

THE BOOK OF HOURS OF THE BRADDYLL FAMILY
OF WHALLEY ABBEY (UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS,
BROTHERTON MS. 15)

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In his *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*, N. R. Ker provides a detailed description of the contents of an English book of hours, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, in which parts of both the text and illustrations have been erased, especially invocations of the Blessed Virgin Mary and other saints. Various family annotations were also added to the calendar (ff. 1–6v.) by some of the owners of the manuscript during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as Ker summarizes:

Many added births, marriages, and deaths, mostly of the families of Braddyll and Talbot, the earliest probably at 27 Oct., 'hodie natus fuit edwardus Braddyll receptor Cumbriae Anno domini 1533'; also the birth of his daughter Dorothy, 3 Oct. 1572, and her marriage, 2 July 1595, to John Talbot; also the birth of John, son of John Talbot, 13 Dec. 1607 'in the greate froste'; also, 'in die martis videlicet secundo die decembris 1628 et Caroli 4^o in unvera natus fuit thome whyt filius Ro: Whyt de magna eccleston (*Great Eccleston, Lancashire*) inter horam sextam et septimam eiusdem diei'. The latest date is 19 Dec. 1645, the marriage of Leonard [*read* Lawrence] Tomlinson and Ann Smyth.¹

This kind of post-Reformation family annotation of a pre-Reformation devotional document is, of course,

1 N. R. Ker, *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*, III: *Lampeter–Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 52–6. I am grateful to Dr O. Pickering for first drawing this manuscript to my attention. I have also received helpful advice from Professor Peter Meredith, Dr Mary Swan, Mlle Marie-Caroline Hurtaud, and Dr Alan Crosby.

relatively common. However, this particular set of family annotations has never previously been examined; and although some entries are no longer fully legible (due either to an indistinct script or the fading and smudging of the ink), over twenty births and marriages from the Braddyll, Talbot, and White families can now be positively identified for the first time.

Such a wealth of biographical information makes it feasible to consider the secular ownership and possible devotional use of this book of hours between 1537 and 1645, within the broader context of the Braddyll family's extensive gains from monastic despoliation in Lancashire; and later in relation to the known recusancy of several members of the Talbot and White families.² Furthermore, this evidence of ownership may cast some light on the book's possible earlier provenance, in that the Braddyll family was closely involved in the dispersal of the lands and property of various monastic institutions, including the Cistercian abbey of Whalley in Lancashire from the time of its confiscation and the execution of its abbot, John Paslew, in 1537. In this respect, the Braddyll family's book of hours provides an interesting example of how what was originally a Catholic devotional manuscript was preserved and adapted by its successive secular owners through a period of intense persecution of such beliefs in Lancashire.

2 Relatively little is known of the provenance of Brotherton MS. 15 between 1645 (the date of the last entry in the calendar) and its purchase as one of the first group of late-medieval manuscripts acquired by Lord Brotherton in the 1920s, possibly from the booksellers Charles J. Sawyer Ltd, 12-13 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London. There is no definite record of purchase in the Brotherton Collection archives. I am grateful to Mr C. D. W. Sheppard for this information. On a loose sheet of paper included with the manuscript, a previous owner, John Ingleby Jefferson, noted: 'This book belonged formerly to Miss Ann Ingleby, then Robert Ingleby 1860 then John Ingleby 1863 then John Ingleby Jefferson 1897. Entries relate to Talbot family of Bashall'. These Inglebys do not appear to be related to the Ingliby family of Ripley Castle (Yorks. W.R.). As this article demonstrates, Jefferson was mistaken in attributing the calendar entries to the Talbots of Bashall. The only other evidence of earlier ownership is the words: 'William Sproate Booke' written on f. 105v., according to Ker (p. 56) in a seventeenth-century hand.

I

The calendar, penned in black with feasts marked in red, is typical of English script and illumination of the second half of the fifteenth century, although no marks of composition, ownership, or donation from this period are apparent. Figure 1 details in chronological order all legible and partly legible family entries of births, marriages, and deaths in the calendar. Where possible, brief identifications are provided, along with cross-references to the simplified family trees of the Braddylls, Talbots, and Whites (Figs 2–5), illustrations from the manuscript (Figs 6 and 7), and entries in parish registers (if they have survived).³ It has not always been feasible to match an entry with an exact day of the month since some entries are written on the far right-hand side of the page, or over several days, or are not clearly linked with a particular day. Several of the birth entries, especially for the Talbot children born between 1597 and 1613 (Fig. 4), are accompanied by exact details of the day of the week and hour of the day, followed by what appears to be some kind of shorthand astrological record or horoscope (e.g. Fig. 6, 25 July 1599, birth of Edward Talbot). No attempt has been made in Figure 1 to transcribe these sections of the entries in the calendar.

³ The following genealogical works (although in parts highly unreliable and to be used with caution) have been consulted: *The visitation of Lancashire and a part of Cheshire A.D. 1533, by special commission of Thomas Benalt, Clarendieux, part I*, ed. William Langton (C.S. [old ser.], XCVIII, 1876); *The visitation of the county palatine of Lancaster 1567, by William Flower, Esq., Norroy King of Arms*, ed. F. R. Raines (C.S. [old ser.], LXXXI, 1870); and *The visitation of the county palatine of Lancaster 1664–5, by Sir William Dugdale, Knight, Norroy King of Arms*, ed. F. R. Raines (C.S. [old ser.], LXXXIV, LXXXV, LXXXVIII, 1872–3). T. D. Whitaker, *A history of the original parish of Whalley* (1818 edn), p. 244, provides a more accurate descent of the Braddyll family but perhaps the most reliable is found in W. A. Abram, *A history of Blackburn, town and parish* (Blackburn, 1877), pp. 438–41. *The registers of the parish church of Whalley, 1538–1601*, ed. T. B. Ecroyd (L.P.R.S., 1900). References to other parish registers have been checked against the 1992 edition of the International Genealogical Index (IGI).

II

The origins of the Braddyll family in Lancashire can be traced back to Roger of Braddyll (in Billington) (d. before 1211); and a branch of the family from nearby Brockhall provided the direct ancestors of the sixteenth-century Braddylls listed in the calendar of Brotherton MS. 15. From the early fourteenth century they had extensive dealings with the major landowners of the area, the abbots of Whalley. In the 1330s, for example, John Braddyll released his rights to land in Billington to Richard Topcliffe, the abbot's brother, and in 1347 his son, William Braddyll, resided on the same estate (still under the direct control of Whalley abbey).⁴ The Braddylls continued to live in this part of Lancashire until the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, when Edward Braddyll (c. 1480–1553) of Brockhall was the head of the family (Fig. 2).

The suppression in 1536 of Whalley abbey, dedicated to St Mary, followed by its confiscation and the execution in March 1537 of its abbot, John Paslew, for his (disputed) involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace, are well documented events in the history of Catholicism in Lancashire.⁵ Of especial interest to this article, however, is the prominent role played by John Braddyll (d. 1578) in the dispersal of the abbey's lands and property after 1537. Following Abbot Paslew's execution, Robert Radcliffe, earl of Sussex (c. 1483–1542), then Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire, was responsible for pacifying the county. It seems that by early April 1537 he had moved from his usual residence, Ordsall Hall near Manchester, to set up his headquarters in the abbot's lodgings at Whalley. A detailed inventory of the abbey's property was compiled and Richard Pollard, one of the king's surveyors, arrived in Whalley to

4 *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VI, pp. 329–30.

