

*The Politics of Military Welfare in Yorkshire and the Memory of the Civil Wars, 1642–1709**

Marston Moor was the biggest and bloodiest battle of the Civil Wars in England. Fought for just ninety minutes, a ‘remorseless and unrelenting slaughter’ was inflicted upon up to 6,000 royalists on the field and in the rout towards York. The late P.R. Newman reflected that many royalists avoided writing about it afterwards. He argued that the ‘spirit of the age was against worrying at wounds’, and that the carnage was so harrowing that both sides considered it ‘best to be forgotten’.¹ Yet wounded survivors and their families were unable to forget. Among them was James Moore of Letwell. Taken from his township by the Commission of Array, he bore the scars of assault by cavalry fifty-five years later. He petitioned the Doncaster quarter sessions that he had ‘received many wounds in his head ... especially one by a pistoll shott which bullet doth sitt in his neck which is very apparent to be seene, which is both painefull and very troublesome to him, being very neare eighty yeares of age’. Now ‘reduced to poverty through the paines of his wounds and old age’, he pleaded with the justices to take account of ‘his sad and deplorable condition’. He was awarded the yearly sum of 40s until further order.² His testimony, read aloud in court, and the pistol ball remaining in his neck were powerful reminders to all present of the lingering impacts of civil war. Fifteen of Moore’s neighbours, including the local curate, signed or made their mark to support him. The decision to grant relief to Moore in preference to other claimants reflects how politics operated at parish and county level within a new national system of military welfare forged by the experience of civil war. This article explores how claimants made their cases, as well as the processes behind collecting and distributing this relief. It analyses the politics surrounding how much taxpayers should contribute, alongside

* This research was funded in whole by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (grant number AH/N010140/1). For the purpose of Open Access, the author has applied a CC BY public copyright licence to any Author Accepted Manuscript version arising from this submission. I would like to thank the inspirational Civil War Petitions project team for discussion of the material in this article, principally David J. Appleby, Lloyd Bowen, Ismini Pells and Mark Stoye, along with the Multimedia Online Data Service at the University of Nottingham for the data and maps. I am also grateful to Ann Hughes and the anonymous readers of this article for their helpful criticisms. The research would not have been possible without the assistance of the excellent archivists across Yorkshire’s county record offices.

1. P.R. Newman and P.R. Roberts, *Marston Moor, 1644: The Battle of the Five Armies* (Pickering, 2003), pp. 124, 149, 151.

2. Wakefield, West Yorkshire Archive Service [hereafter WYAS], QS1/38/3/6, Petition of James Moore of Letwell, 1699.

the changing priorities about who constituted the worthiest recipients of relief and how the Civil Wars should be remembered.

Scholarly interest in those who were wounded and bereaved during the British Civil Wars has grown substantially since the early 2000s as historians have shifted their focus from the origins of the Civil Wars to their consequences and legacies.³ The doctoral research of Geoffrey Hudson and Eric Gruber von Arni first examined the English county pension scheme and military hospital provision, respectively.⁴ Local studies followed on how soldiers and widows claimed county pensions in Devon, Essex, Kent and Lancashire, as well as an overview of the Midlands.⁵ A national project on civil-war military welfare across all England and Wales has been undertaken recently.⁶ This article draws upon evidence uncovered by this project. It utilises petitions, certificates and order books from quarter sessions courts to demonstrate that wounded soldiers and war widows were important political concerns. The war efforts of both sides recognised that wounded soldiers should be offered care and welfare, partly out of a moral duty, but also in order to facilitate recruitment and underline the legitimacy of their authority.⁷ Each side sought to discredit the other with accusations of treating poorly those who had suffered in their service. For these reasons, focusing on the wounded and bereaved should not be perceived as tangential to 'proper' military history or 'marvellously off the point', or a topic 'somehow more admirable to study'.⁸ Instead, it presents

3. M. Stoye, "'Memories of the Maimed': The Testimony of Charles I's Former Soldiers, 1660–1730", *History*, lxxxviii (2003), pp. 204–26, republished in L. Bowen and M. Stoye, eds, *Remembering the English Civil Wars* (Abingdon, 2021), pp. 168–90; E. Gruber von Arni and A. Hopper, 'Welfare for the Wounded', *History Today*, lxvi, no. 7 (2016), pp. 17–23; H. Worthen, 'Supplicants and Guardians: The Petitions of Royalist Widows during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642–1660', *Women's History Review*, xxvi (2016), pp. 528–40; S. Beale, 'War Widows and Revenge in Restoration England', *The Seventeenth Century*, xxxiii (2018), pp. 195–217; C.R. Langley, 'Caring for Soldiers, Veterans and Families in Scotland, 1638–1651', *History*, cii (2017), pp. 5–23.

4. G.L. Hudson, 'Negotiating for Blood Money: War Widows and the Courts in Seventeenth-Century England', in J. Kermod and G. Walker, eds, *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London, 1994), pp. 146–69; E. Gruber von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier: Nursing, Medical Care and Welfare for Sick and Wounded Soldiers and their Families during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642–1660* (Aldershot, 2001).

5. D.J. Appleby, 'Unnecessary Persons? Maimed Soldiers and War Widows in Essex, 1642–62', *Essex Archaeology and History*, xxxii (2001), pp. 209–21; H. Worthen, 'The Administration of Military Welfare in Kent, 1642–1679', in D.J. Appleby and A. Hopper, eds, *Battle-Scarred: Mortality, Medical Care and Military Welfare in the British Civil Wars* (Manchester, 2018), pp. 174–91; E.W. Alley, 'A Humble Petition: Lancashire War Widows, 1642–1679' (Univ. of Leicester M.A. diss., 2013); S. Beale, 'Military Welfare in the Midland Counties during and after the British Civil Wars, 1642–c.1700', *Midland History*, xlv (2020), pp. 18–35.

6. 'Conflict, Welfare and Memory during and after the English Civil Wars, 1642–1710', funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (2017–22), available at *Civil War Petitions* (University of Nottingham et al.), <https://www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk> (accessed 18 Nov. 2024).

7. B. Donagan, 'The Casualties of War: Treatment of the Dead and Wounded in the English Civil War', in I. Gentles, J. Morrill and B. Worden, eds, *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 114–32, at 114, 126.

8. J.A. Lynn, 'The Embattled Future of Academic Military History', *Journal of Military History*, lxi (1997), pp. 777–89, at 784.

an opportunity for military history to underline its wider significance within and beyond the historical discipline. The maimed, bereaved and orphaned remained relevant to politicians and generals. The politics of allocating military welfare to some and denying it to others kept the Civil Wars in people's minds for generations beyond 1660. Pensioners developed reputations for their wartime activism which stretched beyond their parish and out of their immediate locality. As rank-and-file soldiers and their widows developed the political capability to claim pensions, how they remembered and voiced their wartime experiences prolonged the Civil Wars' legacy. Rescuing the sufferings of such individuals from obscurity enables a different, 'bottom-up' perspective on how the Civil Wars were remembered, one that contrasts with other approaches that have focused on printed sources such as diaries and memoirs of the social elite, anniversary sermons, proclamations of state and printed martyrologies, ritual and polemic.⁹ While accepting that memory 'is a notoriously slippery concept', the enormous range of different experiences articulated retrospectively by petitioners raises problems for historians generalising about categories such as 'national memory', 'public memory' or 'collective memory'.¹⁰

This article explores in turn the three linked themes of conflict, welfare and memory, through a long-term and close-grained local study of the pension scheme. Previous articles on Essex and Devon were largely restricted to parliamentary or royalist petitioners, respectively. This article builds on these by applying a county-based insight to the national picture over the whole period when civil-war pensions were awarded, and drawing in comparisons with work on other counties. Firstly, it utilises Yorkshire quarter sessions records to illuminate patterns of political allegiance during the conflict. By mapping the home parishes of Yorkshire's maimed soldiers and war widows for the first time, this article reveals patterns of rank-and-file mobilisation across England's largest county. Secondly, the systems of military welfare underpinning this mobilisation will be compared and contrasted, before and after 1660. Unprecedented efforts were made to relieve the wounded, widowed and bereaved, at considerable financial cost. Despite being dismissed by Charles Carlton as 'inefficient and parsimonious', military welfare dramatically increased tax burdens on civilians from the 1640s to the 1670s.¹¹ This increased the capacity of the state to intervene in parish affairs as decisions made over the collection and allocation of relief politicised everyday life. Thirdly, we will see how the politics behind this relief effort kept alive contested memories of the war. This

9. M. Neufeld, *The Civil Wars after 1660: Public Remembering in Late Stuart England* (Woodbridge, 2013).

10. Bowen and Stoye, 'Introduction', in Bowen and Stoye, eds, *Remembering the English Civil Wars*, p. 6.

11. C. Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638–1651* (London, 1992), p. 228.

created tensions between the ideals expressed in the Act of Oblivion of 1660 and local score-settling, thereby making the healing of post-conflict society more difficult.

I

The quarter sessions evidence for Yorkshire, while far from complete, remains impressive: 134 petitions and certificates survive among the quarter sessions rolls. This is a sample similar in size to, and inviting comparison with, the 181 petitions and certificates from Devon analysed by Mark Stoye.¹² Twenty-six order books also survive, covering the city of York (1638–60), the East Riding (1647–51), the West Riding (1647–1710) and the North Riding (1645–1710). These order books record the decisions of magistrates to award pensions and gratuities to war widows, wounded soldiers and their dependants. The entries range from simple lists of sums awarded to named recipients to records that provide information about individual claimants; in some instances extensive details from petitions were entered directly into the minutes.¹³ These records encompass a total of 1,734 claimants, of whom 1,032 can be located by residence (Table 1). The two main drawbacks of the Yorkshire quarter sessions evidence are that no petitions from parliamentarians survive and that the West Riding clerks of the peace failed to enter places of residence into the order books for recipients before 1660. Beyond the quarter sessions material, there are a few petitions from West Riding parliamentarians, such as one from a war widow to the mayor among Hull's borough records, while a handful more survive among the West Riding county committee's papers.¹⁴

Table 1. Claimants of military welfare at Yorkshire quarter sessions.

Recipient type	North Riding	East Riding	West Riding	Total
Parliamentarian maimed soldier	89	109	190	388
Parliamentarian war widow	60	22	119	201
Parliamentarian dependant	0	0	4	4
Royalist maimed soldier	359	2	710	1,071
Royalist war widow	53	0	12	65
Royalist dependant	0	0	5	5
Total	561	133	1,040	1,734

12. Stoye, 'Memories of the Maimed' (2021), p. 171.

13. For example, John Johnson of Louth: Beverley, East Riding Archives and Local Studies Service, QSV/1/1, fo. 41, Beverley, 11 Apr. 1648.

14. Hull History Centre, C:BRS/7/28, Petition of Anne Stevenson, 27 July 1643. Kew, The National Archives [hereafter TNA], SP 28/249, Part II, unfoliated, Order concerning petition of Mark Harrison, 13 May 1646; SP 28/250, Part II, fos 261–2, Petition of Henry Smith, 23 Nov. 1648; SP 28/265/65, Certificate of Elinor Asquith, 12 Feb. 1645.

Otherwise, petitions and certificates from the quarter sessions only survive for royalists and are limited to the North and West Ridings after the Restoration. Furthermore, only a snapshot survives for the East Riding in the form of the order book covering 1647–51, leaving us with no information about East Riding royalists and limiting our ability to compare it with the other two ridings, especially after 1660. This means that we know far more about the personal circumstances of royalist claimants as detailed in petitions and certificates than we do about the parliamentary claimants who are only mentioned in the order books. Therefore, the nature of the surviving evidence is skewed: it offers far more information about royalist experiences and memories than those of parliamentarians.

