yorkshire at the manorial level, and is one of the most complete in existence. It is made up for the most part of records of property transactions: leases, purchases and rent agreements – many witnessed by members of the Calverley family and the families into which they married – as well as wills, marriage settlements, land disputes and a few more personal papers.

A picture emerges of this ancient family that arrived in Yorkshire soon after the Norman Conquest and stored all this information so carefully. Margerison summed them up well in 1904:

> *'The Calverleys of Calverley were for six hundred years the central figures of the place (in earlier generations they were known as Scot)...As a family, they never rose to any brilliant eminence in the life of the country. There were knights and county magnates among them, and later baronets, but though they were not prominent at Court, in politics or the Church, nor, with possibly one exception, as great warriors, they were useful men in their day and generation. They did their share of solid work as squires and commissioners and magistrates; they and their tenants fought for the country when required; for many generations they kept and improved their substance; they wedded into some of the best families in the north, and were duly buried in their family vault in the Calverley Chapel* [in St Wilfrid's, the parish church] *when they died.'*

Their rich papers have yet to be fully studied, but an audit commissioned by Landmark from Sticks Research Agency in the early 2020s revealed frustratingly little personal detail from the dry legal documents. The family grew large and had many cadet branches; its name is susceptible to many variations in spelling. Even unteasing the line of descent proves tricky over six centuries, the heirs almost all named either Walter or William as Plaxton pointed out, names which appear equally in other branches of the family. What follows can only be considered a provisional account of the heirs of Calverley Old Hall, until some lucky doctoral student or scholar is able to devote years to unravelling these complicated and still largely uncatalogued sources more fully. Beyond this line of heirs, there are many similar tales of heroism and tragedy among the wider Calverley clan, but these do not belong here.

The fabric of building itself is always the most important source for its history, and during the 2020s repair and conversion project, Historic England's Investigative Science Team carried out an extensive programme of timber analysis, coordinated by Cathy Tyers. This included a range of techniques (tree ring analysis and, where this failed to yield a result, radiocarbon and oxygen isotope analysis, and a new, high-precision radiocarbon 'wiggle-match

technique'). These results served to confirm and in some cases illuminate our hypotheses on the phasing of the building, as set out in the Conservation Management Plan written by Jonathan Clark of FAS Heritage of York, the project archaeologist, and his colleagues Cecily Shakespeare and Nicola Toop. There is a copy of the FAS report in the building.

The Calverleys lived, fought and died from very early times, under the family crest, a horned owl. Their coat of arms was black and silver, described heraldically as 'Sable. Within an escutcheon, an orle of owls.'

The earliest Calverleys

As told traditionally, the story of the Calverley family begins in a suitably heroic manner. According to Margerison, the line was founded, it was said, by John Le Scot, a member of the royal family of Scotland, who came south to England in 1100 as Steward of the Household to Maud, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scots, and wife of Henry I of England. John Le Scot left Maud's service and married Larderina, co-heiress with her sisters Albania and Charinthia of Alphonsus Gospatrick, Lord of Calverley and Pudsey, thus establishing his family in the place from which it would eventually take its name.

Sadly, only parts of this origin story are likely to be true: the first member of the family probably did come from north of the border, as his name implies, and he probably acquired his land in Calverley by marriage. In the 11th century, the time of Edward the Confessor, Calverley was held by Archil, and he had a son called Gospatric, so it may have been a daughter of his who became the wife of John le Scot.

Leeds in 1100 was a small but ancient and already significant settlement, first mentioned by the chronicler Bede in CE 730, as the region of Leodis, which transmuted into 'Leeds'. Bede recorded that the stone altar of a church burned down by pagans in nearby Cambodunum (present day Slack, near Huddersfield) in the 630s was reverently preserved 'in the monastery that lies in Elmete Wood' and a replacement church built in Leodis. Elmete was another ancient kingdom that stretched across the country, with Leodis its central capital. These archaic names still appear today. After the Norman Conquest in 1066, the North rose against William I in 1060-70, who launched the punitive incursions known as the 'Harrying of the North.' This harsh campaign left large areas in devastation and famine as the Normans stamped their authority on resentful natives. Leodis itself was spared, perhaps out of respect for the church, but many outlying manors were not.

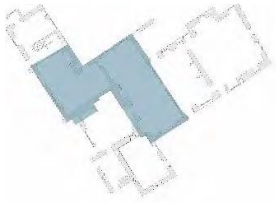
William I then granted a large fiefdom incorporating much of West Yorkshire to Ilbert de Lacy, son of Hugh de Lacy. This became the Honour of Pontefract. The de Lacys came over with William's army: Ilbert's brother Walter was awarded much of the Welsh Marches. The Domesday Book (completed in 1086) recorded Calverlei or Caverleia alongside Farsley, Pudsey and Tong with Ilbert as landowner, as he was of much of the surrounding area. In Calverley and Farsley, Ilbert held three carucates, or around 360 acres, which was counted as a manor.[2] This probably formed the start of John Le Scot's holding. The Honour of Pontefract was the tenancy-in-chief, held directly from the Crown; the Scots of Calverley held their lands from the Lord of the Honour of Pontefract. In 1166, the township formed part of the half knight's fee which a William le Scot held from Henry de Lacy I.[3]

This William (b.1140) is the first member of the family for whom there is documentary evidence. He paid a fine (tax) of 40 shillings in Morley Wapentake in 1165-6, and gave the church of Calverley to Roger, Archbishop of York, between 1154 and 1181. Nothing more is known of him and, due both to the brevity of the early documents and the profusion of Johns, Williams and Walters, it is hard to distinguish individuals among his immediate descendants. As time goes on, however, some documents do speak with a more personal voice, and sometimes from a whole series of documents an impression of the personality that drew them up begins to emerge. It is easy, for instance, to sense the lightening of a financial burden behind Sir William Scot's (c.1210-c1261) decision to lease, in 1258, a piece of land to Master William de Woodhall in return for a 'certain sum of money which the said Master William gave me for my great necessity and for the joint benefit of me and Mabel my wife.'

[2] A carucate was the notional area of land farmed in a year by a team of 8 oxen pulling a carruca plow, usually reckoned at 120 acres.
[3] Faull, M. L., and S. A. Moorhouse. 1981. *West Yorkshire, an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500* Vol II p. 335.

Sir William's son, John Scot of Calverley (1239-c1290) gained control of the mill and mill pond in Calverley, and the right to dam for it, suggesting increasing consolidation of their property.

Sir John Scot (c1263-c1336) & Sir John Scot II (1310-*c.*1361)



Builder of the early first floor hall (rights) and solar range (left), *c.* 1290 (light blue).

(This construction phase key is included at the top of each sub-chapter, to show the extent of the building in the subject's lifetime. Where the generation under discussion was responsible for significant changes, this is noted as a caption, as here.)

The next heir, Sir John Scott (c1263-c1336), comes into sharper focus and is a significant figure in the history of the site. His benevolent authority was clearly well known: it was to him, 'her dear friend and cousin,' that a neighbour, Alice de Stopham, appealed for help 'with regard to the trespass which the brothers of Baildon have made in my wood, and as to the other grievances they have done me.' She obviously expected that he would. The surviving charters show his busy accumulation of land in and around Calverley in the first twenty years of the 14th century. He added the manors of Burley and Headingley to his holdings, which included the Abbott of Kirkstall among the free tenants who owed him homage, service and rents. In 1324, he gave the manor of Headingley to Kirkstall Abbey.[4] He gave the manor of Esholt to Esholt Priory (of which his daughter Isobel was at one time Prioress). He also set about enclosing common land in Calverley, which manor he held onto. Perhaps the manor of Calverley was already seen as the chief family seat. That the family could make such grants shows that they had considerable wealth by the early 14th century.

[4] TNA SC 8/120/5964

A game of chess: life for the wealthy in the mid-14th century. *Les voeux du paon (*The Vows of the Peacock) was a popular tale in verse composed in 1312. This version from 1350 is the sort of book a family like the Calverleys might have enjoyed.

Jacques, de Longuyon, active 1290-1312. Les voeux du paon., fol. 25v. Belgium, probably Tournai, ca. 1350. The Morgan Library & Museum. MS G.24. Gift of the Trustees of the William S. Glazier Collection, 1984.

By 1316, John appears as 'lord of Calverley' in the documents. The next two generations of heirs were also called John Scot, the second of these being knighted in 1346. The Calverleys did not acquire a baronetcy – an honour that could be inherited – until 1711. Before then, their 'Sirs' came from their creation as knights bachelor, for valour in battle or other service to the king. These were awarded only for life. Many generations of Calverleys earned this honour, but their sons then had to do so in their own right.

It is not clear how or why Sir John was able to be so assertive in his locality. His long tenure of Calvelrey spanned the reigns of Edward I, whose military might and wide rule established a settled kingdom after the feuding of the barons under Henry II and John, as well as the more troubled reign of Edward II, when the barons again grew restless, and disputed the closeness of Edward's relationship with his favourite, Piers Gaveston, culminating in Edward's deposition from the throne in 1327 and his subsequent imprisonment and death under suspicious circumstances in Berkeley Castle. It was a time of land grabs and redistribution as the power plays ebbed and flowed: perhaps this John Scott was lucky, or astute, or assertive, or all three. The outcome of his increase in wealth was the decision to build a new house.

Presumably to replace an earlier dwelling on the same site or nearby, this John Scott built an imposing first-floor hall house in Calverley, in a form very similar, it is thought, to Markenfield Hall near Ripon. Radiocarbon analysis carried out by Historic England on the few identifiable timbers still embedded in the walls today, revealed with 95% probability that these timbers were felled between 1278 and1288, an exceptionally early date within a surviving building. First-floor halls were once thought to be rare and anomalous but (typically much altered) they are increasingly being recognized. The one at Calverley was built of stone and timber framing, with a solar range extending from it at right angles. The communal hall and the service rooms on the ground floor below it each had fine

stone fireplaces serviced by a massive stone flue, in themselves a sign of considerable status at the date.

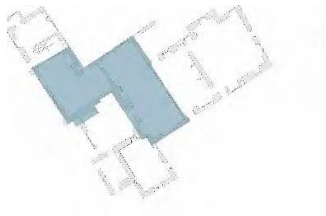
This early first-floor hall, while somewhat altered later, survives today as what was named in the 1980s the Solar Block (which indeed it later became when the present Great Hall was built). The earlier 1320s solar range was later subsumed into the northwest wing where a few of its timbers survive. The evidence for this lies only in the fabric today; no documentary references have emerged for such a building campaign at Calverley Hall.

Sir John was succeeded by his son and namesake, (let's call him Sir John II, although there were certainly earlier lords by the same name). This Sir John lived from *c.*1310- *c.*1361. He may have regretted his father's extravagance and generosity to the church. Equally, the Black Death reached Yorkshire in summer, with estimates of mortality ranging from 30-60%. Such loss of life meant depopulation and falling rents for the landed classes. The documents record a circulation of loans and debts among Sir John and his peers in the 1350s (when he owed some a total of £150 - that we know of). His heir, also John, appears to have died young (*c.*1338-*c.*1349) which could imply that he too fell victim to the plague. When Sir John II died in 1361, the estate therefore passed to a younger son. An extent of Calverley manor dated 27 January 1358 recorded 'a hall, diverse chambers, a kitchen, a barn, a stable, and ox house, a sheepfold, a kiln standing roofed with stone, a straw-thatched cattle shed and a garden planted with apple trees.[5]

[5] Faull & Moorhouse. 1981. Vol. I. p. 599.

Sir Walter Calverley (c. 1340-1404)

Married (I) Agnes Tempest, (II) Joan (fl. 1388-1401) & (III)Joan (Bigod?)



From now on, the family name of Scot fades from the documents, to be replaced de Calverley or simply Calverley. We must not forget too, in here following only those men who inherited the manor of Calverley, that in each generation multiple siblings (generally produced by more than one wife) also married and spread the Caverley name through the county and beyond. As for the village, the 1379 Poll Tax levied to pay for the Hundred Years War reveals a population in Calverley of 150-200 individuals (49 paying 1 groat or 4d in ordinary tax for themselves and their wives if they were married). Only Walter de Calverley paid 1½ marks (or 20s) for himself and his wife

From the second half of the 14th century onwards more documents survive, helping to fill out the characters and tell us more about their lives and concerns. We learn that the first of many Sir Walter Calverleys was the securely-placed head of an established landowning family, with a variety of business in hand besides agriculture: in 1363 he was enlarging a fulling mill on his land, and in 1377 he leased his woods to William de Bramley for the purpose of making charcoal to supply an iron-smelting works (wood-apples, beeches and hollies were not to be touched); the possibility of ventures in the future was mentioned. In 1389 Sir Walter was planning to build a further house elsewhere, a sure sign of prosperity: it was a condition of his taking a lease of the neighbouring manor of Eccleshill three miles southwest of Calverley that he should build a hall with a chamber adjoining it with his daughter. He was to pay for the timber, and the

building was to be completed within six years. This seemed to settle into being the seat of a younger son.

Around 1388, Sir Walter married a second time, and his wife, Dame Joan, has left a record of her own expenditure on her wardrobe, with costly fabrics and furs on the list of goods for which she was billed by one Robert Derethorne.[6] For the sum of £15 2s 2d (some £10,000 today according to the National Archives Historical Currency Converter), she bought a fillet of ermine; a gown of melledi (an unidentified material) with a hood of blue lined with green tarterin (a kind of silk); a gown of russet with a hood lined and trimmed with grey fur; 40 pearls (2¼d each, probably imitations); a gown of blue motley with a scarlet hood, the gown furred with 'purple' and the hood with minever, both trimmed with ermine; a red saddle with a bridge, for a woman, and a gilt saddle covered with red velvet, for a lady. Here was a life of refined wealth, a glimpse of the elegant lady who lived in the rooms of early Calverley Hall in the 1390s. More prosaically, she also owed Robert for a calf, a couple of red herrings and six salt fish, and a loan of six marks.

Confident of his own strength, on one occasion Sir Walter over-reached himself: in 1391, with some neighbours, he took possession of ('seized' in medieval parlance) some land belonging to the Abbot of Kirkstall. The abbot promptly took them to court, and successfully proved his right of ownership. Sir Walter and his friends were sent to prison for some months, and were also fined.

Clearly a strong and vigorous man into old age, in 1401 Sir Walter married for the third time, his new wife (another Joan) being considerably younger than himself. The lands settled on Sir Walter at this third marriage by Joan's feoffees (trustees) carried the romantic annual rent of a single red rose. A son and heir was born in 1402. In 1404 a serious illness took Sir Walter by surprise and he

[6] Add. Char. 16860, *Calverley Charters* No. 284.

hurriedly drew up a will, declaring himself to be strong in mind but weak in body, and died shortly afterwards.

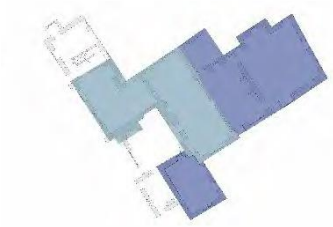
After his death Sir Walter's widow took a vow of chastity. This was a common way of making a public declaration that a woman did not intend to marry again, while remaining in the world rather than becoming a nun. Having done this, she was free to devote her life to bringing up her son, Walter II, and managing the property that he would one day inherit – and free too of the many suitors who must have had their eye on such a valuable estate. That Joan succeeded in her aims is proved by the fact that Walter II (1402-1466) took on a prosperous estate when he came of age in 1423.

Ladies of fashion in the mid-14th century. Lady Joan enjoyed similar outfits.

Sir Walter Calverley II (1402- *c*1466) & Sir William Calverley III (1428-88)

Sir Walter II married (1) Elizabeth de Markenfield & (2) Katherine (unknown surname)

Sir William III married Agnes Savile of Thornville



Addition of a new Great Hall to the earlier first-floor hall (which now became a solar, retaining the service rooms beneath) and addition of the Chapel to the southwest corner of the first-floor hall (dark blue).

The next two Calverley heirs may be bracketed together as according to the timber dating, one or both of them were responsible for the addition of the surviving Great Hall (1447-97). The Chapel's dates (1480-1505) make it most likely Sir William III's work (a fuller account of the building's evolution is given below).