5 *V.C.H. Lancs.*, II, pp. 39–44, 137–8; VI, pp. 381–2; S. T. Taylor-Taswell, *Whalley church and abbey* (Blackburn, 1905), pp. 115, 173–88; G. A. Williams, *Locus benedictus (the blessed place): the story of Whalley abbey* (Blackburn, 1995), pp. 96–120. An eye-witness chronicle of these events was compiled by the antiquary Thomas Talbot of Salesbury (a distant relative of the Talbots of Carr Hall), now B.L. Cotton MS. Vespasian D. XVII: *The narrative of the indictment of the traitors of Whalley and Cartmell, 1536–7*, ed. J. E. W. Wallis (C.S. new ser. XC, 1931), p. 15.

supervise the letting out of the abbey's lands (or demesnes) in small units to local people, now as tenants of the Crown. On 12 April 1539 by royal letters patent the bailiwick of the demesnes was formally delivered to John Braddyll of Brockhall, effectively appointing him as the bailiff of the whole Whalley abbey estate, which was still in royal sequestration. But, as has been noted by G. A. Williams, the most recent historian of the abbey, it seems likely that Braddyll had effectively been carrying out these duties since immediately after the attainder when the monastery was disbanded.⁶

The abbey remained in sequestration for the next fifteen years until 15 June 1553, when Braddyll, in partnership with Richard Assheton of Lever (whose niece Anne married Braddyll's son and heir Edward in the following year: Fig. 2), purchased the property from the Crown for £2,132 3s. 9d.⁷ It is not clear why these two men chose to invest such a large sum in the property at such a perilous time for beneficiaries of the Dissolution. Only twenty days later King Edward VI died and the heir presumptive, Princess Mary, as a staunch Catholic had already pledged to return the monasteries to their original state. Nevertheless, the sale went ahead and Assheton acquired exclusive possession of the former abbot's lodgings and their immediate environs while Braddyll became the owner of most of the outlying abbey lands.⁸

Returning to the period immediately following the suppression of the abbey, it is clear that John Braddyll would have had every opportunity to take possession of various household items, including books and manuscripts, from the

- 6 Williams, *Locus benedictus*, p. 119, suggests that the earl of Sussex may have 'invited him to assume the responsibilities of the bailiff before he left Whalley sometime in the early part of April 1537, and now, two years later, the appointment had received royal confirmation'.
- 7 *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VI, p. 382; Williams, *Locus benedictus*, p. 120. Taylor-Taswell, *Whalley*, pp. 175ff, reprints the legal documents relating to this sale.
- 8 In purely financial terms, Braddyll gained most from this division, as is confirmed by his additional payment to Assheton of £467 16s. 8d. by way of compensation: Williams, *Locus benedictus*, p. 122.

library and the abbot's lodgings. It should be emphasized here, of course, that this article does not seek to assert that Brotherton MS. 15 definitely came from Whalley abbey, since the Braddyll family may have acquired it either from another monastic source (John Braddyll dealt extensively in monastic properties) or indirectly from another secular owner. The Braddylls may even have been its private owners from the time of its composition.⁹ But the evidence supplied by the entries in the calendar, albeit circumstantial, suggests at least the possibility that Braddyll may have acquired some books and manuscripts (whether or not this included Brotherton MS. 15) from Whalley abbey during the 1530s. Indeed, some prized devotional items were probably already in the process of being removed from the abbey into secular hands immediately before its suppression. It seems likely, for example, that the staunchly Catholic Towneley family took into its possession for safe-keeping some of the abbey's most valued eucharistic vestments at about the time of the visitation of Thomas Cromwell's commissioners in 1535, almost certainly with the abbot's agreement.¹⁰

As already mentioned, a detailed inventory was completed for the earl of Sussex on 24 March 1537 of the abbey's goods and chattels, including vestments, furniture, fittings, and silverware. Reference was also made to 'The Litle Revestury Next Unto the Library' (probably situated in the east walk of the cloisters where the remains of book cupboards are still visible), although no specific volumes were mentioned.¹¹ Nevertheless, eight surviving manuscripts from Whalley abbey, now in institutional libraries, were probably dispersed at this

- 9 Whitaker, *History of Whalley* (1818 edn), p. 244, mentions using 'MS (no 57) of the Braddyll family' (now lost), a volume containing transcripts relating to monastic lands acquired by John Braddyll, including those from Kirkstall, Whalley, Cockersand, Newbo, Vale Royal, Pontefract, Witton, Monkbretton, and Norton.
- 10 Williams, *Locus benedictus*, p. 118. Abbot Paslew was accused of selling off some of the abbey's plate to support the costs of his becoming a mitred abbot: *VC.H. Lancs.*, II, p. 137.
- 11 *The coucher book or chartulary of Whalley abbey*, ed. W. A. Hulton (4 vols, C.S. [old ser.], X, XI, XVI, XX), IV, p. 1262.

period.¹² Other important administrative manuscripts, most notably the coucher book (a record of deeds, charters, donations, and annual expenditure begun in 1347) and the act book of the ecclesiastical court for 1510–38, are also known to have passed into private hands following the suppression of the abbey.¹³

It is clear that John Braddyll was likely to have been a keen collector of monastic documents and manuscripts, for both financial and personal reasons. On a practical level, as the first purchaser of the bulk of the Whalley abbey lands he would naturally have had an interest in obtaining its estate papers, especially since, as a protégé of Sir Thomas Holcroft, one of the most prolific dealers in monastic properties, Braddyll was well aware of the immense profits to be made through such trading. Although the Braddyll family papers have long since been dispersed, Richard Cottam, steward of the Braddylls' property at Portfield (in Whalley) during the mid-eighteenth century, fortunately preserved a miscellaneous collection of

- 12 *Medieval libraries of Great Britain*, ed. N. R. Ker (2nd edn, London, 1964), pp. 197, 314; *Supplement*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1987), pp. 68 (correcting the Canterbury cathedral entry), 112. Thomas Tanner, *Notitia monastica*, ed. J. Nasmith (Cambridge, 1787), under 'Lancashire, XVII: Locus Benedictus de Whalley', contains an extensive list of manuscripts from Whalley abbey, including B.L. Harleian MS. 2063: 'collectanea ex libro de Whalley'.
- 13 The coucher book, an octavo volume of 749 pages, closely written on vellum, is known to have been owned in 1649 by Sir Ralph Assheton, the then owner of Whalley Abbey, whose great-grandfather Ralph (d. 1587) had inherited the estate from his uncle Richard Assheton (d. 1572), the original purchaser (along with John Braddyll) of the abbey's properties and land: *V.C.H. Lancs.*, II, p. 131; *Coucher book*, I, p. iii. Some of the original deeds from which the coucher book was compiled are preserved in the B.L. Harleian collection. Many of these items seem to have been collected by the antiquary Thomas Talbot, whose papers are preserved in the Harleian, Cottonian, and Lansdowne collections: *Narrative of indictment*, p. 15; *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VI, p. 252; *Act book of the ecclesiastical court of Whalley, 1510–1538*, ed. Alice M. Cooke (C.S. new ser. XLIV, 1901). Cooke speculates that the original manuscript, now in the library of Stonyhurst College, may have been acquired by Sir Richard Shireburn of Stonyhurst. Other surviving manuscripts from Whalley abbey are detailed in Seymour De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (3 vols, New York, 1935–40); and *Supplement*, ed. C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond (New York, 1962), items 658, 1045, 1869. *V.C.H. Lancs.*, II, p. 139, notes B.L. Add.