The system for providing relief to maimed soldiers was rooted in the Act for the Relief of the Poor of 1601, which allowed disabled soldiers and seamen to apply to the officers of their home parish for an annual pension.¹⁵ On 24 October 1642, the House of Commons passed a bill to provide not only for maimed soldiers who had been in parliamentary service, but also for their widows and orphaned children.¹⁶ The inclusion of soldiers' dependants among those entitled to relief was a revolutionary step, and no doubt intended in part to stimulate recruitment in a war that was not expected to last long. To pay for this, on 2 March 1643, Parliament authorised parish officers to 'assess, levy and collect' contributions from parishioners and then to distribute them to those in need, submitting their annual accounts to their county's quarter sessions court. An ordinance followed on 28 May 1647 stipulating that every parish should pay a weekly rate of between 3*d* and 2*s* 6*d* to its county treasurer for the relief of maimed soldiers and their dependants. In Yorkshire, parish officers paid their contributions to their wapentake's high constable, who in turn handed the money over to each riding's county treasurer. Claimants were to return to what had been their home parish at the time they took up arms, equipped with a certificate testifying to their service signed by a commissioned officer. Such certificates were sometimes difficult to obtain, however. The commanding officer might have been negligent or unsympathetic, or since deceased. In January 1650, Quartermaster George Denham of Baxby intervened on behalf of a 'neare friend', 'a poor, lame man' in Colonel Christopher Copley's regiment of horse, whose captain had lost his certificate of service, thereby putting him to a 'great deal of cost and trouble'. Claimants were invited to submit their petitions to justices of the peace, who were empowered to grant gratuities until their pensions could be settled at the next quarter sessions. Widows

15. Gruber von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier*, p. 14; S. Beale, 'Timeline of Parliamentary Legislation Governing the County Pension Scheme', *Civil War Petitions*, at <https://www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk/timeline-of-parliamentary-legislation-governing-the-county-pension-scheme/> (accessed 18 Nov. 2024).

16. *Journals of the House of Commons*, II: 1640–1643 (London, 1802), p. 820.

and orphans were to be relieved 'out of the surplusage', only after the pensions of soldiers had been paid.¹⁷ Widows faced the further obstacle of proving that their husbands were dead, which was no straightforward matter.¹⁸ In June 1662 an Act was passed to apply this same process to claimants who had suffered in royalist service, provided that they had always been loyal and had never been in arms against the king. In theory, this ruled out side-changers from claiming in a war which had produced thousands of 'turncoats'.¹⁹

Claimants were required to submit petitions to quarter sessions detailing the nature of their wounds or bereavement. These petitions and their accompanying certificates sometimes demonstrate personal commitment to the rival causes. They illuminate how claimants fashioned themselves as 'deserving cases' for relief, and how they played upon magisterial expectations to manipulate welfare politics in their favour. They uncover how the poor, faced with enormous challenges, endeavoured to sustain themselves. They also reveal something of how combatants and widows remembered armed conflict. Non-elite perspectives in the memory of national events are often lost, but these petitions offer a unique opportunity to hear them speak.

Yet petitions are far from unproblematic sources. We should be wary of assuming they are 'the unmediated testimony of individual experience'.²⁰ Many petitioners were illiterate, so their testimonies were drafted for them, for a fee, by scribes such as clergymen or schoolmasters, who understood how to set out the petition and employ conventional formulae at its beginning and end. Usually neatly written on paper and nearly always unsigned by the claimant, they are immediately recognisable as petitions. They were crafted legalistically towards maximising their chances of success, employing conventional, formulaic terms of address with a 'delicate balance of social deference and emotional blackmail'.²¹ Petition writers combined the roles of 'amanuensis, co-writer and spin-doctor', even determining 'the precise wording of the texts'.²² For instance, thirty-eight Yorkshire petitions carefully employed the 1662 Act's wording, by maintaining either that the petitioner had always been faithful or that they had never deserted to the enemy. Their

17. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (3 vols, London, 1911), i, pp. 102–3, 938–40, 997–8; London, British Library [hereafter BL], Additional [hereafter Add.] MS 21,418, fo. 300; WYAS, QS10/2/140, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648.

18. I. Peck, 'The Great Unknown: The Negotiation and Narration of Death by English War Widows, 1647–1660', *Northern History*, liii (2016), pp. 220–35.

19. 'An Act for the Reliefe of Poore and Maimed Officers and Souldiers Who Have Faithfully Served His Majesty and His Royal Father in the Late Wars', 14 Car. II, c. 9, in *The Statutes of the Realm*, V: 1628–80, ed. John Raithby (London, 1819), pp. 389–90; A. Hopper, *Turncoats and Renegades: Changing Sides during the English Civil Wars* (Oxford, 2012), ch. 4.

20. For a longer discussion of the problem of authorship, see L. Bowen, 'Uncertain Authors: Who Wrote Civil War Petitions?', *Civil War Petitions*, at <https://www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk/blog/uncertain-authors-who-wrote-civil-war-petitions/> (accessed 18 Nov. 2024).

21. Appleby, 'Unnecessary Persons?', p. 212.

22. Stoyle, 'Memories of the Maimed' (2021), p. 172.

hybrid authorship is sometimes reflected in lapses from the usual third person narrative into the first person. Yet testimonies had to be believable, personalised and publicly owned in court by the petitioners. To allay the justices' suspicions about fraud, petitioners were required to be physically present and submit to having their wounds inspected. Parish officers and neighbours sometimes signed endorsements in support, attempting to shift the welfare burden from their parish to the county rate. Successful claimants were granted a quarterly pension or a one-off gratuity; others were refused support or referred back to their home parish's churchwardens and overseers with the justices' order for their support from the poor rate.

This article concentrates on those who petitioned at the quarter sessions. Unable to finance long-distance travel, poorer claimants would petition their most local authorities, usually county justices or urban magistrates in borough courts. During periods of protracted conflict in a particular locality, when sessions were often suspended, parliamentarian claimants could approach their county committee instead. These bodies were established within most English counties from 1643 onwards, as soon as the county, or part of it, came under parliamentarian control.²³ Petitioners with greater means, Westminster contacts and the ability to finance patient attendance in London, might petition parliamentary committees such as those for Maimed Soldiers, Compounding, or the Advance of Money. Military governors of towns and cities received petitions, as did the parliamentary generals Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell. From 1653, petitioners could approach the Lord Protector, or after 1660, Charles II, the Privy Council or the House of Lords. Petitioners often proved themselves to be remarkably well informed and politically adept about whom to approach and how best to make their case.

Yorkshire has been chosen for this study for many reasons. It was an extremely militarised county that witnessed intensive campaigning and the war's largest battle. Maimed soldiers, war widows and orphans were a highly visible presence in local society. Pensioners in the populous West Riding during the 1660s became more numerous as a percentage of the population than in the war-torn West Country.²⁴ During active campaigning between 1642 and 1645, the quarter sessions in each riding largely ceased to meet. Over thirty garrisons were established in Yorkshire, while by the summer of 1644 men under arms composed up to one-sixth of the county's population. Much of the North Riding had previously suffered under Scottish military occupation from September 1640 to August 1641. From 1642 onwards Yorkshire's inhabitants were

23. C. Holmes, 'Centre and Locality in Civil-War England', in J. Adamson, ed., *The English Civil War: Conflict and Contexts, 1640–49* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 153–74, at 155–6.

24. See statistical table comparing pensioner numbers with estimated county populations in G. Hudson, 'Ex-Servicemen, War Widows and the English County Pension Scheme, 1593–1679' (Univ. of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1995), p. 39.

subjected to forced contributions and free quarter as both sides struggled to pay and supply their soldiery. Small wonder that disorderly soldiers were held in such low regard by civilians. Ronan Bennett has argued that much of Yorkshire's serious crime was committed by soldiers or former soldiers, and that conviction rates for felonies at the York Assizes were far higher for soldiers than for civilians.²⁵ Furthermore, parts of northern England endured a subsistence crisis during the later 1640s as successive wet summers and poor harvests were exacerbated by wartime exactions.²⁶ Under these conditions, demand for welfare was severe, making the county rate for maimed soldiers particularly challenging for parish officers to collect.

II

Attempts to use pension records to map patterns of allegiance have proved controversial in recent decades. Quantitative analysis of civil-war pension records was first conducted by David Underdown to outline patterns of recruitment for Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, where he found that claimants were concentrated around important garrisons and heavily contested localities.²⁷ Underdown used this evidence to support his 'ecological theory' of a parliamentarian–royalist divide between wood-pasture regions and arable downlands. Malcolm Wanklyn cautioned that petitions for pensions were 'an extremely problematic source' for this theory.²⁸ John Morrill objected that pensioners revealed more about 'the incidence of post-war poverty'.²⁹ But in 1994 Mark Stoye built on Underdown's work by mapping Devon's petitioners at parish level. Stoye showed how parliamentarian and royalist petitioners were concentrated in different parishes, challenging the argument that pensioners represented the distribution of poverty rather than allegiance. His mapping of Devon's pensioners suggested that parliamentarian strength was concentrated in east and south Devon, around Exeter, Lyme and Plymouth, with royalist strength more pronounced in central Devon.³⁰

Considering that only parliamentarian claimants were permitted to petition before 1660 and only royalists thereafter, and given the highly fluid nature of civil-war allegiance, pension records at best reveal a

25. R.A.H. Bennett, 'Enforcing the Law in Revolutionary Yorkshire, c.1640–c.1660' (Univ. of London Ph.D. thesis, 1987), pp. 394–5, 412.

26. S. Hindle, 'Dearth and the English Revolution: The Harvest Crisis of 1647–50', *Economic History Review*, lxi (2008), pp. 64–98.

27. D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 191–8.

28. M. Wanklyn, 'The People Go to War', *Local Historian*, xvii (1987), pp. 497–9, at 497.

29. J. Morrill, 'The Ecology of Allegiance in the English Revolution', *Journal of British Studies*, xxvi (1987), pp. 451–67, at 465–6.

30. M. Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994), pp. 82, 85, 88.

partial, retrospective snapshot of recruitment. Nevertheless, they remain an important window into mobilisation processes. A case study of Yorkshire provides substantial evidence for where rank-and-file soldiers—in particular the royalist ones—were recruited. It allows us to map 1,032 claimants, once pre-war pensioners, claimants for wars fought after 1660 and claimants with no known location have been removed. Figures 1–3 show the home locations of maimed soldiers (and those of their widows) when they were recruited. Sadly, little can be discerned about the parliamentary claimants in the West Riding without further laborious and uncertain linkage of records with parish registers or Protestation Returns, because it is for only a handful of parishes that their places of residence are mentioned. These include cloth-working parishes in the centre of the riding such as Batley, Birstall and Wakefield, with Sheffield further south—all parishes known from other sources to have provided parliamentary recruits—as well as from Otley, the native parish of the Fairfax family.³¹

In the East Riding (Fig. 1) most of the claimants came from Holderness, across the eastern parts of the county, with clusters around the parliamentary garrisons of Beverley and Hull. These localities

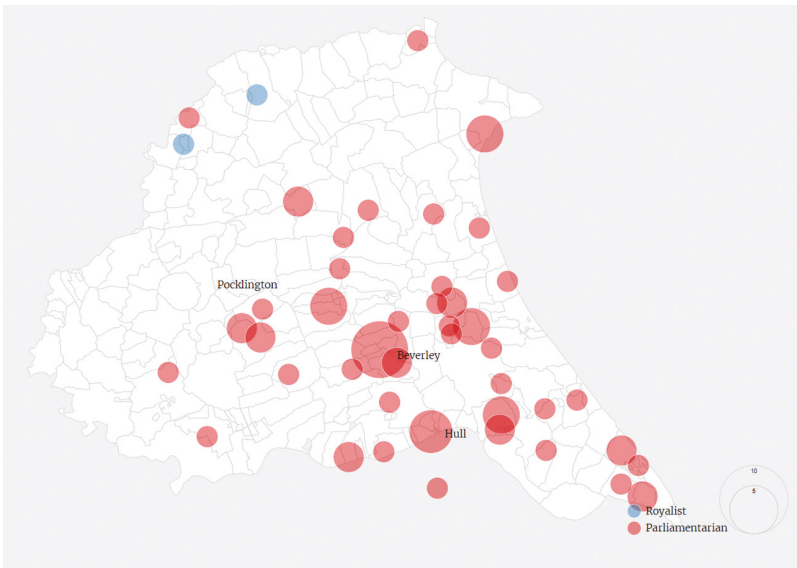


Figure 1. The East Riding: home locations of maimed soldiers (and of soldiers' widows) when they were recruited. *Source: Civil War Petitions*, at <https://www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk/yorkshire-east-riding-summary/> (accessed 15 Jan. 2025).

