THORNER 1619-1621

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Introduction

The Star Chamber case of Oglesthorpe v. Clough, Beale, and Stephenson records a controversial rushbearing at Thorner, a village and civil parish located about 13 km northeast of the city centre of Leeds. Some members of the nearby parish of All Saints, Bramham (about another 7 km northeast), attended the rushbearing. Doing so was not unusual: traditional customs like rushbearings offered an opportunity to strengthen the communal bonds of people not only within parishes, but also between neighbouring ones. The rushbearing at Thorner, however, outraged William Clough, the Puritan vicar of Bramham, who inveighed in a sermon against those parishioners who had attended the event and, according to the bill of complaint, against King James I for the tolerance of rushbearings expressed in the *King's Book of Sports.* The rushbearing at Thorner is incidental to the issues registered in the bill of complaint, but it does reveal attitudes, allegedly seditious attitudes, of William Clough that serve William Oglesthorpe's case. Unfortunately the bill of complaint does not establish that William Oglesthorpe attended the rushbearing at Thorner. Perhaps he supported such festive customs in principle, being one of the local gentry, one of the ancient family of Oglesthorpe that occupied Oglethorpe Hall, for whom traditional ways of expressing and building community were worth preserving.

¹ For more information about Clough's legal problems at this time and later, see David Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 111-112, and Ronald A. Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York* (London: Longmans, 1960): 186-88).

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Bill of Complaint of William Oglesthorpe

To the kynges most excellent Maiestie

In most humble Amanner Complayning sheweth vnto your most excellent Maiestie your loyall and obedient subject William Oglesthorp the younger of Oglesthorp in the Countie of yorke Esquire That wheras William Clough of Bramham in the Countie of yorke Clerke is and for diverse yeares last hath been vicker of the

parochiall Church of Bramham aforesaid being within the dyocesse and province of the Archbishopprick of vorke and during the tyme of his incumbency there in diverse sermons by him preached in the said parish Church as also in diverse other assemblyes vttered and spoken diverse seditious indecent and irreverent speeches against your royall maiestie and your highnesse godly and religious governement of your Realmes and dominions whereby he seemed to distast your highnesse said governement and to perswade others to be of like seditious myndes to himselfe and more especially in a sermon by him preached in the parochiall Church of Bramham aforesaid in a great assembly and congregation of diverse of your highnesse loving subjectes, ypon a sunday in the month of August in the seaventeenth yeare of your highnesse most happie raigne over England the said William Clough out of his seditious disposition most contemptuously and irreverently inveighed against your most excellent Maiestie first by taking occasion to speake against some of the parishoners for being at a rushbearing at thorner the sunday before vttered these wordes following or the like in effect videlicet there was a sermon in deed at Thorner a morrall man such preist such people but my text is thou shalt keepe my saboath and reverence my sanctuarie this the king of heaven commandes now the king of earth (meaning your Maiestie) being but a mortall man he comands to breake the saboath, whether it is better to obey God or men judge you, But if you will have the reason why the king (meaning your Maiestie) makes lawes against Godes lawes in giuing tolleration to those May games and rushbearinges he (meaning your Maiestie) did it for playne feare for the saftie of his bodie being in his progresse and so continuing in like rayling speeches he finished his sermon, for which said seditious irreverent and contemptious speeches and for diverse other contemptes and abuses touchying and concerning Causes ecclesiasticall the said William Clough was heretofore videlicet in or about the beginning of december which was in the seaventeenth yeare of your said highnesse raigne over England convented to appeare at york before your Maiesties Commissioners for causes ecclesiasticall within the province of yorke to thend that therevpon and vpon due proceedinges had therein he might abyde such censure therein for his demerittes as should be agreeable with your Maiestes godly ecclesiasticall lawes And the said William Clough having accordingly appeared and answered before your highnesse said Commissyoners for causes ecclesiasticall your said subject and diverse others were afterwardes videlicet on or about the second day of March now last past commanded by warrant and other legall processe from the said Commissioners to be examined as witnesses in that suit in obedience whereof your said subject and a great number of parishoners who were supposed to have beene present at the aforesaid sermon were sworne and examined as witnesses against the said William Clough in the said suit before the said Commissioners² and your said subject in and by his said examination did not in any sort falsly testifie or declare any thing against the said Willm Clough but as he was bound both by his oath and his dutie to your most excellent Maiestie declaring the truth.