Braddyll documents (now in the Lancashire Record Office, Preston). These documents include seven fourteenth-century items from Whalley abbey, and letters patent dated 1482, also from the abbey, settling a dispute over Bowland tithes.¹⁴

On a personal level, it seems that John Braddyll would have valued literary and devotional works also for their own sake. In 1553 he sent his eldest son and heir Edward (1533–1607) to study at St John's College, Cambridge; and the Richard Braddyll of Lancashire who matriculated from Christ's College in the following year was almost certainly his second son, who progressed to Gray's Inn in 1559 and became a barrister.¹⁵ John Braddyll himself was one of the earliest known secular collectors of books in Lancashire. As Christopher Haigh has established, the first definite reference to a non-religious book in lay hands in Lancashire is found in 1543 in the will of William Trafford, which refers to a richly bound 'new book'. Richard Towneley (of the family which acquired eucharistic vestments from Whalley abbey) is known in 1556 to have possessed a copy of Erasmus's *Paraphrases*. But it is not until the will of John Braddyll, made in 1575 three years before his death, that evidence is found of a collection of books in private hands.¹⁶ After various tributes and bequests

MS. 10374, 'Liber Loci Benedicti de Whalley', a miscellaneous register extending from 1296 to 1346. *Ibid.*, II, p. 131, records that other Whalley abbey documents, not included in theoucher book, were transcribed by Christopher Towneley (d. 1674) into another volume, then owned by William Farrar, who also possessed the original accounts of the abbey bursars for the years 1485–1506 and 1509–37.

- 14 R. Sharpe France, *Guide to the Lancashire Record Office* (Preston, 1985), p. 200, Whalley Abbey MSS. (DDBr): confirmation of grant of Toxteth and Smeedon 1316; licence to grant moiety of manor of Billington 1318 (later a Braddyll property); confirmation of vicarage of Whalley 1331; inspeximus of plea roll concerning trespass in Rossendale 1347; exemplification of annexation of St Michael in Castro, Clitheroe, to Whalley church 1368; exemplification of plea in chancery concerning various activities of abbot 1377; confirmation of grant of advowson of Whalley 1399. I am grateful to the staff of the Lancashire Record Office for their assistance in examining these documents.
- 15 *Alumni Cantabrigienses to 1751*, ed. J. Venn and J. A. Venn, I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 199.
- 16 C. Haigh, *Reformation and resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 101.

to family and friends (including payment for prayers to be said for 'Sr Thomas Holcrofte knight deceased . . . my special good maister'), John Braddyll made the following bequest to his eldest son Edward: 'I doe geve unto my saied sonne Edward Braddill all my bookes as well Statutes Chronecles as other excepte one great booke [*insertion above the line maide*] by Sr Thomas more Knight w[hic]h I doe geve to Jenet Braddill my daughter.'¹⁷ The term 'one great booke' almost certainly refers to a folio printed book, suggesting that John Braddyll's daughter Janet, the wife of Ughtred Morley (Fig. 2), probably received a copy of *The Workes of Sir T. More* (1557).¹⁸ Otherwise, the Braddyll collection of books, including presumably the Brotherton book of hours, descended intact to Edward Braddyll, whose exact date of birth (hitherto unknown) is the earliest Braddyll family entry made in the calendar. As detailed in Figure 1, for example under the entry for the marriage of Anne Braddyll to Thomas Southworth on 5 October 1584, Edward Braddyll also made some of the entries in the calendar in his own hand.

III

From later entries in the calendar of Brotherton MS. 15, it seems probable that Edward Braddyll eventually gave the book to his daughter Dorothy (1572–c. 1633/4), who married John Talbot of Carr in 1595 (Figs 2 and 4). Certainly, the bulk of the entries made between 1595 and 1613 (Fig. 1) refer to the births of their children, along with a few selective references to some of Dorothy's immediate Braddyll relatives. It seems likely that most of these entries may have been made in Dorothy's own hand.

17 Quoted by permission of the county archivist from the original will: Lancs. R.O., WCW (1607). The text printed in *Lancashire and Cheshire wills and inventories from the ecclesiastical court, Chester*, ed. G. J. Piccope, (C.S. [old ser.], LI, 1860), pp. 106–13, is unreliable.

18 The only other works of More in print by 1575 in folio were *The confutacyon of Tyndales answer* (1532–3), two editions of *Dyalogue of the veneration & worshyp of ymagys* (1529, 1530); and *The supplycacyon of soulys* (1529).

At this point, it also becomes relevant to consider the religious affiliations of the book's first three probable owners after the Dissolution, John Braddyll, his son Edward, and his granddaughter Dorothy Talbot. John Braddyll would obviously have been raised as a Catholic during the early years of the sixteenth century. Similarly, there is little reason to doubt that Edward would also have been christened under Catholic rites, even though a baptismal record for him has not been traced. Edward's second son, also named Edward (b. 1563), after matriculating in 1579 from Brasenose College, Oxford, and entering Gray's Inn in 1581, became a Catholic priest. He travelled to Rheims in 1583 and was ordained at Laon in 1587, arriving back in England in the same year. After apparently serving on the Lancashire mission for the next twenty years, he was imprisoned at Lancaster in 1607 for failing to obey a banishment order. Eleven years later he was again arrested and banished but there is evidence that he was still working in Lancashire as late as 1630.¹⁹

Edward's two eldest siblings, John (b. 1557) and Jane (b. 1558), both married into the Brockholes family of Claughton (in Garstang), who regularly figured in the Recusant Rolls.²⁰ Their sister Anne (b. 1562) married on 5 October 1584 (as recorded in the calendar of Brotherton MS. 15) Thomas Southworth, a member of another staunchly Catholic Lancashire family (Fig. 2).²¹ The union of Dorothy Braddyll on 2 July 1595 to John Talbot added yet another openly acknowledged Catholic affiliation to the network of prominent Lancashire families linked by marriage to the Braddylls.

Various branches of the Talbots had been tenants of lands owned by Whalley abbey since at least the second half of the

- 19 G. Anstruther, *The seminary priests. a dictionary of the secular clergy of England and Wales 1558-1850*, I (Durham, 1968), pp. 45-6; *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, I (Oxford, 1891), p. 166; *Visitation of Lancs. 1664-5*, p. 47.
- 20 e.g. *Recusant roll, 1592-3*, ed. M. M. C. Calthrop (Catholic Record Society, XVIII, 1916), pp. 179, 192.
- 21 Haigh, *Reformation and resistance*, pp. 317-18; Anstruther, *Seminary priests*, I, pp. 326-8 (Christopher Southworth); II (Great Wakering, 1975), pp. 306-8 (John Southworth, martyr).

fifteenth century, and they were widely known as recusants during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.²² The family's ardent commitment to Catholicism remained unwavering throughout the next two centuries. John Talbot's younger brother Thomas (b. 1573), for example, was in Rome by June 1591 and ordained as a Jesuit priest at the English College there in 1598, later serving on the Lancashire mission until his death in 1652.²³ In 1613 his translation from the Italian of the Jesuit John Alberio Buronzo's *The practice of meditating with profit* was published.²⁴ Some thirty years later Dorothy's husband John was obliged to compound for the two thirds of his estate liable to sequestration for recusancy, paying in 1629 an annual fine of £6 13s. 4d.²⁵ In March 1653 their grandson George Talbot (c. 1624–c. 1708) had his estate sequestered for delinquency and recusancy, charges which he was still fighting unsuccessfully in December 1654.²⁶

Following the entries for the births of John and Dorothy Talbot's children between 1597 and 1613, there is a gap of some fifteen years until the entry (in an entirely different hand) of the birth on 2 December 1628 of Thomas, son of Robert White of Great Eccleston in Lancashire (Fig. 1). It seems likely that either a member of the Talbot family made this entry, or the ownership of the book had passed from the Talbots to the Whites. The White family would have been baptized, married, and buried at the parish church of St Michael on Wyre, but unfortunately no registers have

22 *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VI, p. 235; Haigh, *Reformation and resistance*, pp. 317–18.