31. A. Hopper, 'A Directory of Parliamentary Allegiance in Yorkshire during the Civil Wars', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, lxxiii (2001), pp. 85–122.

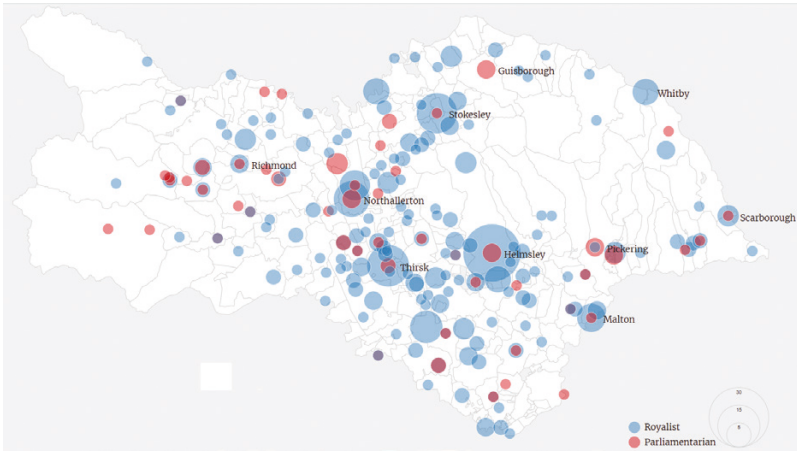


Figure 2. The North Riding: home locations of maimed soldiers (and of soldiers' widows) when they were recruited. *Source: Civil War Petitions*, at <https://www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk/yorkshire-north-riding-summary/> (accessed 15 Jan. 2025).

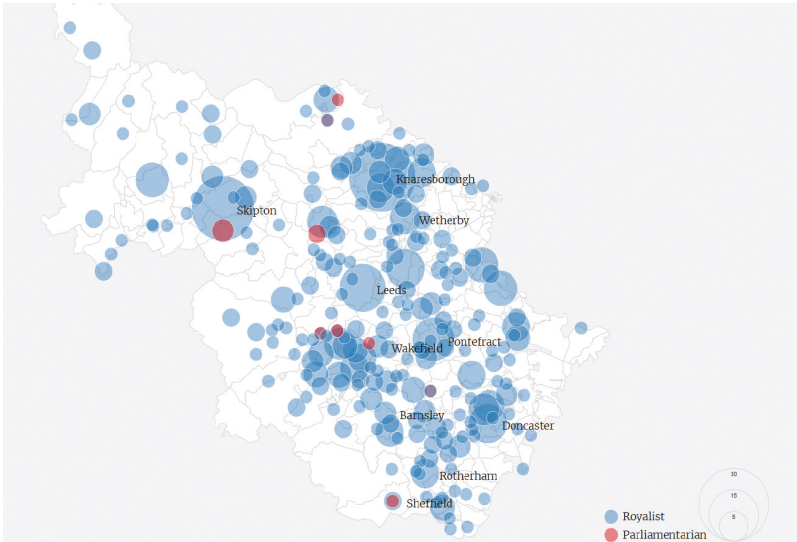


Figure 3. The West Riding: home locations of maimed soldiers (and of soldiers' widows) when they were recruited. *Source: Civil War Petitions*, at <https://www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk/yorkshire-west-riding-summary/> (accessed 15 Jan. 2025).

were the most sheltered from royalist occupation in all Yorkshire, demonstrating how firm control of territory facilitated recruitment. Only during the second siege of Hull, from September to October

1643, would this region have fallen under undisputed royalist control. Further explanatory factors for this distribution include the vast kinship network and estates of the leading parliamentarians, the Hotham family, which stretched across the wolds from Beverley to Drifffield, as well as the presence of godly clergymen in places such as Beverley, Cottingham, Easington, Heselton, Hull, North Cave, Sculcoates, Rowley and Welton.³² The absence of claimants in the East Riding's northern and western parishes may reflect the vulnerability of those districts to the royalist garrisons at Scarborough and York.

In the North Riding, parliamentary influence was weak between the defection of Scarborough Castle's garrison in March 1643 and the royalist collapse at Marston Moor in July 1644. Claimants were spread more evenly across the riding, some residing in the more populous parishes around Northallerton and Thirsk, with a further smattering in Guisborough, Helmsley and Pickering, and around Richmond and Swaledale. Activism for either side appears to have been sparse in the vast upland parishes of the Yorkshire Dales west of Richmond and the North York Moors between Pickering and Whitby (Fig. 2).

The evidence for royalist claimants in the North and West Ridings is much stronger than for the East Riding. This is as one would expect, given that William Cavendish, earl of Newcastle, recruited the largest English royalist army of the wars across the northern counties.³³ In the North Riding, royalist claimants resided in the most populous central lowland belt, comprising the vales of Mowbray and York between the Pennines and the North York Moors. They formed a large swathe from York northwards through Easingwold and Thirsk to Northallerton and Stokesley (Fig. 2). Many came from arable parishes beside the Great North Road, along which Newcastle's army swept southward to York in December 1642. There is also limited evidence for P.R. Newman's contention that royalists recruited in Catholic enclaves along Yorkshire's northern border, on the south bank of the River Tees and bordering the Bishopric of Durham, the latter constituting 'probably the largest Royalist recruiting area in the north'. But the largest North Riding concentration, consisting of twenty-eight claimants, was located in Helmsley, whose castle's royalist garrison was besieged in 1644.³⁴

In the West Riding (Fig. 3), royalists were numerous in the south-eastern districts, around Pontefract, Doncaster and south of Wakefield, where resident gentry such as Sir George Wentworth of Woolley recruited their regiments across the wapentake of Strafforth

32. *The Papers of the Hothams, Governors of Hull during the Civil War*, ed. A. Hopper, Camden Society, 5th ser., xxxix (2011), p. 3; Hopper, 'Directory of Parliamentary Allegiance'.

33. An overview of royalist recruitment is given in A. Hopper, 'William Cavendish as a Military Commander', in P. Edwards and E. Graham, eds, *Authority, Authorship and Aristocratic Identity in Seventeenth-Century England: William Cavendish 1st Duke of Newcastle, and his Political, Social and Cultural Connections* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 216–36, at 218–19.

34. P.R. Newman, 'The Royalist Army in Northern England, 1642–1645' (2 vols, Univ. of York Ph.D. thesis, 1978), i, pp. 94, 256, and ii, p. 52.

and Tickhill.³⁵ This is especially illuminating because Ian Green has shown that the south-eastern deaneries of Pontefract and Doncaster contained nearly half of all the Yorkshire royalist clergy who were ejected from their livings during the Interregnum, a finding which clearly invites further work on the role of clergy in mobilising allegiance.³⁶ There are further large concentrations in the arable parishes west of York through Knaresborough into Nidderdale; the royalist, Sir Thomas Danby admitted recruiting in Ripon and Kirby Malzeard in his composition of 1646.³⁷ Predictably, royalist soldiers were markedly fewer in the cloth-working districts between Leeds, Bradford and Halifax, long recognised as the heartland of West Riding parliamentarianism.³⁸ Knaresborough and Skipton, whose castles contained strong royalist garrisons under Sir Richard Hutton and Sir John Mallory respectively, housed the largest numbers of royalist claimants in any single parish, with twenty-seven and twenty-four respectively. These claimants were not necessarily all soldiers in these castle garrisons, although after Marston Moor most royalist soldiers remaining in Yorkshire became garrison-based.

The evidence from these maps both supports and challenges different aspects of Underdown's hypothesis of how cultural and landscape differences underpinned popular allegiance. The royalist support among the nucleated, lowland, arable parishes of the vales of Mowbray and York, as well as the parishes of settled royalist manorial lords and clergy in the southeast of the West Riding, align well with Underdown's criteria for royalist-sympathising localities. The heavy parliamentarian recruitment in the Pennine, cloth-working, wood-pasture parishes of Leeds, Bradford and Halifax, known from other sources, also supports it. However, the strong royalist presence in the wood-pasture region westward from Knaresborough does not, while the strong parliamentarian support in the eastern half of the East Riding occurs in a locality whose landscape, settlement and agriculture is more characteristic of Underdown's royalist typology. The distribution across the North Riding is broadly similar for both sides, suggesting that in many cases royalists and parliamentarians were recruited from the same or neighbouring parishes. The maps are also a valuable reminder of the variety of experience within the West Riding, and that the middling-sort parliamentarian activism characteristic of its central cloth-working

35. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 451.

36. I.M. Green, 'The Persecution of "Scandalous" and "Malignant" Parish Clergy during the English Civil War', *English Historical Review*, xciv (1979), pp. 481–506, at 523. For more recent work on this theme, see L. Bowen, 'Royalism, Print, and the Clergy in Britain, 1639–1640 and 1642', *Historical Journal*, lvi (2013), pp. 297–319.

37. *Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers*, ed. John William Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, xx (3 vols, 1896), iii, p. 86.

38. Hopper, 'Directory of Parliamentarian Allegiance', p. 85; *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, [formerly] preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts; 10 vols, 1891–1931), pp. 717–19.

districts should not be considered representative of the entire county.³⁹ Aside from these points, these maps confirm much of what is known from other sources about the geography of recruitment by both sides.

The petitioning narratives themselves offer glimpses of how soldiers remembered their wartime service. Most petitions passed smoothly over the tricky issue of whether the claimant had volunteered or been pressed, but a few testimonies do illuminate the circumstances of enlistment. Thomas Wayte's certificate remarked that he 'did according to his bounden dutie and loyaltie freely engage'.⁴⁰ James Moore recalled being 'taken by y^e Commission of Array from Letwell', while Thomas Goldthorpe resided at Thornhill, in the household of the royalist colonel, Sir William Savile, from where the Commissioners of Array conveyed him to York.⁴¹ Petitioners were more likely to mention length of service than the circumstances of their enlistment, in addition to the engagements in which they fought and the officers under whom they served. Stoye's analysis of Devon's royalist petitioners found their memories of wartime service were largely restricted to the West Country, with only 'the haziest impressions' of the war elsewhere. Only two mentioned Edgehill, Marston Moor or Naseby, and encounters were remembered by twenty-five petitioners as 'fights' rather than dignified with the title of 'battles'.⁴² Where Yorkshire petitioners mentioned the location of their service, most also referred to local engagements such as Adwalton Moor, Hull, Selby, Wakefield and Marston Moor, or to service within the major garrisons of Skipton and Pontefract castles. They also tended to employ the term 'fights', fourteen doing so, with only six referring to 'battles'. However, in a major contrast to the West Country petitioners, nineteen petitioners (nearly one in six) recalled service beyond the county in major battles at Edgehill, Brentford, Chalgrove, Alton, Nantwich, Cheriton, Naseby, Langport, Preston and Worcester, as well as smaller engagements at Cirencester, Marlborough, Melton Mowbray, Willoughby, Welshpool and Montgomery, and the surrenders of Bristol, Liverpool, Newark, Oxford and Wallingford. One even referred to service in Scotland. This suggests that Yorkshire royalists engaged in field service were more likely to be deployed further from home than their Devonian counterparts.⁴³ The petitioners' greater geographical mobility might be explained by the presence of Yorkshire regiments serving in the king's Oxford-based field army, including the soldiers sent south with Henrietta Maria in June 1643. Further reasons include the travels of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's 'Northern Horse' in

39. B. Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution* (2nd edn, London, 1991), pp. 298–305, 309–11.

40. WYAS, QS1/7/2/6/22, Certificate of Thomas Wayte of Doncaster, 1668.

41. WYAS, QS1/38/3/6, Petition of James Moore of Letwell, 1699; QS1/24/9/6, Petition of Thomas Goldthorpe of Over Flockton, 1685.

42. Stoye, 'Memories of the Maimed' (2021), pp. 174, 176.

43. WYAS, QS1/43/10/6, Petition of George Inkersell of Aston, 1704.

1644–5, and the fact that those royalists not serving in garrisons left the county after Marston Moor.

