

THE BENEFICED CLERGY IN THE DIOCESE
OF LINCOLN DURING THE EPISCOPATE OF
HENRY BURGHERSH, 1320-1340

With a Calendar of his Institution Register

Volume 1 (of 2)

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ABSTRACT

The first chapter provides a sketch of the background, education and career of Henry Burghersh, with an outline of the diocesan administration during his episcopate. The evidence of his registers suggests that his political career only took him away from his diocesan duties between 1327-1330 and 1334-1340, and even then the employment of vicars-general, and the development of the powers of the sequestrator ensured that the diocesan administration continued to run smoothly.

In a study of the benefices of the diocese, a calculation is made of their total number in 1320 and of the relative proportions of rectories, vicarages and curacies. Ordinations of vicarages, portions of churches, and dependent chapelries are examined. An analysis, based on the *Taxatio* of 1291, is made of the relative values of benefices.

An examination of the patronage of benefices reveals that ecclesiastical patrons outnumbered the laity by two to one. Ecclesiastical patrons consisted largely of religious houses, mainly those of the Benedictine and Augustinian orders, the secular clergy holding comparatively few advowsons. Among the laity, most patronage was held by the smaller landowners. The

problems posed by divided advowsons, and the effects of 'occasional' patronage, are discussed.

By means of two samples (the first an analysis of all institutions made during the episcopate, and the second a more detailed biographical sample) the beneficed clergy of the diocese are studied. Their provenance is found to be mainly local; nearly two-fifths spent some time at a university, and the majority were already priests at the time of their institution. The procedure for admission to a benefice is examined. Length of tenure is discussed, and the impact of exchanges is assessed. It is suggested that, although non-residence affected nearly half of the beneficed clergy, its extent was controlled through the issue of fixed-term licences.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AASRP** *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers*
- Acta I** *English Episcopal Acta I: Lincoln 1067-1185, ed D M Smith (British Academy, 1980)*
- Acta IV** *English Episcopal Acta IV: Lincoln 1186-1206, ed D M Smith (British Academy, 1986)*
- Annales Paulini** *See Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, ed W Stubbs (2 vols, Rolls Series, 1882-3) 1, pp 255-370.*
- App** *Appendix*
- Baker** *G Baker, The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton (2 vols, London, 1822-41)*
- BHRS** *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*
- BIHR** *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
- Book of Fees** *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill (2 vols in 3, HMSO, London, 1920-31)*
- Bridlington** *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensis, see Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II 11, pp 25-151.*
- BRUC** *A B Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500 (Cambridge, 1963)*
- BRUO** *A B Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500 (3 vols, Oxford, 1957-9)*
- Cal Inq Misc** *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) (HMSO, London, 1916-)*
- Cal Mem R** *Calendar of Memoranda Rolls (Exchequer), 1326-7 (HMSO, London, 1968)*
- CCR** *Calendar of Close Rolls (HMSO, London, 1892-)*

CIPM *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (HMSO, London, 1904-)

CPL *Calendar of Papal Letters* (HMSO, London, 1893-)

CPR *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (HMSO, London, 1891-)

CYS *Canterbury and York Society*

D & C *Lincolnshire Archives Office, Dean and Chapter Archives*

Danelaw Charters *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, ed F M Stenton (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History 5, 1920)

Daventry Cart *The Cartulary of Daventry Priory*, ed M J Franklin (NRS 35, 1988)

DNB *Dictionary of National Biography*, eds L Stephen and S Lee (2nd edn, 22 vols, London, 1908-9)

EconHR *Economic History Review*

EETS *Early English Text Society*

EHR *English Historical Review*

Fasti Dunelmenses *Fasti Dunelmenses: a record of the beneficed clergy of the diocese of Durham down to the dissolution of the monastic and collegiate churches*, ed D S Boutflower (Surtees Society 139, 1926)

Fasti Parochiales *Fasti Parochiales*, eds A Hamilton Thompson, C T Clay, N A H Lawrence, N K M Gurney and D M Smith (5 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 85, 107, 129, 133, 143, 1933-85)

Feudal Aids *Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids 1284-1431* (6 vols, London, 1899-1920)

Foedera *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et Cujuscunq̄ue Generis Acta Publica*, ed T Rymer (20 vols, London, 1704-35)

- GEC *G E Cokayne, Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant, new edn, revised and much enlarged, by V Gibbs, H A Doubleday, D Warrand, Lord Howard de Walden and G H White (12 vols, London, 1910-59)*
- Gibson, *Codex* *E Gibson, Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani (2nd edn, 2 vols, Oxford, 1761)*
- Hemingby's Register* *Hemingby's Register, ed H M Chew (Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Records Branch, 18, 1963)*
- JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- Knighton* *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, ed J R Lumby (2 vols, Rolls Series, 1889-95)*
- LAASRP *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers*
- Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* *John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541 (12 vols, London, 1962-7)*
- LHA *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*
- Liber Antiquus* *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariarum tempore Hugonis Wells, Lincolnensis episcopi, 1209-1235, ed A Gibbons (Lincoln, 1888)*
- Lincolnshire Chantry Certificates* *C W Foster and A Hamilton Thompson, 'The Chantry Certificates for Lincoln and Lincolnshire', AASRP 36 (1921-22), 183-294 and 37 (1923-25), 18-106, 247-75.*
- LRS *Lincoln Record Society*
- Medieval Religious Houses* *D Knowles and R N Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (Revised edn, London, 1971).*

Murimuth *Adae Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum*,
ed E Maunde Thompson (Rolls Series,
1889)

*North Notts
Clergy* *Lists of the Clergy of North Notting-
hamshire*, ed K S S Train (Thoroton
Society Record Series 20, 1961)

NRS Northamptonshire Record Society

OHS Oxford Historical Society

PIMS Pontifical Institute of Medieval
Studies, Toronto

PRO Public Record Office

PW *Parliamentary Writs and Writs of
Military Summons*, ed F Palgrave
(2 vols in 4, London, 1827-34), ii,
pt 3

Reg Lincolnshire Archives Office,
Episcopal Register

Reg Ant *Registrum Antiquissimum of the
Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, eds C W
Foster and K Major, (10 vols, LRS,
1931-73)

Reg Cantilupe *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo,
episcopi Herefordensis, A D MCCLXXV-
MCCLXXXII*, eds R G Griffiths and W W
Capes (CYS 2, 1907)

Reg T Charlton *Registrum Thome de Charlton, episcopi
Herefordensis, A D MCCCXXVII-
MCCCXLIV*, ed W W Capes (CYS 9, 1913)

Reg Cobham *The Register of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop
of Worcester, 1317-1327*, ed E H Pearce
(Worcestershire Historical Society 40,
1930)

Reg Edington *The Register of William Edington, Bishop
of Winchester, 1346-1366*, ed S F Hockey
(2 vols, Hampshire Record Series 7-8,
1986-7)

- Reg Gandavo* *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, diocesis Saresberiensis, A D 1297-1315, eds C T Flower and M C B Dawes (2 vols, CYS 40-1, 1934)*
- Reg S Gravesend* *Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Ricardi Newport, et Stephani Gravesend, episcoporum Londoniensium, A D MCCCIV-MCCCXXXVIII, ed R C Fowler (CYS 7, 1911)*
- Reg Greenfield* *The Register of William Greenfield 1306-1315, eds W Brown and A Hamilton Thompson (5 vols, Surtees Society 145, 149, 151-3, 1931-8)*
- Reg Hethe* *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, diocesis Roffensis, A D 1319-1352, ed C Johnson (2 vols, CYS 48-49, 1948)*
- Reg Langham* *Registrum Simonis Langham, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, ed A C Wood (CYS 53, 1956)*
- Reg Martival* *The Registers of Roger Martival, Bishop of Salisbury 1315-1330, eds K Edwards, C R Elrington, S Reynolds and D M Owen (4 vols, CYS 55, 57-9, 68, 1959-75)*
- Reg Melton* *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317-1340, eds R M T Hill and D Robinson (3 vols, CYS 70-1, 76, 1977-88, in progress)*
- Reg Orleton (Hereford)* *Registrum Ade de Orleton, episcopi Herefordensis, A D MCCCXVII-MCCCXXVII, ed A T Bannister (CYS 5, 1908)*
- Reg Pontissara* *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara, Episcopi Wyntoniensis, A D MCCLXXXII-MCCCIV, ed C Deedes (CYS 19, 30, 1915-24)*
- Reg Repingdon* *The Register of Bishop Philip Repingdon, 1405-1419, ed M Archer (3 vols, LRS 57-58, 74, 1963-82)*
- Reg Sandale/ Asserio* *The Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio, Bishops of Winchester (A D 1316-1323) with an appendix of contemporaneous and other illustrative documents, ed F J Baigent. (Hampshire Record Society, 1897)*

- Reg Shrewsbury* *The Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1329-1363, ed T S Holmes (2 vols, Somerset Record Society 9-10, 1896)*
- Reg Stretton I* *The registers or act books of the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield: Book 4, being the register of the guardians of the spiritualities during the vacancy of the see, and the first register of Bishop Robert de Stretton, 1358-1385: an abstract of the contents, ed R A Wilson (William Salt Archaeological Society, new series 10, part 2, 1907)*
- Reg Sudbury* *Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria diocesis Londoniensis, A D 1362-1375; eds R C Fowler and C Jenkins (2 vols, CYS 34, 38, 1927-38)*
- Reg Sutton* *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-99, ed R M T Hill, (8 vols, LRS, 1948-86)*
- Reg Swinfield* *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, episcopi Herefordensis, A D MCCLXXXIII-MCCCXVII, ed W W Capes (CYS 6, 1909)*
- Reg Trillek* *Registrum Johanna de Trillek, episcopi Herefordensis, A D MCCCXLIV-MCCCLXI, ed J H Parry (CYS 8, 1912)*
- Reg Winchelsey* *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, A D 1294-1313, ed R Graham (2 vols, CYS 51-52, 1952-6)*
- Reg Woodlock* *Registrum Henrici Woodlock, diocesis Wintoniensis, A D 1305-1316, ed A W Goodman (2 vols, CYS 43-44, 1940-1)*
- Rot Gravesend* *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, diocesis Lincolnensis, ed F N Davis with additions by C W Foster and A Hamilton Thompson (LRS 20, 1925)*
- Rot Hugh de Welles* *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, episcopi Lincolnensis, A D MCCIX-MCCXXXV, Vol I, ed W P W Phillimore (CYS 1, 1909, and LRS 3, 1912); Vol II, ed W P W Phillimore and others (CYS 3, 1907, and LRS 6, 1913); Vol III, ed F N Davis (CYS 4, 1908, and LRS 9, 1914).*

SCH

Studies in Church History

<i>Snappe's Formulary</i>	<i>Snappe's Formulary and other Records</i> , ed H E Salter (OHS 80, 1924).
Stephens, Laws	A J Stephens, <i>A Practical Treatise of the Laws Relating to the Clergy</i> (2 vols, London, 1848)
<i>Taxatio</i>	<i>Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P Nicholai IV, circa A D 1291</i> , eds T Astle, S Ayscough and J Caley (Record Commissioners, 1802)
TLAS	<i>Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society</i>
Trans Thoroton Soc	<i>Transactions of the Thoroton Society</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus</i>	<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus</i> , eds J Caley and J Hunter (6 vols, Record Commissioners, 1810-34)
VCH Beds	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Bedford</i> (3 vols, London, 1904-12)
VCH Bucks	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Buckingham</i> (4 vols, London, 1905-28)
VCH Herts	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Hertford</i> (4 vols, London, 1902-23)
VCH Hunts	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon</i> (3 vols, London, 1926-38)
VCH Leics	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Leicester</i> (5 vols, London, 1907-64)
VCH Lincs	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln</i> (1 vol, London, 1909)
VCH Northants	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Northampton</i> (4 vols, London, 1902-37)
VCH Oxon	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Oxford</i> (11 vols, London, 1939-83)
VCH Yorks ER	<i>The Victoria History of the County of York, East Riding</i> (5 vols, London, 1969-84)
Vita	<i>Vita Edwardi Secundi</i> , ed N Denholm-Young (London, 1957)

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written on the parish clergy in England during the period immediately before and after the Reformation. Aspects of their careers such as education, ordination, patronage and non-residence have been studied in detail.¹ In contrast, comparatively little work has been done on their clerical predecessors of the early fourteenth century. The researches of Dr Donaldson on the clergy of the diocese of Durham and of Dr Robinson on those of the archdeaconries of Cleveland and the East Riding in the diocese of York have not hitherto been followed up by similar studies of other dioceses.² Yet it is only by means of such comparative studies that an overall picture of the beneficed clergy during this period can be pieced together.

¹ See for example M Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1968); P Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1969); R O'Day, 'The Reformation of the Ministry, 1558-1642' in *Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church in England 1500-1642*, eds R O'Day and F Heal (Leicester, 1976), pp 55-75; M Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation: The Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland 1521-1547* (Cambridge, 1981), pp 37-46, 112-137.

² R Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church: a Study in the Social Structure of the Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Durham (1311-1540)' (unpublished Edinburgh Ph D thesis, 1955); D Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland and the East Riding 1306-1340* (Borthwick Papers 37, 1969).

The state of the clergy during the first half of the fourteenth century is, moreover, a subject of some importance. The previous two centuries had been a time of centralisation of the authority of the church, increasing the powers of pope and bishops. It had also been a time of reform in the church, expressed through the legislation of a series of councils and locally through the work of reforming bishops such as Grosseteste. These reforms included an attempt to enforce certain standards on the parish clergy in respect of their education, ordination and residence. A study of the beneficed clergy of the early fourteenth century can help to assess to what extent this movement for reform had been successful.¹

As the largest medieval English diocese, Lincoln provides an excellent subject for this investigation. Within its boundaries it included a variety of landscapes, settlement patterns and agrarian regions, from the Lincolnshire fenlands to the limestone uplands of west Oxfordshire or the wooded heights of the Chilterns. Moreover, the archives of the diocese furnish an abundance of source material for such a

¹ W A Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), pp 2-3; J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), pp 210-241. For Grosseteste, see R W Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986), pp 237-271.

study. The Lincoln episcopal registers, having been commenced at an earlier date than those of any other diocese, had by the early fourteenth century reached a level of comprehensiveness rarely attained elsewhere. For the episcopate of Henry Burghersh, there survive a register of institutions, a separate memoranda register divided into classified and unclassified sections, and a register of royal writs.¹ These registers provide voluminous material relating to the beneficed clergy, their institution, education, non-residence, the offices they held, the commissions which were entrusted to them, together with a variety of more miscellaneous information.

To set the scene, this study begins with an account of Burghersh himself, his career and his administration of the diocese. Although this is not intended as an exhaustive account of his political career, some significant points emerge. In the first place, it is clear that Burghersh devoted much time to the administration of his diocese and that, even when he was engaged in the service of Edward III, he took care to ensure that the affairs of his see continued to be transacted. Secondly, the evidence of his itinerary throws considerable doubt on the theory, originally

¹ D M Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales: A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of Episcopacy in 1646* (London, 1981), pp 110-111.

put forward in the *Chronicon* of Geoffrey Baker, that Burghersh and Adam Orleton were engaged during the years 1324-6 in a conspiracy with Queen Isabella to overthrow Edward II.

The second and third chapters, drawing on the evidence of the episcopal registers, provide for the first time a comprehensive survey of the archdeaconries, rural deaneries and parochial benefices of the diocese, their number, the relative proportions of rectories, vicarages and curacies, the survival of portions of churches, and the creation of dependent chapelries. With a cautious use of the assessments made for the *Taxatio* of 1291, an attempt has been made to estimate the relative values of the benefices. In addition, the patronage of each benefice has been determined and an analysis made of the proportions of ecclesiastical and lay patrons. The problems caused by shared advowsons, patronage disputes and 'occasional' patronage are also examined.

The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to the study of the beneficed clergy themselves. Using two different samples, the first a simple analysis of the institutions to parochial benefices recorded in Burghersh's register and the second a more detailed biographical study of all incumbents instituted during the first five years of the episcopate, it has been

possible to attempt answers to some of the fundamental questions concerning the beneficed clergy of this period. Where did they come from? What education had they received? How did they make contact with their patrons? What was the exact procedure for admission to a benefice? For how long did clergy remain in the same benefice? What was the effect of the growing practice of exchanges? What was the extent of non-residence? How was a benefice eventually vacated?

The answers proposed here to these questions can only be provisional. A great deal more work needs to be done on other dioceses before it can be determined to what extent the situation in Lincoln was a typical one. Comparison with the studies of Donaldson and Robinson, referred to above, suggests that some of their findings can be confirmed (for example, the large proportion of incumbents who were drawn from the surrounding region) while others might need to be modified (for example, the much larger proportion of incumbents in Lincoln diocese who are known, from the evidence of episcopal licences, to have studied at university).

This study has been greatly assisted by the evidence available from other dioceses whose episcopal registers have been published, whether wholly or partially. Such printed editions exist, for at least

part of the period 1320-1340, for eleven of the sixteen other English dioceses.' In order to increase the sum total of this more readily available evidence, a calendar of Burghersh's institution register has been included as an Appendix to this thesis. A draft of a similar calendar has been compiled for his memoranda register and it is hoped that this will in due course be made available to researchers at the Lincolnshire Archives Office.

' Bath and Wells, Exeter, Hereford, London, Rochester, Salisbury, Winchester, Worcester, York, Carlisle, Durham. See Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, pp 31-2, 78-9, 96-7, 137, 172, 189, 204-5, 217-18, 237-8, 255-6, 267-8.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EPISCOPATE OF HENRY BURGHersh

This study is concerned with the beneficed clergy in the diocese of Lincoln during the episcopate of Henry Burghersh. It must be stressed at the outset that, although Burghersh played a significant part in the politics of the period, it is not intended here to examine this aspect of his career. The purpose of the present chapter is to describe the administration of the diocese in which the beneficed clergy served and to investigate the role played by the bishop himself in diocesan affairs.

When Burghersh was appointed to the see of Lincoln in 1320, the opinion widely shared among contemporary chroniclers was that he was totally unfitted to be a bishop.¹ Before examining his administration of the diocese, therefore, it is necessary to set out the little that is known concerning his early life, in an attempt to judge the degree of truth in the verdict of the chroniclers.

¹ W E L Smith, *Episcopal Appointments and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (Chicago, 1938), p 36.

EARLY LIFE

Henry Burghersh was a younger son of Robert Burghersh and his wife Maud. Robert Burghersh was of minor baronial rank, being summoned to parliament between 1303 and 1305; his estates included Burwash in Sussex, from which the family name was derived, and the manors of Chiddingstone, Boughton Aluph and Stowting in Kent. Henry's mother was a sister of Bartholomew Badlesmere, a family connection which was to be of great significance for his future career.¹ The family was a large one. In 1332, Henry had one surviving brother (Bartholomew) and three surviving sisters (Katherine, Margaret and Joan); in addition, five brothers (Stephen, Robert, Reginald, Guncelin and John) and two sisters (Juliana and Cecily) had already died by that date.²

Burghersh's date of birth is not known. At the time of his provision to the see of Lincoln, he was reported to be below the canonical age (30 years) required of a bishop. At one extreme, the author of

¹ GEC ii, pp 425-6; CIPM iv, pp 246-7.

² *Lincolnshire Chantry Certificates*, No 7A. Stephen, the eldest son, inherited his father's estates and died in 1309-10 without male heirs; Guncelin was named after the father of Maud and Bartholomew Badlesmere (GEC ii, pp 425-6). For Robert see below, pp 23-4.

the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* asserted that Burghersh was under 25 years of age at this time.¹ On the other hand, the king, in letters to the Pope urging the claims of Burghersh, declared that the candidate had attained the age of 30, although in earlier letters it had been acknowledged that he might be below the required age.² An independent witness, Bishop Cobham of Worcester, stated that by 1320 Burghersh had studied at various universities for 15 years and more.³ A recent study of education in fourteenth-century England has suggested that fourteen was the normal age of entry into a university arts course at this time.⁴ Cobham's statement, therefore, makes it possible to suggest the following sequence of dates for Burghersh's early life: birth in late 1290; entrance to university in 1304; provision to the see of Lincoln, at the age of twenty-nine, in May 1320.

¹ *Vita*, p 105. This statement is most implausible, since it would mean that in 1311 Burghersh had been instituted to the rectory of Whitstable, by Archbishop Winchelsey of all people, at the age of sixteen (see below, pp 26-7). For Winchelsey's views on the necessity for beneficed clerks to be fitted for parochial responsibilities, see J H Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294-1313* (Cambridge, 1980), pp 269-296.

² *Foedera* iii, pp 793, 796, 807, 814.

³ *Reg Cobham*, pp 46-7. This letter, which concerns Burghersh's candidature for the see of Lincoln, should be dated to the early months of 1320. See also K Edwards, 'Bishops and Learning in the Reign of Edward II', *Church Quarterly Review* 138 (1944), 57-86.

⁴ W J Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1987), p. 24.

It may well be that the papal bull appointing Burghersh to Lincoln, which described him as "*in vicesimo nono aetatis suae anno*", was accurate in this respect.¹

As has been noted, Burghersh had by 1320 studied at universities for over fifteen years. The suggestion that he attended the schools at Oxford has been questioned by Dr. Emden, and there is certainly no direct evidence connecting him with that university. There is, however, one important piece of indirect evidence which appears hitherto to have been overlooked. One of Burghersh's elder brothers, Robert, had also received a university education. He had attained the degree of *magister* by 1308 when he was instituted to the family living of Boughton Aluph, on the presentation of his elder brother Stephen.² There are strong grounds for believing that at least part of Robert's education took place at Oxford. When in 1326 Bishop Burghersh granted to Oriel College a licence to appropriate the church of St Mary in Oxford, one of the conditions which he imposed was that two priests should celebrate daily in the chapel of St Anne for the souls of, among others, the

¹ *Foedera* iii, pp 833-4. This chronology is also suggested in Edwards, 'Bishops and Learning', 64-5.

² *Reg Winchelsey* ii, p 1214. In the same year, Robert was also presented by the Crown to a prebend in the royal free chapel of Hastings (*CPR 1307-13*, p 67).

bishop's parents and of his brothers, Master Robert and Stephen.¹ The prominence given to Robert is striking; not only is he named specifically but he is even listed before Stephen, the eldest son and heir. There is, moreover, other evidence linking Master Robert Burghersh with Oxford. On 16 April 1323, the bishop granted an indulgence to all who should pray for the soul of Master Robert de Burghersh, buried before the shrine in the conventual church of St Frideswide in Oxford.² None of this evidence, of course, constitutes proof of any kind about the university career of Henry Burghersh, but it does lend some additional weight to the possibility that the future bishop may have studied at Oxford.

Burghersh's early university studies followed the standard liberal arts curriculum. In 1315 he received from Archbishop Reynolds a licence to study at a university for one year. By 1319 he had attained the degree of *magister* and had entered the higher faculties of civil and canon law at the university of Angers, where it is possible that he was intending to

¹ *Oriel College Records*, eds C L Shadwell and H E Salter (OHS 85, 1926), pp 82-5.

² Reg 5 fo 336v.

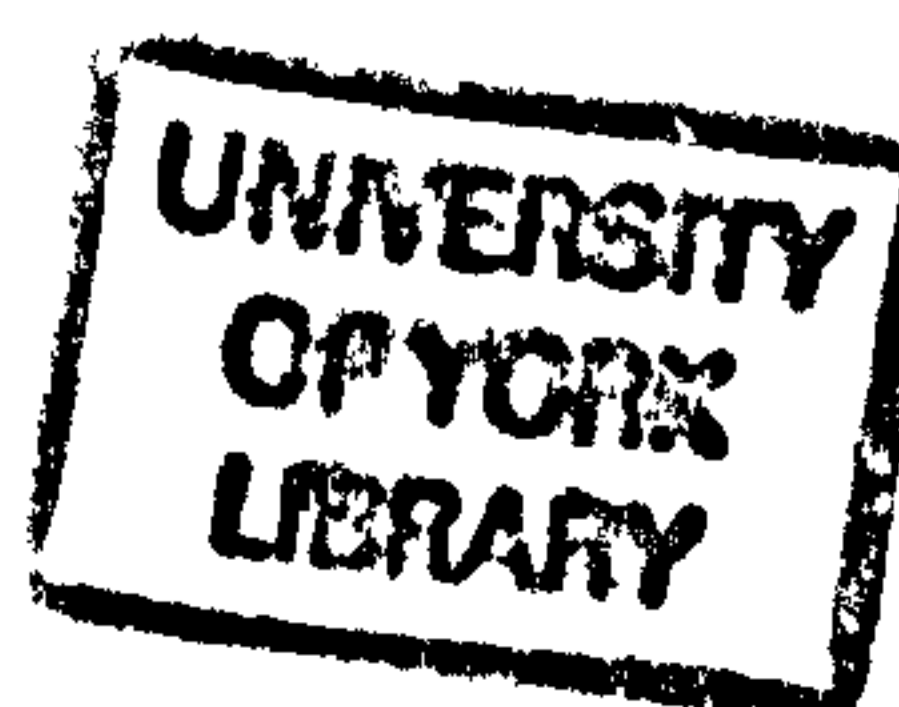
incept as a doctor in canon or civil law.¹

The fact that Burghersh came from a baronial family has led to his being classified as an 'aristocratic' bishop.² But, although his father possessed a certain amount of influence beyond the counties of Sussex and Kent where the family estates lay, it seems unlikely that this alone would have sufficed to further Henry's ecclesiastical career to any great extent. In any case, his father's death in 1306 would have compelled the young man to seek other patronage.³ The importance of an influential patron in the early careers of those who rose to high rank in the

¹ *BRUO*, p 2157; *Foedera* iii, pp 807, 814; Edwards, 'Bishops and Learning', 64-5. For the background of university studies in the arts and laws, see Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, pp 30-41. A memorandum endorsed on Burghersh's profession of obedience at Canterbury records that in 1320 he was resident at the schools of Paris where the study of civil law had been prohibited since 1219 (*Canterbury Professions*, ed M Richter (CYS 67, 1973), pp 94-5). This could mean that, having studied civil law at Angers, he was intending to complete his studies in canon law at Paris; see Courtenay, *op cit*, p 39 and note 46.

² Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, p 22; J R L Highfield, 'The English Hierarchy in the Reign of Edward III', *TRHS* Fifth Series, 6 (1956), 120.

³ In addition to serving as constable of Dover Castle and as warden of the Cinque Ports, Robert Burghersh was in 1306 entrusted by Edward I with a mission to Gascony, probably in connection with the investiture of Prince Edward with the Duchy of Aquitaine (*GEC* ii, p 425; M Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II: Walter Stapeldon, Treasurer of England* (Cambridge, 1983), p 18).



fourteenth-century church is well attested.¹ Henry Burghersh had to look no further than his own uncle, Bartholomew Badlesmere. A retainer of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, Badlesmere had through this connection been drawn into the royal administration. After the earl's death at Bannockburn in 1314, Badlesmere became a leading figure in the king's service, particularly through his association with the earl of Pembroke. In the period immediately following the 'Treaty of Leake', he was in high favour with the king.²

It was Badlesmere who, in 1311, presented Burghersh to the church of Whitstable. If Burghersh was, as has been suggested, only 20 or 21 years old at this date, it is likely that he was granted a dispensation in accordance with the constitution *Cum ex eo* of Pope Boniface VIII, whereby he would be granted leave of absence to continue his studies. At his institution to Whitstable, Burghersh was described as 'clerk',

¹ Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, pp 34-5. For examples, see A K McHardy, 'John Buckingham and Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 19 (1975), 48-52; J R L Highfield, *William of Edington, Bishop of Winchester*, [Friends of Edington Church, 1962], pp 1-2.

² J R S Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-1324* (Oxford, 1972), pp 144-7, 183; J Conway Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II, Its Character and Policy* (Cambridge, 1918), pp 427-8; J R Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322* (Oxford, 1970), pp 254-6.

which suggests that he was then still in minor orders. The minimum age for ordination to the priesthood was 24, but a *Cum ex eo* dispensation would have enabled him to remain in subdeacon's orders until he had reached the required age.¹

It may well have been Badlesmere again who secured Burghersh's appointment, by November 1316, as a king's clerk, and it was no doubt through the same patronage that he received in that month a royal grant of the prebendal stall of Riccall in York Minster.² It was also Badlesmere who successfully petitioned the pope for the provision to Burghersh in 1318 of the church of King's Cliffe, which he held for just under a year.³

The steps which led to the appointment of Burghersh to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1320 have been fully described elsewhere, and it is only necessary to give a summary of them here.⁴ When the see of Winchester

¹ *Reg Winchelsey* ii, p 1223. For a discussion of these dispensations, see below, p 256.

² *CPR 1313-17*, p 559; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* vi, p 75. The royal grant was made by reason of the vacancy of the see of York. Apart from the use of the title 'king's clerk', Burghersh is not known to have been active in the royal administration at this date, and his known university career would appear to preclude any continuous role in such a capacity.

³ *CPL* ii, p 180; *Reg 2* fo 139v.

⁴ Smith, *Episcopal Appointments*, pp 33-36.

fell vacant in November 1319, Badlesmere wrote to the king pressing the claims of his nephew. Such was the influence held by Badlesmere at that time that the king wrote immediately to the pope, to various cardinals, and to his ambassadors at the Curia, asking them all to secure the see for Burghersh.¹ A further appeal was made in the following month; the pope, however, gave the bishopric to his nuncio, Rigaud d'Assier.

In the previous April, noting that Bishop Dalderby of Lincoln was in ill-health, the pope had reserved the provision of the see at the next vacancy.² Dalderby died on 12 January 1320 and three days later the king wrote once again to the pope, to a group of cardinals, and to his ambassadors, advancing the claims of Burghersh. Further letters were sent in March. Meanwhile, the chapter of Lincoln had elected, first their dean, Henry Mansfield, who declined the office, and secondly the chancellor, Anthony Bek. Although Bek made a personal visit to the Curia, the pope accepted the royal candidate, and bulls of provision were issued to Burghersh on 27 May 1320.³ On 10

¹ Smith, *Episcopal Appointments*, p. 33; *Foedera* iii, pp 793, 796-7, 807-8.

² *CPL* ii, p. 189.

³ Smith, *Episcopal Appointments*, pp 35-6; *Foedera* iii, pp 814-15, 820-1, 833-4.

June, Burghersh was granted authority to receive consecration from any catholic bishop of his choice, assisted by two or three others. Burghersh was already in France; the king and queen were returning from Amiens, where homage had just been performed to Philip V for the Gascon lands, in the company of Bishops Salmon of Norwich and Stapeldon of Exeter. Bishop Orleton of Hereford was returning from an embassy to the papal court. All of them came together on 20 July at Boulogne, where Burghersh was consecrated by Salmon in the presence of the others. The party then returned to England. On 26 July, Burghersh made his profession of obedience at Canterbury.¹

The appointment of Burghersh to the episcopate met with the disapproval of a number of fourteenth-century chroniclers.² There were three reasons for this: the passing over of the candidate elected in due form by the cathedral chapter; the fact that Burghersh was at the time still below the canonical age; and the view that he lacked the qualifications necessary for a bishop. These criticisms must be considered in turn. With regard to the first, it must be pointed out that

¹ CPL ii, p 198; R M Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton, c1275-1345* (Cambridge, 1978), p 25; *Canterbury Professions*, ed Richter, pp 94-5.

² Smith, *Episcopal Appointments*, p 36.

during the fourteenth century the general trend was for episcopal appointments to be made by means of papal provisions.¹ Secondly, although it has been seen that Burghersh was probably not yet thirty when he became a bishop, it would seem likely that he attained that age later in the same year. Thirdly, complaints by chroniclers about the lack of learning and even illiteracy among the episcopate were widespread during this period. In her study of this question, Dr Edwards concluded that such lamentations were for the most part not based on fact. The evidence for Burghersh's educational background, confirmed by the neutral Cobham, suggests that in this respect he compares well with his contemporaries among English bishops.²

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIOCESE

The diocese to which Burghersh was appointed in 1320 was, in terms of the number of its parishes, the largest in England.³ No medieval bishop, let alone a bishop of Lincoln, could hope to govern his diocese without assistance, and the administrative system

¹ Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, pp 54-5.

² Edwards, 'Bishops and Learning', 85.

³ See below, pp 107-8.

which had grown up in the diocese of Lincoln reflected its vast area. This administration has been studied at various stages of its development and it is thus not necessary to undertake a detailed survey of it here.¹ The purpose of this section of the chapter is to indicate the outlines of the diocesan administration, to suggest the main ways in which it developed during Burghersh's episcopate, and to identify its more important personnel.

The duties of the bishop himself are conveniently summarised in the commissions issued to the vicars-general appointed to administer the diocese during the bishop's absence.² These duties included the institution of clergy to benefices and the carrying out of exchanges; the collation of benefices, both those in the bishop's gift and those which fell to him by lapse; the issue of letters dimissory to candidates from Lincoln diocese seeking ordination from another bishop; the granting to beneficed clergy

¹ For the twelfth century, see *Acta I*, pp xxxix-xlvii, and *Acta IV*, pp xxiii-xxviii; for the episcopate of Hugh of Wells, see D M Smith, 'The Administration of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln 1209-1235' (unpublished Nottingham University Ph D thesis, 1970), especially Chapters IV-V; for that of Oliver Sutton, see *Reg Sutton* iii, pp xxiv-lxxxvi; for that of Philip Repingdon, see *Reg Repingdon* i, pp xix-1. The administration of the diocese in the early sixteenth century is discussed in Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520*, pp 13-37.

² App 533, 556, 643; Reg 5 fo 489.

of dispensations to study and of other licences for absence; the confirmation (or quashing) of elections of the heads of religious houses; the visitation of religious houses and of other places within the diocese, and the correction and punishment of abuses therein; the execution of royal and papal mandates (such as those ordering the summons of parliament, the saying of special prayers, or the collection of taxes); the hearing of confessions and granting of absolution in cases reserved to the bishop; and the appointment of penitentiaries.¹

The vicar-general

Although vicars-general were normally appointed to act on the bishop's behalf when he was absent from his diocese, the first such appointment made by Burghersh was that of Thomas Louth² and John Malville³ in

¹ For the bishop's duties relating to beneficed clergy, see Chapters 4-5 below; for visitations, see pp 35-9 below; for penitentiaries, see pp 52-4 below.

² Thomas Louth [de Ludal]: MA; rector of Aylesby, 1310-21 (collation by Dalderby, Reg 2 fo 32); rector of Little Bytham, 1321-29 (App 26); canon of Lincoln, 1311-29 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, pp 76, 87, 106, 124); treasurer of Lincoln, 1321-29 (*ibid*, p 21); bishop's chancellor, 1320-21 (see below, p 55); auditor of causes in court of audience, 1320 (Reg 5 fo 259v).

³ John Malville [de Bereham]: MA, DCnL; rector of Ham, 1308-12; rector of Hawkhurst, 1312-22, both diocese of Canterbury (*Reg Winchelsey*, pp 1211-12, 1229); canon of Lincoln, 1322 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 34); auditor of causes in court of audience, 1320 (Reg 5 fo 259v); bishop's chancellor, 1322 (see below, pp 55-6).

January 1321. As the bishop remained in his diocese throughout the first half of that year, the reason for this appointment is not clear. The only evidence of activity under this commission is a small number of institutions performed by the commissaries.¹

Apart from this commission, Burghersh appointed vicars-general to act on his behalf on seven occasions. Walter Stauren was made vicar-general in May 1329 when Burghersh crossed to France in the company of the young Edward III, going to perform homage to the king of France for his Gascon possessions.² John Ragenhill was appointed vicar-general for three short periods, in January and November 1335 and again in January 1336.³ The reason

¹ App 11-13, 830-1, 1198, 1693, 1973, 2181. For the bishop's itinerary during 1321, see below, pp 65-7.

² App 226-234, 1367-8, 2041, 2278, 2544-6; R M Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford* (PIMS, 1986), p 207. Walter Stauren: MA; rector of Sherington, to 1330 (App 2284); canon of Lincoln, 1327-49 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 109); archdeacon of Stow, to 1331 (*ibid*, p 18); treasurer of Lincoln, 1331-49 (*ibid*, p 22); bishop's proctor for convocation, 1322 (Reg 5 fo 312); bishop's chancellor, 1326 (see below, p 56).

³ January 1335: Reg 5 fo 489; App 449, 1068, 1520, 2353-4, 2622. November 1335: App 1869, 2112. January 1336: App 799, 1538, 2636; Reg 5 fo 521. John [Longespey del] Ragenhill: MA, possibly of Oxford (*BRUO*, p 1543); rector of Highclere, dioc Winchester, by 1322 (*Reg Asserio*, p 488); rector of Great Hale, 1334 (*BRUO*); rector of Helpringham, 1334-38 (App 468, 588); archdeacon of Stow, 1334-35 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 18); auditor of causes in court of audience, 1334 (Reg 5 fo 472); bishop's chancellor, 1334-37 (see below, p 56); with bishop in royal service, 1337-38 (*BRUO*, p 1543).

behind the first two of these appointments is unclear. The first related to the period 2-14 January 1335; Burghersh was at York when it began and at Stow Park when it ended.¹ The second appointment is even more mysterious; the evidence for it consists solely of two institution entries, both dated 22 November 1335. Burghersh was at York on 13 November and was there again ten days later.² Ragenhill's third appointment was no doubt connected with Burghersh's journey from York to Berwick upon Tweed in late January 1336.³ The remaining three commissions appointing vicars-general were all issued to Simon Islip, the future archbishop,⁴ and covered Burghersh's periods of absence abroad on diplomatic missions in Flanders and Germany, from 24 April to mid-August 1337, from 30 October 1337 to 21 February 1340, and from 20 June 1340 until the bishop's death on 4 December that year.⁵

¹ Reg 5 fos 113v, 489.

² App 1532, 2113.

³ Reg 5 fo 521.

⁴ Simon Islip: MA, possibly of Oxford (*BRUQ*, p 1006); rector of Easton on the Hill, to 1332 (App 1442); rector of Owston, 1333-43 (App 775); rector of Horn-castle, 1343-49 (*BRUQ*, p 1007); canon of Lincoln, 1332-49 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, pp 25, 70, 120-1); archdeacon of Stow, 1332-33 (*ibid*, p 18); bishop's chancellor, 1332-34 (see below, p 56); Official of Lincoln, 1334 (see below, pp 43-4), still in 1339 (*BRUQ*, p 1007); Official of court of Canterbury, by 1344; keeper of privy seal, 1347-49; archbishop of Canterbury, 1349-66 (*BRUQ*, pp 1006-8).

⁵ *CPR 1334-38*, p 417; App 2658; App 556; Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford*, p 264; App 643.

Suffragan bishops

In addition to those episcopal duties, listed above, which could be deputed to a vicar-general, there were others which could only be performed by a bishop. These included ordination, the confirmation of children, the consecration of churches and altars, the reconciliation of churches and churchyards which had been polluted by the shedding of blood, and the blessing of chalices and other ornaments. Like his predecessors, Burghersh found that the size of the diocese necessitated the use of suffragan bishops at all times, not only when he was absent. The commissions issued to suffragans ranged from the specific, such as the licence for the reconciliation of the churchyard of Overton by Gilbert, bishop of Annaghdown, to the more general commissions such as those issued to Matthew, bishop of Bangor, in 1329 and to Benedict, bishop of Sardica in 1335.¹

Visitation

In theory, a bishop was expected to visit his diocese every three years but the size of the see of Lincoln made this a difficult ideal to put into practice.² No visitation records survive for Burghersh's episcopate

¹ Reg 5 fos 303v, 398, 501v. See also D M Smith, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of Lincoln', *LHA* 17 (1982), 17-27.

² *Reg Sutton* 111, p xxiv.

but, from chance references in his memoranda register, together with the evidence of his itinerary, it is possible to sketch an outline of his activity in this area.

Burghersh's primary visitation commenced in December 1320 with the issue of a mandate for the visitation of Lincoln cathedral.¹ In the following month, four commissaries were appointed to carry out a general visitation of the diocese and a mandate was issued ordering a citation of the deaneries of Lawres, Aslackhoe, Wraggoe and Gartree.² The mandate followed a standard form. All rectors, vicars and other clergy were cited to appear in person, together with four or six trustworthy men from each parish, according to size. The date and place of the visitation for each deanery was specified: Lawres at Scampton on 29 January, Aslackhoe at Glentham on 4 February, Wraggoe at Stainton by Langworth on 7 February and Gartree at Horsington on 19 February. All those who held benefices in plurality, or who had not been ordained to the priesthood within a year of institution, or who held churches *in commendam*, or were non-resident, or were the appropriators of churches, were to exhibit

¹ Reg 5 fo 271.

² Reg 5 fos 269v, 273.

their dispensations or licences.¹

It is probable that the bishop was present at the visitation of the deanery of Lawres on 29 January but the other deaneries may have been left to commissaries.² In September further citations were ordered, for the Buckinghamshire deaneries of Newport (at Newport on 9 October), Mursley (at Edlesborough on 13 October), Buckingham (at Twyford on 22 October) and Waddesdon (at Waddesdon on 29 October). Again, it is likely that Burghersh was present at the visitation of the first of these deaneries but it is not clear whether he attended the others.³

It is likely that political events then caused the bishop's visitation to be interrupted.⁴ It was resumed in August 1322, when he set out on a progress

¹ Reg 5 fo 273v. For similar mandates, see Reg 5 fos 293v, 453. See also R M T Hill, *The Labourer in the Vineyard: The Visitations of Archbishop Melton in the Archdeaconry of Richmond* (Borthwick Papers 35, 1968), p 3.

² The bishop was at Scampton on 28 and 30 January (Reg 5 fo 275v; App 828) but from 6 February until late April he remained at Sleaford. See below, p 65.

³ Reg 5 fo 293v. Burghersh was at Tickford, by Newport, on 9 October (Reg 5 fo 7v); he may have attended the visitations of Mursley and Buckingham deaneries, since he was at Wing on 13 October and at Thornborough and Biddlesden on 20-21 October (Reg 5 fo 296; App 1976, 2187). By 28-30 October, however, he was at Banbury (Reg 5 fo 8; App 1214). See also pp 67-8 below.

⁴ See below, pp 68-72.

through the Lindsey deaneries of the archdeaconry of Lincoln. Between 6 August and 30 September, he travelled in turn through the deaneries of Wraggoe, Walshcroft, Yarborough, Grimsby, Louthesk and Ludborough, Calcewaith, Candleshoe, Horncastle and Bolingbroke.¹ A mandate for the visitation of the deanery of Holland was issued on 23 September, and the bishop spent October and early November in that area.² The bishop's itinerary suggests that the visitation of the archdeaconries of Buckingham, Bedford and Huntingdon was resumed in June 1323; it was completed by January 1324.³

There is some limited evidence from his itinerary that the bishop may have undertaken a partial second visitation in 1325. On 24 March a mandate was issued to Notley Abbey concerning a proposed episcopal visitation of that house. On 31 March Burghersh was at Brickhill (deanery of Newport), on 1 April at Slapton (deanery of Mursley) and on the following day

¹ Reg 5 fo 64v (Wraggoe); Reg 5 fo 313v (Walshcroft); App 1229, 1231, 1234, Reg 5 fos 11, 314v, 319 (Yarborough); App 1226, 1234, Reg 5 fos 65, 315v (Grimsby); App 2464, Reg 5 fo 65 (Louthesk and Ludborough); Reg 5 fos 11v, 65v, 316v (Calcewaith); Reg 5 fo 65v (Candleshoe); Reg 5 fos 12, 13, 321 (Horncastle); Reg 5 fos 12, 319v (Bolingbroke).

² Reg 5 fo 319v; App 53-55, 57-8, 861, 1701-2, 2466.

³ Reg 5 fos 354, 368. For the bishop's itinerary in June and July, see for example App 75, 77, 79, 119, 729, 872, 874, 876, 1245, 1247, 1251-2, 1989-90, 1994-5, 204, 2007, 2199, 2473-4.

at Weston Turville (deanery of Wendover).¹ In September and October of that year, he set out on a tour of deaneries in Lindsey and Holland, similar to that which he had undertaken three years earlier.² A further visitation, including the archdeaonries of Northampton and Oxford, was carried out in 1329 and 1330 by John Bourn³ and Gilbert Buckingham,⁴ acting on behalf of the bishop whose duties as Chancellor presumably prevented him from visiting his diocese in person.⁵

Another visitation of the archdeaonry of Buckingham

¹ Reg 5 fo 377r-v; App 902, 1272.

² Reg 5 fos 19, 161v; App 136-7, 904; Reg 5 fo 19; App 139; Reg 5 fos 35v, 383v; App 2231; Reg 5 fos 19, 72, 181v, 384; App 2719.

³ John Bourn: MA; rector of Great Carlton, by 1329 (Reg 5 fo 421v); canon of Lincoln, 1328-49 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 32). The *Fasti* lists two canons of Lincoln with this name at this period. It seems likely that the episcopal clerk held the prebend of Bedford Major, since he was certainly a canon of Lincoln by 6 August 1329 (Reg 5 fo 420v); whereas his namesake did not receive the royal grant of Langford Ecclesia prebend until 26 September following, being admitted on 8 December (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 73; App 2742).

⁴ Gilbert Buckingham: MA; rector of St Peter Berkhamsted, c1325-29 (Reg 5 fo 386; App 2547); rector of Nailstone, 1327-37 (App 942); rector of Welford, diocese of Salisbury, from 1337 (App 1114); auditor of causes in court of audience, 1323 (Reg 5 fos 342v, 346v); custodian of archdeaonry of Lincoln during vacancy, 1323, 1324 (Reg 5 fos 350v, 368); to act in all causes arising from bishop's visitation of archdeaonries of Bedford, Buckingham and Huntingdon, 1324 (Reg 5 fo 368r-v).

⁵ Reg 5 fos 420v, 427, 431v.

took place in November and December 1331.¹ In this instance, the evidence of the citation and of the bishop's itinerary coincide almost completely, suggesting that this visitation was carried out in person. On 18 November Burghersh was at Long Crendon for the visitation of the deanery of Waddesdon. It is not known whether he was at High Wycombe on the 22nd for the visitation of that deanery, but he was at his nearby manor of Fingest on the following day.² The bishop was at Upton (deanery of Burnham) on 26 November and three days later he was at Great Missenden (deanery of Wendover).³ He was almost certainly at Ivinghoe (Mursley deanery) on 1 December.⁴ On 4 December he was travelling between Whitchurch and Fulwell (Oxon), a journey which could well have taken him through Twyford (Buckingham deanery); three days later, he was at Newton Longville (Newport deanery).⁵

This visitation appears to have been continued in the following year. In April 1332, there is a reference to a proposed visitation of Lincoln Cathedral, and the

¹ Reg 5 fo 453.

² App 321-2; App 323.

³ App 1808; Reg 5 fo 100v.

⁴ His whereabouts on that day are not known, but he was at Ivinghoe on 2-3 December (Reg 5 fos 42, 453v).

⁵ Reg 5 fos 42, 100v.

bishop's itinerary for May and June again suggests a visitation of the Lindsey and Holland deaneries of the archdeaconry of Lincoln.¹ In April and December 1335 there are references to a recent episcopal visitation of the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow, Leicester and Northampton. Since Burghersh was appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer on 1 August 1334, it seems probable that this visitation was carried out by commissaries.²

Fragmentary though this evidence is, it suggests that, despite the size of his diocese and his frequent involvement in national affairs, Burghersh by no means neglected the duty of visiting his flock. Although it is impossible to discover with what completeness his visitations were carried out, the references discussed above indicate that some attempt was made to visit the diocese in 1321-4, 1325, 1329-30, 1331-2 and 1335. Until the king's service kept him overseas for much of the last three years of his episcopate, it would appear that the standard of triennial visitations was not ignored.

¹ Reg 5 fo 458v. For the bishop's itinerary in May-June 1332, see for example Reg 5 fos 102v, 165v; App 338, 352; Reg 5 fos 460v-461; App 344, 2364, 2779; Reg 5 fo 165v.

² Reg 5 fos 494v, 521. For Burghersh's appointment as Treasurer, see below, p 98.

Judicial Functions

At any visitation, there would come to light a number of abuses requiring correction. The power of the bishop to remedy such abuses was known as 'office' jurisdiction, since it proceeded from the authority of his office; it was thereby distinguished from 'instance' jurisdiction which was concerned with those cases brought at the instance of the parties themselves. To deal with the judicial business coming before the bishop, there had developed by the mid-thirteenth century two courts: the consistory court and the court of audience.¹

The consistory court was presided over by the bishop's Official who acted as the *alter ego* of the bishop himself; there was, therefore, no appeal from the consistory court to the bishop. Although by the later fourteenth century the jurisdiction of the Lincoln consistory appears to have been restricted to instance causes, during Burghersh's episcopate it still had the power to hear causes of correction.² Sessions of the court were held monthly, usually at Lincoln or Stamford.³

¹ C Morris, 'A Consistory Court in the Middle Ages', *JEH* 14 (1963), 150-2.

² A Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), pp 51-3; Morris, *art cit*, 152-3.

³ Reg 5 fos 258v, 273; Morris, *art cit*, 155.

At the beginning of his episcopate, Burghersh adopted the temporary expedient of issuing a commission to Peter Medburn (the subdean of Lincoln) and Richard Stretton (a canon of the same) to hold a consistory in the church of St Mary Magdalene, Lincoln, in September 1320. In the following month, Hugh de Camera was appointed as the bishop's Official; he was granted an additional commission to correct abuses in May 1321.¹ It seems probable that the Official would normally preside over the court in person, although on occasion a deputy might be appointed.²

After the death of Hugh de Camera in 1331, Burghersh resumed the practice of issuing commissions for the holding of individual sessions of the consistory. These were usually given to his more trusted clerks, such as Walter Stauren, John Bourn and Ralph de Waldegrave.³ It was not until April 1334 that a more

¹ Reg 5 fos 258v, 263v, 281. Hugh de Camera: MA, DCL (*BRUO*, p 2158); rector of Glatton, 1321-31 (App 2451); canon of Lincoln, 1326-31 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 63); archdeacon of Lincoln, 1327-31 (*ibid*, p 6); with bishop in royal service, 1329-30 (*CPR 1327-30*, pp 388, 485).

² Morris, *art cit*, 154. In January 1321 a commission was issued to John de Clipston to hold a consistory at Stamford, presumably as a deputy of the Official (Reg 5 fo 273).

³ *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 6; Reg 5 fos 451, 457v, 464, 468v, 472, 474v. Ralph de Waldegrave: MA; rector of Yelvertoft, c1321-1340 (Reg 5 fo 7); rector of Walgrave, from 1340 (App 1625).

permanent arrangement was made, with the appointment in that month of Simon Islip as Official. Shortly afterwards, Islip was given powers to carry out a visitation of the consistory court, its advocates, proctors and officials, and to correct their excesses. It would seem probable that the detailed statutes drawn up in 1334 for the conduct of the court were issued as a result of this visitation.¹

In addition to the consistory court, with its regular sessions, there was the bishop's court of audience. This was less formally organised than the consistory; it might be held before the bishop himself, or before his chancellor or another of the clerks of the episcopal household specifically appointed as 'auditor of causes'.² Among such auditors appointed by Burghersh were Hugh de Walmesford, Thomas Louth, Gilbert Buckingham and John Bekingham.³

¹ Reg 5 fos 474v, 476; Morris, *art cit*, 156-7.

² Morris, *art cit*, 154; *An Episcopal Court Book, 1514-1520*, ed M Bowker (LRS 61, 1967), p ix.

³ Reg 5 fos 319, 342v, 485. Hugh de Walmesford: MA; instituted to Easton on the Hill, 1318, but does not appear to have gained possession (Reg 2 fos 126v, 137v; App 1395); rector of Grafham, 1323-24 (App 2471, 2483); rector of Wyberton, 1324-44 (App 108, Reg 6 fo 14); canon of Lincoln, 1328-44 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 43); bishop's registrar, 1320, 1323 (see below, p 57); sequestrator, 1324 (see below, p 51). One of Burghersh's most active clerks, carrying out many administrative and judicial commissions. John Bekingham: MA; rector of Blyborough, 1331-35 (App 766, 793); archdeacon of Stow, 1335-39 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 18).

It may be assumed that the court of audience normally travelled around the diocese with the bishop.¹ Yet there is some evidence that, particularly when the bishop was out of the diocese, sessions of the court could be held in his absence. In November 1327, Burghersh issued a commission from York, appointing Walter Maidstone and John Carbonell to act as auditors of all causes to be heard in the bishop's court of audience due to be held two days later in the church of Kirton in Lindsey. A similar commission was issued at the Old Temple on 28 November 1330 for the hearing of all causes to be brought on the following day in the chapel of Totteridge in Hertfordshire.²

In her study of the early sixteenth-century court of audience, Margaret Bowker noted that some of the cases brought before the court had already been heard, in their earlier stages, before a specially appointed commissary. Burghersh made considerable use of such commissaries. In January 1324, for example, a commission was issued to the incumbents of St Andrew, Hertford, and of Digswell, to act in a cause of dilapidations then pending in the bishop's court of audience.³ During the first ten years of his

¹ Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy*, p 55.

² Reg 5 fos 409v, 441.