The son of Sir Walter and Lady Joan, Walter II (1402-66), was married in 1415 when he was 13; his bride, chosen by his mother, was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Markenfield of Markenfield Hall. Lady Joan granted the couple property in Halliwell and the income from lands in Pudsey. When Walter II came of age in 1423, he asserted his rights over his manors of Calverley, Burley in Wharfedale, Altofts, Halliwell and Pudsey. He later married a second time, to Katherine. Walter II (eventually Sir Walter) had ten children in all, three sons and seven daughters. He too had a strong sense of family, illustrated by the care he took when it came to the marriages of his own children. One daughter became a nun at Esholt, but for the others, and for his eldest son William, the marriage settlements that he made survive, and form a remarkable series.

Property is involved in all the settlements, but in addition to this, in all but two cases, it is set down exactly which set of parents is to have 'reule and governance' of the young couple, and until what age; whether the young man is to be sent to further his education in London for a period; and in the case of

Beatrice, who was clearly very young, it was agreed that both children should remain in their own homes until she reached the age of 12, at which time they were to make their home with her father-in-law, until she was 20. If her betrothed, Tristram, died before she reached the age of 14, his brother James was to be substituted. On the other hand, in the case of William Calverley, betrothed to Agnes, daughter of Sir John Tempest, it was the bride's family who was to care for the couple, and educate them until he was 18. Their marriage settlement was set out in a complex indenture in 1442 dealing with the extensive lands that both families held. An interesting exclusion was Walter's retention to himself of one acre of land in Pudsey 'where he may get and tak thakstone at his own libertie.'[7] 'Thakstone' is stone suitable for roofing tiles, so this strongly implies that Sir Walter II had building in mind, even if it was to be his son William who is most likely to have seen the plans to completion.

Details of the marriages of Walter II's two younger sons, Thomas and Robert, do not survive, but it is clear that their father provided for them, and settled land on each of them. Thomas was given his grandfather's newly built hall at Eccleshill. Such division of the carefully amassed estates required replenishment too, and this generation's prosperity is intriguing given the civil strife of the Wars of the Roses in this first half of the 15th century, when Richard, Duke of York, contested for his own claim to the throne with the armies of the simple-minded and ineffectual king, Henry VI. We don't know which side the Calverleys took: no Calverleys appear on the muster rolls for the Battle of Towton on Palm Sunday in March 1461 just 20 miles east of Caverley. 50,000 men fought for ten hours in a snowstorm, resulting in a crushing defeat for the Lancastrians and allowing Richard, Duke of York, to take the throne.

[7] Stapleton, 1912, 245.

A medieval feast in the 15th century. Similar feasts can be imagined in the Calverleys' Great Hall.

Le Livre des conquêtes et faits d'Alexandre, Paris, musée du Petit-Palais.
Anonymous 15th-century painter, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons

Towton is supposed to have been the bloodiest battle ever fought on English soil: many more died in the stampede to flee and the rivers are said to have run red with blood for several days. Where were the Calverleys? They owed allegiance to Lancastrian John, Baron Clifford, Lord of Skipton, or Lord Dacre, both Lancastrians. Clifford was killed the day before Towton in a skirmish. Perhaps the Calverleys simply lay low. But knighthoods were not hereditary in the Middle Ages and had to be earned, typically by military service or bravery in battle, so it is not improbable that Sir Walter II and his son Sir William III 'earned their spurs' in battle in these turbulent decades. Such displays of military valour were also often a fast way to preferment.

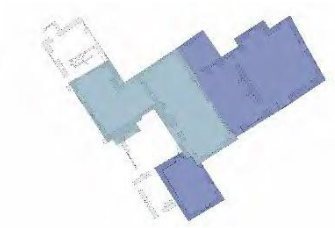
In 1453-5 Sir William III served as Escheator for Yorkshire (seizing unclaimed probate property for the Crown) which no doubt yielded perks that may have assisted in his ambitions to build. These were years when Henry VI was declared unfit and the Duke of York was made regent, another indication that the Calverleys of Calverley may have been of Yorkist persuasion.

Sir William's will survives, dated 1488. It shows him to have been a pious man, commending his soul to God's care at greater than usual length, and commissioning a new silver chalice for use at mass in both Calverley parish church and his own private Chapel, where daily payers for his soul were to be said for a year after his death, reflecting the pre-Reformation Catholic belief in the efficacy of prayers for the dead. It is possible that this refers to an earlier Chapel in the building than the one we see today, but the will could indicate that the Chapel was newly completed in 1488.

The Tudor Caverleys

Sir William Calverley IV (1445-1507)

Married Anne Savile of Thornhill.



In 1485, Richard III was defeated at the Battle of Bosworth and the Wars of the Roses finally came to an end. We now enter the Tudor age. The colour and turbulence of the times were equally reflected in the lives of the Calverleys. They become increasingly visible in the affairs of the county. In 1488 Sir William Calverley IV (1445-1507) inherited, married to Anne Savile of Thornhill. He was active in West Riding affairs, serving as commissioner of peace in 1485 and 1501 and tax collector in 1485. That he became commissioner of the array in 1495 (in charge of mustering troops for military service at the king's order) reveals that he was a man who could be trusted in martial affairs at a county level. William held Calverley of the king by knight service, still within the ancient Honour of Pontefract.

The times were still turbulent: in 1489 Yorkshire had risen against Henry VII's imposition of taxes to help Brittany defend itself against France but Scotland was once again active in the games of diplomatic chess played by France and Spain, and the Scots made regular incursions across the border. Sir William gained his knighthood as part of the force that repulsed James IV of Scotland when he attacked Norham Castle in 1497. The Earl of Surrey led a large army on this 'Expedition to Scotland' (some accounts say as many as 20,000 men). The outcome was a truce signed at Ayton Castle that would last for seven years. Surrey knighted two of his own sons at Ayton so it is likely William Calverley was knighted there in the same days. According to Margerison, lands in Pudsey

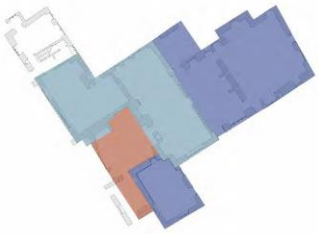
were conveyed to him at the same time. Thus the Crown ensured fidelity and well as maintaining their knights' appetite for martial expeditions. In 1500 an extent of the manor of Calverley was complied for Sir William, which listed all the annual rents and services due from his tenants.[8] He continued the family tradition of advantageous intermarriage with other influential Yorkshire families: when the lands of Alex Drax, deceased, passed into royal hands in 1502, Sir William was made one of the trustees of the lands held for Eisabel Drax, then only thirteen and daughter of Alex's heir, John. A marriage indenture had already been signed in 1499. In due course, Isabel became the wife of Sir William's son, Walter.

Sir William IV would have held forth in the newly completed Great Hall (which might even have been completed during his lifetime), he and his family also benefiting from much enlarged private quarters now that the original first-floor hall had become a Solar Block. When he died in 1507, he left his widow Anne 1,000 acres in the manor of Burley, and his 24-year old heir Walter as a wealthy young man.

[8] BL Add Charter 16989

Sir Walter Calverley IV (1483-1537)

Married (1) Eisabel Drax & (2) Anne Vavasour



Added the Parlour Block (but not yet with a Painted Chamber) and a Sacristy beside the Chapel (both orange).

Sir William's son Walter IV's career mirrors his father's in being a mixture of military and county service. He was one of four men instructed by the Privy Council to be ready with 'demiliances' (lightly armed horsemen) in 1511 for Henry VIII's 'weightie affairs.' Shaw's *Knights of England* (vol 1, 42) records Walter as being among the 'Knights dubbed at Lille the 14th Day of October' 1513. If this is correct, it places him among the army that traveled with Henry VIII to invade France earlier the same year. By now the uneasy truce between England and Scotland had broken down. Married to Henry VIII's sister Margaret, James IV believed he had his own claim to the English throne and France was prepared to back him. Henry, meanwhile, claimed that James only held his throne through homage to him; young and self-confident, the idea of a chivalrous expedition to attack France who were scheming with James also appealed to him, and indeed to the chivalric classes. The two campaigns were waged simultaneously, but the French foray with the king was undoubtedly more glamourous than cross-border incursions against the Scots. The Earl of Surrey was once again put in charge of the Scottish campaign, and was disappointed to be so. Walter Calverley might also have expected to be pulled north like his father in 1497, but he owed allegiance to Thomas, Lord Darcy, who was summoned to accompany Henry to France. It was a risky double strategy; Henry left his queen, Catherine of Aragon as regent and as yet he had no heir. As she pointed out in a letter to Henry, 'in your single person depends the whole wealth and honour of this realm.'

On 14th August 1513 the English knights won a resounding victory over the French cavalry which they ambushed at Guinegate near Thérouanne, 50 miles in from Calais, which was still in English hands. Henry's army captured nine standards and 250 men, including so many high-ranking nobles that it became known as The Battle of the Spurs. It was not a large engagement but it was an important victory for Henry. Thérouanne surrendered within a week. It was now too late in the season now to press on to Paris, but there was still time to move northeast to besiege Tournai on border of France and Burgundian Netherlands.

Henry went first to visit Margaret, Duchess of Savoy who governed the Netherlands for the Hapsburgs of Austria and kept a glittering court in Lille. The king and his gallants were delighted by their reception there. At the ensuing banquet, Henry was 'wonderfully merry', said the Milanese ambassador, and got on so well with Margaret that 'the king danced with her from the time the banquet finished until nearly day, in his shirt and without his shoes…In this he does wonders and leaps like a stag.' Margaret of Burgundy's court was elegant and sophisticated, and it was here that Walter Calverley was knighted and no doubt participated in the feasting, a glimpse of Calverley involvement beyond the confines of West Yorkshire and the squabbles in the North that chiefly characterised their military exploits.

Lord Darcy was among the nobles who accompanied Henry VIII to the famous meeting in friendship with Francois 1er near Calais in 1520, so magnificently decked that it became known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Seventy knights were also in Henry's show of power, and it is not impossible that Sir Walter again travelled back to northern France in Lord Darcy's retinue.

A detail from a 1545 painting of the meeting of Henry VIII and Francois 1er at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520. Lord Darcy was present; it is not impossible that Sir Walter Calverley was again in Darcy's retinue. The meeting took place not far from Guinegate, the site of the Battle of the Spurs after which Sir Walter was knighted. The French landscape and procession of men would have been familiar to him.
Google Art Project

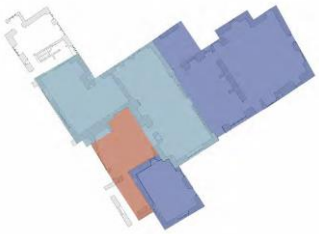
Henry VIII's armour (left, c. 1527) would have been the finest. Sir Walter perhaps wore something more like the foot solider's garniture on the right.

Sir Walter surfaces next as commissioner for the subsidies for the West Riding in 1523-4, and in October 1523 as a Captain in the retinue of Thomas, 1st Baron Darcy. Darcy's original status was not dissimilar to the Calverleys: he had earned his knighthoods in military service for Henry VII, but had gone on to enjoy a role in national government, a trusted advisor and loyal soldier with the power of an earl. His seat at Temple Newsam lies only twelve miles from Calverley, and he held the Honour of Pontefract to which the Calverleys owed allegiance. In 1523, then, Darcy led a force of 1,750 men against the invasion of John Stewart, Duke of Albany and regent of Scotland (James IV was killed at Flodden Field in 1513, the Earl of Surrey's army also emerging victorious that year). Albany was a grandson of James II of Scotland and so considered he had his own claim to the Scottish throne. It was the Scots' first invasion of England since Flodden: they besieged Wark Castle on the Tweed, but gave up after three days when the weather deteriorated.

There is evidence that Sir Walter IV's relationship with Lord Darcy went deeper than simply being his liegeman, and the family's fate was entangled with Darcy's over the next decade or so. In 1526, an indenture was drawn up between Sir Walter and Sir William Middleton for the marriage of the next Calverley heir apparent, William and Middleton's daughter Elizabeth 'if both of them consented'. Lord Darcy was among the trustees granted land to administer for the couple, indicating a closer relationship, even a friendship, between the two. The patronage of a great family was the essence of lordship in the 16th century, increasingly because of a lord's ability to secure positions or emoluments as much as for reward through tenure and service.

Sir William Calverley V (1507-72)

Married (1) Elizabeth Middleton in 1526 and (2) Elizabeth Sneyd.



Enhanced the Parlour Block (orange) with the surviving ground floor ceiling and the Painted Chamber (1547-1565)

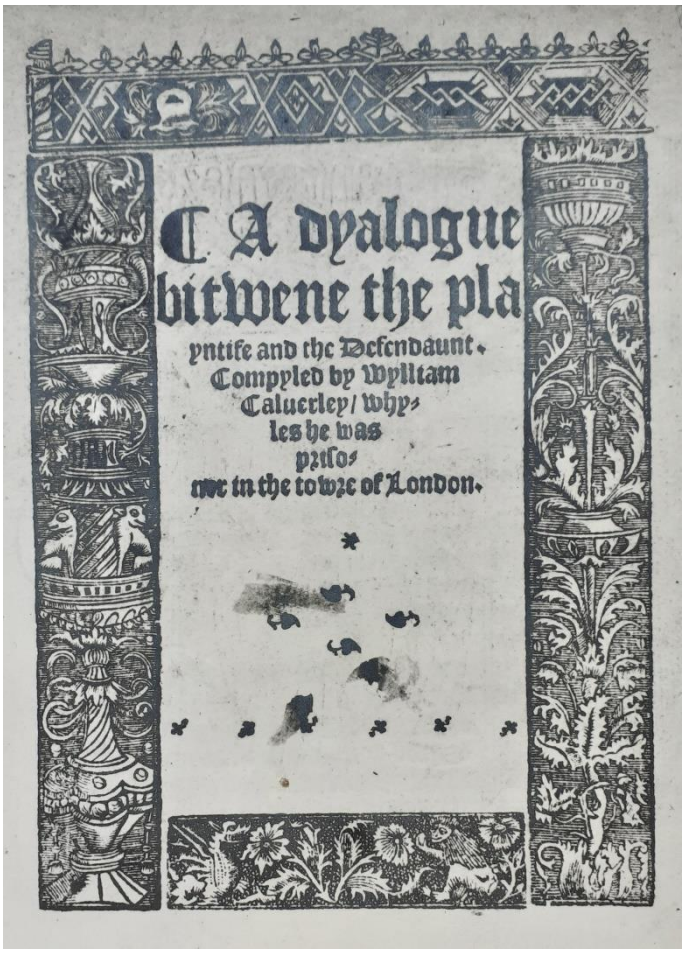
The relationship with Lord Darcy becomes of particular interest as we enter the 1530s, that turbulent decade of royal divorce and radical religious reform, when Henry VIII broke with Rome and declared himself head of a new, Protestant Church of England, and when a William Calverley was imprisoned in the Tower of London for his faith, where he wrote a pamphlet renouncing his Catholic faith and bowing to the rule of his king. While there is no definitive proof, everything points to this prisoner being Sir Walter's son William, caught up in the biggest rebellion of the Tudor age.

By now in his late 60s, Lord Darcy was pivotal in these events, a previously dilgent courtier whose loyalties were stretched to the limit. Historians still debate where his loyalties truly lay. He was supposedly loyal to his king but detested both Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell. He was conservative in his religion and opposed Henry VIII's extension of power over the church and his divorce of Katherine of Aragon. According to the reports of the Spanish ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, in 1534 Darcy was plotting with Spain for support to rouse the North against the measures to be proposed in that autumn's parliament. The king forbade Darcy to return home to Yorkshire, keeping him in London until the following year when all the measures had been passed. The measures prompted considerable popular resentment and unease about the king's break with the Catholic Church, the rumours of the implications of the new religion, the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, and the policies of the King's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell. Other more specific political, social, and

economic grievances played their part in the general discontent, as well as insubordination among the northern earls.