III

The funding of military welfare was provided by Yorkshire ratepayers who were themselves significantly impoverished and divided by the experience of civil war. Parishioners faced political choices about which claimants to endorse, while justices pondered over who were the neediest, most deserving cases. The discriminatory nature of military welfare risked sharpening divisions in local communities. This section provides comparative quantitative analysis of the value of support afforded to claimants, as well as how this was influenced by political considerations and distinctions of rank, gender and status.

The county pension scheme in Yorkshire endeavoured to provide relief to claimants at a time when taxpayers were significantly impoverished by war. By April 1640, owing to Charles I's wars with France and Spain in the 1620s and the more recent expeditions against Scotland, the West Riding county rate already maintained seventy-six pensioners, and sixty-nine remained on the lists in May 1641 and April 1642. These men received a mean annual pension of £2 15s 3d, at an annual cost to the county rate of £195 6s 8d and £191 10s respectively.⁴⁴ Only a handful of casualties from the Bishops' Wars are mentioned.⁴⁵ Some communities were hostile to returning soldiers, suggesting possible political objections to the war with Scotland. When soldiers went home to Rockcliffe, Rastrick and Keighley, inhabitants denied them settlement and sought to throw them out of their townships.⁴⁶ One soldier was suspended from the pension list for abusing Roger Portington, the treasurer, while another lost his pension because his home town of Pontefract refused to contribute to the county rate.⁴⁷ When the West Riding sessions met at Pontefract in April 1647, the pensions of twenty-six soldiers maimed before the Civil Wars continued to be honoured. A further £229 16s was paid out to these individuals until the death of the last of them in 1666.⁴⁸

It took until 1648 for the full impact of the Civil Wars to become evident on the county list. The first post-war sessions for the West Riding met at Leeds on 11 July 1646 where twelve parliamentary soldiers were recommended for relief, receiving mean pensions of 41s 8d.⁴⁹ Increased

44. WYAS, QS10/1, fos 192–4, Pontefract, 14 Apr. 1640; fos 288–9, Pontefract, 4 May 1641; fos 390–91, Pontefract, 19 Apr. 1642.

45. WYAS, QS10/1, fos 126–7, Halifax, 1 Oct. 1639; fo. 144, Wakefield, 14 Jan. 1639/40.

46. WYAS, QS10/1, fo. 124, Halifax, 1 Oct. 1639; fo. 134, Knaresborough, 4 Oct. 1639; fo. 147, Wakefield, 14 Jan. 1639/40.

47. WYAS, QS10/1, fo. 391, Pontefract, 19 Apr. 1642.

48. WYAS, QS10/5, fo. 129, Pontefract, 20 Apr. 1669.

49. WYAS, QS10/2, fo. 16, Pontefract, 27 Apr. 1647.

demand led to smaller pensions; by April 1648, a further sixty soldiers and three war widows were in receipt of relief.⁵⁰ The pre-war county rate had almost tripled, with £567 3s 4d now being required. Table 2 demonstrates how the largest and most populous three wapentakes of Strafforth and Tickhill, Claro, and Agbrigg and Morley provided over half of this sum.

The partisan divide sharpened welfare politics. Efforts were made to remove pensioners tainted with royalism. Informers who were themselves wounded ex-soldiers hoped that, by denouncing others, they might secure themselves a place on the county list. Despite George Field, Henry Lee and George Thackwray all having been pensioners before 1642, Field was informed against for having been among the royalist garrison in Pontefract castle, while Matthew Thackwray testified that the other two had been of 'the kings party'. If true, this suggests that their wounds did not prevent them from soldiering after 1642. All three were ejected by the Pontefract sessions on 11 April 1648, allowing Matthew Thackwray to be rewarded with an annual pension of £2. He was still receiving relief in 1659.⁵¹ With financial incentives for such denunciations, local memories, credit and reputation mattered; competition for pensions intensified score-settling and made the healing of wartime divisions more difficult. Thomas Holte of Liversedge, in Birstall parish, lost his pension and his alehouse licence in 1648 when John Reyner of Birstall informed that Holte had called him 'Roundhead Reyner', threatened his life and drunk a health to the confusion of Parliament 'and all that took their part'.⁵²

Table 2. County rate in the wapentakes of the West Riding, April 1648.

Wapentake	Contribution per annum
Strafforth and Tickhill	£125 2s 6d
Claro	£84 10s 10d
Agbrigg and Morley	£74 15s
Staincliffe	£72 11s 8d
Barkston Ash	£55 5s
Osgoldcross	£53 1s 8d
Skirack	£52
Staincross	£35 15s
Ewcross	£14 1s 8d
Total	£567 3s 4d

Source: WYAS, QS10/2, fo. 157, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648.

50. WYAS, QS10/2, fos 143–145, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648.

51. WYAS, QS10/2, fos 142–143, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648; QS10/3, fo. 378, Pontefract, 12 Apr. 1659.

52. WYAS, QS10/2, fo. 44, Wakefield, 13 July 1647; QS10/2, fo. 142, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648.

Table 3 sets out the mean annual pensions received by parliamentary soldiers, showing that North Riding pensions were nearly a shilling more than the mean pension for the Midlands of £2 3s 11d. East Riding pensions were substantially more generous than in the Midlands and the rest of Yorkshire, most likely owing to the low numbers on the pension list and the shorter four-year period for which we have records. The mean soldier's pension in the West Riding, with its longer list of claimants, was over 6s less than in the Midlands and North Riding. However, the mean annual pensions awarded to parliamentary war widows in the North, East and even West Ridings were markedly more generous than the mean widow's pension of 16s 10d awarded in the Midlands.⁵³

In Yorkshire, war widows constituted over a third of the known parliamentary claimants, their numbers comprising 40 per cent in the North Riding, 38 per cent in the West Riding and 17 per cent in the East Riding. Yet despite this prominence, their mean pensions and gratuities were less than those of the maimed soldiers. In the West Riding it became customary practice that until they reached the age of seven, orphans were relieved by a payment of 10s *per annum*, usually to their widowed mother.⁵⁴ This could augment a widow's pension considerably. After that, parish officers were expected to find them apprenticeships. There is no sign that this policy persisted after 1660, although some justices did intervene to support the orphans of individual royalist soldiers.⁵⁵

Parliamentarian claimants could also petition the county committee for relief, or write to commanders for assistance. Ellen Wiggins of Leeds wrote to Captain Adam Baynes in March 1649 that her husband John 'was slaine beinge in office under you'. Fashioning herself as a 'poore distressed Comfortless widow', she wrote that her father and orphaned children were 'in great danger of perishinge by famine'. She

Table 3. Mean pensions and gratuities to parliamentary claimants, 1645–60.

Riding	Soldier pension	Soldier gratuity	Widow pension	Widow gratuity
North Riding	£2 4s 8d	£1 8s 11d	£2 2s 5d	£0 19s 11d
East Riding	£2 15s 8d	£0 12s 2d	£2 2s 9d	£0 11s 7d
West Riding	£1 17s 9d	£0 17s 9d	£1 4s 5d	£0 10s 2d

53. Beale, 'Military Welfare in the Midland Counties', p. 28.

54. WYAS, QS10/2/130, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648; QS10/2, fo. 262, Wakefield, 3 Apr. 1649; QS10/3, fos 24–5, Pontefract, 4 Apr. 1654.

55. BL, Add. MS 15,858, fo. 235r, Certificate on behalf of Jane Scaife, orphan of a royalist trooper, 20 Aug. 1662. I owe this reference to the kindness of Ian Atherton.

implored Baynes to write to the West Riding justices on her behalf and to persuade them to bestow upon her 'some yearly maintenance and allowance', appending her signature in trusting to providence: 'soe I may make A tryall what god will doe for me in this way'.⁵⁶ Baynes may well have intervened, as the following month Ellen was awarded an annual pension of £2, which she continued to collect until 1655 when it was halved.⁵⁷

Sir Thomas Fairfax himself frequently wrote letters to Speaker Lenthall pressing the cases of the widows of his officers and soldiers.⁵⁸ En route to London to receive command of the New Model Army, he wrote to Parliament's Committee for Petitions at the 'special instance & request' of Elinor Askwith, widow of John Askwith of Leeds, who was one of Fairfax's first non-gentry captains. Fairfax wrote that Elinor's house had been plundered, and she had been wounded at the sack of Bradford because of the enemy's malice towards her husband, which 'hath Brought her & six Cheldren into a poore & desolate Condition'. He desired Parliament to show 'dew Consideration' for her relief.⁵⁹ By championing widow Askwith's case in the face of potential snobbery about non-gentry officers, Fairfax underlined her value to the parliamentary cause, as well as easing his guilt over abandoning Bradford to the enemy. Fairfax disbursed several hundred gratuities at army headquarters from December 1646 until his resignation in June 1650. Recipients of these funds included maimed soldiers, war widows, orphans, apothecaries, surgeons and refugees from Ireland.⁶⁰

More detail about claimants' wartime service can be recovered by linking pension records to the debentures issued for the pay arrears of parliamentarian soldiers among certificates for the sale of Crown lands. Ian Gentles estimated that around 40,000 of these were issued to parliamentarian soldiers in service in January 1648.⁶¹ Soldiers were permitted to transfer their debentures to their executors, administrators or assignees, so it was possible for their widows to benefit from them.⁶² These debentures were redeemable at face value in the sale of Crown land, but the debentures of soldiers disbanded before January 1648 were not. For example, Captain Henry Westby complained that John Hargreaves, one of his troopers and a 'very honest man', could not

56. BL, Add. MS 21,417, fo. 60, Wiggins to Baynes, 8 Mar. 1649.

57. WYAS, QS10/2/261, Wakefield, 3 Apr. 1649; QS10/3/24-25, Pontefract, 4 Apr. 1654; QS10/3/107, Pontefract, 24 Apr. 1655; QS10/3/168, Pontefract, 15 Apr. 1656.

58. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 57, fo. 411, Fairfax to Lenthall, 13 Nov. 1648; MS Tanner 58, fo. 740, Fairfax to Lenthall, 7 March 1648.

59. TNA, SP 28/265/65, Fairfax to Committee of Petitions, 12 Feb. 1645.

60. E. Kitson and E. Kitson Clark, eds, 'Some Civil War Accounts', in *Miscellanea*, Thoresby Society, xi (1904), pp. 137-235.

61. I. Gentles, 'The Sale of Crown Lands during the English Revolution', *Economic History Review*, xxvi (1973), pp. 614-35, at 618, 621.

62. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, ed. Firth and Rait, i, p. 1126 (22 Apr. 1648), and ii, p. 603 (25 Aug. 1652).

redeem his debentures for this reason.⁶³ Similarly, the debenture of widow Adwick's late husband, valued at £45, was not redeemable, and Cornet John Baynes complained on her behalf that being forced into selling it 'will be much loss to her'.⁶⁴ Sums awarded to petitioners at quarter sessions were tiny fractions of the pay arrears owed to these individuals by the state. Edward Watson was awarded a one-off gratuity of £3 6s 8d at Thirsk sessions in October 1649 for having been lamed in Parliament's service. Yet as sergeant to Captain Thomas Lascelles, his debentures in 1651 were valued at £40 6s 8d.⁶⁵ Roger Garbut was awarded a 10s gratuity at Thirsk in April 1653, but his debentures that year reveal that he was owed £8 15s 4d for his service as corporal to Captain Arthur Stringer.⁶⁶ Barbary Gallamore was awarded a gratuity of 20s at Thirsk in October 1652, because her husband John had died in service as quartermaster in Colonel William White's regiment. John's debentures were valued at a substantial £67 16s 6d, but, instead of receiving a pension, in 1653 Barbary and her orphaned children were entrusted to Easingwold's churchwardens, who were ordered to pay them a pitiful 6d per week.⁶⁷ Maimed soldiers like Watson and Garbut, and widows such as Gallamore, desperate for ready money, were often parted from their debentures for as little as 8 per cent of their value by land speculators, who were sometimes their former officers, who then utilised them to purchase Crown land.⁶⁸ Fairfax expressed his objection to this process in a letter to Speaker Lenthall in October 1649, warning it would lead to the 'utter frustrating the soldier of his hardly earned, long-expected, and by you fully intended reward, rendring them, their wives, and children into a necessitous condition', merely to enrich those who put personal profit before the honour of Parliament and the satisfaction of the soldiery.⁶⁹ Allowing officers to aggrandise themselves at the expense of what was owed to their soldiers, war widows and suffering families only intensified the post-war political grievances of the parliamentarian rank and file.