³ *An Episcopal Court Book*, ed Bowker, pp ix, xx; Reg 5 fo 356.

episcopate, Burghersh issued 154 commissions of this nature; the types of judicial business involved are analysed in Table 1.1 below. These commissions were for the most part entrusted to graduates. The commissaries included the bishop's clerks, such as Hugh de Walmesford and Hugh de Camera; canons of Lincoln, such as John Harrington and Richard Stretton; and heads of religious houses, such as the priors of Huntingdon and of St Frideswide, Oxford.¹

TABLE 1.1

Judicial Commissions, 1320-1330

<i>Type of Cause</i>	<i>Number</i>
matrimonial	41
defamation	21
perjury and breach of faith	16
benefice	14
assault on clerk	14
tithes	13
dilapidations, repairs to chapels	12
testamentary	9
detention of church property	5
miscellaneous or not specified	9
TOTAL	154

Archdeacons and Rural Deans

In addition to the members of the bishop's household and the officers of the episcopal courts, there were two more ancient episcopal subordinates within the

¹ See for example Reg. 5 fos. 340, 355v, 368v, 376, 388. In the absence of any early fourteenth-century episcopal court records for the diocese, these commissions provide the only evidence for the types of business coming before the court.

diocese, appointed by the bishop: the archdeacon and the rural dean. Since both these officials had developed their own administrative, visitatorial and judicial functions within their respective areas, it is not intended to discuss them in detail here.¹ There were, however, some important points of contact between the bishop and the archdeacons. That which occurs most frequently in the episcopal registers is the issue of mandates by the bishop for the induction by the archdeacon of newly-instituted clergy to their benefices.² The archdeacons were also used for the publication of important documents throughout the diocese. Mandates were issued regularly for the summoning of parliament or of convocation, ordering the archdeacons to appear in person and to set in motion the machinery for the election of proctors by the clergy.³ Other documents were from time to time forwarded to the archdeacons, for publication in all the parish churches within their jurisdiction; these

¹ For archdeacons and rural deans, see A Hamilton Thompson, 'Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29 (1943), 153-194. The archdeaconries and deaneries of Lincoln diocese are described below, pp 108-111. It should be noted that the bishop's right to appoint archdeacons was, by the early fourteenth century, considerably circumscribed by the claims of both papacy and crown. See R M Haines, *The Administration of The Diocese of Worcester in the first half of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1965), p 30; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, pp 6-19.

² For induction mandates, see below, pp 300-303.

³ Reg 5 fos 286, 326v.

included the papal bull canonizing St Thomas Cantilupe, and archiepiscopal mandates ordering the saying of prayers for the peace of the church and the realm, or on the departure of Queen Isabella for France in 1325.¹

The archdeacons were by no means universally resident. Three of the archdeaconries in Lincoln diocese (Leicester, Oxford and Buckingham) were in the hands of foreigners throughout Burghersh's episcopate, as was the archdeaconry of Northampton after the death of Gilbert Middleton in 1330.² Where an archdeacon was absent, his functions were exercised by his official. Little is known about these officials, although the names of some can be found in the episcopal registers: Richard de Hunsingore (Oxford), John de Braybrok (Buckingham), John de Clipston (Northampton) and John de Felmersham (Huntingdon).³ The best-documented of these men is undoubtedly Richard de Hunsingore, a

¹ Reg 5 fos 260v, 284, 377v.

² *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, pp 10-12, 14-15. See also Haines, *The Administration of The Diocese of Worcester*, pp 39-40. Apart from the foreigners, it is not clear how many of the archdeacons in Lincoln diocese during Burghersh's episcopate were non-resident. It is worthy of note that the great majority of mandates for induction were addressed to the archdeacons' officials, rather than to the archdeacons themselves: see below, pp 301-2.

³ Reg 5 fos 282v, 342, 446v (Hunsingore); 289, 447v (Braybrok); 264, 267 (Clipston); 469v, 482v, 522v (Felmersham).

graduate of Oxford, the owner of a number of tenements in that town, and rector of South Newington from 1318 until his death in 1337.¹

When an archdeaconry became vacant, the bishop would appoint a guardian to exercise the jurisdiction so long as the vacancy lasted. Thus in April 1322 Master John de Nottingham was appointed to exercise the jurisdiction of the spirituality of the archdeaconry of Stow during its vacancy, to punish excesses, to hold chapters and to account to the bishop for its revenues.² Similar appointments were made for the archdeacons of Lincoln in 1323-4, of Stow in 1323 and 1334, of Huntingdon in 1327 and for the archdeaconry of Northampton in 1330 and 1335.³

The Sequestrator

As Professor Morris has shown, the first half of the fourteenth century saw a considerable development of the office of sequestrator in the diocese of Lincoln.⁴ To the powers exercised by that official in the late thirteenth century (the sequestration of the revenues

¹ *BRUO* pp 985-6.

² Reg 5 fo 310.

³ Reg 5 fos 348v, 351, 368; *ibid* fos 353, 486; *ibid* fo 391v; *ibid* 442v, 497v.

⁴ C Morris, 'The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln', *JEH* 10 (1959), 53-8.

of vacant benefices and the control of the goods of intestates) there were added a range of important responsibilities. The sequestrator was to act in cases of dilapidations; he was given powers of correction; he was given jurisdiction in testamentary business and, later in the fourteenth century, authority to grant administration of the goods of intestates. While it is difficult to attribute to individual bishops any specific role in the development of this office, it can be noted that the powers of correction and of testamentary jurisdiction were first given to sequestrators during Burghersh's episcopate.¹

The growth in the responsibilities of the sequestrator brought about an increase in their number. There were five such officials in the diocese in 1347, and by the mid-fifteenth century there was a sequestrator (or commissary, as the office was known by then) for each archdeaconry.² During Burghersh's episcopate, however, the older pattern of one or two sequestrators for the whole diocese, assisted by local sub-sequestrators, seems to have prevailed. The commissions appointing William Bachiler to the office in January 1321 authorised him to act throughout the

¹ Morris, *art cit*, 56-7.

² With the exception of Lincoln and Stow, which shared the same commissary. See Morris, *art cit*, 55.

diocese.¹ In 1323, however, John de Hawe was appointed sequestrator for the archdeaconries of Lincoln, Stow and Leicester, and a similar commission (with the addition of the deanery of Rutland) was granted in the following year to Hugh de Walmesford.² Two other men held office as sequestrator later on in Burghersh's episcopate: John de Wottesdon (by 1334) and Ralph de Waldegrave (by the following year).³

The widespread nature of the sequestrators' jurisdiction, particularly in matters of correction and probate, brought them into contact with many areas of social and economic life, and disputes inevitably arose as a result. The activities of Walmesford and of Waldegrave as sequestrators in Lincolnshire were

¹ Reg 5 fos 267v, 269v, 274v. William Bachiler: MA; rector of Marsh Gibbon, 1316-21 (Reg 2 fo 188; Reg 5 fo 296v); rector of Withyham, dioc Chichester, to 1328 (CPL ii, p 284); rector of Shillington, 1328-49 (Reg 9 fo 419); canon of Lincoln, 1328-49 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 56); still sequestrator in 1328 (Reg 5 fo 412).

² Reg 5 fos 352, 373v-374. John de Hawe: MA; rector of Langton by Partney, 1308-49 (Reg 2 fo 22v; Reg 9 fo 67).

³ Reg 5 fos 471v, 492v. John de Wottesdon: MA; rector of Courteenhall, 1329-55 (collation by Burghersh, Reg 5 fo 421v; Reg 9 fo 208v); ordered to act jointly in commissions issued to William Bachiler, 1330 (Reg 5 fo 440). For Waldegrave, see above, p 43 note 3.

the occasion of numerous complaints made before the royal inquest of 1341 into official misconduct.¹

Penitentiaries

The requirement laid on all Christians for yearly confession to a priest had been confirmed by the decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* of the fourth Lateran Council.² Such a confession would normally be made to the parish priest concerned, although a licence could be obtained from the bishop permitting the choice of a confessor.³ In certain cases, however, where the sin was held to be of a more serious nature, its confession was reserved to the bishop, or even to the pope himself.⁴ It was clearly impossible for the bishop to hear in person all confessions in these reserved cases and in consequence it became the practice to appoint penitentiaries, having the power to hear such confessions in the bishop's place.

¹ *The 1341 Royal Inquest in Lincolnshire*, ed B W McLane (LRS 78, 1988), nos 482-4, 528, 704-8, 785-91, 825-6, 934, 950, 1033-4, 1083-4. A jury found against Walmesford on one complaint, but another was dismissed (*ibid*, nos 1149, 1157).

² T N Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1977), p 21.

³ Reg 5 fos 335, 432v.

⁴ For a summary of the cases reserved to the bishop, see Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p 307.

Many licences appointing penitentiaries may be found in Burghersh's memoranda register; large numbers were granted to friars and many others to parish clergy. Occasionally a licence would be made valid for the whole diocese, such as that granted to the subdean, Peter Medburn, in January 1321.¹ More usually, the licence would be granted for a particular archdeaconry (for example, Alan, vicar of Burnham, for the archdeaconry of Buckingham) or for an individual deanery (Nicholas, vicar of Great Kimble, for the deanery of Wendover) or for a group of deaneries (Richard, vicar of Ravenstone, for the deaneries of Buckingham, Newport and Mursley).² Some licences were even more limited. William, vicar of Buckden, and John, rector of Buckworth, were appointed penitentiaries for their own parishes.³ Master John Lutterel was licensed as penitentiary for the university of Oxford during his period of office as its chancellor.⁴ Of particular interest is the licence appointing John of Florence, a Franciscan of Oxford, to hear confessions of his brethren of the Italian idiom dwelling at or passing

¹ Reg 5 fo 269v.

² Reg 5 fos 275v, 308v, 356.

³ Reg 5 fos 267, 334v.

⁴ Reg 5 fo 262v; *Snappe's Formulary and other Records*, ed H E Salter (OHS 80, 1924), pp 70-72.

through the university, and that granted to Tydeman Alemannus, an Augustinian friar of Boston, to hear confessions of foreigners of his own language in the diocese.¹

The bishop's chancery

On his travels around the diocese, the bishop was accompanied by a group of household clerks to assist with the transaction of routine diocesan business.² The scattered references in Burghersh's memoranda register to the members of this group can fortunately be amplified by the lists of those present at institutions to benefices, which were regularly entered in the institution register during the period 1320-1326.³

While the Official may originally have been a part of the bishop's household, it seems probable that he ceased at a relatively early stage to accompany his master on his travels.⁴ Certainly Hugh de Camera,

¹ Reg 5 fos 262, 378. For Italian Franciscans at Oxford, see A G Little, *The Grey Friars at Oxford* (OHS 20, 1891), p 66.

² *Reg Sutton* iii, pp xxvi-xxvii. For the earlier development of the bishop's chancery, see C R Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries* (Manchester, 1950) and D M Smith, *thesis*, pp 207-260.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, pp 20-21.

Burghersh's Official from 1320 to 1331, was only occasionally with the bishop (for example, in September 1321, January 1322 and March 1324) and it may be presumed that his responsibilities with the consistory court prevented him from attending more regularly on the bishop.¹

In the absence of the Official, the principal among the bishop's household clerks was the keeper of the seals (or chancellor, as he was now called) who was almost always placed first in the lists of those present at institutions. There were at least three episcopal seals: the great seal, the seal *ad causas* and the privy seal. The first two of these were normally in the custody of the chancellor.² The first chancellor to be appointed by Burghersh was Thomas Louth, already a canon of Lincoln and later treasurer of the same, who held office as chancellor from 1320 until the end of 1321.³ He was succeeded by John

¹ App 29, 838-42, 1209, 1975, 2452-3; App 37-9, 846, 1217, 2188-9, 2708; App 93, 887, 1257, 1718-19. For the Official's responsibilities in respect of the consistory court, see above, pp 42-4.

² On 24 April 1334, in accordance with a precept under the episcopal privy seal, John Ragenhill (the bishop's chancellor) handed over the episcopal great seal at Buckden (Reg 5 fo 477v). For the seal *ad causas*, see Reg 5 fo 479v. See also *Reg Sutton* iii, p xxvi.

³ App 2439; App 1981.

Malville who served from January 1322 until his death in August of that year.¹ Henry Iddesworth was appointed to the post by December 1322 and continued to act in that capacity until June 1324.² After this date, there are only occasional references to the office: Walter Stauren occurs in 1326, John Walewayn in 1329, Simon Islip in 1332-4 and John Ragenhill in 1334-7.³ The witness lists for the period 1320-1324 indicate that the chancellor was in fairly constant attendance on the bishop; it would appear that for this period at any rate the Lincoln diocesan administration did not follow "the trend... towards absentee chancellors who did not participate in the day-to-day work" noted by Dr Haines in the diocese of Worcester.⁴

¹ App 37, 1226. He also became a canon of Lincoln in January 1322 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 34).

² App 60, 1262. Henry Iddesworth: MA, of Merton College (*BRUO*, pp 997-8); canon of Lincoln, 1322-37 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, pp 34, 50, 82, 104, 106, 107); canon of St Pauls, from 1334; archdeacon of Middlesex, from 1343; with Burghersh in royal service, 1329 and 1337; Official of court of Canterbury, 1333; dean of Arches, 1333; vicar-general of archbishop of Canterbury, 1335 (*BRUO*, pp 997-8).

³ App 1737; App 2039, 2739; App 2769, 2780-1; Reg 5 fo 477v; App 2361, 2369, 2376, 2800. John Walewayn [the younger]: MA, DCL (*BRUO*, p 2225); rector of Hawarden, from 1317; bishop's clerk by 1327 (Reg 5 fo 409).

⁴ Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, p 126.

The witness lists in the institution register provide occasional references to two other offices in the bishops' household: the cross-bearer and the registrar. The position of cross-bearer, or crucifer, was held by Walter Maidstone between April 1322 and January 1325 (and quite possibly both earlier and later as well). Maidstone evidently shared the Kentish background of Burghersh, who brought him to Lincoln and subsequently conferred on him the subdeanery.¹

The position of registrar, which had been held with such distinction by John de Schalby, was given by Burghersh to Hugh de Walmesford, who occurs as such in both 1320 and 1323. Walmesford was in frequent attendance on the bishop until late 1324 when he was appointed a sequestrator.² His immediate successor as registrar is not known; Richard Whitwell occurs in this position in 1329, and John de Northflete in 1334;

¹ App 60, 83, 872, 883, 1262, 1280, 1714, 2215, 2471, 2711. Walter Maidstone: MA; canon of Lincoln, by 1325 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 97); subdean of Lincoln, 1329-37 (*ibid*, p 5); bishop's clerk, 1320 (Reg 5 fo 264v); auditor of causes in court of audience, 1324 (Reg 5 fo 370v).

² *Reg Sutton* iii, pp xxvi-xxix; App 2438, App 82. For Walmesford's appointment as sequestrator, see p 51 above.

by 1336 the office was held by John de Kermond.¹

The episcopal registers which these men produced deserve some comment. In common with the established practice in Lincoln diocese, the institutions to benefices of Burghersh's episcopate were recorded on a separate series of quires for each archdeaconry; a further series was used for the registration of collations to dignities and prebends.²

For the general memoranda, Burghersh's two immediate predecessors had used an unclassified, chronological arrangement. At the outset of Burghersh's episcopate, some development of this system took place; one series of quires was used for dispensations and licences, granting to the clergy leave of absence from their benefices, another series for recording testamentary business, and a third series was used for

¹ App 235, 1847; Reg 5 fo 527v. Richard Whitwell: rector of Little Bowden, 1325-29 (App 1280); rector of Oadby, 1329 (App 962); rector of Brighthurst, 1329-33 (App 967); rector of Swalcliffe, 1333-60 (App 1826, Reg 9 fo 274v); canon of Lincoln, 1331/2-1360 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 63). John de Kermond: MA; rector of East Claydon, 1335-38 (App 2361); rector of Beelsby, from 1338 (App 580); notary, by 1335 (App 2792); was still holding the post of registrar in 1338 (D&C Bj/5/17/1, fo 24v).

² C W Foster, 'The Lincoln Episcopal Registers', *AASRP* 41 (1932-33), 158.

the registration of all other memoranda. In October 1323, further modifications were introduced. The dispensations and licences were classified, separate sections being henceforth used for dispensations in accordance with the constitution *Cum ex eo*, for licences to be absent in the service of a lord, and for licences for study. Two further sections, for letters dimissory and for licences to celebrate in oratories, were created for documents previously recorded among the general memoranda.¹

The other innovation in registration practice which took place during Burghersh's episcopate was in connection with the recording of royal writs directed to the bishop. Miss Cripps has drawn attention to three fragments of writ rolls, two dating from the vacancy after the death of Bishop Sutton and the third dating from Dalderby's episcopate, which suggest that the registration of such writs was not new in Lincoln diocese in 1320. It was probably at the beginning of Burghersh's episcopate that quires rather than rolls began to be used for recording the writs; and it was probably as a result of this change that Burghersh's

¹ Reg 5, *passim*; D M Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, p 111.

is the earliest surviving writ register among the Lincoln diocesan records.¹

Other clerks in frequent attendance on the bishop during the period 1320-1326 were Roger de Luda (1320-1323), John de Farndon (1321-1326), Gilbert Buckingham (1323-1326), Richard Whitwell (1323-1326) and John de Wy (1323-1326).² The name of Luda or of Farndon frequently occurs at the end of the lists of those present at institutions, suggesting that they may have been responsible for the writing of many such entries in the register during this period. This suggestion is strengthened by the description of Farndon in 1325 as "bishop's clerk and scribe".³

Farndon, Buckyngham, Whitwell and Wy all continued in the bishop's household after 1326, along with Nicholas

¹ J A Cripps, 'The Writ Register of Bishop Burghersh (Register 5B)', *Lincolnshire Archives Office, Archivists' Report* 26 (1975-77), 42-4.

² Roger de Luda: an episcopal proctor-general, 1320 (Reg 5 fo 259); John de Farndon: rector of Adderley, dioc Coventry and Lichfield, from 1330 (CPR 1327-30, p 513); with bishop in royal service, 1337 (CPR 1334-38, pp 417, 531-2); John de Wy: rector of Markfield, 1327 (App 932); rector of Rushton St Peter, 1327 (App 1317); rector of Oddington, 1327-30 (App 1756, 1783); rector of Sherington, 1330-61 (App 2284; Reg 9 fo 321v); with bishop in royal service, 1337 (CPR 1334-38, pp 417, 531-2).

³ Reg 5 fo 402v

de Falle, Robert de Stanford and others.¹ There was usually at least one notary public in the bishop's entourage, for the drafting and authentication of official legal documents.² William de Thadmarton acted in this capacity between 1320 and 1325; Hugh de Walmesford became a notary in January 1323 and John de Farndon had attained that status by 1325.³

At the beginning of his episcopate, Burghersh's household represented a combination of the old and the

¹ App 1689, 1708; App 1201, 1743; App 1743, 2199; App 81, 2235; App 30, 923; Reg 5 fos 395, 477v, 478v, 479v. Nicholas de Falle: rector of a mediety of Grayingham, 1324-28 (App 113, 752); rector of Mersham, diocese of Canterbury, 1328-36 (CPR 1327-30, p 315); rector of Aylesby (collation by Burghersh, App 489); rector of Boughton Aluph, diocese of Canterbury, from 1340 (App 648); canon of Lincoln, 1327-49 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 35); with bishop in royal service, 1327-30 and 1337 (CPR 1327-30, pp 176, 528, 539; CPR 1334-38, pp 417, 531); an executor of Burghersh, 1344 (Reg 7B fo 39v). Robert de Stanford: rector of Arksey, diocese of York, 1321-22 (patron Bartholomew Badlesmere, *Fasti Parochiales* i, p 7); rector of Boultham, from 1322 (App 45); rector of Quainton, 1327-30 (App 2256); rector of Great Coates, 1330-38 (collation by Burghersh, App 258, 570); bishop's clerk by 1325 (Reg 5 fo 377).

² Reg Sutton iii, p xxvi. For the increasing importance of notaries in English ecclesiastical administration at this date, see C R Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1972), pp 40-51.

³ App 2218, 2705 (Thadmarton); Reg 5 fo 359 (Walmesford); App 1280 (Farndon). William de Thadmarton: rector of Cublington, 1323 (collation by Burghersh, App 2203); rector of Combe, from 1323 (App 1710).

new. Some of his clerks (Thomas Louth, Thomas Langtoft and Elias Wheteleye) were already well-established in the diocese. All three had received canonries from Bishop Dalderby; Thomas Louth subsequently founded a chantry at Dalderby for the bishop's soul.¹ Like other bishops of the period, however, Burghersh also brought a number of clerks into his administration from outside the diocese; of these, at least two (Malville and Maidstone) shared the new bishop's connections with Kent.²

¹ Thomas Langtoft: MA; rector of Easton on the Hill, 1303-10 (Reg 2 fo 106v); rector of South Hykeham, 1310-15 (Reg 2 fos 32v, 336v); rector of Wigtoft, 1313-22 (collation by Dalderby, Reg 2 fo 48; App 59); canon of Lincoln, 1315-22 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 124); auditor of causes in court of audience, 1320 (Reg 5 fo 259v); commissary to carry out visitation of diocese, 1321 (see above, p 36); bishop's proctor at convocation, 1321 (Reg 5 fo 299). Elias Wheteleye: rector of Caenby, 1301-05 (Reg 2 fos 83v, 87v); rector of Sudbrooke, 1312-14 (Reg 2 fos 95v, 97v); rector of Stainton by Langworth, 1314 (Reg 2 fo 50); rector of Sibsey, 1314-20 (Reg 2 fo 53v); rector of Great Hale, 1320-31 (Reg 2 fo 352; App 300); canon of Lincoln, 1317-31 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 85); bishop's clerk, 1320 (Reg 5 fo 268); appointed to provide all things necessary for the bishop's enthronement, 1320 (Reg 5 fo 271). For the chantry of Thomas Louth at Dalderby, see *Lincolnshire Chantry Certificates*, No 54).

² In a similar manner, Roger Martival took clerks from Lincoln diocese with him when he became bishop of Salisbury in 1315 (*Reg Martival* iv, pp xix-xx).

BURGHERSH'S EPISCOPAL CAREER

In the course of a notably unsympathetic account of Burghersh's life, Precentor Venables summed up his episcopate with these words:

He was, in common with the leading prelates of his time, far more of a statesman than a bishop.¹

It has already been emphasised that the present study is not concerned with Burghersh's political career. But although historians have from time to time had cause to take note of Burghersh's political activities,² his role in the administration of his diocese has not hitherto been examined. The purpose of the present section is to investigate, from the evidence of his itinerary, to what extent Burghersh's episcopal responsibilities were impeded by his involvement in national affairs. In the course of this investigation, some discrepancies between the statements of the chroniclers and the evidence of the bishop's itinerary will be examined.

¹ *DNB* 111, p 336.

² For example, K Edwards, 'The Political Importance of the English Bishops During the Reign of Edward II', *EHR* 59 (1944), 335-7; M McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), pp 80-1; Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton c1275-1345*, pp 137-8, 155-6; *idem*, *Archbishop John Stratford*, pp 131-2, 135-6, 180, 194-5, 246-9; N Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979), p 220.

The rebellion of 1321-22

During the first six years of his episcopate (1320-1326) Burghersh spent most of his time in his diocese. These were years of growing political crisis. The conflict between the king and the earl of Lancaster, culminating at Boroughbridge in March 1322, was followed by a period when the power of the king and the Despensers was unchecked. This came to an abrupt end with the invasion of Isabella and Mortimer in September 1326 and the subsequent deposition of the king. Burghersh was drawn directly into these events by his close links with his uncle and patron, Bartholomew Badlesmere.¹

Following Burghersh's consecration and profession of obedience in July 1320, the temporalities of the see were restored on 5 August.² During September and early October, he was at Fingest and Wooburn, the two episcopal manors in south Buckinghamshire, but by 10 October he was in London for the meeting of parliament.³ This parliament has been identified as a significant stage in the breaking up of the settlement

¹ The events of this period are surveyed in Conway Davies, *Baronial Opposition*; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*; and Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*.

² CPR 1317-21, p 494.

³ Reg 5 fos 1r-v, 258-9; App 1189, 1686, 1970-1, 2178; Reg 5 fo 260v.

of 1318 between the king and the barons, particularly as a result of Lancaster's non-attendance.¹ Not surprisingly, however, Burghersh is not known to have played any notable part in the proceedings and by 11 November he was back in his diocese, travelling through Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire to his castle of Banbury. After spending a few days here, he continued his journey, via Buckden and Liddington, to Lincoln where at Christmas his solemn enthronement took place.²

The bishop's next task was to prepare for his primary visitation of the diocese. Although he remained at his manor of Stow Park for most of January, he does appear to have been present at the visitation of the deanery of Lawres on the 29th of that month.³ Thereafter, however, he moved to his castle at Sleaford where he remained (apart from a brief visit to Liddington) until late May.⁴

Meanwhile the political situation was deteriorating. The ambitions of the Despensers in South Wales

¹ Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp 197-9.

² Reg 5 fo 264v; Reg 5 fos 3, 265v-266; Reg 5 fos 3, 267; App 1192, 2441-2; Reg 5 fos 3v, 271.

³ See pp 36-7 above; Reg 5 fos 4, 274-5.

⁴ App 8-11; Reg 5 fos 4v, 276-283; Reg 5 fos 5v, 280v.

provided a focus for the hostility of the earl of Hereford, the Mortimers, and other lords of the Welsh marches.¹ In May the Despenser lands in Wales and the March were devastated. On 24 May Burghersh issued a mandate to the archdeacons and their officials ordering prayers to be said throughout the diocese for the peace and tranquillity of the church, of the king and his family, and for the repulse of their enemies.² In June the marcher lords met with Lancaster at Sherburn in Elmet; it was at this conference that Badlesmere, who had hitherto remained loyal to the king, allied himself to the cause of the opposition. His reasons for doing so are not known but he appears to have grown increasingly hostile to the Despensers and this antagonism may have been heightened as a result of Badlesmere's links with some of the marcher lords.³ Whatever the reason, it seems unlikely, in view of the mandate for prayers referred to above, that Burghersh had any prior knowledge of his uncle's defection.

While these events were taking place, Burghersh

¹ Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 260-8; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp 201-6.

² "*pro repulsiu rebellium inimicorum ecclesie Anglicane domino nostro Regi et Regno ac sibi detrahencium vel conspirancium*" (Reg 5 fo 284r-v).

³ Phillips, *op cit*, pp 207-8; Maddicott, *op cit*, pp 293-5.

remained in his diocese. He was at Stow Park during the first part of June and then moved south, by way of Nettleham, Sleaford, Sempringham and Peterborough, reaching Buckden on the 23rd.¹ Here he stayed until the beginning of July when he returned to Lincolnshire by way of Oundle, Liddington and Thistleton.² He was at Sleaford again from 5-22 July and then moved, rather tardily, to London where he arrived by 28 July for the parliament which had assembled nearly a fortnight earlier.³ There is no evidence that he had, at this stage, thrown in his lot with the rebels; on the contrary, he was identified as one of a group of prelates who endeavoured to mediate between king and barons.⁴

Burghersh remained in London until 24 August; three days later he was back in his diocese. He spent the whole of September at Buckden, after which he appears to have carried out a partial visitation of the archdeaconry of Buckingham.⁵ He was at Banbury from

¹ App 22, Reg 5 fos 284v-286; Reg 5 fos 8v, 62, 285v; App 25.

² Reg 5 fo 6; App 2450.

³ Reg 5 fo 6r-v; App 2184.

⁴ *Annales Paulini*, p 295; Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 130 n 81.

⁵ Reg 5 fos 291v, 292v; Reg 5 fos 293-4; App 2453-4. For the visitation in Buckinghamshire, see p 37 above.

22 October until 7 November; he then travelled north, via Liddington and Sleaford, reaching Nettleham by 21 November.¹ He stayed in Nettleham for just over two weeks; by 11 December he was in Lincoln where he remained until the end of April.²

While Burghersh was thus engaged on diocesan business, the political situation had degenerated into open conflict. The king was determined to reverse the sentence of exile which had been passed on the Despensers after the August parliament, and he chose to begin his campaign by an attack on Badlesmere. Badlesmere's position was particularly vulnerable because, having deserted the king, he had not been accepted by Lancaster whose personal animosity to him probably dated from Badlesmere's acceptance in 1318 of the office of steward of the household, which Lancaster claimed by hereditary right.³

The siege and fall of Leeds Castle, marking the opening stages of the rebellion of 1321-22, have been frequently described and it is not necessary to repeat the details here. The surrender of the castle touched Burghersh closely, for among those captured was his

¹ App 844, Reg 5 fo 8; Reg 5 fo 298v; App 1213-14; Reg 5 fo 8v.

² Reg 5 fo 63, App 1699; Reg 5 fos 300-310.

³ Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 229, 233, 292-5.

brother Bartholomew, who was sent to the Tower.¹ The Canterbury convocation summoned by Archbishop Reynolds to meet on 1 December may have been intended as an attempt to mediate between the two sides but the king appears to have been determined to use the opportunity to press for the recall of the Despensers. Burghersh appointed proctors to attend on his behalf; his absence may have had a political motive but it is just as likely to have been caused by the very short notice given.²

Any hopes that Burghersh may have had of remaining neutral in the coming conflict were quickly dashed. On 7 December the king issued an order for the arrest of Badlesmere and of the leaders of the marcher lords, and on the following day he issued letters of credence to certain ambassadors to the pope, who were to explain that Burghersh

*... de quo Consilium et Auxilium in nostris
Negotiis Sperabamus, de Bonis Ecclesiae
Lincolniensis... contra nos Armatos parat
et sustentat; Bona illa sic indebite
consumendo, et alias contra nos
Adversitates excercendo.*

The king went on to ask that this "*Plantulam, non*

¹ See Maddicott, *op cit*, pp 293-4; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp 216-17; Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 155.

² Reg 5 fo 299; Phillips, *op cit*, p 219; Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 132 and n 95.

Fructiferam et humoribus naturalibus destitutam' be removed from his bishopric.¹

The royal displeasure against Burghersh was undoubtedly due to the king's unwavering, and almost fanatical, hatred for Badlesmere. Apart from the king's letters, there is little evidence of the aid that Burghersh is said to have given to the rebels.² As has been noted, he remained in his diocese throughout the crisis. The routine of diocesan administration continued as usual. A rare reference to the rebellion, among the other entries in the memoranda register, is the commission to Orleton on 5 April to grant absolution to those of Hereford diocese who, while lately passing through the diocese of Lincoln, had incurred excommunication for violating the liberties of the church and for laying violent hands upon clerks.³ Yet the king's hostility was growing. A mandate to the sheriff of Oxford to seize Banbury castle, dated 3 January 1322, marks the beginning of the royal confiscation of the temporalities of the see; Sleaford was taken by 1 March and the remaining episcopal estates appear to

¹ Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p 294; *Foedera* iii, p 909.

² For one somewhat obscure reference to Burghersh's involvement, see *CCR 1318-23*, p 451.

³ Reg 5 fo 208.

have followed soon afterwards.¹

The course of the rebellion is well-known and does not need to be repeated here.² From Burghersh's point of view, its outcome was a personal tragedy which went far beyond the confiscation of his temporalities. Not only was his brother imprisoned as a rebel; his uncle Badlesmere, fleeing from the rout at Boroughbridge, sought refuge at the bishop's manor of Stow Park only to be seized, led off to Canterbury and there hanged.³

As has been seen, Burghersh remained in Lincoln throughout the rebellion. It would appear that by 25 March even the episcopal palace had been taken into the king's hands, for a note made in the memoranda register reveals that at that time the bishop was lodging in the house of the precentor of Lincoln.⁴ On 26 April, the bishop left Lincoln and travelled north, arriving in York by 4 May. The parliament, which had assembled two days earlier, underlined the

¹ *CPR 1321-24*, pp 46, 76. The temporalities of the see were said to be in the king's hands on 21 June (*ibid*, p 135).

² For details, see Maddicott, *op cit*, pp 303-12; Phillips, *op cit*, pp 220-6.

³ Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 155.

⁴ Reg 5 fo 308v. The precentor, William Testa, was non-resident: K Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1967), p 335.

completeness of the royal triumph; the sentence of exile on the Despensers was revoked and the judgement which had been passed on Lancaster was confirmed.¹

The confiscation of the temporalities, 1322-1324

Following the York parliament of May 1322, Burghersh was left in a most difficult situation. Not only was his position as bishop under threat from the letters sent by the king to the pope urging Burghersh's deposition or translation, but, in addition, the loss of the income from the temporalities of the see would undoubtedly have hampered the administration of his diocese.² This financial loss was a considerable one, although the lack of available evidence makes its extent difficult to establish. The taxation of 1291 assessed the annual income of the see at £1000; it is probable that, in common with many of the assessments in that valuation, this was an underestimate.³ The relative proportion of temporalities and spiritualities was not stated. During the vacancy of the see in 1320, the custodian of the temporalities received a net sum of £398 during a period of

¹ Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p 228; Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 139.

² For the king's complaints to the pope about Burghersh, see *Foedera* iii, pp 989-90, 1002-3, 1010.

³ *Reg Martival* i, p 428. For a discussion of the 1291 taxation, see pp 141-8 below.

approximately seven months.¹ A calculation *pro rata* suggests that this might represent an annual figure in the region of £675, but this can clearly be used only as a rough estimate of the annual loss to the bishop in 1322-24.

The income left to Burghersh during this period came from the spiritualities of the see. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 assessed these at the sum of £584:8:11; they consisted of prestations, annual pensions, casual and uncertain revenues, the profits of sequestrators, and procurations.² Prestations were annual sums, paid in half-yearly instalments, from each archdeaconry; receipts for these entered in Burghersh's memoranda register indicate that the amounts paid in the 1320s were virtually identical with those paid in 1535, providing a total yearly sum of £217:10:0.³ The annual pensions received by the bishop were paid from parish churches which had been appropriated, and were granted in compensation for the

¹ M Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London, 1962), pp 146-7 (based on D&C Bj/2/5).

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus* iv, 7.

³ The sums payable from the various archdeaconries were: Lincoln, £44 (Reg 5 fo 340v); Stow, £7 (D&C Bj/5/17/1, fos 23, 24); Leicester, £30 (Reg 5 fo 330); Northampton, £54:10:0 (Reg 5 fos 267, 280); Oxford, £20 (Reg 5 fos 258, 282v); Huntingdon, £28 (Reg 5 fos 301v, 333v); Bedford, £14 (Reg 5 fos 339v, 353); Buckingham, £20 (Reg 5 fos 263v, 289v). In 1535 the sum payable from the archdeaconry of Leicester was £29:6:8, giving a slightly lower total of £216:16:8.

loss of episcopal revenue during vacancies. In 1535 the income from such pensions amounted to £134:15:8. It would appear, however, that this source provided very little income to the bishop at the outset of Burghersh's episcopate. An examination of a list of such pensions paid in 1499-1500 suggests that nearly all were payable from churches which were appropriated after 1325. But the absence of the income from these pensions was, of course, offset by the higher average revenues from vacant benefices in sequestration.'

The sources of the 'casual and uncertain revenues' were the fees payable from institutions to benefices, confirmations of elections to religious houses, the issue of letters dimissory, commissions and letters testimonial. The assessors for the *Valor* of 1535 estimated the average annual income from these at £50:10:0. The profits resulting from the work of sequestrators, in the probate of wills and sequestration of vacant benefices, were estimated at

' *Valor Ecclesiasticus* iv, p 7; LAO, BP/ACCOUNTS/7, fos 1v-5. For a discussion of these pensions, see Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, pp 252-3. In Lincoln diocese, the practice of systematic reservation of such pensions from appropriated churches appears to have been commenced during Burghersh's episcopate, when pensions were granted from a number of churches on their appropriation, including Woodford Halse (100s), Swaton (60s), Wootton (20s) and Eyeworth (20s). A cartulary (the *Liber de Cartis Pensionum*) recording such grants was compiled in the mid fourteenth century (D&C Bj/5/17/1); for a description, see *Reg Ant* ii, p xxxi.

£31:18:4.¹ Procurations were the sums payable at the triennial episcopal visitations; payment was not due if no visitation took place. The annual average income from this source was assessed in 1535 at £151:8:3.

The absence of surviving records makes it difficult to assess how much of this revenue would have been available to Burghersh during the period 1322-4. The total sum may have been in the region of £300-500. This total, of course, represents an annual average; although the income from prestations and pensions would have remained stable from year to year, the other revenues would have varied, depending on the amount of diocesan business transacted.²

¹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* iv, p 7. For the work of sequestrators, see above, pp 49-52. The additional responsibilities placed on the office between 1322-4 and 1535 would no doubt have increased the average yearly income which it produced. For a fragment of a sequestrator's account, dated 1314, of revenues received from vacant churches in the archdeaconry of Leicester and the deanery of Rutland, see D&C Bj/5/17/2.

² It should also be borne in mind that the classification of particular items of episcopal revenue as 'temporalities' or 'spiritualities' could change from time to time (see Howell, *Regalian Right*, pp 111-16). It is unlikely, however, that any of the categories listed above were ever classed as temporalities. Evidence for the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield suggests that the value of spiritualities in 1535 was underestimated: see R N Swanson, 'Episcopal Income from Spiritualities in Later Medieval England: the Evidence for the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', *Midland History* 13 (1988), 1-20, especially pp 13-15.

Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising to find that Burghersh's first action on returning to his diocese in July 1322 was to prepare for a visitation.¹ This had a double advantage, from his point of view; it would assure him of a source of income from procurations and at the same time solve the problem posed by his lack of any residence. In this connection, it is clear that a distinction existed between those religious houses which were exempt from visitation and those which were also exempt from providing hospitality. The Cistercian, Gilbertine and Premonstratensian orders were all exempt from visitation, yet in August and September 1322 Burghersh stayed at Barlings and Newsham (Premonstratensian), at Louth Park and Kirkstead (Cistercian) and at St Katherine's by Lincoln and Sixhills (Gilbertine).²

On 11 October, Burghersh's intended visitation in the parish church of Sutterton was impeded by one John Toupe of Algarkirk and other malevolent persons. The visitation was re-arranged to take place four days later in the church of Spalding. On 20 October, Toupe and his accomplices were excommunicated. Letters of

¹ For details of this visitation, see pp 37-8 above.

² See also R M T Hill, *The Labourer in the Vineyard*, p 3.

caption for Toupe were requested on 21 December, and the matter appears to have been concluded with Toupe's absolution in February 1323. The whole affair bears a strong resemblance to the disruption of Orleton's visitation of Hereford diocese in 1324, and a political motive for the disturbance cannot be ruled out.¹

In mid November the visitation was broken off, and the bishop travelled north, via Lincoln and Torksey, to attend the parliament assembled at York. He was back in his diocese by 10 December and spent Christmas at the priory of Elsham in north Lincolnshire.² For most of January he was in the vicinity of Lincoln where on the 14th a meeting of the convocation of Canterbury took place.³ The king was still anxious for Burghersh to leave the country; from 24 to 27 January, the bishop was at Newark where the king granted him a safe conduct to visit the pope.⁴

This visit, however, did not take place. Burghersh travelled south, via Newstead by Stamford and Abington by Northampton, to Oxford. The months of April and

¹ Reg 5 fos 321, 323, 327v, 332; Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, pp 50-51.

² App 59, 61; Reg 5 fos 325-326v; *ibid* fo 327v.

³ Reg 5 fos 14r-v, 326v.

⁴ Reg 5 fo 330; App 866; *CPR 1321-24*, p 235.

May were spent mainly at religious houses in Oxfordshire: Osney, Eynsham and Dorchester.¹ At the end of May, the episcopal visitation appears to have been resumed.² From then until January 1324, the bishop spent most of his time travelling around the archdeaconries of Buckingham, Bedford and Huntingdon. The business of visitation was interrupted twice. From the middle of August until the end of September, Burghersh was at Singlesole (a manor of Peterborough Abbey situated between Thorney and Crowland) and at Colbeach (a manor of Spalding Priory lying four miles to the north of that town).³ Then from 16 to 24 November, the royal court being at Nottingham, Burghersh was at Boughton just outside the city. The purpose of his journey is not known. If an attempt was made at reconciliation between Burghersh and the king, it would appear to have failed, although the king seems by now to have ceased his demands for the

¹ App 867, 1241-2; Reg 5 fo 335; *ibid* fos 335v-338; *ibid* fos 16, 339; *ibid* fos 339v-340v.

² For details of this visitation, see p 38 above.

³ App 81, 1252; Reg 5 fos 349v-350; App 84-5, 1253; Reg 5 fos 350v-351. For Singlesole, see *VCH Northants* ii, pp 491-2; for Colbeach, see *Valor Ecclesiasticus* iv, p 97. Colbeach is in the parish of Surfleet (Grid Reference TF 267295); see also LAO, BC (unlisted deposit), "A Survey of Colebeach Grange Farm in the Manor of Surfleet... Anno 1733".

removal or translation of the bishop of Lincoln.¹

From 22 February 1324 Burghersh was in London where he remained, with brief exceptions, until mid July. This period was the longest he had so far spent outside his diocese. Although two parliaments were held, in February and in May, Burghersh was not summoned to either.² Some negotiations on his behalf must have taken place, however, since in March the temporalities of the see were somewhat grudgingly restored to him. The king made it quite clear that presentations to benefices in the bishop's gift, which had fallen vacant during the period of the confiscation, were reserved to the crown. Meanwhile Burghersh was warned "to conduct himself... so that the king should not have any other cause to place his hands on the temporalities aforesaid."³ The dispute between Burghersh and the king over presentations was not to be settled until after the end of the reign; it was this more than anything else which, despite the restoration of the temporalities, prevented the resumption of any friendship between bishop and

¹ App 2207, 2480; Reg 5 fos 34, 84, 179, 353v. It is clear from the description "*iuxta Nottingham*" that this place was not Boughton near Ollerton but the lost settlement of that name in the parish of Holme Pierrepont; see *Book of Fees*, 982; *ibid* ii, 83.

² Reg 5 fos 84-85v, 360-362; App 886-890; *PW*, p 1100.

³ *CCR* 1323-27, pp 60, 85-6.

king.¹

Prelude to invasion, 1324-1326

It has been argued, mainly on the authority of the *Chronicon* of Geoffrey Baker, that Adam Orleton and Henry Burghersh formed the nucleus of a 'queen's party' from 1324 onwards.² Baker's account, written at least fifteen years later, is strongly prejudiced against Orleton and Burghersh; if this prejudice is discounted,³ it is difficult to find any evidence of an alliance between Burghersh and Isabella before the invasion of 1326. As has been seen, Burghersh owed his elevation to the episcopate to the influence of his uncle, Badlesmere. His subsequent disaffection from the king is fully explained by the seizure of the temporalities and the consequent dispute over patronage, aggravated by the execution of Badlesmere and the continuing imprisonment of Bartholomew Burghersh in the Tower.⁴ The growing antipathy of the

¹ For a discussion of this dispute, see below pp 83-4.

² Edwards, 'The Political Importance of the English Bishops', 343; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp 80-1.

³ For a discussion of Baker's account of this period, see Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, pp 102-116; A Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II: c1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), pp 37-42.

⁴ See above, pp 68-9. Bartholomew was not released until after Isabella's invasion in 1326 (Haines, *op cit*, p 155n).

queen towards her husband and the Despensers can be traced to the hasty retreat from Scotland in October 1322, when Isabella was abandoned at Tynemouth, and to the seizure of her lands and the arrest of the French members of her household in September 1324.¹ It is not necessary to propose the existence of a queen's party or a conspiracy to explain the course of events during these years.

Although, as will be seen, relations between Burghersh and the king were still by no means friendly, most of the temporalities appear to have been returned by the summer of 1324. The bishop returned to his diocese in mid July and embarked on a progress around the episcopal manors, visiting Dorchester, Thame, Banbury, Spaldwick, Buckden, Nettleham, Stow Park, Newark, Liddington, Biggleswade and Fingest.² He was back in London for the parliament which assembled on 20 October, and remained there for the visit of the papal nuncios on 11 November.³ Back in his diocese by 28 November, he stayed at Sleaford from 1 to 17 December

¹ Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, pp 154-161; F D Blackley, 'Isabella and the Bishop of Exeter', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, eds T A Sandquist and M R Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp 224-5; Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, pp 141, 151-2.

² App 1725; Reg 5 fos 85v, 180; App 107; Reg 5 fos 71, 161; *ibid* fo 35; App 1267; Reg 5 fos 86, 180v.

³ App 110, 113, 115-16.

and then spent Christmas at Liddington, where he remained for most of January 1325.¹ During February he travelled south once more, through Huntingdonshire and Hertfordshire, staying towards the end of the month at the bishop of London's manor of Haringay Park.² From March until late May (apart from a brief visit to Lincolnshire for Easter) he divided his time between his manor of Fingest in the Chilterns and his London residence at the Old Temple in Holborn.³ He was at Buckden in June, returning to London for the assembly of parliament on the 25th. By 23 July he was back in his diocese and was at Buckden again for most of August.⁴

Although a year had elapsed since the order for the restitution of the temporalities of the see, relations between Burghersh and the king were still very poor. The loss of his temporalities had caused the bishop serious financial difficulties; in March 1325, the clergy of the diocese granted him a charitable subsidy

¹ App 2489; Reg 5 fos 71, 373v; Reg 5 fos 374-375v, App 899.

² Reg 5 fos 18v, 203; App 122, 900, 2492; Reg 5 fo 86, App 1271.

³ Reg 5 fos 376-378v, App 127-8, 130, 134, 2017; App 2018, 2502.

⁴ Reg 5 fos 378-379v; App 1731; Reg 5 fo 18v; Reg 5 fos 86v, 380v-381v.

of 4d in the mark, "*pro relevatione indigencie nostre*".¹ Yet there is evidence that, even at this date, not all of the temporalities had been returned. In April, the pope wrote to the king, complaining that the restoration of some of the bishop's property had been delayed in order to put pressure on him to accept royal nominations, made during the seizure of the temporalities, to benefices in episcopal gift.²

Between June 1322 and December 1324, the king made grants of seven prebends and one archdeaconry in Lincoln Cathedral, on the grounds that the temporalities of the see were in his hands. This claim represented an unprecedented extension of the regalian right by which the crown administered the property of a see during a vacancy.³ It is not surprising, therefore, that Burghersh vigorously disputed the king's authority to make such grants and refused to admit the royal candidates. Not only was an important issue at stake; the bishop himself needed the patronage in order to provide benefices for his own household.⁴

¹ Reg 5 fos 376-377v.

² CPL ii, p 469; Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 153.

³ Howell, *Regalian Right*, pp 171-2, 183.

⁴ Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford*, pp 131-2.

The disputes followed a similar pattern. The king would grant a prebend to one clerk, the bishop would collate it to another. The bishop would refuse to admit the king's candidate and in consequence would be summoned to appear before the court of king's bench; he would fail to appear and judgement would be given, by default, to the royal candidate. Burghersh, however, would continue to refuse to grant admission.¹ One example can be given by way of illustration. The prebend of Bedford Minor fell vacant by the death, in August 1322, of John Malville. On 27 September, Burghersh collated the prebend to Henry Iddesworth; on 2 November the king granted it to John Portaly. In Michaelmas Term 1323, Burghersh and Iddesworth were summoned to King's Bench; the case was adjourned to Hilary Term 1324 when, although Burghersh made no appearance, Iddesworth admitted that he had no claim to the prebend. On 24 December, the king revoked the grant to Portaly, and four days later he granted the prebend to William Herlaston. Burghersh still refused to admit the royal candidate, so the king brought an action of *Quare non admisit* against him. The case dragged on through 1325 and 1326, until the political background changed with the accession of Edward III.²

¹ For an account of these disputes, see Smith, *Episcopal Appointments*, pp 86-93.

² Smith, *op cit*, pp 89-90; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, pp 34-5.

In September 1325, as has been seen, Burghersh appears to have commenced a second visitation of his diocese, following a route through east Lindsey and Holland similar to that which he had taken three years earlier.¹ By the end of October he was travelling south once again; after spending a few days at Buckden, he arrived in London for the meeting of parliament on 18 November.² By 15 December he was back in his diocese; he spent Christmas at Banbury and then travelled slowly through Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire to Stow Park which he reached on 19 February 1326.³ Here he remained, apart from occasional visits to Newark, Lincoln and Nettleham, until late July when he journeyed south again.⁴ The first part of August was spent at Buckden. The bishop then returned north, via Liddington, and was back at Stow Park in early September. However, he was soon on his travels once more, going by way of Lutterworth to Banbury.⁵

¹ For details of this visitation, see p 39 above.

² App 1282-3, Reg 5 fos 384-5; App 909, Reg 5 fos 181v, 386; Reg 5 fo 205.

³ App 2237; App 914, Reg 5 fo 182; App 738, 2019, 2239; App 1286, Reg 5 fo 206, App 140, 739-40; App 2240.

⁴ App 141, 1736, 1746, 2241, 2503, 2507-10, 2512; App 1737, 2505, Reg 5 fo 36; App 1294-5, Reg 5 fo 19v.

⁵ Reg 5 fo 87r-v; App 922; Reg 5 fo 182v; App 153, Reg 5 fo 19v.

On the authority of the chronicler Adam Murimuth, it is almost always asserted in studies of this period that, when Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer landed their invading forces at Orwell on 24 September 1326, Burghersh was among those who hastened to join them.¹ This, however, is not the picture given by his registers. On 26 September he was at the abbey of Biddlesden in Buckinghamshire, whence he travelled the few miles to Luffield priory. Here he spent the night of 26-27 September.² By 28 September he was at Ravenstone, some twelve miles to the north-east. It would seem to be almost certain that by this time news of the queen's landing, four days earlier, would have reached him.³ But, far from continuing his steady progress in an easterly direction, let alone hastening to the Suffolk coast, Burghersh now altered course completely and returned westwards to Banbury. He was still there on 6 October when the queen, after a cautious start, had reached Baldock, arriving in

¹ *Murimuth*, pp 46-7; Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, p 186; Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 162; Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, p 217.

² Reg 5 fos 19v, 87v; App 1742.

³ App 921. For the spreading of news of the invasion, see Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 161.

Dunstable shortly afterwards.¹ Even at this stage, Burghersh was evidently in no hurry to join the invading force, for on the following day (7 October) he was at Daventry, fifteen miles further to the north-east, while the queen was clearly proceeding along the line of the Icknield Way, making in a south-westerly direction for Wallingford.²

It is impossible to reconcile these movements with Murimuth's statement that Burghersh went immediately to join the invading force. The evidence of the bishop's itinerary must itself place further doubt on the traditional version, based on Baker's chronicle, of Burghersh's role in the events of 1324-6. Rather than being a leading conspirator, plotting the course of events from before the queen's departure for France, and rushing to join her as soon as she landed her forces on the Suffolk coast, Burghersh can now be seen to have remained uncommitted in the early days of the invasion. His first instinct was to retreat to the security of his castle at Banbury; then, when the

¹ App 154, 156, 2000; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1323-1364*, ed A H Thomas (Cambridge, 1926), pp 41-2; *Annales Paulini*, pp 314-15; *Knighton* i, p 435. The queen's route had taken her through Bury St Edmunds and Cambridge; see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p 83; Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, pp 187-8.

² App 155, 741. The queen reached Wallingford by 15 October (Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 165).

queen's forces began to move uncomfortably close, his reaction was to withdraw out of the way, further north to Daventry. These do not look like the movements of a politically-motivated bishop. It seems more likely that this was the reaction of a man who had learned, from the traumatic events of 1322, the dangers of becoming involved in the politics of Edward II's reign.

There are unfortunately no dated documents in Burghersh's registers for the period 8-19 October 1326, so that it is not possible to state precisely when he decided to join the queen. It is hardly surprising that he should have reached such a decision. The flight of the king into Wales and the unchecked progress of Isabella's forces across southern England no doubt confirmed Burghersh's own personal feelings about the men who had killed his uncle, imprisoned his brother and confiscated his own estates. The decisive step had been taken by 20 October when he was with the invaders at Gloucester; six days later he was present at Bristol when Prince Edward was chosen to be keeper of the realm.'

' App 923; *CCR 1323-27*, p 655. For an account of the invasion and the capture of the king, see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp 83-8.

The rule of Mortimer and Isabella, 1326-1330

After the proclamation of Prince Edward at Bristol, the invaders moved northwards to Hereford. Burghersh remained in contact with them, staying from 6 to 25 November at Lugwardine, two miles east of that city.¹ During this period, the king and his followers were taken and judgement passed on the latter, including the younger Despenser.² At the end of the month, Burghersh moved eastwards, via Evesham; from 4 to 10 December he was at Banbury.³ By 5 January 1327, he was in London where, two days later, a 'parliament' assembled to determine how the situation was to be resolved.⁴

The chronicles provide conflicting accounts of the proceedings of this assembly and of the mission, or missions, sent to negotiate with the king at Kenilworth. Only Baker's chronicle includes Burghersh among the chief participants, alleging that he went

¹ Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 166; App 157, 743, 1299, 1744, 1999.

² Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, pp 191-3.

³ App 158; App 742, 1300, 2001, Reg 5 fos 182v, 388. Burghersh does not appear to have been closely involved at this stage in the councils of the Queen and Mortimer, who returned eastwards by a more southerly route (see E M Hallam, *The Itinerary of Edward II and His Household, 1307-1328*, List and Index Society 211 (1984), pp 291-2).

⁴ The assembly was not strictly a parliament, although it is often so called; see Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, p 196.

with Stratford and Orleton to Kenilworth to secure the king's renunciation of the crown. Burghersh's itinerary, however, shows that he was in London on 10, 14-15, 17, 19, 21-23 and 25-31 January. The king's renunciation is said to have taken place on 24 January and Edward III was crowned on 1 February. At no time, therefore, after the meeting of the 'parliament' on 7 January would it have been possible for Burghersh to travel to Kenilworth and back. The conclusion must be that Baker included Burghersh's name in his account solely in order to reinforce his argument of the Burghersh-Orleton conspiracy.¹

On 25 March 1327, Burghersh was appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer.² His involvement in the royal administration inevitably resulted in his absence from the diocese for much longer periods than had previously been the case. The particular concerns of the administration at this time lay in the north, where preparations were being made for a campaign against the Scots. Thus Burghersh was in York from the middle of June until early August, and again from

¹ Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, p 173; *idem*, *Archbishop John Stratford*, p 180; App 927, 2721, Reg 5 fo 207v, App 159, Reg 5 fo 182v, App 928, 1303, 1749-50, Reg 5 fo 391, App 1304, 2514, App 161, 929. For Baker's chronicle, see p 80 above.

² *CPR 1327-30*, p 58.

the end of September until mid December.¹ After spending Christmas at Stow Park, he was back in York by mid January, remaining there until early March, when he journeyed north to Edinburgh for the peace negotiations.²

During the Northampton parliament of May 1328, at which the peace with Scotland was ratified, Burghersh was appointed Chancellor.³ As such, he continued to spend long periods away from his diocese. In July of that year, he travelled to Berwick on Tweed with Queen Isabella;⁴ in September he was in East Anglia;⁵ in October he was at Salisbury for the meeting of parliament,⁶ and in December he was with Mortimer at Gloucester and Worcester, during the rebellion of the

¹ App 1319, 2022, Reg 5 fos 393-4, App 935, 1753, 2255, 2519, 2722; App 1756-8, Reg 5 fos 407v-409v, App 172, 181. The Exchequer itself was at York from October until December (D M Broome, 'Exchequer Migrations to York in the 13th and 14th centuries', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to T F Tout*, ed A G Little and F M Powicke (Manchester, 1925), p 292).