Yet neverthelesse the said Will*ia*m Clough thereby conceyving malice against your subject he in revenge against your subject did therevpon plott and devise how and in what manner and by what meanes he might bring your said subject into vtter overthrow and to effect his said malitious and vngodly purpose he the said Will*ia*m

Clough about the twentieth day of Iuly last past in this present eighteenth³ of your highnesse most happie raigne over England did practize confederate and Complott with his brother Robert Clough of Bramhame aforesaid husbandman Iames Beale of Bramham aforesaid his neare kinsman and ally and Clement Stephenson of North Dighton in the Countie of yorke laborer with diverse other persons (whose names are yet vnknowne to your subject yet humbly prayeth that they may be inserted into this bill when theire names shalbe discovered) how to take away your subjectes life creditte and estate your subject being then seized of landes of inheritance and likewyse possessed of goodes and Chattells of good value and by the practize confederacy and complott aforesaid they the said William Clough Robert Clough Iames Beale and Clement Stephenson and thother persons as yet vnknowne did then and there agree amongst themselves and bynd them one to another by way of promisse or other wyse to chardge your said subject to be a felon and to haue perpetrated committed and done some felonious act against your Maiestes lawes of this your realme of England and by that meanes to bring your subject to ytter distruction.

And to that purpose it was agreed amongst them to accuse your said subject <...> that he had comitted diverse felonyes and especially that your subject \wedge^{had} about five yeares before that tyme feloniously taken or stolne one lambe which was the goods of the said Robert Clough and for that the said Clement Stephenson had beene servant to your subject therefore he was accompted the fittest instrument for that purpose to accuse your subject and therefore the said William Clough \wedge^{Robert} Clough and Iames Beale did with some great reward and with offers and promisses of further giuftes and rewardes perswade the said Stephenson to depose and testifie that your said subject had felloniously stolne the said lambe and that the said Stephenson being your subjectes servant was privile therevoto the said William Clough withall to anymate the said Stephenson so to do alledged that such his accusation of your subject would be a sure meanes to acquite him the said Stephenson thereof, wherevoon the said persons having fully agreed amongst themselves to accuse your said subject as aforesaid, albeit <...> all of them well knew and were perswaded that your subject was free from any touch or suspition of felony and that in truth your subject never communitied the said supposed felony nor any other felonious act whatsoever yet neverthelesse in hope that by such theire combinaton they might effect theire wicked purpose the said William Clough did at Clifford within the said Countie in the presence of a great number of your Maiestes loyall subjectes falsely scandalously and malitiously publish and declare that your subject \wedge^{had} comitted felony in stealing the said lambe and that your subjectes life lay in his handes for the same and shortly afterwardes viz in September then next following and now last past they the said William Clough Robert Clough Iames Beale and Clement Stephenson for the further execution of theire said wicked conspiracy albeit that they well knew and were verily perswaded that your subject was innocent and free from that pretended felony, yet neverthelesse out of theire malyce and out of an earnest desire of revenge they then repayred to Wylford in the Westryding in the countie of yorke vnto Sir ffrancys Baylden knight then and yet one of your Maiestes Iustices and commissioners for the keeping of your Maiestes peace and for hearing and determininge felonyes in the said Westryding your subject

being then an inhabitant within the said Westryding and there the said Willm Clough by the said practize conspiracy and combynation with the said Robert Clough, Iames Beale and Clement Stephenson did voluntarily and of his owne accord and of mere malice and out of a desire of revenge falsly and wickedly preferr a complaint to the said Sir ffrancus Baylden that your said subject had at Oglethorp aforesaid and within the said West ryding feloniously stolne the said lambe or to that effect and therevpon procured the said Sir ffrancys Baylden to grant forth warrantes to call themselves and others before him to be examyned for the truth thereofe and to take severall examinacions of the said Robert A Clough Iames Beale Clement Stephenson and diverse others vpon theire corporall oathes to depose theffect of the said scandalous complaint to be true and therevoon the said Sr ffrancis Baylden sent forth his warrant to bring your subject before him to the great disgrace of your subject and your said subject in obedience of your Maiestes governement and lawes of this realme did accordingly appeare before the said Sir ffrancys Baylden and answered the said unjust accusation in such sort as the said Sir ffrancis Baylden perceyving theire malitious and wicked purpose conspiracy and combynation did dischardge your subject of making any further appearance to the same.