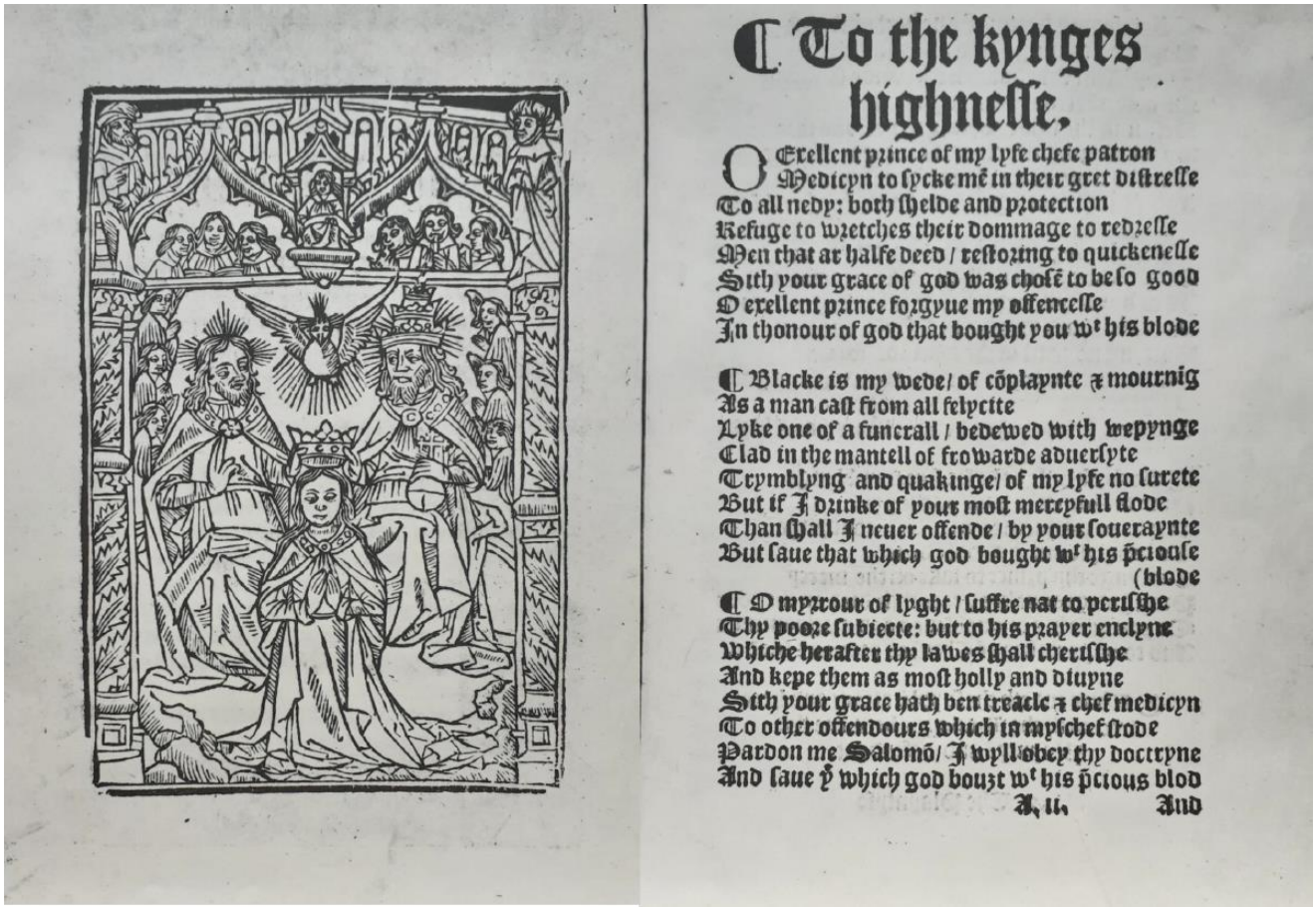
In late September 1536, this simmered over into the popular uprising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, led by lawyer Robert Aske. The rebels carried a banner of the Five Wounds of Christ to underline their moral purpose, which they claimed was less to challenge the king's authority than to rescue him from evil counsellors. What began as a revolt by the commons, initially in Lincolnshire on 1st October 1536 and then in Yorkshire, soon drew in the noble families of the Percys and Nevilles further north, discontented as Henry VIII tried to break their regional power. The relevance of this to the Calverleys is that they held their manors from the Honour of Pontefract and therefore Lord Darcy.

Also on 1st October 1536, Darcy submitted to Thomas Cormwell a list of 'the names of knights, squires, and gentlemen, and their numbers of household servants, promised to serve the King his grace in the company and at the leading of Thos. Ld. Darcy or his deputy, as he appoints upon an hour's warning'. The list contained the names of some 30 gentry and 240 followers. According to long family custom as we have seen, this muster list included the name of William Calverley esquire, who was then 29 years old. In fact, William was not compelled to join the retinue: his neighbour Sir Henry Savile did not reply to the muster call, nor did many others: the only real interest in the revolt of many Yorkshire gentlemen was simply to back the winning side. On 19th October, Darcy met Aske and the rebels at Pontefract Castle. Darcy and his men's job was to hold the castle for the king, but he later claimed that such was the strength of the rebels that he had no choice but to take the Pilgrims' oath and surrender the castle to them – rather too easily, it seemed, to those waiting anxiously for updates in London. There is a suspicion that, rather than rallying men for the king, the muster roll was Darcy assessing his own strength were he to rebel.



¶ A dyalogue bitwene the plaintife and the Defendaunt. Compyled by Wyllam Calverley/ whyles he was prisoner in the towre of London.

A Dialogue between the plaintiff and the defendant **(in today's English) written by William Calverley while imprisoned in the Tower of London. Its two illustrated pages are intriguing: the title page (left) shows the Italian Renaissance influence popular at Court and with men of the new religion; the frontispiece (below) is a more traditional, Gothic depiction of the Holy Trinity, crowning the Virgin Mary.**



¶ To the kynges highnesse.

O Excellent prince of my lyfe chefe patron
Medicyn to sycke mē in their gret distresse
To all nedy: both shelde and protection
Refuge to wretches their dommage to redresse
Men that ar halfe deed / restoring to quickenesse
Sith your grace of god was chosē to be so good
O excellent prince forgyue my offencesse
In thonour of god that bought you wt his blode

¶ Blacke is my wede/ of cōplaynte & mournig
As a man cast from all felycite
Lyke one of a funcrall / bedewed with wepynge
Clad in the mantell of frowarde aduersyte
Trymblyng and quakinge/ of my lyfe no surete
But if I drynke of your most mercyfull blode
Than shall I neuer offende / by your souerayntе
But saue that which god bought wt his pciouse (blode

¶ O myrrour of lyght / suffre nat to perisshe
Thy poore subiecte: but to his prayer enclyne
Whiche herafter thy lawes shall cherisshe
And kepe them as most holly and diuyne
Sith your grace hath ben treacle & chefe medicyn
To other offendours which in myschef stode
Pardon me Salomō/ I wyll obey thy doctryne
And saue ỹ which god bouzt wt his pcious blod

A. ii. And

The full tale of the Pilgrimage is a gripping one; it ends with the execution of the ringleaders as well as the noblemen and some of the gentry who threw in their lot with the commons, including the 70-year old Lord Darcy, who was summoned to London, where he was tried for treason, found guilty and beheaded on Tower Hill. Darcy used his examination by the Privy Council to make clear his hatred and contempt for Thomas Cromwell: 'thou that art the very original and chief causer of this rebellion and mischief and likewise art the cause of apprehension to us that be noblemen and dost earnestly travail to bring us to our end and strike off our heads'. He warned Cromwell, prophetically, that he must not count on the King's favour towards him lasting, for 'others that have been in such favour with Kings that you now enjoy have come to the same end you bring me to' and expressed his hope that even if Cromwell struck off every nobleman's head, 'yet one (i.e. the King) shall remain that shall strike off yours'.

What of William Calverley? It seems likely that Calverley was one of many gentle-born pilgrims that Thomas Cromwell had brought to London in the aftermath of the rebellion, for interrogation and trial. These springs days in 1537 must have been anxious days indeed for William in his prison cell in the Tower, not least as his father Sir Walter had died on New Year's Eve. Very few prisoner records survive for the Tower; the evidence we have for William's imprisonment is the title page of his pamphlet, which reads '*A dyalogue bitwene the playntife and the Defendaunt. Compyled by Wylliam Caluerley / whyles he was prisoner in the towre of London'*.[9] The author was well aware of the dire peril in which he found himself and the shame he had brought on his family, writing near the beginning (in modernised spelling):

> Alas, alas, to write in few words
> Longer to live I have no fantasy,

[9] A copy of the *Dyalogue* can be found in the Landmark bookcase. The only original copy is in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, but it is widely available online in transcript and facsimile (Early Books Online). See also Liedl, Janice. 1994. 'The Penitent Pilgrim: William Calverley and the Pilgrimage of Grace', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25: 585-94.

For where should I show my face abroad
Since against reason I have held champerty [colluded].
Now I dare appear in no company
For I have provided death to my body
Leaving reason and virtue that should have guided me.

Now this matter troubles my memory [mind]
Better to die than to live in shame,
For my offences thus stand I in jeopardy
For my mortal body; gone is my name
Youth and frailness was much to blame,
Wherefor better it were from this life to sever
Than with slanderous fame to live forever.

This *Dyalogue* is the first time we hear the direct voice of a member of the Calverley family. It is written in blank verse, a conversation between a plaintiff (William), imprisoned and bewailing his misfortune, and a ghostly defendant who visits him in his cell (the voice of reason or conscience) who uses logic and reason to prove that the plaintiff's actions were misguided, and offering him, through obedience to the king, a way out of his plight. The dialogue was a popular literary device at the time, the format based on Boethius's popular *Consolations of Philosophy* (523 CE). It was used by Sir Thomas More when he was similarly imprisoned in the Tower for his faith before his own execution in 1535. That William also adopts this format, and that he could versify at such length and in such refined literary style, reveals that he was educated to a high standard and familiar with such courtly discourse.

His *Dyalogue* methodically considers the motivations of the Pilgrims, only to demolish each one through the learned arguments of the defendant. In the process, we learn something about his own concerns. He complains of 'ryche marchauntes ... [raised] to Knighthod', of land enclosures, and that Fortune (merit?) is given too much sway, unbalancing the traditional social order - the conventional complaint of the ancient families against the humble birth of some of Henry's counsellors. The defendant offers him a way out: by accepting her rule and God's mercy, the plaintiff can begin a new and righteous path, and

through a sincere petition to the king, perhaps even be set free. The plaintiff regrets his easy fall into disobedience, blaming his youth, his lack of 'self governance' and the honeyed words of those who led him astray. Finally, he admits his mistake in upholding the old religion of Rome ('plain idolatory'). He accepts that the there was no higher authority on this earth than the secular power of his prince and encourages others to follow his example:

Unto the king with faithful obeisance
Towards his grace show thy humility
Against him and his; do not dither
But fight for him in every country
Desire to see him in joy and felicity
Keep his precepts as your lord and sovereign
Ever as pleasure, and think them no pain.

Your obeisance plainly at a word:
By god you are commanded to owe in sovereignty
To your king, your sovereign and your lord
In pain of deadly sin, so he commands you
Both to him and such as he agrees
Of his people to take the governance,
To follow them with their good ordinance.

The pamphlet has no date but is believed to have been published in the mid-1530s. It was printed by the authorities, 'cum privilegio regali' (with royal privilege). Such penitent tracts and sermons by citizens were a key part of Thomas Cromwell's response to unrest and rebellion. Many were in fact the work of his own sophisticated administrators[10], but William Calverley's *Dyalogue* appears to be the real thing, the invaluable survival of a piece of Henrician propaganda that reveals to us a Pilgrim on his personal voyage from rebellion to penitence. Whether through a purchased pardon or through his literary efforts, William was released from the Tower by 1537, when he was allowed to freely inherit his father's estate. From now on, William Calverley V became a pillar of the Tudor regime in Yorkshire.

[10] Cromwell commissioned Richard Morison, an English humanist fresh from the University of Padua, to write two other responses to the Pilgrimage, *A Lamentation in which is shewed what ruin cometh of seditious rebellyon* and *A remedy for sedition*. Both similarly argue for absolute obedience by the misguided rebels.

In 1538, it seems he was in dispute with his stepmother Dame Anne about her marriage jointure after his father's death, which she sought to enjoy 'withowte interupcons or gainsaying of the said Wm Calverley.'[11] In 1542, he lent £50 to the king, who promised to repay 'our truly and welbiloved Willm Calvelay esquire'. England was by now allied with Spain, and an English force was required in support of the Spanish in defence of the Low Countries. The ageing king was also seeking military adventure of his own against the French and, from 1543, the Scots.

William Calverley saw action again in the so-called Wars of Rough Wooing in the 1540s. James V of Scotland died in December 1542 and a year later, under the influence of France, Scotland broke off the marriage alliance between Henry's son Edward and James V's baby daughter, the future Mary Queen of Scots. Ageing, ailing and obstinate, Henry VIII found this humiliation too much to bear and a royal army was assembled to invade. The Earl of Hertford was given command of a force that numbered some 12,000 men. The instructions of the Privy Council to Hertford in 1544 set the scene for the brutality of the ensuing campaigns: 'Put all to fire and sword, burn Edinburgh town…and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye may conveniently, do your best to beat the castle, sack Holyrood House and sack Leith and burn and subvert it and all the rest, putting man, woman and child to fire and sword…'

In September 1545, a second large army was despatched, and in this one, William Calverley V was definitely involved, as he is listed as one of the many knighted on 23rd September 1545 by the Earl of Hertford, 'the King's Lieutenant, being then encamped by our Lady Church by Norham Castle on his coming home after he had been in Scotland 15 days'.[12] Warfare was again intense: raiding parties varied from 100 to 2000 men, their object to pillage and burn

[11] Brotherton Library YAS DD12/I/4/8 1538
[12] Shaw, Vol. p. 57.

crops and houses, take prisoners, kill and rob. An unspecified 'Cauarley' was also involved in the notorious Battle of Pinkie near Musselburgh on 10th September 1547, in the dying days of Henry VIII's reign. This was a desperately brutal battle, with cruel slaughter by both sides and terrible exactions afterwards by the English. At least two Darcys were again involved, and both were wounded. At the height of the battle, 'Hereat further were Cauarley the standard bearer of the men of arms, and Clement Paston a pēnsioner,[13] thrust each of them into the leg with pykes.'[14] In 1548, Sir William was again included in the muster of the English Army to serve in Scotland, being required to supply 100 men, no small force. Sir William was now entering his 40s, and after this last campaign, he settled down to serve his monarch more peaceably.

Edward VI was now on the throne, advised by Lord Protector Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. The regime continued sternly Protestant in religion and it is a measure of how completely Sir William had set aside the Catholicism of his youth that in November 1548, he was appointed Sheriff of Yorkshire. No doubt his valour in Scotland helped his name stand out when this year's list was 'pricked out' by the king in council, according to his advisers' recommendations. The shrievalty was an ancient role, a mark of honour and status, but also something of a chore, bound to land on any gentleman of any status at some point (even Yorkshire arch-administrator Sir Thomas Gargrave complained of the burden when asked to serve a third time). Nevertheless, it was a mark of pre-eminence in the county, a crucial part of civic and county administration, and higher office than we are aware of for any previous Calverley. The sheriff was the king's representative in the county for his year of office (a second sheriff took care of the City of York). There was an investiture ceremony in London and an oath of office requiring the sheriff to 'do to the king's profit in all things that belong to you to do by way of your office' His responsibilities included issuing

[13] Of Oxnead Hall in Norfolk. 'Pensioner' means that Paston was paid a retainer for his military service.
[14] Patten, *The Expedition into Scotland* (1548).

and executing the king's written commands, holding monthly county courts, managing the county prisons, arresting and hanging convicted felons, collecting and accounting for royal revenue, seizing forfeited property, mustering soldiers and making proclamations. City and county sheriffs had separate jurisdictions; the county sheriff had York Castle as his headquarters and gaol, so Sir William no doubt spent much time there, and similarly at King's Manor in York, the administrative centre of the Council of the North. Sheriffs were inevitably burdened with expenses and while there were no doubt opportunities for perks, many tried to avoid the office at all costs. Nevertheless, for one year the holder stood first among equals in his locale.