² Reg 5 fos 409v, 410v; App 177-182, 196, 200; R Nicholson; *Edward III and the Scots* (Oxford, 1965), pp 49-50; Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford*, pp 194-5.

³ CCR 1327-30, p 387.

⁴ CCR 1327-30, p 400; App 1766.

⁵ App 204, 956, 1774, 2526.

⁶ CPR 1327-30, p 323; App 1348-50, 2035-6, 2527.

earl of Lancaster.¹ In 1329, he spent much of February and March in London;² he crossed to France with the king between 26 May and 11 June, for the performance of homage to King Philip;³ between August and September he spent a month in Gloucester;⁴ he was in London from the end of September until early November, and at Kenilworth and Warwick from mid November until early in January 1330.⁵ He attended parliaments at Winchester in March 1330 and at Nottingham in November of that year, where he witnessed the arrest of Mortimer in the castle.⁶

These periods of absence inevitably affected the degree of attention which Burghersh could give to diocesan affairs. Of the 44 months which he spent in the king's service between March 1327 and November 1330, there were only eight in which he could be said

¹ App 209-10, 212-13, 986, 1356, 1776; App 223, Reg 5 fo 414v. For an account of the rebellion, see G A Holmes, 'The Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster, 1328-29', *BIHR* 28 (1955), 84-9.

² App 2733; App 1363, 2536, 2538; App 220, 222, 754, 1366. Parliament met at Westminster on 7 February.

³ *CPR* 1327-30, p 396; *CCR* 1327-30, p 549; Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford*, p 207.

⁴ Reg 5 fos 37v, 90v, 162, 183v; App 235, 1342.

⁵ App 2289; App 970-1, 1345, 2740; Reg 5 fo 91v.

⁶ App 254-6, Reg 5 fos 93, 402v; App 277, 2051, Reg 5 fos 39, 95v.

to have been predominantly resident in his diocese.¹ There were occasions, notably his journeys to Edinburgh and to Berwick, when the physical distance between the bishop and his diocese would have made it very difficult to retain any contact with the diocesan administration.²

The evidence of the episcopal registers, however, demonstrates that Burghersh continued to transact diocesan business throughout this period. A useful illustration of Burghersh's attention to his episcopal responsibilities, even during his period of office as Chancellor, is provided by an examination of the diocesan business carried out by him during a short stay at Worcester in January 1330. The distance of Worcester from many parts of Lincoln diocese certainly does not seem to have discouraged those who came, bringing matters which required their bishop's attention; nor did Burghersh's duties as Chancellor prevent him from attending to them. Burghersh was in Worcester for one week, during which time he instituted rectors to the livings of Waltham and of St Denis Kirkby Laythorpe in Lincolnshire, of Upton in

¹ April and September 1327; April and May 1328; April, May, July and August 1330.

² During the bishop's absence in France in May-June 1329, a vicar-general was appointed: see p 33 above.

Huntingdonshire, Mongewell in Oxfordshire, Carlton in Bedfordshire and Croft in Leicestershire.¹ He granted letters dimissory to two clerks seeking ordination, and licences for study to the rectors of Knaptoft, Graveley and Mareham-le-Fen.² He granted licences for manorial chapels at Wymondley in Hertfordshire and Crawley in Oxfordshire; he issued a citation in a cause relating to the prebend of Carlton cum Thurlby, and made a grant of the administration of the priory of Hough.³ This level of activity, when considered together with the use of suffragan bishops, the visitation of the diocese by commissaries in 1329-30, and the wider powers given to sequestrators, suggests that the affairs of the diocese were by no means neglected when Burghersh was in the king's service.⁴

The early years of Edward III's reign, 1330-1337

The end of the regime of Mortimer and Isabella came suddenly, at Nottingham castle, on 19 October 1330. Burghersh was said to have been conferring with

¹ App 249-50, 975, 1781, 2046, 2853.

² Reg 5 fos 21v, 92v, 184.

³ Reg 5 fos 162r-v, 399v, 402.

⁴ See above, pp 11-12, 14, 22-3. The commission issued in 1328 to Peter, bishop 'Corbavensis', to act as suffragan in Lincoln diocese noted that Burghersh's duties as Chancellor prevented him from fulfilling his pastoral responsibilities (Reg 5 fo 412v).

Mortimer when the surprise attack took place.¹ One chronicler added that Burghersh, like Mortimer, was arrested and sent to London for imprisonment. This story was accepted uncritically by Precentor Venables and has been repeated more recently in a popular biography of Edward III.² It is important, therefore, to emphasise that it is completely incorrect. In the first place, Burghersh was not replaced as Chancellor until 28 November, nearly six weeks later;³ it is most unlikely that he would have been sent to the Tower without being relieved of the Great Seal beforehand. Secondly, Burghersh's itinerary reveals that he remained at liberty throughout, travelling south via Leicester, Banbury and Eynsham to Salisbury, whence he journeyed to London in time for the assembly of parliament on 26 November.⁴ Thirdly, the king's attitude to Burghersh does not appear to have been altogether unfavourable at this time. On 29 October, Burghersh was granted licence to impark land at several of the episcopal manors, and on 14 November the king ordered the restitution to Burghersh of the issues of the chancery, which had been granted to him

¹ *Knighton* 1, p 453; Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall of Edward II*, p 225.

² *Bridlington*, p 101; *DNB* iii, p 337; M Packe, *King Edward III* (London, 1983), pp 52, 54.

³ *CCR* 1330-33, p 166.

⁴ App 764, Reg 5 fos 211v, 439v; Reg 5 fos 186, 439; App 2293, Reg 5 fo 95v; App 765, 2294; Reg 5 fo 96.

in March 1329 in consideration of his expenses in the royal service.¹

It is clear, however, that Burghersh's association with Mortimer had left him with a number of enemies who now sought to take advantage of the situation. In November, the pope wrote to the king and to William Montagu, the king's confederate in the plot against Mortimer, urging them both to defend Burghersh from "envious whisperings". The pope also wrote to John Stratford, bishop of Winchester (who had succeeded Burghersh as Chancellor), "desiring him to interpose in the whirlwind excited in the realm touching the bishop of Lincoln, and to check those who are sharpening their tongues against him".² While it is not clear what effect this papal intervention had, it is significant that, apart from relieving him of the office of Chancellor, the king does not appear to have taken any action against Burghersh: Indeed, on 10 January, the bishop was granted royal protection until 16 February while he remained in London by the king's command to attend parliament.³

¹ CPR 1330-34, p 16; CCR 1330-33, pp 73, 380-1.

² CPL 11, p 499.

³ CPR 1330-34, p 37.

Burghersh was back in his diocese, at Buckden, by 13 February.¹ He was now able to concentrate his attention once again on diocesan affairs. From this date until his re-appointment as Treasurer in August 1334, there were only two occasions (October 1331 and September 1332) when he was out of his diocese for more than two weeks.² Both of these absences were caused by meetings of parliament at Westminster; other parliaments (at Westminster in January and March 1332 and at York in December 1332, January 1333 and February 1334) resulted in shorter periods of absence.³

These absences apart, Burghersh spent the rest of this period perambulating his diocese, progressing from one episcopal residence to another. In 1333, for example, he was at Stow Park in February, at Nettleham in March, returning to Stow Park in April.⁴ In late May he moved to Liddington and thence, in June, to Fingest and Banbury.⁵ He was at Buckden in July and August,

¹ App 289.

² App 1013, 1809, Reg 5 fos 23v, 41r-v; App 2581, 2583, 2768, Reg 5 fos 24, 103v, 166.

³ Reg 5 fos 42r-v, 164v-165; Reg 5 fos 24, 42v, 101v-102; App 1454, Reg 5 fo 43v; App 361, 363-4, Reg 5 fos 44, 104; App 409, 411, 784, Reg 5 fos 26, 46, 107v.

⁴ App 1456, 1460, 2589; App 373, 777-8, 2591; App 1461, 2326-9.

⁵ App 1034, Reg 5 fos 44v, 167; App 1826, Reg 5 fos 167, 464; App 1035, 2365, Reg 5 fo 44v.

at Banbury in September, at Wooburn in late October and at Fingest in November, before returning to Liddington for Christmas.¹ On two occasions this pattern of travel was interrupted by the carrying out of a visitation: in November and December 1331 (the archdeaconry of Buckingham) and in May and June 1332 (the Lindsey and Holland portion of the archdeaconry of Lincoln).²

Burghersh was appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer for a second time on 1 August 1334.³ Once again he had to fulfil a dual role: servant of the crown and diocesan bishop. As was the case during his former period in the king's service from 1327 to 1330, his new duties kept him away from his diocese for long periods.⁴ From the time of his appointment in August 1334 until his departure overseas in April 1337, he is known to have spent only four periods of more than two weeks continuously in his diocese.⁵ Once again, Scottish affairs necessitated his spending several long periods

¹ App 383-386, Reg 5 fos 45, 167r-v; App 1465-6, 1469, Reg 5 fo 45r-v; App 1470-1, 1513, 2081; App 398-400, Reg 5 fo 106v; App 401-2, Reg 5 fos 469v, 477v.

² For details of these visitations, see pp 39-41 above.

³ *CPR 1334-38*, p 1.

⁴ See above, pp 92-4.

⁵ April 1335; December 1335-January 1336; May-June 1336; June-July 1336.

at York, where the Exchequer was situated between 1333 and 1338.¹ He was there from 18 October 1334 until 2 January 1335, from 20 January until 7 March 1335 (including a journey to Newcastle upon Tyne in February), from 27 April until 27 July 1335, from 10 September until 15 December 1335 (including a journey to Berwick upon Tweed), and from 15 October until 18 December 1336.² He also made a number of shorter visits to that city.³ His frequent residence there during this period was undoubtedly the reason for the arrangement which he made in May 1335 with the Gilbertine priory of St Andrew by York, whereby in return for the money expended by Burghersh towards the cost of building works at the priory he was granted three houses within their close for his residence whenever he came to the city.⁴

At other times, the king's business required Burghersh to move rapidly about the country. Between June and October 1336, for example, he travelled from Banbury

¹ Broome, 'Exchequer Migrations to York', p 292.

² App 1057-1063, 1065-7, Reg 5 fo 489; App 2105, Reg 5 fo 48v; App 1070, 1516, 2626; App 467, 469-71, 473-80, Reg 5 fo 496v; Reg 5 fos 119-120v, App 1078, 1528, 2361; App 512-521.

³ For example, in August 1335 (App 2797, Reg 5 fos 50v, 118r-v); January-February 1336 (Reg 5 fos 122, 520-522v), including another visit to Berwick upon Tweed (Reg 5 fo 521); June 1336 (Reg 5 fos 126-127).

⁴ CPR 1334-38, pp 102-3.

(4 June) to Lincoln (9), on to York (14) and then to Northampton (26);¹ from there he returned to York (22 July) before moving on to Leicester (13 August) and Buckden (18);² his journeys took him next to King's Lynn (3 September), back to York (19), and then on to Nottingham, for parliament (23), and Leicester, for the convocation of Canterbury (28), before returning once more to York (15 October).³

As was noted during Burghersh's earlier period of royal service, the episcopal registers demonstrate that diocesan business continued to be transacted throughout these years.⁴ When the bishop was in residence at York, it was no doubt much easier to bring before him diocesan matters which required his attention, than when he was hastening about the country on travels such as those described above. Yet even when he journeyed, in October 1335, to far-off Berwick upon Tweed, he continued to devote time to the administration of his diocese. During the nine days he was there, he instituted rectors to the churches of Aynho and East Claydon;⁵ he granted letters dimissory

¹ Reg 5 fo 29; App 497; Reg 5 fo 126; *ibid* fo 126v.

² App 507; Reg 5 fo 29v; *ibid* fo 80.

³ Reg 5 fo 128v; *ibid* fo 129v; App 510; Reg 5 fo 197; App 512.

⁴ See pp 93-4 above.

⁵ App 1528, 2361.

to a clerk seeking ordination, and a licence for a manorial chapel at Little Munden;¹ he issued commissions to receive a vow of chastity, to act in a cause of perjury and in another of divorce, and granted an indulgence.²

Diplomatic affairs, 1337-1340

By 1337, the king's attention was turning from Scottish affairs and was becoming increasingly directed towards his claim to the French throne. Burghersh, during the remaining years of his life, was to play an important role in this sphere, mainly on diplomatic missions.³ On 24 March 1337, he was succeeded as Treasurer by William la Zouche; in the following month he was appointed, with the earls of Salisbury and of Huntingdon, as a member of a diplomatic mission to Valenciennes, with instructions to treat with the rulers of states in the Low Countries and in the Rhine valley, with the intention of seeking offensive alliances against the king of

¹ Reg 5 fos 119, 171.

² Reg 5 fos 515v, 516v.

³ Diocesan bishops were frequently employed on such missions: see Haines, *The Career of Adam Orleton*, pp 8-40; *idem*, *Archbishop John Stratford*, pp 124-164.

France.¹ The embassy departed on 24 April.² Its mission met with considerable success, although at great cost, and by the time Burghersh returned to England in August a number of agreements had been made.³

On 30 October 1337, Burghersh returned overseas on a second diplomatic mission.⁴ He was to remain abroad, apart from a short visit to England from February to June 1340, until his death at Ghent on 4 December 1340.⁵ Apart from these two brief periods in 1337 and 1340, Burghersh played no part in the administration of his diocese after his departure overseas in April 1337. Yet, even during this period, he ensured that the affairs of his see were left in capable hands, by the appointment as his vicar-general of a man whose exceptional abilities were subsequently to be employed as official of the court of Canterbury, as keeper of the privy seal, and ultimately as archbishop of

¹ CPR 1334-38, pp 409, 421.

² App 533; CPR 1334-38, p 417. For a description of Burghersh's retinue, see G P Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration 1259-1339* (Oxford, 1940), p 88.

³ Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford*, pp 248-9.

⁴ App 556; CPR 1334-38, pp 531-2, 537.

⁵ Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford*, p 264; App 625-642. At the time of his death, Burghersh was described as "*principalis consiliarius regis*" (*Murimuth*, p 120).

Canterbury: Simon Islip.¹

Conclusion

The outline of his career which has been given above will indicate that, during the periods of his episcopate when he was not involved in the king's service (1320-1326 and 1331-1334), Burghersh devoted much time and care to the administration of his diocese. Visitations were held at fairly regular intervals, and at other times the pattern of his travels, perambulating the diocese between his principal residences, resembles that which has been established for other bishops of Lincoln such as Gravesend and Sutton.² It was inevitable that, when he became involved in the royal administration, the attention which he could give to diocesan affairs would suffer in consequence. He alleviated this, however, in a number of ways: through the issuing of wider commissions to suffragans, through the employment of commissaries to carry out visitations, through the development of the office of sequestrator, and, when diplomatic affairs took him overseas in 1337, through the appointment of an exceptionally able vicar-general, Simon Islip.

¹ App 533, 556, 643. For Islip's career, see *BRUQ*, pp 1006-8.

² *Rot Gravesend*, pp xiv-xv, 353-8; *Reg Sutton* 111, pp xxiv-xxv, 207-14.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BENEFICES OF THE DIOCESE

A study of the beneficed clergy must begin by examining the benefices which they held. In this chapter it is proposed to investigate the number and distribution of benefices, the different nature of rectories, vicarages and curacies, and the relative value of the benefices.

THE NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFICES

The origin of the parochial system in England has been investigated by a number of historians and it is only necessary here to give an outline of the way in which the system, as it existed in 1320, had developed over the preceding centuries. This development came from two contrasting sources. The earlier was the minster or '*monasterium*', a mother church often founded on a royal estate. It would be staffed by a body of clergy serving a wide area or '*parochia*' of the surrounding countryside. The other, later, source of the parochial system was the proprietary church or '*Eigenkirche*'. During the tenth and eleventh centuries in particular, the foundation of such churches by landowners on their estates caused the fragmentation of the minster '*parochiae*' and the creation of a pattern of single-

vill parishes. Dr Franklin has traced the growth of the parochial system in four Northamptonshire deaneries from the breaking up of the 'parochiae' of minsters at Northampton, Medeshamstede (Peterborough), Fawsley and King's Sutton.¹

The creation of the proprietary churches diverted some church dues away from the ancient minsters and resulted in their decay, to a point at which they became indistinguishable from the manorial churches. In turn, the areas of the private churches were often threatened by the establishment of dependent chapelries in outlying settlements. Some of these were eventually successful in claiming parochial status for themselves, while others remained dependent on the mother church of the parish.²

When Henry Burghersh became bishop of Lincoln in 1320, his diocese included approximately 1,928 parochial

¹ J Godfrey, *The English Parish 600-1300* (London, 1969), pp 17-18; F Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (London, 1963), pp 183-7; P Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1985), pp 182-6; D M Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (History of Lincolnshire Vol 5, 1971), pp 1-19; M J Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes: Northamptonshire Studies' (unpublished Cambridge Ph D thesis, 1982), *passim*

² R Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135* (Oxford, 1959), pp 300-1; D M Owen, 'Medieval Chapels in Lincolnshire', *LHA* 10 (1975), 15-22; *idem*, 'Chapelries and Rural Settlement: an Examination of some of the Kesteven evidence', in *Medieval Settlement, Continuity and Change*, ed P H Sawyer (London, 1976), p 67.

benefices.¹ It is difficult to be precise about the total number, since the situation was never a static one. On the one hand, a small number of parishes were abandoned during the early fourteenth century (for example, rural deserted villages and small urban parishes) and it is often impossible to ascertain the exact date at which this disappearance occurred. On the other hand, some churches which had originated as parochial chapels had virtually reached full parochial status by this date. Benefices such as Dembleby and Stain in Lincolnshire, Marsh Baldon and Noke in Oxfordshire, Astwick in Bedfordshire and Chesham Bois in Buckinghamshire were all described as both 'church' and 'chapel' at different times during this period. These have all been included in the total while other chapels, whose claim to parochial status is uncertain, have been omitted.²

¹ See Table 2.1 below. The total has been calculated from the evidence of the *Taxatio* of 1291 and from that of the institution registers of Bishops Dalderby, Burghersh and Bek (Regs 2, 4 and 6). These sources have been supplemented where necessary by the clerical subsidy returns of 1526 (*A Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526*, ed H Salter, OHS 63, 1913), by the *Liber Cleri* of 1603 (printed in *The State of the Church*, ed C W Foster, LRS 23, 1926, pp 256-353) and by J Bacon, *Liber Regis vel Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* (London, 1786).

² Reg 2 fo 28, App 311 (Dembleby); Reg 2 fo 51, Reg 9 fo 83 (Stain); Reg 2 fo 147v, Reg 9 fo 276v (Marsh Baldon); Reg Sutton viii, p 180, App 1692 (Noke); Reg 2 fo 266v, Reg 9 fo 439 (Astwick); Reg Sutton viii, p 162, App 2300 (Chesham Bois). For parochial chapels, see D M Owen, 'Bedfordshire Chapelries: An Essay in Rural Settlement History', in *Worthington George Smith and Other Studies* (BHRS 57, 1978), pp 9-20.

TABLE 2.1

The Number and Type of Benefices
in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1320

ARCHDEACONRY	BENEFICES	RECTORIES	VICARAGES	CURACIES	: PORTIONS
Bedford	126	67 (53%)	52 (41%)	7 (6%)	: 6 (5%)
Buckingham	189	125 (66%)	49 (26%)	15 (8%)	: 13 (7%)
Huntingdon	167	128 (77%)	33 (20%)	6 (3%)	: -
Leicester	210	143 (68%)	64 (31%)	3 (1%)	: 8 (4%)
Lincoln	597	343 (57%)	192 (32%)	62 (11%)	: 62 (11%)
Northampton	337	250 (74%)	79 (24%)	8 (2%)	: 22 (7%)
Oxford	199	126 (63%)	58 (29%)	15 (8%)	: 4 (2%)
Stow	103	58 (56%)	41 (40%)	4 (4%)	: 6 (6%)
TOTALS	1928	1240 (64%)	568 (30%)	120 (6%)	: 121 (6%)

It has been suggested that the vast extent of the diocese of Lincoln, which stretched from the Humber to the Thames, was the result of a union of the ancient dioceses of Lindsey, Leicester and Dorchester, following the Viking invasions. Although the archbishops of York for some time laid claim to Lincoln and a large part of Lindsey, the only area which was severed from the diocese during the medieval period was the Isle of Ely and most of the county of Cambridge which went to form the new diocese of Ely in 1109.¹

In terms of the number of benefices, Lincoln dwarfed

¹ Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, p 215; D M Owen, *A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop and Archdeacon of Ely* (Cambridge, 1971), p vii. See also G Hill, *English Dioceses: A History of their Limits from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1900), pp 209-213.

all the other English and Welsh dioceses. A rough comparison is provided by the number of benefices recorded in the *Taxatio* of 1291, although it should be emphasised that each diocese included a number of benefices which were not assessed for the tax. A total of 1,738 churches were listed in the diocese of Lincoln; of the other dioceses only Norwich, with 1,165 churches, came anywhere near this figure. York, though greater in area than Lincoln, had less than a third of its parishes (625). The only other diocese to exceed 500 recorded benefices was Exeter (529). Out of the 21 dioceses in England and Wales, 12 had fewer than 300 parish churches listed in the *Taxatio*.¹

The benefices in the diocese of Lincoln were grouped in eight archdeaconries which were further subdivided into 75 rural deaneries. The archdeaconries of Bedford, Buckingham, Leicester and Oxford corresponded to the counties of those names; the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow made up the county of Lincoln and the archdeaconry of Northampton consisted of the counties of Northampton and Rutland. The archdeaconry of

¹ The figures are calculated in E L Cutts, *Parish Priests and Their People in the Middle Ages in England* (London, 1898), p 385. See also Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, pp 4-5. For a criticism of the accuracy of these figures, see M J Franklin, 'The Assessment of Benefices for Taxation in 13th Century Buckinghamshire', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 29 (1985), 73-85.

Huntingdon comprised the county of that name together with a large part of the county of Hertfordshire, the remainder of which belonged partly to the peculiar jurisdiction of the abbey of St Albans and partly to the diocese of London. The archdeaconry of Stow was of later creation than the others and Dr Major has argued convincingly that the considerable inequality of size between the two Lincolnshire archdeaconries was due to the vigorous opposition of archdeacon Robert of Lincoln to the reduction of his archdeaconry and the consequent diminution of his revenues.¹

The general adherence of the archdeaconries to county boundaries reflected the situation elsewhere. The diocese of Durham, for example, was divided into the archdeaconries of Durham and Northumberland. In the south of England, the counties of Surrey, Berkshire, Hampshire, Dorset and Cornwall each formed an archdeaconry of the various dioceses in which they were situated. Large counties were often divided into more than one archdeaconry, as was the case with Lincolnshire. The two counties, Norfolk and Suffolk, which made up the diocese of Norwich, were each divided into two archdeaconries, and the county of Devon was shared

¹ *Reg Ant* ix, pp 255-6. For the St Albans peculiar, see J Sayers, 'Monastic Archdeacons', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, eds C N L Brooke, D E Luscombe, G H Martin and D Owen (Cambridge, 1976), pp 177-203, especially pp 181-2.

among three.¹

In a similar manner, the boundaries of rural deaneries in many parts of the diocese of Lincoln tended to correspond to the boundaries of hundred or wapentake. The exceptions to this were the deaneries in Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire. In Northamptonshire, the deaneries were made up of combinations of hundreds. Through the remainder of the diocese, the coincidence of the areas of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction were very close. In Lincolnshire and Leicestershire in particular, the deaneries frequently shared the name as well as the boundaries of the wapentake.²

The archdeaconries varied considerably in size. The smallest, Stow (103 benefices) was only twice as large as the biggest rural deanery while the largest, Lincoln (596 benefices), made up nearly one-third of the whole diocese. The deaneries also ranged in size from the deanery of Christianity of Leicester with only seven benefices to the deanery of Louthesk and

¹ A Hamilton Thompson, 'Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29 (1943), 165-7; D M Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, pp 188, 203.

² Hamilton Thompson, 'Archdeacons and Rural Deans', 181-3. See also J Scammell, 'The Rural Chapter in England from the eleventh to the fourteenth century', *EHR* 86 (1971), 7-8.

Ludborough with 51. In general the smaller deaneries were to be found in the archdeaconries of Huntingdon, Bedford and Oxford, where the average size ranged from 19 to 22 benefices. Elsewhere the average size varied from 26 benefices in the archdeaconry of Stow to 30 in those of Northampton and Leicester.

The parishes themselves varied greatly in extent, from the small areas served by churches in towns such as Lincoln, Stamford, Huntingdon and Oxford, to the large fenland parishes in the Holland deanery of Lincolnshire and elsewhere in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire. Overall, however, there was little variation in the average size of benefice in each archdeaconry; in the archdeaconries of Bedford, Buckingham, Leicester and Oxford, this was between 2,327 and 2,425 acres per benefice. The average area of benefice was smaller in the archdeaconry of Northampton (2,142 acres) and larger in the Lincolnshire archdeaconries (2,522 acres).¹

¹ The areas of archdeaconries have been calculated from the figures given for counties in the 1861 census. It has not been possible to calculate the area of the Hertfordshire deaneries of the archdeaconry of Huntingdon.

RECTORIES, VICARAGES AND CURACIES

It has been suggested above that the widespread creation of proprietary churches resulted in the decline of the ancient minsters. By the end of the eleventh century, all churches could to some extent be regarded as 'proprietary', in the sense that they belonged to someone. To use Professor Stenton's vivid description, "...the grant of a church at this time conveyed more than an advowson, it carried the revenue derived from glebe, tithes and offerings... charters of this age therefore normally treat a church as a piece of property to be granted with all its appurtenances like a mill or an agricultural holding".¹ During the twelfth century, however, as a result of the reforming work of councils, popes and bishops, the position of the proprietor of a church underwent a fundamental change. The *ius proprietatis* was redefined as the *ius patronatus*; the owner became a patron who could no longer give the church to a clerk by investiture, without reference to the bishop. His right in the church was now limited to that of presentation or advowson.²

¹ *Transcripts of Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses*, ed F M Stenton (LRS 18, 1922), p xxiii.

² G W O Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and early Thirteenth Century Canon Law* (St Anthony's Hall Publications 9, 1956), pp 4-5, 17-19; M Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1986), pp 192-6.

A lay patron could, on the occurrence of a vacancy, present his nominee to the bishop for institution and in this way he might provide for a relative or a member of his household, but he was unable any longer to profit directly from the revenues of the church. Where, however, the patron was an ecclesiastical corporation such as a monastery, a cathedral chapter or prebendary, there arose a possibility of diverting a proportion of the revenues away from the parish and into the hands of the patron. It consequently became a concern of the bishops to ensure that this diversion of revenue did not leave the parish church without a resident pastor.¹

During the course of the twelfth century, large numbers of churches were granted to ecclesiastical institutions. It is very likely, as Dr Brett has suggested, that this 'flood' of donations took place for the simple reason that the donors could no longer derive much profit from the churches, whereas the beneficiaries could.² The multitude of donations is strikingly illustrated by the charters of confirmation printed in the volume of episcopal acts for the diocese of Lincoln, 1067-1185. To give a single

¹ M Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), pp 141-8; C R Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956), pp 122-4.

² Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, pp 230-1.

example, in the mid-twelfth century Bishop Chesney confirmed the gifts to the Augustinian priory of Launde in Leicestershire of no fewer than 18 churches.¹ There were two principal ways in which a religious house might exploit the revenues of a church of which it was patron. Initially, it might impose the payment of an annual pension on the rector. Some idea of the extent to which these pensions were exacted can be obtained from the *Taxatio* of 1291. Such pensions were granted, in the late eleventh century, to the priory of Eye in Suffolk from the Lincolnshire churches of Barrowby (6 marks), Sedgebrook (35 shillings) and Welbourn (53 shillings); these were still being paid in 1535.² Attempts were made during the late twelfth century by the bishops, supported by the papacy, to restrict the alienation of parochial revenues in this way by requiring the consent of the ordinary to the imposition of new pensions or the augmentation of old ones.³

By this time, however, a second means of exploitation

¹ See *Acta I*. For the confirmation to Launde Priory, see *ibid* no 143.

² *Taxatio*, *passim*; *Acta I*, no 113; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* iv, p 115-16, 125. The pension from Sedgebrook (reduced to thirty shillings by 1535) became payable to the Crown after the dissolution and was finally redeemed by the incumbent in 1872 (Lincoln Diocesan Trust, Glebe Deeds, G 91).

³ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p 129.

was becoming widespread, that of appropriation. This was a more drastic step whereby an ecclesiastical patron would appropriate a church to its own use, becoming itself a permanent rector and receiving the whole of the revenues, out of which it could pay a stipendiary chaplain or a vicar to undertake the cure of souls. This practice has been noted as early as the reign of Henry I. The thesis put forward by Dr Hartridge that the vicarage system was the creation of the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 has long been abandoned, and the work of the twelfth century bishops in ordaining vicarages has been increasingly recognised. Bishop Chesney, for example, ordained a perpetual vicarage in the church of Sulgrave (1148x1166); the ordination by Bishop Hugh of Wells of a vicarage in that church proves to have been a reassessment.¹

It has been calculated that at the time of the episcopate of Hugh of Wells, as a result of the widespread donations of advowsons to religious houses during the previous century, the number of benefices in the gift of monastic houses exceeded the number in

¹ Brett, *English Church under Henry I*, p 216; R A R Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1930), p 21; Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp 130-1; D M Smith, 'The Administration of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, 1209-1235' (unpublished Nottingham Ph D thesis, 1970) ii, pp 81-2; *Acta I*, nos 186-7; *Liber Antiquus*, p 36.

the gift of secular clergy and laity put together. A survey of patrons of benefices in the diocese in 1320 indicates that 55 per cent of benefices were in the gift of the regular clergy, 10 per cent in that of the secular clergy and 35 per cent in that of the laity.¹ Although the rate of gifts of advowsons to religious houses had declined from its peak during the twelfth century, such endowments had by no means ceased. Fourteen benefices passed from lay to ecclesiastical hands during the episcopate of Burghersh, compared with thirteen such grants during the slightly longer episcopate of Hugh of Wells a century earlier. It is significant that, of the total number of grants in the later period, half went to endow the new foundations of secular colleges characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the chapel of St. Peter, Kirby Bellars (churches of Stapleford and Clipston Two Parts), the hospital of St Mary Newarke, Leicester (Irchester), the chantry colleges of Cotterstock (Cotterstock) and Wappenham (Wappenham), Oriel College, Oxford (St Mary (Oxford) and University (later Clare) College, Cambridge (Wrawby).²

¹ D M Smith, *thesis* ii, pp 39-40. For the survey of patrons in 1320, see below, pp 166-9.

² The full list is: Dorney, Bucks (Burnham Abbey), 1338; Stapleford, Leics, and two-thirds of Clipston, Northants (Kirby Bellars Chapel), c1321-6; Syston, Leics (Ulverscroft Priory), 1323; Holbeach, Lincs (bishop of Lincoln), 1332; Swaton, Lincs (Barlings Abbey), 1322; Syston, Lincs (Wroxton Priory), 1321; Thorpe on the Hill, Lincs (feoffees for dean (*contd*))

Anxieties over the amount of property passing into the hands of the religious led to the enactment in 1279 of the Statute of Mortmain which in theory prohibited the future acquisition of property by the Church while in practice permitting such acquisition provided a licence was obtained from the Crown and a fine paid. The comparison, made above, of the numbers of benefices passing into ecclesiastical patronage during the episcopates of Hugh of Wells and Burghersh suggests that, so far as advowsons were concerned, the mortmain legislation had made little difference. The Statute had certainly placed an additional financial burden on alienations of property to ecclesiastical institutions. Dr Raban's analysis of the costs incurred by the dean and chapter of Lincoln in acquiring a mediety of Tansor in 1324 demonstrates that the expenses of amortisation could be equivalent to as much as one-third of the cost of purchasing the property. However, as Dr Raban points out, properties which included advowsons were particularly attractive

(contd) and chapter of Lincoln), c1326; Wrawby, Lincs (University Hall, Cambridge), c1336; Cotterstock, Northants (Cotterstock Chantry), 1338; Irchester, Northants (Newarke Hospital, Leicester), 1330; mediety of Tansor, Northants (dean and chapter of Lincoln), 1324; Wappenham, Northants (Wappenham Chantry), 1327; St Mary Oxford (Oriel College), 1326. In addition to the above, the church of Belton in Axholme, Lincs, was given to Haltemprice Priory by Thomas Wake in 1339 but the gift did not become effective until after 1349. For the increasing popularity of collegiate foundations, see Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages*, pp 146-60.

to ecclesiastical institutions to whom the possibilities of appropriation might offer rich returns. It is noteworthy that, of the fourteen benefices which passed into ecclesiastical hands during Burghersh's episcopate, six were appropriated before 1340 and four others followed later in the fourteenth century.¹

A means of delaying or even evading the effects of the Statute, which became increasingly used during the fourteenth century, was the use of feoffees or nominees to receive and hold property on behalf of a religious house. Such nominees were almost certainly used in the transfer of the advowson of Thorpe on the Hill from Hugh de Thurleby to the dean and chapter of Lincoln. Hugh conveyed the advowson, in about 1326-7, not to the dean and chapter but to Richard Stretton, one of the canons, and Roger his brother. The interests of the cathedral in the transaction are revealed by the presence among the witnesses of John Harrington, another canon, and William de Baiocis who as warden of the altar of St Peter was the dean and chapter's auditor of causes. In December 1327 the Stretton brothers presented to the living John de

¹ S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500* (Cambridge, 1982), pp 183-4. The six benefices appropriated under Burghersh were: Stapleford, St Mary Oxford, Wappenham, Swaton, Holbeach and Cotterstock.

Dalderby who was duly instituted. Richard Stretton died in 1333 and Roger, as surviving feoffee, conveyed the advowson to four other canons: Walter Stauren (the treasurer), Simon Islip, William Bachiler and John Harrington, all of whom were among the greater residentiaries of the cathedral. These four were not called upon to make any presentation to the living, but by 1349 all were dead save Simon Islip who in turn conveyed the advowson to four other canons, at the same time quitclaiming all rights of patronage in the church to the chapter of Lincoln. By 1361 these feoffees were also dead and it was Simon Islip again, by now archbishop of Canterbury, who finally granted the property to the dean and chapter.¹

Appropriations of churches were normally followed by the ordination of a vicarage, setting out the endowments and duties of the vicar who was to undertake the cure of souls in the parish. During the episcopate of Hugh of Wells a century earlier, the *Liber Antiquus* and vicarage rolls record the existence of at least 434 vicarages in the diocese of Lincoln.² By 1320 the number had increased to 568 and

¹ Raban, *Mortmain Legislation*, p. 114 et seq; D & C, Dij 88/1/28-40; K Major, 'The Finances of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century: A Preliminary Survey', *JEH* 5 (1954), 154; K Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, pp 338-9.

² LAO, Index of Institutions, *passim*; *Liber Antiquus*.

the actual number of vicarages ordained during the intervening period was higher than this figure suggests, because some of the vicarages ordained in the time of Bishop Hugh of Wells subsequently lapsed into curacies. Bishop Dalderby ordained 25 vicarages during his episcopate (1300-1320), and Burghersh had ordained a further 16 by 1340.

The ordinations of fifteen of Burghersh's new vicarages were recorded in his institution register.¹ In twelve of them, the basic endowment was the traditional one of the altarage - small tithes, mortuaries and oblations - but this was augmented in seven of these vicarages by a gift of land from the glebe. Some of these vicarage lands were of a size corresponding to the half-virgater among the peasantry: such were Whissendine (half a bovate), Ambrosden (16 acres) and Bishop Norton (15 acres).² The vicars of Swaton and North Marston were each

¹ App 41 (Normanby), 119 (Bishop Norton), 343 (Strubby), 375 (Swaton), 377 (Wootton), 465 (Great Carlton), 670 (Holbeach), 917 (Stapleford), 1203 (Whissendine), 1886 (Ambrosden), 1946 (Churchill), 2097 (Eyeworth), 2360 (North Marston), 2387 (Wooburn), 2647 (Rushden). The ordination of the vicarage of Woodford Halse has not survived.

² These sources of endowment were also common in the diocese of Worcester and elsewhere: see R M Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century*, p 261. For the size of peasant holdings, see E Miller and J Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London, 1978), pp 143-4.

allotted ten acres. At Strubby the altarage was supplemented by an annual pension of one mark. During the fourteenth century, increasing use was made of the fixed yearly stipend to endow vicarages.¹ This tendency can be seen at Normanby by Owby where the sole endowment was an annual pension of seven marks and at Churchill where a pension of £10 was augmented by ten acres of land. In the case of Rushden in Hertfordshire, it was considered that because of the poverty of the church the whole altarage and one-third of the glebe land would not be sufficient to maintain the vicar and in consequence an annual pension of eight marks was added to the vicarage.²

In all but one of the vicarage ordinations a house was specified for the vicar. At Swaton, Great Carlton, Whissendine, Churchill, North Marston and Rushden, the vicar was to have part of the rectory manse: one-third at Whissendine and one-half at Rushden. At Great Carlton the division was set out in detail: a wall was to be built from the tree in the middle of the garden, westwards to the boundary wall of the rectory and eastwards to the boundary wall of the

¹ Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy*, pp 117-18.

² "...exilitatem alteragii ecclesie predicte perpendentes et attendentes quod idem vicar de portione per nos sibi assignata sustentari congrue non possit et onera sibi incumbentia ipsis plenius consideratis supportare..." (Reg 4 fo 387v).

graveyard.¹ Elsewhere either a house near the church was specified (at Wootton, Holbeach, Stapleford and Bishop Norton) or the house formerly used by the parochial chaplain or priest (at Strubby, Ambrosden, Wooburn and Eyeworth). At Ambrosden, Eyeworth, Whissendine and Bishop Norton,² it was stipulated that the appropriator should put in repair, extend or rebuild the house, while at North Marston and Stapleford the house to be built was described in considerable detail. At North Marston the vicar was to have hall, solar, cellar, kitchen, brewhouse and bakehouse, grange, stable and cattle shed, the buildings to be surrounded by a wall and gate. The vicar of Stapleford was to have at least a hall, a chamber with garderobe for himself, another chamber with garderobe for the chaplain and clerk who were to serve in the church, a buttery, stable and kitchen with bakehouse and brewhouse.³

¹ "... unum murum competentem... ab arbore que stat in medio herbarii ex parte australi aule dicte rectorie linealiter versus occidentem usque ad murum circumdantem dictam rectoriam et linealiter versus orientem usque ad murum circumdantem cimiterium.. " (Reg 4 fo 58v). The appropriator (Markby priory) was to have the buildings on the north side of the wall, and the vicar to have the buildings on the south side.

² For details of the vicar's share of the house at Bishop Norton, see Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, p 136.

³ "... unam aulam, unam cameram cum garderoba pro seipso, aliam cameram cum garderoba pro capellano et clerico in eadem ecclesia deservituris, unam pincernariam, stabulum, coquinam cum pistrino et bracinario... " (Reg 4 fo 121).

A variety of formulae were devised in these ordinations for the division of the burdens of the church. The burdens to which reference was most frequently made were the maintenance of the chancel, the payment of procurations and synodals and the provision of books, vestments and ornaments for the church. Where maintenance of the chancel was mentioned it was almost always the responsibility of the appropriator, except at Swaton where the vicar was to carry out minor repairs costing up to half a mark and at Whissendine where the vicar was responsible for repairs to the chancel roof.¹ Synodals were usually to be paid by the vicar, while procurations were in some cases (Swaton, Holbeach, Churchill) to be paid by the vicar, and in others (Great Carlton, Whissendine, Ambrosden) by the appropriator. A frequent division of responsibility for books, vestments and ornaments (at Great Carlton, Holbeach, Whissendine, Ambrosden, North Marston and Rushden) was for the appropriator to provide or put them in good repair in the first instance and for the vicar to see to their subsequent maintenance. The appropriators were to bear all the burdens at Normanby and Eyeworth and the bulk of them at Wootton and Bishop Norton. At Rushden most of the burdens were to be shared between appropriator and

¹ "...et cooperturam cancelli que vicarius [sic] volumus agnoscere..." (Reg 4 fo 162).

vicar in a proportion of two to one respectively.¹

In addition to these vicarages in appropriated churches, there were also a small number of vicarages which had been ordained in unappropriated benefices where the rector was an absentee. Ordinations of this type had formerly been much more widespread in the diocese of Lincoln than was the case in 1320. Dr Smith calculated that there were at least 150 vicars in unappropriated benefices during the episcopate of Hugh of Wells.² By contrast, in 1320 there were only six such vicars: at Aldenham in Hertfordshire, Bringhurst in Leicestershire, Frodingham and Gedney in Lincolnshire and at Swalcliffe and Witney in Oxfordshire.³ It is not clear why this type of vicarage had almost fallen into desuetude in Lincoln diocese. It was still to be found in greater numbers in other dioceses; institutions were made to at least 22 such vicarages in the diocese of Salisbury during the period 1318-1330, and to 14 in the diocese of London

¹ The division of burdens in the vicarage ordinations of Bishop Hugh of Wells is discussed in Hartridge, *History of Vicarages*, pp 43-5.

² D M Smith, *thesis* ii, p 86.

³ In addition, a vicarage was ordained in the church of Orton Waterville in Huntingdonshire shortly after the institution of John de Hameldon to the rectory in 1326 (App 2504, 2507). In most cases, the patron of these vicarages was the rector of the church; at Gedney, however, the vicar was presented by Crowland Abbey (the patron of the rectory) on the nomination of the rector (Reg 2 fo 67).

between 1323 and 1334.¹ Both these dioceses, as has been seen, were considerably smaller than that of Lincoln. Nor can it be said that the non-resident rector had been eliminated from the diocese of Lincoln; the large number of dispensations and licences for non-residence issued by Burghersh will be considered in a later chapter.² It was only in the dispensations for non-residence in accordance with the constitution *Cum ex eo* that a stipulation was made that a good and sufficient vicar be provided to undertake the cure of souls on behalf of the non-resident incumbent. It is clear, however, that the form of these dispensations was based closely on the wording of the constitution itself and the term 'vicar' was used in its general sense of deputy.³ No ordinations of, or institutions to, perpetual vicarages are to be found in Burghersh's registers as a result of these dispensations. In the other licences for non-residence, the usual proviso made was that the church should be served by suitable ministers during the absence of the rector.⁴

¹ *Reg Martival* i; *Reg S Gravesend*, pp 268-314.

² See below, pp 348-79.

³ *Reg 5* fos 1-33; L E Boyle, 'The Constitution "Cum ex eo" of Boniface VIII', *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962), 271-2.

⁴ For example, *Reg 5* fos 34, 179: "*per capellanum sufficienter literatum et honestum ac alios ministros idoneos*".

The pattern of distribution of vicarages can be seen in Table 2.1. Over the whole diocese, vicarages represented 29 per cent of all benefices¹ but they formed a greater proportion in the archdeaconries of Bedford (41 per cent) and Stow (40 per cent). The highest proportion of rectories was to be found in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon (77 per cent), which also had the lowest proportion of vicarages (20 per cent). Among individual deaneries, the deanery of Christianity of Leicester consisted entirely of vicarages; after this, the highest concentrations of vicarages were in the deaneries of Yarborough (59 per cent), Dunstable (60 per cent), Witney (55 per cent) and Manlake (56 per cent). The deaneries with the highest proportion of rectories were Yaxley (96 per cent) - the only deanery in the diocese not to include a vicarage - Hill (92 per cent), Sparkenhoe (91 per cent) and Hertford (90 per cent).

Despite the work of successive bishops of Lincoln in ordaining vicarages, there remained a number of churches which had been appropriated but where no vicarage had been established. These curacies were served by stipendiary chaplains appointed by the

¹ This figure is rather higher than the 20% minimum suggested by Hartridge (*History of Vicarages*, pp 79-80) but a comparison of the *Taxatio* with the Lincoln institution registers reveals that many vicarages were omitted from the assessment, presumably because they were worth six marks or less.

proprietors; the chaplains had none of the advantages of security of tenure or fixed stipend which were enjoyed by the vicars.¹ When Bishop Grosseteste sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Fulwell to Osney Abbey, he ruled that the church was to be served by a "suitable honest secular chaplain" but in practice there was little that bishops could do to insure the fitness of these chaplains for their work.² In 1320 there were 120 such curacies in the diocese of Lincoln, comprising 6 per cent of all benefices. In some of these churches the existence of vicarages had been recorded in the time of Bishop Hugh of Wells, but they had subsequently lapsed. Of the 15 curacies in the archdeaconry of Oxford in 1320, nearly half (Hampton Gay, Stoke Lyne, Forest Hill, Iffley, Caversham, Goring and Cogges) had been described as vicarages in the early thirteenth century.³ Not all curacies were of long standing in 1320. An incumbent had been instituted to the chapel of Birchmore in Bedfordshire as recently as 1302, but in 1308 the abbot of Woburn was granted a licence to appropriate the church which was to be served by one of the monks, assisted by a

¹ Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy*, p 123; Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp 44-5.

² Hartridge, *History of Vicarages*, p 53.

³ *Liber Antiquus*, pp 3, 7-9; *Rot Hugh de Welles* 1, p 38.

secular priest.¹

Just over half (65) of the curacies in the diocese were situated in the archdeaconry of Lincoln and over half of these (34) were in churches appropriated to the dignitaries or prebendaries of Lincoln cathedral. This figure was considerably swelled by 28 curacies in the deanery of Christianity of Lincoln, including 17 in churches held by the precentor. Elsewhere there was a significant number of curacies in the archdeaconry of Buckingham, notably in Waddesdon deanery where they comprised 21 per cent of the benefices, due in large part to the number of curacies held by Notley Abbey.

Over the diocese as a whole, appropriation had by 1320 become particularly widespread among churches held by the secular clergy (65 per cent), despite the fact that few churches (9 per cent) in the gift of bishops had been appropriated.² In particular, appropriation had taken place in 87 per cent of churches where the patron was a cathedral chapter, dignitary or prebendary. In the case of churches held by religious houses, however, nearly half (47 per cent) remained unappropriated by this date, although this overall

¹ Reg 2 fo 256v; *VCH Beds* iii, p 462.

² For a full analysis of patronage in the diocese, see Chapter 3 below.

figure conceals some important variations among the different orders. Generally, as Dr Robinson has observed, it was the houses of canons which were more active in seeking the appropriation of churches in their gift. Lacking the rich temporal endowments which many of the older monastic foundations enjoyed, the canons saw appropriation as a legitimate way to augment their revenues.¹ In 1320, only 34 per cent of churches in the gift of Benedictine houses had been appropriated, and only 30 per cent of those held by alien monasteries. Even when the later Cistercian and Cluniac foundations are included in the total, only 36 per cent of churches of which the advowsons were held by monastic houses had been appropriated. In complete contrast, the houses of regular canons (Augustinian, Premonstratensian and Gilbertine) had taken 64 per cent of their churches *in proprios usos*. The Gilbertines were particularly notable in this respect, having appropriated 83 per cent of their churches.²

¹ Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland and the East Riding 1306-1340*, p 12.

² Although the Augustinian order had the highest individual total of houses in the diocese (47), overall there was little difference between the totals of monastic houses (Benedictine, Cistercian and Cluniac: 64 houses) and of those of regular canons (Augustinian, Premonstratensian and Gilbertine: 67 houses). Figures calculated from *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln 1*, ed A Hamilton Thompson (LRS 7, 1914), pp 153-167.

The development of the parochial system in England from private churches founded by lords on their estates meant that when an estate was split up, the church had sometimes been divided as well.¹ In the diocese of Lincoln in 1320, a total of 121 benefices (6 per cent of the whole) were portions of churches, the vast majority of these (100) being medieties or half-churches. A further six churches (twelve benefices) were divided in the ratio of two to one, one portion being known as "Two Parts" and the other as the "Third Part". These churches were Rippingale, Fulletby, Stainton le Vale and Croxton in Lincolnshire and Boddington and Clipston in Northamptonshire. The church of Waddesdon in Buckinghamshire was divided into three portions, each with its own rector. Thorganby in Lincolnshire was divided into four portions although only two of these "Fourth Parts" had rectors, the other two being united to form a curacy.² The smallest portions of a church in the diocese - and probably in the country - were the sixth parts of Brocklesby, to which rectors were regularly presented by the abbeys of Newhouse and Topholme respectively. In the twelfth century the fractions of this church

¹ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p 7; *Danelaw Charters*, p lxxv.

² One part had already been appropriated to the abbey of Wellow by Grimsby before 1275 when that monastery was licensed to hold another part to its own use: *Rot Gravesend*, p 66.

had been in the hands of four different patrons, but by 1320, five-sixths were in the possession of Newhouse Abbey, which acquired the remaining Tupholme portion in 1348.¹

Although a certain amount of consolidation had taken place of the small fractions of churches at Thorganby and Brocklesby, the union of medieties was a very rare occurrence at this date, even in those places where both parts were in the gift of the same patron. Of the eleven churches in the diocese where this was the case, only at Roxby in Lincolnshire was any attempt made at union. Peter de Ludington was instituted to one mediety here in 1314, and to the other in 1319, when it was stated that the two portions might be held together for his incumbency only. Both medieties were in the gift of Drax Priory. On the resignation of Peter in 1334, Thomas de Barneby was instituted to both medieties, which were said to be united on account of their poverty *pro hac vice*, but when Thomas died later the same year the two portions were again separated and different incumbents instituted.² The only other example of the union of medieties during the episcopate of Burghersh was at Little Marlow in Buckinghamshire where in 1339 the two portions, which

¹ *Danelaw Charters*, p lxxv; H M Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), pp 46-7.

² Reg 2 fos 97, 100; App 784, 787.

had been acquired from the Danvers and Beauchamp families respectively, were appropriated to Marlow Priory. ¹

Of the 56 churches which were divided into two portions (either medieties or in a two to one ratio), 32 were served by two rectors. The next most frequent arrangement, in 17 of those churches, was for one portion to be served by a rector and the other to be a curacy appropriated to a religious house. There were examples of this type at South Croxton in Leicestershire; Grimoldby in Lincolnshire and Cold Higham in Northamptonshire. There were only four examples of churches divided between two vicars; these included Grantham, in the gift of the prebendaries of Grantham Australis and Grantham Borealis in Salisbury cathedral, and Bampton in Oxfordshire where the two vicars were each presented by the dean and chapter of Exeter. Two churches (Leasingham and Hackthorn) were divided between a rector and a vicar, while only one (Rauceby) consisted of a vicarage and a curacy. The infrequent occurrence of vicarages among these medieties may have been due to the relative poverty of many of these proportions of churches. Where the revenues of a church had already been divided, it was only in the wealthier

¹ App 2397.

benefices that there would be sufficient income to provide a worthwhile portion for the appropriator in addition to a vicar's stipend. It is worthy of note that the vicarages of the Grantham and Bampton medieties were comparatively highly assessed in the *Taxatio* of 1291.¹

The practical question, of how a single church could be served by two rectors, is difficult to answer and there is some evidence that it caused some uncertainty in the early fourteenth century. There was clearly a temptation for one incumbent to be non-resident, leaving his duties to be performed by the other. At Stickford in Lincolnshire, incumbents were instituted to each of the two medieties in 1319: William de Wymundham in February and William de Boloign in April. In December 1320, Boloign was licensed to be absent in the service of Giles Redmere, a canon of Lincoln, for a period of three years. But in November 1322 the bishop issued a commission to compel the rectors of Stickford to cause the church to be served, each for his own portion, and to examine William de Wymundham, whether it was sufficient that he should minister in the church by himself, without help, and concerning the manner and form of supplying the service of the church by two rectors. This example would appear to

¹ *Taxatio*, pp 32, 61.

suggest that it was considered insufficient for the incumbent of one mediety to act as curate for the incumbent of the other.¹

Table 2.1 indicates that there were no portions of churches in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon and comparatively few in the archdeaconries of Oxford and Leicester. By contrast, there were 62 in the archdeaconry of Lincoln, representing 10 per cent of the benefices there, and over half of the portions in the whole diocese. The deaneries of Bolingbroke (26 per cent), Lafford (22 per cent) and Yarborough (23 per cent) included particularly high numbers. The prevalence of these portions in Lincolnshire may well have been a result of customs of partible inheritance peculiar to the northern Danelaw. Lennard noted the frequency with which fractions of mills were recorded in the county in Domesday Book and Professor Stenton observed numerous examples of divided churches in Lincolnshire in the same record. It is clear that these would have been caused by the division of an estate, either before the foundation of a church (in which case the lords of the several manors would have contributed jointly to its construction and endowment) or after that event, with the rights in the church

¹ Reg 2 fos 76v, 78; Reg 5 fos 4, 324v. At Houghton Conquest in Bedfordshire, the rector of one mediety was granted a licence in 1330 to farm his portion to the rector of the other (Reg 5 fo 184v).

being divided equally between co-heirs.¹

Chapelries

The foundation of proprietary churches and the consequent decay of the minister 'parochiae' have been traced above.² By the early twelfth century these diverse foundations had crystallised into a parochial system. The desire of landowners to found churches did not, of course, thereby come to an end, but it was henceforth to be subjected to much closer ecclesiastical control, both from the diocesan bishops and from the parish clergy. The latter in particular were well placed to defend their rights and revenues against the threat posed by the creation of a new church within the boundaries of their parish. As a result, the majority of these later foundations remained subordinate chapelries, dependent on the mother church of the parish.³ One such chapelry was founded by Margery Gernet at Wigginton in Hertfordshire. During the metropolitanical visitation of Archbishop Reynolds in 1319, it was alleged that Robert Inge, rector of Tring, held the parish church of Wigginton in plurality; Inge, however, successfully demonstrated

¹ Lennard, *Rural England*, pp 285-6; *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, ed C W Foster and T Longley (LRS 19, 1924), pp xxi-xxii.