23 J. Gillow, *A literary and biographical history, or biographical dictionary of the English Catholics* (5 vols, London, 1885–1902), V, p. 537; *Index and finding list* (Ross-on-Wye, 1985). *Liber ruber venerabilis collegii anglorum de urbe: nomina alumnorum, 1579–1630*, ed. Wilfrid Kelly and others (Catholic Record Society, XXXVII, 1940), p. 81; Anstruther, *Seminary priests*, I, pp. 344–5.

24 'Imprinted at Mackline by Henrie Ieay' (1613), *S.T.C.* 4125. I have consulted the *Short-title catalogue* microfilm 1129 (Huntington Library copy) of this tract.

25 *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VI, p. 236.

26 *Calendar of the proceedings of the committee for advance of money, 1642–56*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (3 vols, London, 1888), p. 1462; cf. pp. 902, 907–8; *Calendar of the proceedings of the committee for compounding, 1643–60*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (5 vols, London, 1889–92), p. 3129.

survived for this parish before 1649. Hence it becomes virtually impossible to establish from church records (usually the most informative and reliable documents in such matters) the exact nature of the link between the Talbots of Carr and the Whites of Great Eccleston. They may have been connected by marriage (perhaps a Talbot daughter married into the White family), by friendship, or even by their kindred commitment to the preservation of Catholic rites in Lancashire.

Records of the White family of Great Eccleston may be traced from the 1332 Exchequer lay subsidy of Edward III to that of Henry VIII in 1546. However, in lieu of the parish registers, Henry Fishwick's research, published in 1891, into the wills of various members of the White family before 1650 remains the most informative source of information about the family. As Fishwick established, a John White died in 1559, leaving land and property in Great Eccleston to his cousin Nicholas (b. c. 1539).²⁷ From Nicholas's will, dated 25 October 1613, it is known that he had living at that date four sons and four daughters (Fig. 5). His eldest son Robert married Isabel Kirkby of Upper Rawcliffe and had three sons, of whom Thomas's birth on 2 December 1628 was noted in the Brotherton book of hours.

As in many other recusant Lancashire families, it was the women who maintained the most resolute and public adherence to the Catholic faith. On 10 October 1610 a list of local recusants was submitted to the consistory court at Chester, including the name of Nicholas White's wife Isabel, and that of their daughter-in-law Isabel. In neither instance was the male head of the household included on the recusancy list. Despite the open Catholicism of his mother and wife, Robert White appears to have prospered during the next twenty years, and in 1632 he was listed as compounding for knighthood. By 1641 he even appeared to be willing to conform to the protestant religion since he took the Protestation oath. However, his wife was still listed as refusing to do so, and it seems that her influence eventually prevailed

27 H. Fishwick, *The history of the parish of St. Michaels-on-Wyre*, (C.S. new ser. XXV, 1891), pp. 190-2.

since by 1650 the estate of Robert White was under sequestration for delinquency.²⁸

Once again, the loss of the relevant parish registers thwarts any authoritative attempt to link the White family with that of the Tomlinsons, the last name to appear in the calendar of the Brotherton book of hours, with the marriage on 19 December 1645 of Lawrence (not 'Leonard' as recorded by Ker) Tomlinson and Ann Smith. Without any further corroborative evidence, it can only be surmised that this Lawrence may have been a member of one of the numerous branches of the Tomlinson family living variously in the parishes or parochial chapelries of Broughton (near Preston), Preston, Woodplumpton, St Michael on Wyre, Blackburn, Clitheroe, and Ecclestone by Chorley. Nor is it clear from the entry whether either Lawrence Tomlinson or Ann Smith was the book's new owner. As with so many family records in later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Bibles, the entries suddenly cease without explanation, leaving no clues as to how the volume came to be in the possession of the Ingleby family during the mid-nineteenth century.

IV

Apart from the intrinsic interest in establishing the identities of the early owners of such an important late-medieval devotional manuscript as Brotherton MS. 15, the entries in the calendar also provide some clues towards understanding how a volume compiled in the second half of the fifteenth century as a celebration of the Catholic Church's spiritual and aesthetic veneration for the Blessed Virgin Mary survived in secular ownership through a long period of intense persecution of such beliefs. As is clear from Ker's description of the manuscript, numerous erasures were made to both its texts and illuminations, either by one individual or by several

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 52; *Calendar for compounding*, pp. 2506-7 (16 Aug. 1650), contains details of claimants on the estate of the late Robert White of Kirkland [i.e. St Michael on Wyre] and Garstang, Lancashire, but it is not certain that he was the individual named in the calendar.

over a period of time. These erasures, along with some later reinsertions and additions, are largely of three kinds (page references are to Ker, *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*, III).

1. The erasure of English rubrics to Latin prayers, for example in a small collection of private devotional prayers ('Thes prayers folowynge ought for to be said or ye departe out of youre chambre at your vprysyng', ff. 9–12v.). The English rubrics, along with some of the Latin texts immediately below them, have been carefully erased by rubbing, with only one passage of text replaced at a later date (Ker, p. 52, art. 3). Although this passage of reinserted text is penned in a script which is a good match to the original, the density and colour of the ink is much sharper, suggesting that these textual reinsertions may have been discontinued more on aesthetic than devotional grounds.

It is also noticeable that the numerous erasures found throughout most of the volume generally seem to have been made with some care, as though the rubrics, texts, and illuminations were being prepared for meticulous emendation rather than simply being desecrated by a crude scoring through or even tearing of the pages (a style more characteristic of some of the iconoclastic censorship of manuscripts during the 1530s and 1540s). In some cases, it appears that attempts have been made (with varying degrees of success) to wash out the red ink of the rubrics rather than to rub it away, thereby leading to an unintended smudging of the black ink of the text in the immediate vicinity. These characteristics may suggest that its owners at the time of the Dissolution of the monasteries were concerned to safeguard their book of hours by making the required emendations to conform to the new liturgical rites. Furthermore, the extensive use throughout the manuscript of English rubrics is in itself interesting. Such usage may imply that it was originally compiled for secular rather than monastic use, perhaps even for some fifteenth-century member of the Braddyll family.

2. The erasure of references to the saints, with some replaced, although those to St Thomas of Canterbury have sometimes not been reinserted. For example, in the calendar (ff. 1–6v.; Ker, p. 52, art. 1), St Thomas has been erased at 7 July (and later reinserted) and 29 December (left blank), and in the memorials of the saints (ff. 24–47) most have been

replaced, except again for St Thomas (Ker, p. 53, art. 6). Similarly, in a collection of the penitential psalms and the following litany (ff. 117–19), the names in the litany have been partly erased (Ker, p. 55, art. 19). Various later marks dividing up the text (usually numbers, miscellaneous symbols, or pointing hands) have been inserted in some sections of the left-hand margin of the manuscript, again suggesting that revision rather than mere iconoclasm provided the motive for many of the deletions and emendations.