It is very tempting to associate Sir William's term of office, 1549-50, with the execution of the Painted Chamber, which timber dating places as between 1547 and 1565 and is stylistically consistent with these dates. Its configuration as a very private chamber – only accessible internally from the first floor and with its own private access to the Chapel – and the richness of the decoration indicate that this was an inner sanctum, whether business room, parlour, bedroom or all three. It was a place to bring your equally cultivated friends and family. The iconography, with its Tudor roses and roundels of human portraits and the heads of heraldic beasts, all suggest a possible ceremonial function.

Sir William's term of office as sheriff prompted a long running dispute over herbage (rights to graze) at York Castle, after Edward VI appointed William Tyndale as Keeper of the gaol there. Sir William passed straight from his role as sheriff to commissioner of taxes for the West Riding. He had seventeen children with his two wives, and 18th January 1569, a detailed indenture (a legal contract) was drawn up with his eldest son Walter V concerning the eventual inheritance of the Calverley estate.[15] His wife Dame Elizabeth was to have a settlement during her lifetime, so too would Walter's wife Anne (née Danby). After all their deaths, the manors of Burley and Calverley were to descend to Walter and

[15] TNA C 142/248/17 Inquisition post-mortem for William Calverley (1596-7)

Anne's son and heir, William, then still a teenager. There is a hint in this indenture that Sir William and his wife were then resident five miles at Burley, mentioned first and 'belonging to and in the possession of' Sir William' (this manor house at Burley does not survive). Walter was already in possession of part of the estate, enjoying annual rents of 47s from land in Calverley and Woodhall; perhaps he had taken over Calverley Hall by now. Sir William had already separately allocated 106 acres and tenements with scrupulous fairness to each of his six younger sons, three of them getting lands specified as lying in Calverley. One of these sons, another William, who married the heiress of neighbouring Eccleshill (its hall built by the very first Sir Walter Calverley in the 1390s), we will meet again as a great-uncle, still intimately involved with family affairs. The indenture is typical of the way the Calverleys, collaborating with like-minded neighbours through intermarriage, carefully stewarded their lands for future generations through the centuries.

There had been three changes of monarch since Sir William's campaigning days in the 1540s. Tragic Lady Jane Grey reigned for nine days after Edward's death in 1553; Mary I reigned 1553-8, reinstating Catholicism and exacting the fiercest penalties from those who clung to the new Protestantism, and in 1588 Elizabeth I came to throne, still Protestant but famously said to have declined to 'make windows into men's souls'. The Calverleys had reached a position of considerable prosperity and influence, building up large estates, both in Yorkshire and neighbouring counties; their children continued to marry well among the other local families – Saviles, Draxes, Vasavours, Middletons - and there seemed to be nothing to prevent them rising still further. However, over the next three generations, all this would unravel in religious dissent and mental instability.

In 1535, Sir William's heir Walter V had married his cousin Anne Danby.[16] She was the daughter of Sir Christopher Danby MP, JP, of neighbouring Farnley, a

[16] Lambeth palace FI / Vv f.23, dispensation for marriage, 4th degree of consanguinity.

known figure in the mid-century who, like Sir William, had conformed and done well under Henry VIII. As we shall see, Walter and Anne became known Catholics, called recusants. There is no explanation for why they turned to recusancy other than religious faith. Catholics were barred from holding public office and were heavily fined. Under Elizabeth, to be Catholic was to be considered akin to being a terrorist: disaffected English Catholics were plotting to replace Protestant Elizabeth with Catholic Mary Queen of Scots, while Catholic Spain also considered they had a right to the throne. Plots abounded, externally as well as internally, and the attempted invasion by the Spanish Armada in 1588 showed that such threats were to be taken seriously.

The country was by no means settled: resentments remained and these simmered over in 1569-70 in the Rising of the North, perhaps the most serious rebellion of the Tudor era. The rebellion was led by Catholic earls Thomas Percy and Charles Neville, who gathered an army of about 4,600 men, captured Durham and pressed on as far as Clifford More near Wetherby. Anne's brother was among the rebels. Loyal administrator and MP Sir Thomas Gargrave of Wakefield and Nostell Priory (about 25 miles southeast of Calverley) reported to Elizabeth's Secretary of State, Sir William Cecil, that 'in the heat of the trouble…Christopher Danby and others of the rebels with 200 horsemen came to Leeds' where they attempted to force passage across a bridge over the River Aire, thwarted by Gargrave and others.[17]

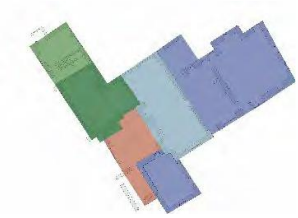
It is not known whether Sir Christopher's brother-in-law Walter Calverley was among this rebel band, but the Rising is an indication that the North was by no means settled. It left an aftermath too: Gargrave, grumbling at his third term as sheriff, reported to London in January 1570 that 'Here hath been so many great spoils and destruction in the country [=county] of late of the goods and cattles

[17] Gargrave to Cecil 30 Oct 1570, in Cartwright, James Joel. 1872. *Chapters in the history of Yorkshire: original letters papers [&c.] illustrating the state of that county in the reigns of Elizabeth, James i., and Charles i.* p. 52.

[chattels?] of the Rebels, and also of many true subjects, that the store in these parts will not be had again a good time, and I think the scarcity will be felt this two or three years both here and elsewhere.'[18] Times must have been hard at Calverley too, for in 1571 Walter sold land worth £60 in Brodsworth.[19] Elderly Sir William V, remembering the lessons of his youth, must have looked on with trepidation in his declining years, before his death in 1572.

Walter Calverley VI (c.1527-*c.*1596) & William Calverley VII (1556-1596)

Walter married Anne Danby in 1555. His son and heir William married Katherine Thornholme.



Added the northwest wing or Lodging Block (green).

The lives of the next two generations were so entwined that they need to be addressed together. As above, the times were troubled for Walter Calverley V, when he inherited the Calverley estate in his mid 40s. He was still wealthy and it was probably he who made the last addition to the Old Hall, the northwest wing now known as the Lodging Block (today's community space). Its construction has been dated to between 1566 and 1591, and it was most likely built in the 1570s. However, the family's religious beliefs became increasingly problematic. Walter's wife, Anne Danby was particularly devout and came from a family of known recusants. The portrait we have of her done in 1571 when she was 37 shows an elegant, richly dressed woman. Walter was also open about his Catholicism, at least initially, and his son William Calverley VI dangerously so.

[18] Ibid, p.45.
[19] BL Add Charter 17038

The degree of surveillance and infiltration of such circles in the region by Sir Francis Walsingham's spies for Elizabeth was intense. In September 1572, Sir Thomas Gargrave, the eyes and ears of the Elizabethan regime in Yorkshire, wrote from his seat at Nostell Priory to Cecil, now Lord Burleigh, who had asked him for a list of 'meet [=suitable] persons to be counsellors in these parts, either for their credit and power or for the knowledge in the law.'[20] Gargrave annotated his list of 'the Principal gentlemen in Yorkshire' according to four categories of loyalty: Protestant; doubtful or neutral; mean or lesser evil and 'the worst sort' (that is to say openly Catholic). The picture for the West Riding was not encouraging: of 31 names, just 11 were loyal Protestants. 12 were doubtful or neutral, 5 of lesser evil and 3 of the worst sort, Walter Calverley among them. Several Danby men were in the same category in the North Riding. Such known dissension carried with it financial penalties; annual fines were imposed on recusants, and from 1571 several respites from fines were issued for Walter. In fact, the regime was not particularly harsh. All it required was outward conformity: attendance at church and oaths of allegiance. This, it seems, Walter was unwilling to give. He was in trouble with the Exchequer in 1576 over payment of the grain tithes for Otley, with the treat of a £50 fine if he failed to present himself before barons of the exchequer in Westminster in May.

Yet is seems it was his wife Anne who was particularly defiant. In 1577, the Privy Council asked the Archbishop of York for another list of known recusants in his diocese, those 'detected…for their disobediences in refusing the church and public prayer &c, and do not conform themselves.'[21] The majority are women, and the only Calverley among the 165 names is 'Anne Calverley, wife of Walter Calverley Esquire, of Calverley parish', a strong woman, it seems, who held her own opinions. Others are listed as couples, but Anne appears by herself, suggesting perhaps some outward show of conformity by Walter. He certainly

[20] Cartwright, p. 46.
[21] Ibid, p.149.

paid bonds for his own good behaviour, a way of encouraging the docility of recusant gentlemen in the period.[22]

[22] Brotherton Library DD12/I/30/3.

A set of family portraits seem to have been taken in 1571, of which two survive at Wallington Hall. Both subjects are very richly dressed, illustrating the family's wealth. Anne Danby (top), painted when she was 37, was Walter Calverley's wife and a devout Catholic. Their son and heir, William (below) was 14 when his portrait was done. In later life, he was subject to 'frenetick melancholie' and was several times in trouble with the authorities for his unguarded expression of Catholic fervour.

This impression is further reinforced in what we know of Walter's eldest son and heir, William VI, who was born in 1556 and married Katherine Thornholm, the daughter of Sir John Thornholm. William was an intemperate man who was considered mentally unsound, and his treatment by the Privy Council is an indication that Tudor government could be merciful and enlightened as well as repressive. William, also recusant, was completely unguarded in his expressions of support for the Catholic religion. In 1589, he was imprisoned in Marshalsea prison in Southwark for recusancy, but was released 'in respect of some lunacy and weakness of brain whereunto he is subject' into the care of his father. Walter was required to pay another bond for William's good behaviour.[23]

A letter to the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes in York in 1590 throws further light on William's circumstances. His wife was pregnant and, at the prompting of Walter Calverley, the privy councillors were concerned for the couple's wellbeing:

> Whereas by the complaint of Walter Calverley of that county we are informed that his son William Calverley, whom (sic) hath heretofore been committed by us for his disorderly behaviour towards us, growing of an extraordinary melancholic frenzy (as is supposed and thereby very apt upon like cause to commit the like as at other time before) is now by reason you have cited (his wife as we are informed, being great with child) to appear before you shortly after she shall be delivered, for fear she should miscarry or [if he] be by you imprisoned [he] become extreme solitary, and… return to his former frenzy. We have thought good, in commiseration of the poor man's estate, to require you to permit the said Caverley's wife to remain quietly at home with her said husband, of whom, nevertheless, you may take good caution for her [his?] good behaviour, without her further molestation, which we doubt not you will see performed accordingly.[24]

However, the pressure on the family was growing. On 8th July 1590, a royal commission was issued to seize Walter's land for the Crown because he was a recusant. Two thirds were to be leased to Nicholas Maunsell and the rest

[23] Lambeth MS 3470 Letter from the Privy Council to Whitgift 9 June 1589; CM IV/130 Bond to Walter Calverley for the good behaviour of his son.
[24] Brotherton PC 2/17, f. 707.

retained for the benefit of the Crown.[25] (This commission may possibly confuse Walter with William here, in the light of the future disposition of Walter's estate below.) Yet still William refused – or was unable – to be of good behaviour. On 25th February 1595/6 William was again under discussion by the Privy Council for 'very undutiful and disloyal speeches…But… the same persons that testify against him did also affirm that he was Lunatick at the time of uttering those speeches.' Once again bonds for William's good behaviour were required and he was ordered 'not to repair to the Court at any time without special license.' On this basis he was to be released.[26] This letter is of additional interest in showing that the Calverleys did indeed frequent her majesty's Court.

The family then took action themselves to protect their patrimony from further confiscation. On 20th August 1593, a deed of gift was signed at Calverley Hall by Walter V, transferring the ownership of Walter's estate to half a dozen or so trustees including William Calverley of Eccleshill, Ralph Beeston John Calverley, Christopher Thackeray and Thomas Calverley. This deed of gift had the effect of by-passing the laws against the inheritance of land by Catholics. As both a recusant and 'lunatic', William was barred from inheriting Calverley after his father's death, unless he renounced his Catholicism and conformed to the Church of England. We can imagine the solemn gathering of these men and the lawyer, Thomas Taylor of Bradford, who wrote up the deed.

It seems that Walter was now conforming his religion: whereas as William is described as 'recusant' throughout, Walter's right to enact the deed of gift was not challenged. The deed of gift ensured that even if William remained a recusant, the family estate could pass via the trustees to his male children, assuming they conformed to the Church of England. If William died before his father, the gift to the trustees would be void and the property pass direct to William's heir. Without the deed of gift, a measure of last resort, the property

[25] Brotherton DD12/I/4/18
[26] TNA, PC 2/21.

would have reverted to the Crown. The actual deed of gift has yet to come to light, but is known about because it is referred to in a posthumous enquiry into William's possessions, held in November 1596 after Walter and William had both died in quick succession.

Walter died in late February 1596[27]. William died, still a recusant, on 2nd October 1596. His eldest son, Walter VII, was still a minor. It became essential to prove not only that William VI had had the right to inherit his recusant father's estate, but also that the trustees of the deed of gift now had the right to pass it to William's eldest son. The standard inquisition post-mortem on William carried out in 1597 focussed on the 1569 indenture wisely made by his grandfather, Sir William V, the sheriff.[28]

However, in November 1596, just a month after William's death, detailed enquiry was also made in the light of the deed of gift into the minutiae of the Calverley family's behaviour, and their property and possessions and what had happened to them between the February and November.[29] The witness called was one of the trustees of the deed of gift, 60-year-old William Calverley of Eccleshill. It will be remembered from above that this William of Eccleshill was a younger son of Sir William the sheriff, Walter's brother and so William the recusant's uncle. William of Eccleshill was interviewed on 10th November 1596 by a Baron of the Exchequer, asked no fewer than 57 questions, ranging from how long he had known the late William VI, to the value of his property and the church-going habits of his family.

Such was the scrutiny of the authorities that they probed even about the harvest and cattle born in the six months between Walter and William's death. William of Eccleshill's answers also reveal something of life at Calverley Hall: that there

[27] Walter's death was described as 'about the latter end of February last past' in November 1596 in the Exchequer's enquiry.
[28] TNA , C 142/248/17.
[29] TNA, E 133/8/1276.

were three clocks (rare and valuable items at the time) and numerous books, including a bible and a 'dicktionary' – but William of Eccleshill had not seen or heard read any 'masse book' or 'image', nor heard a mass at either Calverley or Burley (he himself, he said, had 'abhorred' the Catholic faith for the past 36 years). The estate grew 'everie sort of grain' (wheat, rye, barley) and grazed sheep, cattle and horses. William's wife Katherine Thornholme was confirmed as attending the parish church at least since her husband's death; whether before, William of Eccleshill could not say. In fact, she too had been fined for recusancy in the past. Katherine now took her four eldest children 'as are able to discern' with her to church, the rest being infants, and to William's knowledge, at least two had been baptised there. Walter VI, recusant William's fourteen-year-old son and heir and the author of terrible deeds ten years later, 'doth come to church verily orderly to hear divine service and is very well affected in religion.'

Katherine and her children seem in some need. William the recusant and his own family had been maintained by his father Walter, with William only taking a third of his wife's settlement worth just 20s a year. He was thought to have owned only 'his apparel and books' in his own right, not least after the seizure of his lands in 1590. William of Eccleshill justified the failure to yield the milk and grains produced on the estate that summer of 1596 to the commissioners on the grounds that they were used solely for the widow and her family's relief. In addition, William the recusant died owing the Crown £880 in feudal rents, perhaps having inherited these from his father.[30] The estate had clearly been brought to a desperate state through Anne Danby and her 'lunatic' son William's failure to conform to the times, a swift fall in the space of a generation. Despite the obsessive and bullying tone of the Exchequer's enquiries into local affairs, on 1st April 1597 Letters Patent on behalf of the Crown granted Katherine Thornholme Calverley and William Calverley of Eccleshill the lease of the Calverley family's property until Walter VI came of age, for a rent of £38 7s 11d a year.

[30] Brotherton, DD12/I/4/1

At this stage, the property was as follows:

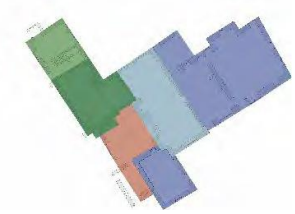
The manor of Calverley with all appurtenances, meadow, and pasture land for £36 per year.
The manor of Burley with the appurtenances, meadow, and pasture land for £30 per year.
Four messuages of land in Colne for 40s per year.
Eccleshill Park for 40s per year.
Rents from Pudsey for 47s per year.
Rents from Steede for 2s 11d per year.
'All which premisses amount in the whole to the sum of lxxiiiil ixs xid [£74 9s 11d] being in the hands and possession of our said sovereign Lady by the minority of Walter Calverley her highness's ward, son and next heir of the said William Calverley esquire, deceased'.