And for the further molestation and overthrow of your subject the William Clough did at the same tyme wickedly and malitiously and for revenge and malice accuseth perswade solicite and labore to suborne one Iohn Spinck your subjectes servant and one Richard Sayner another of your subjectes servantes to depose and sweare that your subject had feloniously stolne two or three sheepe which subject had before that tyme taken vp as estrayes within the manners of Oglethorp Bramham and Clifford, of which mannors your subject Awas and is seized in fee & your subject and all those whose estate he hath therein and tyme whereof the memorie of man is not to the contrarie haue beene accustomed to haue and take all Cattell comming as estrayes within the precinct of the said mannors and by vertue whereof your subject had formerly taken vp those sheepe comming as estrayes within the said Mannors and not in any felonious manner as the said William Clough malitiously and scandalously did urge And albeit the said William Clough well knew that your subject had such right to have estrayes as aforesaid and that your subject did by vertue thereof take and seize the said shepe and estrayes yet neverthelesse the said William Clough for the effecting of his said malitious Apurpose and revenge did solicite and perswade the said Iohn Spincke and Richard Sayner to depose and sweare that your subject had felonyously stolne those sheepe and with intent to suborne the said Iohn Spinck and Richard Sayner to testifie the same his accusation and for that purpose he the said William Clough did promisse and offer great guiftes and rewardes to the said Spincke and Sayner and that he the said Sayner being an owner of groundes within his parish should be dischardged from payment of all manner of tythes and the said William Clough the better to draw them on to that accusation did falsly suggest to the same Spincke that the said Saver had already confessed that your said subject had stolne those sheepe, and did also suggest to the said Sayner that the said Spinck had confessed that your subject had stolne those sheepe whereas the said Spincke and Sayner nor eyther of them had never so said nor could iustly say the same And albeit the said Spincke and Sayner would not give consent

to the said William Clough his wicked perswasions therein yet neverthelesse the malicious revengfull mynd of the said William Clough to take away your subjectes good name life and estate doth thereby more playnly appeare. All which conspiracyes practizes combinations confederacyes complottes malitious and vniust accusations subornations contemptes and contemptuous wordes and speeches and other the misdemeanours aforesaid were committed perpetrated and done since your Maiestes last most gratious and generall free pardon and are not pardoned by the same and for as much as the same are not onely against diverse of your Maiestes most wholesome lawes and statutes of this your highnesse Realme of England but are also in themselves most vile and detestable and would be verie perillous vnto all your highnesse good and loving subjectes if such offences were not punished in exemplarie <....> and if that suche offenders should not vndergoe some severe censure May it therefore please your most excellent Maiestie to grant vnto your subject your highnesse most gratious writ or writtes of Subpena to be directed to the said William Clough <....> Iames Beale and Clement Stephenson and to the other persons vnknowne when theire names shalbe discovered thereby commanding them and everie of them at a certaine day and vnder a certaine payne therein to be limmitted appeare before your most excellente Maiestie and the lordes of your highnesse most honorable privie Counsell in your Maiestes high court of Starchamber at Westmynster then and there to answere the premisses and therevpon to abyde such censure for theire said offences as shalbe <....> with equitie and justice And haue said subject according to his bounden dutie shall dayly pray for your Maiestie in all health and happinesse long to florish and to raigne over vs

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1621 mb 2

Answer of William Clough

<...>us Martis septo die Novembris 19º Ia*cobis* R*egis*⁴ Harker

The plea and seuerall answere of William Cloughe Clerke one of the defendantes to bill of complainant of William Ogglethorpe thounger esquire Complainant