² See above, pp 104-5.

³ Brett, *English Church under Henry I*, p 223.

that Wigginton was not parochial but was a chapelry dependent on Tring.¹

The initial step in the foundation of a chapelry was for the landowner to obtain a licence from the bishop of the diocese to establish a private oratory in his manor, at his own expense, for the benefit of his household. Numerous licences of this type were recorded in Burghersh's memoranda register.² Analysis of those issued during the years 1331-3 shows that, out of a total of 115 licences, 54 were granted to lords of manors in villages where there was a parish church, 26 to lords of manors in outlying hamlets, 16 to other householders, eight to incumbents and three to individuals or groups studying at the university of Oxford.³

The lord of an outlying manor, when petitioning the bishop for such a licence, could plead the distance of his manor from the parish church. In fact, the distances involved varied. The Lincolnshire chapels of Newball and Toft were only a mile away from the respective mother churches of Stainton and Witham on the Hill. In the large east Bedfordshire parishes of

¹ App 2531.

² Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, pp 5-6; Reg 5 fos 160-178.

³ Reg 5 fos 163v-168r.

Eaton Socon and Shillington, the chapels of Basmead and Little Holwell were situated about two and a half miles from the mother church. Further distant still was the chapel of Gilbert son of Henry de Tychemersh at Lyveden in Northamptonshire, fully three miles from the parish church of Pilton.¹

As the analysis has shown, however, during the period 1331-3 the number of licences granted for chapels in these outlying hamlets was less than half the number granted for villages where there was already a parish church. It is interesting to note that in the majority of cases (37) where oratories were established in parochial villages the founder was not the patron of the parish church. For example, at Tilton in Leicestershire, where a licence for an oratory was granted to John de Dykeby, the advowson of the parish church was held by Launde Priory.² At Seaton in Rutland, where the advowson was appendant to the manor held by the Beaufoy family, an oratory was established in 1332 by Richard de St Liz in his manor of Down Hall.³ This may offer an explanation for the frequent establishment of private chapels in close proximity to parish churches, suggesting that the motive behind the

¹ Reg 5 fos 163v (Basmead, Lyveden), 165r (Little Holwell, Newball), 166v (Toft).

² Reg 5 fo 163v.

³ Reg 5 fo 166; *VCH Rutland* 11, pp 213-15, 221.

creation of many of these oratories was the desire to have 'something private in religion' which was also manifest at this time in the foundation of perpetual chantries.¹

These private chapels were closely restricted. The licence was normally granted for a definite period; divine service was to be read simply, without music; no sacraments were to be administered; there were to be no processions or bells to divert worshippers from the parish church. By the early fourteenth century, the licences included as routine the substance of the statute of Othobon (1268) compelling the restoration to the mother church of all oblations brought to the chapels.² Good examples of these restrictions can be seen in the licences for chapels at Stapelton Hall (later Exeter College) in the university of Oxford and at Stopsley in the parish of Luton. The licences granted to Richard Otewy at Ashwell and to William Fraunceys at Newstead in Tathwell parish stipulated in addition that the founder and his household were to attend the mother church on major festivals.³

¹ Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p 287; K L Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), p 5.

² Gibson, *Codex i*, p 209,

³ Reg 5 fos 271, 289v, 292v, 323. The licence to Stapelton Hall is printed in *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis*, ed C W Boase (OHS 27, 1894), pp xxvii-xxviii.

Action was taken to enforce these restrictions. Those having oratories in manors or granges were required to attend at visitations to exhibit their licences.¹ In 1324 the bishop issued a commission to the dean of Higham in Northamptonshire to act against certain chaplains dwelling in the parish of Irchester who, in the oratories of certain knights and other nobles, were celebrating masses with music on Sundays and feast days, ministering holy bread and water and other sacraments and sacramentals, and hearing the confessions of parishioners of Irchester, to the detriment of the oblations, tithes and other parochial rights of the mother church and its rector.²

An oratory established in close proximity to the parish church depended on the continued presence of the lord, and was normally a temporary expedient. But a chapel in an outlying manor, at a distance from the mother church, might grow into a more permanent establishment. Very occasionally, as at Astwick in Bedfordshire, one of these 'parochial chapels' might achieve the status of a parish church in its own

¹ Reg 5 fo 271.

² Reg 5 fo 371. Similarly, a dispute arose in 1330 between the rector of Culworth and the priory of Canons Ashby concerning the administration of sacraments in the chapel of St James in that parish (Reg 5 fo 431).

right.¹ Elsewhere, an attempt might be made to ensure the continuity of a parochial chapel by establishing it as a perpetual chantry.

The whole process can be illustrated from the foundation deed of a chantry at Dagnall in the parish of Edlesborough in Buckinghamshire, a document which provides a valuable fourteenth-century perspective on the origins of chapelries.² The preamble relates that when the church of Edlesborough was first founded, several manors and hamlets were included within the boundaries of its parish. Among these was Dagnall, two miles distant from the mother church, in which manor a chapel was built for the daily celebration of divine office for the benefit of the weak and infirm inhabitants. The chapel had no oblations nor any certain property save books and ornaments. We know from another source that the chapel was well established in the mid-twelfth century, to the extent that Bishop Chesney was called upon to give a ruling on the respective rights of mother church and chapel.³ By the thirteen-twenties, however, because of death, disease and impoverishment among the inhabitants, the

¹ Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, p 6; for Astwick, see *idem*, 'Bedfordshire Chapelries', p 12.

² Reg 5 fos 386v-387v.

³ *Acta I*, no 75.

hamlet of Dagnall no longer sufficed to support a priest, and divine worship there was in danger of ceasing altogether; the lord of the manor, Henry Spigurnel, had therefore endowed a perpetual chantry in the chapel. This did not give the chaplain any additional rights; indeed, on his institution he was to swear to preserve the rights of the mother church and not to usurp any of its revenues. But the provision of a sufficient endowment and the stipulations made for the presentation and institution of the chaplains enabled the chapel to maintain a continuous existence until the Reformation.¹

THE VALUE OF THE BENEFICES

Having ascertained the number, distribution and nature of benefices in the diocese of Lincoln in 1320, the next task is to arrive at some estimate of their comparative value at that date. The basic source for the assessment of the value of ecclesiastical benefices in England in the early fourteenth century is the *Taxatio* of 1291. The *Taxatio* was drawn up to assess the true value of ecclesiastical revenues for the levying of the tenth granted by Pope Nicholas IV to Edward I in 1291. In each diocese, two assessors

¹ *VCH Bucks* iii, p 360.

were appointed to assess spiritualities and two to assess temporalities; the former were chosen from the local clergy. The diocese of Lincoln being so large, it was divided into two for the purpose of the assessment. For the northern district, consisting of the archdeaconries of Lincoln, Stow, and Leicester together with the deanery of Rutland, the assessors of spiritualities were Masters John de Fletburg (rector of Hougham) and William de Kelum. For the southern district, consisting of the remainder of the diocese, the assessors were Ralph de Bokingham (rector of Maids Moreton) and Richard de Appeltre (rector of Yelling). To establish the value of benefices, the assessors took evidence on oath from neighbouring rectors, vicars and curates in each rural deanery. What they sought was not the gross income but the estimated average annual yield. Benefices not exceeding six marks in value were normally exempt.¹

The *Taxatio* was published by the Record Commissioners in 1802, the editors using as their main source a fifteenth century Exchequer transcript rather than a contemporary copy. It is important, therefore, to determine the accuracy of the printed text. There is

¹ W E Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, Mass, 1939), pp 346-53, 631; Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown*, p 57; R Graham, 'The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', *EHR* 23 (1908), reprinted in *idem*, *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (London, 1929), p 298.

among the archives of the dean and chapter of Lincoln an early copy of the assessment (one of a group of four which have been dated prior to 1297, and more recently to c1294-5).¹ A detailed comparison of the assessment of the parochial benefices in Lincoln diocese in this text with that in the printed edition has revealed only two such benefices which appear in one text and not in the other; the Lincoln manuscript includes the vicarage of Swinderby and the rectory of Lyndon (Rutland) which are both omitted in the printed edition.²

Although this comparison confirms the overall accuracy of the printed text,³ there are two fundamental difficulties involved in the use of the *Taxatio* as evidence for the value of benefices. The first is that the *Taxatio* is clearly an unreliable guide to the overall number of livings. The second is that the assessed values of 1291 often bear little relation to the actual values of the benefices. In the first

¹ D & C A/1/11. For a discussion of its date, see Lunt, *Financial Relations... to 1327*, p 668; Franklin, 'Assessment of Benefices in 13th Century Buckinghamshire', 83-4. It may well have been frequent reference to this copy that prompted the chapter to have it bound in 1331-2 (D & C B/2/5, fo 129).

² Minor variations in valuations between the two sources are discussed below, pp 146-7.

³ cf Lunt, "this edition has been criticised more harshly than it deserves", *Financial Relations... to 1327*, p 666. See also Franklin, 'Assessment of Benefices', 83-4.

place, it is clear that because of the haste with which it was compiled, and more importantly, because of the numerous exemptions which were granted, the *Taxatio* does not by any means provide a complete list of parochial benefices in 1291.¹ Dr Moorman's calculations for the diocese of Winchester (except in the deanery of Winchester itself), Hereford and Norwich all gave him a proportion of only 87 per cent of benefices which were included in the assessment, and this coincidence led him to suggest that this proportion might be constant over the whole country.² However, Dr Franklin's detailed study of another early manuscript of the assessment (included in the White Book of Peterborough) has shown that, for some areas at any rate, this proportion is too high. For Buckinghamshire, it was found that only 76 per cent of benefices appeared both in the White Book copy and in the *Taxatio*; the remaining 24 per cent of benefices recorded in the White Book had been exempted from the taxation through being valued at six marks or less.³

It is clear that many exempt benefices were omitted from the printed edition of the *Taxatio* and from the group of pre-1297 copies which includes the Lincoln

¹ Franklin, 'Assessment of Benefices', 78.

² Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp 4-5.

³ Franklin, 'Assessment of Benefices', 83, 86-98.

manuscript, probably because these copies derive ultimately from records relating to the payment of the tax rather than to the original assessment. It would also appear that the list in the White Book was based on a source closer to that assessment.¹ It must therefore be determined whether it is possible to check the completeness of the White Book list against any other source. Dr Graham pointed out in her study of the *Taxatio* that for the calculation of spiritualities the assistance of episcopal registers "particularly those of the diocese of Lincoln" was invaluable.² As explained above, the statistics relating to parochial benefices given earlier in this chapter have been compiled from a number of sources, of which the *Taxatio* (using the Lincoln manuscript) and the episcopal registers were the most important.³

A comparison of the details of parochial benefices in Buckinghamshire, assembled for Table 2.1 above, with the evidence of the White Book list for that county printed by Dr Franklin reveals an almost identical match.⁴ Both sources list 189 such benefices, with

¹ Franklin, 'Assessment of Benefices', 80.

² Graham, 'Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', p 296.

³ See above, p 106 note 1.

⁴ The Buckinghamshire section of the White Book list is printed in Franklin, 'Assessment of Benefices', 86-98.

only minor differences. The White Book includes Wootton Underwood (excluded from Table 2.1 because it was a peculiar of the archbishop of Canterbury) but omits Lee (admittedly a borderline case of a chapel evolving into a parish church). There is a slightly greater difference in the numbers of vicarages recorded in the two sources; after adjustment to take into account changes between 1291 and 1320, Table 2.1 still includes five vicarages which do not occur in the White Book list.¹ This comparison suggests that the details of parochial benefices compiled for Table 2.1 above are at least as complete as the fullest version of the 1291 assessment for the diocese of Lincoln. Indeed in one important area - appropriated benefices where a vicarage had been ordained - Table 2.1 may provide a fuller picture than the list in the White Book of Peterborough.

The second difficulty in the use of the *Taxatio* as evidence concerns the accuracy of the assessment as a guide to ecclesiastical revenues. Here again, it has been suggested that the edition published by the Record Commissioners is unreliable² but the comparison with the Lincoln manuscript referred to above

¹ The five vicarages are Thornborough, Mentmore, Whaddon, Wingrave and Stone.

² For example, Graham, 'Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', p 271 note 2.

demonstrates, at any rate for parochial benefices in the diocese of Lincoln, an overall accuracy in the printed edition.¹ Nevertheless the question remains: how far can the values in the 1291 assessment be used as a guide to the actual values of parochial benefices?

The researches of Dr Graham and Professor Lunt have shown that the assessments were frequently much lower than the gross income of benefices, that possibly the assessors were attempting to arrive at a fair estimate of the rental value of spiritualities but that, where direct comparisons are possible, the valuations were usually below such an estimate.² Of the sixteen benefices in the diocese of Lincoln where Lunt was able to compare the 1291 valuation with a contemporary extent or survey, the 1291 assessment was lower in all but two cases.³

Such evidence does not encourage confidence in the

¹ The variations are: Witney, Kencott, Westwell (Oxon); Haddenham (Bucks); Great Stukeley, Little Stukeley (Hunts); Twywell, Gretton (Northants); Swinderby, Bicker (Lincs); Wymondham (Leics); Lyndon (Rutland). See *Taxatio*, pp 32, 35, 39, 60, 62, 65-6; D & C, A/1/11, fos 8v, 12v, 18, 19v, 25, 31, 31v, 38v.

² Graham, 'Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', 289; *The Valuation of Norwich*, ed W R Lunt (Oxford, 1926), pp 147-152, 575-9; Lunt, *Financial Relations... to 1327*, p 353.

³ *Valuation of Norwich*, p 576.

reliability of the *Taxatio* as a guide to the values of benefices, and Dr Kershaw has severely criticised its usefulness ("the unreliability of this assessment for any realistic notion of value is notorious").¹ However, while bearing in mind its shortcomings, both in omission and in inaccuracy, it remains the only national survey of ecclesiastical revenues in this period. Even if the assessments of particular benefices are unreliable, it remains possible to use the *Taxatio* as a guide to comparative values,² although here again it must be emphasised that the degree of inaccuracy in the assessment might naturally vary from one benefice to another. The effect of such inaccuracies can, however, be modified by the calculation of mean values for particular groups of benefices.³

To calculate mean values, lists of the benefices in each deanery have been compiled, including those which were omitted from the *Taxatio*. These latter have been

¹ I Kershaw, *Bolton Priory: The Economy of a Northern Monastery 1286-1325* (Oxford, 1973), p 67.

² Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland*, p 6.

³ In addition to the limitations of the *Taxatio* itself, a further slight distortion arises in the case of benefices which were rectories in 1291 but were appropriated and had vicarages ordained between that date and 1320. 29 such vicarages have been traced in the registers of Bishops Sutton and Dalderby between 1291 and 1320, forming approximately 1.5% of the total number of benefices in the diocese.

classed as 'not assessed', and have been assumed to have been valued at six marks or less. As this study is concerned with the beneficed clergy, appropriated churches whose value was assessed in the *Taxatio* have been omitted from the calculations, but their vicarages or curacies have been included.

The deanery of Walshcroft in Lincolnshire, for example, comprised 29 benefices, 14 of which were assessed in the *Taxatio*. Of the 16 rectories, 14 were assessed; the other two (two of the fourth parts of Thorganby) were referred to as *indecimabiles*. None of the nine vicarages or four curacies was assessed, although the assessments of seven of the vicarages, none exceeding six marks, were included in the *rotulus de minutis beneficiis sex marcas non excedentibus* which survives only for the northern of the two areas into which the diocese was divided for the assessment. For this deanery, therefore, two rectories, nine vicarages and four curacies have been classed as 'not assessed' out of a total of 29 benefices and the mean value has accordingly been calculated as 'not assessed', Walshcroft proving to have been one of the poorer deaneries in the diocese.¹ At the other end of the scale, the deanery of Loveden, also in Lincolnshire, contained 16 benefices, all of which (including

¹ *Taxatio*, pp 57, 76.

the three vicarages) were assessed. The highest in value was the rectory of Hougham (£40) and the lowest the vicarage of Ancaster (£6:13:4), the mean value working out at £20.¹

In this way, mean values have been calculated in each deanery for the following categories: all benefices, benefices in ecclesiastical patronage and benefices in lay patronage. These are shown in Table 2.2 together with the highest valued benefice in each deanery (excluding appropriated churches, as stated above) and the percentage of benefices 'not assessed.' The wealthiest deanery according to this calculation was undoubtedly that of Holland in Lincolnshire with a mean value of £24. In addition, Holland included the highest valued benefice in the whole diocese (Holbeach, £120) and also the highest valued vicarage (Moulton, £33:6:8).² Holbeach was exceptional in that it was, if not among the very wealthiest livings in the country, not far behind them.³ It was valued at nearly twice the assessment of the second highest valued benefice in Lincoln diocese (Frampton in the same deanery, at £63:6:8) and it is perhaps not

¹ *Taxatio*, p 61.

² *ibid*, p 62.

³ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p 136, where ten livings valued between £230:15:0 and £133:6:8 are listed.

TABLE 2.2

Mean Values of Benefices in the
Diocese of Lincoln, 1291

DEANERY	No of Benefices	Mean Value	Mean Value (Eccles)	Mean Value (Lay)	Highest Value	Not Assessed (%)
Bedford	19	NA	NA	£4; 13; 4	£4; 13; 4	74
Clapham	19	£4; 13; 4	NA	£8; 13; 4	£26; 13; 4	47
Dunstables	20	£4; 6; 8	£4; 6; 8	£5; 6; 8	£16; 0; 0	47
Eaton	18	£5; 6; 8	£4; 6; 8	£10; 0; 0	£13; 6; 8	22
Fleet	23	NA	NA	NA	£20; 0; 0	74
Shefford	27	£4; 13; 4	£4; 6; 8	£13; 16; 8	£40; 0; 0	41

Buckingham	30	NA	NA	£5; 6; 8	£16; 13; 4	53
Burnham	23	£10; 13; 4	£6; 13; 4	£14; 0; 0	£40; 0; 0	22
Mursley	27	£4; 13; 4	£4; 6; 8	£6; 13; 4	£36; 13; 4	41
Newport	47	£5; 6; 8	NA	£8; 13; 4	£40; 0; 0	30
Waddesdon	24	£4; 6; 8	NA	£6; 13; 4	£20; 0; 0	46
Wendover	21	£5; 0; 0	NA	£8; 0; 0	£20; 0; 0	43
Wycombe	17	£6; 13; 4	£5; 6; 8	£8; 0; 0	£33; 6; 8	24

Baldock	26	£10; 0; 0	£8; 0; 0	£12; 0; 0	£33; 6; 8	15
Berkhamsted	16	£13; 6; 8	£6; 13; 4	£16; 13; 4	£36; 13; 4	19
Hertford	20	£6; 13; 4	NA	£6; 13; 4	£36; 13; 4	30
Hitchin	15	£4; 13; 4	NA	£6; 13; 4	£26; 13; 4	40
Huntingdon	10	NA	NA	--	£4; 13; 4	90
Leightonstone	23	£6; 0; 0	£4; 13; 4	£8; 0; 0	£30; 0; 0	4
St Ives	15	£10; 13; 4	£13; 6; 8	£8; 13; 4	£33; 6; 8	20
St Neots	17	£12; 0; 0	£8; 0; 0	£24; 0; 0	£33; 6; 8	18
Yaxley	25	£6; 13; 4	£8; 0; 0	£6; 13; 4	£35; 6; 8	8

Akeley	23	£10; 13; 4	£10; 0; 0	£14; 13; 4	£33; 6; 8	26
Christianity	7	NA	NA	--	£4; 13; 4	86
Framland	39	£9; 6; 8	£5; 6; 8	£16; 0; 0	£46; 13; 4	28
Gartree	38	£8; 0; 0	£5; 6; 8	£13; 6; 8	£46; 13; 4	21
Goscote	37	£5; 6; 8	NA	£11; 6; 8	£40; 0; 0	35
Guthlaxton	43	£9; 6; 8	£6; 13; 4	£9; 13; 4	£33; 6; 8	16
Sparkenhoe	23	£11; 0; 0	£12; 6; 8	£10; 0; 0	£58; 13; 4	13

Aveland	25	£7; 3; 4	£5; 13; 4	£13; 13; 4	£51; 6; 8	24
Beltisloe	23	£8; 13; 4	£6; 13; 4	£12; 0; 0	£33; 6; 8	26
Bolingbroke	23	£9; 6; 8	£9; 6; 8	£11; 6; 8	£48; 13; 4	13
Calcewaith	38	£5; 6; 8	NA	£9; 6; 8	£23; 6; 8	42
Candleshoe	26	£7; 0; 0	£6; 13; 4	£11; 6; 8	£16; 0; 0	19
Christianity	40	NA	NA	--	£4; 16; 8	97
Gartree	18	£5; 6; 8	NA	£8; 6; 8	£16; 3; 4	44
Graffoe	14	£6; 13; 4	£5; 6; 8	£13; 6; 8	£26; 13; 4	29

TABLE 2,2 (contd)

DEANERY	No of Benefices	Mean Value	Mean Value (Eccles)	Mean Value (Lay)	Highest Value	Not Assessed (%)
Grantham	24	£12; 13; 4	£12; 6; 8	£17; 6; 8	£30; 0; 0	4
Grimsby	36	£12; 0; 0	£6; 13; 4	£14; 13; 4	£33; 6; 8	17
Hill	25	£8; 0; 8	£8; 0; 8	£8; 6; 8	£18; 0; 0	16
Holland	33	£24; 0; 0	£20; 0; 0	£36; 13; 4	£120; 0; 0	3
Horncastle	21	£8; 0; 0	£4; 13; 4	£10; 13; 4	£21; 6; 8	14
Lafford	36	£6; 13; 4	£4; 13; 4	£12; 0; 0	£36; 0; 0	33
Longoboby	22	£20; 0; 0	£8; 13; 4	£59; 10; 0	£61; 6; 8	5
Louthesk	52	£5; 6; 8	NA	£8; 0; 0	£36; 13; 4	42
Loveden	16	£20; 0; 0	£16; 13; 4	£20; 0; 0	£40; 0; 0	0
Ness	14	£10; 0; 0	£10; 0; 0	£10; 0; 0	£39; 18; 0	14
Stamford	13	NA	NA	--	£11; 6; 8	62
Walshcroft	29	NA	NA	£11; 6; 8	£28; 0; 0	52
Wraggoc	30	£5; 0; 0	NA	£10; 13; 4	£26; 13; 4	40
Yarborough	39	NA	NA	£10; 0; 0	£26; 13; 4	54

Brackley	46	£6; 0; 0	£4; 13; 4	£10; 0; 0	£26; 13; 4	35
Daventry	20	£5; 13; 4	£4; 6; 8	£13; 6; 8	£13; 6; 8	35
Haddon	39	£6; 13; 4	£4; 13; 4	£8; 0; 0	£17; 6; 8	26
Higham	26	£9; 6; 8	£11; 6; 8	£9; 6; 8	£40; 0; 0	12
Northampton	12	NA	NA	£20; 0; 0	£20; 0; 0	83
Oundle	32	£8; 0; 0	£6; 0; 0	£8; 13; 4	£30; 0; 0	31
Peterborough	18	£8; 0; 0	£10; 0; 0	£8; 0; 0	£36; 13; 4	22
Preston	31	£5; 0; 0	£5; 6; 8	£5; 0; 0	£20; 0; 0	35
Rothwell	44	£7; 6; 8	£6; 13; 4	£8; 0; 0	£23; 6; 8	9
Rutland	44	£8; 0; 0	£8; 0; 0	£8; 0; 0	£33; 6; 8	11
Weldon	25	£4; 6; 8	NA	£6; 13; 4	£33; 6; 8	40

Aston	22	£4; 6; 8	£4; 6; 8	£6; 13; 4	£20; 0; 0	32
Bicester	36	£6; 0; 0	£5; 0; 0	£6; 0; 0	£26; 13; 4	31
Cuddesdon	23	NA	NA	£6; 0; 0	£22; 0; 0	52
Deddington	18	£7; 6; 8	£6; 13; 4	£8; 13; 4	£46; 13; 4	22
Henley	19	£4; 6; 8	NA	£7; 6; 8	£21; 6; 8	47
Norton	18	NA	NA	£4; 6; 8	£26; 13; 4	56
Oxford	16	NA	NA	£15; 6; 8	£15; 6; 8	87
Witney	22	£5; 0; 0	£5; 0; 0	£5; 6; 0	£40; 0; 0	27
Woodstock	25	NA	NA	£4; 6; 8	£20; 0; 0	56

Aslackhoe	24	£5; 0; 0	£5; 0; 0	£10; 0; 0	£20; 0; 0	21
Corringham	19	£10; 13; 4	£13; 6; 8	£10; 13; 4	£40; 0; 0	11
Lawres	35	£5; 0; 0	NA	£13; 6; 8	£26; 13; 4	40
Manlake	25	£6; 13; 4	£5; 6; 8	£26; 13; 4	£40; 0; 0	16

surprising to discover that Bishop Burghersh himself purchased the advowson in 1332 and that in 1335 the church was appropriated to the bishopric and a vicarage ordained.¹ The comparative wealth of the deanery of Holland is further emphasised by the fact that it included seven out of the only ten benefices in the diocese to be assessed at over £50; the other three were Washingborough (£61:6:8), Waddington (£59:10:0) and Market Bosworth (£58:13:4).²

Washingborough and Waddington were both situated in the Lincolnshire deanery of Longoboby which, with that of Loveden in the same archdeaconry, shared the next highest mean value (£20) after Holland. Only eleven other deaneries attained a mean value of £10 or over. These were spread throughout the diocese: four in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, two in that of Leicester, three in that of Lincoln (making a total of six in that archdeaconry) and one each in Buckingham and Stow. The deanery of Higham Ferrers in the archdeaconry of Northampton came close to this category with a mean value of £9:6:8; but in the archdeaconries of Oxford and Bedford, the deaneries with the highest mean value were Deddington (£7:6:8) and Eaton

¹ D & C Dij/72/3/7-9, 11, 14, 17a.

² *Taxatio*, pp 60, 64.

(£5:6:8) respectively.

In the case of the poorer deaneries, those where the mean value of benefices fell into the non-taxable class of six marks or less, it is striking that out of 14 such deaneries in the diocese, six were in towns (Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Northampton, Huntingdon and Oxford) and in five of these over 80 per cent of the benefices were not assessed, rising to 97 per cent in the case of Lincoln. One reason for this was the multiplicity of benefices in these towns (40 in Lincoln, 16 in Oxford); by contrast the vicarages of the two mediocrities of Grantham, a town with a single parish church, were assessed at £7 and £11. The poorest of the more truly 'rural' deaneries was probably Fleet in Bedfordshire, where even the mean value of benefices in lay patronage was 'not assessed' (it was the only deanery in the diocese where this was the case).¹ Fleet was closely rivalled by the deanery of Bedford which had the same proportion (74 per cent) of benefices not assessed. Other deaneries where over half the benefices escaped assessment were Walshcroft and Yarborough in Lincolnshire, Cuddesdon, Chipping Norton and Woodstock in Oxfordshire, and the deanery of Buckingham.

¹ *Taxatio*, p 35.

Table 2.3 shows the number of benefices in each archdeaconry and the proportion of benefices in the following value groups: not assessed (not exceeding £4); over £4 but not exceeding £7; over £7 but not exceeding £10; over £10 but not exceeding £15; over £15 but not exceeding £30; and over £30. Separate figures have been compiled for rectories, for vicarages and for all livings (rectories, vicarages and curacies). The figures for all livings reinforce some of the conclusions reached from the study of mean values per deanery as shown in Table 2.2. Over the whole diocese, approximately one-third of livings was not assessed, another third fell between £4 and £10 in value and about one-third was assessed at over £10. The figures for the individual archdeacons reveal sharp contrasts. Bedford was clearly the poorest, with over half its benefices not assessed and only 13 per cent valued at over £10. The next poorest archdeacons were Buckingham and Oxford, with 38 per cent and 44 per cent respectively of their benefices not assessed. The lowest proportion of benefices not assessed was in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon (22 per cent), closely followed by Stow (24 per cent) but the highest proportion of the wealthier livings was to be found in the archdeaconry of Leicester where 43 per cent of benefices were valued at over £10.

TABLE 2.3

Values of Benefices in the
Diocese of Lincoln, 1291

RECTORIES

<i>ARCHDEACONRY</i>	<i>NO</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>£4-7</i>	<i>£7-10</i>	<i>£10-15</i>	<i>£15-30</i>	<i>£30+</i>
Bedford	67	21%	36%	21%	12%	9%	1%
Buckingham	125	17%	36%	15%	16%	10%	6%
Huntingdon	128	11%	31%	13%	20%	20%	5%
Leicester	143	6%	20%	13%	26%	28%	7%
Lincoln	343	8%	14%	19%	26%	24%	9%
Northampton	250	12%	29%	25%	15%	17%	2%
Oxford	126	25%	32%	15%	16%	10%	2%
Stow	58	3%	21%	19%	24%	24%	9%
Whole Diocese	1240	12%	25%	18%	20%	19%	6%

VICARAGES

<i>ARCHDEACONRY</i>	<i>NO</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>£4-7</i>	<i>£7-10</i>	<i>£10-15</i>	<i>£15-30</i>	<i>£30+</i>
Bedford	52	83%	15%	---	2%	---	--
Buckingham	49	73%	23%	2%	2%	---	--
Huntingdon	33	52%	42%	6%	---	---	--
Leicester	64	67%	22%	6%	5%	---	--
Lincoln	192	55%	30%	8%	3%	3%	1%
Northampton	79	66%	24%	8%	1%	1%	--
Oxford	58	69%	24%	2%	---	5%	--
Stow	41	47%	44%	2%	7%	---	--
Whole Diocese	568	63%	27%	5%	3%	2%	--

ALL BENEFICES

<i>ARCHDEACONRY</i>	<i>NO</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>£4-7</i>	<i>£7-10</i>	<i>£10-15</i>	<i>£15-30</i>	<i>£30+</i>
Bedford	126	51%	25%	11%	6%	6%	1%
Buckingham	189	38%	29%	11%	11%	7%	4%
Huntingdon	167	22%	32%	11%	15%	15%	4%
Leicester	210	26%	20%	11%	19%	19%	5%
Lincoln	597	33%	18%	13%	16%	15%	5%
Northampton	337	27%	27%	20%	11%	13%	2%
Oxford	199	44%	27%	10%	10%	8%	1%
Stow	103	24%	29%	12%	16%	14%	5%
Whole Diocese	1928	32%	24%	13%	14%	13%	4%

As might be expected, the rectories were in general considerably wealthier than the vicarages. Only 12 per cent of the former were not assessed, compared with 63 per cent of the latter; and while 45 per cent of rectories were valued at over £10, only 5 per cent of vicarages came into this category. Only one vicarage in the whole diocese (that of Moulton, mentioned above) was assessed at over £30. Once again, the greatest concentration of poor vicarages was to be found in the archdeaconry of Bedford where 83 per cent were not assessed and only one, that of Luton, was valued at over £7. Over two-thirds of vicarages were likewise not assessed in the archdeaconries of Buckingham, Oxford and (perhaps surprisingly) Leicester. Of the few vicarages valued over £10 the highest proportion (7 per cent) was in the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow.

The highest proportion of poorer rectories lay in the archdeaconries of Bedford and Oxford, in each of which 57 per cent of rectories were assessed at £7 or less; the archdeaconry of Buckingham, with 53 per cent of rectories in this category, came close behind. The greatest concentration of the very richest benefices - those valued at over £30 - was in Lincolnshire, where they made up 9 per cent of all rectories, although without the contribution of the deanery of Holland to this figure the proportion would have fallen to 6 per

cent. But if all rectories assessed at over £15 are included, the archdeaconry with the highest proportion was Leicester (35 per cent).

As shown in Table 2.2, the mean value of benefices in lay patronage was normally higher than that of benefices in ecclesiastical possession, the latter being of course lowered by the effect of appropriations. In the few deaneries where the 'ecclesiastical' benefices were valued higher than the 'lay' ones, the explanation can usually be found in the circumstances of the particular deanery. In the deanery of St Ives, for example, almost all the benefices (93 per cent) were in ecclesiastical hands, and these included a number of comparatively wealthy livings in the gift of Ramsey Abbey. In the deanery of Sparkenhoe in Leicestershire, 91 per cent of the benefices were rectories, so that the effect of appropriations was reduced to a minimum.¹ But although the proportion of rectories to vicarages was an important factor in the relative mean values of benefices in ecclesiastical patronage, if all benefices are taken into account a high mean value was not necessarily connected with a high proportion of rectories. In the deanery of Holland, for example, only 58 per cent of benefices were rectories and in

¹ *Taxatio*, pp 35-6, 64-5.

that of Longoboby only 55 per cent, yet these deaneries, as has been shown, had the highest mean values in the whole diocese. By contrast, in the deanery of Yaxley, where 96 per cent of the benefices were rectories, the mean value was only £6:13:4.¹

The outstanding wealth of benefices in the deanery of Holland may be attributable in part to the richness of the fenland in which they were situated. There was clearly some connection between the wealth of a benefice and the overall wealth of the surrounding area, since the income of parochial benefices came predominantly from agricultural sources such as tithe and glebe. But variations in the extent of glebe between one benefice and another, and the endowment of some vicarages with an annual pension rather than small tithes meant that the correspondence between ecclesiastical and lay wealth in a particular area was not always a close one. A comparison of the figures in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 with the distribution of lay wealth as shown by the 1334 lay subsidy reveals only a limited correlation between the two.²

The Holland division of Lincolnshire, corresponding to

¹ *Taxatio*, p 36.

² R S Schofield, 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334-1649', *EconHR*, Second Series, 18 (1965), 483-510.

the ecclesiastical deanery of that name, was in 1334 the richest of the 38 counties in Dr Schofield's table of comparative wealth, both in terms of lay wealth only and in terms of lay and clerical wealth combined.' The exceptionally high value of many of its parochial benefices was clearly a reflection of this general wealth. But the wealth of the county of Oxford, in second place in Dr Schofield's table, appears to have had little effect on its parishes. In four of the nine deaneries in that county, the mean value of benefices was in the 'not assessed' category; over the county as a whole, as Table 2.3 shows, more than two-thirds of Oxfordshire livings were valued at £7 or less. A similar contrast can be seen in the case of Bedfordshire, which ranked fourth in terms of lay wealth in 1334 but had the highest proportion of poor livings in the diocese. Conversely, the lay wealth of Leicester was below average in 1334 whereas, as has been shown, the highest proportion of wealthier livings (those assessed at over £15) was to be found in that county.

How, then, did Lincoln compare with other dioceses in the matter of ecclesiastical revenues? Dr Moorman has suggested an average gross income for parishes of about £10 a year. Comparisons are difficult, however,

' Schofield, 'Geographical Distribution of Wealth', 504, 506.

because Dr Moorman's figures include the wealth of appropriated churches, which have been excluded from the present study. Bearing in mind this important difference in the basis of calculation, it is perhaps an indication of the wealth, rather than the poverty, of parts of Lincoln diocese that the mean value of as many as fourteen deaneries exceeded the national average. The comparative wealth of certain archdeaconries - Huntingdon, Leicester and Lincoln in particular - is striking.¹ If, to obtain a closer comparison, the wealth of the appropriated churches is included, it will be found that the benefices of Lincoln diocese were somewhat above the average in value, between the extremes of Exeter (at the poorer end of the scale) and of Canterbury and Ely (at the richer end).²

In conclusion, it must be emphasised that this survey of the diocese in 1320 does not in any way represent a static situation. Advowsons continued to change hands, passing from lay to ecclesiastical ownership; partly in consequence of this, churches continued to be appropriated to religious houses and other ecclesiastical corporations, and, in such churches,

¹ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p 136.

² Calculations based on the figures in Hartridge, *History of Vicarages*, p 79. For Exeter, see Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II*, p 48.

vicarages continued to be ordained. Above all, the economic foundations of parochial benefices, which were already being undermined by changes in the balance of land and population (seen, for example, in the agrarian crisis of 1315-22), were soon to be shaken even more seriously by the consequences of the Black Death.¹ In extreme cases, these economic changes could threaten the very existence of a parish. In the uplands of north-east Hertfordshire, the marginal settlement of Broadfield was entering a period of economic decline which led to the destruction of the church about 1450, the disappearance of all save one of the houses and the eventual merging of the parish with that of Cottered. Three miles south of Broadfield, the parish of Wakeley was undergoing a similar experience. In 1428 the parish was said to have no inhabitants, and the last recorded presentation to the living took place in 1454. By the early sixteenth century the status of the church was said to be that of a free chapel; by 1590 Wakeley was joined to the parish of Aspenden.²

¹ Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society and Economic Change*, pp 53-63.

² L M Munby, *The Hertfordshire Landscape* (London, 1977), pp 124-6; *VCH Herts* iii, pp 209-11 (Broadfield); *ibid* iv, pp 20-21, 25 (Wakeley); *The State of the Church*, ed C W Foster, p 166. Wakeley was still described as a parish church in 1454 (Reg 20 fo 299) but at the dissolution of the chantries the chapel passed into the possession of the Crown which alienated it in 1572 (CPR 1569-72, p 342).

Yet at the opposite, eastern end of the parish of Aspenden, a very different trend can be observed. Buntingford, situated at the point where Ermine Street crosses the River Rib, was described as a hamlet in 1288, but subsequently it appears to have experienced steady growth, assisted by its strategic position on the main road. Its significance in the local economy was confirmed in 1360 by the successful establishment of a market.¹ Buntingford grew up at the place where the boundaries of four parishes met; part of it lay in the diocese of Lincoln and part in that of London. In consequence, ecclesiastical provision was made in a rather piecemeal fashion. A chantry was founded in 1295 in the chapel of St John the Baptist in that part of Buntingford which lay in the parish of Throcking; in 1339 the rector of Aspenden was granted a licence by the bishop for a chapel dedicated to St Mary Magdalene in the part of the town which fell within his parish.² Had the growth of Buntingford occurred two centuries earlier, the town might have acquired a parochial status of its own, but instead of this it remained something of an anomaly on the edge of the parochial system.

¹ Munby, *Hertfordshire Landscape*, pp 100-101; *VCH Herts* iv, p 78.

² *VCH Herts* iv, p 87; Reg 2 fo 231v; Reg 5 fo 174v. The chapel of St John Baptist was subsequently annexed to the church of Throcking (Reg 10 fo 419v); that of St Mary Magdalene was still in existence in 1411 (Reg *Repington* 11, pp 238-9).

CHAPTER THREE

THE PATRONS OF THE BENEFICES

The patronage of parochial benefices in the later middle ages is a neglected subject. None of the general surveys of the English church during this period treats this topic in any detail.¹ Recent studies of individual bishops contemporary with Burghersh - Orleton, Stapeldon and Stratford - have concentrated their attention more on the wider issues of church and state rather than on the dioceses for which those bishops were responsible.² Aspects of the subject, notably the patronage exercised by the Crown, have been briefly touched upon, but, with one exception, no diocese has hitherto been the subject of a detailed analysis of its parochial patronage.³

¹ See, for example, Hamilton Thompson, *English Clergy in the Later Middle Ages*, pp 104-5; Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p 8; Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, pp 30-5.

² Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton, c1275-1345*; Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church*; Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford: Political Revolutionary and Champion of the Liberties of the English Church, c 1275/80-1348*.

³ The exception is Durham: see R Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church: a Study in the Social Structure of the Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Durham (1311-1540)' (unpublished Edinburgh Ph D thesis, 1955) i, pp 170-310. In addition, the patronage in the archdeaconries of Cleveland and the East Riding in the diocese of York has been analysed in Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland and the East Riding*, pp 12-13.

This neglect, however, is undeserved. The selection of clerks to fill parochial benefices gave these patrons an important role, in determining not only the effectiveness with which the Church carried out its work in the parishes but also the distribution of the fruits of these benefices between the conflicting claims of central government, the universities, ecclesiastical administration and noble households, all of which sought parochial stipends for their clerks and against which the pastoral responsibilities of the Church had to compete on an often unequal basis. The importance of patronage in its widest sense has been stressed in a series of recent studies of the fifteenth century,¹ and an assessment of the nature of the patronage of parochial benefices, through the detailed study of a major diocese, is surely overdue.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to examine the fundamental question of who were the patrons of parochial benefices in the diocese of Lincoln in 1320, to assess the relative proportions of ecclesiastical and lay patrons and, within these categories, the comparative numbers of regulars and seculars and of

¹ *Patronage, Pedigree and Power*, ed C Ross (Gloucester, 1979); *Patronage, The Crown and The Provinces*, ed R A Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981); *The Church, Politics and Patronage*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984).

nobility and gentry. In addition, the problems of shared advowsons and patronage disputes will be considered, together with the effect of the 'occasional' or 'windfall' presentations made from time to time by third parties because of lapse or custody of the advowson. The actual machinery of presentation and institution, however, and the question of indirect patronage, the external influences acting on those whose names are entered as patrons in the bishop's register, will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, in connection with the provenance and careers of the clergy themselves.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND LAY PATRONS

An attempt has been made to discover the identity of the patrons *pleno iure* in all parochial benefices in the diocese of Lincoln during the episcopate of Henry Burghersh and an analysis has been made of them as they stood in 1320, so far as this can be ascertained. The principal sources for this survey are the institution registers of successive bishops of Lincoln from Sutton to Gynwell (with occasional searches into those of Gravesend and Buckingham).¹ These have been supplemented by the *Victoria County History*, other county histories and the publications of local

¹ *Rot Gravesend; Reg Sutton* 1, 11, viii; Regs 2, 4, 6, 9-11, *passim*

historical and record societies, together with the calendars of patent rolls and inquisitions *post mortem*. The results of this survey are shown in Table 3.1 which shows the total number of benefices in the gift of the various categories of patron and their distribution through the different archdeaconries.

TABLE 3.1

Patrons of Benefices
in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1320

TYPE OF PATRON	TOTAL	BEDE	BUCK	HUNT	LEIC	LINC	NRTH	OXFD	STOW
<i>Secular Religious</i>									
Bishop of Lincoln	28	0	6	3	1	9	7	1	1
Other Bishops	14	0	2	4	0	4	0	4	0
Deans and Chapters	29	2	2	5	1	12	2	2	3
Prebendaries	87½	2	2	5	1	55	6	7	9½
Hospitals	13	2	0	0	2	4	3	1	1
Secular Colleges	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	0
Other Seculars	6¼	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	1¼
Total	182¼	6	12	19	7	84	18	21	15¼
<i>Regular Religious</i>									
Benedictines	233	12	19	41½	16	63	36	33½	12
Cluniacs	48	2	0	2	6	4	34	0	0
Cistercians	19½	2	2	1	2	6	2½	4	0
Augustinians	372	42	38	25½	58	90	52	49½	17
Premonstratensians	38	0	2	0	6	16	5	1	8
Gilbertines	79	6	1	1	3	59	2	0	7
Alien Monasteries	108½	4	13	8	16	36	17	10	4½
Hospitallers	64½	8	7	6	7	19	12	3	2½
Nunneries	111¼	17	13	4	10	40	14	10	3¼
Total	1073¼	93	95	89	124	333	174½	111	54¼
<i>Laity</i>									
Crown	37½	1	1	7	1	4	10	8½	5
Nobility	229	10	28	24	30½	63½	51	14	8
Gentry	405	16	53	28	47½	112½	83½	44½	20
Total	671½	27	82	59	79	180	144½	67	33
OVERALL TOTAL	1928	126	189	167	210	597	337	199	103

Over the whole diocese the proportion of ecclesiastical to lay patronage was 65 per cent to 35 per cent, figures which were broadly reflected in the archdeaconries of Huntingdon, Leicester, Oxford and Stow. The percentage of ecclesiastical patrons, however, rose to 70 per cent in the archdeaconry of Lincoln and as high as 79 per cent in the archdeaconry of Bedford. In individual deaneries, the proportion of ecclesiastical patrons was occasionally higher still, as in the deaneries of Fleet (87 per cent), Dunstable (90 per cent) and St Ives (93 per cent) and in the 'urban' deaneries of Northampton (92 per cent), Oxford (94 per cent) and of Leicester, Huntingdon, Lincoln and Stamford, where all the benefices were in the gift of religious patrons. In no archdeaconry did the proportion of lay patrons amount to one half; the nearest approach to this figure was in the archdeaconries of Buckingham and Northampton, in each of which lay patrons accounted for 43 per cent of the total. Lay patrons exceeded ecclesiastical ones in only seven of the seventy five deaneries in the diocese, one each in Buckinghamshire (Newport) and Huntingdonshire (Leightonstone), two each in Lincolnshire (Hill, Loveden) and Northamptonshire (Haddon, Preston) and the deanery of Rutland. The highest proportion of lay patrons occurred in the deanery of Hill (68 per cent).

Among ecclesiastical patrons, there was a much higher proportion of benefices in the gift of the regular clergy than of the secular, the former holding 56 per cent of advowsons over the diocese as a whole compared with only 9 per cent held by the latter. The regulars had over 50 per cent of the patronage in each archdeaconry, the proportion remaining fairly constant between 51 per cent (Buckingham) and 59 per cent (Leicester), the only exception being the archdeaconry of Bedford (74 per cent). By contrast, the secular clergy accounted for only 5 per cent of advowsons in the archdeaconries of Bedford and Northampton and they were even more scarce as patrons in the archdeaconry of Leicester (3 per cent). Only in the Lincolnshire archdeaconries did the secular clergy hold a proportion of advowsons significantly higher than the average (15 per cent), reflecting the patronage held by the dean and chapter, dignitaries and prebendaries of Lincoln in that county. Not unnaturally, the greatest concentration of benefices in the gift of secular clergy was to be found in the deanery of Christianity of Lincoln (89 per cent), a wholly untypical situation caused by the large number of livings in that deanery which were appropriated to the prebendaries, and above all to the precentor, of Lincoln.

Before proceeding to examine these categories of patronage in more detail, some comparison of this

survey with the contemporary position in other dioceses needs to be made. Unfortunately, few dioceses at this period have been the subject of such detailed examination, and the only diocese with which a direct comparison can be drawn is that of Durham.¹ The paucity of comparative material from other dioceses serves to draw attention to the amount of research that needs to be done on the patronage of parochial benefices in England. In order to place the Lincoln survey in a wider setting than could be provided by a comparison with only one other diocese, a similar survey has been made of the diocese of Hereford at the same date.² It must be stressed that this Hereford survey is not so complete as that which has been made of the diocese of Lincoln, nor is it based on such a wide range of sources. In particular, it has not been possible to include those parishes which were situated in the rural deanery of Hereford, a peculiar jurisdiction of the dean of Hereford. Nevertheless, the patrons of 281 parochial benefices in the diocese, including all those listed in the *Taxatio*, have been identified.

¹ Donaldson, *thesis* 1, pp 170-3.

² The survey has been based on the following sources: *Taxatio*; Bacon, *Liber Regis*; *Reg Cantilupe*; *Reg Swinfield*; *Reg Orleton*; *Reg T Charlton*; *Reg Trillek*.

Analysis of the figures provided by these surveys of patronage in the dioceses of Durham and Hereford afford some striking contrasts with the position in the diocese of Lincoln. The proportion of patronage in the

TABLE 3.2

Relative Shares of Patronage in the
Dioceses of Hereford, Lincoln and Durham

TYPE OF PATRON	HEREFORD	LINCOLN	DURHAM
<i>Secular Religious</i>			
Bishops	5%	2%	31%
Cathedrals	4%	6%	-
Other Seculars	2%	1%	7%
<i>Regular Religious</i>			
Benedictines	11%	12%	23%
Alien Monasteries	9%	6%	-
Cluniacs	3%	3%	-
Cistercians	1%	1%	-
Augustinians	17%	19%	13%
Premonstratensians	-	2%	8%
Gilbertines	-	4%	-
Nunneries	2%	6%	-
Hospitallers	3%	3%	-
<i>Laiety</i>			
All Lay Patrons	43%	35%	17%

hands of the secular clergy was lowest in the diocese of Lincoln (9 per cent), slightly higher in that of Hereford (11 per cent) but considerably greater in the diocese of Durham where the seculars had nearly two-fifths of the advowsons. This was due almost entirely to the domination by the bishop of Durham of the patronage of his diocese, in which he held 34

advowsons.¹ The share held by the regular clergy was similar in the dioceses of Hereford (46 per cent) and Durham (44 per cent) but notably higher in Lincoln (56 per cent). Among the regulars, the Benedictine and Augustinian houses were predominant, particularly the Benedictines in Durham (where the cathedral priory held 22 advowsons) and the Augustinians in Lincoln. The alien priories were especially strong in the diocese of Hereford where the abbeys of Cormeilles and Lyre and the priory of Monmouth (dependent on St Florent, Saumur) between them held 22 advowsons.² In the diocese of Durham, a significant proportion was held by Premonstratensian houses, notably Alnwick and Blanchland. It is, however, the contrast in the share of patronage held by the laity in these three dioceses which is particularly remarkable. As has been noted, lay patrons held just over one-third of advowsons in the diocese of Lincoln. The position was very different in Durham where only 17 per cent of the patronage was held by the laity; Dr Donaldson's suggestion that this situation was exceptional is certainly confirmed by the evidence of this survey. In complete contrast, the laity held 43 per cent of

¹ Donaldson, *thesis*, i, pp 191-4. The proportion held by seculars in the diocese of Hereford would have been higher had it been possible to include benefices in the deanery of Hereford, but only marginally so.

² A T Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London, 1924), pp 132-3.

advowsons in the diocese of Hereford. They were particularly strong in the archdeaconry of Shropshire, where in four out of the five rural deaneries, lay patrons were in a majority.¹

Ecclesiastical Patrons

Of the patronage held by the secular clergy in the diocese of Lincoln, nearly a quarter was in the hands of bishops. Of these, the bishop of Lincoln was naturally pre-eminent, with 28 advowsons, an individual total exceeded only, among all patrons, by the prior of the Hospitallers (64½), Leicester abbey (41) and the Crown (37½). The bishop of Carlisle had three advowsons in the diocese, centred on his manor of Horncastle, and the bishops of Ely and Winchester had four each. By far the largest share of patronage among the secular clergy, however, was that held by cathedral deans, chapters, dignitaries and prebendaries (64 per cent). Lincoln, of course, accounted for most of these advowsons: the dean and chapter corporately held 21, the precentor held 17, and 45 of the prebendaries held

¹ Donaldson, *thesis*, i, p 170. The figures for lay (31%) and ecclesiastical (69%) patronage in the archdeaconries of Cleveland and the East Riding (calculated from Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland and the East Riding*, pp 2-3, 12) are similar to those for the diocese of Lincoln, although had Dr Robinson been able to include the parishes in the peculiar jurisdictions of York Minster, the proportion of lay patrons would have been somewhat lower.

between them 55 advowsons.¹ Among members of other cathedral foundations who held patronage in the diocese of Lincoln, the two prebendaries of Grantham Borealis and Grantham Australis in Salisbury had ten advowsons in the Grantham area.

Among the remaining patrons in this category, there was a group of eight hospitals holding a total of thirteen advowsons. Five of these hospitals were situated in the diocese, including Burton Lazars, with four advowsons, and St John, Northampton, with three. Those outside the diocese were St Leonard, York (patron of Althorpe), Bolton in Northumberland (patron of Stroxtan) and, even further afield, the hospital of Mont Cenis in Savoy, patron of Wootton in Oxfordshire.² Only two secular colleges held advowsons in the diocese: St Peter, Kirby Bellars, with one, and Merton College, Oxford, with four, but such colleges were in 1320 entering a period of expansion.³ Among the

¹ The prebendary of Carlton cum Thurlby had four advowsons, those of North Kelsey and Sanctae Crucis had three each, seven other prebendaries had two each and the remainder one or a portion of one. The following prebendaries held no advowsons in the diocese: Bedford Minor, Langford Manor, Leighton Manor, Marston St Lawrence, Thorngate, three of the Nottinghamshire prebendaries (Clifton, Farndon and South Scarle) and those holding the three prebends endowed with sums of money (Decem Librarum, Centum Solidorum and Sexaginta Solidorum): *Le Neve Fasti 1066-1300* 111).

² *VCH Oxon* xi, p 279.

³ See above, pp 116-17.

various other secular clergy holding advowsons, it is perhaps worthy of note that the church of Iffley in Oxfordshire was the only one in the diocese which was in the patronage of an archdeacon (the archdeacon of Oxford, to whom the church was appropriated).

The patronage held by the regular clergy was principally dominated by houses of the Benedictine and Augustinian orders. The houses of Augustinian canons held nearly one fifth of the advowsons in the whole diocese and the proportion was higher still in the archdeaconries of Oxford (25 per cent), Leicester (28 per cent) and Bedford (33 per cent). These figures illustrate the strong local patronage of particular houses: Osney and St Frideswide's in Oxfordshire, Leicester and Launde in Leicestershire and Dunstable and Newnham in Bedfordshire. Between them, these six houses held 129½ advowsons, representing 35 per cent of Augustinian patronage; among them, the abbey of Leicester in particular was outstanding, with 41 benefices in its gift.¹ There were at this date

¹ For the advowsons of Leicester Abbey, see A Hamilton Thompson, *The Abbey of St Mary of the Meadows, Leicester* (Leicester, 1949). For the possession of churches by Augustinian houses, see J C Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp 229-30.

41 Augustinian houses in the diocese,¹ of which all except five (Bradley, Broke, Bushmead, Stonely and Ulverscroft) held advowsons.² In addition, 28 such houses in other dioceses presented to livings in the diocese of Lincoln, notably the priory of Merton in Surrey, with the patronage of 16 benefices. The great majority of these extra-diocesan houses were situated in counties contiguous to the diocese of Lincoln; those further afield included Combwell, Leeds and Lesnes in Kent, Lilleshall in Shropshire, Norton in Cheshire and Newburgh in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

The houses of the Benedictine order formed the other group of regular clergy holding extensive advowsons in the diocese of Lincoln, amounting to 12 per cent of the total. Their livings were especially concentrated in the fenland areas where many benefices were in the gift of the great Benedictine monasteries of that region: Peterborough, Crowland, Ramsey, Spalding and Thorney. These five houses together held 43 per cent of Benedictine patronage in the diocese. The only other houses

¹ Figure calculated from Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*; the total includes Ashridge, a house of the order of Bonshommes.