Yet how little these sources reveal of the emotions that must have swirled around these events, the family conferences held at Calverley and Burley, the worry and fear, and perhaps the attempts to dissuade William the recusant from his chosen path. At the least, the family must now have heaved a collective sigh of relief, especially Katherine, and settled down to wait for Walter VI to come of age. However, everything was about to unravel in an unthinkable way.

The Seventeenth Century: Family Troubles

Walter Calverley VI (1578-1605)

Married Philippa Brooke in 1599.



We now enter a dark chapter in Calverley Old Hall's history culminating in the tragic murders of his young sons by the next Caverley. A pamphlet and at least two plays were also written and published about this real-life Jacobean tragedy: *A Yorkshire Tradegy* [sic], a short, dark piece that when first published in 1608 appeared under Shakespeare's name but is now attributed to Thomas Middleton; and a gentler re-telling, *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*, by George Wilkins.[31] Blood curdling tragedies were a defining genre of Jacobean drama and audiences no doubt thrilled to the knowledge that this particular plot was based on real life events. Calverley local historian Edward Garnett also published a very useful book, *The story of the Calverley murders* in 1991, to which this present account adds further.

It is impossible now to know where the murders and attempted murder took place in the building: the pamphlet refers to one in 'a gallery' and the second in adjoining room that had a fireplace and stairs – but stairs and rooms have come and gone throughout the Hall complex and no clear answer has emerged. Today's mezzanine gallery overlooking the Great Hall did not exist in its current

[31] The main sources for the account that follows are letters in the Cecil archive at Hatfield House; a pamphlet rushed out in the months after the murders, *Two most vnnaturall and bloodie murthers: the one by Maister Cauerley, a Yorkeshire gentleman, practised vpon his wife, and committed vppon his two children, the three and twentie of Aprill* (1605. London), and Walter's own confession, transcribed in Whittaker, 1816.

form in the past; if the Chapel gallery is meant, the painted chamber had no stairs in the 16th century.

Walter Calverley VI was only seventeen when his father died and, as a landed youth, this meant that he became a ward of court. The Crown kept fierce control of all wardships through the Master of the Court of Wards & Liveries, enabling him to control the marriage alliances and income of heirs who were yet to come of age at twenty-one. In 1597, the Master of Wards was Elizabeth I's elderly chief minister William Cecil, Lord Burghley; after his death on 4 August 1598, the post passed to his son Robert Cecil. In March 1597, Walter was initially confirmed as the ward of his mother Katherine and his paternal great-uncle, William Calverley of Eccleshill. However, in June 1598, and at the petition of his mother Katherine, Walter's wardship was passed from his mother and great-uncle to the widow of Sir Thomas Gargrave's son, Lady Jane Gargrave of Nostell Abbey, and her stepson Sir Richard Gargrave (1575-1638).

Not least given Sir Thomas's long career, at this stage the Wargraves were a good Yorkshire family (although their line too would fail in this generation, Sir Richard's dissolute life ending alone and solitary in 1638, Nostell Priory sold to pay his debts). There was nothing unusual in this wardship arrangement; it was a typical way of lining up a marriage between two local dynasties and Lady Gargrave had several daughters. Walter was extremely eligible, with extensive lands and an income of £700-800 a year (over £100,000 a year in today's terms). He apparently formed a relationship with one of these daughters that some sources imply led to an engagement, but they were not allowed to marry by Sir Richard Gargrave until Walter came of age.

Meanwhile, Walter went to London. By May 1599, he had fallen in love with Philippa Brooke, cousin by marriage of Robert Cecil himself, newly appointed Master of Wards. It seems Philippa was only fifteen (she was recorded as 28

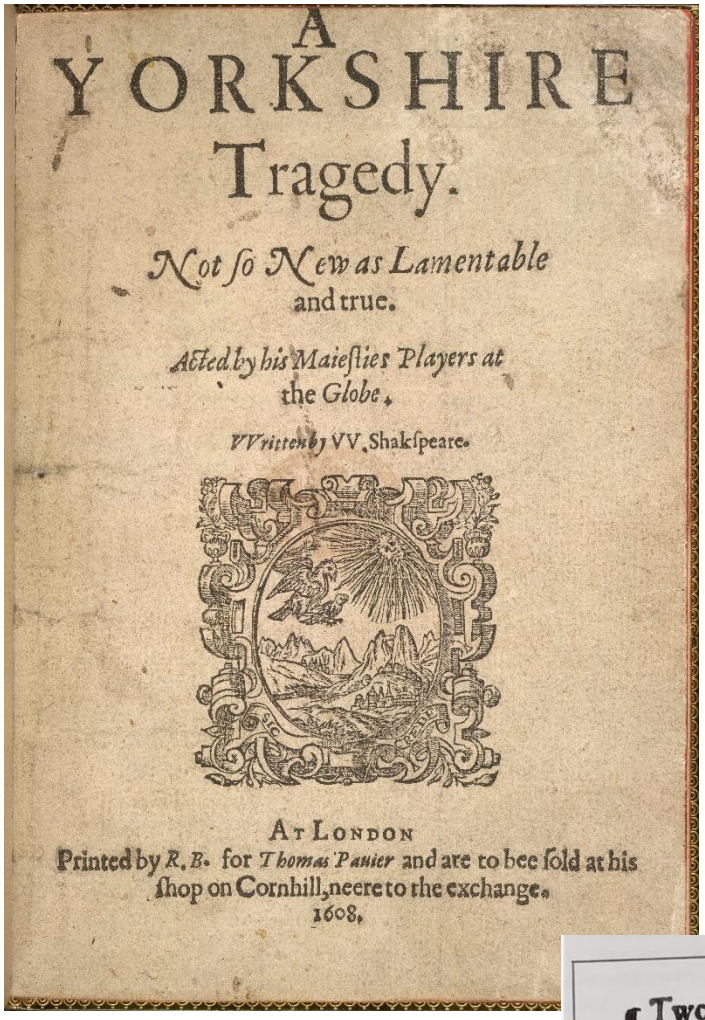
when she died in 1613).[32] Her mother was Lady Anne Cobham, widow of Sir Henry Brooke (d. 1592), diplomat and Privy Councillor and a brother of the late Lord Brooke, 10th Baron Cobham (1527-1597) of Cobham Hall in Kent (the same estate where, 200 years later, a different creation of the Cobham earldom built Cobham Dairy, also restored by Landmark). Lord Brooke had been another powerful Elizabethan courtier, and his daughter was Robert Cecil's wife.

Lady Anne was therefore well-placed to lobby Cecil as Master of Wards for the couple, and wrote to him in May 1599:

> Good Sir. May it please you to understand that there is a marriage intended between my daughter Philippe and Mr Coverley of Coverley [Caleverley of Calverley] and for that I am loath to deal in so weighty a cause without my [11th] Lord Cobham's [Anne's nephew] advice and yours therein…
>
> Now I beseech you good Sir (whom hath been always a father to my children) that you will in this so deal with Mr Lyly that if you shall find it fit, it may be brought to pass (which gentleman is kin to Mr Lyly's wife who is the first well-wisher of this match towards my Daughter). I understand by Mr Lyly that he [Calverley] is in wardship till April next to the Lady Gargrave of Yorkshire who hath tendered him unto her daughter and is willing to give £1,500 in marriage with her. But it hath pleased God that he hath taken some liking of my daughter that he is content to take her with a lesser portion. Thus referring this cause to my Lord Cobham and your wise consideration I humbly take my leave beseeching God to increase you with much Honor. From Durham house this xxxth of May 99.[33]

'Mr Lyly' is most likely John Lyly, a well-known author at the time, hovering on the fringes of the Court. He and his wife Beatrice, 'the first well-wisher of this match' and Walter's relation, were well-placed to vouch for Walter and extricate him from his Gargrave engagement, as both hailed from Yorkshire themselves.

[32] Wikitree, the genealogists' website.
[33] Cit. Cawley & Gaines, p. 9. Transcribed from the Cecil papers.



A
YORKSHIRE
Tragedy.

Not ſo New as Lamentable
and true.

Acted by his Maieſties Players at
the Globe.

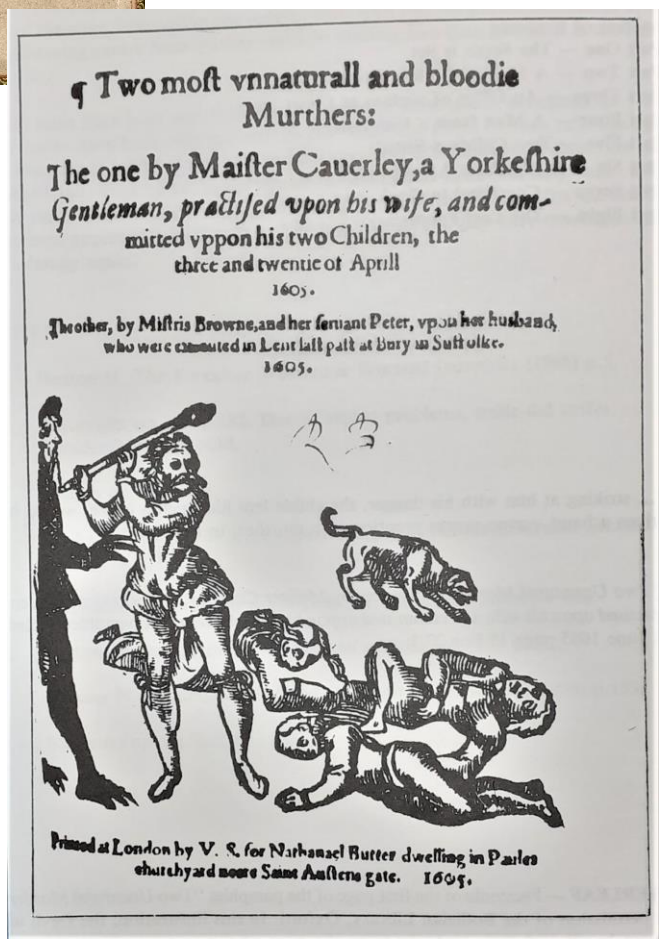
VVritten by VV. Shakſpeare.

AT LONDON
Printed by *R. B.* for *Thomas Pauier* and are to bee ſold at his
ſhop on Cornhill, neere to the exchange.
1608.

Two literary sources for the Calverley murders. The play *A Yorkshire Tragedy* was first published under Shakespeare's name but is now attributed to playwright Thomas Middleton.

The anonymous pamphlet (below) is typical of such publications at the time, and gives a detailed but a lurid and sensationalized account of the tragic events.

The 17th century literary sources cast light on the dreadful events but must treated with caution as reliable evidence as each were written for different purposes and intent.



¶ Two moſt vnnaturall and bloodie
Murthers:

The one by Maiſter Cauerley, a Yorkeſhire
Gentleman, practiſed vpon his wife, and com-
mitted vppon his two Children, the
three and twentie of Aprill
1605.

The other, by Miſtris Browne, and her ſeruant Peter, vpon her husband,
who were executed in Lent laſt paſt at Bury in Suffolke.
1605.

Printed at London by V. S. for Nathaniel Butter dwelling in Paules
church yard neere Saint Auſtens gate. 1605.

Arguably, something does not quite ring true about this new proposed match. The letter reads as if Lady Cobham has not met Walter. She seems surprisingly eager to marry her daughter off to this unknown youth from Yorkshire. A cousin of Robert Cecil and a great niece of the great Lord Brooke was in theory something of a catch. Cecil presumably gave his consent, for during that summer of 1599, Walter and Philippa were married, even though he had not yet come of age and was therefore still a ward of court. It was a hasty marriage, in theory just the kind that wardships were supposed to prevent and it is puzzling that the pair were allowed to go ahead. One theory is that Cecil and the Brookes were seeking to extend their own influence in the troublesome North.

In April 1600, Walter turned 21 and so came of age. Things had already begun to go wrong. Lady Anne again wrote to Cecil, forwarding a petition on behalf of Walter, still referring to him obliquely as 'one Mr Calverley' but now describing him as 'an unstayed young man' (meaning unrestrained, headstrong). Walter had been living extravagantly in expectation of coming of age. Almost immediately upon turning 21, he was thrown into the Fleete debtors' prison, where he fell gravely ill of 'an extreme burning ague'. Lady Anne was worried: because the couple had married before Walter came of age, he had been unable to settle anything on his wife and this made Lady Anne anxious for the £1,000 of her daughter Philippa's dowry, £500 of which she had had to borrow. If Walter died, Lady Anne was anxious that Philippa be given wardship of Walter's younger brother, the next in line to inherit the Calverley estates. Lady Anne was therefore seeking to cement her own family's claim to the Calverley estates, Philippa otherwise left penniless and Lady Anne deeply in debt.

Walter recovered from his 'extreme burning ague' in summer 1600 and was released from prison. Superficially, things calmed down. The young couple now appear to have returned to Calverley. A first child, William, was born the following spring, presumably relieving Lady Cobham's anxiety for her and her daughter's financial security. Walter executed leases as a lord of the manor

should, minor transactions to local yeomen. Then in early spring 1601, he began to sell significant tracts of land and property. One such transaction for 'lands in Calverley' was to Sir John Savile, the JP who would eventually oversee Walter's arrest and execution. Another is made in both Walter's and Philippa's names. The pamphlet also suggests a change in Walter's behaviour after his marriage: he 'was so altered in disposition from that which he was, and so short from the perfection which he had, as a body dyeing is of a life flourishing…he would sit sullenly, walke melancholy, bethinking continually.' In other words, he was unhappy and depressed. When his wife asks why he was sad, he would either not answer her, or 'rising uppe, depart from her with these words; A plague on thee, thou art the cause of my sadnesse.'

Around the same time, Walter's mother Katherine Thornholme decided not to pass on her own property under her marriage settlement to Walter as her eldest son, but instead to Walter's great-uncle William of Eccleshill, by now entering his 70s. It is an echo of the earlier settlements to circumvent difficult family situations, possibly made to ensure that Katherine's estate remained in the Calverley family rather than passing to the Brookes via her son. Twenty-five years later, her grandson Henry Calverley (who trained as a lawyer) wrote himself a note to enquire of a local who was with his grandmother when she conveyed her estate to the great-uncle, 'that I satisfie myself how she convaied it and what estate her body was in.'[34] Henry clearly found it a surprising decision. The transaction further hints at Walter's unreliable lifestyle; we may wonder too whether he had inherited any of his father's mental instability, although there is no mention of this in the sources.

More was to come. In summer 1602, Walter and Philippa were persuaded to put the heavily indebted Calverley estates into a trust for themselves and their children:

[34] Yorkshire Archaeological Society MS 527/99, cit. Garnett, p. 27.

> 'the manors of Calverley and Pudsey, with the appurtenances in Calverley, Eccelshall, Farseley, Woodhall, and Pudsey, were vested in trust on Sir John Brooke and others for and during the joint natural lives of Walter Calverley, Esq. and Philippa his wife, and after their decease to the use and behoof of William Calverley, son and heir apparent, and his heirs male.' [35]

Sir John Brooke was Philippa's brother. There is no apparent role in the trust for either Walter's mother or his great uncle, as Calverley family representatives.[36] This ceding of control represented further pressure and humiliation on Walter, perhaps pinned into a corner by his wife's eminent relations. It also restricted his ability to access funds independently for his reported debts. A second son, Walter, was baptised on 4th October 1603, and a third, Henry, on 10th October 1604.