Yorkshire's royalists had no such national figure to make their case. The position of royalist wounded soldiers, war widows and orphans during the Interregnum was even more desperate. Many were forced to adopt a variety of strategies to make ends meet. The commander of Yorkshire's

63. BL, Add. MS 21,418, fo. 199.

64. I. Gentles, 'The Debentures Market and Military Purchases of Crown Land, 1649–1660' (Univ. of London Ph.D. thesis, 1969), p. 73.

65. Northallerton, North Yorkshire Record Office [hereafter NYRO], QSM/2/8, fo. 169r, North Riding Sessions Minute Book, 1645–1650, Thirsk, Oct. 1649; TNA, E 121/4/9, no. 98.

66. NYRO, QSM/2/9, fo. 147v, Thirsk, Apr. 1653; TNA, E 121/4/6, no. 112.

67. NYRO, QSM/2/9, fo. 114v, Thirsk, Oct. 1652; TNA, E121/1/7, no. 281; NYRO, QSM/2/9, fo. 147v, Thirsk, 19 Apr. 1653.

68. Gentles, 'Debentures Market and Military Purchases of Crown Land', p. 2. For such speculation by the Yorkshire captains Adam Baynes and Adam Eyre, see A. Hopper, 'Social Mobility in the English Revolution: The Case of Adam Eyre', *Social History*, xxxviii (2013), pp. 26–45.

69. *The Perfect Weekly Account*, 3–10 Oct. 1649 (London, 1649), p. 629.

royalists, William Cavendish, earl of Newcastle, had promised that the maimed soldier would receive a 'competent pension [that] allowed him to subsist upon during his life'.⁷⁰ Yet after his flight into exile following the disaster at Marston Moor, Newcastle was in no position to honour this commitment. His wife recorded how, bemoaning his own losses, he later turned away one royalist war widow who begged him for relief.⁷¹ Many royalists, disqualified from petitioning until 1660, must have turned to the poor law for subsistence, so a comparison of the value of county pensions with parochial poor relief is useful. The poor rate in the city of York—a major royalist garrison until its surrender on 16 July 1644—nearly doubled in order to meet rising demand during the later 1640s; in 1647, average (mean) weekly payments of 4.3*d* were given to 242 recipients, but by 1652 this had risen to 5.7*d* per week to 338 recipients.⁷² This latter sum equates to 24*s* 8*d* per annum, which is just 5*d* short of the mean county pension received at that time by West Riding parliamentary widows. Many likely felt shame at having to fall back on the poor rate while their enemies' suffering was recognised by the award of county pensions. Poor relief could be supplemented by seasonal charity; one wounded royalist soldier recalled that he was 'relieved by some Worthy Gentlemen at some certaine dayes or times in the yeare as Christmas time &c'.⁷³ There was a long-established tradition of making charitable donations at Christmas time,⁷⁴ and this provided a political way for royalist gentry to flout godly objections about celebrating the holiday. Other wounded royalists found work. Samuel Constantine lost an eye at Preston in 1648, but petitioned in 1675 that he had since 'Taught A Country schoole & hath not been Chargeable to any'.⁷⁵ Christopher Ambler testified to his wounds, but proudly declared that he had since been employed in coal pits. Having 'brought up eleaven children without being chargeable to any', he was now denied poor relief by his parish.⁷⁶ Others may have successfully concealed their royalism. In April 1649, Samuel Andrew of Gargrave was awarded a gratuity of 20*s* and his parish overseers were ordered to provide him poor relief. Either he had hidden his royalism from the magistrates or they turned a blind eye. Petitioning for a pension in 1673, Andrew successfully refashioned his allegiance in line with the changed regime, claiming that 'he was a great many years in his Majestie King

70. *Orders and Institutions of War, Made and Ordained by His Majesty, And by Him delivered to his Generall His Excellence The Earle of Newcastle. With the said Earles Speech to the Army at the Delivery and Publishing the said Orders prefixt* (London, [17 Nov.] 1642), p. 7.

71. Margaret Cavendish, *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe* (London, 1667), p. 242. I owe this reference to the kindness of Stewart Beale.

72. P. Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1988), p. 176.

73. WYAS, QS1/25/4/6/1, Petition of John Moore of Sheffield, Apr. 1686.

74. Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, p. 166.

75. WYAS, QS1/14/8/6/13, Petition of Samuel Constantine of Kettlewell, Oct. 1675.

76. WYAS, QS1/24/6, Petition of Christopher Ambler of Barwick in Elmet, Apr. 1685.

Charles y^e first's service', in which he lost a hand. In 1677 he secured a pension of 20s per annum.⁷⁷

Comparisons of welfare provision across the three ridings are hampered by the short period of evidence for the East Riding, and the lack of lists and totals for the North Riding, where order book entries appear to be selective and incomplete. In 1652 the unusually large sum of £45 17s was disbursed to North Riding widows, probably owing to the renewed bloodshed of the Third Civil War.⁷⁸ In 1654 the North Riding treasurer certified that he had disbursed £237 12s 6d to claimants, for which the collection only fell 10s 4d short.⁷⁹ In April 1656 the county rate was ordered to be increased by £80 per annum and it seems that collecting this additional sum proved difficult as substantial arrears accumulated.⁸⁰ Efforts were made to reduce the rate in 1659 by ejecting those who were not eligible. These included those who could labour for their living, remarried widows and those accused of living 'loosely or disorderly'. Claimants' standing with their neighbours became critical, as treasurers were required to make payment only if there was a certificate from the 'Minister and chief of their parish where they dwell'.⁸¹

Table 4 demonstrates how the surge of royalist petitioners after 1660 produced a dramatic rise in the county rate. Between 1662 and 1664 the West Riding county rate trebled. On 7 October 1662, the North Riding county rate was increased to £468, double the rate of the previous decade. The same sum was again ordered to

Table 4. Total expenditure by riding in sample years 1648–64.

County	1648	1649	1654	1662	1663	1664
North Riding	–	–	£237 12s 6d	£468	£468	–
East Riding	£119 9s	£136 2s	–	–	–	–
West Riding	£567 3s 4d	£338 19s	£338 19s	£226 16s 4d	–	£674 13s
Somerset	£224 8s 4d	–	–	–	–	–

Source: NYRO, QSM/2/9, fo. 239r, Thirsk, 3 Oct. 1654; QSM/2/12, fo. 6r, Thirsk, 7 Oct. 1662 and fo. 59r, Thirsk, 6 Oct. 1663; East Riding Archives and Local Studies Service, QSV/1/1, Order Book 1647–51; WYAS, QS10/4/167v, Pontefract, 19 Apr. 1664. The comparative figure for Somerset is given by Hudson, 'Ex-Servicemen, War Widows and the English County Pension Scheme', p. 31.

77. WYAS, QS10/2, fo. 266, Wakefield, 3 Apr. 1649; QS10/4, fo. 27, Skipton, 9 July 1661; QS1/13/4/6/9, Petition of Samuel Andrew of Gargrave, Sept. 1673; QS10/7, fo. 57, Pontefract, 24 Apr. 1677.

78. NYRO, QSM/2/9, fos 75v–129v.

79. NYRO, QSM/2/9, fo. 239r, Thirsk, 3 Oct. 1654.

80. NYRO, QSM/2/10, fo. 58v, Thirsk, 15 Apr. 1656; fo. 65v, New Malton, 15 July 1656; fo. 104r, New Malton, 14 July 1657; fo. 124r, Thirsk, 6 Oct. 1657.

81. NYRO, QSM/2/10, fo. 198v, Thirsk, 4 Oct. 1659. Hudson argues that justices could not easily enforce the measure around remarriage: Hudson, 'Negotiating for Blood Money', p. 154.

be collected for 1663 and 1664.⁸² The four surviving sets of North Riding churchwardens' accounts demonstrate that to sustain this high expenditure the contributions of individual parishes had to be doubled. Thornton Watlas increased its rate to collect £1 15s 10d in 1663.⁸³ The rate at Masham doubled from £2 12s in the 1650s to £5 4s 8d after the Restoration, creating considerable challenges for the churchwardens to collect it across this large parish.⁸⁴ Topcliffe raised £1 1s 8d *per annum* throughout much of the 1650s, but their contribution also doubled for 1660 and 1661.⁸⁵ Most spectacularly, Bedale's contribution rocketed from 13s in the 1640s to a peak of £6 11s 4d in 1662.⁸⁶

These sums were too burdensome for the county to shoulder for long. Owing to the economic impact of the Great Plague 'in this calamitous time', and with new claimants from the Second Anglo-Dutch War doubtless expected, in January 1667 efforts were renewed to reduce the list.⁸⁷ In 1670 the Thirsk sessions ordered the county rate to be restored to its pre-war value of 1640.⁸⁸ Efforts to further abate the county rate were made as the pension lists contracted. In 1676, a quarter of the rate was abated in Richmondshire (and again in 1678), while the rate was halved in the North Riding's East Division.⁸⁹ In 1677 the rate for Allertonshire was also halved, 'most of the pensioners there being dead'.⁹⁰ Table 4 suggests that up to £1,000 *per annum* in years of high demand was feasibly collected across Yorkshire between 1646 and 1679.⁹¹ Even though pensions were rarely intended to provide a full livelihood for recipients, this nevertheless remained a substantial commitment for ratepayers to meet on top of their parochial poor rate during difficult years.

Pensions awarded to royalist soldiers in the West Riding were 2s 6d more generous than those distributed to their royalist counterparts in the Midlands, where the mean annual pension was £1 14s 9d. But soldiers' mean pensions in the North Riding were scarcely two-thirds of

82. NYRO, QSM/2/12, fo. 6r, Thirsk, 7 Oct. 1662; fo. 59r, Thirsk, 6 Oct. 1663; fo. 125v, Thirsk, 4 Oct. 1664.

83. NYRO, PR/TW 3, Thornton Watlas, 1574–1722, unpaginated.

84. Masham also repeatedly gave sizeable sums to preachers and refugees from Ireland: NYRO, PR/MAS 3/1/1, Masham churchwardens' accounts, 1542–1677, pp. 342–414.

85. NYRO, PR/TOP 2/1, Topcliffe churchwardens' accounts, 1651–1910, pp. 38, 42, 44, 46, 61, 63.

86. NYRO, PR/BED 2/1, 2/2, Bedale, 1576–1662, unpaginated.

87. NYRO, QSM/2/13, fo. 63r, New Malton, 15 Jan. 1667.

88. NYRO, QSM/2/14, fo. 61r, Thirsk, 12 Apr. 1670.

89. NYRO, QSM/2/15, fo. 112v, Richmond, 18 Jan. 1676, and fo. 131v, Thirsk, 4 Apr. 1676; QSM/2/16, fo. 35r, Richmond, 22 Jan. 1678.

90. NYRO, QSM/2/15, fo. 242v, Northallerton, 17 July 1677.

91. In comparison, this was far less than the sums later raised by the hearth tax, from which £10,603 was collected in 1664–5, just in the West Riding and the city of York: *Yorkshire West Riding Hearth Tax Assessment, Lady Day 1672*, ed. D. Hey, M. Spufford, C. Giles and A. Wareham, British Record Society Hearth Tax Series, v (2007), p. 556.

the value of those in the Midlands and West Riding.⁹² Parliamentarian soldiers' mean pensions had been 6*d* more generous than those of royalists in the West Riding, but a whole £1 more generous in the North Riding. This generosity was enabled by the number of parliamentarian soldiers in the North Riding being only a quarter of their royalist counterparts. Table 5 reflects the increasing strain on funds from the far greater numbers claiming in both the North and West Ridings after 1660. It also suggests that the returning royalist justices in the more war-torn West Riding were particularly assiduous in their efforts to relieve large numbers of maimed royalist soldiers. This reaction may have reflected their distaste at having been replaced on the county bench by newcomers drawn from among Fairfax's officers and the lesser gentry.⁹³

The time period legislated for in the 1662 Act expired in 1679, and the provisions for civil-war maintenance were not renewed. However, the Poor Relief Act of 1601 remained in force. In the North Riding in 1683, the Richmond sessions ordered that collections for lame soldiers were to continue, and the Thirsk sessions, with the advice of the Attorney General, confirmed in October 1688 that although the 1662 Act had expired, the Act of 1601 was still in force.⁹⁴ This permitted some soldiers to continue to petition for and receive pensions, but henceforth widows were stripped of their entitlement to relief. The increased taxation allowed for in 1662 to support pensions was no longer authorised, severely reducing the money available.⁹⁵ With death already thinning their numbers, after 1679 many of the survivors were stripped of their pensions and moved onto parish relief. In the North Riding, magistrates were already referring the widows of deceased pensioners to their parish's overseers of the poor, some receiving as little as 4*d* per week.⁹⁶

Table 5. Mean annual pensions and gratuities to royalist claimants, 1660–1710.