3. The defacing of references and illuminations relating to the Blessed Virgin Mary, with perhaps the worst affected being the collection of devotions (ff. 47–77), beginning with the ‘Salve regina’ and the ‘Virgo mater ecclesie’. A small image, measuring 55 mm. by 55 mm., probably of the seated Virgin and Child (f. 53), has also been defaced. (Ker, pp. 52–3, art. 7; p. 56). Perhaps the most striking defacement has been made to what appears to be a full-page illustration of the burial service (now f. 7v. but, as Ker, p. 55 suggests, perhaps misplaced from before f. 103), in which the figures of the priest and (probably) a deacon have been rubbed and/or washed out, along with similar defacements to the area in which the mourners are represented.

Finally, some other miscellaneous additions to the manuscript should also be noted. On the verso of the leaf (f. iii) facing January of the calendar is written:

The furst age ys Infancye/that lastyth from the byrth vnto vij yere of age./The second ys Chylhdhod/that enduryth vnto xv yere age./The thyrd age ys adholocencye./that enduryth vnto xxv yere of age./The fourth age ys youthe/that enduryth vnto xxxv yere of age./The fyfth age is manhode/that enduryth vnto l yere of age./The vj age ys age that lastyth vnto lxx yere of age./The vij age of man ys a crepyll that enduryth vnto dethe.

Some brief ‘Prognostications from thunder’ have also been added on the same page (f. iii verso), and four lines of verse were penned at the foot of each page of the calendar, beginning: ‘The fyrst vi yeres of manys birth and aege/May well be compared to Ianyuer’. Ker suggests that these additions date from the second half of the sixteenth century (Ker, p. 56, art. 26) but this dating seems rather too exclusive (and perhaps too late), since the hands on the flyleaf are more typical of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, while that

on the bottom of each page of the calendar seems more likely to be from the early sixteenth century.²⁹ While it is possible that these additions were made at approximately the time when the birth of Edward Braddyll (27 October 1533) was added to the calendar, there can be no certainty that they belong to the period when the book is definitely known to have been owned by the Braddyll family. In fact, the only other conclusive attribution of secular ownership is found in a litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary (ff. 115v.–116) and a copy of psalm 6 (f. 116v.) which is signed 'Nicholas White', almost certainly the Nicholas who was father of the Robert and grandfather of the Thomas named in the calendar (Figs 1 and 5).³⁰

By far the most informative additions to the manuscript remain the family records of births, marriages, and deaths added to its calendar during a period of intense persecution of the Catholic faith. It is, of course, impossible to define with total confidence the true spiritual allegiance of the book's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century owners. But it is clear that for the Braddyll, Talbot, and White families personal devotions often ran entirely contrary to the demands of national religion. John Braddyll (c. 1505–78) may have grown rich on the despoliation of the monasteries but his will, along with the surviving Braddyll family papers at the Lancashire Record Office, indicate that he placed significant value on monastic documents and printed books. His son Edward (1533–1607) had one son, also Edward, who became a Catholic priest, and he allowed at least four of his other children to marry into known recusant families. It should also not be forgotten that the elder Edward's three wives, Anne Assheton, Helen Starkey, and Elizabeth Pollard, all came from families with reputations for recusancy.³¹ As for Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot, who seems to have been the

29 Ker, p. 56, states that these additions were 'added in s. xvi²', but O. S. Pickering and S. Powell, *A handlist of manuscripts containing Middle English prose in Yorkshire libraries and archives: the index of Middle English prose, handlist VI* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 6, more cautiously date them to 's.xv ex./s.xvi in.'

30 The hand in which they are written is characteristic of the early to mid-seventeenth century, suggesting that the text, if by Nicholas White, had been copied from another source.

31 Haigh, *Reformation and resistance*, pp. 174, 293; *Recusant roll, 1592–3*, pp. 173, 185, 190, 205, 240, 242.

person responsible for many of the entries in the calendar, it seems difficult to believe from the record of recusancy among members of her immediate family that she was not a practising Catholic. Nor should we underestimate the symbolic and spiritual significance of several generations of Lancastrian families adding their names to a late-medieval book of hours honouring the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints. Such a volume may have been regarded by its successive owners as, variously, an interesting aesthetic object, an antiquarian curio, a prized family heirloom, an aid to private prayer and meditation, and—perhaps most potently—as a defaced and desecrated (but still highly valued) family icon of their persecuted Catholic faith.

Figure 1 *Family annotations in the calendar of Brotherton MS. 15* (all dates are in New Style)

27 October 1533: ‘hodie natus fuit edwardus Braddyll receptor cumbriae Anno domini 1533’.

The birth of Edward (buried 6 Oct. 1607), son of John Braddyll (buried 18 Nov. 1578) of Whalley Abbey. Figs 2 and 7.

25 March 1571: ‘Jo: Talbot sonne of Ge: Talbot borne/anno 1571 about XI of the clocke of morning y^t/beinge Sunday’.

The birth of John (baptized 27 Mar. 1571: *Whalley registers*, p. 44), son of George Talbot (d. 1629). John married Dorothy Braddyll on 2 July 1595. Fig. 4.

2 October 1572: ‘Dorethy dougther of Ed: Bradyll borne Anno 1572’.

The birth of Dorothy (baptized 4 Oct. 1572: *Whalley registers*, p. 46 but given in IGI as 3 Oct. 1572), daughter of Edward Braddyll (1533–1607). Dorothy married John Talbot (b. 1571) on 2 July 1595 and died at Carr Hall c. 1633/4. Figs 2, 4, 6, and 7.

21 May 1583: ‘Natus erat edwardus filius Iohannis braddyll [armiger?]/horam quartam post merediam 1583/elizabeth =’.

The birth of Edward, son of John and Elizabeth Braddyll. According to Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, p. 244, Edward died unmarried at Oxford. Fig. 3.

5 October 1584: ‘anne braddyll marriage/being monday anno domini 1584’.

The marriage of Anne (baptized 3 Mar. 1562: *Whalley registers*, p. 30), daughter of Edward Braddyll (1533–1607). Anne married Thomas Southworth of Highfield on 5 Oct. 1584: *Whalley registers*, p. 99). After

Thomas's death, Anne married John Fisher. Figs 2 and 7. This entry was almost certainly made by Edward Braddyll (1533–1607) since the formation of the name 'braddyll' matches exactly the signature on the copy of his will in Lancs. R.O., WCW (1607), p. 26. He also appears to have made the entry for his own birth on 27 October 1533.

10 May 1585: 'circa horam tertiam ante merediem/decima dies nata fuit iohanna filia iohannis braddyll X° die/1584 et anno eliz 26/10/may'.

The birth of Joan, a daughter of John Braddyll (1557–1616). According to *Whalley registers*, pp. 60–1) John had two daughters, both baptized as Joan on 10 May in successive years (1584, 1585), the first presumably dying as an infant. Fig. 3.