The received version of what happened next is found in the pamphlet. It recounts how Philippa was called to London in April 1605 by 'the honourable friend whose niece she was, and whose ward he [Walter] had been…[who] having heard of her husband's prodigal course… began to question her about her estate.'[37]. Walter was expecting her to sell her dowry to pay his debts and help his shortage of cash. When Philippa returned to Calverley empty-handed on 22nd or 23rd April, there was a row. Walter then paced in 'a gallery', musing on 'how his prodigall course of life, had wronged his brother, abused his wife, and undone his children.'[38] He thought how his 'nobly descended' wife will be thrown on the mercy of the world with his children; how his family would be wiped out, 'which hundreds of years had been Gentlemen of the best reputation in Yorkshire.'[39]

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[35] Cit Inquisition post mortem, Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 22. See also 'Yorkshire Fines: 1601', in *Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period [Yorks]*: Part 4, 1594-1603, ed. Francis Collins (Leeds, 1890), pp. 159-179. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/feet-of-fines-yorks/vol4/pp159-179 [accessed 1 July 2020]. The Feet of Fines is the archival copy of land conveyances.
[36] Yorkshire Archaeological Society MS 527/99, cit. Garnett, p. 27.
[37] Pamphlet, lines 145-6.
[38] Pamphlet, lines 338-40..
[39] Ibid, lines 348-50.

In this state of weeping distress, Walter was unluckily disturbed by his son William, who 'being a child of four years old, came into the gallery, to scourge his top, and seeing his father stand in a study, looked prettily up to him, saying, How do you, father?' This tipped Walter over the edge: he stabbed his son in the neck and carried the wounded boy into a nearby chamber, where a maid was dressing the middle child by the fire and his wife lay on the bed. Walter tried to seize the child from the maid's arms, throwing her down 'a high pair of stairs' in the struggle. Philippa tried to protect the younger child, but Walter attacked them both, killing the boy. The dagger only glanced Philippa, 'having a pair of Whalebone bodies [corsets] on'. The wounded four-year old William staggered to the stairs and then fell down them himself, dead. 'Amazed' servants clustered round the foot of the stairs, and a brave fellow called Carver mounted to the chamber to grapple with his master and refuse Walter's order to fetch the third and youngest child Henry, then at Carver's house with his wife who was a wet nurse, 'some twelve mile off'.

Walter then took off on a gelding he found ready saddled in the stables, less to escape the scene, according to the pamphlet, than to seek out and kill one-year old Henry. We can only imagine the hue and cry in the Hall and the village as the alarm was raised. Walter's horse stumbled, and he was arrested and taken to Sir John Savile's house at Howley Hall some twelve miles away. Savile was a rising local politician, a JP and a long-time associate of the Calverley family. According to the tabloid pamphlet, Savile bewailed the events and asked what had brought Walter to them. Walter answered 'I have done that Sir I rejoice at, and repent this, that I had not killed the other; I had brought them to beggary, and am resolved I could not have pleased God better, then by freeing them from it.'[40] The next day, Walter was examined by Savile and gave a very different account of his actions and motives, that makes no mention of financial troubles:

> The Examination of Walter Calverley, of Calverley, in the West Riding of the County of York, Esq., taken before John Savile, of Stowley, and Sir Thomas Bland, Kts. two of his Majesty's Justices. Being examined whether

[40] Ibid, lines 479-81.

> he did kill two of his own children, the name of the one thereof was William and the other Walter, saith, that he did kill them both at his own house at Calverley yesterday, being the 23rd day of April aforesaid. Being further examined what moved him to wound his wife yesterday, to that he said, that one Carver coming into the chamber where he was with his wife, he commanded her to will the said Carver to go fetch another son of his, whose name is Henry Calverley, who was nursed by the said Carver's wife, which she accordingly did; whereupon the said Carver went down into the court, and stayed there about quarter of an hour, and returned again, but brought not the said child with him; and being commanded to go down again, he refused so to do, and that therefore he [Walter] did wound his wife, if she be wounded. And being further examined, what he would have done to the said child if Carver had brought him, to that he said he would have killed him also.
>
> And being likewise examined whether at any time he had any intention to kill his said children, to that he said, that he hath intention to kill them for the whole space of two years past, and the reasons that moved him thereunto was, for that his said wife had many times theretofore uttered speeches and given signs and tokens unto him, whereby he might easily perceive and conjecture, that the said children were not by him begotten, and that he hath found himself to be in danger of his life sundry times by his wife.[41]

This bleak and unrepentant account by a weak, 'unstayed' man obsessed by his wife's suspected infidelity puts the dreadful act in a different light from the other sources. Walter was taken to York, where he refused to plead, placing himself outside the normal legal system of 'consenting' to trial by jury and so condemning himself to death by 'pressing' under heavy weights (*peine fort et dure*). This form of torture was originally to compel a plea but was also used as a method of execution.[42] Walter died on 5th August 1605. We cannot know his state

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[41] Whitaker, T. D., *Loidis and Elmete* (Leeds,1816), p.228.
or, An attempt to illustrate the districts described in those words by Bede : and supposed to embrace the lower portions of Aredale and Wharfdale, together with the entire vale of Calder, in the county of York (Printed by T. Davison, for Robinson, Son, and Holdsworth, Leeds
and John Hurst, Wakefield.: Leeds).

[42] The authority of a court of common law only extended to those who submitted to its jurisdiction by entering a plea. There was a recent and infamous precedent of its use as a means of execution in York. Margaret Clitherow, daughter of another Thomas Middleton, High Sheriff of York in 1564, became a Catholic convert in 1574. In 1586, while pregnant with her fourth child, Margaret was executed at the York Assizes by pressing under her own door, for refusing to plead on a charge of harbouring Catholic priests. Her end was hastened by placing a sharp stone under

of mind at the time, but by choosing such a death, he avoided forfeiting his land and property for his crime and ensured the continuation of the Calverleys of Calverley through his remaining baby son Henry.

Henry Calverley (c1603-1651)

Married (1) Elizabeth, daughter of John Moore of Grantham & (2) Joyce, daughter of Sir Walter Pye of the Mynde, Herefordshire.

In December 1605, all William the recusant's outstanding debts for his recusancy were pardoned, an act of leniency.[43] Unsurprisingly, Philippa left Calverley after the murders taking her baby son Henry with her, whose wardship she was granted. It is not yet known what happened to Calverley Hall in these years; presumably it was occupied by others from the extensive Calverley clan or tenanted to an uninvolved third party.

Quite soon, Philippa remarried, to Sir Thomas Burton Bt. of Stockerston in Leicestershire, who then shared Henry's wardship, profiting from the Calverley rents. Philippa had two daughters with Sir Thomas and died in September 1613 when she was only about 28 years old, leaving Henry an orphan not yet ten years old.[44] Sir Thomas then enriched himself so liberally from his stepson's estates that when Henry came of age in 1624, he sued his stepfather in the Court of Wards.[45] Philippa clearly suspected that her husband would take advantage of him, and before died, wrote a list of instructions for Henry for when he came of age. She told him to check his own age, then advised him to list his income from rents and ensure his tenants paid these directly to him. Henry lost no time when

her spine which broke her back (a practice also used to intensify the pain in pursuit of a plea). She was later canonised as one of the Forty Martyrs of England and Wales. It is a chilling reminder that recusancy was far from a mere intellectual stance for Catholic families like the Calverleys, even if Walter's own fate bore no relation to his own faith, whose denomination is not recorded.

[43] BL 17115.

[44] Wikitree.

[45] YAHS D12/I/13/3, Decree of the Court of Wards, Henry Calverley v. Sir Thomas Burton. Trinity Term 1627.

he came of age in 1624. He married Elizabeth Moore on 2nd March, and had a list of dilapidations to buildings and an inventory of furniture and chattels drawn up, also in 1624, presumably including those which Sir Thomas had removed to his own house. The case was finally settled in 1627. Elizabeth had died by then, and in July 1628, Henry remarried to Joyce Pye, daughter of Sir Walter Pye of the Mynde in Herefordshire. She bore him an heir the following year, and they had four more children together.

However, wider events again intervened as the country descended into Civil War. It's not clear whether Henry got caught up with the Royalists by deliberate intent: choosing sides was difficult for many men like him, perhaps setting out merely to stay on the right side of the regime in control at the time. In November 1648, he was before the Committee for the Compounding of Delinquencies, set up by the Parliamentarians as a mechanism for restoring land and property sequestrated (taken possession of) from their opponents, after the payment of swingeing fines.

Leeds was by now a key centre for the cloth industry and a valuable city to either side. It was lost by the Royalists to the Parliamentarians in 1643, and Henry was among those briefly imprisoned at Cawood Castle, another Landmark property. To the Compounding Committee in 1648, Henry pleaded that it was only under the duress of the King's garrison at Leeds in 1642-3 that he had taken valuations of the estates of the inhabitants in Bradford in 1642-3 with a warrant from the King's officers, and that he had never acted willfully against Parliament. Six weeks later a fine of one sixth of his estate's estimated value or £1,515 (say £160,000 today) was to be imposed if Henry could prove that he also 'rendered' in 1645. Cash was a perennial problem for the landed at the time, their capital all tied up in their estates which yielded much more modest sums in rents and dues, vulnerable in times of hardship or disorder. Henry begged that this fine be instead set 'as for an estate for life, he having no better estate.' He said he had done many voluntary services for Parliament and the Committee for

Sequestrations, to whom he had appealed but who were unable to help him as it lay outside their remit. He was then allowed a review of his case on payment of £350; however, the Committee then decided in February 1650 that his original fine was to stand, and if this was not paid in six weeks, the estate would again be confiscated. In September, this re-sequestration was confirmed.

Henry continued to plead for a review, and eventually, was later commuted to the payment of a fine of £1,455, made more onerous, according to Henry's father-in-law, by Henry's honesty in fully declaring his income. The Board of Sequestrators was not lenient; the penalty for delayed payment was imprisonment or confiscation. Henry lost his nerve and sold two outlying estates at less than their real value to help pay the debt. Worse still, he subsequently squandered an opportunity to mitigate the losses: Sir Hugh Calverley of Lea, the last of the Cheshire Calverleys, left his estates there to his Yorkshire cousin, on condition that a lump sum was raised as an endowment for his widow. Under pressure to pay the fine to Parliament, Henry was unable to raise the cash and the inheritance was lost. Finally, in April 1651, Henry paid the outstanding balance on his fine and saved the Calverley family estate. Once again, we can only imagine the tense conferences, sleepless nights and fear that lay behind this bald narrative. Henry's life had been unlucky indeed.

It is also clear what a horrid time of neighbourly division and self-advantage it was. In February 1654, one Nathan Dixon, 'informer' complained that he had only received £20 for 'his discovery of Henry Calverley, of Calverley, co. York [see p. 1872, supra], to be an intelligencer to the enemy', rather than the fifth of Henry's fine that he had been promised. Dixon was then paid in full by the Committee.

Worn out by the worry of it all, Henry died at just 47 in 1651 at Calverley, leaving his 22-year-old son, Walter Calverley VII, a greatly-diminished income and lots of debt. An inventory taken after Henry's death lists the rooms in the house at the

time, round which the appraisers would have walked in a logical order. Discounting the barns and stables, there do not seem to be enough rooms for the full extent of the Hall, and the Chapel is noticeably missing or in a different use. Perhaps parts of the Old Hall had already been subdivided as separate dwellings; certainly Henry did not seem to be occupying the whole:

> The Hall (with buttery)
> The Kitching and back roome and entry The Greate Chamber
> The Chamber next Great Chamber The Great Parlour
> Attkinson's Parlour and a Room joyninge North Chamber
> Corn Chamber
> Lodge
> Servant's chamber
> New Barne
> Old Barne
> Chamber and Stack
> Stable[46]

The inventory reveals that the Great Hall was now a rather gaunt space, furnished only with a long table, two benches, two 'counters' and a livery cupboard but no other equipment or dressings. More luxurious is 'the great Chamber' (the solar?) where '5 cloathes of Arras' (tapestry hangings) were worth £70 (over £7,000 in today's value). This was the same amount noted for '[Henry's] purse and apparell'. Everything else in the house was worth much less. The great chamber held no fewer than five beds (two of them feather) and the same number of chamber pots, speaking of still very communal living. An enormous chest was full of linen sheets, napkins and table cloths 'for the Hall.' The windows had 'rods and Curtaines' but only pewter platters and dishes were recorded, suggesting any gold or silver plate had been melted down. The 'great parlour' seems just that, holding a clock and seven candlesticks, china dishes and a set of six 'quishions' and three comfortable sounding chairs, yet here too were four (feather) beds. Three more were in Atkinson's Parlour, also a well-furnished room but surprisingly also containing '43 cheeses w(i)th the boards the

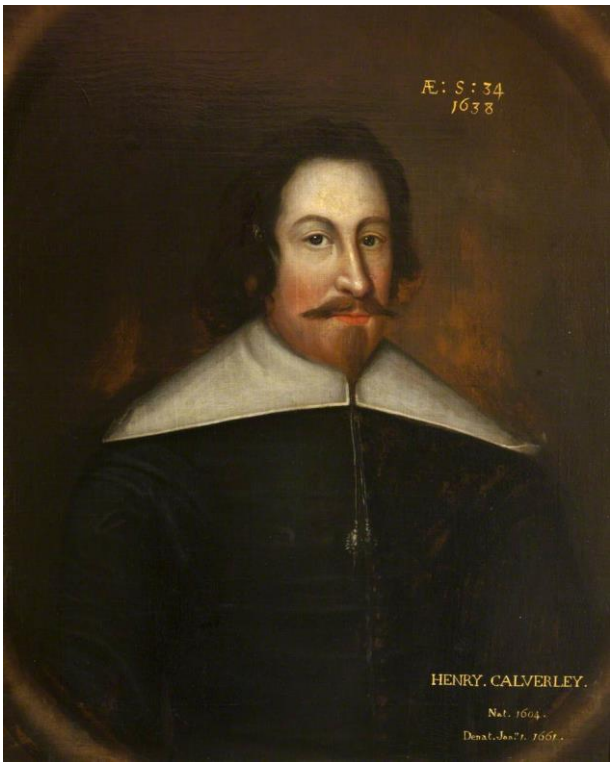
[46] BM Add MS 17411 No. 121, transcribed in the Bradford Antiquary in 1888

lye on' (worth £2) and '2 tubbs w(i)th butter' (worth £1 10s – butter was far more valuable than cheese). The full inventory is appended here.

When his mother Joyce died (date of death unknown), Walter got nothing. A portrait of Joyce survives at Wallington, a lugubrious looking woman who looks worn out and appears to be in mourning dress, suggesting it was done after Henry's death. She is shown holding a piece of paper on which is written:

Silence Walter Calverly
This is all that I will leave W.C.
Time was I might have given more
Now thanke thy selfe this is soe

The slightly barbed final line could either refer to poor relations between Walter and his mother, or to the estate's impoverished state after the payment of the fine to the government. The cause of the disagreement between them is not known. Her brother, Sir Walter Pye, was better disposed towards his nephew, and ready with advice. He told him forthrightly in a letter that the only way out of his financial predicament (if he was unable to meet his debts out of rents) was 'a good wife or the sale of lands, and the sooner you put either in practice the more will it be for your advantage.'



Henry Calverley (1604 -1651)
National Trust, Wallington

Henry's second wife, Joyce Pye, who left only 'silence' to her son Walter.
National Trust, Wallington

New Beginnings and the last Calverleys

Sir Walter Calverley VII (1629-1691)

Married Frances Thompson of Esholt Hall.

Walter did not have to look far for 'a good wife'. In 1659, he married Frances Thompson, an only child and a moderately wealthy heiress whose estates lay just across the River Aire from Calverley, at Esholt. This reunited with Calverley the manor of Esholt given to the nuns by Walter's ancestor in the 14th century and was the beginning of a revival of the fortunes of the Calverleys. A result of this revival was that the Old Hall would be superseded by grander homes for the family.

At Charles II's Restoration, Walter was among those proposed to be a Knight of the Royal Oak, the king's idea for a chivalrous order in recognition of suffering in the Royalist cause. The scheme never came to fruition through fear it would merely perpetuate division, but it must have brought some comfort.

The manor house at Esholt stood on an attractive stretch of the Aire, occupying the site of the former Esholt Priory, a victim of Henry VIII's dissolution and granted to Henry Thompson in 1547. Generations of the family had lived there before it passed to Frances, as sole heiress of the last Henry Thompson. In the strong light of the Restoration, Calverley Old Hall would have seemed small and old-fashioned, and no doubt poorly maintained after the family troubles and financial difficulties over the past half century.