² Ulverscroft acquired Syston (Lincs) in 1323 (see above, p 116 note 2) and subsequently Bunny (Notts) in 1345 (see A Cameron, 'Bunny's First Vicarage', *Trans Thoroton Soc* 86 (1982), 67). The church of Kimbolton was appropriated to Stonely in 1366 (*VCH Hunts* 1, p 396).

of the order to hold such patronage to a significant extent were the abbeys of Bardney in Lincolnshire and Eynsham in Oxfordshire.¹ Among the 17 houses of Benedictine monks in the diocese at this date, five held no advowsons, although of these only Snelshall in Buckinghamshire was a completely independent house.² A majority of Benedictine patrons (23 houses) were situated outside the diocese of Lincoln and these accounted for 35 per cent of the advowsons held by the order in the diocese. In particular, the abbeys of Thorney, Westminster and St Albans each presented to 11 livings. As with the Augustinian canons, most of these extra-diocesan houses were situated in counties adjacent to the diocese; those more distant included Durham, Chester, Evesham and the Lancashire priories of Lytham and Upholland.

The full extent of Benedictine patronage was greater than these figures suggest, in that the great majority of alien houses (25 out of 34) holding advowsons in the diocese also belonged to that order. The other orders represented among these houses were Cistercian, Premonstratensian, Augustinian and Cluniac, each with two houses, and one house (the priory of Clarus Rivas)

¹ A Hamilton Thompson, 'Notes on the History of Bardney Abbey', *AASRP* 32 (1913), 51-76.

² The others were Freiston (a cell of Crowland), St Leonard Stamford (Durham) and the 'colleges' of Durham and Gloucester in Oxford.

belonging to the order of Fontevrault. Altogether, these houses had the patronage of 108½ livings (5.6 per cent of the total), fairly evenly distributed through the diocese. Ten of the alien priories were English dependencies of foreign houses; of the overseas priories, nearly all were situated in Normandy.¹ The houses with the greatest patronage were St Evroul (13 advowsons), Beauport (9), St Fromond (7), Grestein (6) and, of the English dependencies, St Neots (12) and Tickford (6).

A further source of Benedictine patronage lay in the advowsons held by nunneries. Of the 37 houses of nuns holding advowsons in the diocese, nearly half (17) were Benedictine and these together had in their gift 55 per cent of the benefices in this category. The other orders of nuns holding advowsons were the Cistercian (11 houses), Augustinian (6), Cluniac, Premonstratensian and Franciscan (one each).² Throughout the diocese, the proportion of benefices in the gift of nunneries was 5.8 per cent; it was significantly higher in the archdeaconry of Bedford (13.5 per cent), due to a large extent to the 15 advowsons held locally by the

¹ Only St Nicholas Angers, Beauport, Beauvais and Cluny lay outside that region. See also D Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), pp 13-14.

² For Cistercian houses, see, however, S Thompson, 'The Problem of the Cistercian Nuns' in *Medieval Women*, ed D Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp 227-52.

abbey of Elstow. Together with Elstow, the nunneries of Stainfield and Stixwold (8 each), St Michael by Stamford (7), Godstow and Delapré (6 each) were between them endowed with 45 per cent of the benefices in the gift of houses of nuns. Only five nunneries in the diocese held no advowsons: Ankerwyke, Hinchbrooke, Ivinghoe and Rowney (all Benedictine) and Rothwell (Augustinian).¹ Ten of the nunneries holding advowsons were situated outside the diocese, including the priory of Nuneaton with five livings in its gift.

Overall, houses belonging to the Benedictine and Augustinian orders (including alien priories and nunneries) held nearly 40 per cent of all advowsons and more than two-thirds of the benefices in the gift of the regular clergy. Although, as has been seen, these houses held relatively high proportions of advowsons in particular areas, their patronage was in general well distributed throughout the diocese. By contrast, the livings in the gift of the other orders - Cluniac, Gilbertine, Premonstratensian and Cistercian - were not only much smaller in number but also tended to be more concentrated geographically. The Cluniac houses held a total of 48 advowsons in the diocese, of which 71 per

¹ Ivinghoe held the advowson of Merrow in Surrey (*VCH Bucks* 1, p 354); Hinchbrooke had held that of St Peter Huntingdon, a church which appears to have fallen into disuse by this date (*VCH Hunts* 11, p 146).

cent were situated in the archdeaconry of Northampton where the priories of Daventry and St Andrew Northampton had between them the presentation to 31 benefices. These were the only two Cluniac priories in the diocese; five other English houses of that order held a total of thirteen advowsons in Lincoln diocese, notably the Nottinghamshire priory of Lenton with seven. The houses belonging to the Cistercian order held very few advowsons - a total of 19½ - suggesting that the order had to some extent succeeded in adhering to its early ideal of renouncing revenues from ecclesiastical sources.¹ Of the fifteen Cistercian houses in the diocese, nearly half (Biddlesden, Bruerne, Garendon, Louth Park, Rewley, Swineshead and Vaudey) held no advowsons at this date;² of the remainder, Kirkstead (with three advowsons), Pipewell (with two and a half), Revesby, Thame and Woburn (each with two) had the bulk of the patronage.

Houses of Premonstratensian canons presented to 38 livings in the diocese. It is perhaps not surprising, in view of the fact that the first English house of the

¹ D Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1966), p 210.

² Swineshead held the advowson of a mediety of Cotgrave, Notts, and Rewley that of St Wendron in Cornwall (*VCH Lincs* ii, p 146; *VCH Oxon* ii, p 82). Louth Park, Bruern and Garendon all subsequently acquired advowsons (*VCH Lincs* ii, p 140; *VCH Oxon* ii, p 80; *VCH Leics* ii, p 6).

order was founded at Newhouse in Lincolnshire, that 63 per cent of these advowsons were situated in that county. Newhouse itself (8 advowsons), Barlings (7), Sulby and Tupholme (6 each) held between them 71 per cent of this Premonstratensian patronage. Of the eight houses of white canons in the diocese of Lincoln, only Newbo had no living in its gift.¹

An even heavier concentration of advowsons in Lincolnshire can be seen in the case of the Gilbertine order, reflecting its origins and growth in that county.² Of the eleven Gilbertine houses holding advowsons in the diocese, all except Chicksands (Bedfordshire) and Malton (Yorkshire) were situated in Lincolnshire; of the 79 benefices in the gift of Gilbertine houses, 84 per cent were in that county. The great majority of these livings were held by the priories of Bullington (14), Sempringham (12), Sixhills (11½), Ormsby (9), Alvingham, Chicksands and St Katherine Lincoln (7 each). Only Clattercote³ and Bridgend, of the houses within the diocese, held no

¹ Newbo, however, held Acaster Malbis (Yorks) and Kneeton (Notts) outside the diocese and acquired Northorpe (Lincs) in 1379 (Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, p 165; *VCH Lincs* ii, p 208).

² *The Book of St Gilbert*, ed R Foreville and G Keir (Oxford, 1987), pp xxvi-xxx.

³ Clattercote acquired the advowson of Ratley (Warwicks) in 1343 (*VCH Oxon* ii, p 105).

advowsons.

In complete contrast to the geographically concentrated benefices in the gift of the houses of the Gilbertine order were the advowsons held by the prior of the Knights Hospitallers, who enjoyed the most substantial patronage (64½ advowsons) of any one patron, either ecclesiastical or lay, in the diocese. These advowsons were scattered widely throughout the diocese, and examples could be found in more than half (37) of the rural deaneries. Although it was the prior of the Hospitallers in England who actually presented to the livings, there were preceptories of the order, situated in all the archdeaconries of the diocese, for the local administration of their possessions, both temporal and spiritual: these included Melchbourne (Bedford), Hogshaw (Buckingham), Temple Dinsley (Huntingdon), Rothley, Dalby (Leicester), Eagle, Temple Bruer, Maltby (Lincoln), Dingley (Northampton), Clanfield, Sandford (Oxford) and Willoughton (Stow).¹ The Hospitallers had benefited to a considerable extent from the suppression of their rivals, the Knights Templar, whose possessions in England they had very largely acquired. Nearly half (46 per cent) of the advowsons held in the diocese

¹ *VCH Beds* 1, p 394; *VCH Bucks* 1, p 390; *VCH Herts* iv, p 445; *VCH Leics* ii, pp 31-2; *VCH Lincs* ii, p 211; *VCH Northants* ii, p 142; *VCH Oxon* ii, pp 105-6. See also *The Knights Hospitallers in England*, ed L B Larking (Camden Society Old Series 65, 1855).

by the Hospitallers had formerly belonged to the Templars; in Lincolnshire, in particular, such advowsons constituted over 80 per cent of the total held by the order.¹

Lay Patrons

Lay patrons can be divided into the three categories of Crown, nobility and gentry. While there is obviously no difficulty in identifying the first of these categories, the other two present some problems. The period 1300-1485 saw the gradual emergence of the peerage as a definite class, sharply distinguished from the gentry by their personal summons to parliament. But in 1320 this development had scarcely begun; nobility was still dependent on the tenure of sufficient landed wealth. At this date, the term 'baron' held two entirely different meanings: on the one hand there were those who held one of the ancient, and rapidly disintegrating, feudal baronies, and on the other hand there were those whose landed status was recognised by a personal summons to parliament.² For the purpose of the present survey of patrons of

¹ There were, however, occasional difficulties in establishing possession, including disputes over the advowsons of Broadwell in Oxfordshire (with Hugh le Despenser in 1324) and of Rothley (with the Crown in 1329): App 1725-6; CPR 1327-30, p 387.

² K B McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), pp 122-5, 268-78; I J Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960); GEC, *passim*

parochial benefices, those holding either or both of these qualifications have been placed in the category 'nobility', the remainder of the lay patrons making up the category 'gentry'. While it must be acknowledged that this categorisation would have held little meaning in the early fourteenth century, it nevertheless provides a fairly reliable means of distinguishing between the greater and the smaller landowners among these patrons.

Using these three categories, out of the 671½ livings over the whole diocese which were in the gift of lay patrons in 1320, 6 per cent of advowsons were held by the Crown, 34 per cent by the nobility and 60 per cent by the gentry. These proportions were matched most closely in the archdeaconry of Northampton. Elsewhere, however, the share of the Crown fell to 1 per cent in the archdeaconries of Buckingham and Leicester and rose considerably higher than average in the archdeaconries of Huntingdon (12 per cent), Oxford (13 per cent) and Stow (15 per cent). In addition, it must be emphasised that these figures do not reflect the true extent of the patronage of the Crown, which was much increased by 'occasional' presentations.¹ The proportion of advowsons held by the nobility was highest in the archdeaconries of Huntingdon (41 per cent) and Leicester

¹ See below, p 225.

(39 per cent) and lowest in those of Oxford (21 per cent) and Stow (24 per cent). In all archdeaconsries save one, the share of the gentry fell within the range 58-66 per cent, the sole exception being the archdeaconry of Huntingdon (47 per cent). This is not the place to enter into the controversy concerning the position of smaller landowners in the later thirteenth century, but it may be observed that these figures for the holding of advowsons do not appear to indicate any large-scale transfer of patronage from the smaller to the greater landowners, such as has been suggested to have occurred in thirteenth-century Yorkshire.¹

The 229 livings in the patronage of the nobility were in the gift of 93 different patrons of whom seven were earls, 56 were parliamentary barons and 30 were the holders of feudal baronies (or portions of such baronies). On average, therefore, each patron in this category held nearly 2½ advowsons. The earls, however, held between them a total of 38 advowsons (an average of 5.43 each). The parliamentary barons held on average 2.53 advowsons, a figure very close to the

¹ J E Newman, 'Greater and lesser landowners and parochial patronage: Yorkshire in the thirteenth century', *EHR* 92 (1977), 303-7. For the economic position of smaller landowners, see G Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire* (History of Lincolnshire Vol 4, 1985), pp 30-6; for a different view, see D A Carpenter, 'Was there a crisis of the knightly class in the thirteenth century? The Oxfordshire evidence', *EHR* 95 (1980), 721-752.

overall average for this category, but those holding feudal baronies had on average only 1.64 livings in their gift. Even allowing for the fact that some of the more substantial feudal barons received a personal summons to parliament and have in consequence been included with the parliamentary barons, these figures illustrate the disintegration of feudal baronies during this period. The results of this trend can be seen in the advowson of the 'Geldable' mediety of Houghton Conquest, which was shared by John de Pateshull, John Pygot and Richard le Rous, each holding one-ninth of the barony of Bedford.¹

It is no surprise, therefore, to find that, of the twelve noble patrons who held five or more advowsons, all save two were earls or parliamentary barons. The two exceptions were Isabel de Beaumont, lady Vescy, who held seven advowsons centred on her barony of Thoresway in Lincolnshire; and Henry Hillary, the second husband of Joan Marmion, whose five advowsons were all situated in the Lincolnshire deanery of Horncastle. By far the largest individual total, however, was that of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who held 18 advowsons spread over 14 deaneries. More than half of these livings were in Lincolnshire, with a group of five in Northamptonshire

¹ Sanders, *op cit*, pp 11-12. Rous presented in 1307, Pygot in 1323 and Pateshull in 1331 (Reg 2 fo 259v; App 1985, 2060).

(mainly around Higham Ferrers) and two more in Leicestershire.¹ The next highest total was that of John de Willoughby of Eresby with 9½ advowsons of which all but one were in Lincolnshire (and seven of those were situated in the neighbouring deaneries of Calcewaith and Candleshoe). John de Hastings and William de Ros of Hamlake each held eight advowsons, fairly widely spread over the diocese. Five patrons in this category held six advowsons each (Robert de Holand, Paulinus Peyvre, John de Segrave, the earl of Warwick and Robert de Welle); those of John de Segrave were all situated in Leicestershire and those of Robert de Welle in Lincolnshire.

Turning to the remaining category of lay patrons, the gentry, there were in 1320 375 such patrons holding a total of 405 advowsons, an average of 1.08 each. Exactly two-thirds (250) of these patrons conformed to the average, holding a single advowson, while only 61 patrons (16 per cent) had more than one living in their gift. Among these, the highest totals were the four advowsons held by John Bek of Lusby and by William Trussell of Cublesdon in Staffordshire. Thomas de Multon of Frampton held three advowsons with a portion of a fourth. Six patrons in this category (John de

¹ This geographical distribution reflected the concentration of Lancaster's estates in the north midlands: see Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p 10.

Boyvill, Richard de Buslingthorp, Roger de Cobeldyk, Joan widow of Guy Fitzwith, Simon de Southormesby and Nicholas de Leek) held three advowsons, another three (Thomas de Brayboeuf, Walter Langeton and Roger de Tyringham) holding two plus a portion of a third. A larger group (38 patrons) held two advowsons, with a further eleven holding one advowson and a portion of a second.

Because of the large number of patrons in this category, those of the gentry who held advowsons in the archdeaconries of Bedford and Buckingham have been chosen as a sample for more detailed study. The statistics for these archdeaconries (68 patrons holding 69 advowsons) show a similar average to those for the diocese as a whole. But the lands and influence of these patrons were not merely local. As well as the six patrons holding two advowsons in this area,¹ there were eight who also held an advowson elsewhere in the diocese: Philip de Aillesbury (Rousham), Laurence de Ayeta (Ayot St Lawrence), Miles de Beauchamp (Croughton), Robert Kynne (Maidford), Henry de la Leye (Easton Mauduit), Thomas de Reynes (Stathern), Peter de Saltmarsh (Orton Longueville) and Roger de Tyringham

¹ The six were: Gerard de Braybrook (Colmworth, Horsenden), John Fermbaud (Bow Brickhill, Holcot), John Neirnuyt (Pitstone, Fleet Marston), John de Nowers (Gayhurst, Stoke Goldington), John de Pabenham (Farndish, Wilden) and Roger de Tyringham (Emberton, Tyringham).

(West Barkwith). Another twelve of these Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire patrons had lands or family connections elsewhere: Richard de Beauchamp, patron of Hawridge (Holt, Worcestershire); William de Bermyngham, of Hoggston (Birmingham and Edgbaston); Joan widow of William de Chamberlain, of Petsoe (North Reston, Lincolnshire); Simon de Daventry, of Bradenham (Daventry, Northamptonshire); Philip de Englefield, of Edgcott (Englefield, Berkshire); William le Engleys, of Shelton (Great Strickland, Westmorland); John Filliol, of North Crawley (Kelvedon, Essex); Desiderata de Lucy, of Cublington (whose son was patron of Slapton, Northamptonshire); John Malory, of Holwell (Welton in Northamptonshire); Roger de Nowers, of Wymington (Churchill, Oxfordshire); John de Olney, of Haversham (Claybrooke, Leicestershire) and Richard de Vernon, of Pitchcott (Staffordshire).¹

All but two of the advowsons in this sample (the exceptions were Preston Bissett and Dorney) were held as appendant to a manor, though this was not necessarily the only or even the principal manor of the

¹ GEC ii, p 45 (Beauchamp); CCR 1318-23, pp 630-1 (Bermyngham); VCH Bucks iv, p 340 (Chamberlain); VCH Bucks iii, p 35 (Daventry); VCH Bucks iv, p 169 (Englefield); W Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees* (3 vols, London and Manchester, 1923-5) ii, p 373 (Engleys); CIPM vi, p 19 (Filliol); Baker i, p 130 (Lucy); *ibid* i, p 458 (Malory); M Bassett, *Knights of the Shire for Bedfordshire* (BHRS 29, 1949), p 69 (Nowers); G F Farnham, 'Claybrooke: the descent of the manor', *TLAS* 12 (1921-22), 201-11 (Olney); *PW*, p 1560 (Vernon).

village.¹ At Clifton in Bedfordshire, besides the manor held by Henry de Spigurnel, to which the advowson belonged, there were two other manors held by Henry de Lacy and the prior of the Hospitaliers. The advowson of Pitstone was appendant to the Neyrnuit manor, in addition to which there were in that village three other manors, held by the college of Ashridge, Marina de Baseville and John de Erle.² There were nevertheless many examples of advowsons held of a sole manor, among them Lillingstone Dayrell, Hoggston and Horsenden in Buckinghamshire, and Battlesden and Holwell in Bedfordshire.³

Of the 68 patrons in this sample, 55 were men holding in their own right. A further eight were men holding in right of their wives. Four of these held as a first husband, where the advowson would descend to any issue of the marriage: John de Wheathampstead (Horton), Ralph de Wedon (Drayton Beauchamp), Guy Breton (Ickford) and William de Mokelestone (Woughton on the Green). The other four held as a subsequent husband, with a life interest only: Philip de Hardreshull

¹ *VCH Bucks* iii, p 225; iv, p 219; H W Cripps, *The Law relating to the Church and Clergy* (6th edn, London, 1886), p 449. A similar position existed in the diocese of Durham: Donaldson, *thesis* 1, pp 262-3.

² *VCH Beds* ii, pp 276-7; *VCH Bucks* iii, pp 407-9.

³ *VCH Bucks* ii, pp 253-4; iii, pp 369-70; iv, pp 188-9; *VCH Beds* ii, p 286; iii, pp 343-4.

(Beachampton), Robert Kynne (Foxcote), John de Olney (Haversham) and Peter de Saltmarsh (Colmworth).¹ One patron in the sample appears to have held by reason of a grant for life (William le Engleys, who held a one-third share in the advowson of Shelton).²

Four of the patrons in the sample were women, forming a proportion of 6 per cent in these two archdeaconries. In the whole diocese, the overall proportion of women patrons in the gentry category was somewhat higher (9 per cent) and it was higher still among the nobility (12 per cent). Of the four women patrons in the sample, one, Isabel widow of Thomas de la Dale, held the advowson of Little Barford in her own right, as heiress of the Layham family. The other three women were all widows holding advowsons in dower: Desiderata widow of Geoffrey de Lucy (Cublinton), Amice widow of John Druel (Newton Blossomville) and Joan widow of William Chamberlain (Petsoe).³

The category of 'gentry' is a very broad, as well as a large, one, and therefore an attempt has been made to discover further details about these patrons, and in

¹ *VCH Bucks* iii, pp 282, 341; iv, pp 61, 516; *ibid*, iv, pp 150, 171, 368; *VCH Hunts* iii, p 191.

² *VCH Beds* iii, p 162.

³ *VCH Beds* ii, p 207; *VCH Bucks* iii, p 339; iv, pp 340, 423.

particular about those making up the sample discussed above. A considerable proportion (nearly two-thirds) of the patrons in the sample were involved in some way in local administration. Two men were especially prominent in this area, Philip de Aillesbury and Roger de Tyringham. Both held office as sheriff for the two counties, both were returned to parliament as knights of the shire, were appointed to the commission of the peace, and acted as commissioners of array and collectors of taxes.¹ Others in this sample who held office as sheriff were John de Pabenham and Thomas Fermbaud; another three (John Conquest, Reginald de Hamden and Roger Peyvre) acted as coroner.² In all, eighteen of these patrons were returned to parliament as knights of the shire, and four others (John de Olney, Peter de Saltmarsh, William le Engleys and Roger de Nowers) were returned as such for other counties.³ Eleven of the patrons served as commissioners of array and twelve as collectors of taxes.

Over two-fifths (28) of the patrons in the sample were

¹ PW 427-8, 1513-14. For the importance of office holding in the local community, see N Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp 106-167.

² Bassett, *Knights of the Shire*, pp 38, 71-2, 76; PW 713, 969. Robert Kynne acted as a coroner in Northants (CCR 1318-23, 68) and Laurence de Brok was elected to that office in Herts but did not act (CCR 1313-18, 29).

³ PW 815, 1228-9, 1245, 1393, and *passim*

summoned for military service against the Scots in 1322. Four (Laurence de Brok, John Conquest, John Neirnuyt and Roger Tyringham) were exempted because of age or infirmity, while Matthew de la Vache, patron of Shenley, was excused as being "an esquire but unaccustomed to arms".¹ At least three of the patrons (William de Bermyngham, Hugh Bossard and Peter de Saltmarsh) fought at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322; and Richard de Chastillon and John de Olney were among those commissioned to pursue and arrest rebels after the battle. Only one of the patrons, William le Engleys, who was a member of the retinue of Roger de Clifford, has been identified as being among the rebels in 1322; he was evidently not considered to be much of a threat, being pardoned later the same year and in 1323 went overseas on the king's service.²

It was not only at Boroughbridge that patrons in this sample became involved in the conflicts of Edward II's reign. Peter de Saltmarsh, as a member of the retinue of Henry de Beaumont, was detained in Mitford castle in 1317 as a hostage for his patron following the notorious attack by Gilbert de Middleton on Beaumont, his brother the bishop-elect of Durham, and the two

¹ PW 600, 713, 1216, 1513-14, 1544.

² PW 543-4, 566, 1393; *ibid*, 662; CPR 1321-4, 81; *ibid*, 20, 193, 345.

papal envoys, Cardinals Gaucelin and Luke.¹ John de Morteyn of Marston Moretaine was an adherent of the Despensers and, perhaps as a result of this, was granted permission in 1326 to ride with an armed guard. Roger de Nowers, on the other hand, appears to have been an ally of Queen Isabella and Mortimer.²

In view of the civil strife which marked this period, it is perhaps not surprising to find accusations of violent behaviour recorded against some of the patrons in the sample. These included Gerard de Braybrook (trespass, kidnapping), Thomas de Luton (breaking into the queen's park), Roger Peyvre (assault) and Roger de Nowers (assault resulting in the death of a coroner in Oxfordshire).³ Perhaps the most turbulent was Hugh Bossard, patron of Knotting, who was indicted on at least three occasions for acts of violence with a gang. In 1323 an inquiry was ordered into an alleged assault and theft at Pabenham by a gang said to include no fewer than five patrons from the sample: John de

¹ CCR 1313-18, p 532; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 205-6; Sir Arthur E Middleton, *Sir Gilbert de Middleton: and the Part He Took in the Rebellion in the North of England in 1317* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1918), pp 28-30, 46.

² Bassett, *Knights of the Shire*, pp 66-70.

³ K S Naughton, *The Gentry of Bedfordshire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Department of English Local History, University of Leicester: Occasional Papers Third Series 2, 1976), p 77; CPR 1321-4, p 371; Bassett, *op cit*, p 70.

Pabenham, Hugh Bossard, John Conquest, Henry de la Legh and John de Ardres.' In the face of this picture of lawlessness, it should be recorded that two of the patrons in these counties were royal justices: Henry Spigurnel (patron of Clifton), a Justice of King's Bench from 1307-23, and John de Foxley (patron of Saunderton St Nicholas), a Baron of the Exchequer from 1309-22.²

It is important to set this survey of patronage in its historical perspective. The great number of grants of churches by the laity to ecclesiastical institutions during the twelfth century has already been noted.³ To what extent had the situation changed between the early thirteenth century and 1320? The evidence for the present survey has been largely drawn from episcopal registers, a class of record which, although pioneered in the diocese of Lincoln, was still in its infancy in

¹ Bassett, *op cit*, pp 17-18; *CPR 1321-4*, p 318. For the activities of a notorious criminal gang during this period, see E L G Stones, 'The Folvilles of Ashby Folville, Leicestershire, and their Associates in Crime', *TRHS Fifth Series*, 7 (1957), 117-136.

² T F Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914), pp 342, 374. It is worthy of note that during the period 1320-1323 all three Justices of King's Bench were patrons of livings in the diocese of Lincoln: Henry le Scrope (Medbourne), Robert de Mablethorpe (Maltby le Marsh) and Henry Spigurnel: *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench, Vol I*, ed G O Sayles (Selden Society 55, 1936), p cxxxiv.

³ See above, pp 113-14.

1220.¹ Fortunately, for one part of the diocese it is possible to make a direct comparison of patrons in the time of Hugh of Wells with those in the episcopate of Henry Burghersh. The so-called *matriculus* of the archdeaconry of Leicester provides evidence of patronage in about 1233 for 207 livings in the archdeaconry for which equivalent evidence is available in 1320.²

Table 3.3

Patronage in the Archdeaconry
of Leicester, c1233 - 1320

TYPE OF PATRON	c1233	1320
<i>Secular Religious</i>		
Bishops	1.5%	0.5%
Cathedrals	0.5%	1.0%
Other Seculars	1.0%	1.5%
<i>Regular Religious</i>		
Benedictines	6.0%	7.5%
Alien Monasteries	10.0%	7.5%
Cluniacs	3.0%	3.0%
Cistercians	1.0%	1.0%
Augustinians	30.5%	28.0%
Premonstratensians	2.5%	2.5%
Gilbertines	1.5%	1.5%
Nunneries	4.0%	5.0%
Hospitallers	2.5%	3.0%
<i>Laity</i>		
All Lay Patrons	36.0%	37.0%

¹ D M Smith, 'The Rolls of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln 1209-35', *BIHR* 45 (1972), 155-95.

² The *matriculus* is printed in *Rot Hugh de Welles* i, pp 238-79. For a discussion of its date, see D M Smith, *art cit*, 182-4.

The figures set out in Table 3.3 indicate that the overall pattern had changed very little between the two surveys, although in certain individual categories some minor changes are noticeable. Thus although the shares of seculars, regulars and laity remained almost the same, the two groups with the largest patronage in c1233 (the Augustinians and the alien monasteries) both lost advowsons while other groups, such as the Benedictines and the nunneries, made small gains. It is of particular interest to note that, in sharp contrast to the trend in the twelfth century, there was a slight movement away from ecclesiastical and towards lay patronage. A total of ten advowsons reverted into lay patronage between these two dates: four from Tutbury priory (Coston, Edmundthorpe, Stapleford and Wymondham), two from Leicester (Wanlip and Church Langton) and others from the houses of Kirkham (Cold Overton), Owston (Medbourne), Canwell (Ragdale) and Chacombe (Frolesworth).¹ Against these could be set only a thin trickle of grants of advowsons to religious houses: Belton to Grace Dieu, Whitwick to Upholland, Kirby Bellars to the chapel of St Peter founded there, South Kilworth to Sulby, Appleby to Wyham. All these changes, however, had only a marginal effect on the overall situation: the basic continuity is underlined by the fact that the patronage of 189 livings in the

¹ For Wanlip and Church Langton, see Hamilton Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp 157, 200-1.

archdeaconry (91 per cent) was unchanged, including 119 remaining in the gift of the same religious houses and, among the laity, 24 remaining in the gift of the same families.

The advowsons held by different categories of patron have been analysed according to the same value groups used in Table 2.3 above; the results of this analysis are shown in Table 3.4. The wealth of parochial benefices was naturally affected by the extent of appropriation and so the percentage of appropriated livings for each category of patron has also been

Table 3.4

Patronage and Value
of Benefices in 1320

TYPE OF PATRON (%)	NA	£4+	£7+	£10+	£15+	£30+	Appr
<i>Secular Religious</i>	46	23	5	15	8	3	64
Bishops	3	24	7	38	12	12	-
Chapters	60	23	4	7	6	-	87
Other Seculars	46	25	4	17	8	-	64
<i>Regular Religious</i>	44	23	10	11	10	2	53
Benedictines	23	24	14	14	18	6	34
Alien Monasteries	23	23	17	17	17	3	29
Cluniacs	56	15	4	15	6	4	56
Cistercians	55	25	10	-	10	-	50
Augustinians	53	21	9	9	8	-	60
Premonstratensians	66	13	8	10	3	-	66
Gilbertines	66	20	3	4	4	3	82
Nunneries	55	27	7	6	5	-	74
Hospitallers	33	42	9	11	5	-	43
<i>Laity</i>	10	26	20	18	19	6	-
Crown	8	16	26	18	18	14	-
Nobility	4	18	19	23	25	11	-
Gentry	14	31	21	16	15	3	-

included. Some important contrasts emerge from this analysis. Nearly half of the benefices in the gift of ecclesiastical patrons were too poor to be assessed for the tenth in 1291, whereas only 10 per cent of benefices to which lay patrons presented fell into this category. Among the ecclesiastical patrons, all except the bishops, the Benedictine houses and the alien monasteries had more than a quarter of their livings not assessed. More than half of the livings in the gift of cathedral foundations, of Cluniac, Cistercian and Augustinian houses and of nunneries were not assessed, and in the case of the Premonstratensian and Gilbertine houses, this proportion rose as high as two-thirds.

To a large extent, this widespread poverty was a direct reflection of a high degree of appropriation; where appropriation was at a lower level, as with the Benedictine and alien houses, or non-existent, as in the case of the livings in the gift of the bishops, the wealth of benefices rose accordingly. In respect of the bishops, in particular, 62 per cent of livings were assessed at more than £10. A similar effect can be observed with the benefices in lay patronage, which were unaffected by appropriation; the proportion of benefices assessed at more than £10 was 50 per cent for Crown livings and 59 per cent for those in the gift of the nobility. It was these three categories - the

bishops, Crown and nobility - which had the largest share of patronage among the most highly valued benefices, those assessed at more than £30.

SHARED ADVOWSONS

By the end of the thirteenth century the practice of dividing churches into portions whenever an estate was split up had been considerably circumscribed. While existing portions were, as has been seen, permitted to continue,¹ the creation of new ones appears to have ceased. This meant that when an advowson descended to two or more co-heirs, some means of sharing the right of patronage had to be worked out.

The splitting up of advowsons in this manner was a regular, if not particularly widespread, occurrence. The years immediately preceding the episcopate of Henry Burghersh had seen the division between co-heiresses of the advowsons of Marholm in Northamptonshire (on the death of Isabel, widow of Reginald de Waterville, after 1314), of Market Bosworth (on the death of Theobald de Verdon in 1316) and of Throcking in Hertfordshire (on the death of John de Argentein in 1318).² In 1320,

¹ See above, pp 130-5.

² *VCH Northants* ii, p 500; Reg 2 fo 126 (Marholm); A Hamilton Thompson and G F Farnham, 'Market Bosworth', *TLAS* 15 (1927-28), 119 (Market Bosworth); *VCH Herts* iv, pp 111-12 (Throcking).

there were 49 benefices in the diocese which were in the gift of more than one patron. Only eight and a half of these benefices were in ecclesiastical patronage, the remainder being divided between the Crown (½), the nobility (8) and the gentry (32). The great majority of these advowsons (36) were shared between two patrons; there were also six livings with three patrons, five with four patrons and two with as many as five patrons each. Multiple patronage naturally posed a problem when a vacancy occurred in the living and it became necessary to make a presentation. This problem was met in one of two ways: by joint or by alternate presentation.

Despite the practical difficulties involved, joint presentation was practised in ten of these benefices, including five benefices held by two patrons, one (Dunsthorpe) held by three, two (Hibaldstow and Skegness) held by four and two (Welton and Bassingham) held by five patrons.¹ It is notable that in more than half of the benefices with more than three patrons, joint presentation was favoured; it may have been felt that, where four or five people were involved, a system of presenting in turns would mean an unacceptably long delay for each of the co-patrons

¹ Reg 2 fo 47v (Dunsthorpe); *Reg Ant* ii, pp 146-7 (Hibaldstow); App 454 (Skegness); Reg 2 fo 2v (Welton); Reg 2 fo 15 (Bassingham).

between one presentation and the next. What might actually happen in such a situation can be seen in the case of Market Bosworth, where the holder of the fourth turn had to wait 83 years after the initial division of the advowson before making his first presentation.¹

Of the ten benefices where joint presentation was the custom, a relatively high proportion (4) was in the gift of ecclesiastical patrons; it would seem probable that their greater continuity of tenure made it easier for such patrons to present joint candidates. Inevitably, the greater the number of patrons involved, the more difficult it became to achieve co-operation. Where only two were concerned, as with the church of St Aldate, Oxford, in the gift of Abingdon Abbey and the priory of St Frideswide, joint presentations could be made regularly.² By contrast, when the vicarage of Welton by Lincoln (in the joint gift of the five prebendaries of Welton) became vacant in 1331, only three of the prebendaries joined in the presentation, although the subdean, Walter de Maydenston, claimed to have two votes, one in respect of his prebend of Welton Westhall and another in respect of his dignity.³ The

¹ His second presentation came round comparatively quickly after 47 years, but another 66 years were to elapse before he presented a third time (Reg 13 fo 188; Reg 18 fo 160v; Reg 22 fo 267v). See also below, p 206.

² Reg 2 fo 151v; App 1901.

³ App 291.

church of Bassingham was stated, after a dispute over the advowson in 1305, to have five patrons, representing the families of Staunton, Gousel, Multon, Musters and Middelton, but at the next vacancy in 1319 only three (Staunton, Musters and Ros for Gousel) joined in the presentation.¹

The problems faced by several patrons attempting to agree on a joint candidate did not arise in those benefices where a system of presenting alternately or in turn had been agreed upon. The fact that 38 out of the 49 livings in joint patronage fell into this second category suggests that, in general, patrons found an alternate system to be more satisfactory. It is noteworthy that in two benefices (Throcking and Yelvertoft) joint presentation appears to have been abandoned after a single experiment and to have been replaced by an agreement to present alternately.²

Nevertheless, alternate presentation was not without its problems, notably the apparent difficulty experienced in determining at any vacancy whose turn it was to exercise the right of advowson. During the

¹ Reg 2 fos 15, 80v.

² App 2509, 2664; Reg 9 fo 382v (Throcking); Reg 2 fos 109v, 136; App 1625; Reg 9 fo 207 (Yelvertoft).

episcopate of Henry Burghersh, disputes of this nature arose between co-patrons at Bradden, Great Houghton and Croughton (all in Northamptonshire) and at Shelton in Bedfordshire.¹ Such disputes could usually be settled by reference to the episcopal registers, but often not before resort had been made to legal action. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in many cases, holders of these alternate shares in advowsons presented candidates at every vacancy, to be certain of maintaining their rights. At Great Houghton in 1295, all three co-patrons (representatives of the heiresses of Simon Daubeney) presented candidates at the same vacancy.²

There was a natural tendency, as the years passed, for the shares of a divided advowson to be reunited. If the family holding one share died out without heirs, their turn to the advowson might revert to the descendants of one of the other co-heirs. Alternatively, two shares might be consolidated by marriage or by purchase. The advowson of the 'Geldable' mediety of the church of Houghton Conquest had been divided in 1265 between the three co-heiresses of Ela de Beauchamp, but by 1341 two of the three parts

¹ App 1233, 1400, 1524, 1983.

² *Reg Sutton* 11, pp 133-4.

had become united in the hands of one family.¹ The advowson of Heyford in Northamptonshire was shared between the Bulmer, Lumley and Roseles families, representing the three co-heiresses of Hugh de Morewick. On the death of John de Roseles without heirs in 1305, his share, in accordance with an earlier grant, passed to Roger Lumley whose family thereafter presented at two turns in every three.²

In spite of all the problems involved, however, there were benefices where the co-patrons tenaciously held on to their shares of the advowson, however fragmentary these might be. The church of Bassingham in Lincolnshire continued in multiple patronage for another 300 years. In 1603 there were still four co-patrons presenting jointly, but by 1627-8 the countess of Warwick had inherited one share, had acquired another by marriage, and had purchased the remaining two; she then presented the whole advowson, at last united, to the president and scholars of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.³

¹ Sanders, *English Baronies*, p 11; CPR 1340-3, p 349.

² Baker 1, pp 167, 187.

³ *The State of the Church*, ed C W Foster (LRS 23, 1926), p 306; R E G Cole, 'Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of the Deanery of Graffoe during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *AASRP* 25 (1899-1900), 268.

The advowson of Market Bosworth in Leicestershire provides another illustration of the occasional persistence of these arrangements for shared patronage. On the death of Theobald de Verdon in 1316, the advowson was divided between his four daughters and co-heirs: Isabel wife of Henry de Ferrers, Elizabeth wife of Bartholomew Burghersh, Joan wife of Thomas de Furnivall, and Margery wife of William le Blount. The four patrons subsequently agreed to present to the living alternately, and in that order.¹ Because of the long incumbency of Bertram de Verdon (instituted 1307), it was not until 1361 that William de Ferrers, son of Isabel and Henry, was able to exercise the first turn. He was followed in 1370 by the Crown which had custody of the Burghersh share following the death of Bartholomew, son of Bartholomew and Elizabeth. The third turn was exercised in 1396 by Thomas de Neville in right of his wife Joan, the great-granddaughter and heiress of Thomas de Furnivall. By the time the turn of the Blount representative came around, that share of the advowson had passed, through Margery's third husband John de Crophull, to Walter de Devereux who presented in 1399. The process can be traced, with the advowson passing to all four patrons in turn, through a second and a third cycle and, in 1532, to the beginning

¹ Hamilton Thompson and Farnham, 'Market Bosworth', *TLAS* 15 (1927-28), 119.

of a fourth. The Ferrers share passed, through Elizabeth Ferrers of Groby, to her descendants by her first husband Edward Grey, her grandson being created Marquess Dorset in 1475. The Burghersh share descended from Bartholomew to his daughter Elizabeth (d 1409), wife of Edward Despenser; it was eventually acquired by the Devereux family who thereafter presented at both second and fourth turns. The Furnivall share passed from Thomas Neville to his daughter Maud whose son, John Talbot, was created earl of Shrewsbury in 1442. The share held by Walter Devereux in 1399 passed to his descendant, another Walter, who in 1461 became, in right of his wife, Baron Ferrers of Chartley.¹

PATRONAGE DISPUTES

It has been noted that one of the problems associated with divided patronage was the frequency with which disputes arose between the patrons. When William le Engleys presented to the living of Shelton in Bedfordshire in 1323, his right to do so was contested by William de Cantebrigg, the other patron, who had presented at the previous vacancy. Engleys eventually

¹ GEC v, pp 619-38; Reg 9 fo 377v; Reg 13 fo 201; Reg 22 fo 205v; Reg 27 fo 159v (Ferrers); GEC ii, pp 426-7; Reg 10 fo 249; Reg 14 fo 148; Reg 22 fo 246 (Burghersh); GEC v, pp 770-9; Reg 11 fo 231v; Reg 14 fo 204; Reg 22 fo 252v (Furnivall); GEC ii, p 196; Reg 13 fo 188; Reg 18 fo 160v; Reg 22 fo 267v (Blount/Devereux).

recovered his right of advowson in the king's court and his candidate was instituted.¹ A similar dispute occurred in 1329 over the advowson of Ashley in Northamptonshire, which was shared between the abbot of Pipewell and a lay patron, presenting alternately. Ralph Basset and his wife Joan claimed the right to present, although it was the abbot's turn; the abbot eventually recovered his presentation in the courts.² Disputes of this kind arose regularly and not necessarily over advowsons that were shared. A total of 42 such disputes over the right to present to benefices is recorded in Burghersh's institution register,³ and references to others can be found in the records of the king's courts.

A patron wishing to recover an advowson in the courts could choose between three possible courses of action, depending on the circumstances of the case.⁴ He could bring a proprietary action by a writ of right of

¹ App 1983.

² App 1374; *The Eyre of Northamptonshire 1329-1330* Vol I, ed D W Sutherland (Selden Society 97, 1983), pp 259-61.

³ App 39, 182, 258, 273, 325-6, 390, 394, 416, 442, 447, 455-6, 477, 543, 790-1, 795, 829, 856, 922, 932, 1097-8, 1233, 1284, 1290, 1334, 1341, 1374, 1400, 1452, 1504, 1524, 1756, 1853, 1904, 1983, 2002, 2056, 2203, 2576-7, 2624, 2630, 2633.

⁴ Sir F Pollock and F W Maitland, *The History of English Law before the time of Edward I* (Cambridge, 1895) 11, pp 135-8.

advowson, leading to battle or the grand assize. Such a writ was brought by Thomas fitz Hugh of Staunton against the prior of Lenton over the advowson of Harlestone. The reports of the Northamptonshire Eyre of 1329-30 include detailed accounts of the proceedings leading up to the arrival of the two champions on the field of battle, at which point the parties reached agreement, Thomas acknowledging the advowson to be the right of the prior.¹

Alternatively, a patron whose right to present had been challenged might bring a possessory action such as the assize of darrein presentment. He could employ this action if he, or one from whom he had inherited the advowson, had presented at the last vacancy. When the church of Braceborough became vacant in 1331, candidates were presented both by the hospital of Burton Lazars and by Thomas de Wasteneys. The master and brethren of the hospital, who had presented at the previous vacancy in 1304, successfully brought an assize of darrein presentment against Thomas, and their presentee was duly instituted to the living.² Another such assize was brought in 1341 by Ella widow of William le Botiller of Wem against John le Molyne, in

¹ *The Eyre of Northamptonshire* Vol II (Selden Society 98, 1983), pp 546-61.

² Reg 2 fo 10v; App 325. Thomas de Wasteneys held half a knight's fee in Braceborough: *Feudal Aids* iii, p 211.

respect of the advowson of Weston Turville. Ella said that she had presented at the two previous vacancies, both presentations being made in her own right; she recovered the advowson, despite the fact that Molyne had presented successfully in 1334.¹

A patron who had acquired an advowson otherwise than by inheritance but who had not had any opportunity to present to the living could enforce his right by an action of *Quare impedit*. This could be used where a patron had acquired an advowson by grant, as in the action brought by John de Stonore against the prioress of Marlow in 1339, and also where an advowson was claimed by reason of the custody of the estates of a minor, as at Wrawby (1339) and Reepham (1340).²

Timing was of vital importance in patronage cases. The assize of darrein presentment brought by Ella le Botiller, referred to above, was challenged on the grounds of the length of time which had elapsed since the church had become vacant. Ella was able to show that she and her husband had brought a writ of assize when the church became vacant and that on the

¹ *Year Books, 15 Edward III*, ed L O Pike (Rolls Series, 1891), pp 138-4; App 2342.

² *Year Books, 12 and 13 Edward III*, ed L O Pike (Rolls Series, 1885), pp 260-5; *Year Books, 14 and 15 Edward III*, ed L O Pike (Rolls Series, 1889), pp 256-9.

subsequent death of her husband she had purchased a new writ without delay. In the case of those patrons whose only recourse lay in the action *Quare impedit*, delay could have drastic consequences. If, when a vacancy occurred, a usurper succeeded in presenting a candidate to the living, the true patron had to bring an action within six months, otherwise his right to the advowson was lost permanently.¹

In some disputes, the parties reached agreement between themselves before judgement was given in court. Johnson of Ralph de Kele disputed the patronage of West Keal with Crowland Abbey in 1337, but subsequently revoked his claim, having been convinced "by certain true and manifest evidences" that the right of presentation on this occasion belonged to the abbey. Similarly, at Braden in 1322 and at Campton in 1327, one of the parties involved withdrew.²

Of the 42 disputes concerning advowsons recorded in Burghersh's institution register, 27 were between lay patrons only, 14 between various combinations of lay and ecclesiastical patrons, and only one (Waltham on the Wolds in 1322) where only ecclesiastical patrons

¹ Pollock and Maitland, *The History of English Law* 11, p 138.

² App 543, 1233, 2002.

were involved.¹ This reflects the much greater stability of tenure enjoyed by ecclesiastical patrons; among the laity, where advowsons were inherited, divided among co-heirs or granted to others, the possibility of disputed possession was much greater.

Once a period of six months had passed after a benefice had fallen vacant, if no suitable candidate had been presented, the right of patronage lapsed to the bishop. The regularity with which this occurred can be illustrated by the outcome of the 42 disputes referred to above: in 12 cases, the writ of recovery only is given; in 19, the candidate of the successful party was instituted, while in the other 11 instances the patronage lapsed to the bishop before judgement was given. Where such lapse occurred, however, all was not necessarily lost, for at Waltham on the Wolds in 1322 and at Rushton St Peter in 1328 the bishop collated the living to the presentee of one of the parties to the dispute, while at Cublington in 1323 the bishop's candidate resigned within two months of the collation and the successful patron was able to present his own clerk.²

¹ App 856.

² App 856, 1334, 2203, 2205.

'OCCASIONAL' PATRONAGE

The bishop's right of patronage 'by lapse' is an example of what has been described as 'occasional' or 'accidental' patronage.¹ This can be defined as the presentation of a clerk to a benefice by a third party in place of the true patron, such presentation taking place as a result of particular circumstances. These circumstances might be the action of pope or bishop over-riding the rights of the true patron, or the custody of the patron's estates by a third party (often, though not always, the Crown).²

During the period covered by Burghersh's institution register (1320-1342), 2285 institutions were made to parochial benefices in the diocese of Lincoln. In only 111 instances did institution follow 'occasional' patronage as defined above (see Table 3.5 below). This represents a proportion of less than 5 per cent of all recorded institutions; it emphasises the fact that all

¹ Donaldson, *thesis* i, p 298; Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, p 31.

² The rivalry which existed, during the later middle ages, between the theoretical and practical claims of Pope and Crown to ecclesiastical patronage in England has been examined in detail by J W Gray, 'The *Ius Praesentandi* in England from the Constitutions of Clarendon to Bracton', *EHR* 67 (1952), 481-509; Cheney, *From Becket to Langton*, pp 109-17; Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England*, pp 171-200; A Deeley, 'Papal Provision and Royal Rights of Patronage in the Early Fourteenth Century', *EHR* 43 (1928), 497-527.

but a tiny minority of institutions were of clerks who had been presented by the true patron of the benefice.' Although these figures understate the true extent of occasional patronage, due to the fact that not all papal provisions and Crown presentations are recorded in the register, it is unlikely that the actual proportion was very much higher.

Table 3.5

'Occasional' Patronage, 1320-1342

Papal provisions	7
Bishop, by lapse	29
Bishop, by custody during vacancy	1
Crown, by custody (lay)	33
Crown, by forfeiture	11
Crown, by custody (alien priories)	8
Crown, by custody during vacancy	11
Others, by custody (lay)	11
TOTAL	111

The system of papal provisions had evolved in accordance with the doctrine that the pope had the over-riding power to provide to any benefice. While it is certain that the incidence of these provisions is under-recorded in the episcopal register, they had in any case little effect on parochial benefices. The vast majority of provisions were to cathedral prebends and dignities; even where provisions were made to

' The proportion of occasional patronage is even lower than that calculated by Donaldson for the diocese of Durham 1311-1540; the statistics, however, are not strictly comparable, since Donaldson included presentations to deaneries, canonries and archdeaconries in his total (*thesis* i, pp 270, 307).

parish churches, their scope was limited by the exclusion of benefices in lay patronage.¹ Pope John XXII made 553 direct provisions to English benefices during the period 1320-34, of which only 49 (9 per cent) were to parish churches and rectories. During the papacy of Benedict XII (1334-42) only 9 out of a total of 78 direct provisions were to minor benefices. Although the diocese of Lincoln received the largest number of provisions to parish churches under John XXII, the total over the whole period, if expressed as a proportion of the total number of institutions, is unlikely to have exceeded 2 per cent. Moreover, if the success rate of provisors to parochial benefices was similar to the three out of five which has been calculated for provisions to dignities and prebends in Lincoln cathedral, the proportion would have been lower still.²

As the figures in Table 3.5 demonstrate, the chief beneficiaries of occasional patronage were the diocesan bishop and the Crown. The bishop's right of collation by lapse where a benefice had remained unfilled after the expiry of six months from the occurrence of a

¹ Deeley, *art cit*, 505.

² J R Wright, *The Church and the English Crown 1305-1334* (PIMS, 1980), pp 29-30, 33-5, 279.

vacancy has already been noted. This right had been enshrined in canon law by the decrees of the Lateran Council of 1179 and was securely established in the early fourteenth century.¹ The only exception to the rule was where the true patron was the Crown, whose exemption had been successfully asserted on the basis of the legal maxim 'no time runs against the king'.² It appears to have been held, however, that this rule did not apply in cases where the Crown presented for 'accidental' or 'occasional' reasons.³ In practice, however, this point does not seem to have been firmly established, as can be seen from the different outcome of two Leicestershire cases. In March 1327 the bishop collated, by lapse, the church of Markfield, the advowson of which was in dispute. The collation, however, was not effective, since one of the parties involved in the dispute was the king, who claimed the advowson by reason of the forfeiture of Robert de Holand. As a result, the king's candidate was

¹ Gray, *art cit*, 486 n2, 494.

² Deeley, *art cit*, 513.

³ See the case of *The King v The Bishop of Norwich* in *Year Books, 8 Edward II*, ed W C Bolland (Selden Society 37, 1920), pp 166-79, cited in Deeley, *art cit*, 526. In this instance, the Crown presented by reason of forfeiture, the true patron having alienated without licence an advowson held of the king. After the dispute had persisted for six months, the bishop collated by lapse. The king eventually withdrew his action.

instituted in June 1327. On the other hand, in 1330 the bishop successfully collated the church of Wistow, the advowson of which had also lapsed to him, to Simon de Montacute, despite the fact that here again the Crown claimed the right to present, by custody of the heir of John de Hastings. It should be noted, however, that Simon had originally been presented to the living by the king.¹

As has been shown above, a frequent reason for the lapse of patronage to the bishop was a disputed advowson. On other occasions the bishop appears to have collated because the true patron had failed to present a candidate within six months, or because the patron had presented an unsuitable candidate and had not produced a satisfactory alternative within the allotted time. The candidate presented by Hugh Bossard to the church of Knotting in 1328 was regarded as unsuitable. An alternative candidate was presented but by this time the patronage had lapsed to the bishop who collated the church to the second presentee. At Threckingham and again at Cheddington in 1321, the patronage lapsed because the respective patrons (the master of Burton Lazars and the prior of Nostell) had been excommunicated; in both cases, the living was

¹ App 932 (Markfield), 991 (Wistow).

collated to the candidate originally presented.¹ The extent of the bishop's patronage was also increased on rare occasions by the right to present during vacancies of religious houses of which the bishop was patron; it was for this reason that the bishop collated the vicarage of Yarnton during a vacancy of Eynsham Abbey in 1338.² The overall extent of the bishop's additional patronage can be assessed from a survey of all collations made to parochial benefices between 1320 and 1342: out of a total of 80 collations, 50 were made *pleno iure*, and 30 for 'accidental' reasons. Thus occasional presentations accounted for more than one third of the bishop's patronage of parochial livings during this period.

The occasional patronage of the Crown arose through its right to the custody of both lay and ecclesiastical property. In the case of lay property, such custody might occur as a result of the forfeiture of estates. Following the forfeiture of the estates of Robert Bruce in 1306, the Crown three years later presented to the church of Caldecote in Huntingdonshire.³ At the outset of Burghersh's episcopate, the exile of the Despensers

¹ App 15 (Threckingham), 2030 (Knotting), 2180 (Cheddington).

² App 1916.

³ Reg 2 fo 239v.

resulted in a Crown presentation to Loughborough (1322), but it was the defeat of Lancaster's rebellion at Boroughbridge in the same year which was the principal reason for the occurrence of this category of occasional patronage during the period. Between 1322 and 1328, the King presented to two churches (East Keal and Wigtoft) formerly in the gift of Lancaster himself, to another two (Croxtan and Markfield) formerly in that of Robert de Holand, and to three others of which the advowsons had been forfeited by Nicholas de Segrave (Stowe Nine Churches), Roger Damory (Holton in Oxfordshire) and Bartholomew de Badlesmere (North Mimms).¹

A more frequent cause of Crown custody of lay estates was wardship, the right of the Crown as feudal overlord to the custody of lands held in chief during the minority of an heir.² The extent of this patronage in any one case depended on the number of advowsons held by the heir, the length of the minority and, most importantly, the frequency of vacancies during that period. In few instances did the Crown present more

¹ App 852 (Loughborough); App 50 (East Keal), 59 (Wigtoft), 99 (Croxtan), 870, 934, 960 (Markfield), 1262 (Stowe Nine Churches), 1709 (Holton), 2475 (North Mimms).

² Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, p 31.

than once, although during the minority of Nicholas Pever of Toddington the king presented on four occasions, and during that of Laurence de Hastings (1325-39) five presentations were made by the Crown.¹

On the death of any tenant in chief, even if the heir were of full age, the Crown took custody of the estates (and could in theory present to any vacant livings) until they were sued out of his hand. Master William de Kynmerton, rector of Flamstead, resigned on 17 January 1337. The patron of the living, William la Zouche de Mortimer, died on 28 February and the manor of Flamstead, being held in chief, was seized into the king's hands. On 8 March, the Crown presented John de Thorpe to the vacant living. This presentation was contested by Thomas, earl of Warwick, as heir to the manor and advowson of Flamstead. However, although Thomas had been of full age at the death of William la Zouche, it was held that the Crown retained all the issues of the manor until it had been sued out of his hand. Accordingly, the presentation stood and John de Thorpe was instituted.² On the other hand, when a dispute occurred between the Crown and Fulk Penbrugg in

¹ App 2110, 2131, 2143, 2330 (Pever); App 974, 1062, 1478, 1482, 1509 (Hastings).

² App 2657-8; GEC xii (2), pp 372, 957-60; *Year Books, 11 and 12 Edward III*, ed A J Horwood (Rolls Series, 1883), pp 97-9.

1321 over the advowson of Aylestone, the Crown withdrew its presentation on the ground that Fulk was no longer a minor when the vacancy occurred. Again at Kegworth in 1326 the Crown withdrew in favour of Christiana widow of John de Segrave, because the advowson had been assigned to Christiana in dower.¹

The Crown could also grant its right of wardship to others and consequently a number of presentations were made by lay magnates through custody of the estates of minors. In 1323 Hugh Despenser the elder, earl of Winchester, presented to Spelsbury by custody of the lands of the earl of Warwick.² When Robert Willoughby of Eresby died in 1316, his son and heir John was 13 years old. Custody was granted by the king to Roger Damory, who presented to Holbeach in 1318 and to East Kirkby in 1321. Following Damory's death during the rebellion of 1322, the custody was resumed by the king who presented to Willoughby in 1323.³ Where property was not held of the king in chief, custody might be claimed by a feudal overlord other than the Crown. During the minority of William le Vernoun, the earl of Northampton presented to the church of Pitchcott,

¹ App 829, 922.

² App 1711.

³ Reg 2 fo 70v; App 8, 83.

having custody by reason of his overlordship of the manor.¹

The Crown also exercised the right of patronage through its custody of ecclesiastical property. In the same way that the king claimed the right to exercise patronage which was in his custody through wardship, he also claimed the right to advowsons of bishoprics and abbeys which were in his hands during vacancies. This 'regalian right' had been introduced into England after the Norman conquest and the Crown's position had subsequently been strengthened and maintained despite opposition from the papacy.² During the vacancy between the death of Bishop Burghersh and the consecration of Bishop Bek, the Crown presented to five parochial benefices normally in the collation of the bishop and also exercised the bishop's right to nominate a clerk to Alcester Abbey for presentation to the church of Great Glen.³ Crown patronage also benefited from regalian right during vacancies of religious houses of which the monarch was patron.⁴ In

¹ App 2379; *VCH Bucks* iv, p 89.

² Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England*, pp 1-59, 201-10.

³ App 694, 1184, 1660, 1672, 2172; Reg 6 fo 80.

⁴ S Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1955), pp 75, 86-88.

this way, the king presented to the church of Farthinghoe (patron, Leicester Abbey) in 1324 and to the church of Haddon (patron, Thorney Abbey) in 1335. During a short vacancy of Westminster Abbey in 1333, the Crown presented to four of its livings (Uppingham, Islip, Stevenage and Ashwell).¹

From 1295, the seizure by the Crown of the possessions of the alien priories became a regular practice during periods of war. It was for this reason that the king presented to the church of Marsh Gibbon (Buckinghamshire) in 1328 during the aftermath of the war of Saint-Sardos.² But it was the outbreak of a long period of war with France in 1337 which enabled the Crown to take full advantage of this rich source of patronage. Various arrangements were made for the custody of the property of the alien houses but the Crown always specifically reserved to itself the advowsons which they possessed.³

¹ App 1264 (Farthinghoe), 2633 (Haddon); App 1477 (Uppingham), 1835 (Islip), 2602 (Stevenage), 2604 (Ashwell). The presentation to Farthinghoe took place more than six years after the 'late vacancy' which provided its legal justification: *CPR 1321-24*, p 367; Hamilton Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp 22-3.

² *CPR 1327-30*, p 340; App 2273. The Crown presentation was successful, even though temporalities had been restored to the abbey of Grestein by the time it took place.

³ Matthew, *Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, pp 90-92; A K McHardy, 'The Alien Priories and the Expulsion of Aliens from England in 1378', *SCH* 12 (1975), 133.

The treatment of the alien priories was by no means uniform. Cistercian houses were not touched; the property of the Cluniac priories of Lenton and St Andrew Northampton was seized (the latter in particular providing a plentiful harvest of advowsons for the Crown) but the houses of Daventry and Delapré in the same order continued to present to livings in their gift. Nor does the seizure appear to have taken immediate effect everywhere; as late as November 1339, the abbey of St Evroul presented successfully to Burton Overy.¹

The confiscation did not go unchallenged. In 1339, John Maniouwe was instituted to the vicarage of Bradwell on the presentation of the Cluniac priory of Tickford; the Crown recovered the advowson in king's bench and presented Gilbert Vyvian. But when the king's bailiff attempted to attach John Maniouwe at Bradwell, he was seized by the said John and by Edmund de Ekeneye, a yeoman of the prior of Tickford, and was forced "by fear of death" to disavow his mission.²

¹ M Morgan, *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Oxford, 1946), p 2; McHardy, *art cit*, 134; Matthew, *Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, p 90 note 7; App 617.

² App 2393; *CPR 1338-40*, p 361.

Following the outbreak of war in 1337, the first presentations to be made by the Crown through its custody of the property of the alien priories were to the church of St Mary, Berkhamstead (patron, the Prior of Wilmington) and to the vicarage of Moulton (patron, the priory of St Andrew Northampton), both institutions taking place on 25 September 1337. However, this type of patronage became much more extensive after 1342; whereas only eight such presentations were made between 1337 and 1342, the number rose to 44 during the period 1342-47.¹

The effect of these 'accidental' rights on Crown patronage was considerable. During the period 1320-42, a total of 115 institutions made on Crown presentations was recorded in the Lincoln episcopal register; of these, 52 were made in full right and the remaining 63 (55 per cent) for the various 'occasional' reasons described above.

The overall conclusion to be reached from this survey is that patronage of parochial benefices in the diocese in 1320 was predominantly in the hands of ecclesiastical patrons, who outnumbered their lay counterparts by approximately two to one. If the

¹ App 1577 (Moulton), 2659 (Berkhamstead); Reg 6, *passim*

situation in the archdeaconry of Leicester can serve as a guide, this position would not appear to have changed a great deal during the previous hundred years. Among the ecclesiastical patrons, it was the regulars, the religious houses, who held the greater number of advowsons, and among these houses it was those belonging to the Benedictine and Augustinian orders which held the most extensive patronage. Among the laity, the greater landowners, members of the nobility such as the earl of Lancaster, held the highest individual totals of advowsons. The bulk of lay patronage, however, was in the hands of the gentry or smaller landowners, the majority of whom possessed only one advowson, although it must be noted that a number of these gentry had other landed or family interests away from the localities where they were patrons. Interrupting the uniformity of this picture, there were a number of divided advowsons which, although in some instances they worked surprisingly smoothly, tended to produce more than their share of lawsuits. The system of 'occasional' presentations provided another obstacle to the regular working of parochial advowsons, and this furnished the bishop, and to an even greater extent the Crown, with a much valued source of additional patronage.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CLERGY: BACKGROUND, EDUCATION, INSTITUTION

In his seminal work, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, W A Pantin introduced his account of the parish clergy with the words

A good deal of work needs to be done by way of analysing the parish clergy and attempting to work out their social background and family connexions, their intellectual standards, their relations with their patrons, the methods by which they obtained preferment.¹

Although the Birkbeck Lectures on which Pantin's book was based were given more than 40 years ago, very little work has been attempted in this field. The theses of Dr Donaldson on the diocese of Durham and of Dr Robinson on part of the diocese of York, together with a short paper by P A Bill on the parish clergy of Warwickshire, represent the only inroads made so far into this neglected topic.² An analysis of the beneficed clergy of the largest diocese in England, that of Lincoln, is an essential step towards the building up of a detailed survey of the

¹ Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, p 27.

² Donaldson, *thesis*; D Robinson, 'An Edition of the Archdeaconry of Cleveland Section of the Register of Archbishop Melton of York, 1317-40, with an introduction studying aspects of the clergy in the diocese' (unpublished Cambridge PhD thesis, 1968); *idem*, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland and the East Riding 1306-1340*; P A Bill, *The Warwickshire Parish Clergy in the later Middle Ages*, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers 17 (1967).

English parish clergy in the early fourteenth century.

The next two chapters set out to examine to what extent the evidence for the diocese of Lincoln during the episcopate of Henry Burghersh can provide answers to the numerous questions posed by the beneficed clergy as a class in this period. The present chapter will examine their background, and the process whereby they acquired a parochial benefice. Where did they come from? In what ways were they connected with the patrons of the benefices? What standard of education had they attained? What was the exact procedure for presentation and institution? The following chapter will investigate the careers of these clergy. What was the significance of the growing practice of exchanges? What were the parochial responsibilities of incumbents and how well did they carry them out? What was the extent of non-residence? How widespread was the custom of using beneficed clergy in clerical positions in church, state and private affairs? And how, when the time came, was a living eventually vacated?

In attempting to answer these questions, the organisation of the evidence, particularly from a diocese the size of Lincoln, is not an easy task. One method of doing this would be to analyse the

institutions to benefices for a given period. Although this method has its uses, it also has a number of drawbacks. Many clergy occur more than once in the register, some of them several times. It is difficult to correlate evidence of licences for study and for clerical service with such an analysis. Nor would it be easy to use such evidence for a study of clerical careers. An alternative method is that of collective biography.¹ This involves taking a manageable sample of clergy and assembling for each one whatever relevant biographical material can be found. The main disadvantage of this method is that it is very time-consuming, yet at the same time it is important to ensure that the sample is sufficiently representative. But the advantages of the collective biography are considerable. It permits the correlation of a great deal of scattered evidence, thus providing new insights into the background, education and careers of the beneficed clergy.

In the case of Dr Donaldson's work on the diocese of Durham, the long time-span involved (1311-1540) made a simple analysis of institutions the most effective method to use. This type of analysis was also used

¹ For an example of the use of collective biography in a study of the parish clergy, see J H Pruett, *The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts: The Leicestershire Experience* (Illinois, 1978).

by Dr Robinson who was able, by concentrating on a limited area (197 benefices) of his diocese, to select a sample of manageable size. In the case of the diocese of Lincoln, the sheer quantity of material available¹ makes it, on the one hand, desirable to use an analysis of all institutions in order to take advantage of the large amount of data, but, on the other hand, makes it necessary to employ a more manageable sample for the purpose of collective biography.

In the present study, therefore, a combination of these two methods has been used. It is hoped by this means to gain the advantages of both, while as far as possible eliminating the disadvantages. An analysis has been made of all the institutions to parochial benefices recorded in Burghersh's register (a total of 2285) and this large sample (referred to subsequently as Sample A) has been used for evidence of numbers of graduates, orders held on institution, institution procedure, the prevalence of exchanges and the causes of vacancies. At the same time, a collective biography has been compiled for all clergy instituted to parochial benefices during the first

¹ Compare the 2285 institutions to parochial benefices recorded in Burghersh's institution register for the period 1320-42 alone, with the 1933 similar institutions for the period 1311-1540 in the diocese of Durham, analysed by Dr Donaldson (*thesis* 1, pp 311-12).

five years of Burghersh's episcopate, that is, from 20 July 1320 until 19 July 1325. This has resulted in a smaller sample of 426 clergy (still a larger number than the entire beneficed clergy of most English dioceses). This smaller sample (referred to subsequently as Sample B) has been used to provide details of background, education, clerical careers and non-residence. In addition to these two samples, other evidence from Burghersh's registers and elsewhere has been used where appropriate.

PROVENANCE

Where did the beneficed clergy of Lincoln diocese come from, and what were their links with the patrons who presented them to those benefices? In his study of the clergy of the diocese of Durham, Dr Donaldson found that an overwhelming majority of those incumbents whose provenance could be established came from within the overall region in which the diocese was situated. Just over 40 per cent came from the diocese of Durham itself and almost as many again (37 per cent) came from the other dioceses of the northern province. Only 16 per cent came from the province of Canterbury, and very few (5 per cent) from outside England. Donaldson's figures for a sample period of the fourteenth century (1351-80) are

very similar to his overall statistics: 76 per cent from the province of York, 19.5 per cent from the southern province and 4.5 per cent foreign clerks.¹

This high proportion of Durham incumbents drawn from the surrounding area is echoed by the findings of Dr Robinson for the clergy of two Yorkshire archdeaconries during the period 1306-1340. Here it was estimated that more than two thirds of rectors in the sample studied were of Yorkshire origin, and that the proportion of local men instituted to vicarages was likely to be still higher.²

Although in some cases the diocese from which a beneficed clerk originated is specified, most of our knowledge of their provenance during this period stems from an investigation of those whose surname includes a place-name, or toponymic. It is generally accepted that during the early fourteenth century such toponymics usually refer to the birthplace of the bearer. The difficulty arises in cases where a toponymic could refer to any one of a number of places bearing the same name; the examples of Walter de Carleton and John de Kirkeby, two incumbents in Sample B, illustrate this problem clearly. In his

¹ Donaldson, *thesis* 1, pp 317-20, 332.

² Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, pp 15-16.

work on toponymics as evidence of patterns of migration, McClure has demonstrated the many pitfalls involved in the use of these 'ambiguous' names.'

In a study of beneficed clergy, however, it is possible to draw on a certain amount of biographical evidence to assist in the identification of names such as these. To take one example from Sample B, John de Assheby was instituted to the church of Sywell (Northants) in 1323. There were five places called Ashby in Northamptonshire at this time, another ten elsewhere in the diocese of Lincoln, besides others further distant in England. It is known, however, that some time before 1325 William de Assheby granted property, including land in Sywell and in Mears Ashby, to John de Assheby, clerk, his brother; the property in Mears Ashby included a capital messuage. It would thus appear to be highly probable that the 'Assheby' in the surname of the rector of Sywell refers to the neighbouring village of Mears Ashby.² While it needs to be stressed that conclusive proof in individual cases is often impossible to achieve, additional evidence such as

¹ P McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames', *EconHR* Second Series 32 (1979), 167-82; *idem*, 'Surnames from English Placenames as Evidence for Mobility in the Middle Ages', *Local Historian* 13 (1978), 80-86.

² App 1252; *CIPM* vi, p 368.

this does affect the balance of probabilities, and it should not be ignored. ¹

For the purpose of the present study, therefore, an analysis has been carried out of the provenance of those clergy in Sample B who fall into the following categories:

a) those clergy bearing toponymics derived from uniquely-named places

b) those whose diocese of origin is specified in contemporary records

c) those who, although bearing toponymics derived from ambiguously-named places, can be linked with a particular place on the basis of additional biographical evidence.

The results of this analysis are given in Table 4.1. The figures in this Table reveal an overall picture broadly similar to that given by Donaldson for the diocese of Durham. More than two fifths of the beneficed clergy in the sample whose provenance can be ascertained came from the same archdeaconry as the benefice (or one of the benefices) to which they were

¹ McClure, 'Patterns of Migration', *art cit*, 168; Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 15n.

TABLE 4.1

Provenance of Beneficed Clergy

Diocese of Lincoln		
same archdeaconry	105 (41%)	
another archdeaconry	56 (22%)	161 (63%)
Other dioceses		
adjacent to Lincoln	79 (30%)	
others	10 (4%)	89 (34%)
Foreign clerks		8 (3%)

Provenance not identified		168

[Note: The percentages given relate solely to those clergy whose provenance has been identified.]

instituted. More than three fifths came from the diocese of Lincoln itself and, of those who originated in other dioceses, the overwhelming majority were from dioceses adjacent to Lincoln. Chief among these other dioceses was York which alone supplied 39 incumbents (15 per cent); Norwich and Salisbury (9 each), Coventry and Lichfield (8) and Worcester (5) came a long way behind. Overall, more than 90 per cent of these clerks came either from the diocese of Lincoln itself or from an adjacent diocese. The few foreign clerks came mainly from Italy (Robert de Patrica from Rome, James and Palmer Francisci from Florence, Peter de Brixia from Lombardy) and France (John de Quengou, and Arnold de Tyllio of Béarn).¹

¹ CPR 1324-7, pp 45, 49 (Patrica); App 103, 2182 (Francisci); CPR 1324-7, pp 39 (Brixia), 59 (Quengou); CPL ii, p 363 (Tyllio).

The second aspect of this question of provenance which needs to be investigated is that of the links which drew together the clerks with the patrons who presented them to their benefices. The most direct of such connections can be found where the incumbent came from the same parish to which he was instituted, or where he was a member of the same family as his patron. Henry de Berkeston, instituted to Barkston (Lincs) in 1323, John de Melton Moubray, instituted to the vicarage of that place in the same year, and Walter de Westhaddon, instituted to West Haddon in 1324, were among 14 incumbents in Sample B who were beneficed in their native place.¹ In addition, Roger de Swaynesthorp became vicar of Eagle, in which parish Swinesthorpe was situated.²

In a very similar category can be placed those clerks presented to benefices by a member of their own family who in many cases was resident, either permanently or occasionally, in that parish. John de Campania, a member of the Thurlaston branch of the family of that name, was presented by his kinsman Robert to the church of Thurlaston in 1322; similarly, John de Goldesburgh was presented to

¹ App 92 (Berkeston), 873 (Melton Moubray), 1255 (Westhaddon). For the others, see Reg 2 fo 18v; App 15, 90, 117, 122, 458, 837, 897, 1199, 1982, 2018.

² App 133.

Kencott by Richard de Goldesburgh, and Thomas Wake presented William Wake to Helpston.¹ Occasionally it is possible to determine the relationship between patron and candidate: Thomas de Segrave was presented to Fenstanton by his father, John, and Ralph Paynel presented his brother Edmund to Broughton by Brigg.² Edmund had previously been rector of Boothby Pagnell to which he had been presented by John Paynel and his wife Agnes; others in Sample B who were presented to successive benefices by members of their own families were John de Bassingburn (to Abington in 1322 by Mary de Bassingburn, then to Benefield in 1334 by Humphrey de Bassingburn); John de Charneles, presented first to Elvesthorpe (by Robert de Charneles) and later to Swepstone (by Nicholas de Charneles); and Nicholas Dyve, who was presented to Ducklington in 1325 by Henry Dyve and then in 1332 to Wyke Dyve by Thomas de Lenham (in right of his wife Martha, the widow of Henry Dyve).³

Nearly all of the patrons in these transactions were

¹ App 846 (Campania), 1729 (Goldsburgh), 1228 (Wake).

² Segrave: Reg 2 fo 246v, App 2495 (for the relationship, see Train, *North Notts Clergy*, p 61); Paynel: App 727.

³ Reg 2 fo 43 (Paynel); App 1239, 1501 (Bassingburn); App 860, 1025 (Charneles); App 1728, 1441 (Dyve) and see also *Baker* ii, p 254.

layfolk, although John Dalderby had been presented to Barrowby in 1318 by his namesake, the bishop; Robert Larcher was presented to Nether Dean in 1324 by Thomas Larcher, the prior of the Hospitallers in England, and in 1322 John de Tours was presented to Long Whatton by Leicester Abbey, during the abbacy of Robert de Tours.¹ But the patrons involved in these family presentations were predominantly lay, and this should be borne in mind in any assessment of the overall extent of such patronage. Altogether, 34 incumbents from Sample B were presented to benefices by their kinsmen, a proportion of 8 per cent. As has already been shown, however, only 35 per cent of benefices in the diocese of Lincoln were in lay patronage; taking this into account, it can be suggested that perhaps one fifth of presentations to benefices in lay patronage involved a family connection.²

While a lay patron might present a member of his own family, some religious houses of regular canons took

¹ Reg 2 fo 75 (Dalderby); App 2008 (Larcher); App 848 (Tours). In addition, John de Osevill (App 2447) probably owed his early preferment to a relationship with Walter de Osevill, brother in law of John de Kirkeby, bishop of Ely, who presented him to Somersham in 1292 (*Reg Sutton viii*, p 78).

² See above, pp 167-8. The prevalence of family presentations was also noted by Dr Robinson (*Beneficed Clergy*, pp 17-18). For a similar position on the eve of the Reformation, see Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln 1495-1520*, pp 74-5.

advantage of the papal privilege of presenting their own canons, members of their spiritual family, to benefices in their gift. Thus in 1321 the Premonstratensian abbey of Welbeck presented Robert de Lincoln, a canon of that house, to the vicarage of Coates by Stow. In accordance with the terms of the privilege, Robert was to have a fellow canon, in priest's orders, residing with him. On his resignation in 1324, the abbey presented another canon, John de Hauteberg, to succeed him.¹ Welbeck also normally presented canons to the vicarage of Whitton. Other churches which were served by canons of the house which held the advowson were Wymeswold (Beauchief), Moreton Pinkney (Canons Ashby), Oakley (St Frideswide), Flitwick (Dunstable), Barton Hartshorn (Chetwode), and Lathbury (Lavendon).²

Another direct link between patron and incumbent occurred where the clerk was in the service of the patron, although with a relationship of this nature it is not always possible to determine whether it was the presentation to the benefice or the clerical

¹ App 719, 732; A Hamilton Thompson, *The Premonstratensian Abbey of Welbeck* (London, 1938), pp 34-5, 51-2. For details of this practice, see Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, pp 277-80.

² App 724, 789 (Whitton); 1171 (Wymeswold); 1218 (Moreton Pinkney); 1752, 2434 (Oakley); 1970, 1991, 2026, 2037, 2063, 2099 (Flitwick); 2267, 2331 (Barton Hartshorn); 2190, 2282, 2347 (Lathbury).

service which came first in time. In many cases, the evidence for such service can be found in the episcopal licences *standi in obsequiis* recorded in the bishop's register.¹ William de Asshele was instituted to a mediety of the church of Westborough on 5 October 1322 on the presentation of Isabella Bardolf; on the same day, he was granted a licence to be in the service of the said Isabella for a period of two years.² By no means all clerkships were contemporary with the date of institution, however. John de Fyncheden, presented to Knaith by John Darcy 'le cosyn' in 1324, was not licensed to enter his patron's service until six years later. (It is, of course, possible that, since Knaith was a principal residence of the Darcy family, Fyncheden was able at some times to serve his patron without the necessity for non-residence.)³ Conversely, Thomas de Gothill occurs as a clerk of Roger Martival, bishop of Salisbury, in 1315, and was presented ten years later by his patron to a mediety of the church of Hallaton.⁴

¹ Licences granted by bishops Burghersh, Bek and Gynewell (to 1350 only) have been searched for those relating to clerks in Sample B (Reg 5 fos 34-59; Reg 7 fos 131-9; Reg 9C fos 5-12).

² App 53; Reg 5 fo 12v.

³ App 731; Reg 5 fos 38v, 49v, 54v. Fyncheden was no doubt related to William de Fyncheden, Darcy's attorney-general (CPR 1321-24 p 389; App 764).

⁴ Reg Martival ii, pp 26-7; App 899.

Evidence for royal clerks can be found in the patent rolls, or in the works of Professor Tout;¹ episcopal clerks are familiar from the bishop's registers. Altogether, 44 clergy from Sample B (10 per cent) were connected by service with the patron who presented them to a benefice. Of these, nine were king's clerks, five were clerks of the bishop, 22 were in the service of lay patrons, and eight in the service of ecclesiastical patrons.²

A group of clerks who possessed a clear but undefined link with their patrons were those presented to more than one benefice by the same patron. Sample B includes 46 such incumbents; most were presented to two benefices, but four - Philip de Aston (Sulby Abbey), Ralph de Bullemere (Hospitaliers), Geoffrey le Fauconer and Richard Geryn (Leicester Abbey) - were presented to three.³ Of these 46, three have already been identified as having family ties, and 13 as having ties of clerkship, with their patrons. In the case of the remaining 30 clerks, the only

¹ *CPR, 1317-1340, passim*; T F Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914); *idem, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* (6 vols, Manchester, 1920-33).

² Service of this nature is discussed more fully below, pp 349-70.

³ (Aston): *Reg Sutton* 1, p 38; *Reg 2* fo 131; *App* 1190; (Bullemere): *App* 65, 128, 709; (Fauconer): *Reg 2* fo 183v; *App* 886; *Reg 6* fo 45; (Geryn): *Reg 2* fo 218; *App* 849, 1518.

definite relationship is that at the second or subsequent presentation they were already known to the patron; however, this link may indicate some connection as yet undiscovered.¹

The connections between patron and incumbent which have been considered so far have been relatively direct: family ties, ties of place, or of service. Besides these, there were also a number of indirect connections; although the evidence for these is often very slight, its cumulative effect suggests that the influence of such indirect patronage was considerable. Ties of service, for example, extended beyond the lord himself to include those over whom he had influence. Besides the nine king's clerks noted above, who were presented to benefices by the Crown, there were another 21 incumbents in Sample B who have been identified as king's clerks yet were presented to their livings by other patrons. Similarly, Sample B includes five episcopal clerks who were presented to benefices by patrons other than the bishop. In all these cases, the possibility of royal or episcopal influence on the actual patron of the benefice cannot be discounted. The wider influence of other patrons is harder to establish, although occasional links can be detected. For example, John

¹ It may be significant that the patrons of all of these 30 clerks were ecclesiastical.

de Lek, presented to the church of Humberstone by Leicester Abbey, was a clerk of Henry earl of Lancaster, whose position as earl of Leicester (and thus as the successor in title of the founder of the abbey) was probably not unconnected with this presentation.¹ Gilbert de Middelton the younger was presented successively to two benefices in the archdeaconry of Northampton, of which his kinsman and namesake was archdeacon. The influence of this same archdeacon was also responsible for the early ecclesiastical career of William Edington, successively rector of Hockliffe, Dallington and Middleton Cheney and later bishop of Winchester.² Ralph Beler may have owed his presentation, by Thomas earl of Lancaster to two parts of the church of Clipston, to the influence of his kinsman Roger Beler, a follower of Lancaster.³

¹ App 902; CPR 1324-7, p 123; Cal Mem R, p 17; R Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, Vol 1 (1265-1603)* (London, 1953), p 357; Hamilton Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp 1-12. For collections of letters illustrating the pressure exerted on patrons by both Crown and magnates, see *Lincolnshire Archives Committee, Archivists' Report (1953-54)*, p 59; R B Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400-1450* (Cambridge, 1973), p 146.

² Reg 2 fo 134; App 1258; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541 1*, p 10; Highfield, *William of Edington*, pp 1-2.

³ Reg 2 fo 135v; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322*, p 229; Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326*, p 101.

Another indirect connection which can be traced between incumbent, patron and benefice arose from the property held by the patron. In some cases, a quite straightforward link can be observed, as with Roger de Aula de Daventre, presented by Daventry Priory to the vicarage of Fawsley.¹ It is also reasonable to suggest a similar link between Peter de Killingholm and Newhouse Abbey which held property at Killingholme and presented Peter to the vicarage of East Halton, and between William de Evenle, rector of St Mary, Huntingdon, and the patron of that living, Huntingdon Priory, which also held the advowson of Evenley.² Again, Stephen de Swyn was presented in 1321 to the church of Fulstow by Matilda de Tilliol who held property at Swine in the East Riding of Yorkshire in right of her first husband, William de Hilton.³ Connections such as these can be traced for 14 clerks in Sample B.

Occasionally a more indefinite connection of this kind can be discerned. William de Osmyton originated from Osmington in Dorset; it is unlikely to have been a coincidence that he was presented to

¹ App 1237; for other members of the Aula family of Daventry, see *Daventry Cartulary*.

² (Killingholm): App 24; *VCH Lincs* 11, p 201; (Evenle): App 2453; App 1344.

³ App 9; D M Williamson, 'Some Notes on the Medieval Manors of Fulstow', *LAASRP* 4 (1948-51), 11.

the church of Tothill by Eleanor de Gorges, a Dorset landowner.¹ A particularly interesting example of this kind of link is that of John de Spillesby. He was presented to the church of Hinxworth in August 1322 by William la Zouche, the patron *pleno iure*. Eight months later, Zouche received a royal grant of the marriage of John de Willoughby, lord of Spilsby.²

EDUCATION

The importance attached to the education of the clergy during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is well attested. A recent study of this subject has spoken of a "concerted effort... to improve the quality of learning throughout all levels within the church" during this period. Complaints were expressed about ignorant and nearly illiterate clergy; provincial and diocesan councils legislated on the subject.³ It is important, therefore, to attempt to determine the level of education attained by the beneficed clergy in Lincoln diocese at the

¹ App 105; *CIPM* vi, p 299.

² App 2464; *GEC* xii (2), p 658.

³ Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, pp 90-3; Donaldson, *thesis* 1, pp 335-9; Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England*, p 137; R M Haines, 'Education in English Ecclesiastical Legislation of the Later Middle Ages', *SCH* 7 (1971), 161-175.

time of Burghersh's episcopate.

Before this is done, however, it is necessary to point out that most of the evidence available for such an investigation relates solely to those among the clergy who studied at a university. It is far from certain that a university education was regarded, even by those contemporaries who complained of clerical ignorance, as essential for every beneficed clerk. It is possible that an education at a local grammar school, combined with an 'apprenticeship' with a local parish priest and the use of one of the growing number of manuals of instruction for priests, may have been considered as sufficient training for the incumbent of a parochial benefice.¹ In addition, as Dr Moorman pointed out, the course of education at a university which led to the degree of master of arts did not involve any specifically religious instruction. Nor was a university graduate necessarily best suited to deal with, for example, the pastoral needs of a rural

¹ L E Boyle, 'Aspects of Clerical Education in Fourteenth Century England', *The Fourteenth Century, Acta IV*, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, (Binghampton, 1977), pp 19-20. There were at least eleven grammar schools in fourteenth-century Lincolnshire: see *VCH Lincs* ii, pp 449-50. For a discussion of the manuals of instruction for priests, see Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, pp 189-219; Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp 143-161.

parish: in Dr Donaldson's vivid phrase, would "an Oxford Bachelor of Theology... be *ipso facto* of more use in helping to solve the spiritual, moral or material problems of a Northumberland shepherd than a parish chaplain who had rarely stepped far outwith the parish boundaries of Elsdon or Haltwhistle"? While, therefore, the discussion that follows concentrates on the extent of university-based education among the parish clergy, this should not be taken to imply that the education of the remainder was necessarily unsuited for the work of a parish priest.¹

The extent of university education among the parish clergy has, in previous studies, tended to be measured solely by the proportion of institutions made to graduates (those described in the registers as *magistri*).² Although the limitations of such a measurement have been acknowledged,³ the paucity of evidence from other sources has prevented a more

¹ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p 95; Donaldson, *thesis 1*, p 339. See also Bill, *Warwickshire Parish Clergy*, pp 19-20.

² Donaldson, *thesis 1*, pp 340-55; Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, pp 14-15; Jean Dunbabin, 'Careers and Vocations' in *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol I, The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984), pp 570-2.

³ For example, through under-recording in the registers, or the omission of those who attended university but did not take a degree. See Donaldson, *thesis 1*, p 340.

detailed examination of the question. For the purpose of comparison with the position in other dioceses, the proportion of graduates in Sample A has been calculated, with results as shown in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2

Institutions of Graduates to
Parochial Benefices, 1320-42

<i>Archdeaconry</i>	<i>Graduates</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Lincoln	55	9
Stow	9	9
Leicester	26	9
Northampton	39	9
Oxford	21	9
Bedford	9	5
Buckingham	21	10
Huntingdon	26	11
Whole Diocese	206	9

The figures for individual archdeaconries in Table 4.2 indicate that the proportion of graduates was, with one exception, spread remarkably evenly through the diocese. It would seem likely that the significantly lower proportion of graduates instituted to benefices in the archdeaconry of Bedford may well be connected with the large number of poor livings in that archdeaconry.¹

The question of the number of graduates gaining

¹ See above, p 155.

parochial benefices and cathedral prebends during the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries has in recent years occasioned a lively debate.² The original thesis put forward by Guy Lytle was that, in the case of parochial livings awarded to university graduates, a decline of about fifty per cent took place between 1340 and 1430. This has been challenged by others, who have argued that this decline is distorted by a particularly high proportion of benefices and prebends acquired by graduates during the second quarter of the fourteenth century and that, over the period from 1300 to 1450, the decline was only slight.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of this "patronage crisis" but, in the context of the debate over its extent and timing, the figures given in Table 4.2 are of great interest. Dr Moorman demonstrated the steady rise during the thirteenth century in the proportion of graduates instituted to benefices in the archdeaconries of Stow and Oxford, from 9-12 per cent in the episcopate of Hugh of Wells to 21 per cent in that of Gravesend. More recently, Jean Dunbabin has calculated that, during the episcopate of Oliver Sutton, the proportion of graduates instituted to livings in the

¹ For a summary of this debate, see Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, pp 138-40.

archdeaconries of Northampton and Lincoln was 15 per cent and 17 per cent respectively.¹ A calculation for part of Dalderby's episcopate (based on institutions made to parochial benefices during the years 1300-1317) suggests that the proportion of graduate presentations in the diocese in this period was around 14 per cent.² The evidence now given in Table 4.2 for the episcopate of Burghersh, with a proportion of graduates amounting to 9 per cent over the whole diocese and with very little variation from one archdeaconry to another, suggests that if the figures of Moorman and Dunbabin for the thirteenth century provide a reliable guide, a significant decline had taken place in the proportion of graduates instituted to parochial livings in the diocese by the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

Only when equivalent calculations have been made for a sufficient number of other dioceses will it be possible to determine whether or not the decline reflected in Table 4.2 is representative of the overall situation in the English church. It is, however, worth pointing out that Dunbabin's calculations for

¹ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p 94; Dunbabin, 'Careers and Vocations', p 571.

² Reg 2, *passim*. The archdeaconry with the lowest proportion was again Bedford (8%) and the highest, Stow (17%); all other archdeaconries fell within the range 12-15%.

the diocese of Worcester during the episcopates of Giffard, 1268-1301 (26 per cent), and of Bransford, 1339-49 (8 per cent), indicate an even greater decline. In the north of England, on the other hand, the proportion of graduate institutions appears to have been at a higher level during this period: 20 per cent in the diocese of Durham (1311-45) and 18 per cent in the archdeaconries of Cleveland and the East Riding (1306-40). Both of these calculations, however, cover a period commencing somewhat earlier than Burghersh's episcopate; Dr Robinson noted that, in the two archdeaconries studied, the proportion of graduates presented declined after 1315.¹

The figures which have been quoted certainly appear to indicate a noticeable decline in the proportion of graduate institutions to parochial benefices between the end of the thirteenth century and the second quarter of the fourteenth. If this trend were to be confirmed by similar findings in other dioceses, there would be important consequences for the debate on the "patronage crisis". In particular, the suggestion that the acquisition of benefices by graduates was, in the period 1325-50, "abnormally

¹ Dunbabin, 'Careers and Vocations', p 571; Donaldson, *thesis* 1, p 354; calculation based on Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, pp 14-17.

high", would need to be qualified.¹ While it may have been true of cathedral dignities and prebends, it does not appear to have been the case so far as parochial livings were concerned.

The reasons for this decline in the proportion of graduates instituted to parishes during the early fourteenth century are difficult to determine. It is possible that the introduction of the constitution *Cum ex eo* of Pope Boniface VIII (1298) may have encouraged scholars to seek livings first and to proceed to a degree at a later stage. It is also possible that the restrictions on pluralities enforced by the constitution *Execrabilis* of Pope John XXII (1317) may have had a particularly severe effect on graduates, though much further research would be needed to establish this point.²

The additional evidence assembled for the clerks in Sample B permits a more detailed and accurate picture to be drawn. Out of the 426 clerks in the sample, a total of 57 (13 per cent) were graduates. The proportion is noticeably higher than that produced by Sample A, no doubt as a result of the much wider

¹ Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p 138.

² For the constitution *Cum ex eo*, see below, p 256; for the constitution *Execrabilis*, see Wright, *The Church and the English Crown 1305-1334*, pp 72-93.

range of source material used. It should be noted in this context that seven of the clerks in Sample B attained the rank of *magister* some years after their institution, following a period of study leave.¹

A comparison of these 57 graduate clerks with the Biographical Dictionaries compiled by Dr Emden has shown that 19 can be linked with the university of Oxford, and 7 with the university of Cambridge.² The place of study of the remaining 31 has not been identified. At least three of the 57 are known to have spent a period of study abroad: Edmund de Morteyn was licensed to study at Orleans; Roger de Nassington was said in 1323 to be staying beyond seas for the purpose of study, and John de Aslakeby, licensed to study in England or abroad, had royal letters nominating attorneys in England.³ The group of clerks from Oxford included six connected with

¹ The seven were: John de Acton, instituted to Loddington 1320, MA by 1337 (App 1189, Reg 5 fo 54v); John de Aslakeby, instituted to Castor 1321, MA by 1335 (App 1195, Reg 5 fo 489v); John de Goldesburgh, instituted to Kencott 1325, MA by 1344 (App 1729, *BRUO* p 781); Henry de Meriton, instituted to Leire 1322, MA by 1334 (App 862, 1061); Gilbert de Middleton, instituted to Earls Barton 1317, MA by 1324 (Reg 2 fo 134, App 1258); Edmund de Morteyn, instituted to Marston Moretaine 1324, MA by 1332 (App 2013, 2062); Arnold de Tyllio, instituted to Ellington 1320, MA by 1330 (App 2437, *CCR* 1330-3 p 157).

² See *BRUO*, *BRUC*, *passim*

³ Reg 5 fo 19 (Morteyn); *CPR* 1321-4 p 239 (Nassington); Reg 5 fo 187, *CPR* 1330-4 p 185 (Aslakeby).

Merton College, among them John de Wanetyng (warden of the college and rector of Cuxham, a college living) and Thomas de Abyndon, William de Bulmer and Geoffrey de Hegham, all of whom served the college as both fellow and bursar. Another fellow of Merton in this group was the celebrated John de Gaddesden, rector of Chipping Norton, a doctor of medicine and the author of *Rosa Anglica Medicinæ*.¹ The smaller number of Cambridge scholars found in the sample included John de Langetoft (rector of Harby and warden of the king's scholars in Cambridge) and Walter de Stratton, rector successively of Offord Darcy and of Holy Trinity Blatherwycke, a donor of books to Pembroke Hall.²

So far, the discussion has been confined to those clerks described as *magistri*. However, an examination of the licences for study granted by the bishop indicates that the influence of university education among the parish clergy was much wider than is suggested by the statistics for graduates alone.

¹ *BRUO* pp 5 (Abyndon), 305 (Bulmer), 739 (Gatesden), 902 (Hegham), 1978-9 (Wanetyng). The other fellow of Merton in the sample was William de Corbregg, rector of Burton Overy (*BRUO* p 486).

² *BRUC* pp 351 (Langetoft), 563 (Stratton). It has been calculated that, in the fourteenth century, about 20 per cent of Cambridge scholars originated from the diocese of Lincoln (T H Aston, G D Duncan and T A R Evans, 'The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge', *Past and Present* 86 (1980), 29).

There were two means whereby a beneficed clerk in the early fourteenth century could gain leave of absence for study.¹ If he were in priest's orders, he could seek a licence from his diocesan bishop, permitting him to be non-resident from his benefice for a specified period while he remained in attendance at some recognised place of learning. Burghersh himself granted numerous licences of this type, amounting to a total of 725 during the twenty years of his episcopate, an average of about 36 licences per year.² Unfortunately, the episcopal register does not usually specify the place of study beyond the two broad categories of "England" or "England and abroad". However, during the period from September 1334 until June 1336, the registered licences do normally state where the studies were to be pursued. Out of these 56 licences, 44 (78 per cent) were for Oxford, 4 (7 per cent) were for either Oxford or Cambridge, 2 (4 per cent) were for Cambridge and 6

¹ Studies of fourteenth century diocesan administration have tended to overlook the distinction between licences and dispensations for study (see for example I J Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* (2 vols, London, 1933) i, pp 116-17; Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century*, pp 205-7). It is clear, however, that the distinction was a real one, not least to contemporary clerks of the bishops of Lincoln, who from 1323 entered the two classes of document in different sections of the episcopal register (Reg 5 fos 1-33 and 179-201; Reg 7 fos 116-121 and 124-8).

² Reg 5 fos 1-17, 179-201.

(11 per cent) did not specify the place.¹

If, however, the incumbent were not in priest's orders, he would need a dispensation from the bishop, in accordance with the constitution *Cum ex eo* of Pope Boniface VIII (1298), granting him leave of absence to study at a university for a period of up to seven years, provided that he entered the subdiaconate within a year of his institution, that he attained the priesthood within a year of the end of the dispensation, and that he employed a suitable priest to take care of the parish in his absence.² Burghersh granted a total of 486 such dispensations, an annual average of about 24. This compares favourably with the statistics for other dioceses cited by Professor Boyle, where the highest annual rate of dispensations granted is about 16 (by Bishop Ghent of Salisbury between 1297 and 1315). The difference can be partly explained by the greater size of Lincoln diocese, but there can be no doubt of the widespread use made by Burghersh of this dispensation.³

¹ Reg 5 fos 194-196.

² L E Boyle, 'The Constitution "Cum ex eo" of Boniface VIII', *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962), 263-302.

³ Reg 5 fos 1-33; Boyle, 'Aspects of Clerical Education', 25.

A detailed analysis has been made of the dispensations and licences for study granted to the clergy in Sample B. A total of 63 clerks from the sample were granted *Cum ex eo* dispensations, including 28 who subsequently received licences for study. A further 75 clerks were granted licences for absence to study. This last group included 21 incumbents who, like Richard de Ely, rector of Datchworth, received just one licence, for one year's study only;¹ on the other hand, there were also nine who were licensed to study for a period of five years or more, among them John de Heselarton, rector of Harby and subsequently of Hatfield, who received at least five licences to study for a period totalling eight years.²

The intention of Boniface VIII in establishing the *Cum ex eo* dispensations appears to have been, in Professor Boyle's phrase, "to attract young and promising clerics to parish work", rather than to cater for those who were parish priests already.³ This is largely confirmed by an analysis of the dispensations granted to clerks in Sample B; nearly all (60 out of 63) such clerks were granted the

¹ App 2478; Reg 5 fo 187.

² App 834, 2521; *Reg Greenfield v*, p 258; *Reg Melton* 11, p 15; Reg 5 fos 183, 184, 187v.

³ Boyle, 'Aspects of Clerical Education', 23.

initial dispensation within a year of their institution. In some cases the dispensation was granted on the same day as institution, as, for example, Henry de Meriton, rector of Leire, instituted and dispensed at York on 29 November 1322.¹

These dispensations have been criticised as "licensed absenteeism" which "could easily result in the neglect of a church and its parishioners"; it is also argued that many clergy, after the completion of their dispensed period of study, spent further years in leave of absence, so that their parishes reaped no benefit from their education.² Some indication of how the system worked in practice can be achieved by a closer examination of the 63 clergy in Sample B to whom dispensations were granted. Ten of these incumbents (16 per cent) were granted the full dispensation of seven years; some, like Hugh Elys, rector of Cottered, received the seven year period immediately, while others received it in stages, for example Robert de Tykhull, rector of West Allington, who was granted four successive dispensations, the

¹ App 862; Reg 5 fo 13v.

² Bill, *Warwickshire Parish Clergy*, pp 19-20. For a summary of these criticisms, see Boyle, 'Aspects of Clerical Education', 28.

first of one year and the others each of two years.¹ Overall, one third of the 63 clerks were granted dispensations totalling five years or more, while the average total period of dispensation for the whole group was 3.43 years. A systematic attempt was made to ensure that the terms of the dispensations were complied with, by means of the testimony which the dispensed clerk was required to give at the end of the period, concerning the continuation of his studies.²

As has been seen, 28 of these 63 clerks (44 per cent) went on to further study after the expiry of their dispensations. One third of the group were subsequently licensed to be in the service of a patron or other lord. Some, like John de Goldesburgh, rector of Kencott, were included in both categories.³ Others, such as John de Askeby, rector

¹ Elys: App 2481, Reg 5 fo 18; Tykhull: App 11, Reg 5 fos 5, 9, 16v, 18v. The others were: John de Acton (1320-7, Reg 5 fos 3, 11v, 15v); Edmund de Bereford (1321-8, Reg 5 fos 5v, 18v); Alan de Hothum (1322-9, Reg 5 fo 13v); Edmund de Morteyn (1324-31, Reg 5 fos 19, 19v, 22); Robert de Patrica (1304-11, Reg *Pontissara* i, p 168); Robert de Silkeston (1317-26 [sic], Reg 5 fos 4v, 18v); Thomas de Tyrington (1322-9, Reg 5 fos 11, 13, 18, 20); John de Wyketoft (1322-9, Reg 5 fos 13, 19).

² See, for example, Reg 5 fo 20 (dispensations granted to Meriton, Stretle, Scremby, Tyrington, Felde, Marsopini and Hertfordyngbury).

³ Rector 1325-44 (App 1729, Reg 6 fo 85); dispensed for study 1325-9 (Reg 5 fos 19, 20r-v); licensed for service 1331 and for study 1336 (Reg 5 fos 40, 195v).

of Edlesborough, and Jordan de Muneworth, rector successively of Swalcliffe and of Shillington, resigned their benefices before the period of dispensation had expired.¹ To some extent, therefore, it is true to say that *Cum ex eo* dispensations were not necessarily of any great benefit to the parishes concerned. It must be emphasised, however, that there are no records to establish those periods which incumbents spent residing on their benefices; there are very few cases among the dispensed clerks studied in the sample where the period of licensed absence after the conclusion of the dispensation was continuous.²

The overall evidence of university studies for the clerks in Sample B, including both dispensations and licences for study, is given in Table 4.3:

¹ Askeby, dispensed to study from 1324-6, had resigned Edlesborough by November 1325 (App 2214, 2232; Reg 5 fo 18). Muneworth was instituted to Swalcliffe in 1323 and was later dispensed for study from 1324-6; in 1325, he moved to Shillington and he subsequently received two further dispensations totalling four years but in October 1328, before their expiry, he was provided to Withyham in the diocese of Chichester (App 1713; Reg 5 fos 203v, 204; CPL ii, p 284).

² A rare example of such continuous absence is Hugh de Betune, rector successively of South Witham and of Linwood, who was dispensed for study from 1322-4 and subsequently licensed for absence in the service of Isabella de Beaumont, lady Vescy, from 1324-34 continuously (App 38, 64; Reg 5 fos 12, 36, 37, 39, 43v).

TABLE 4.3

Evidence of University Studies
for Clerks in Sample B

<i>Magistri</i> not granted study licences		16
<i>Magistri</i> granted study licences:		
for study in England	18	
for study in England or abroad	21	
place not specified	2	41
Non-graduates granted study licences		
for study in England	68	
for study in England or abroad	18	
place not specified	11	97
Other non-graduates listed in Emden		8
TOTAL		162

From this it will be seen that, altogether, some evidence of a university education has been found in the case of 162 out of the total number of 426 clerks in Sample B, a proportion of 38 per cent. This figure is considerably higher than those obtained for other dioceses using the evidence of graduates alone;¹ the proportion of non-graduates among the scholars analysed in Table 4.3 amounts to three-fifths. It would be interesting to know how this position compares with that in other dioceses for which records of dispensations and licences for study have survived. Until an equivalent study based on such evidence is completed, the evidence for Lincoln

¹ See above, pp 249-51.

diocese as shown in Table 4.3 can at least provide an indication of the possible extent of university education among the beneficed clergy.

The details of the dispensations and licences granted to incumbents in Sample B are analysed in Table 4.4:

TABLE 4.4

	Study Licences Granted to Incumbents in Sample B		
	<i>Graduates</i>	<i>Non-Graduates</i>	<i>All Clergy</i>
Licences	112	178	290
Average Licences per Clerk	2.7	1.8	2.1
Average Period of Study	5.2 yrs	2.8 yrs	3.5 yrs

The figures in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 highlight a significant difference in the scope afforded, both in terms of time and place, to the studies of graduates and non-graduates respectively. It is noticeable that the great majority (70 per cent) of non-graduates receiving licences were restricted to studying in England, whereas just over half of the graduates were licensed to study either in England or abroad. Similarly, the average total period of study allowed to graduates was nearly twice that permitted to non-graduates.

A possible explanation of this difference may lie in the subjects of study to be pursued. In the context of *Cum ex eo* dispensations, Professor Boyle pointed out that a non-graduate could only attain the degree of master of arts if he were dispensed for the full seven-year period.¹ There are only two examples in Sample B where this in fact occurred: John de Acton, rector of Loddington, and Edmund de Morteyn, rector of Marston Morteyn. All the other seven-year dispensations among the clergy in the sample were granted to graduate incumbents.² It may well be, therefore, that the bishop had no intention, in most cases, of sanctioning the use of dispensations and licences for study by non-graduate incumbents to earn a degree. It would appear more likely that these non-graduates, free to follow whatever course of study seemed best suited to their needs, were licensed for a period of two or three years simply to improve their general education. A graduate, on the other hand, who was granted a licence would be more likely to enter a higher faculty such as canon law or theology, requiring a period of study lasting six

¹ Boyle, 'Aspects of Clerical Education', 23.

² See above, p 253 note 1 and p 259 note 1.

years or more.¹

To sum up, while it would appear that in crude terms the proportion of graduates instituted to parochial benefices in the diocese was declining during this period, it is quite clear that the extent of university education among the beneficed clergy in the diocese at this time was much wider than has hitherto been thought.

ORDINATION

One of the evils which the ecclesiastical reformers of the thirteenth century attempted to remedy was the holding of parochial benefices by men who, not being in priest's orders, were unqualified fully to perform the duties of their position.² In an attempt to assess the progress made in combating this abuse, two aspects of ordination need to be investigated: what orders were held by clerks at the time of their institution to a parochial benefice, and how long did it take them to progress to the priesthood.

¹ Boyle, 'Aspects of Clerical Education', 23; Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, pp 40-42. Study licences very rarely name the subject to be pursued; the only three examples which have been found in Burghersh's register (two of which were granted to known graduates) all specify the study of theology or canon law (Reg 5 fos 1, 3v, 184).

² Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp 223-5.

Any examination of the ordination of the beneficed clergy of Lincoln diocese during the episcopate of Henry Burghersh is hampered by one major difficulty: the absence of any ordination lists for the diocese between those of bishops Sutton (1290-99) and Bek (1345-7).¹ Burghersh's memoranda register does, it is true, contain large numbers of letters dimissory licensing clerks from the diocese to receive orders from bishops other than their diocesan, but these letters are solely concerned with unbeneficed clerks and are of little use for a study of the beneficed clergy.² The discussion that follows is therefore based on references to the orders held by particular men at particular times, usually in connection with institution or the grant of some episcopal licence; its principal drawback is that it cannot provide an accurate guide to the length of time taken by incumbents to progress through the different orders to the priesthood.

The absence of ordination lists, however, provides no obstacle to an investigation of the orders held by

¹ *Reg Sutton* vii, *passim*; *Reg 7B* fos 2-16v.

² *Reg 5* fos 84-147v, 156-9. The lack of evidence also makes it impossible to undertake any study of the titles for ordination granted to the beneficed clergy of the diocese; for an example of such a study for a contemporary diocese, see R K Rose, 'Priests and Patrons in the Fourteenth-Century Diocese of Carlisle', *SCH* 16 (1979), 207-218.

clerks at the time of their institution, since this information is given in 80 per cent of the entries for institutions in Sample A. The results of an analysis of these entries are shown in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5
Orders held by Beneficed
Clergy on Institution
1320-1342

<i>Order</i>	<i>Rectories</i>	<i>Vicarages</i>	<i>Total</i>
Clerk	255	2	257 (14%)
Acolyte	207	0	207 (11%)
Subdeacon	24	1	25 (1%)
Deacon	13	26	39 (2%)
Priest	811	439	1304 (71%)
Not specified	354	99	453

TOTAL	1664	621	2285

[Note: The percentages refer solely to those whose orders are specified. 'Clerk' refers to a clerk in minor orders]

The high proportion (71 per cent) of newly-instituted incumbents who were already priests must be qualified to some extent, since Sample A naturally includes a number of clergy who were being instituted to a second or subsequent benefice and who would therefore be much more likely to have proceeded to the priesthood already. An examination of the orders held by clerks in Sample B on institution to their first known benefice reveals that, of the 292 cases where this information is known, 165 (56 per cent) were already priests. But whichever figure is used, it is clear that a far greater proportion of clergy had attained the priesthood before being instituted to a

benefice than was the case a century earlier. Nearly all (94 per cent) of those in Sample A who were instituted to vicarages were priests, and the equivalent figure for rectories was 62 per cent - more than twice the proportion ("less than one quarter") of priests instituted to rectories in the archdeaconries of Oxford, Buckingham and Stow during the episcopate of Hugh of Wells.¹

So far as the minor and other holy orders are concerned, the figures in Table 4.5 demonstrate that, after priests, the next largest group consisted of clerks in minor orders and acolytes. These were nearly all instituted to rectories. Together, they made up one quarter of those clergy in Sample A whose orders were specified.²

The overall impression given by the figures in Table 4.5 is that a majority of clerks, on institution to a benefice, had already attained the priesthood and that, of those who had not done so, most were either acolytes or still in minor orders. Although, as will

¹ Moorman, *op cit*, pp 34-6, 223. See also Smith, *thesis ii*, pp 68-9. The increase in the proportion of priests during the thirteenth century is also noted in C W Foster, 'The Lincoln Episcopal Registers', *AASRP* 41 (1935), 162-3.

² The minor orders are seldom specified. For examples of clerks who had received only the first tonsure, see App 180, 1327.

be shown, some incumbents received dispensations to remain in the subdiaconate for a period, the statistics given in Table 4.5 suggest that most beneficed clergy passed through the intermediate orders of subdeacon and deacon fairly quickly.