25 May 1595: 'Ramus braddyll filius Johannis mort Anno Domini 1595'.

The death of Ralph (baptized 23 Mar. 1594 and buried 26 May 1595: *Whalley registers*, pp. 70, 170), son of John Braddyll (1557–1616). John later had another son, also called Ralph (baptized 29 Oct. 1600: *Whalley registers*, p. 77). Fig. 3.

2 July 1595: 'dorethy Braddill married to John Talbott anno. 1595°'.

The marriage of Dorothy (baptized 4 Oct. 1572: *Whalley registers*, p. 46), daughter of Edward Braddyll (1533–1607). Dorothy married John Talbot (b. 1571) on 2 July 1595 and died at Carr Hall c. 1633/4. Figs 2, 4, and 6.

2 May 1597: 'George Talbott was borne anno 1597 hora quasi octava vesperi [*then in another hand*] being monday'.

The birth of George, eldest son and heir of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. George presumably died young as the Talbot line descended through his younger brother, Edward (b. 25 July 1599). Fig. 4.

25 July 1599: 'Edwarde Talbott was borne/anno 1599 post meridiem/hora quasi secunda [*then in another hand*] beinge wednesday'.

The birth of Edward (d. before 1647), second son, and later heir, of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. Figs 4 and 6.

17 September 1599: 'John braddill/bowrne/anno eliz xlj/anno domini 1599/being monday'.

The birth of John (baptized 19 Sept. 1599: *Whalley registers*, p. 76), son of Edward Braddyll (1533–1607), by his third wife, Elizabeth Pollard, whom he had married on 16 Dec. 1594. Fig. 2.

[17?] April 1602: 'Margaret Talbott borne anno 1602. six of the clocke in the morning/beinge Saturday'.

The birth of Margaret, daughter of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. Fig. 4.

24 May 1603: ‘Tho: Talbott borne Anno 1603 about foure of the clocke in the morninge being/tuesday’.

The birth of Thomas, son of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. Fig. 4.

2 August 1606: ‘Marie Talbott borne Anno 1606/about twoo of the clocke in the morninge/beinge saturday’.

The birth of Mary, daughter of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. Fig. 4.

13 December 1607: ‘John Talbott sonne of John/was borne Anno 1607 about three of the clocke in the morninge/in the great froste beinge [sunday?]’.

The birth of John, son of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. Fig. 4.

[25] July 1610: ‘Frances Talbott the same day [*i.e. as Edward Talbot, see 1599 above*]/prima hora quasi secunda/[*deletion*] [*then in another hand*] beinge [wednesday?]’.

The birth of Frances or Francis, daughter or son of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. Figs 4 and 6.

[24?] September 1612: ‘Brigit Talbott borne Anno 1612 about three of the clocke in the morninge/beinge Thursday’.

The birth of Bridget, daughter of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. Fig. 4.

[23?] March 1613: ‘Eli: Talbott borne this day/beinge wednesday 1613/ [*astrological details*] beinge foure in the morninge’.

The birth of Elizabeth, daughter of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot. Fig. 4.

2 December 1628: ‘In die martis videlicet secundo die decembris 1628 et Caroli 4° in unvera natus fuit thome whyt filius Ro: whyt de magna eccleston inter horam sextam et septimam eiusdem diei’.

Birth of Thomas, son of Robert White, of Great Eccleston, Lancashire. This Thomas may have been the grandfather of Thomas White (baptized 18 July 1710) of Great Eccleston, whose will was dated 28 May 1770. Fig. 5.

[13?] March 1629: [*a largely unintelligible entry, containing the words*] ‘[Istabella?] qui quoniam fuit uxor ... de Rawcliffe ... uxor G[...?] Crosse ... Obijt in Rawcliffe ... anno domini 1629’.

Unidentified. The partially legible references to the family, or house, of ‘Crosse’ and ‘of Rawcliffe’ suggest a variety of possible links with the Whites and Tomlinsons of the Fylde peninsula.

(1) Cross House was the seat of the White family in Great Eccleston.

(2) A branch of the Tomlinson family lived near Woodplumpton (a chapelry in the parish of St Michael on Wyre), a few miles south of Great

Eccleston, and married into the Crosse family. Leonard Tomlinson, for example, married an Isabel Crosse on 4 April 1643: *The registers of Woodplumpton in the county of Lancaster, 1604-59*, ed. Henry Brierley (L.P.R.S., 1906), p. 99.

(3) The church of St Michael on Wyre contains the Butler chapel founded c. 1480 by John Butler of Rawcliffe Hall (north-west of Great Eccleston); and on the parapet of the tower are the arms and initials, dated 1611, of Henry Butler of Rawcliffe: Anon., *St. Michael's-on-Wyre parish church: a short history from A.D. 640* (Garstang, n.d.), [pp. 1, 7].

[11] May 1633: 'This day ... was ...'.

Unidentified.

19 December 1645: 'nupt Lawrence Tomlinson et Ann Smyth. 1645'.

Unidentified.

Uncertain Entries

11 March [1545?]: 'Anne Talbotte borne this day in the [morninge 1545?] beinge tuesday/and then when she was ...'.

Unidentified. The year is indistinct.

[27?] March 16[01?]: 'Anne Talbott borne Anno 16[01?] .../... of the clocke in the morninge being/fryday'.

Since the hand matches those of the other entries for the Talbot children, this Anne was probably a daughter of John and Dorothy (Braddyll) Talbot, although the date is indistinct and might be '1608' rather than '1601'. Fig. 4.

22 June [*no year given*]: 'this day I was maryd'.

Unidentified.

[12?] July 160[2?]: 'this day [Nic?] braddyll was bowrne 160[2?]'.

Unidentified.

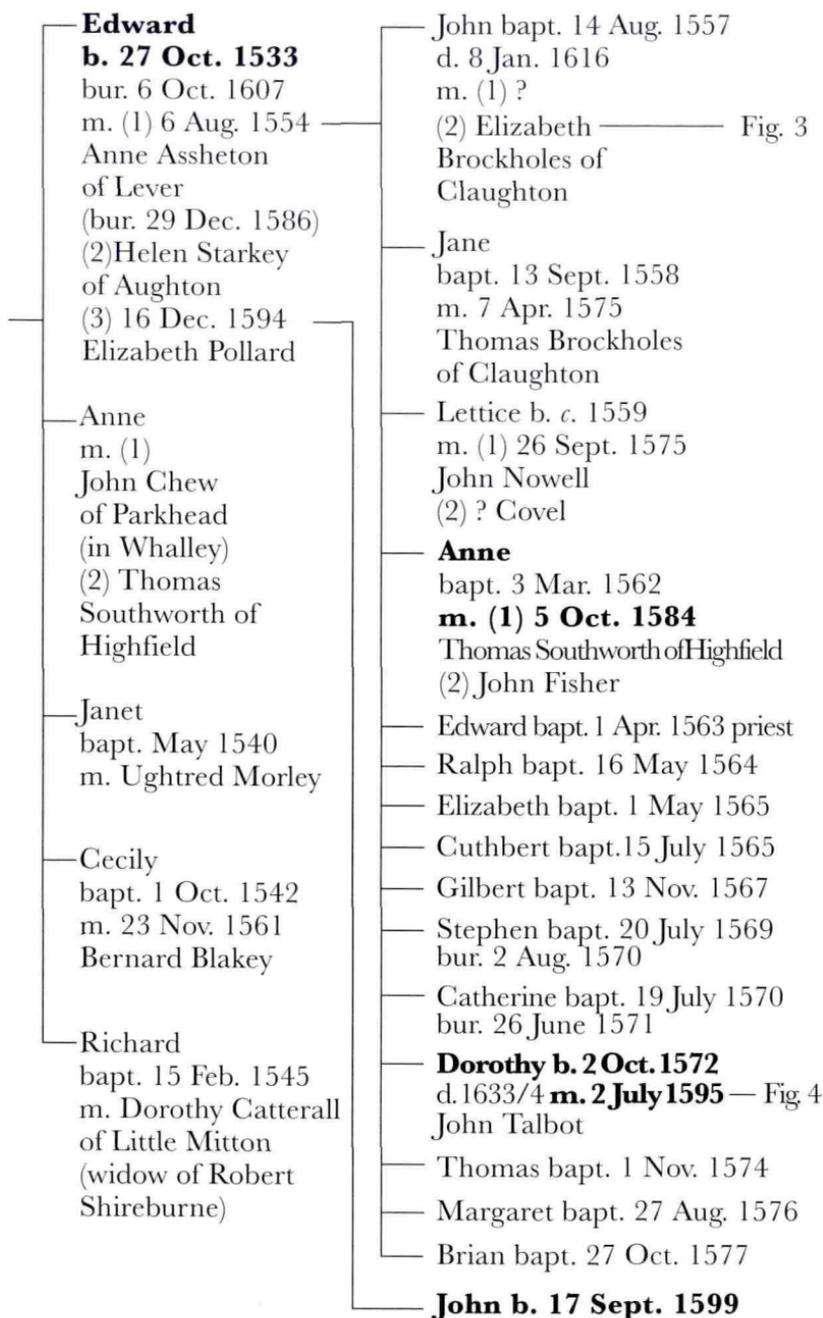
29 December 1598: 'obijt ... 'anno Eliz xxxx'°.