Riding	Soldier pension	Soldier gratuity	Widow pension	Widow gratuity
North Riding	£1 4 <i>s</i> 10 <i>d</i>	£0 13 <i>s</i> 9 <i>d</i>	£1 8 <i>s</i> 0 <i>d</i>	£0 11 <i>s</i> 4 <i>d</i>
East Riding	—	—	—	—
West Riding	£1 17 <i>s</i> 3 <i>d</i>	£1 3 <i>s</i> 3 <i>d</i>	£8 3 <i>s</i> 9 <i>d</i>	£1 8 <i>s</i> 9 <i>d</i>

92. Beale, 'Military Welfare in the Midland Counties', p. 32.

93. G.C.F. Forster, 'County Government in Yorkshire during the Interregnum', *Northern History*, xii (1976), pp. 84–104, at 102–3.

94. NYRO, QSM/2/17, fo. 45v, Richmond, 16 Jan. 1683; QSM/2/18, fo. 45v, Thirsk, 2 Oct. 1688.

95. *Journals of the House of Commons*, IX: 1667–1687 (1802), p. 582 (2 Apr. 1679).

96. NYRO, QSM/2/14, fo. 236, Margaret Hopwood at Richmond sessions, 21 Jan. 1673, and fo. 277r, Isabel Gamble at Thirsk sessions, 7 Oct. 1673; QSM/2/15, fo. 54r, Elizabeth Denton and Anne Rennison at Stokesley sessions, 13 July 1675; QSM/2/16, fo. 37r, Mary Usher at Thirsk sessions, 9 Apr. 1678.

Justices at Leeds ordered that former pensioner Captain Thomas Wood of Addle-cum-Eccup should receive 18*d* per week from the overseers of the poor. Such dependency must have been difficult for a former captain to endure. William Walker of North Bierley had his pension replaced by an order for a weekly shilling from the parish overseers.⁹⁷ Samuel Constantine of Kettlewell was referred to parish overseers for 2*s* 6*d* per week.⁹⁸ Matthew Hindle petitioned that the removal of his 40*s* pension, replaced by the ‘small pittance’ of 26*s* per annum allowed him by Knaresborough’s overseers, left him unable to pay his rent. He begged the justices for a house and ‘further allowance’, ‘that he perish not in the streets for want of house roome and starve for want of maintenance’.⁹⁹ Their comrades in the 1650s would have been reliant on similar parish relief, but with less recourse to magistrates to compel parish officers to pay up.

The Restoration transformed the distribution of welfare to war widows. Geoffrey Hudson argued that pension provision for royalist widows after 1660 became rarer and less generous than it had been for their parliamentary counterparts during the Interregnum, with more claimants being dismissed with just one-off gratuities. He suggests that widows were ‘turned back’ owing to anxieties that receipt of state pensions had accorded them comparable status with men, and that royalist justices preferred to restrict them to parish relief.¹⁰⁰ But in the West Riding, magisterial hostility to female petitioners was evident as early as 1658, when the Pontefract sessions ruled that no further money would be paid to the ‘Importunate suits of Women for releife & gratuities Under pretence & colour y^t they were soldyers wives’. They were to be returned to their parish’s overseers of the poor, or risk a whipping, as the sessions would now prosecute them as ‘Idle & Wandering persons’.¹⁰¹ David Appleby has found a similar hardening of attitudes among Staffordshire’s justices at the same time, with the turning away of all widows petitioning to renew their discontinued pensions in 1657 and 1658.¹⁰² When justices sought to thin out county lists, war widows were often the first to suffer. Hudson’s conclusion finds further support from the Yorkshire evidence set out in [Tables 1](#) and [5](#). Widows constituted 13 per cent of North Riding royalist claimants, but less than 2 per cent of West Riding royalist claimants. Women identified as civil-war widows receiving relief in Yorkshire dropped from 201 during the Interregnum

97. WYAS, QS10/7, fo. 182, Leeds, 15 July 1680.

98. WYAS, QS10/8, fo. 54, Skipton, 11 July 1682.

99. WYAS, QS10/8, fo. 194, Knaresborough, 6 Oct. 1685; QS1/26/8/4/2, Petition of Matthew Hindle of Knaresborough, 1687.

100. Hudson, ‘Negotiating for Blood Money’, pp. 151–2, 162.

101. WYAS, QS10/3/312, Pontefract, 20 Apr. 1658.

102. D.J. Appleby, ‘“Members of One Another’s Miseries”: The Culture and Politics of War Relief in Seventeenth-Century Staffordshire’, in I. Atherton, M. Blake, A. Sargent and A. Tompkins, eds, *Local Histories: Essays in Honour of Nigel Tringham*, Collections for a History of Staffordshire, 4th ser., xxvii (2023 for 2022), pp. 175–90.

to sixty-five after 1660. The mean values of pensions and gratuities in the North Riding fell by a third. In the West Riding only four widows' pensions were granted, compared with the 119 allowed during the Interregnum. Of these four, at least three were officers' widows, suggesting that Restoration justices were less anxious when awarding pensions to widows among the social elite.¹⁰³

The foremost of these was Grace, widow of Colonel Robert Portington. In 1660, soon after his release from a twelve-year incarceration in Hull, Robert succumbed to gangrene inflicted by a monkey bite while he was crossing the River Ouse by boat near Howden.¹⁰⁴ In 1665 Grace's maintenance fell on the county rate 'by order from his Majesty'. Charles II also ordered substantial sums to many royalist officers' widows from central government's funds during the 1660s, but in this case he placed the burden directly onto West Riding ratepayers.¹⁰⁵ Grace's annual pension of £20, received between 1665 and 1680, was over double that furnished by the county to any royalist officer in the West Riding. A total of £300, it dwarfed the total of £4 11s 4d awarded to other West Riding royalist widows and skewed upwards substantially the mean pension awarded to the four royalist widows shown in Table 5.¹⁰⁶

These cases confirm the impression that distinctions of rank were particularly important to those who were responsible for dispensing military welfare to royalists. Restoration justices were most anxious about royalist officers and gentry who had fallen on hard times during the Interregnum. Several of these were awarded large pensions during the 1660s. Mr Emanuel Justice had received a pension from 1616 until 1642 when his pension was stopped because of his declared affections to Charles I. At the Knaresborough sessions of October 1660, Justice was promised these eighteen years of arrears, and in the meantime was awarded a gratuity of £20 and an annual pension of £6 13s. Upon his death, his son, Mr Richard Justice of York, was awarded his pension, Richard 'having beene at great expences with Surgions by reason of a bullett which remayned in his foot for the space of Two and Twenty yeares & more, and being lame, & having Sixe children, & little to supply their wants withal'.¹⁰⁷ Royalist field officers such as Sir Jordan Crosland, Marmaduke Holtby and John Meautys supported Mr Thomas

103. These were WYAS, QS1/20/5/6/8, Petition of Edward Whitwell of Arksey (for Grace Portington), July 1681; QS1/15/5/6/4, Petition of Margaret Hodgson of Ingleton, July 1676; QS1/20/9/6/4, Petition of Elizabeth [Bradley] of Horbury, 1681.

104. P.R. Newman, *Royalist Officers in England and Wales, 1642–1660: A Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1981), p. 301; Newman, 'Royalist Army in Northern England', ii, pp. 83–4; William Peck, *The History and Antiquities of Thorne, with Some Accounts of the Drainage of Hatfield Chase* (Thorne, 1829), p. 75.

105. S. Beale, "'Unpittied by any'? Royalist Widows and the Crown, 1660–1670', *Historical Research*, xcii (2019), pp. 737–53.

106. WYAS, QS10/5, fo. 6, Pontefract, 4 Apr. 1665.

107. WYAS, QS10/4, fo. 2v, Knaresborough, 2 Oct. 1660; QS1/7/2/6/17, Pontefract, Mar. 1668; QS10/5, fo. 91, Pontefract, 31 Mar. 1668.

Wayte's petition with a certificate that celebrated Wayte's faithfulness to the Church of England and his military service 'against the Tirannicall powers, wherein hee was dangerously wounded'.¹⁰⁸ Lieutenant-Colonel Meautys was himself soon awarded an annual pension of £13.¹⁰⁹ Captain Nicholas Fleming of Malton petitioned Charles II that he had been left 'allwaies in paine & torment', having been twice shot in the head at the Battle of Langport. He requested that he might be admitted as a reformado in Hull's garrison. This was granted; he was spared duties and allotted the pay of two common soldiers.¹¹⁰

A new national scheme of relief, to apply to the whole of England and Wales, was devised in 1663, among whose listed 5,155 claimants were 523 Yorkshiremen. Qualification for relief under the terms of this scheme was restricted to indigent royalist officers of the rank of quartermaster or above who had exercised 'Real Command of Soldiers'.¹¹¹ This scheme underlines the impression that granting welfare was not merely concerned with recognising and rewarding royalist sacrifice, it was also about restoring the traditional order and respect for the social hierarchy as exemplified by maintaining the living standards of the royalist officer corps and saving them from visible destitution.

IV

Wartime memories evidenced in petitions after 1660 continued to influence the provision of military welfare, providing historians with more evidence to inform recent debates on the nature of early modern memory.¹¹² The petitions particularly illuminate attitudes towards the commemoration of suffering, sense of place, and the politics of memory, all of which have been central to recent work in early modern memory studies.¹¹³ As elsewhere in early modern Europe, memories and reinventions of the past, especially in post-conflict societies, came to possess 'extreme political importance' for rich and poor alike.¹¹⁴ In reference to the defence of custom by early modern commoners, Andy Wood has shown how the 'past was a resource: one to be manipulated, adapted, suppressed, exaggerated or highlighted

108. WYAS, QS1/7/2/6/23, Pontefract Quarter Sessions, Mar. 1668.

109. WYAS, QS1/8/3/6/20, Petition of Lt-Col. John Meautys of Waddow, 1669.

110. TNA, SP 29/66, fo. 175.

111. P.R. Newman, 'The 1663 List of Indigent Royalist Officers Considered as a Primary Source for the Study of the Royalist Army', *Historical Journal*, xxx (1987), pp. 885–904, at 886, 894; *A List of Officers Claiming to the Sixty Thousand Pounds, &c. Granted by his Sacred Majesty for the Relief of his Truly-Loyal and Indigent Party* (London, 1663), sig. Ar.

112. J. Pollman, *Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2017).

113. K. Chedgzoy, E. Graham, K. Hodgkin and R. Wray, 'Researching Memory in Early Modern Studies', *Memory Studies*, xi (2018), pp. 5–20, at 6, 11.

114. J. Pollman and E. Kuijpers, 'Introduction: On the Early Modernity of Modern Memory', in J. Pollman and E. Kuijpers, eds, *Memory before Modernity: Patterns of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2013), p. 21.

as occasion demanded'.¹¹⁵ Similar processes were utilised by civil-war petitioners. After 1660, those royalists who had been denied pensions and discriminated against throughout the preceding fourteen years now claimed in large numbers. Petitioning the quarter sessions brought them back into townscapes still disfigured by siege, bombardment and destruction: for example, Knaresborough, Pontefract, Skipton, Helmsley and Scarborough. Now at last they could tell their stories to obtain official recognition from the state for their suffering and sacrifice.