In attempting a more accurate assessment of the length of time taken for beneficed clergy to proceed to the priesthood, the absence of ordination lists is an almost insurmountable difficulty. Some guidelines can be suggested, however. Legally, the constitution *Licet canon* stipulated that beneficed clergy must be ordained to the priesthood within a year of their institution.¹ The dispensation *Cum ex eo*, enabling rectors to remain in the subdiaconate for up to seven years while they pursued their studies, gave some relief from the effect of *Licet canon*, but it was still necessary for the dispensed incumbent to proceed to the priesthood within a year from the expiry of the dispensation.² Evidence of contemporary practice is provided by Dr Robinson's study of the ordination lists of the neighbouring diocese of Coventry and Lichfield:

¹ *Rot Gravesend*, pp xxviii-xxix. In theory, an incumbent who failed to observe this rule was automatically deprived, although he could be re-instituted if the patron of the living presented him again (*Reg Sutton 1*, pp xx-xxi); however, there are no examples of this process in Burghersh's register.

² See above, p 256.

Very few men, once ordained subdeacon, failed to progress to the priesthood. Most of them passed through the major orders within three years. Half the men who can be identified at ordination to all three orders were ordained subdeacon and deacon within a year and priest in one further year. One-quarter passed through all the orders within a year and about one-fifth took between two and three years. A few men took more than three years.¹

With these guidelines in mind, an examination can be made of the limited evidence provided by Sample B for the diocese of Lincoln during Burghersh's episcopate. Twelve clerks in the sample are known to have proceeded from minor or acolyte's orders to the priesthood in less than three years: Hugh of Peterborough (acolyte in October 1318, priest by November 1320); William de Glatton (acolyte in February 1321, priest by June 1323); Edmund de Grimesby (acolyte in June 1322, priest by November 1324); William de Ichinton (acolyte in March 1321, priest by May 1323); Walter de Stratton (acolyte in February 1321, priest by July 1323) and Robert de Waldegrave (clerk in April 1320, priest by August 1322), all in under three years;² William de Dorso

¹ D Robinson, 'Ordinations of Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1322-1358', *Archives* 17 (1985), 7.

² Reg 2 fo 74, Reg 5 fo 2v (Peterborough); App 10, 1248 (Glatton); App 50, 2221 (Grimesby); App 13, Reg 5 fo 16 (Ichinton); App 2445, Reg 5 fo 15 (Stratton); Reg 2 fo 353, App 1232 (Waldegrave).

Usto (acolyte in September 1321, priest by April 1323); Alan de Medefeld (acolyte in February 1321, priest by September 1322), John de Pabenham (clerk in December 1321, priest by February 1323) and Gilbert de Sandal (clerk in June 1322, priest by July 1323), in under two years;¹ Theobald de Peryrs (clerk in March 1322, priest by January 1323) and Hugh de Walmesford (acolyte in March 1323, priest by March 1324) in under one year.²

The effect of the constitution *Cum ex eo*, in delaying an incumbent's progress to the priesthood, can also be observed. The little evidence that there is suggests that the constitution's requirement concerning ordination to the subdiaconate was being enforced; William de Ichinton, John de Pabenham and John de Spillesby all proceeded to that order within a year of institution, and there is no evidence that any of those dispensed remained in acolyte's orders for more than a few months.³ Although no further

¹ App 1975, Reg 5 fo 15 (Dorso Usto); App 8, Reg 5 fo 12v (Medefeld); App 1981, Reg 5 fo 14v (Pabenham); App 857, 2475 (Sandal).

² App 2458, Reg 5 fo 9 (Peryrs); App 2471, 108 (Walmesford).

³ App 13, Reg 5 fo 8v (Ichinton); App 1981, Reg 5 fo 10 (Pabenham); App 2464, Reg 5 fo 15v (Spillesby). John de Acton (App 1189, Reg 5 fo 3) and Ralph Beler (Reg 2 fos 135v, 216) remained acolytes for a few months after institution.

ordination was required of the clerk so dispensed until the expiry of the dispensation, some at least (Ralph Beler, Henry de Evesham and John de Spillesby) proceeded to the diaconate before that time.¹ In the case of long dispensations, an incumbent could postpone his progress to the priesthood for several years: John de Acton, instituted to Loddington as an acolyte in September 1320, was still only a subdeacon in September 1326, and Ralph Beler, an acolyte when instituted to two parts of Clipston in June 1318, was still only a deacon in October 1323.² The evidence suggests, however, that the overwhelming majority of dispensed clergy proceeded, as was required, to the priesthood within a year of the expiry of the dispensation; the enforcement of this rule can be seen in the cases of Hamo Beler, Ralph Beler, Henry de Evesham, William de Ichinton and John de Pabenham.³ Only one clerk in Sample B, Edmund de Bereford, is known to have remained in the subdiaconate beyond the expiry of this period; his dispensation expired in May

¹ Reg 5 fo 15v (Beler); Reg 5 fo 20 (Evesham); Reg 5 fo 18 (Spillesby).

² App 1189, Reg 5 fo 15v (Acton); Reg 2 fo 135v, Reg 5 fo 15v (Beler).

³ Reg 5 fo 20, *BRUO* p 2150 (H Beler); Reg 5 fo 15v, App 894 (R Beler); Reg 5 fos 20, 183v (Evesham); Reg 5 fos 8v, 16 (Ichinton); Reg 5 fos 10, 14v (Pabenham).

1328 and during the following year he resigned his living of Swalcliffe on his installation to the prebend of Shipton in Salisbury cathedral, a benefice without cure of souls. He was still a subdeacon in February 1333 when he was instituted to the rectory of Holbeach, probably as a temporary measure only, prior to the appropriation of that church to the bishop of Lincoln.¹

It can be suggested, therefore, so far as this limited evidence will permit, that the work of thirteenth century reformers such as Grosseteste, and the effects of the constitution *Licet canon* of 1274, had by 1320 achieved a considerable change in the importance attached by incumbents to the priesthood, in comparison with the position a century earlier. The majority of incumbents (and nearly all vicars) had already attained the priesthood on institution. Those who had not were likely still to be in minor or acolyte's orders, and to proceed to the priesthood within three years, possibly sooner. The major exception was those incumbents granted *Cum ex eo* dispensations, but even in these cases the regulations of that constitution regarding ordination appear largely to have been adhered to.

¹ Reg 5 fo 18; App 1776; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* 111, p 84; App 367.

ADMISSION TO A BENEFICE

It might be thought that the procedure of presentation, institution and induction is so well known as not to need detailed treatment here.¹ The basic routine whereby a clerk gained admission to a benefice has been described in a number of studies.² Nevertheless, many of these works provide no more than an outline of the subject, and there is as yet no detailed account of early fourteenth century practice. Some aspects (who carried out the inquiry? how widespread was the employment of proctors by candidates for institution? how often was the institution performed by an episcopal commissary, and to what sort of men did the bishop entrust such commissions?) have scarcely been considered at all. For these reasons, a survey of the whole process, from presentation deed to certificate of induction, is surely overdue.

¹ Haines, *Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, p 192.

² For example: Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, pp 106-11; Foster, 'Lincoln Episcopal Registers', 162-8; A Hamilton Thompson, 'Ecclesiastical Benefices and their Incumbents', *TLAS* 22 (1944-5), 13-17; J S Purvis, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Records* (London, 1953), pp 16-17, 23-6; Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons*, pp 19-22. Early thirteenth-century institutions are discussed in *Acta Stephani Langton, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, 1207-1228*, ed K Major (CYS 50, 1950), pp xxxv-xxxvii, and in D M Smith, *thesis* 1, pp 67-82.

A typical entry in Burghersh's institution register appears in a form similar to that following:

Walterus de Weston' presbiter presentatus per dominum Johannem la Ware militem ad ecclesiam de Bloxham' Lincoln' diocesis vacantem per mortem domini Willelmi de sancto Licio ultimi Rectoris eiusdem facta prius inquisitione per Officialem Archidiaconi Lincoln' per quam &c ad dictam ecclesiam est admissus iij^{to} Idus Marci anno domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} Tricesimo secundo apud Thornholm' et Rector canonice institutus in eadem Jurataque Episcopo canonica obediencia in forma consueta Et scriptum fuit dicto Officiali quod &c'

Entries such as this provide the basic details of presentation, inquiry, institution and induction. In the section that follows, it is proposed to examine each of these four stages separately.

Presentation

Once the vacancy of a parochial benefice, whether by death, resignation, or some other cause, became known, the procedure for the admission of the next incumbent was set in motion with the issue, by the patron, of letters of presentation, usually referred to as the presentation deed.² Although the series

¹ Reg 4 fo 46

² K Major, 'Fifteenth Century Presentation Deeds in the Lincoln Diocesan Record Office' in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F M Powicke*, eds R W Hunt, W A Pantin and R W Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp 455-64.

of presentation deeds among the Lincoln diocesan records does not commence until 1484, there are a few earlier examples transcribed in full into the episcopal registers, including seven in Burghersh's institution register.¹ In addition, two original presentation deeds of 1320 have survived among the *sede vacante* material in the archives of the dean and chapter of Lincoln.²

Dr Major has noted the way in which the growing episcopal control over parish churches during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was reflected in the changing form of the letters of presentation, from a document resembling a grant of land to a letter humbly requesting institution.³ By 1320, the form of the document was well established; the structure of the fourteenth-century deeds is almost identical to that of the example of 1275 quoted by Dr Major.⁴ The same format can again be

¹ App 188, 418, 1752, 1970, 1991, 2026, 2037. These appear to have been copied into the register because of some unusual feature of the benefice concerned; five involved presentations to cures served by canons of religious houses. However, the resulting variations affected the text to a limited extent only.

² D & C Dij 64/1/20, 64/2/20.

³ *Acta Stephani Langton*, p xxxv.

⁴ *Ibid.* The deed, a presentation by Selby Abbey to the church of St Bartholomew, Lincoln, is printed in *Reg Ant* ii, p 169.

seen in the surviving originals of the late fifteenth century.¹ Their basic construction consists of three sentences: the first a greeting, in which the bishop is addressed as *venerabili in Christo patri* or by a similar title, and the patron invariably refers to himself as *humilis et devotus*. The second sentence concerns the presentation itself, usually in the form: *ad ecclesiam de N. vacantem et ad presentationem nostram spectantem... dilectum nobis in Christo A.B. vestre paternitati presentamus*, together with a subordinate clause requesting the bishop to institute: *vos humiliter supplicantes... quatinus dictum A.B. ad eandem admittere et rectorem instituere velit*. The third sentence provides the date. To this structure was sometimes added a separate sealing clause, and sometimes a valediction.² The two original examples suggest that the practice of applying the seal on a tongue rather than a tag may have obtained in the fourteenth century as it did in the fifteenth.³

¹ Major, *art cit*, p 459.

² For example, Reg 4 fos 259, 291 (App 1752, 1970).

³ Major, *art cit*, p 462. One of the two original deeds of 1320 (a presentation to the church of Fleet Marston) bears a fragment of the seal of John Neyrnuit, the patron (D & C Dij 64/2/20).

The Inquiry

When the presentation deed had been drawn up, it was sent to the bishop; on some occasions, at least, it might be taken there by the candidate himself.¹ On receiving the deed, the bishop would normally issue a mandate for an inquiry, to examine the presentation and to inquire both into the vacancy of the church and into the candidate presented to the same.² The person to whom the inquiry mandate was addressed is identified in nearly 90 per cent of the institutions recorded in Burghersh's register; details are given in Table 4.6.

The figures in Table 4.6 indicate that the great majority, more than 70 per cent, of these inquiries was undertaken by the official of the archdeacon concerned. The only others who played a significant role in this business were the rural deans who accounted for 10 per cent of the total, although

¹ See Reg 4 fo 291 (App 1970), where the candidate is described as *lator presentium*. The description of the procedure in Salisbury diocese implies that the presentee, or his proctor, was usually responsible for the conveyance not only of the presentation deed but also of the mandate for and certificate of inquiry (*Reg Martival* i, pp vii-xiii).

² It appears that a note of the issue of the mandate was endorsed on the presentation deed, for example: *Venit apud Sanctum Neotum ij Nonas April' et scriptum fuit officiali Archidiaconi Buck' pro inquisitione* (D & C Dij 64/2/20).

Table 4.6

Inquiries into Presentation
1320-1342

Official of archdeacon	1620
Rural dean	222
Commissary of archdeacon	26
Guardian of archdeaconry	24
Bishop's commissary	12
Dean and Chapter of Lincoln	50
Others	16
No inquiry because facts fully known	70
Not specified	245
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
TOTAL	2285

their share was considerably swollen by the number of mandates issued to deans in the archdeaconry of Lincoln between 1323 and 1327 during a dispute over the possession of that archdeaconry.¹ For presentations to vicarages of prebendal churches of Lincoln, the inquiry was usually entrusted to the dean and chapter; where the chapter was itself the patron, the inquiry might be carried out by the provost of the common, or by the vicar of one of the prebendal churches.² On occasion, the bishop presided at the inquiry in person, or delegated the

¹ App 82-164; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* 1, p 6.

² For example, App 755, 772 (dean and chapter); 761, 777 (provost of common); 19, 174 (vicar of Sleaford); 41 (vicar of Welton); 2248 (vicar of Aylesbury); 2503 (vicar of Buckden). Geoffrey de Whitten, vicar of Hibaldstow, enjoyed a wider authority in 1323-4 as lieutenant of the official of the archdeacon of Stow and then as custodian of that archdeaconry during its vacancy (Reg 2 fo 93, App 755; App 730, Reg 5 fo 353; see also App 113-14, 731-2, 735).

task to a trusted member of his household.¹

In some cases, as Table 4.6 shows, the inquiry might be dispensed with altogether because the facts were already fully known to the bishop. This would clearly be the case where the bishop himself was patron² or in benefices where the bishop had the right to nominate a clerk to the patron for presentation.³ In some other cases, possible reasons why the inquiry was waived may be suggested. In 1334, a presentation to the church of Gautby took place on the same day as the admission of a new prior of Minting, the patron of Gautby; it may have been felt that the presence of the patron in person removed the necessity for an inquiry.⁴ In the same year, no inquiry was required into the presentation of Elias de Thoresby to the church of Yarburgh, vacant by the resignation of Elias himself. On this occasion, it is possible that the candidate may have been able to furnish sufficient testimony concerning his previous institution, thereby rendering a second

¹ App 2261 (bishop), 356, 775 (Hugh de Walmesford), 2599 (John de Martham).

² This includes both collations made *pleno iure* (e.g. App 1120) and those made by lapse (e.g. App 856, 932).

³ For example, Goxhill (App 479) and Saltby (App 1153, 1156).

⁴ App 414-15.

inquiry unnecessary.¹

A rare example of a mandate issued by Burghersh illustrates clearly the scope expected of the inquiry. It was to be held

*tam super vacatione dicte ecclesie, videlicet an vacet, et si sic, ubi, quando et qualiter vacare incepit, quam iure presentantis, et quis presentavit ultimo ad eandem, necnon super vita, moribus, conversatione, et natalibus dicti presentati, et an in ordine clericali, et in quo seu in quibus fuerit constitutus, item an sit alibi beneficiatus, et si sic, utrum unum vel plura, et que et qualia fuerint huiusmodi beneficia, ac super aliis articulis consuetis in pleno loci capitulo celebrando...*²

The only stipulation made in the mandate concerning the place where the inquiry should be held was that it must be *in pleno loci capitulo*. The rural chapter had developed in a number of different forms under the authority of the archdeacon (or his official) and the rural dean, who appear to have enjoyed complete control over such matters as the time, interval, place and attendance of its meetings. Jean Scammell

¹ App 425. As a member of a prominent Lindsey family and a relative of John Thoresby, chancery clerk and future archbishop of York, Elias was no doubt well-known to the bishop (Tout, *Chapters* iii, pp 215-16; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, p 167).

² *Reg Orleton (Hereford)*, pp 344-5. This mandate was issued by Burghersh to the official of the archdeacon of Northampton and was reproduced *verbatim* in the official's certificate. The whole document was subsequently forwarded to Bishop Orleton who carried out the institution. See also App 1294.

has pointed out how the potential for holding 'rigged' chapter meetings (particularly in cases concerning disputed property) led to Archbishop Pecham's order that any inquiry about the presentation to a benefice, made by a prelate below the rank of bishop, should be made in full chapter, thereby (in theory) ensuring greater attendance and wider publicity.¹

Accordingly, the surviving certificates of inquiry for Burghersh's episcopate regularly include the phrase *in pleno loci capitulo*.² Where the actual place of the inquiry is known, however, it would not in general seem to suggest any particular desire for secrecy. Nearly all of these inquiries were held in churches at no great distance from the living in question: North Witham for South Witham, Mears Ashby for Sywell, Wendover for Weston Turville, Great Gaddesden for Great Berkhamsted and, from the *sede vacante* period of 1320, Waddesdon for Fleet Marston.³

The inquiry was normally attended by incumbents from other parishes in the deanery. At that for South

¹ J Scammell, 'The Rural Chapter in England from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century', *EHR* 86 (1971), 10, 13-14.

² App 1230, 1248, 1726; see also D & C D1j 64/1/20, 64/2/19.

³ App 554, 1230, 2342, 2547; D & C D1j 64/2/19.

Witham in 1337, there were present

*rectores et vicarios ecclesiarum decanatus
de Belteslawe et aliarum ecclesiarum dicte
ecclesie de Suth'Wyme vicinarum in numero
competenti*¹

In large deaneries, it would clearly be impracticable for the incumbents from all of the parishes to attend. The inquiry into the presentation to the church of Broughton (Northants) in 1326 was attended by only six incumbents out of the 44 parishes in the deanery of Rothwell. At the inquiry into the presentation of William de Piryton to the church of Broadwell in 1324, the incumbents of twelve of the 22 other benefices in the deanery of Witney were present; it is noticeable that the western part of the deanery, in which Broadwell was situated, was strongly represented (Broughton Poggs, Clanfield, Black Bourton, Bampton, Shilton, Westwell, Brize Norton) while incumbents from parishes further east (Standlake, Ducklington, Northmoor, Witney) were absent. The inquiry held by the dean of Wendover, concerning a presentation to Weston Turville in 1334, was more fully attended. Out of a total of 16 incumbents, seven were present in person and a further four were represented by proctors. In addition, five parishioners from Weston Turville itself were there.²

¹ Reg 4 fo 72 (App 554).

² *Reg Orleton (Hereford)*, p 345; App 1726, 2342.

One inquiry which differed from the normal pattern was that held concerning the presentation of Edmund Paynel to the church of Broughton by Brigg. The inquiry was held in the church of St Margaret, Lincoln, in the presence of representatives not of the deanery of Manlake, in which Broughton was situated, but of the deanery of Grantham in which Edmund previously held the rectory of Boothby Pagnell: the dean of Grantham himself, with his clerk; the incumbents of Sedgebrook, Spitalgate and Honington; the parochial chaplain of Stroxtun; three parishioners from Boothby Pagnell and three other laymen from the deanery. The unusual feature of this inquiry is that it appears to focus on the church previously held by the candidate, rather than that to which he was being presented. The explanation for this probably lies in the fact that both churches were in the patronage of the Paynel family.¹

The findings of the inquiry followed closely the form of the mandate. First came the details of the vacancy, whether by resignation, by the institution of the previous incumbent to another benefice, or by death.² The true patron was then identified, with

¹ App 727.

² For example, App 2703 (resignation), 188 (institution), 1248 (death). The date when the vacancy commenced is usually given.

the name of the patron who presented at the last vacancy.¹ The candidate himself was next examined; he was required to be of honest life, free and legitimate (or, if not, to be in possession of an appropriate papal dispensation). His orders were ascertained and inquiry was made concerning any other benefices which he held.² In most cases, the candidate was found to hold no other benefices; the only exceptions to this were where the candidate had not yet resigned his previous living.³ Finally, some relevant facts concerning the church were stated: whether any pension was due, whether it was the subject of litigation, what was its annual value.⁴

When the inquiry had been completed, its findings were embodied in the form of a certificate to be returned to the bishop or his commissary.⁵ The

¹ For example, App 1726, 2310, 2342, 2547, 2703.

² For example, App 2310.

³ This occurred in the case of exchanges (App 993, 1230). John de la Haye, presented to Weston Turville, was found to be also beneficed at Datchet but he resigned this living within the following seven months (App 2342, 2348). William de Swaton, presented to St John Stamford, also held Little Kimble, an incumbency not recorded in the register but in any case not a long term one (App 188, Reg 5 fo 21).

⁴ See, for example, App 2342; for churches where pensions were due, see App 188, 1248, 2547.

⁵ For example, App 1248. For two original certificates of 1320, see D & C D1j 64/1/20, 64/2/19.

overall timetable for an inquiry would obviously vary according to circumstances. In some cases, the whole process, from the issue of the mandate to the return of the certificate, might be completed within a week. The bishop's mandate for the 1324 Broadwell inquiry, referred to above, was issued at Fingest on 15 October. It was received by the official of the archdeacon of Oxford on the following day, and three days later the inquiry was held in the parish church of Witney. The certificate of inquiry was issued on 21 October at Oxford; on the following day, the bishop received the certificate at the Old Temple and issued a commission to institute.¹

An inquiry of a more specific nature was that sometimes held to determine the age of a candidate for a benefice.² In accordance with canon law, such a candidate had to be at least 25 years of age at the time of his presentation to a benefice with cure of souls.³ Sometimes, however, it would seem to the bishop from the appearance of the candidate that he was too young (*ex aspectu corporis notorie minoris etatis appareat*). The exact circumstances are not

¹ App 1726.

² App 340, 408, 459; Reg 5 fo 332v.

³ Gibson, *Codex*, p 805.

specified; it is clear that the candidate was in the bishop's presence (*coram nobis personaliter constitutus*), but whether this was for the purpose of delivering the presentation deed or whether it was for the institution itself is not stated. The bishop would then issue a 'mandate' for the holding of an inquiry into the matter in the presence of sworn witnesses from the candidate's birthplace (*ubi traxit originem dictus presentatus*). If the candidate was found to have been of lawful age, the commissary was empowered to proceed with the institution.²

Institution

The inquiry having been certified, or dispensed with, the next stage was for the presented candidate to attend the bishop in person for institution. The modern custom whereby a diocesan bishop visits a parish church to institute a new incumbent is, in the diocese of Lincoln, of comparatively recent date. In the fourteenth century, the prospective incumbent

¹ In three of the examples recorded in Burghersh's registers, the mandate was issued to a sequestrator (Hugh de Walmesford, William Bachiler) and in the fourth to the abbot of Leicester.

² This account is based on the inquiries into the ages of Robert Motekan, presented to Newton by Toft (Reg 4 fo 38, App 340), of William Tours of Hogsthorpe, presented to Toynton All Saints (Reg 4 fo 51v, App 408) and of John de Title, presented to Hatton (Reg 4 fo 57v, App 459).

would travel to the bishop to receive institution at whatever place the episcopal household chanced to be in residence. '

For any clerk seeking institution, whether he was likely to be resident or non-resident on his benefice, a travelling bishop, particularly in a diocese the size of Lincoln, might present problems. If Burghersh were staying in a distant place such as York for a long period of time, there would be no alternative for the candidate other than to undertake the journey. If, however, the bishop was moving about the diocese more frequently, it might be possible for a candidate who intended to reside to receive institution at some place rather closer to his prospective benefice.

An analysis of the institutions made to benefices in the two archdeaconries of Bedford and Stow would appear to confirm this. Out of 73 institutions to parochial benefices in the archdeaconry of Stow between 1320 and 1342, 29 took place in the northern half of the diocese (Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Rutland) and a further 19 in extra-diocesan counties

' Major, 'Fifteenth Century Presentation Deeds', p 457 note 1. On a rare occasion when an institution was carried out (by the vicar-general) in the parish concerned, it took place not in the church but in the manor of the patron (App 2545).

north of the Trent (Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire); the overall proportion of these 'northern' institutions in Stow archdeaconry was 66 per cent. In the archdeaconry of Bedford during the same period, 45 out of 114 institutions took place in the southern half of the diocese (Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and part of Hertfordshire) and a further 27 in extra-diocesan counties south of the Trent, an overall proportion of 63 per cent. ¹

Nevertheless, there were still occasions when a prospective incumbent needed to travel a long distance to receive institution. In November 1326, during the aftermath of Queen Isabella's invasion, the bishop was at Lugwardine outside Hereford where he instituted Simon de Southormesby to the vicarage of Holton le Clay, just south of Grimsby. In 1330, William de Carleton had to travel to Salisbury for institution to the Lincolnshire church of Faldingworth. ²

One method by which a clerk could avoid such a

¹ App 717-821 (Stow), 1970-2177 (Bedford). The division of the diocese into these northern and southern halves was customarily used for the assessment and collection of ecclesiastical tenths (Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*, pp 632-3). See also p 142 above.

² App 157, 765.

journey was to employ a proctor to receive institution on his behalf.¹ Altogether, 281 institutions to parochial benefices recorded in Burghersh's register (12 per cent of the whole) were made in this way. Among the clerks who were thus instituted by proxy, there were naturally many who had little or no intention of residing on their benefices. They included king's clerks such as Richard de Feriby and Adam de Lymbergh (who was overseas, in the king's service as constable of Bordeaux, at the time of his institution to Algarkirk in September 1323); clerks of nobles (such as John de Quengou, treasurer of the earl of Richmond) and of prelates (such as Nicholas North, a clerk of the bishop of Rochester); canons of Lincoln, such as John de Colby (who employed the chapter clerk to act as his proctor), and Oxford scholars like William Merle and John de Wanetyng, fellows of Merton.² But there were no doubt others, destined to reside on their benefices, who employed a proctor simply to

¹ For an example of letters of appointment of a proctor, see App 2310.

² App 66 (Feriby); App 84; *CPR 1321-4*, p 347; Tout, *Place of Edward II*, p 397 (Lymbergh); App 16; *CPR 1321-4*, p 2 (Quengou); App 1895; *Reg Hethe* 11, p 181 (North); App 1608; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* 1, p 124; K Major, 'The Office of Chapter Clerk at Lincoln in the Middle Ages' in *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham*, eds V Ruffer and A J Taylor (Oxford, 1950), p 181 (Colby); App 295; *BRUO*, pp 1264-5 (Merle); App 1701; *BRUO*, pp 1978-9 (Wanetyng).

avoid a difficult or inconvenient journey. Even vicars were occasionally instituted by proxy. Walter de Gypeswich was instituted at Sleaford to the vicarage of Stoke Poges in the person of his proctor who also swore the oath of residence on Walter's behalf.¹ But it is likely that the requirement imposed on vicars to swear this oath of perpetual residence before the bishop on their institution was the reason why comparatively few (3 per cent) of the institutions to vicarages were carried out by proxy.

Although in many cases the proctor remains a shadowy figure, it would be wrong to assume that he was merely a clerical drudge. The proctors used in Sample A included 49 graduates; in 1330, for example, the church of Wistow in Leicestershire was collated to Simon Montacute, the future bishop of Worcester, in the person of Robert de Crishale, an Oxford *magister*, as his proctor.² Similarly, the list of proctors includes 30 who were incumbents of benefices in their own right, such as William de Dykheved, rector of Workington, and Matthew Palmere, rector of Little Canfield.³ Sometimes a clerk in the

¹ Reg 4 fo 325v (App 2183).

² App 991; *BRUO*, pp 512-13.

³ App 162, 337.

bishop's household might act as proctor, for example Hugh de Walmesford, Richard de Whitwell, John de Farndon, John de Burn, Nicholas de Denton, John de Martham.¹ Some proctors acted on more than one occasion, such as Master William de Lee (four times), William Pachet and Henry de Killum (three times) and Simon de Wyntringham (twice, on both occasions to the church of Benniworth).²

Although the proctor is often no more than a name, there are among these 281 institutions 73 instances in which some connection can be discerned between the proctor on the one hand and the candidate, the benefice or the patron on the other. In almost half (36) of these cases, the link was one of family or place between the prospective incumbent and his proctor. Thus Nicholas de la Dale was proctor for the institution of Master Henry de la Dale to Higham Ferrers in 1337; Roger Tolthorp acted for Robert Tolthorp (Emberton, 1323) and Master John Skyret for Adam Skyret (Maids' Moreton, 1327).³ In some cases, a family relationship is specified: father was proctor for son at Grimoldby in 1339, and nephew

¹ App 10, 17, 367, 1160, 1380, 1396, 1593, 2644.

² App 1083, 1104, 1470, 1790 (Lee); 1265, 1271, 1314 (Pachet); 2608, 2668, 2670 (Killum); 67, 197 (Wyntringham).

³ App 1569, 2194, 2257.

acted on behalf of uncle at Sleaford in 1341.¹

Where toponymics are used, it is not always possible to distinguish between family links and those of birthplace. Some connections through places involved a previous benefice held by both parties. Master William de Quicham, instituted to Stroxtun in 1332, and his proctor Thomas Salecok, were both formerly rectors of Staindrop in county Durham;² John Ryngsted de Islep acted as proctor for the institution of Robert Cursoun to Molesworth on the same day (7 November 1337) as his own institution to the church of St Andrew, Cranford, which Robert had just resigned.³

Candidate and proctor might also be connected through service. William Halton, proctor for the institution of Adam de Lymbergh to Algarkirk in 1323, had been nominated as Adam's attorney during his absence overseas on royal business. John Travers, rector of Broughton Astley, and William de Dalling, proctor at his institution in 1320, travelled together on the king's service to Gascony in 1324.⁴

¹ App 608, 675.

² App 342; Donaldson, *thesis* ii, p 264.

³ App 2660, 1579.

⁴ App 84, 825; *CPR 1321-4*, pp 111, 406.

In other cases, the proctor was connected with the benefice rather than with the prospective incumbent. Richard de Lindewod was proctor for the institution to Linwood of Thomas de Sonnebury, Hugh de Lughteburgh for an institution to Loughborough and Nicholas Martyn de Weston Basset for an institution to Weston by Welland (*alias* Weston Basset).¹ The proctor might be the resigning incumbent himself (Geoffrey de Bannebury for Sleaford in 1325, Richard Murymouth for Edgcott in 1334, Master John Farman for Knebworth in 1338),² or he might have connections with a neighbouring parish (Richard de Chaddesdon was rector of Charwelton and proctor for Woodford Halse; William de Castre was proctor for Marholm).³

Connections between the proctor and the patron of the benefice might be those of family or place. Richard de Dyngele was proctor for an institution to East Farndon where the patron was either his namesake or, conceivably, Richard himself.⁴ The two parties might also be linked through patronage. Richard de Creyk was proctor for the institution of John de Quengou to Wyberton; the patron of the living was the earl of

¹ App 57, 852, 1530.

² App 904, 2339, 2663.

³ App 1201, 1235.

⁴ App 1418.

Richmond, of whose household both Richard and John were members. Henry de Thetford acted as proctor for institutions to two benefices in the gift of Elizabeth de Burgh, lady Clare, who presented Henry himself to one of them (Farnham Royal) at a later vacancy.¹ Where the patron was an institution, the proctor might be found among its members. William de Hextildisham, a canon of Leicester, was proctor for an institution to Humberstone; Master William de Humberston, a fellow of Merton College, was proctor for an institution to Cuxham.²

Out of the 2285 institutions to parochial benefices recorded in Burghersh's register, the great majority (88 per cent) were carried out by the bishop himself, by his vicar-general during his periods of absence *in remotis*, or by the Official *sede vacante* between 1340 and 1342. A further 121 institutions were carried out, by way of exchange, by the bishop of another diocese; these will be considered in the next chapter. The remaining 142 institutions (6 per cent of the whole) were carried out by commissaries appointed on each occasion by the bishop specifically for that purpose. Altogether, 48 individual commissaries were used, and five pairs of

¹ App 3, *CPR* 1321-4 p 2; App 2356, 2526, 2383.

² App 902; App 1863, *BRVO* p 982.

commissaries some of whom (for example, John Harrington and Richard Stretton) also acted as individuals.¹ Of the individuals, 24 were involved in diocesan administration in some capacity: as members of the bishop's household (John Malville, Henry Iddesworth, Simon Islip, John de Martham, Gilbert Buckingham);² as sequestrators (William Bachiler, Hugh de Walmesford, John de Wottesdon);³ as archdeacons or their officials (Gilbert Middleton, William Wittlesey, William de Makesey, John de Felmersham).⁴ Nine of the commissaries were heads of religious houses: the abbots of Leicester, Newbo, Osney and Missenden; the priors of Huntingdon, Fineshade, Ulverscroft and St Andrew, Northampton; and the rector of Ashridge.⁵ Six were cathedral prebendaries (five of Lincoln, one of York);⁶ two

¹ App 1248; App 275, 316; App 305, 336, 986.

² For example, App 12, 13 (Malville); 73, 116 (Iddesworth); 388, 446 (Islip); 1513, 2318 (Martham); 2241 (Buckingham). For a discussion of the diocesan administration, see pp 30-62 above.

³ For example, App 291, 408 (Bachiler); 340, 1340 (Walmesford); 1118, 1509 (Wottesdon). Wottesdon received by far the greatest number of such commissions, 26 in total.

⁴ App 1324, 2260, 2468 (Middleton); 1912, 1940 (Wittlesey); 1669 (Makesey); 2703 (Felmersham).

⁵ App 910, 1020, 1089, 1098, 1134, 1640 (Leicester); 501 (Newbo); 1726 (Osney); 2342 (Missenden); 974, 2654 (Huntingdon); 1574 (Fineshade); 993 (Ulverscroft); 2643 (Northampton); 2547 (Ashridge).

⁶ App 181, 275, 305, 617, 1316, 1998.

were bishops of other dioceses (Adam Orleton, of Hereford and then Worcester, and Roger Northburgh of Coventry and Lichfield).¹ The remaining seven individual commissaries were incumbents of benefices in Lincoln diocese (such as Richard de Wyntringham, rector of Garthorpe, and Roger de Exton, vicar of Pinchbeck), each being used on one occasion only.²

There is very little evidence in Burghersh's register concerning the actual ceremony of institution. Two aspects were involved: the admission, whereby the bishop declared himself satisfied of the candidate's fitness to receive the cure of souls, and the institution, whereby the bishop granted that cure to the candidate. The institution was enacted by the ceremony itself, through a symbol delivered by the bishop to the clerk. This symbol could be a ring, a cord, a cap or a book; it could also be the letters of institution. The key words by which the act was performed were *admittimus* and *instituímus*. On receiving institution, the clerk swore an oath of canonical obedience to the bishop and, if the

¹ App 1294, 2313; App 1343. It is interesting to note that Burghersh did not use suffragans for this purpose. For the work of suffragans, see above, p 35.

² App 161, 399, 554, 1115, 1610, 1774, 2126.

benefice was a vicarage, an oath of personal residence *secundum formam constitutionis*.¹

Burghersh's register does contain one small fragment of evidence concerning the institution ceremony, which may be found in the entry recording the institution of Robert de Lincoln to the vicarage of Cotes by Stow in 1320. The words spoken by bishop and candidate are there transcribed in full:

*Ad vicariam ecclesie de Cotes nostre diocesis te admittimus et vicarium cum onere personaliter ministrandi et continue residendi... instituimus in eadem tamen eris nobis et Officialibus nostris obediens &c et facias ibi residenciam personalem in forma constitutionis sic deus te adiuvet et sancta dei ewangelia, et respondens admissus dixit ero et faciam.*²

Letters of institution, unless used as a symbol as noted above, did not form any part of the ceremony and had a purely evidentiary function, in much the same way as a charter recorded a grant of land which had actually been effected by livery of seisin.³ In any case, as Dr Smith has shown, only about half of

¹ Foster, 'Lincoln Episcopal Registers', 164-6; *Acta Stephani Langton*, p xxxvi; Smith, *thesis* 1, pp 74-5. For the constitutions of Otto and Ottobon concerning the residence of vicars, see Gibson, *Codex* 11, pp 893-4.

² Reg 4 fo 97 (App 719).

³ Smith, *thesis* 1, p 74; *Transcripts of Charters Relating to Gilbertine Houses*, ed F M Stenton (LRS 18, 1922), pp xvi-xvii.

the beneficed clergy received letters of institution.¹ In Burghersh's institution register, there are nine examples of letters of institution given in full.² These generally take the form of a personal letter from the bishop (or, in six of these examples, his commissary) to the newly-instituted clerk. This type of letter had, by the late thirteenth century, succeeded the earlier form of a charter with a general address. One example, however, again involving the institution of Robert de Lincoln to Cotes by Stow, unusually follows the older form:

Universis pateat per presentes quod nos Henricus & fratrem Robertum de Linc'... ad vicariam ecclesie de Cotes nostre diocesis vacantem... admisimus et vicariam perpetuum cum onere personaliter ministrandi et continue residendi... canonice instituimus in eadem³

Not all institutions were successful. Thomas de Escrik, presented by the king to the church of Wootton (Northants) on 12 January 1334, was instituted by the bishop on 22 January. Two days

¹ D M Smith, 'The Rolls of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln 1209-35', *BIHR* 45 (1972), 186-92.

² App 188, 719, 968, 974, 1218, 1248, 1509, 1669, 1752.

³ Reg 4 fo 97 (App 719). For the change in the form of letters of institution, see *Acta Stephani Langton*, pp xxxv-xxxvii.

later, his presentation was revoked "for certain causes" and Guy Wake was presented in his place. Wake was instituted on 11 March and held the living until his death in 1347.¹ The circumstances preceding a candidate's presentation might affect the security of his institution. Thomas de Radeclive was instituted to the church of Ragdale *suo periculo* following the deprivation of his predecessor; Hugh Martyn, instituted to the church of Welwyn after an advowson dispute, swore to resign the living if the presentation was recovered against his patron.²

Collation

Where a benefice was in the gift of the bishop, whether in full right or for one turn only by reason of lapse, it was said to be collated to the clerk concerned. In such an instance, there was clearly no necessity for a presentation deed; in many cases, as has been shown, there was no inquiry.³ The act of collation took the place of both presentation and

¹ CPR 1330-4, pp 491, 493; App 1478, 1482; Reg 6 fo 78.

² App 824, 2612. It does not appear that Hugh was required to carry out the terms of his oath, as he was still in possession of the living in 1349 (Reg 9 fo 388v).

³ See above, pp 279-80. In some cases of collation by lapse an inquiry was held (App 2203), in others it was not (App 2030).

admission, since, by collating, the bishop was acknowledging the candidate's fitness to hold the living. The collation did not, however, include the institution or transfer of the cure of souls, which was still identified as a separate part of the process.¹ The newly-collated clerk might receive letters of collation, in the same way as letters of institution were issued to others. The sole example of letters of collation given in Burghersh's register illustrates the procedure clearly, demonstrating the bishop's knowledge of the candidate's satisfactory character, the collation of the benefice to the clerk and his institution as rector:

Henricus permissione divina Lincoln' episcopus dilecto in Christo filio Laurentio Turvey clerico salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Morum honestatem et conversationem vite quibus pollere dinosceris attendentes ecclesiam de Deen nostre diocesis vacantem cuius collatio ad nos certis de causis et legitimis existit devoluta de iure... tibi conferimus intuitu caritatis et te Rectorem canonice instituimus in eadem...²

Induction

The final stage in the process was the induction. After the institution had taken place, the bishop

¹ Smith, *thesis* 1, p 73.

² Reg 4 fo 180 (App 1339).

would issue a mandate ordering that the new incumbent should be put in possession of the temporal rights and property of his church (*quatinus predictum A. B. corporalem possessionem dicte ecclesie... faciatis habere*).¹ The destinations of the mandates recorded in Sample A are analysed in Table 4.7:

TABLE 4.7
Mandates for Induction
1320-1342

Archdeacon or his official	12
Archdeacon's official	1712
Archdeacon's official or rural dean	126
Archdeacon's official or another	7
Rural dean	192
Rural dean or another	9
Commissary of archdeacon	1
Custodian of archdeaconry	19
Bishop's commissary	26
Dean and Chapter	46
Other	22
Not specified	113

TOTAL	2285

These figures indicate both that the archdeacons had held firmly to their function, acquired early in the twelfth century, of inducting clergy to benefices, and that during Burghersh's episcopate at any rate the function was almost always delegated to the archdeacon's official.² In nearly 80 per cent of cases in Sample A, the mandate for induction was

¹ In Burghersh's register, seven induction mandates are given in full (App 719, 968(b), 974, 1280, 1509, 1669).

² Brett, *English Church under Henry I*, p 204.

addressed to the official of the archdeacon alone.

The rural deans were the only other category to receive a significant proportion (9 per cent), presumably on occasions when the archdeacon's official was not available. During the dispute over the possession of the archdeaconry of Lincoln, which followed the provision of John Stratford to the see of Winchester in 1323, nearly all the induction mandates for that archdeaconry were sent to the appropriate rural dean. It was not until May 1327, by which time Hugh de Camera appears to have secured possession of the archdeaconry, that mandates began once more to be sent to the archdeacon's official.¹ As in the case of inquiries, inductions to prebendal vicarages were carried out by the dean and chapter, and those to chapter livings by the provost of the Common or the vicar of a prebendal church.²

On receipt of the mandate, the inductor would proceed to the parish church of the benefice in question. The ceremony of induction, with its use of the handing over of the key of the church door and the tolling of the bell as symbols of corporal possession, can be glimpsed in the certificate of the

¹ *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 6; App 82-164.

² For example, App 755, 818; App 324, 760-1; App 41. See also above, p 278.

induction of Richard de Whitwell to the church of
Brighthurst in 1329:

*ad ecclesiam de Brynghurst personaliter
accessimus et prefatum Ricardum in
corporalem possessionem dicte ecclesie et
omnium iurium et pertinenciarum eiusdem
omni solempnitate adhibita que in hac parte
requirabatur induximus et tam cordas
campanarum ipsius ecclesie quam annulos et
claves hostiorum eiusdem ecclesie et eius
mansi in signum nacte possessionis omnium
premissorum eidem Ricardo tradidimus in
manu sua et sic eundem Ricardum in ecclesia
predicta et eius manso cum membris suis
iuribus et pertinenciis universis missum et
inductum in pacifica possessione eorundem
dimisimus...'*

The new incumbent could send a proctor to receive
induction on his behalf.²

Records of medieval institutions to benefices have
not generally roused historians to heights of
enthusiasm, and even their supporters have tended to
damn them with faint praise.³ Yet most medieval
clerks would have seen the acquisition of a benefice
as an event of considerable personal significance,

¹ App 968(b). For other examples of induction
certificates, see App 974, 1280, 1509, 1669.

² App 367, 974, 2620.

³ For example, *Rot Gravesend*, p xxiii; *Reg Sutton i*,
p xix.

representing the attainment of a degree of independence and security rare in that society. Institution to a living meant a means of escape from the ranks of the numerous unbeneficed clergy. The sheer bulk of the surviving records should not be allowed to obscure their individual importance. In the east window of the Lincolnshire church of Carlton Scroop there can be seen two figures, representing incumbent and patron, placed there to provide a lasting testimony to the institution, in 1307, of William de Briddeshall to that benefice.'

' *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds J Alexander and P Binski (London, 1987), pp 290-1. William Briddeshall, instituted to Carlton Scroop in 1307, was still rector in 1322 (Reg 2 fo 20; Reg 5 fo 10). For the unbeneficed clergy, see Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp 52-7; A K McHardy, 'Ecclesiastics and Economics: Poor Priests, Prosperous Laymen and Proud Prelates in the Reign of Richard II', *SCH* 24 (1987), 129-137.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CLERGY: CAREERS

Little work has so far been done on the careers of the beneficed clergy in the early fourteenth century. One reason for this neglect is that previous studies of the subject have not, as has been seen, adopted the method of collective biography but have used the simple analysis of institutions, an approach which does not facilitate a close study of clerical careers.¹

In this chapter, the evidence assembled for the clergy in Sample B will be used to examine a number of aspects of the careers of the parish clergy: how often did they change benefice? for how long might a benefice be held? what was the role of exchanges? what was the extent of non-residence, and what were the extra-parochial functions of the clergy which resulted from it? Some aspects of the parochial duties of the beneficed clergy, and the events involved in the vacation of a benefice, will also be studied.

Some caution, however, must be used in interpreting this evidence. While every effort has been made to

¹ See above, pp 228-31.

assemble full details of the clergy in Sample B from the evidence of the Lincoln episcopal registers, and while published registers for other dioceses have been searched for information relating to the clergy in the Sample, it has not been possible in the time available to search unprinted registers of other dioceses for relevant material. In addition, the episcopal registers for some dioceses in the early fourteenth century are either incomplete (for example, Ely and Canterbury) or missing altogether (for example, Chichester).¹ But although these limitations must be kept in mind, they do not greatly affect the majority of the clergy in the Sample, whose careers were spent largely if not completely within the diocese of Lincoln.

THE TENURE OF A BENEFICE

The clergy in Sample B include both those who remained in the same benefice for many years, and those who moved elsewhere after only a brief stay. Of the 426 incumbents in the Sample, 315 (50 per cent) held one benefice, 122 (29 per cent) held two, 55 (13 per cent) held three, 23 (6 per cent) held four and 9 (2 per cent) held five benefices. In addition, two

¹ D M Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, pp 3-7, 43-4, 68-9.

incumbents are known to have held more than five livings.¹

The length of time for which a particular incumbent held a particular benefice varied considerably, from just over one month to 49 years.² Altogether, 100 incumbents in Sample B (23 per cent) held a benefice for a period of more than 20 years; these included ten incumbencies of over 30 years and six of over 40 years. Seven incumbents in the Sample (Philip de Aston, Nicholas de Camelton, Robert de Burndissh, Thomas de Lincoln, Walter de Grutteworth, Thomas de Filyngham and Roger de Undel) were first instituted to benefices by Bishop Sutton, while Andrew de Wodestok had been instituted to the church of Combe by Bishop Gravesend as far back as 1279.³ At the other extreme chronologically, three incumbents were still in office in the episcopate of Bishop Buckingham (Hugh Flemyng,

¹ These two were William Pelice of St Neots and Thomas Ripplingham (see below, pp 313-16). It should be noted that the proportion of incumbents holding one or two benefices may be exaggerated by the absence of statistics from some other dioceses.

² John de Assheby, rector of St Michael Northampton (one month); Richard de Hærtfordyngbyr, rector of a mediety of Leverton (49 years): App 1244, 1252; App 88, Reg 10 fo 58.

³ *Reg Sutton* i, pp 38, 165, 176, 230; *ibid* viii, pp 59, 106, 200; *Rot Gravesend* p 234. Wodestok exchanged Combe for Cublington in 1323 and died the following year (App 2205, 2216).

Richard de Hertfordyngbyr and Clement de Setrington).¹ Their number would no doubt have been higher had it not been for the effect of the Black Death; of these 100 incumbents, 44 are known to have died during the period June 1349-March 1350.²

Most of these long-term incumbencies (65 out of the 100 cases) were naturally to be found among those clerks who held only one benefice during their careers. For example, John de Pabenham was instituted to the church of Wilden in 1321 and held the living until his death in 1343/4.³ There were some, however, whose long-term benefice came after they had held other, briefer, incumbencies: William de Baumburgh was rector of a mediety of Bag Enderby for 4 years, then vicar of Orby for three years and finally vicar of Cadney for 22 years.⁴ Richard Whitwell was rector of Little Bowden (4 years), of Oadby (3 months) and of Brighthurst (3 years) and then for 26 years rector of

¹ Hugh Flemyng, rector of Glooston 1324-69 (App 893, Reg 10 fo 174); Clement de Setrington, rector of Corby 1322-66 (App 1219, Reg 10 fo 164). For Richard de Hertfordyngbyr, see p 307 note 2 above.

² For the overall effects of the Black Death on the clergy of Lincoln diocese, see A Hamilton Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln, for the years 1347-1350', *Archaeological Journal* 68 (1911), 301-60.

³ App 1981, Reg 6 fo 91v.

⁴ Reg 2 fo 350; App 98, 165; Reg 9 fo 69.

Swalcliffe.¹ Others, having held one benefice for over 20 years, moved to another for what usually proved to be a much shorter period: for example, Walter de Grutteworth, vicar of Ashby Magna (28 years) and of Aylesbury (1 year), Robert de Russeden, rector of St Gregory Northampton (22 years) and vicar of Fotheringhay (2 years), and Hugh de Sautre, rector of Normanton (22 years) and of a mediety of South Witham (6 months).²

For some clergy, one long incumbency was followed by another; there were fourteen clerks in Sample B who held two successive livings each for a period of more than ten years. William le Graunt de Burton was rector of Britwell Salome from 1324 until 1344 when he exchanged that benefice for the vicarage of Shiplake which he held until 1357. Henry de Cobelynton was vicar of Potsgrove for eleven years and then rector of Battlesden until his death 26 years later.³ A few clerks appear to have alternated long-term and short-term incumbencies, notably William de Pulteneye who was successively vicar of Welford (3 years), rector of Sulby (12 years), rector of Standon in the diocese of

¹ App 1280, 962, 967, 1826; Reg 9 fo 274v.

² *Reg Sutton* viii p 59, App 2217 (Grutteworth); App 1260, Reg 6 fo 72v, Reg 9 fo 180 (Russeden); Reg 2 fo 7, App 127, 136 (Sautre).

³ Burton: App 1716, Reg 6 fo 84v, Reg 9 fo 270; Cobelynton: Reg 2 fo 267, App 1988, Reg 9 fo 418v.

Coventry and Lichfield (1 year), rector of Whilton (12 years) and finally rector of a mediety of Misterton (1 year).¹

William de Pulteneye was, as has been seen, one of a group of 34 clerks in Sample B who held four or more benefices during their careers.² It is not always possible to see any clear purpose behind the movements of such clergy, but a few categories may be suggested. One type might be described as the non-resident careerist, whose work lay in the pursuit of learning or in the service of king or lord, and to whom a parochial benefice was primarily a source of income. Examples of this type in Sample B include Richard Baldock,³ Edmund Bereford⁴ and John de Heslarton.⁵

¹ Reg 2 fo 133; App 1191, 1454, 1481; Reg 6 fo 45v; Reg 9 fo 339v.

² See above, pp 306-7.

³ Richard Baldock: a royal clerk, brother of Robert Baldock, Chancellor of Edward II (*BRUO* pp 96-7). He was successively rector of Welton, diocese of York (1317-22), of Sawbridgeworth, diocese of London (1322-4), of Lilford, diocese of Lincoln (Oct-Dec 1324), of Stepney, diocese of London (1324-6), prebendary of Weighton in York Minster (1324-38) and rector of Stanford on Avon, diocese of Lincoln (1338-41). See *Reg Greenfield v*, p 290; *Reg Melton 1*, p 123; *Reg S Gravesend*, pp 237, 270; App 1270; Reg 5 fo 203; *CPR 1324-7*, p 43; *Reg S Gravesend*, p 277; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541 vi*, p 88; App 1598, 1659.

⁴ Edmund Bereford: son of William Bereford, Chief Justice of the Common Bench (Tout, *Place of Edward II*, p 370; *CIPM vi*, pp 469-72). He was rector of Therfield (1318-21), of Shillington (1321-5), of Swalcliffe (1325-8) and of Holbeach (1333-5), prebendary of Shipton in Salisbury (from 1328) (*contd*)

In contrast there was a group of clerks whose careers were confined to one geographical area; they were rarely non-resident but moved regularly from one living to another. Such were Reyner de Brampton,¹ Lambert de Castre² and, notably, Simon de Clifton who held in succession five Northamptonshire benefices.³

¹ Reyner de Brampton: rector of Cheddington, Bucks (1321-2), vicar of Buckden, Hunts (1322-33) and of Southill, Beds (1333-42), and rector of Lower Gravenhurst, Beds (1342-4): see App 2180, 2463, 2075, 2168; Reg 6 fo 91v. No recorded non-residence.

² Lambert de Castre: vicar of West Ravendale (1324-35), rector of Beesby (1335-45), of Autby (1345-6) and of Well (1346-66), all in Lincs: see App 93, 462; Reg 6 fos 17, 24; Reg 10 fo 14. No recorded non-residence.

³ Simon de Clifton: vicar of Blakesley (1293-1311), rector of Easton Neston (1311-21), and of Stoke Albany (1321-2), vicar of Hardingstone (1322-5) and of Catesby (1325-31): see Reg 1 fo 262v; Reg 2 fo 121v; App 1210, 1223, 1275, 1405. No recorded non-residence.

.....
⁴ (contd) and of Aylesbury in Lincoln (from 1329). See Reg 2 fo 251v; App 1974; Reg 5 fo 203v; App 1776; App 367; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 25; *ibid* iii, p 84. He was dispensed for study 1321-8 (Reg 5 fos 5v, 18); a king's clerk 1327 (*CPR 1327-30*, p 179); founded a chantry in Chacombe Priory 1332 (App 1463); held lands in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire (*CIPM* x, pp 211-13).

⁵ John de Heslarton: son of John de Heslarton knight, founder of the collegiate church at Lowthorpe, 1333 (*Fasti Parochiales* iii, pp 102-3; *VCH Yorks ER* ii, pp 273-6). He was rector of Kirkby in Cleveland, diocese of York (1316-21), of Harby, Leics (May 1321), of Wimbish, diocese of London (occurs 1323), and of Hatfield, Herts (1328-43), dean of St Martin le Grand, London (1343-5) and rector of Greens Norton, Northants (1345-8). See *Reg Greenfield* v, p 258; App 834-5; *CPR 1321-4*, p 336; App 2521; Reg 6 fos 68v, 106v. He was licensed to study between 1317-20 (*Reg Greenfield* v, p 258; *Reg Melton* ii, p 15) and 1328-34 (Reg 5 fos 183, 184, 187v); visited Gascony on the king's service in 1323 (*CPR 1321-4*, p 336); was licensed to be in his father's service 1334-42 (Reg 5 fos 47v, 50v, 53, 55v, 56, 57v); a king's clerk in 1343 (*BRUC*, p 301).

There were two variants of this last type. First, there was the clerk whose successive livings were sometimes linked by locality and sometimes by patron, for example, Ralph de Bullemere,¹ Nicholas de Camelton² and Richard de Radeclive.³ The four benefices held by John de Denton were all connected by patronage, first that of Hugh le Despenser and later that of the Crown.⁴ Secondly, there were those who, while spending most of their career in one area, at some stage moved, for reasons not yet discovered, to a

¹ Ralph de Bullemere: rector of Temple Guiting, diocese of Worcester (before 1323), of a mediety of South Witham, Lincs (1323-5) and of Normanton, Lincs (1325-42), all in the gift of the Hospitallers, and vicar of Sleaford, Lincs (1342-3): see Reg 5B fo 50v; App 65, 128, 709; Reg 6 fo 4. Non-resident 1331-2 and 1338-9 (Reg 5 fos 41v, 55).