As soon as his father-in-law died in 1665, Walter and his wife moved into Esholt Hall, and it was there that his son, yet another Walter, was born in 1670, after two daughters, Anne and Bridget in 1663 and 1665 respectively. Little more is known about Walter VII and Frances, but Walter VIII attended his first school in Calverley. When Walter VII died in 1691, his son recorded in his memorandum

book that the body was placed in the 'Hall Chapell' at Calverley Old Hall for three days[47] before it was interred in the family vault in St Winfrid's, the parish church.

The Old Hall now became a secondary property, visited mainly for purposes of estate management. Even so, it retained its place in the family affections. Young Walter attended his first school in the village, and was eventually buried in St Wilfrid's, as were his wife and sister. The family also continued to style themselves as 'of Esholt and Calverley'.

Sir Walter Calverley VIII, 1st Baronet (1670-1749)

Married Julia Blackett (m.1706).

Walter VIII is the first Calverley for whom we have a direct sense of personality thanks to his memorandum book, published by the Surtees Society in 1886. The notebook acted too as his record of births and deaths in the extended family, his business dealings and instructions, and his own travel (locally, and to London and Cumberland mostly). The book notes his birth (and that as an infant he was lucky to survive after being 'like to have been drowned' after falling into a tub of water, and on a separate occasion, 'taken out for deade' after falling in a panful of milk'). In 1687, he was admitted to The Queen's College, Oxford. After his father's death in 1691, he was plunged into the administration of the estate, much helped by his brother-in-law, John Ramsden, and gradually moving into public affairs. 'Madam Calverley', his mother, remained in residence in the 1690s, and Esholt Hall was a sociable place. Walter still stayed at Calverley on occasion; when a herd of 43 cows arrived from Kirby Lonsdale 1693, they were split equally between Calverley and Esholt; he stoutly defended his right to the Calverley tithes against the Saviles; he did fealty for his Calverley lands to the Queen Dowager as was still the custom. However, the family's attention now

[47] 'The Diaries of Sir Walter Calverley' in Eyre, Adam, et al. 1886. *Yorkshire diaries and autobiographies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Surtees Society, Vol. 77).

centred on Esholt. Life was a welter of entertaining, legal obligations, stewardship of his property and funerals, marriages and christenings. At the many funerals, he noted every detail, from the names of the chief mourners to the ritual 'favours,' such as gloves and scarves, distributed to the congregation. Just as often, he was present at christenings, and was very often asked by his friends to be godfather to their child.

A man of his time, Walter enjoyed cock fighting, and his horses and their sale and exchange with his fellows. He and his mother held annual dinners at Esholt for their respective tenants. A note for 17th February 1699 records the 'rearing' of a (therefore) timber-framed building – a barn? - at Calverley Hall. In 1700, his mother Frances, by now elderly, agreed to settle her lands on her son. There was no longer any talk of religion, although on New Year's Day Walter might take communion in the parish church.

In September 1703, Walter recorded the 'bringing of water into Esholt House'. On 12th October 1704 'My mother went to live in York…and the same day, I begun to keep house at Eshall' and in the following January, the Esholt estate was formally settled on him. In December 1705 he sent men to Hull to buy 650 oak boards from Norway, and in May 1706 'we laid the foundation for my new house at Esholt, having made preparations for the work in the winter before, and Joseph Pape was the chief mason'.[48] The following entry records a 'court …holden for my manor at Calverley', but the new house was the final death knell for Calverleys living at Calverley Old Hall. Walter's business transactions had clearly been astute, for he was building the splendid new hall that survives today, a substantial house in the latest Palladian fashion that at the time of writing is the headquarters of Yorkshire Water. It still bears the Calverley horned owl on its rainwater hoppers – indeed at first, Walter described it as 'New Calverley.'

[48] Joseph Pope of Fennley (1673-1717).

Significantly, the start of this construction predates the next major event in his life, his marriage to Elizabeth Blackett, the daughter of Sir William Blackett, Bt. (1657-1705), of Wallington, Northumberland. Blackett was a merchant who had made his money through coal and lead mining and had become a leading figure in Newcastle affairs. He bought Wallington in 1689 and knocked down its unfashionable pele tower to build a more modern house, initially little more than a hunting lodge. Walter Calverley recorded his courtship laconically in a single brief entry: 'Sunday 21st July 1706, I went to Newcastle…and got thither on Tuesday night…and on Wednesday dined and supped at Lady Blackett's, and on Thursday evening, sett for home…after that, I went about twice or thrice before we came to conclude of the match, but made not long staying either time but still dined at Lady Blackett's, and she send her coach for me to dinners. And about the beginning of October, 1706, the match was agreed upon and I signed proposals in order to a settlement for a marriage.'

After considerable legal wrangling, they were married on 7th January 1706 in Newcastle. Walter spent £116 on 'a fine set of dressing [table] plate' as a marriage gift, which survives today in the V & A. He also bought Julia a pair of earrings, a set of gloves worth £15 and a new, velvet-lined coach. The following December, a son, Walter Calverley IX, was born, nicknamed Watty. Julia was an accomplished needlewoman and much of her work survives in the National Trust's Collections at Wallington. This includes a six-panelled needlepoint screen of bucolic scenes, which is thought to draw on the daily life at Calverley and Esholt that she saw around her.

In December 1711, Walter was created baronet. This cost him £383 1s 7d in fees, the process of getting the patent being managed, interestingly, by a Mistress Harrison, for whom he rounded up the official fess to £400, for her 'extraordinary trouble and charges'.

In 1715, he was caught up in events surrounding the Jacobite Rebellion, serving as one of Lord Burlington's Deputy Lieutenants. Chiefly on the basis of the iconography of Chiswick House, some historians have questioned whether Burlington's loyalties lay rather with the Jacobite cause than his office as Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, chief representative of the Crown in Yorkshire.[49]

Sir Walter's memorandum book and own actions have contributed to this suspicion: he recorded a toast given by Burlington on 7 October 1745 in York, when the company drank to the 'confusion of the Pretender and all his adherents, and to all his open and secret friends'. The Burlington-as-Jacobite thesis interprets this as part of the 'smoke-screen' put up by the most important Jacobites, but it seems as reasonable to accept it as it reads, unless Sir Walter (or Lord Burlington) was being particularly devious with his prepositions. More potentially damning was the part played by Sir Walter's brother-in-law Sir William Blackett (1690-28), who inherited Wallington from his father in 1705, and in 1715 was a wanted man for his own involvement with the Jacobites. Blackett was a rather dissolute young man who on occasion would need six servants to carry himself and his drunken fellows to bed at Wallington. According to Sir Walter's account, Blackett claimed to be fleeing Wallington from compelled involvement with the Jacobite forces as much as from the king's men who were out to arrest him. His arrival on Sir Walter's doorstep was embarrassing for Sir Walter, and he helped Blackett escape from Esholt to London. This was understandably enough for Burlington to discharge Sir Walter from his post as Deputy Lieutenant, but there is nothing in Sir Walter's detailed account of these events in his memorandum book to suggest either he or Burlington held Jacobite sympathies, and it seems more likely he acted through family loyalty rather than Jacobinism.

[49] See especially Barnard, T. C., and Jane Clark. 1995. *Lord Burlington : architecture, art and life*

Sir Walter emerges as a pleasant, dutiful and careful man, probably fairly typical of the gentry of the period – a bucolic sporting squire. Although he spent a lot of time in the management and improvement of his estates, he was by no means a provincial; he spent some time in London most years, mainly for business as a young man, but also for pleasure, particularly after he married. His interest in politics consisted largely of gathering together the freeholders of his parish, dining them well and conveying them to the polls, to vote as he wanted them to. Locally he did his turn as magistrate (although he would quite often excuse himself too); he also served as trustee for several local charities.
This Sir Walter is also said to have been the figure on whom Addison based his archetypal country gentleman Sir Roger de Coverley in his essays in *The Spectator*. The connection was pointed out by Daniel Defoe in his *Tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain* (1724-38), when he visited Sir Walter at Esholt:

> *'…of like name, and amiable Disposition, with the celebrated Sir Roger, well known in Moral History, only that the former has the Advantage of a better Education, and is by far the finer Gentleman. The River Aire, which runs thro' his garden, tho' slow in its Nature, is improved here into new life, and forms most beautiful Cascades. The Mountains of Woods that surround his House are cut into regular walks. His seat, in short, like the founder, shews the Strength of Nature improved, not debased, by modern Refinements.'*

Addison himself always said, however, that the character was a composite one, drawn from a number of sources and intended to portray a whole class, rather than one member of it. It is perfectly possible that Addison knew Sir Walter, and since Sir Walter's own family history was being studied at the time because of his baronetcy (Addison's *The Spectator* being published in 1711-12), it is not unlikely that Addison did use Sir Walter as a principal source for background detail.

Sir Walter died in 1749, and a memorial with a long inscription in his praise was erected by Sir Walter IX in St Wilfrid's Church, Calverley.

Sir Walter Calverley IX, 2nd Baronet (1707-77)

Married Elizabeth Ord.

With Sir Walter Calverley IX, 2nd baronet, the story of the Calverleys of Calverley ends. Sir William Blackett died in 1728, aged just 38, leaving debts of £105,000 and no children born in wedlock. He left the Blackett estate jointly to his sister Julia and her husband Sir Walter Calverley VIII, perhaps remembering Sir Walter's help in his escape from the king's men in 1715. There were, however, two conditions: that their son Walter IX married his natural daughter Elizabeth Ord and then took the Blackett name, becoming Sir Walter Calverley Blackett. The pair married in 1729 and made their home at Wallington.

Despite the debts left on the estate and falling assets, the couple undertook major improvements and enlargements at Wallington, in expectation of Sir Walter IX's inheritance of the Calverley and Esholt estates. This eventually came with the death of his father Sir Walter VIII in 1749, and the house at Wallington as it survives today is Sir Walter IX and Lady Elizabeth's work; they had the interior of the house completely remodelled, probably by Daniel Garrett, and commissioned some of the greatest artisans to transform Wallington House into the elegant residence we see today.

Sir Walter and Elizabeth's only child, a daughter also named Elizabeth, died in 1753, and so, it seems, did her mother, around the same time. Under Sir William Blackett's will, the Blackett property was to go to Blackett cousins after Sir Walter's death, rather than to Sir Walter's own Calverley family. Complicated legal proceedings followed, as a result of which Sir Walter bought Wallington outright, so enabling the cousins to be compensated. To raise the money for this purchase, in 1755 he sold the Calverley and Esholt estates to Mr Thomas Thornhill of Fixby near Huddersfield, for £112,000, marking the definitive endpoint of an association over many centuries.

Sir Walter, who served as MP for Newcastle for 43 years and was a great local benefactor, died in 1777 and was buried in Calverley parish church at midnight, by torchlight. He left Wallington to his Trevelyan nephew, son of his sister Julia, and it remained in that family until it was given to the National Trust in 1942, where portraits of the Calverley family still hang.

The Cottage Years

In 1755, a *Particular and valuation of Sir Walter Blackett's estate in the county of York* was taken, presumably during the process of selling the estate. For the first time, this gives us the names of ordinary residents at the Old Hall:

- Richard Snowden S[enio]r of the Hall Ten[an]t. Lease at £22.16 and a very indifferent house and barn part of the hall and 10 closes of land. Lease ended 1772.
- Jonathan Snowden of the Hall now the widow Snowden tenant at will at £25 and a middling house and barn part of Calverley Hall and 11 closes of land. No lease.
- Robert Chapman…part of hall…2-10-0
- John Pratt…part of Hall..2-10-0
- John Lee and John Armitage…part of hall 2-10-0[50]

There were at least five separate tenancies in the hall, and its seems that at least parts of the hall were not in good condition. These names also appear on a Rent Roll of 1753.[51] A 1755 plan of Thomas Thornhill's new estate shows the buildings of the Old Hall in some detail, if confusing in appearing to show the Great Hall/Solar as detached from north-south Chapel/parlour/lodge range, but this may be attributable to the differences in perspective. From later evidence, it seems likely that the Hall was divided into two cottages, the Hall Chambers were

[50] WYAS Leeds ACC2145
[51] WYAS Leeds ZWN/D36/11&12

formed into another, and the Solar served as a fourth; the four gables shown on the 1755 plan may reflect this.

A further *Valuation of Calverley and Farsley*, dated to 1787[52] lists tenants of the estate. John Pratt is listed as being 'of the Hall', renting buildings for £1-0s-0d, and several closes of land. Joseph Marshall held 'Hall Croft', known from the 1755 plan to be sited to the west of the hall; he also held buildings totalling 1 rood and 17 perches, for £2. A counterpart lease between Thomas Thornhill and Joseph Marshall shows the latter leasing '…all that part of the building (commonly called Calverley Hall) now in the possession of the said Joseph Marshall and the Corn Chamber (saving thereof that part called the Chapel End)'.[53]

Between 1755, and the first edition Ordnance Survey of 1851, cottages were built against the southwest and southeast walls of the Chapel. The one on the southeast was demolished in the 1980s, when it was thought that one dated to the late 18th- or early 19th-century, while the other was 19th-century. The cottage adjoining the southeast end of the Chapel incorporated two grotesquely carved human heads to either side of the front door lintel of unknown origin, and these were reset in the hallway of the Lodging Block, above the front door. By 1816, the Old Hall was entirely colonised, local antiquarian Thomas Whitaker writing that: 'The manor house is…so mutilated and defiled, that an antiquary, condemned to the task of tracing its old magnificence through the subdivisions and cross floors of manufacturing cottages, would almost wish it to be levelled to the ground'.[54]

Whitaker also included an engraving of the upper chamber of the Parlour Block as it was in 1816, showing it to be panelled. This panelling looks of early

[52] WYAS Leeds ACC2145
[53] WYAS Kirklees DD/T/L/V/43
[54] Whitaker, T. et al. 1816. *Loidis and Elmete* (Leeds).

seventeenth-century date, suggesting that the painted scheme was covered up quite early on, which probably guaranteed its survival in such good condition. Whitaker says that in 1780 a staircase led from this 'wainscoted' chamber to the room below with the 'fluted ceiling', although subsequent building analysis has shown that there was no primary staircase leading to the Painted Chamber.

19th-century census returns

From 1841, annual population censuses began to be taken every ten years in Britain, and these give us a lot more detail about who was living at the Old Hall. As part of the Development phase of the repair and conversion project (conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020-22), volunteer genealogist Elaine Edge collated the names in the census returns relating to the Old Hall.

Many family names appear living in the Old Hall cottages, most born in Calverley or nearby and most employed in some capacity with the cloth industry or farming. Surnames that appear regularly include Barrett, Bullough, Butler, Craven, Eastwood, Gott, Grimshaw, Marshall, Pratt, and Thompson, but there are many more. The Bulloughs appear in the census returns from 1861-1911 and an Elizabeth Bullough was known to be living at the Old Hall in 1948; Gotts are found in all the census returns and their presence is said to date back to the 16th century.[55] A John Pratt appears in the property in a survey of Sir Walter Blackett's estates in 1754, and again in the survey of the Thornhill holdings in 1787. Pratts are present at the Old Hall from the 1851 census with Mary Pratt, who was born in 1787. The Pratts were mostly farmers, working a small plot of land they held throughout their residency. From then on there is a continuous descent of occupation until Herbert Pratt who lived in cottage No 18 in 1981 at the time of its purchase by the Landmark Trust, and worked as a milkman during this time, storing his empty crates in the Lodging Block that burnt out in 1977.[56]

[55] Pers. Comm. Sharon Gott 2021.
[56] Oral history, Richard Stephenson 2021.

Many residents supplemented their farming income by weaving (the floor of the Painted Chamber has indentations that may have come from a loom).

The names found were then used to direct online searches in newspapers etc by the COH Research Group, convened online specially for the project thanks to National Lottery Heritage Fund grant. The Group included a few members researching their own relatives, who were known to have lived at the Old Hall. Separately, volunteer genealogist Elaine Edge collated the census returns. These returns will be included as an appendix in the final version of this album. To the entries are added any snippets of information about a particular individual discovered by the Research Group.

Also as part of the Development Phase, history undergraduate Patrick Hayes spent a summer's work experience helping with his own research and with collating the COH Research Group findings. The following section draws especially on Patrick's work.