This influx of new petitioners meant that by 1664 the West Riding county rate had trebled to £674 13s.¹¹⁶ From April to July 1661, in the West Riding alone, 204 new claimants were granted pensions or gratuities. By October the Treasurer announced that he was out of stock.¹¹⁷ To accommodate this surge in demand, on 23 April 1661 the Pontefract sessions ordered that all existing pensioners be discharged with just one quarter's pay. Henceforth, any found to have served against the king would forfeit their pension.¹¹⁸ From April 1662, all those who had borne arms against the king were, on the evidence of two witnesses, to have their pensions removed.¹¹⁹ Such proclamations encouraged informants to turn on their neighbours. For example, William Jefferson of Towton received the pension formerly given to John Watson of Tadcaster, after having procured two witnesses to denounce Watson for having served among Colonel William White's parliamentarians at the siege of Pontefract castle.¹²⁰ Denunciations, which had worked in favour of parliamentary claimants before 1660, now favoured the royalists, promoting score-settling and stirring memories of enmity. This clearly undermined the healing and forgetting ordered by the Act of Oblivion.¹²¹

Further efforts were made to reduce pensioner numbers by stripping welfare from those deemed fit for employment. Agbrigg and Morley's pensioners were required to appear before three justices in January 1670 to have their certificates of service inspected, at the house of Joseph Greene on Wisket Hill. This was the meeting place of the Court Baron for the Wapentake of Morley. Steeped in civil-war memory, it stood on the battlefield of Adwalton Moor, where many royalist pensioners would have remembered their army's triumph over the Fairfaxes on 30 June 1643.¹²²

115. A. Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 355.

116. WYAS, QS10/4, fo. 168r–v, Pontefract, 19 Apr. 1664.

117. WYAS, QS10/4, fos 22–35, Pontefract, 23 Apr. 1661–Knaresborough, 1 Oct. 1661.

118. WYAS, QS10/4, fo. 23v, Pontefract, 23 Apr. 1661.

119. WYAS, QS10/4, fo. 70, Pontefract, 8 Apr. 1662.

120. WYAS, QS1/8/1/6/8, Certificate against John Watstone of Tadcaster, 1669; QS10/2, fo. 15, Pontefract, 27 Apr. 1647; QS10/2, fo. 142, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648; QS10/5, fo. 99, Pontefract, 31 Mar. 1668; QS10/6, fo. 67, Pontefract, 16 Apr. 1672.

121. Pollman, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, p. 145.

122. WYAS, QS10/5, fo. 147v, Wakefield, 13 Jan. 1669/70; J. Cruickshank, 'Courts Leet, Constables and Township Structure in the West Riding, 1540–1842', *Northern History*, liv (2017), pp. 59–78, at 74; D. Johnson, *Adwalton Moor: The Battle that Changed a War* (Pickering, 2003), p. 75.

A mile eastward in the hamlet of Adwalton stood an inn named ‘the Lord Brook’s’. Robert Greville, 2nd Lord Brooke, slain at Lichfield in 1643, became a parliamentary martyr. This suggests that the veterans and locals who frequented the inn memorialised Adwalton as a place of sacrifice and martyrdom. The house of an Adwalton innkeeper, Captain Metcalf, was among the first rendezvous points for the Farnley Wood plotters during the Northern Risings of 1663.¹²³ For royalists, this would have renewed and sharpened the locality’s pre-existing association with treason and rebellion. This reinforces recent arguments that particular spaces and places were often charged through with civil-war memories, but also that place-naming practices could convey contrasting meanings to different audiences.¹²⁴

Royalist gentry returning to the county bench stirred wartime memories. Some settled scores by compelling former parliamentarians to fund the pensions of royalist soldiers. The parliamentary widow, Frances, Lady Fairfax of Steeton, lost her husband Sir William Fairfax at Montgomery in September 1644. When she complained to York magistrates about the assessment for maimed soldiers imposed on Steeton, she was reproved by them and ordered to pay her arrears in full.¹²⁵ When the parliamentary captain, surgeon and former justice, John Hodgson of Coley, acting as a Halifax churchwarden, failed to make his quarterly payment to the chief constable for the relief of royalist soldiers, the justices ordered his goods seized to the value of 20s to make up the shortfall.¹²⁶ Divested of his former status, Hodgson was repeatedly arrested. He was stripped of his firearms, while his buff-coat was given to a kinsman of the royalist Sir John Armitage of Kirklees. During his imprisonment in York Castle in 1665–6, alongside eighty other former parliamentary officers who were also suspected of plotting against Charles II, Hodgson watched many of his incarcerated comrades die of fever.¹²⁷

Those parliamentarians still receiving county support after 1662 risked draconian punishment. Fabian Beckwith of Northallerton was granted £2 per annum at the Northallerton sessions in 1657 for having suffered in Parliament’s service. His debentures listed him as drummer under Captain Lascelles. Yet at the Richmond sessions in 1662, his widow Anne,

123. A. Hopper, ‘The Farnley Wood Plot and the Memory of the Civil Wars in Yorkshire’, *Historical Journal*, xlv (2002), pp. 281–303, at 285, republished in Bowen and Stoyke, eds, *Remembering the English Civil Wars*, pp. 122–44, at 125.

124. A. Hughes, ‘“When the Scotts Army Did March Thorow our County”: Space, Place and Remembering in the English Civil War’, in Bowen and Stoyke, eds, *Remembering the English Civil Wars*, pp. 43–59, at 46.

125. York Explore Library and Archive, Y/ORD/5/2/1, vol. VIII, Quarter Sessions Minute Book, 1662–1688, p. 161.

126. WYAS, QS10/4, fo. 121, Pontefract, 28 Apr. 1663.

127. D.N. Farr, ‘John Hodgson: Soldier, Surgeon, Agitator and Quaker’, *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, lviii (1997–99), pp. 220–34; T. Cooper, rev. D.N. Farr, ‘Hodgson, John (1617/18–1684?)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: The Original Memoirs Written during the Great Civil War being the Life of Sir Henry Slingsby and Memoirs of Captain Hodgson*, ed. Walter Scott (Edinburgh, 1806), pp. 176–93.

responding to the Act of 1662, claimed that Fabian had been wounded in the late king's service. Anne was admitted a pensioner 'to have such allowances as shall be ordered at the next sessions'.¹²⁸ Her choice to petition at Richmond rather than the sessions in her home parish of Northallerton is suggestive of her need to deceive the justices. Suspicion of instances such as this encouraged a hard-line response from royalist justices, particularly those who had suffered during the Interregnum. At Barnsley in 1662 the royalist justices, Sir Francis Wortley and Roger Portington, announced that any pensioned soldiers who had been in arms against 'our gracious Kinge that now is or his father of blessed memory' would be sent 'to lye in prison' until they had repaid the full sum to the treasurer and given security for their future good behaviour. Those reliant on county pensions were unlikely to be able to repay such sums or find such securities, making death in prison a likely eventuality if so denounced.¹²⁹ Raking up memories of an individual's wartime allegiances was now potentially life-threatening.

At least seven former parliamentary pensioners were mentioned in evidence taken after the failed Northern Risings of 1663. Wounded parliamentary veterans would have been well known in their local communities. Those hostile to them suspected that their receipt of pensions for so long had rendered them idle. Their old enemy, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, had warned Sir Edward Nicholas of Yorkshire's 'multitude of Casheired officers and souldiers that are all over the Countrey, well provided with Horse & arms & longe rest made slothfull to fall to there ould trades'.¹³⁰ Now stripped of their pensions, they had more recent cause for hostility to Charles II's regime. Among those accused of complicity in the Northern Risings was Captain Baynes's old quartermaster, Nathaniel Shrigley.¹³¹ Anthony West of Otley, trumpeter to Colonel Robert Lilburne, was 'shot through the body with a brace of bullets' at Selby on 11 April 1644, but despite these wounds was approached to take up arms and ride to the insurgents' rendezvous at Topcliffe Bridge.¹³² Another parliamentary pensioner, Matthew Thackwray of Holbeck, who had denounced his neighbours for royalism in 1648, was also asked to join the rendezvous at Farnley Wood.¹³³

128. NYRO, QSM/2/10, fo. 94v, Northallerton, 7 Apr. 1657; TNA, E 121/3/4, no. 101; NYRO, QSM/2/10, fo. 402v, Richmond, 22 July 1662.

129. WYAS, QS10/4, fo. 97r, Barnsley, 14 Oct. 1662. Wortley was a royalist colonel imprisoned during the Interregnum, while his father had earned notoriety as the first man to draw his sword for the king in Yorkshire in 1642, before dying imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1652: A. Hopper, 'The Wortley Park Poachers and the Outbreak of the English Civil War', *Northern History*, xlv (2007), pp. 93–114, at 109, 112; P.R. Newman, *The Old Service: Royalist Regimental Colonels and the Civil War, 1642–46* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 23, 264. Roger Portington was a royalist lieutenant colonel who had also been imprisoned during the Interregnum: Newman, 'Royalist Army in Northern England', ii, p. 185.

130. Hopper, 'Farnley Wood Plot', pp. 122–44; TNA, SP 29/28/13, Langdale to Nicholas, 3 Jan. 1661.

131. BL, Add. MS 25,463, fo. 168.

132. WYAS, QS10/2, fo. 291, Leeds, 12 July 1649; BL, Add. MS 33,770, fo. 4.

133. WYAS, QS10/2, fos 142–3, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648; QS10/3, fo. 378, Pontefract, 12 Apr. 1659. BL, Add. MS 33,770, fo. 26.

James Hargrave, commonly called 'Great James', was said to be ready to join the insurgents by an informant in Calverley parish.¹³⁴ Pensioners Cornet John Holdsworth¹³⁵ and Robert Allen were further suspects.¹³⁶ Thomas Pickles was not a pensioner, but was asked 'whether he would be a soldier again' by one of the plotters. A reputation for carrying war wounds as an Interregnum pensioner clearly placed men under suspicion that, despite their disabilities, they might return to soldiering against the Crown. Indeed, Northallerton in 1663 'was a place pitched upon for a Rendezvous because there was many Officers & Soldiers in & about the Town'.¹³⁷

Thomas, third baron Fairfax, had wisely kept out of the Northern Risings, but at the time of his final sickness in 1671 he reflected on the hostility royalists had directed at him since 1660. When his last morning came, he called for his Bible. As his eyes grew dim he recited the forty-second psalm, reminiscing about the wounds he had sustained in a religious war that had claimed the lives of his brother Charles and his cousin William: 'As with a sword in my bones, mine enemies reproch mee: while they say dayly unto me, Where is thy God?'¹³⁸ Fairfax's will bequeathed John Denonley and his wife Elizabeth enjoyment of their farm rent-free for life, because John had 'received a maim in my service disabling him to earn his living'.¹³⁹ Individual acts of gentry patronage also played a part in providing welfare to Yorkshire veterans.

In common with the West Country's maimed soldiers, when naming the conflict Yorkshire's royalist petitioners most often referred to 'the late unhappy wars'. Only one Yorkshire petitioner used the pejorative term 'rebels' to describe the parliamentarians, and then only did so to demonstrate his personal constancy in fulfilling the 1662 Act's stipulations. This suggests that petition writers were mindful that their form of words observed the Act of Oblivion, rather than the petitioners themselves successfully internalising the Act's message, as claimed by Judith Pollman. The petitions also include glimpses of how the war could inflict psychological injury and ongoing mental distress, despite Pollman's argument that early modern culture struggled to articulate such pain.¹⁴⁰

Ismini Pells has recently drawn attention to the 'tantalizing references to troubled emotions' arising from wartime experience in petitions. In Yorkshire there were eleven instances of petitioners using the term 'sad' to describe their wounds, sufferings, imprisonments or more general

134. WYAS, QS10/3, fo. 317, Skipton, 13 July 1658. BL, Add. MS 33,770, fo. 18; Add. MS 25,463, fo. 169.

135. WYAS, QS10/3, fo. 378, Pontefract, 12 Apr. 1659; BL, Add. MS 25,463, fo. 168.

136. WYAS, QS10/2, fo. 145, Pontefract, 11 Apr. 1648; BL, Add. MS 25,463, fo. 167.

137. BL, Add. MS 33,770, fos 5, 35.

138. BL, Egerton MS 2,146, fo. 38.

139. Clements R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (London, 1870), p. 445.

140. Pollman, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 153, 185.

condition. One contemporary meaning of this term implied dangerous mental illness, to which magistrates could prove sensitive.¹⁴¹ Pells cites at length the moving petition of Elizabeth Bradley who claimed in 1681 that her pensioner husband Captain Edward Bradley of Horbury was ‘much troubled ... that he should be so slighted for his great losses and imprisonments that he suffered in the late rebellious war’. He had recently almost fallen from a bridge over the River Calder while travelling to Wakefield and could no longer be allowed outside safely without supervision. She added, ‘I had my brest cutt of which hath disenable me to do that formerly I had done for him’. The couple now needed the support of a carer; Elizabeth felt such shame that she twice informed the justices ‘I cannott endure to let my Condiçion be known to any but yourselfes’.¹⁴² Despite the expiry of the county pension scheme’s legislation in 1679, the justices granted her 6s a month, a larger sum than Edward’s pension during the previous decade.