Unidentified.

Figure 2 is on pp. 22-3

John Braddyll		
b. <i>c.</i> 1455		
m. _____	Edward	
Emma Pollard	b. <i>c.</i> 1480	
of Billington	d. 1553	
	m. _____	John
	Janet Crombock	b. <i>c.</i> 1505
	of Clerk Hill (in	bur. 18 Nov. 1578
	Whalley)	m. _____
		1553 Joan or
		Janet Forster

Figure 2 *The Braddyll family of Brockhall and Whalley*
 (Names and events listed in the calendar are in bold)



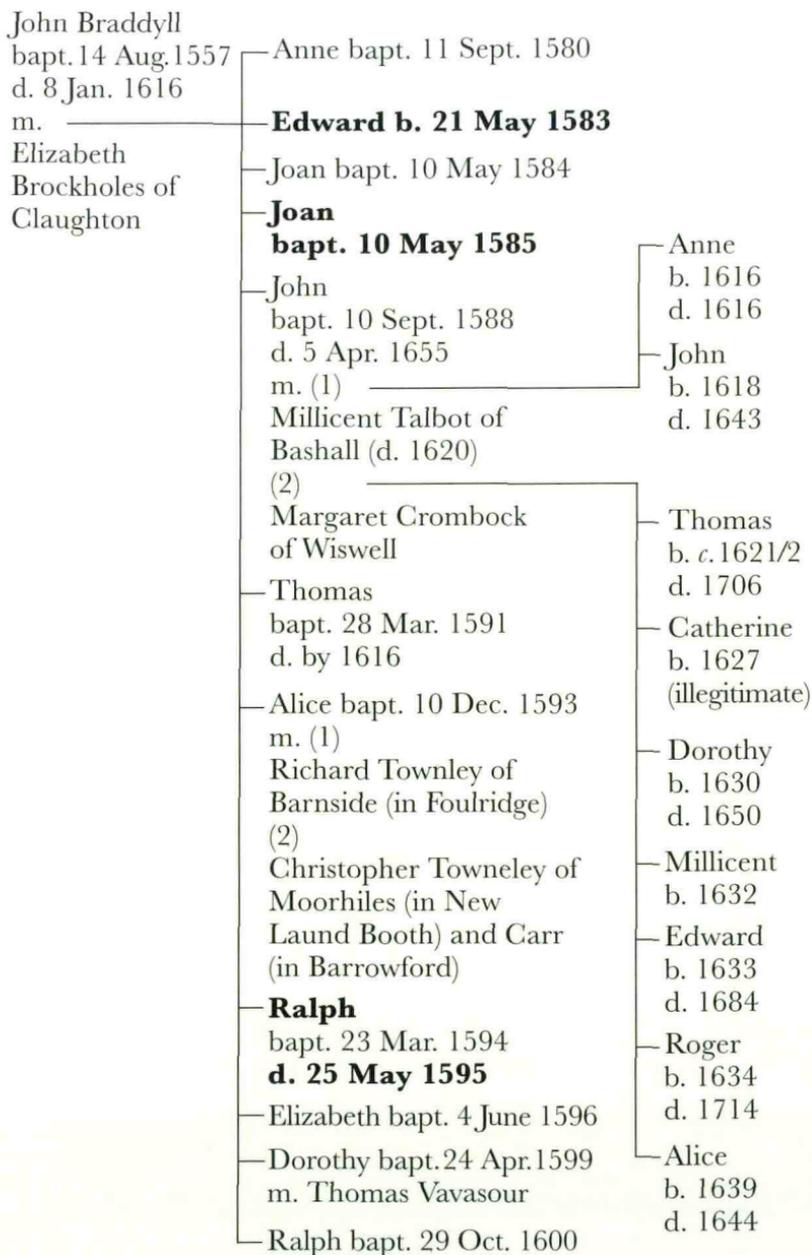


Figure 3 *The family of John Braddyll of Whalley (1557–1616)*
(Names and events listed in the calendar are in bold)