The said defendante haveinge nowe and att all tymes hereafter saved and reserved to himselfe all and all manner of advantage and benefitt of exception to thincertenties and insufficiences of the said bill of complaint for plea vnto the supposed Sermon in the bill of complaint mentioned and the matters and Λ^{thynges} therein suggested to be committed by this defendante he sayth that heretofore aboute two yeares agoe one Edmond Troutbecke being a parishoner within the said

parish of Bramham did exhibitt articles as informacion vnto the most reverend ffather in god Tobye by godes providence lord Archbisshpp of Yorke primate and metropolitane of England and others his graces associates his Maiestes Commissioners for causes ecclesiasticall within the province and dioces of yorke against this defendante for speakinge and vtteringe the very selfe same wordes in the bill of complaint mentioned or the like in effect therein suggestinge or libellinge against this defendant videlicet that vpon the first Daye of August last which was Anno domini 1619 the said William Cloughe did preach within the parishe church of Bramham aforesaid vpon this text thou[s] shalt keepe my Saboth and in his preacheing did vtter theis wordes followeinge to witt there was a preacheinge att Thorner the last Sondave before att a Rushebeareinge and truth there was a preacher a morrall man a humane man such preiste such people indeede the Kinge of heaven doth bid you keepe his Saboth and Reverence his Sanctuary nowe the Kinge of England is a mortall man and hee bidds you breake yt chuse whether then [Y] Will you followe—nowe—I will tell you the reason which the kinge England makes lawes against godes lawes in that behalfe ye reason is because he durst doe noe other for plaine feare for the safetie of his owne bodye in his progresse and soe with Rayleinge speaches he finished and ended his sermon To which said libell or Articles this defendante very shortly after putt in his answere before the said Comissioners (as followeth⁵ that he beleeueth that he did preach ypon Sondaye the first of August above mentioned within the parishe Church of Bramham aforesaide eyther that day or some other Saboth neare thereaboutes preached on this Texte (To Witt) Thou shalt keepe my Saboth and reverence my Sanctuary for I am the Lorde vpon which kepte this defendante as he had good occasion laide downe the true vse of a Saboth and reproved the prophanes thereof amongest which to this defendantes best remembrance he spoke against the prophaneinge of the Sabothe by the abuse of Rushebearinge and other such prophane exercises as hinder divine service and therevoon made on our <......> exhortacion to his auditorie to bee carefull diligentlie to observe the dueties of a saboth for the kinge of heaven comaundeth yt to be kepte and mistake not yourselves if the kinges of the earth doe allowe lawfull recreacions on the Saboth vett they doe not allowe the prophanacion of the Saboth and otherwayes this defendante did not beleeue the article to be true.

And this defendante further sayth that his adversaries ...⁵

Document Description

¹ August in the seaventeenth yeare] 1619

² While Oglesthorpe claims that he testified truthfully, he does not note, as Clough does in his answer, that the High Commission found him not guilty of the charges brought against him.

³ twentieth day of Iuly last past in this present eighteenth] 1620

⁴ septo die Novembris 19º Iacobis Regis] 1621

⁵ (as followeth) *closing bracket missing*

⁶ Clough's answer goes on to take up the issues not related to the rushbearing.

1621 Oglesthorpe v. Clough, Beale, and Stephenson

Kew, The National Archives, STAC8/225/30; English and Latin; vellum; 3 membranes:

mb 1: 1621; 152mm tall x 413mm across; modern folio number '1' in the bottom left margin; brown ink; quite faded. Contains the answer of James Beale, who makes not submission regarding the rushbearing.

mb2: 1621; 532mm tall x 645mm across; modern folio number '2' to the left in the margin; stained from top to bottom along the left side; generally clear and in good condition; contains answer of William Clough.

mb 3: 1621; 60mm tall x 745mm across; modern pencil folio number '3 End' in left margin; stained, wrinkled, and faded in parts; dorse blank except for "Lune Quinto ffebruarij Ann decimo octauo Ia' R' Harker" and, in the top left corner, a note of the principal parties to the case; contains the bill of complaint of William Oglesthorpe, the younger.