Imprisonment by the enemy was among the grounds for seeking a pension among royalist veterans, as the cause of mental suffering and financial hardship. Mark Stoye showed that thirty-two out of 179 West Country royalist soldiers’ petitions mentioned their imprisonment, most commonly describing the experience not as cruel, but as ‘long’.¹⁴³ A slightly smaller proportion of Yorkshire royalist petitioners (seventeen out of 126) mentioned imprisonment, and seven of these seventeen did not rely on having been physically wounded. Instead they most commonly associated ‘sad’ imprisonment with hardship, distress and suffering. In the absence of wounds, recounting imprisonment was a means of demonstrating infirmity arising from suffering for the king’s cause. William Steward was awarded a pension of 6s 8d per quarter, not on account of wounds, but because of his imprisonments and material losses.¹⁴⁴ Captain Robert Rowell acknowledged that he had escaped significant harm from wounds, but that the ‘bad usage hee had from the enemy’ during his imprisonments now rendered him unfit for employment.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, John Sharpe was recommended for a pension without evidence of wounds, but that he ‘lay in Yorke Castle in Irons for his Loyalty’.¹⁴⁶ Mentioning imprisonment in petitions might encourage suspicion of side-changing, so petitioners stressed carefully their faithfulness, loyalty and constancy. The 1662 Act required royalist petitioners always to have been loyal to the Crown. John Slonas of Stokesley stressed that he ‘never would take part with the Rebels

141. I. Pells, ‘Soliciting Sympathy: The Search for Psychological Trauma in Petitions from Seventeenth-Century Maimed Soldiers’, in E. Peters and C. Richards, eds, *Early Modern Trauma: Europe and the Atlantic World* (Lincoln, NE, 2021), pp. 129–50, at 132, 135.

142. WYAS, QS1/20/9/6/4, Petition of Elizabeth [Bradley] of Horbury, 1681.

143. Stoye, ‘Memories of the Maimed’ (2021), pp. 176, 182.

144. WYAS, QS10/6, fo. 24, Pontefract, 2 May 1671.

145. WYAS, QS1/13/4/6/8, Petition of Robert Rowell of Skipton, 1674.

146. WYAS, QS1/15/3/7/3, Certificate of John Sharpe of Ackworth, 1676.

although often thereunto solicited'.¹⁴⁷ Others explained their release from prison through payment of ransom money. Richard Kelke and Robert Wrigglesworth paid ransoms for their release, from Wressle Castle in Yorkshire in 1644, and after Colby Fight in Pembrokeshire in 1645.¹⁴⁸ Alongside evidence that parliamentarian captives from Seacroft Moor paid fines as high as £60 for their release from York in 1643, this suggests that ransoming was more prevalent in the First Civil War than has hitherto been realised.¹⁴⁹

Gentry could demonstrate their loyalist credentials after 1660 by supporting royalist pensioners, either as justices in the quarter sessions or as endorsers of their petitions. Durand Hotham and Sir Hugh Cholmley, both of whose fathers were infamous Yorkshire side-changers, sought to rehabilitate their family names in this way. Both signed the petition of Rowland Harrison of Whitby in 1685, whose detailed narrative of derring-do as a trooper in Prince Rupert's regiment included numerous dramatic escapes from imprisonment as well as battlefield experience at Powick Bridge, Edgehill, Brentford, Marlborough, Cirencester, Liverpool, Marston Moor and Naseby. In a revealing comment about how oral testimonies of wartime service circulated in local communities, and how Harrison might have enjoyed regaling his audiences, Cholmley declared that he had 'heard the same confirmed for more then thirty years y^t the Peticioner hath bin known to me'.¹⁵⁰

Provision of civil-war military welfare continued for two generations beyond the Restoration. The continual process of talking about wartime experiences when petitioning and re-applying for pensions reinvigorated those memories and circulated them to new audiences. Suffering and loss were evaluated in courtroom environments every decade until only a handful of veterans remained. The North Riding's last petitioner was Robert Wrigglesworth in 1701, who, fittingly, claimed to have served in Yorkshire's first royalist regiment.¹⁵¹ The last known West Riding petitioner was John Genn, who claimed in 1709 that he was 82 years old and had served under Sir Francis Fane, the royalist governor of Lincoln.¹⁵² Genn was one of eight post-1700 West Riding petitioners, of whom six resided in his home parish of Aston, just south of Rotherham, and two

147. NYRO, QSB/1685/267, Petition of John Slonas of Stokesley, 1685.

148. WYAS, QS1/40/3/6, Petition of Richard Kelke of Aston, 1701; NYRO, QSB/1691/331, Petition of Robert Wrigglesworth of Little Thirkleby, 1691.

149. TNA, ASSI 45/2/2/22; B. Donagan, *War in England, 1642–1649* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 149, 153, 162, 379.

150. NYRO, QSB/1685/259, Petition of Rowland Harrison of Whitby, 1685. Coincidentally, this was since the very time that Cholmley's father and namesake had addressed his civil-war memorials to him: *The Memoirs and Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby, 1600–1657*, ed. J. Binns, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, cliii (2000).

151. NYRO, QSB/1701/146, Petition of Robert Wrigglesworth of Little Thirkleby, 1701; QSB/1685/264, Petition of Robert Wrigglesworth of Little Thirkleby, 1685. For Sir Robert Strickland's regiment, see Newman, *Royalist Officers*, p. 361.

152. WYAS, QS1/48/3/6, Petition of John Genn of Aston, 1709.

in the neighbouring parish of Treeton, where the royalist rector, Sherland Adams, had been ejected during the Interregnum.¹⁵³ The marked concentration of these last petitioners in adjacent parishes, and the supporting signatures and endorsements from their neighbours, suggest a local network of parish officers pushing these elderly men forward. Three of their petitions were signed by Samuel Trickett, rector of Aston from 1694 to 1712.¹⁵⁴ Trickett used the parish register to certify that Francis Petty had been baptised in 1623, making him old enough for the wartime service he claimed.¹⁵⁵ Aston had been the seat of Sir Francis Fane, under whom four of them claimed to have served. All eight men were almost certainly known to each other, suggesting a local veteran network similar to those in St Botolph without Aldgate, London, who commemorated their relief of Gloucester into the 1650s.¹⁵⁶ These Yorkshiremen were sharing their memories of civil war and receiving community support over sixty years later. With Fane's residence in Aston, local wartime memories may have been kept alive in a similar way to those at Woolley, twenty-five miles to the north, where the civil-war regimental colours of Sir George Wentworth adorned a wall inside St Peter's parish church into the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁷ At least five soldiers from Wentworth's regiment petitioned in 1669 (April and July), 1674 and 1678.¹⁵⁸

Far from being a peripheral concern, the experience of the wounded and widowed is central to understanding the impact of war upon a population. The British Civil Wars are among the earliest European conflicts where a reconstruction of this impact through archival evidence is possible. Significant sums of money were raised in Yorkshire for military welfare, indicating some level of consent, despite the challenges involved in their collection. The principle was first established that

153. J.T. Cliffe, *Stuart Yorkshire: Places and People* (Huddersfield, 2013), p. 462.

154. Trickett signed the petitions of Petty, Inkersell and Genn: WYAS, QS1/39/10/6, Petition of Francis Jenkin of Aughton (Aston parish), 1700; QS1/39/7/6, Petition of Francis Petty of Aston, 1700; QS1/40/3/6, Petition of Richard Kelke of Aston, 1701; QS1/40/1/1/6, Petition of Anthony Davy of Aston, 1701; QS1/43/10/6, Petition of George Inkersell of Aston, 1704; QS1/45/3/6, Petition of William Walker of Uley (Treeton parish), 1706; QS1/47/8/6, Petition of William Hilton of Treeton, 1708; QS1/48/3/6, Petition of John Genn of Aston, 1709.

155. *The Clergy of the Church of England Database* (King's College London et al., 2013–), available at <https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>, Person ID 104418 (accessed 14 Jan. 2025). Trickett was the son of Samuel Trickett, vicar of Norton in Scarsdale, Derbyshire: Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire: The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster* (2 vols, London, 1831), ii, p. 166.

156. I. Peck, *Recollection in the Republics: Memories of the British Civil Wars in England, 1649–1659* (Oxford, 2021), pp. 142–4.

157. G.E. Wentworth, 'History of the Wentworths of Woolley', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xii (1893), pp. 1–35, at 35.

158. WYAS, QS1/8/3/6/2, Petition of William Crofts of Darfield, 1669; QS1/8/5/6/3, Petition of Thomas Massey of Adwick upon Dearne, 1669; QS1/13/4/6/10, Petition of Thomas Morris of Cowick, 1674; QS1/17/6/6/11, Certificate of John and William Taylor of Sheffield, 1678.

the state should be responsible for relieving not only its soldiers, but also the soldiers' dependants. Communities were drawn into a national system of state-administered military welfare, demonstrating that the Civil Wars had led to a more powerful state. The system is, moreover, recognisably modern to today's audiences, as the historical origin of the UK's current Armed Forces Covenant.

In Yorkshire, the pensions awarded to royalist veterans were on average lower than those of their parliamentary counterparts, but this reflects the larger numbers of royalists in the county and the greater demand from them after 1660. The geographical distribution of claimants shows that the royalists recruited more widely across large areas of the North and West Ridings. Newcastle's army was England's largest royalist force, and a large part of Yorkshire was its heartland. During the Interregnum, the parliamentary authorities relieved large numbers of widows, recognising their entitlement to recompense and the sacrifices they had made in the cause. This rise in war widows' status, and the 'political edge' to female petitioning,¹⁵⁹ seems to have unnerved many in authority, and the position of war widows deteriorated badly, even before 1660. Parliamentary soldiers and war widows then lost their pensions soon after the return of Charles II. Thereafter, justices proved reluctant to award pensions to royalist widows, often granting them gratuities instead, unless their husbands had been officers. State pensions for widows of the rank and file would not return until 1901.¹⁶⁰ The Restoration was not just about restoring the Stuart dynasty, it was also concerned to reassert the traditional social and gender order after a period of acute challenge and upheaval. Restricting access to military welfare was one way of forgetting or 'deactivating' aspects of the English Revolution that Restoration gentry found disconcerting. In a similar way to declaring Charles II's reign as beginning in 1649, it was a means of inventing continuity and denying the past.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, the legacy of petitioning as participation in popular politics could not be completely curtailed. Late seventeenth-century justices faced the ongoing challenge of providing welfare to selected but still highly visible victims of the Civil Wars, across a landscape charged with wartime memories at places such as Wicket Hill and Farnley Wood. This circulation of civil-war welfare extended well into the eighteenth century, prolonging memories of the conflict, and reminding us now that the human costs of wars—especially of civil wars—persist for generations after the treaties that supposedly end them.

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159. A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* (Abingdon, 2011), p. 49.

160. E. Riedi, 'British Widows of the South African War and the Origins of War Widows' Pensions', *Twentieth Century British History*, xxix (2018), pp. 169–98, at 169.

161. Pollman, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 145, 151, and ch. 6.