Figure 4 is on pp. 26-7

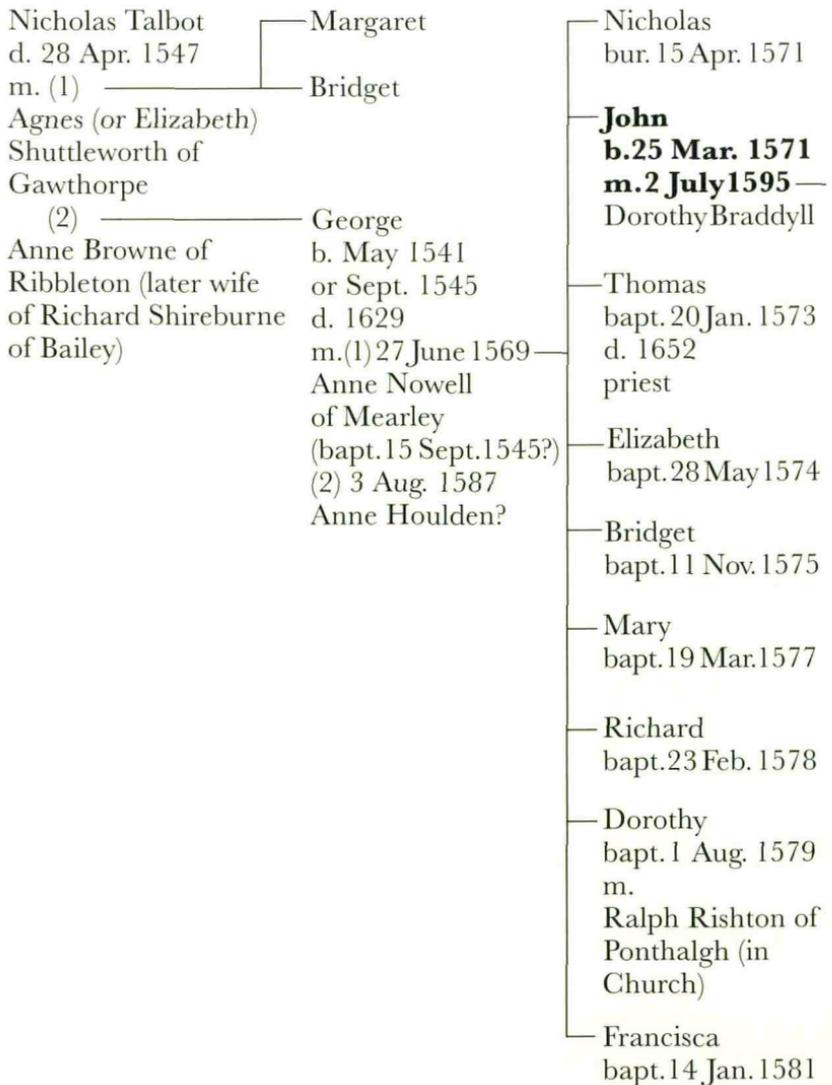
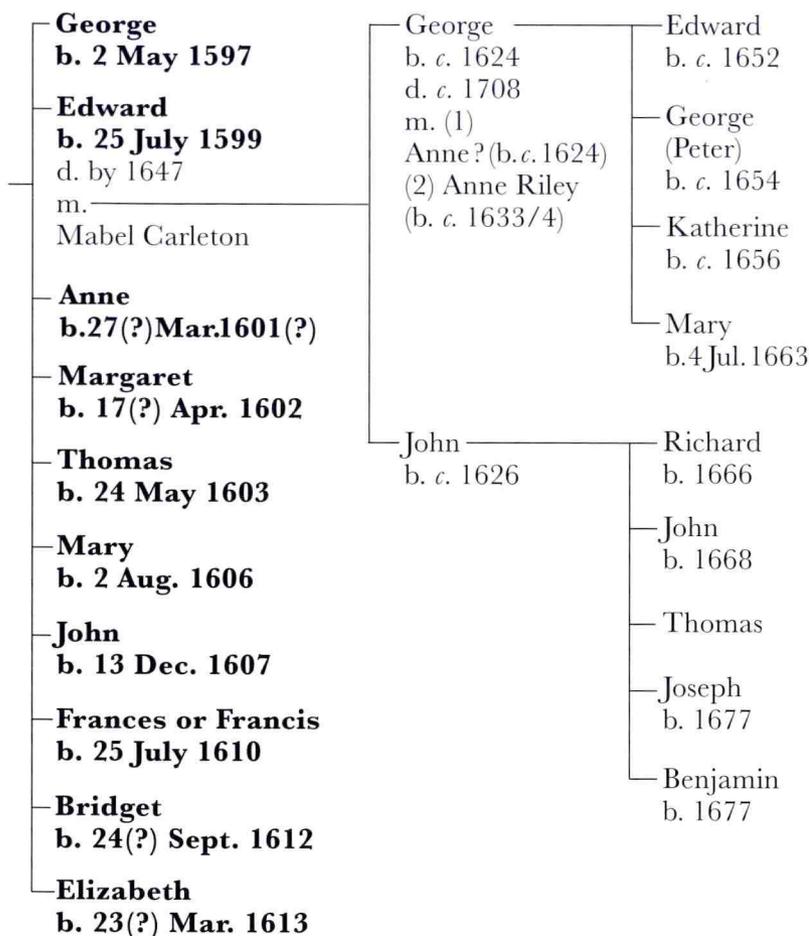


Figure 4 *The Talbot family of Carr Hall*
(Names and events listed in the calendar are in bold)



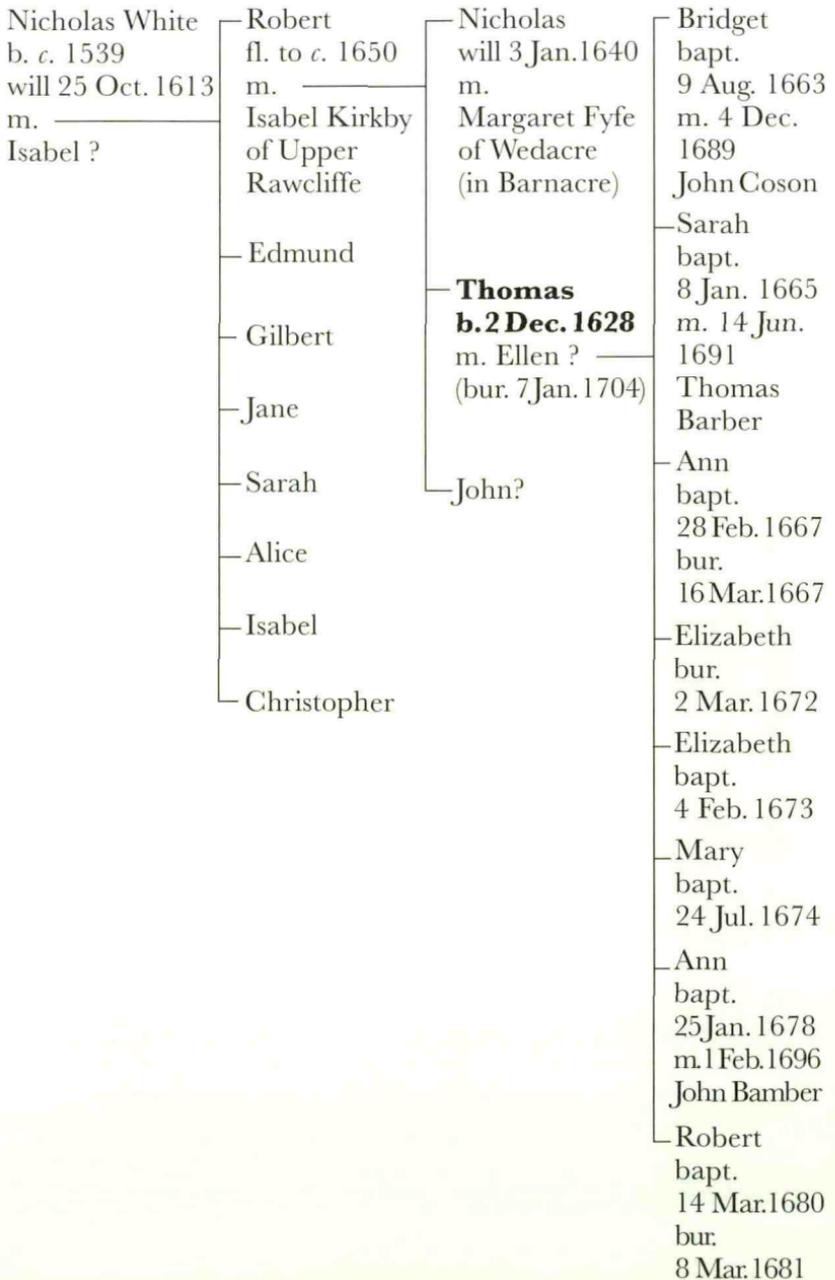


Figure 5 *The White family of Great Eccleston*
(Names and events listed in the calendar are in bold)