The Thornhills and Calverley

When Thomas Thornhill (1780-1844) of Fixby near Huddersfield bought the manor of Calverley in 1754, he became landlord of roughly 80 per cent of the township. As late as 1876, William Cudworth remarked in *Round About Bradford* that there are 'no freeholders on the Calverley Estate'. This estate has been largely preserved until the present day: Acts of Parliament were passed in 1852 and 1852 to allow the trustees of Clara Thornhill to auction Thornhill lands and pay for her upkeep, but it is unclear if these Acts led to any significant sale of holdings in Calverley. Newspaper accounts of the late 19th century give the clear impression of an estate with its holdings and ceremonial value intact.

In 1806, Thomas Thornhill built his own large property on Town Gate, well placed with a commanding view of the valley and initially intended for his occasional residence. This was described as Calverley Hall or Calverley House by contemporaries (now known as Calverley House Farmhouse). By 1812, even this new hall had local tenants, albeit of a more elevated status than the cottagers of the Old Hall. The politician Ellis Cunliffe Lister is recorded as a tenant from 1812-1822 and the prominent industrialist Samuel Lister, 1st Baron Masham was born on the site in 1815.[57]

In the mid-19th century elections, Thornhill used his agents to canvas for Conservative candidates amid claims of voter intimidation by his tenants. In the early 1900s the Calverley Lodge of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, a fraternal society for 'True and Loyal Supporter of the British Crown and Constitution', was known as the Clarke-Thornhill Lodge. Even today, the Thornhill Estate's influence remains elsewhere in Calverley village.

Beyond their holdings in Calverley, the Thornhills had an extensive dispersed estate, with properties in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and London among others. They also had plantations overseas. Thomas Thornhill received compensation money for 121 enslaved people on the Mount Gay estate in Barbados through the will of Cumberbatch Sober. After his own death in 1844, Thornhill descendants purchased this estate as the foundation of the modern Mount Gay rum business.

The Thornhills were similarly absentee landlords for Calverley, delegating their authority to a succession of appointed agents: William Strowther (from 1766), Richard Clayton (from 1769), John Clayton (from 1800), James Thompson, John Parkin, Richard Oastler, and G.M. Crowther, with more appointed after 1900.

In 1890, the *Leeds Mercury* described the visit of the latest Thornhill heir,

[57] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1266053?section=official-list-entry

> *'Yesterday was a red-letter day in the annals of the beautiful and ancient village of Calverley, Mr Thomas Bryan Clarke-Thornhill making his first public visit since he inherited the estate. Mr Thornhill treated the whole of the tenantry to a sumptuous repast in the Mechanics Hall… A procession was then formed, and, headed by a brass band and the members of the District Council, marched to the principal entrance of the park, which was given to the village in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, by Mr Bryan Clarke-Thornhill's late father'*

More often, however, the Thornhill agents took on the role of lord of the manor. The *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* in 1899, highlighted this ceremonial role as the estate owner's representative:

> *'On Wednesday night Mr G. M. Crowther, of Huddersfield, agent for the Clarke Thornhill estates, entertained the tenantry on the Calverley estate to a substantial knife-and-fork tea in the Mechanics Institute, Calverley, in celebration of the marriage of his eldest son, Mr Frederick Cartledge Crowther, to Miss Annie Hilda Mason, of Gledholt, Huddersfield, which took place in December last… The guests numbered nearly 200. Tea was followed by an excellent entertainment.'*

Just as it is today, Calverley was a lively village in the 1900s. There was an annual round of Whitsuntide and Christmas celebrations, April elections to the village council, and a season of Feasts (or fetes) in the village from August to September. The Calverley Feast had a roundabout, presumably supplied by Old Hall resident Benjamin Thompson who advertised his fairground attractions, and a few stalls. The Farsley Feasts were bigger: they had four roundabouts, as many as 30 stalls and sometimes a show tent. One year a menagerie came to the Calverley Feast. 'The elephants pushed the vans (which were of course closed cages) without apparent effort into two long rows…I was told that in two nights they took £40 and our ordinary feast that lasted a week-end took about the same. It seemed an enormous sum.' [58]

[58] Extracts from *A West Riding Childhood* by J A Harrison 1955 from Pudsey Civic Society. COH Research Group. Rachel Moaby.

The folk memory of the 1605 murders still lingered. Writing in 1876, Cudworth claimed, 'less than thirty years ago the name of "Owd Cawverley', as the murderer was called, was spoken by the youngsters with bated breath.' 'To raise 'Owd Cawverley' was a common though awful and mysterious proceeding of the youth of that time. A number would gather in the low old porch of the church as the twilight deepened, and, after a silly and inexplicable ceremony, one of the number would repeat some doggerel rhymes respecting the murderer and his doom, and, peeping through the keyhole down into the gloomy body of the church, feebly lighted by a faint gleam from the windows of the north aisle, would cry out "Owd Cawverley's risen," when the whole lot would scamper off with real terror.'[59]

The memory of a painted chamber also persisted, although not specifying where in the Old Hall it was. An article in *The Bradfordian* of 1861 described 'very rude paintings of what looked like the fleur-de-lis' and a 'long row of portraits, or heads, both male and female', while William Cudworth describes the walls as covered in 'very ancient crayon drawings' in his account of 1876. Knowledge of their existence had faded by the early 1900s. The Calverley Urban District Council official guide of 1924 makes no mention of wall paintings in its examination of the Old Hall. As landlords, the Thornhills were relaxed about the removal of fabric from the Old Hall for use on other sites. In 1907, when Calverley's recently built vicarage was undergoing alterations, leaded lancet windows from the Old Hall were repurposed to fit the property 'by the kind permission of the Lord of the Manor'. On 31 July 1946 *The Shipley Times and Express* noted that 'A Calverley lady points out that part of the woodwork in the staircase at Grey Gables came out of Calverley Old Hall when Grey Gables was built by Mr Sam Margerson [sic]'. An 1891 report by the Leeds Geological Association on Calverley Parish Church noted that 'the east window contains some rare old glass from the Chapel in Calverley Old Hall'.

[59] Cudworth, William, *Round about Bradford*, 1876, 1876. https://archive.org/details/roundaboutbradfo0000will/page/n5/mode/2up

Just some of the hundreds of objects deliberately concealed by the cottage residents in the fabric of Calverley Old Hall from the 17th to early 20th centuries.

As the *Bradfordian* put it in 1861 'It is a difficult thing to form an idea of the original configuration of Calverley Old Hall, it has been altered so much to suit the cottage tenants.'

A remarkable aspect of this phase of occupation came to light during the major repair works. This was the discovery of hundreds of objects deliberately concealed in the fabric of the building. All were humble everyday things, well-used, fragmentary or broken. None of them could have got to where they were found – on wall heads and cavities, encased in chimneys and above windows, under the eaves – without being deliberately hidden. There were metal objects, eggs, many adult and children's shoes, a patchwork quilt, fragments of clothing, bobbins, baskets, pottery and many more. Concealments like these are quite common in old buildings and it is thought they were placed as some kind of protective charm to ensure the wellbeing and protection of the placer, but normally a building might only yield one or two. None of the objects was of any value but they have great contextual value and provide a vivid link with all the ordinary people who lived in the Old Hall for more than two centuries.

The quantity of finds at the Old Hall seems unprecedented and speaks to an enduring local belief in such 'good magic.' It is hard not to associate it with superstition surrounding the murders. All the objects are now stored at the Old Hall and a selection are on display in the Chapel.

Calverley Old Hall in 1902.

In 1934, Thomas Clarke-Thornhill died with no heirs. His will of the same year laid out proposals for the transfer of his estates in Calverley and elsewhere to a newly established private corporation, the Thornhill Estates Company, to supervise the tenantry and take over the Thornhills' historic obligations. The Thornhills' personal landownership in Calverley came to an end. To this day, the Thornhill Estates Company still acts as tenant of much of the land around Calverley, still called upon to intervene by local residents in disputes surrounding landownership.

Landmark's intervention

The long history of Calverley Old Hall now enters living memory. In photos from the 1960s the Old Hall is so swallowed up by cottages and haphazard additions that it is hardly recognisable, but local pride in it remained undimmed. It is fair to say that the site had lacked attention from its landlord: repair notices were served by the local council in 1963, and planning permission was granted in 1964 for the demolition of 14-28 Woodhall Road (the Old Hall and its surrounds) to build flats or terrace houses. Thankfully, this was never acted upon, although a closure order was issued for No. 18 in 1965. Instead, the site's historical significance came to the fore and in 1966, the Old Hall was listed Grade I. At least two of the cottages became mere stores: No. 20, one half of the Lodging Block, became a store for the Calverley Players, while the other half, No 14, was being used by milkman Herbert Pratt to store his empty crates. It was in Mr Pratt's store that fire broke out in 1977. Happily, the fire was contained to this single unit, but this was gutted. Photos after the fire show most of its windows had already been walled up.

The Thornhill Yorkshire Estate Co (as it was now known) soon sought to divest itself of this problematic site; now that it was listed, the upkeep of the Old Hall was their statutory duty. In 1981, the estate put the whole site up for auction in three separate lots. Here the story might have ended, had the sale not been

brought to the attention of Landmark's founder, John Smith. With remarkable prescience, and without knowing quite what could be done with it all, on April Fool's Day 1981, Smith bought the whole property for £20,000 via his trust fund, the Manifold Trust, in the name of the Landmark Trust.

The tenants in 1981 were as recorded as follows (remembering that not all eight cottages were occupied at the time):

COTTAGE	**TENANT**	**RENT**
No 16	Mr H C Pratt – solar house	£38 pa
No 20	Mr & Mrs A Marriott - hall	£75 pa
No 22	Mrs D Thornton - hall	£1.54 pw
No 24	Mr T Bartle [Parlour Block]	£2.33 pw
No 18	The Calverley Players [Lodging Block]	£13 pa
Garage	Mr R Cooper	£4 pa
Garage	Mr M G Stephenson	£4 pa
Garden	Mr B Pearson	£1 pa

The scene was now set for Landmark's careful analysis of the building, followed by its partial restoration and clearance – tenants were still in situ, of course. Mr Bartle's widow moved out in 2001, three years after his death. The last tenant, Mr Hartley, vacated in May 2007. The gauntlet was now thrown down for Landmark to find a solution for the whole building. These first 40 years were but Part One of Landmark's story at Calverley Old Hall; the next chapter, the renewal of the entire building to bring it all back into use once more, is told in the second volume of this album.

Appendix 1: 1651 Inventory of Henry Calverley's goods

B.M. Add. Ms 27411. Calverley Papers 1595-1730
An Inventory of all the goods and Chatells of Henry Calverley of Calverley in the Co. of York Esq. Deceased, prized by Mr. John Sale, Roger Wilkinson, Thomas Browne and John Harper the 11th day of February 1651

		£	s	d
Imp.	His purse and apparel	70	0	0
	In the Hall			
Itm	One long table one other table, two counters, one livery cupboard one range, two formes			
Itm	In the buttery 8 hoggsheads, one table, two forms, one cupboard, 3 flasketts, loose boards and shelves	1	10	0
	In the Kitching			
Itm	One range 1 paire of racks	2	8	0
Itm	3 Spitts 2 dripping pans	1	10	0
Itm	1 dresser board trossles and forms	0	6	0
Itm	one great Masker, 8 tubbs, water pailes and other wood vessel	3	0	0
Itm	In A backe roome and Entry one table, one arke and two great tubbs	2	0	0
	In the great Chamber			
Inprs	in the Chist 20 paire of Lynnen Sheets	13	0	0
Itm	12 table cloathes	6	0	0
Itm	18 towells	2	0	0
Itm	24 Duzen of Napkins	12	0	0
Itm	8 Cupboard Cloathes	2	0	0
Itm	10 Sideboard table Cloathes	2	10	0
Itm	6 paire of pillowbeares	1	0	0
Itm	in the trunke and in beds w(i)thin the house twelve paire of Lynnen Sheets	5	0	0
Itm	12 table cloathes for the Hall	2	10	0
Itm	5 Cloathes of Arras	70	0	0
Itm	2 feather beds one flock bed two boulsters filled w(i)th feathers, two pillowes	10	0	0
Itm	1 Redd Rugg 1 White Rugg 1 Coverlett 4 blanketts	4	0	0
Itm	1 Stand bed 1 Truckle bed w(i) th Curtaines and Rodds	1	10	0
Itm	Rodds and Curtaines for the windows	1	10	0
Itm	1 Coach bed	2	0	0
Itm	3 chaires 5 buffett stooles	2	0	0
Itm	2 presses and 2 chists	3	0	0
Itm	1 table & 1 range 1 trunck	1	6	0
Itm	pewter in platters and dishes	11	0	0

		£ s d
Itm	2 flaggons 5 chamber potts	1 0 0

In the Chamber next the great Chamber

		£ s d
In prs.	3 feather beds 4 feather boulsters	9 10 0
Itm	1 bed vallance	1 0 0
Itm	3 coverletts, 1 Rugg 3 blanketts 1 bed stock	2 0 0
Itm	a tubb with butter in it	2 0 0
Itm	3 truncks	1 0 0
Itm	1 greate presse	1 0 0

In the great Parlor

Imprms	in the great parlor 1 clocke 1 lanthorne 3 little panns	
	1 great brass mortar and a little one with an iron pestell	3 10 0
Itm	one chamber pott 7 lynne (?) Candlesticks	0 8 0
Itm	Chyna dishes and Cupps	0 12 0
Itm	Cooks (?)	7 0 0
Itm	2 Ranges l warming pan 2 fireshovells	1 10 0
Itm	3 chairs one Sealed with Cloath, an other with quishions Ye 3^{d} A throwne chaire	1 0 0
Itm	6 Sett quishions	1 0 0
Itm	2 tables & Carpetts w(i)th Gurtaines and Rodds	2 0 0
Itm	4 feather beds 3 boulsters 2 pillowes	20 0 0
Itm	2 Coverletts 1 Rugg 2 paire of blanketts	2 0 0
Itm	l gray Rugg	3 0 0
Itm	l paire of bedstockes w(i)th Curtaines and Rodds	1 4 0

In Attkinsons Parlor

Inps	3 feather beds 3 boulsters 4 pillowes	8 0 0
Itm	1 Stand bed one halfe-headed bed 1 truckle bed	1 10 0
Itm	Curtaines 1 Coverlett 2 paire of blanketts	1 10 0
Itm	4 Chaires, 1 table 1 Livery Cupboard	1 10 0
Itm	2 truncks 1 Chist	0 12 0
Itm	3 Closse stooles w(i)th Panns	1 8 0
Itm	2 Ranges 1 Spitt & a fire poates	0 12 0

(on to next page)

In Attkinsons Parlor

Itm	1 pottle-pott 2 little panns 2 pewter Dishes	0 8 0
Itm	2 tubbs w(i)th butter	1 10 0
Itm	43 cheeses w(i)th the boards they lye on	2 0 0
Itm	Hustlemte [?] in the parlor	0 10 0
Itm	in a Roome Joyninge to this parlor one bedstead w(i)th boards and Hustlemte	2 0 0

In the north Chamber

		£	s	d
Itm	1 Trunke w(i)th some old Coverletts and blanketts in it, 1 flock bed, 1 boulster 1 Rugg 1 Coverlett 1 blankett	2	10	0

In the Corne Chamber

Inprms	5 great panns 4 great brass potts	16	0	0
Itm	Tallow	8	0	0
Itm	Meale	7	0	0
Itm	2 Arkes flashes and other wood vessell	2	0	0
Itm	33 cheeses	1	10	0

In the Lodge

Itm	3 great Tubbs 3 bedsteads 1 long Dresser Table, one little Square Table	4	10	0

In the Servants Chamber

Two half headed beds w(i)th bed Cloathes		1	10	0
Itm	Waine and plow Tymbr	8	0	0
Itm	Wood in the new barne	12	0	0

Beasts and Horses

Imprs	32 kine whyes Calves .Steares and one Bull	70	0	0
Itm	8 horses Mares & foales	40	0	0
Itm	Corne in the Old barne	13	13	4
Itm	2 Corne Waines 2 Dung Waines w(i)th 4 paire of Wheeles bound with Iron	12	0	0
Itm Hay in the Chamber and Stack		20	0	0
Itm in the stable one corne Arke				

Richard Waugh
Roger Wilkinson
John Sale
Thomas Browne
John Harper

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