² Nicholas de Camelton: vicar of Chicksands (1290-4) and of Cople (1294-1318), both in Beds and in the gift of Chicksands Priory (Gilbertine); then vicar of St Peter Kirkby Laythorpe, Lincs (1318-21), in the gift of Sempringham Priory (also Gilbertine), and finally vicar of Aslackby, Lincs (1321-40): see *Reg Sutton* viii, pp 106, 113; Reg 2 fo 73v; App 14, 635. No recorded non-residence.

³ Richard de Radeclive: vicar of Ratcliffe on the Wreake, Leics (1321-43); vicar of Cockerham, diocese of York (1343-1347), patron Leicester Abbey; vicar of Thurnby (1347-9), patron Leicester Abbey; rector of Rotherby (1349-1358) and of Shoby (from 1358), both in Leics: see App 837; Reg 6 fos 32v, 46; Reg 9 fos 346, 347v, 370. No recorded non-residence.

⁴ John de Denton: rector of Winterbourne Houghton (1317-18) and of Wootton Bassett (1318-22), both in the diocese of Salisbury; rector of Loughborough (1322-5) and of Potton (1325-49): see *Reg Martival* 1, pp 78, 105, 258; App 852, 906, 1997; *CPR 1324-7*, p 164; Reg 9 fo 417v. He was licensed to be absent in the service of Despenser, 1322-6, and of the abbess of St Mary, Winchester, 1327-8 (Reg 5 fos 10, 36v).

benefice some distance away, often in another diocese. These included Roger de Kaynes,¹ Roger de Pincebek and William de Pulteneye.²

The ecclesiastical career of William Pelice of St Neots, spanning a period of 35 years during which he was incumbent of six different benefices, combines several of the elements described above. While he retained strong links with his native area of south Huntingdonshire and north Hertfordshire, he spent some stages of his career further afield in Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. It is in east Northamptonshire that he is first recorded, as vicar of Hemington (1314-20), a living in the gift of St Neots Priory. He exchanged this for the vicarage of Aldenham in Hertfordshire (1320-28) and then moved, for reasons which are not known, to the church of Holcot, six miles north-east of Northampton. In 1335 he exchanged this for the church of Combe in Oxfordshire, a move possibly explained by the grant to him of a licence to

¹ Roger de Kaynes: rector of Battlesden, Beds (1318-20), of Grafton Underwood (1320-24) and Stowe Nine Churches (1324-30), both Northants, and of Cowden, diocese of Rochester (1330-31): see Reg 2 fo 272v; Reg 5 fo 1; App 1262; *Reg Hethe* 1, pp 436, 497. Non-resident 1320-3.

² Roger de Pincebek: rector of Bringhurst (1323-9), Oadby (1329-31), Glenfield (1331-6) and Carlton Curlieu (1336-7), all Leics; rector of Street, diocese of Bath and Wells (1337-8): see App 876, 967, 1009-10, 1082-3, 1119; *Reg Shrewsbury* 1, p 329. Non-resident 1325-6, 1337-8 (Reg 5 fos 54, 180v, 181v). For William de Pulteneye, see pp 309-10 above.

study for one year at the university of Oxford in October 1334. In January 1337, his studies presumably completed, he exchanged Combe for the vicarage of Ashwell in Hertfordshire; finally, in 1341, he exchanged this for the church of Waresley, five miles south-east of St Neots, which he held until his death in 1349.¹

The only other clerk in Sample B known to have held more than five benefices was Thomas Ripplingham. His ecclesiastical career was quite extraordinary and it has not yet been possible to trace all of his different benefices.² From Ripplingham in the East Riding of Yorkshire, he may have owed his early preferment to kinship with Master Robert Ripplingham, chancellor of York from 1297 to 1332.³ He was instituted to the church of Moor Monkton in Yorkshire in 1317, at a stage when he had not proceeded further than the first tonsure. His first connection with the diocese of Lincoln came in 1324 when he was instituted

¹ Reg 2 fo 126; App 2443, 2523, 1331, 1536, 1893, 2701; Reg 9 fo 384v. His study licence of 1334 (Reg 5 fo 194) is his only recorded non-residence. See also *BRUO*, p 1629.

² Ripplingham was a clerk of Archbishop Melton of York (J L Grassi, 'Royal Clerks from the Archdiocese of York in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History* 5 (1970), 23; his career is briefly mentioned in Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 23n.

³ *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* vi, p 9. See also *VCH East Riding* iv, pp 140-154.

to Winceby, a church which he held for no more than two years.¹ His career during the next decade has not been traced, but by 1333 he was rector of Lowthorpe in the East Riding. In March 1335 he received collation of the archdeaconry of Stow which he exchanged one month later for the church of Blyborough in that archdeaconry. Less than a year afterwards, he exchanged this benefice for the church of Ryther in Yorkshire.² It is not known how long he retained this living, but between October 1338 and November 1339 he held three further churches in Yorkshire: Brompton (October-December 1338), Huggate (December 1338-April 1339) and Stokesley (April-November 1339). From Stokesley, he moved to Clayworth in Nottinghamshire which he held from 1339 until 1343 when he exchanged it for Wistow in Leicestershire. In 1345 he exchanged once again, this time for Chalton in the diocese of Winchester. Six months later, he was instituted to the church of Fishlake in Yorkshire, a benefice which he held for only two months.³ By 1351 he was rector of Witley in Surrey, which he exchanged in that year for the Lincolnshire rectory of Boothby Graffoe.

¹ *Reg Greenfield* v, pp 256-7; App 61, 117.

² *Fasti Parochiales* iii, p 56; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 18; App 793, 801.

³ *Reg Melton* ii, pp 183-4, 189; *North Notts Clergy*, pp 41-2; Reg 6 fos 33v, 42v; *Reg Edington* i, p 9; *Fasti Parochiales* i, pp 118-19.

Within a year, he exchanged once again, this time for the church of Kirkby Thore in Westmorland.¹

While it is difficult to make any sense of such a career, it is worthy of note that, in the case of six of the fifteen parochial benefices which Ripplingham is known to have held, he was incumbent for less than a year. Nor was this an isolated example; there were 43 clerks in Sample B who at some point in their careers held a benefice for under twelve months. Altogether, 51 such incumbencies have been identified in the Sample. Apart from Ralph Beler (3 livings), Adam de Hetheryngton (2) and Ripplingham himself, the remaining clerks each held one such short-term incumbency.

For nine of these incumbents, their tenure was cut short by death.² On four occasions, an incumbent appears to have been instituted to serve as a stopgap. Henry Suett de Aston was rector of Fenstanton between November 1324 and July 1325, a brief interlude in the

¹ *Reg Edington* 1, p 123; Reg 9 fo 99.

² For example, John de Osevill, rector of Glatton (App 2447, 2451); John de Uppingham, rector of Great Holwell (App 2152, 2155); Alured de Brok, rector of Old (App 1523, 1544); Richard de Croft, rector of a mediety of Tansor (App 1398, 1413).

incumbency of Thomas de Segrave (1314-38).¹ Similarly, Adam de Hetheryngton filled a gap (December 1323-July 1324) in the period spent by Ralph Beler as rector of Humberstone (1318-25); during these seven months, Beler himself was briefly rector of Potton.² Hetheryngton, whose recorded career began and ended as a chaplain of the chantry of St Peter, Kirby Bellars, was also employed briefly as rector of Stapleford from September 1325 until the appropriation of that church to the chapel of Kirby Bellars in July 1326.³ Although there is no direct evidence, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that incumbents such as Henry de Aston and Adam de Hetheryngton were used as temporary rectors, with instructions to resign the benefice when required.⁴

Just over half (27) of these short-term incumbencies occurred either immediately before (10) or immediately after (8) an exchange of benefices; nine such incumbencies were both preceded and followed by such an exchange. For example, in May 1330 Ralph de Malton

¹ Reg 2 fo 246v; App 2489, 2495, 2662.

² App 883, 894, 2009, 2011.

³ A Hamilton Thompson, 'The Chapel of St Peter at Kirkby-upon-Wreak', *TLAS* 16 (1929-31), 197, 199; App 904, 918.

⁴ It is possible, although there is no evidence for this, that a bond of resignation was used (cf Stephens, *Laws*, pp 1229-31).

exchanged the living of Great Staughton for that of Medbourne which, in August of the same year, he exchanged for Long Marton in the diocese of Carlisle. William de Mochwoln was instituted to the vicarage of Black Bourton in March 1322 by exchange with the church of Moccas in the diocese of Hereford, to which diocese he returned nine months later through an exchange with the church of Hope Mansel.¹

A clerk whose career involved several changes of benefice could no doubt be motivated by the natural inducement of greater financial reward. The limitations of the evidence for the value of parochial livings at this period have already been discussed² and it must again be stressed that the assessments of the *Taxatio* of 1291 for particular benefices must be treated with caution. They can, however, provide a useful guide to the value of successive benefices held during the course of a clerical career.

The assessments of the benefices held by those clerks in Sample B who held four or more livings have been ascertained. To keep distortion to a minimum, they have been grouped according to the value groups used in Chapter II above: benefices not exceeding £4;

¹ App 984, Reg 5 fo 211v; App 1699, 1704. For a discussion of exchanges, see below, pp 323-36.

² See above, pp 141-8.

those over £4 but not exceeding £7; over £7 but not exceeding £10; over £10 but not exceeding £15; over £15 but not exceeding £30; and over £30. The results suggest that most clerks remained in benefices of broadly the same value category, and that any financial improvement resulting from changes in benefice must have been marginal. Some clerks, like Edmund Bereford and Gilbert de Sandal,¹ remained throughout their careers in benefices assessed at over £15; others, such as Reyner de Brampton, Simon de Clifton, Richard de Radeclive and John de Uppingham,² held a succession of benefices valued at less than £7. Of the five livings held by Richard de Radeclive, only one (Rotherby) was assessed at more than £4. Of the 33 clerks studied,³ 20 ended their careers in benefices falling either in the same value group as those in which they began or in the group immediately above or below.

¹ Gilbert de Sandal: rector of St Mary Oxford (£15:6:8) 1315-16; of Simonburn, diocese of Durham (£136:4:2) from 1316; of Bottesford (£46:13:4) 1322-3; of North Mimms (£16:13:4) 1323-40: see Reg 2 fos 166-7; Donaldson *thesis* ii, pp 260-1; App 857, 875, 2475, 2684. For Edmund Bereford, see p 310 note 4 above.

² John de Uppingham: rector of Stoke Albany (£4:6:8) 1312-21; of Easton Neston (£6:13:4) 1321-37; vicar of Norton by Daventry (£6:13:4) 1337-40; rector of Great Holwell (not assessed) 1340: see Reg 2 fo 123; App 1211; Reg 5 fo 238v; App 2152, 2155. For Reyner de Brampton, Simon de Clifton and Richard de Radeclive, see pp 311-12 above.

³ The career of Thomas Ripplingham (see pp 314-16 above) has not been included in this survey of values.

There were, however, some clerks in this group whose financial position underwent a significant improvement. John Colman, for example, began his career in two successive benefices (Great Gidding and Cheddington) assessed at less than £7; he then moved to Wooburn (£10:13:4) and to Etton (£8), and subsequently to Glatton (£21:13:4).¹ The first two benefices held by William de Pulteneye (Welford and Sulby) were valued at £4 or less; his next two livings (Standon and Whilton) were assessed at £6:13:4, and his final benefice, a mediety of the church of Misterton, at £11:13:4.² There were altogether seven clerks in the Sample who, like Colman and Pulteneye, ended their career in a benefice three value groups higher than that in which they began.³

An even greater contrast can be observed in the career of John de Sculthorpe, whose first parochial benefice was Lyndon (£4:6:8) and whose last was Great Marlow

¹ App 2454, 2236, 2261-2, 2288, 1346, 2572, 2599.

² For the career of William de Pulteneye, see pp 309-10 above.

³ The others were: Nicholas de Camelton, from Chicksands (not assessed) to Aslackby (£10:13:4): see p 312 note 2 above; John de Denton, from Winterbourne Houghton (£5) to Potton (£20): see p 312 note 4 above; John de Hornle, from Stratton, diocese of Salisbury (not assessed) to Nuneham Courtenay (£12:13:4): see *Reg Martival* i p 106, App 1900; William Pelice of St Neots, from Hemington (not assessed) to Waresley (£13:6:8): see pp 313-14 above; and Richard Whitwell, from Little Bowden (£6:13:4) to Swalcliffe (£30): see App 1280, 1826.

(£33:6:8), four value groups higher.¹ Sculthorpe, who ended his career as archdeacon of Chichester, was one of 29 clerks in Sample B who are known to have held a cathedral prebend or dignity. Thirteen of these clerks held prebends in Lincoln cathedral, while other prebends were held in Lichfield, Salisbury, St Pauls, York, Hereford and Wells.² Six clerks in the Sample became archdeacons: Hamo Beler (Norwich),³ Hugh de

¹ John de Sculthorpe: rector of Lyndon (£4:6:8) 1325-30; vicar of Gainsborough (£13:6:8) 1330-4; rector of Misson, Notts (£12) 1334-49; dean of collegiate church of Chester-le-Street, diocese of Durham (£14) 1349-54; rector of Great Marlow (£33:6:8) 1354-7; archdeacon of Chichester from 1357: see App 1274, 758, 783; *North Notts Clergy*, p 134; *Fasti Dunelmenses*, p 160; Donaldson, *thesis* ii, p 63; Reg 9 fos 303, 307v; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* vii, p 11.

² The full list is: Richard Baldock (York), Edmund Bereford (Salisbury, Lincoln), William de Brimpton (Salisbury), Hugh de Camera (Lincoln), John de Claydon (St Pauls), William Coleby (Lincoln), William de Cossall (Lichfield), Peter Dalderby (Lincoln), William Dalton (Lincoln, York, Lichfield), William Edington (Lincoln, Salisbury, Hereford), Nicholas de Falle (Lincoln), Richard de Feriby (St Pauls), John de Gaddesden (St Pauls), Matthew Huse (Bath and Wells), John de Kirkeby (Salisbury), Thomas Louth (Lincoln), John de Lunderthorp (Lichfield), Adam Limbergh (Lincoln), Edmund de Morteyn (York, Hereford), Roger de Nassington (Hereford, Lincoln, Wells, Lichfield), Robert de Patrica (Lichfield), Thomas de Segrave (St Pauls), Hugh de Walmesford (Lincoln), Richard Whitwell (Lincoln), Robert Wyville (Lincoln): *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541*, *passim*

³ Hamo Beler: rector of a third part of Clipston, 1318-24, and of Twyford, 1324-34 (Reg 2 fo 136; App 1269, 887, 1057); archdeacon of Norwich 1347-9 and subdean of Lincoln c1351-1370 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 5; iv, p 27; xii, p 14).

Camera (Lincoln),¹ John de Kirkeby (Dorset),² Robert de Patrica (Stafford),³ Thomas Ripplingham (Stow) and John de Sculthorpe (Chichester).⁴ Another six attained cathedral dignities: Hamo Beler (subdean of Lincoln), Peter Dalderby (precentor of Lincoln),⁵ Thomas Louth (treasurer of Lincoln),⁶ Roger de Nassington (chancellor of Lichfield),⁷ Ralph de

¹ Hugh de Camera: rector of Glatton from 1321 (App 2451); archdeacon of Lincoln, 1327-31 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 6).

² John de Kirkeby: rector of Sharnford, 1321-34 (App 830, 1047) and of Keevil, diocese of Salisbury, 1333-40 (*BRUO*, p 1054); archdeacon of Dorset, 1340-6 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* iii, p 7).

³ Robert de Patrica: rector of Havant, diocese of Winchester, 1309-21 (*Reg Woodlock*, p 732; *Reg Sandale/Asserio*, pp 456-9); archdeacon of Stafford, 1321-3 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* x, pp 18-19); rector of Coleorton, 1323-30 (App 879, 979). See also *BRUO*, pp 1434-5.

⁴ For Ripplingham, see p 315 note 2 above; for Sculthorpe, see p 321 note 1 above.

⁵ Peter Dalderby: rector of Sutton in the Marsh, 1322-35, and of Souldern, 1335-40 (App 40, 1868, 1939); precentor of Lincoln, 1340-50 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 20). For Hamo Beler, see p 321 note 3 above.

⁶ Thomas Louth: rector of Aylesby, 1310-21, and of Little Bytham from 1321 (Reg 2 fo 32; App 26); (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 21).

⁷ Roger de Nassington: rector of Castor, 1317-21, and of Houghton with Wyton, 1321-5 (Reg 2 fo 133v; App 2444); prebendary of St Martin in Beverley, 1325-63; chancellor of Lichfield, 1329-64 (Reg 5 fo 204; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* i, p 163; x, p 9).

Querendon (subdean of Salisbury)¹ and William Coleby (dean of York).² Robert Wyville, rector of Over Worton from 1324 to 1327, became bishop of Salisbury in 1330, and William Edington, rector of Hockliffe (1322-4), of Dallington (1324-7) and of Middleton Cheney (1327-35), was provided to the see of Winchester in 1345.³

EXCHANGES

The prevalence of exchanges between incumbents of parochial benefices during this period has already been illustrated by the career of Thomas Ripplingham; it has also been noted that short-term incumbencies were often linked with exchanges.⁴ The growth in the practice of exchanging livings during the fourteenth century has often been discussed but, largely because of deficiencies in diocesan registration, it has not

¹ Ralph de Querendon: rector of Hathersage, diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, to 1321, and of Norton iuxta Twycross, 1321-30 (App 836, 981); subdean of Salisbury, 1330-58 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* iii, pp 5-6). For his struggle to retain the subdeanery, see *Hemingby's Register*, pp 220-3.

² William Coleby: rector of Willoughby in the Marsh, 1323-33 (App 83, 361); dean of York, 1333-6 (*Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* vi, p 6). The chancellor of Queen Philippa, he no doubt owed his preferment to her influence: see *CPL* ii, pp 319, 328, 349, 394).

³ Wyville: App 1724, 1749; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* iii, p 1; Edington: App 2468; Reg 5 fo 359v; App 1314, 1537; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* iv, p 46.

⁴ See above, pp 316-18.

hitherto been possible to measure its early development.¹ The Lincoln institution registers for this period, however, regularly record the reason for the vacancy of benefices and this enables the increase in the use of exchanges to be traced throughout the first half of the fourteenth century.

Although at first the exchange of benefices by clerks was not permitted by canon law (the practice being seen as evidence of simony), by the early fourteenth century it had become necessary to accord the system some legal recognition. Following the Council of Vienne (1311-12), Clement V decreed that an exchange was valid where it took place between two clerks who had vacated their benefices for that specific purpose.² The earliest recorded instance of an exchange of parochial livings in the diocese of Lincoln appears to be that between Master John de Depyng, rector of South Hykeham, and Master Thomas Langtoft, rector of Easton on the Hill, on 11 April 1310.³ Apart from this isolated example, however, exchanges began as a regular practice in the diocese

¹ Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, pp 111-12; Donaldson, *thesis* 1, pp 421-42; Haines, *Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, pp 209-12; Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, pp 22-3.

² *Hemingby's Register*, p 37; Donaldson *thesis* 1, p 422.

³ Reg 2 fos 32v, 120. For Langtoft, see p 62 above.

in July 1317, with that carried out between Ralph de Dalton, rector of Redmile, and Master Walter le Blound, rector of Whalton in the diocese of Durham.¹

During the period covered by Burghersh's institution register (1320-42), 579 institutions to parochial benefices were made as a result of an exchange, a proportion of 25.3 per cent.² Some comparison is possible with the position in other dioceses. The proportion of institutions which resulted from such exchanges in the diocese of London in the period 1318-1338 was 22.9 per cent; in the diocese of Worcester between 1328 and 1332 the proportion was 23.8 per cent and in the diocese of Durham between 1338 and 1345 it was 21.6 per cent.³ Exchanges in the archdeaconries of Cleveland and the East Riding in the diocese of York during the period 1328-40 comprised 28.3 per cent of institutions.⁴

¹ Reg 2 fo 214. This exchange is not noted in Donaldson, *thesis* ii, p 287.

² See Appendix, *passim*. Where an exchange was made with a benefice in another diocese, the institution to the 'foreign' benefice has not been included in the total.

³ *Reg Sudbury* i, pp vii-viii, quoted in Haines, *Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, p 210; Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton c1275-1345* (Cambridge, 1978), p 210; Donaldson, *thesis* i, p 425.

⁴ Figures calculated from Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 22 note 83.

The growth of the practice can be illustrated by the number and proportion of institutions carried out by way of exchange in each five-year period from 1321-40:

TABLE 5.1

Exchanges in the Diocese of Lincoln
1321-1340

<i>Period</i>	<i>Exchanges</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1321-25	86	463	18.5
1326-30	85	526	16.2
1331-35	162	596	27.1
1336-40	197	536	36.7

The figures in Table 5.1 indicate that, within five years of their first appearance in the registers, exchanges were accounting for nearly one-fifth of institutions to parochial benefices. By the early 1330s, the proportion had risen to more than a quarter and, during the last five years of Burghersh's episcopate, it was over one-third. The statistics for individual archdeaconries reveal considerable variations. Lincoln, ranging from 15.2 per cent (1321-5) to 29.4 per cent (1336-40) was consistently below the diocesan average, while Northampton, rising from 27.1 per cent (1321-5) to an extraordinary 53.4 per cent (1336-40) was considerably above it.¹

Overall, therefore, the proportion of institutions

¹ See Appendix, *passim*. The figures relate solely to institutions to parochial benefices and do not include those to chantries, hospitals or prebends.

caused by exchanges was approximately doubled during the course of Burghersh's episcopate. This would seem to confirm the suggestion of Dr Haines that "The increase seems... to have gathered momentum from about the second decade of the century or shortly afterwards". In particular, the commencement of exchanges as a regular practice in 1317-18 lends some weight to the theory that their increasing popularity was at least in part a result of the restrictions on plurality introduced by the constitution *Execrabilis*.¹

The various ways in which exchanges were effected have been fully described elsewhere and it is only necessary here to indicate the numbers involved in Burghersh's register.² Out of the total of 579 institutions made by exchange, 365 (63 per cent) concerned cases where both benefices were in the diocese of Lincoln; of these, 166 were institutions to benefices in the same archdeaconry as that exchanged, and 199 were institutions to benefices in different archdeaconries. The remaining 214 institutions were made by exchange with a benefice in another diocese; of these, 94 were carried out by the

¹ Haines, *Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, p 210 note 1; Donaldson, *thesis 1*, pp 421-2. See also Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 22.

² Churchill, *op cit 1*, pp 111-12; Haines, *op cit*, pp 211-12.

bishop of Lincoln (or his commissary, vicar-general, or Official *sede vacante*) and 121 were carried out by the bishop of the other diocese concerned.

These 'foreign' exchanges involved benefices in almost every other diocese in England and Wales (Bangor and St Asaph only excluded). The dioceses with which exchanges were most frequently made were London (32), Norwich (26), Coventry and Lichfield (24) and York (23);¹ significant numbers were also made with Salisbury (18), Canterbury (12) and Ely (11).²

An analysis of these figures by archdeaconry suggests that, at this period, the majority of exchanges were made between benefices at no great distance from each other. As has been seen, 166 of these institutions related to exchanges within the same archdeaconry. Of

¹ London: App 287, 346, 451, 466, 534, 597, 613, 1277, 1432, 1551, 1562, 1670, 1722, 1897, 1908, 1943, 2042-3, 2170, 2201, 2240, 2311, 2392, 2441, 2492, 2510, 2578, 2585, 2616, 2638, 2642, 2689. Norwich: App 52, 196, 586, 632, 748, 803, 924, 1133, 1147, 1230, 1369, 1422, 1426, 1548-9, 1567, 1608, 1623, 1905, 2308, 2581, 2583, 2592, 2605, 2644-5. Coventry and Lichfield: App 629, 704, 767, 836, 876, 879, 941, 949, 977, 1106, 1175, 1177, 1251, 1419, 1434, 1446, 1454, 1481, 1526, 1661, 1666, 2565, 2620, 2687. York: App 45, 61, 308, 327, 341, 475, 562, 754, 783, 801, 834, 973, 1099, 1214, 1395, 1402, 1486, 1570, 1598, 1600, 2049, 2149, 2490.

² Salisbury: App 134, 200, 474, 980-1, 1114, 1117, 1584, 1619, 1687, 1691, 1845, 1874, 1882, 1965, 2090, 2178, 2197. Canterbury: App 92, 648, 1295, 1366, 1499, 1645, 2010, 2051, 2115, 2253, 2380, 2529. Ely: App 337, 379, 800, 1229, 1668, 2069, 2124, 2367, 2422, 2438, 2597.

those institutions which involved exchanges within the diocese but between different archdeaconries, 149 (75 per cent) concerned exchanges between livings in adjacent archdeaconries. Altogether, therefore, out of the 365 institutions caused by exchanges within the diocese of Lincoln, 86 per cent involved benefices in the same, or neighbouring, archdeaconries.

Even where exchanges were made between benefices in different dioceses, the two livings were not necessarily far apart. Thus, of the 24 exchanges made with Coventry and Lichfield diocese, 18 involved benefices in the neighbouring archdeaconries of Northampton and Leicester.¹ The adjacent dioceses of London, Ely and Norwich accounted for 17 of the 30 'foreign' exchanges made from the archdeaconry of Huntingdon.² The great majority of exchanges with the diocese of London (25 out of 32) came from the 'southern' half of the diocese of Lincoln (the archdeaconries of Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Huntingdon and Northampton), while the reverse is true of those exchanges made with the diocese of York, where 16 out of 23 came from the 'northern' half (the archdeaconries of Lincoln, Stow and Leicester, and the

¹ App 836, 876, 879, 941, 949, 977, 1106, 1175, 1177, 1251, 1419, 1434, 1446, 1454, 1481, 1526, 1661, 1666.

² App 2438, 2441, 2492, 2510, 2578, 2581, 2583, 2585, 2592, 2597, 2605, 2616, 2638, 2642, 2644-5, 2689.

deanery of Rutland).¹

There were, however, some exchanges where rather longer distances were involved, such as that between Richard de Swanyngton, rector of North Scarle in Lincolnshire, and Richard Passemer, rector of St Nicholas in the diocese of Llandaff, or that between John de Wynton, rector of Witherley in Leicestershire, and William de Loughton, rector of Calstock in Cornwall. The furthest distance of any exchange recorded in Burghersh's register was undoubtedly that made between Master Thomas de Melton, rector of Glaston in Rutland, and Ralph de Lepington, rector of Stabannan in the Irish diocese of Armagh.²

The episcopal commissions to carry out exchanges invariably record that they were being undertaken *certis de causis et legitimis*. It is very seldom, however, that the reasons for an exchange are specified. Burghersh's register includes two rare examples where this is done, and it is worth examining

¹ London: App 1277, 1432, 1551, 1562, 1670 (Northampton), 1722, 1897, 1908, 1943 (Oxford), 2042-3, 2170 (Bedford), 2201, 2240, 2311, 2392 (Buckingham), 2441, 2492, 2510, 2578, 2585, 2616, 2638, 2642, 2689 (Huntingdon). York: App 45, 61, 308, 327, 341, 475, 562 (Lincoln), 754, 783, 801 (Stow), 834, 973, 1099 (Leicester), 1402, 1570, 1600 (Rutland). For the division of the diocese into 'northern' and 'southern' halves, see p 288 above.

² App 298, 1052, 1416.

them more closely. Both of these cases involved exchanges between benefices in the archdeaconry of Leicester on the one hand (Medbourne and Wymondham) and benefices in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield on the other (Church Lawford and Kinver). In the first example, Peter de Medbourn wished to exchange because of a desire to return to his birthplace; he hinted at past friction there, caused by the incumbencies of outsiders. In the second example, it was suggested that John de Stretton was unable to serve the cure of Kinver owing to the hatred in which the parishioners held him as a result of his former service to the late earl of Arundel; here also both parties expressed a preference for holding a living near to their place of origin. Both examples appear to suggest that the underlying causes of the exchange were ill-feeling between the parishioners of one of the benefices and their incumbent, and the preference of clergy and parishioners alike for the incumbent to be a local man.¹

It would be unwise to attempt to draw any conclusions from such isolated examples; there is, in any case,

¹ App 941, 949. For other instances where the reasons for exchange are given, see Haines, *Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, p 210 note 6; *Reg Gandavo* ii, pp 776-7; *Reg Martival* i, p 111. This limited evidence suggests that fear of injury or even death at the hands of parishioners was often alleged as a reason for wishing to exchange.

no way of knowing whether they provide the true reasons for these exchanges. In an endeavour, therefore, to explore the pattern of exchanges more fully, a detailed examination has been undertaken of all examples recorded in Burghersh's institution register between 20 July 1320 and 20 July 1325.

During this period, 62 exchanges have been noted. Of these, 37 were between two rectories, 9 were between two vicarages, and 13 were between a rectory and a vicarage.¹ While the predominance of rectories observed by Dr Robinson is confirmed, the presence of vicarages in 35 per cent of these exchanges indicates that their involvement was by no means as negligible as his sample would suggest.²

In theory, it would normally be expected that the value of the two benefices concerned would be more or less equivalent, to avoid any suspicion of simony. To the limited extent permitted by the available evidence, the findings of Dr Robinson suggested that this was true in the majority of cases, and this suggestion is confirmed by the present survey.³ In

¹ The remaining three cases each concerned a rectory with, respectively, a prebend, a chantry and an arch-deaconry.

² "...all but one of the exchanges involved rectories": Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 23.

³ Donaldson, *thesis i*, p 432; Robinson, *op cit*, p 23.

51 of these exchanges, the value at which the benefices were assessed in the *Taxatio* of 1291 is known; these have been assigned to the same value groups used before.¹ There were 22 exchanges where both benefices fell in the same value group; these ranged from the exchange between the churches of Castor (£36:13:4) and Houghton (£33:6:8) to that between the vicarages of Marston and St Edward, Oxford, both of which fell below the minimum assessment of six marks.² In 21 other cases, the two benefices were in adjacent value groups; such were the exchanges between the churches of Leadenham (£33:6:8) and Wyberton (£24), between a mediety of East Keal (£9:6:8) and Preston Bissett (£6:13:4), and between the rectory of Stoke Albany (£4:6:8) and the vicarage of Hardingstone (not assessed).³ Altogether, therefore, 43 of these exchanges (a proportion of 84 per cent) involved benefices of not dissimilar value.

The means whereby the two clerks involved in an exchange made initial contact with each other must

¹ See above, pp 155-6. Benefices in the northern province, which was re-assessed in 1318, have been excluded, with the exception of those in the archdeaconry of Nottingham which were not affected by the re-assessment. See Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 3.

² App 1195, 2444; App 1714-15.

³ App 16-17; App 115, 2221; App 1222-3.

inevitably remain largely conjectural, but in a certain number of cases definite links can be established. Five exchanges in the sample were made between members of the same family: John and Robert de Heslarton, John and Simon de Campania, Roger and Robert de Pincebek, William and John de Dalby, Thomas and John de Sibthorp.¹ A further nine exchanges involved benefices in the gift of the same patron: the earl of Richmond, the bishop of Lincoln, the prior of the Hospitallers (twice), Leicester Abbey, Sulby Abbey, the priories of St Andrew, Northampton, and St Frideswide, Oxford, and the dean and chapter of St Pauls, London.²

These nine cases in which the same patron presented to both benefices constitute a significant proportion (21 per cent) of the 42 exchanges in this sample where both patrons are known. This would suggest that such exchanges may have been more frequent than it would appear from the evidence of Dr Robinson for Cleveland and the East Riding. Both Dr Donaldson and Dr Robinson found that exchanges of benefices in lay patronage were less frequent than those of benefices

¹ App 834, 846, 876, 881, 2490.

² App 16-17; App 25-26; App 127-8, 2210; App 896-7; App 1190-1; App 1252; App 1714-15; App 2492.

in the gift of ecclesiastical patrons.¹ This is confirmed by the Lincoln sample, where in 28 cases both patrons were ecclesiastical, although lay patrons, involved in 14 of these exchanges, were not as rare as in the Durham evidence cited by Dr Donaldson. In twelve cases, such as the exchange between Harby (William de Ros) and Kirkby in Cleveland (Whitby abbey), one patron was ecclesiastical and the other lay. In the other two exchanges, both patrons were lay: the earl of Richmond at both Leadenham and Wyberton, and John de Lyouns at Begbroke and Robert Kynne and his wife Agnes at Foxcote.²

During Burghersh's episcopate, exchanges of parochial benefices were a rapidly growing phenomenon. In some areas, notably the archdeaconry of Northampton, they had by 1340 attained levels which matched those reached (after their virtual disappearance during the Black Death) in the second half of the century.³ But

¹ Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 23; Donaldson, *thesis* 1, p 429-30.

² App 834; App 16-17, 1693, 2181.

³ In the diocese of Durham, exchanges reached a peak of 26.7% during the period 1345-81 (Donaldson, *thesis* 1, p 425). The proportion for the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield between 1358-85 was approximately 29% (*Reg Stretton I*, p viii). The highest proportion so far calculated for an English diocese during the later fourteenth century is the figure of 45.8% for the diocese of London between 1362-75 (*Reg Sudbury 1*, p viii). For the scarcity of exchanges during the Black Death, see Haines, *Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, p 211.

although they were widespread, there is no evidence that the exchanges recorded in Burghersh's register constituted the abuse which they were held to be at the end of the century.¹ The career of Thomas Ripplingham was exceptional; of the 35 clerks in Sample B who are known to have held four or more livings during their careers, only twelve exchanged more than twice. Six of these twelve held no benefice valued at more than £10.² As has been seen, the majority of these transactions took place within a relatively limited area, between benefices not strikingly different in value and, not infrequently, in the same patronage. While there is still much about the business of exchanges which remains obscure, the provisional conclusion must be that at this date the majority took place simply to facilitate the movement of the clergy from one benefice to another.³

¹ Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy*, pp 107-9; Donaldson, *thesis 1*, pp 425-35.

² These six were Reyner de Brampton, Simon de Clifton, John de Felmersham, John de Uppingham, John de Wodeston (all of whom exchanged three times) and William Pelice of St Neots who exchanged four times. The other six clerks who exchanged more than twice were John Colman (3), Richard de Kybbeworth (3), Roger de Pincebek (3), William de Pulteneye (4), Richard Whitwell (3) and Thomas Ripplingham (8).

³ cf Haines, *op cit*, pp 210-11.

PAROCHIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The question of non-residence is one which has frequently exercised those who have written about the fourteenth-century clergy.¹ But, as has already been observed, the scarcity of records relating to the actual residence of incumbents on their benefices, when compared with the abundance of those which relate to their non-residence, must not be allowed to distort the position. In an attempt to present a more balanced picture, therefore, it is intended in this section to examine some aspects of the parochial duties for which an incumbent was responsible, thereby demonstrating some of the ways in which he might be drawn, whether resident or not, into the affairs of his benefice.

It must be said at the outset that the evidence for this discussion is fragmentary. In particular, the spiritual concerns of an incumbent are scarcely dealt with at all in the episcopal registers. What literary evidence there is for the daily round of services and the administration of the sacraments has been admirably surveyed by Dr Moorman, and it is not

¹ See, for example, Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy*, pp 102-5; Donaldson, *thesis 1*, pp 412-20; Haines, *Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, pp 204-9; Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, pp 26-33.

intended to examine this again here.¹ The section that follows will, therefore, deal with the temporal concerns of a benefice: the maintenance of chancel, churchyard and parsonage, the farming of the glebe and the collection of tithes.

At his induction, the newly-instituted rector was placed in possession of the temporal possessions of his benefice. He then became responsible for the upkeep and repair of the chancel of the church and of the parsonage house; one of his immediate tasks was then to have a survey made of these, to determine the extent of any dilapidations. If the incumbent and his predecessor (or his predecessor's executors) failed to agree, it would be necessary for the incumbent to bring a suit in the ecclesiastical court.² Thus William Wake, instituted to the church of Helpston in July 1322, had by February 1323 brought a suit against the executors of his predecessor, John de Hegham, concerning defects in the chancel of the church, in the books and ornaments belonging to the same, and in the parsonage house.³ A similar cause was brought by Richard Gobaud, rector of two parts of the church of Ripplingale, within a month of his institution to the

¹ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp 68-89.

² Stephens, *Laws*, pp 438-9, 443-4.

³ App 1228; Reg 5 fo 332v.

living, against the executors of John Charneles his predecessor.¹

At Cottered in December 1323, the incumbent Hugh Elys brought, within two days of his institution, a suit of dilapidations against the farmers of the benefice appointed by his predecessor.² The rector of Hatfield, William de Ousthorp, brought a cause against the executors of his immediate predecessor, William Fraunceys, for dilapidations arising from the incumbencies not only of Fraunceys but of the two rectors before him, Hugh de Nottingham and William de Stepyng, as well.³

In other cases, dilapidations were assessed by an inquisition held in accordance with a mandate of the bishop. Such inquisitions might be held by the archdeacon's official, by the rural dean, or by a commissary appointed *ad hoc*; the sums assessed ranged from 50 shillings (St John, Stamford) or £10:6:8 (Rotherfield Greys) to £26:9:4 (Uffington), and as high as £68:6:8 (Felmersham).⁴

¹ App 247; Reg 5 fo 400.

² App 2481; Reg 5 fo 355v.

³ Reg 2 fo 231; App 2465; Reg 5 fo 356.

⁴ Reg 5 fos 428v, 432v, 466, 504v.

A cause of dilapidations might on occasion be brought against an incumbent by his parishioners. This occurred in 1325 at Snitterby, a chapelry in the parish of St Mary, Waddingham, and may have been prompted by a refusal of the incumbent, Master Nicholas de Ocham, to acknowledge responsibility for the maintenance of the chancel of the chapel.¹

The dilapidations procedure was intended to ensure that the responsibilities of incumbents in relation to the fabric of chancel and parsonage were met. But it would be wrong to think that all rectors were content merely to undertake the minimum work required. In February 1327 a licence was issued to William de Leycestre, rector of Chinnor, for the consecration by any Catholic bishop of the newly constructed chancel of his church.² A similar licence was granted to Master John de Belgrave in September 1334, for the consecration of the chancel of his church of Belgrave.³ During Burghersh's episcopate there were also constructed chancels of great architectural distinction at Navenby (by William de Herlaston and John de Fenton) and at Heckington (by Richard de Potesgrave), which form part of a remarkable group of

¹ Reg 5 fo 383v.

² Reg 5 fo 391. See also *VCH Oxon* viii, pp 74-6.

³ Reg 5 fo 483v. See also A Herbert, 'Church of St Peter, Belgrave', *TLAS* 16 (1929-31), 46-7.

early fourteenth-century chancels in eastern England.¹

It is notable that all but one of these incumbents were king's clerks and therefore not normally resident, and that the exception, John de Belgrave, was a brother of the lord of the manor and was himself non-resident between 1330 and 1336 for the purpose of study.² Despite this, they were all sufficiently concerned to fulfil their obligations in respect of the maintenance of their chancels, all of which have survived to the present day. Rebuilding on such a lavish scale is unlikely to have been possible without the wealth brought to the benefice by incumbents with such influential connections. The monumental brass to William de Leycestre at Chinnor, and the tombs of John de Fenton at Navenby and of Richard de Potesgrave at Heckington, bear eloquent testimony to the involvement of even non-resident incumbents with their parishes.

Parsonage houses were also being enlarged or rebuilt in this period. In 1321, John de Quengou, rector of

¹ Veronica Sekules, 'The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine: Easter Sepulchres Reconsidered', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln* (British Archaeological Association, 1986), pp 129-30. See also Hamilton Thompson, *English Clergy*, pp 128-9.

² G F Farnham, 'Belgrave: The Descent of the Manor', *TLAS* 16 (1929-31), 57; Reg 5 fos 186, 189v, 190, 194.

Leadenham, was granted permission by both patron and parishioners to enclose a piece of land adjoining the churchyard and rectory house, for the augmentation of the court of his parsonage. Likewise an exchange of land took place in 1330 between Thomas de Fryskenev, rector of St Peter Irthlingborough, and Peterborough Abbey, the patron of the living, for the purpose of enlarging the rectory manse. Thomas de Sibthorp, king's clerk and rector of Beckingham, was granted a royal charter permitting him to enclose a road leading past his parsonage, to enable him to enlarge the house.¹

Further evidence for the work of incumbents in adding to their parsonages during this period comes from the mortmain licences recorded in the patent rolls. Acquisitions of property were made by Thomas de Segrave, rector of Fenstanton (a messuage), John de Pirie, rector of Aylestone (a rood of land), Richard de Feriby, rector of Surfleet (a toft and 2 acres of land), and John Charneles, rector of Sweptone (2 acres of land) for the enlargement of their houses.² Of particular interest is the licence granted in 1345 to William Hillary, rector of Coningsby since 1335, for the acquisition of an adjoining messuage to

¹ Reg 5 fos 320, 401, 406v.

² *CPR 1321-4*, p 298; *CPR 1324-7*, p 248; *CPR 1327-30*, p 376; *CPR 1334-8*, p 498.

enlarge his parsonage. In this case, the surviving building has been the subject of a detailed survey, from which it can be seen that such an 'enlargement' might well involve a substantial rebuilding of the house.¹

The duties of an incumbent in respect of the buildings of his benefice were not confined to matters of fabric. Where a church or churchyard was polluted by the effusion of blood or from some other cause, it was necessary to have it reconciled by a bishop before any services could take place, or burials performed. Like his predecessors, Burghersh found it necessary to use the assistance of suffragans and other bishops for this purpose; the usual procedure was for the diocesan to issue a licence to the incumbent permitting the reconciliation to be carried out by any Catholic bishop. Such licences were granted to John de Ernesby, rector of St Peter Dunstable, Bedford, for his church, and to Master John de Wyggetoft, rector of Irby, for his churchyard.² The licences granted to the rectors of Tingrith and Frampton specified that the reconciliation was to be carried out by any English bishop, while a particular suffragan, Peter,

¹ App 482; M W Barley, A Rogers and P Strange, 'The Medieval Parsonage House, Coningsby, Lincolnshire', *Antiquaries Journal* 49 (1969), 346-66.

² Gibson, *Codex*, pp 189-90; *Reg Sutton* i, pp xxxix-xli; Reg 5 fos 341, 429v.

bishop *Corbaviensis*, was named in that issued to John de Karente, rector of Hambleton.¹

In January 1331 a commission was issued to inquire into the names of those who had polluted the church and churchyard of Wrestlingworth and to compel those found guilty to make satisfaction for the expenses of reconciliation. William de Preston, rector of Dowsby, who was found guilty of the pollution of Gretton churchyard by the rash effusion of blood, was ordered to pay the sum of £2:13:4 for the expenses of its reconciliation.²

The sources of revenue with which a benefice was endowed comprised glebe land, tithes and offerings.³ It would appear that all of these sources were capable of causing difficulties to the incumbent wishing to collect his annual income. The extent to which incumbents were personally involved in the farming of their glebe is not clear, but the employment of bailiffs was certainly widespread and their financial reliability seems in a number of cases to have been inadequate. The *Placita De Banco* for 1327-8 record

¹ Reg 5 fos 305, 336v, 380. For Peter, bishop *Corbaviensis*, see D M Smith, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of Lincoln', *LHA* 17 (1982), 24.

² Reg 5 fos 443, 519v.

³ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p 111-12.

suits relating to the accounts of bailiffs brought by the incumbents of Ellesborough, Great Gransden, Steeple Gidding, Whitwick, Houghton on the Hill, Broughton by Brigg, Mavis Enderby, Dorrington, Washingborough, Haltham on Bain, Gosberton, Sibsey, Swaton, Witham on the Hill, Barton Seagrave and Teigh.¹

The collection of tithes probably caused even more problems to the incumbent than the farming of his glebe, and it is not surprising to find a number of references in Burghersh's register to lawsuits on this subject.² Some of these tithe causes were brought by the incumbent against an individual parishioner unjustly withholding tithes. Master Nicholas de Boyvill, rector of Ayston in Rutland, brought such a suit against William Prodemay of that parish; similar suits were brought by Richard de Croft, rector of Broughton in Buckinghamshire, against Richard cum Barba of the same; by Stephen de Brokkesburn, vicar of Riseley, against John Hervy of the same; and by John de Wyk, rector of North Luffenham, against Simon de Lyndon of the same.³ Other incumbents, such as

¹ *Index of Placita De Banco, 1327-28*, PRO Lists and Indexes 32 (1910), pp 34, 226-7, 267, 271, 286, 303, 306, 333, 338-9, 345 (2), 355, 488, 545.

² cf Moorman, *op cit*, p 124.

³ Reg 5 fos 337, 395, 464, 497. For Stephen de Brokkesburn, see App 2058.

John de Percy of Quadring and Ralph de Brok of Gosberton, found it necessary to bring concurrent actions against several parishioners for failure to pay tithes.¹ The non-tithepayer might live in a neighbouring parish - in 1330, William, rector of Noseley, was claiming tithes from William Ridel of Goadby - or even further off, as in the cause between Richard de Norton, rector of Bucknall, and Robert Elf of Lincoln.²

Where the benefice was a vicarage, tithe disputes might arise between the vicar and the appropriator. This would appear to be the reason for the action pending in 1324 between John de Ely, vicar of Wolverton, and Bradwell Priory.³ The case brought by Master William de Bulmer, vicar of St Peter in the East, Oxford, against Godstow Abbey probably related to small tithes in Wolvercote, about which agreement had been reached in 1239.⁴

¹ Reg 5 fos 488v, 491, 516v.

² Reg 5 fos 437v, 368.

³ Reg 5 fo 355v. The ordination of the vicarage of Wolverton, given in *Liber Antiquus*, p 12, may indicate the possible cause of dispute: *Dicitur eciam quasdam decimas aliquando ad vicariam pertinentes eidem de novo esse subtractas*. For John de Ely, see *Reg Sutton* viii, p 167; App 2354.

⁴ Reg 5 fo 343v; *VCH Oxon* iv, p 398; *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, ed A Clark (3 vols, EETS 129-30, 142, 1905-11) ii, pp 574-81.

Conflicts about tithe might also arise between neighbouring incumbents. In 1321 a cause was pending between Master Adam de Bekingham, rector of Syston, and Richard de Pikering, rector of Belton by Grantham, concerning the spoliation of certain tithes of hay.¹ Of considerable interest is the suit between John de Nassington, rector of Owston, and William de Thedelthorp, rector of Epworth, relating to tithes at 'Whethale' issuing from assarts belonging to the lord of Mowbray at Melwood in the Isle of Axholme. It is possible that uncertainty over the position of the parish boundary in relation to these assarts lay behind this dispute.² A dependent chapelry within a parish could also be a cause of friction, as illustrated by the cause brought by John de Percy, rector of Quadring, against Robert Pollard, rector of the chapel of Wykes, concerning the unjust retention of tithes due to Quadring church.³

If, after a lawsuit had been brought and won against the reluctant tithe-payer, payment was still not forthcoming, the incumbent's final resort was the excommunication of the offender.⁴ When the debt had

¹ Reg 5 fo 295v.

² Reg 5 fo 430v. For 'Whethale', see also *CIPM* 111, p 358.

³ Reg 5 fo 491.

⁴ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp 124-5.

been settled, absolution could be granted. Thus the rector of Ashby by Partney received an episcopal commission in September 1322 to grant absolution to any of his parishioners who had incurred excommunication in this way. Similarly in 1334 the abbot of Leicester was empowered to absolve the parishioners of Barkby from the sentence of excommunication imposed on them for unjustly withholding tithes.'

NON-RESIDENCE

In his study of the thirteenth century church, Dr Moorman drew a distinction between those rectors who saw a benefice in terms of the cure of souls, and those who saw it primarily as a source of income. The former resided in their parishes, performing their duties in person, while the latter were non-resident and appointed deputies to carry out their parochial

' Reg 5 fos 321, 473. The reference to Ashby is to 'William, rector of Ashby by Horncastle'. This would normally mean either West Ashby, which, however, was at this date still a chapelry in the parish of Horncastle (D M Owen, 'Medieval Chapels in Lincolnshire', 19), or Ashby Puerorum, which was a vicarage in the incumbency of Hugh de Scotere from 1305-1331 (Reg 2 fo 13; App 301). The Ashby next nearest to Horncastle was Ashby by Partney, which was the only Ashby in the diocese to be both a rectory and in the incumbency of a William (William son of Walter de Askeby) in 1322 (Reg 2 fo 74; App 659).

functions.¹ The purpose of the following discussion is to examine the extent of such non-residence among the beneficed clergy in Lincoln diocese during Burghersh's episcopate, and to investigate some of its causes.

The principal source of evidence for non-residence lies in the licences granted by the bishop to incumbents to be absent from their benefices, usually for the purpose of study or to be in the service of a patron. The study licences granted to clerks in Sample B have already been analysed.² It will be recalled that out of the 426 incumbents in that Sample, 138 (32 per cent) were granted a dispensation in accordance with the constitution *Cum ex eo* or a licence for study at some stage during their career, and that the average period of study for these incumbents was 3.5 years.

This average, of course, conceals wide variations. Among the 138 clerks who received licences or dispensations for study, 67 (48 per cent) were granted leave of absence for a period of two years or less, including 29 who were licensed for one year only. On

¹ Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p 24. See also Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, pp 35-6.

² See Tables 4.3, 4.4 (pp 261-2) above.

the other hand, there were those who were absent for almost the entire period of their incumbency. William de Corbregg, a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, was rector of Burton Overy from 1321 until 1332. He was dispensed for study from the day of his institution until 1326; in 1329, he was granted a licence to study for a further period of one year. He is thus known to have been absent for six years out of an incumbency of just over ten.¹ Robert de Silkeston, rector of a sixth part of Brocklesby from 1317 until 1324, was dispensed for study for almost the whole of this period.² Robert de Scremby, rector of Scremby from 1323 until his death in 1337, was absent for study for a total of nine years during this time.³ The longest period of absence for study among the clerks in Sample B was undoubtedly that of Thomas de Tyrington, rector of Marholm from 1322-1341. A Cambridge scholar, he was granted dispensations for study covering the years 1322-9 and was subsequently licensed for study during the periods 1330-1, 1332-5 and 1338-40. Altogether, of the 19 years during which he was rector of Marholm, he was non-resident for thirteen.⁴

¹ *BRUC* p 486; App 838, 1020; Reg 5 fos 7, 15, 184.

² Reg 2 fo 67; App 110, 126; Reg 5 fo 4v.

³ App 90, 535; Reg 5 fos 18-20, 184, 186v, 189, 191v.

⁴ App 1235, 1675; *BRUC* p 602; Reg 5 fos 11, 13, 18, 20, 185v, 190, 191, 198, 199v.

As can be observed in the case of Thomas de Tyrington, periods of absence for study were not necessarily consecutive. In any event, a licence or dispensation for study did not mean the complete absence of the incumbent from his parish. John de Braybrok, rector of Colmworth, was granted in 1323 a study licence for a period of one year. The licence specified that he was to return to his church during vacations to teach, to help the poor, and to distribute alms. At the end of the year, he was to testify concerning such help, and concerning the continuation and place of his studies. Similarly in 1325, Master Robert de Tykhull, rector of West Allington, was granted a two year extension of his *Cum ex eo* dispensation, with the proviso that he was to return to his church during vacations to teach and to help the poor.¹ These two are isolated examples of this stipulation, and there is unfortunately no evidence to suggest whether or not it was a frequent one.

The other major reason for the non-residence of the beneficed clergy was to be in the service of a lord; this might be the king, the bishop or some other prelate, or a layman. The regular appointment of royal clerks to parochial benefices has been noted in the dioceses of Durham and York, and it is not

¹ Reg 5 fos 17, 18v.

surprising to find a similar position in the diocese of Lincoln.¹ Of the 426 clerks in Sample B, there were 31 who, at some point in their careers, were described as king's clerks. Although a few of these clerks, such as John de Etton and Nicholas de Fykhton, were granted episcopal licences for non-residence, the Crown as a general rule claimed exemption on behalf of its clerks from this requirement.² The evidence for royal service, therefore, has had to be traced mainly in the records of central government.³

As a group, these clerks held offices in most of the departments of the royal administration. In the Chancery, Adam Limbergh, rector of Algarkirk, was joint keeper of the Great Seal in 1328, an office which Edmund de Grimesby, rector successively of East Keal, Preston Bissett and Grainsby, held in 1340-1 and again in 1351.⁴ In the Exchequer, John de Charneles, rector of Swepstone, acted as deputy treasurer on a

¹ Donaldson, *thesis* i, p 357; J L Grassi, 'Royal Clerks from the Archdiocese of York in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History* 5 (1970), 12-33; Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 17.

² Reg 5 fos 35v, 49. For a royal writ claiming this right of exemption, see *Early Registers of Writs*, ed E de Haas and G D G Hall (Selden Society 87, 1970), p 141.

³ The following works have been used for tracing king's clerks: CPR; CCR; Tout, *The Place of Edward II in English History*; Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*.

⁴ Tout, *Chapters* vi, pp 11, 13-14.

number of occasions between 1337 and 1339, and Richard de Feriby, rector of Surfleet, held that office in 1339.¹ William de Cossall, rector of Witherley and later of Sibson, and Adam Limbergh were appointed barons of the Exchequer in 1329 and 1334 respectively.² Limbergh also acted as king's remembrancer and Cossall as treasurer's remembrancer, his predecessor in that office being John Travers, rector of Broughton Astley.³

Three of these clerks held offices in the Wardrobe: Richard de Feriby (cofferer, controller and keeper); Gilbert de Wygeton, rector of North Mimms and subsequently of Bottesford (controller and clerk), and John de Charneles (clerk).⁴ There were two keepers of the Privy Seal in the group (Robert Wyville, rector of Over Worton, in 1326 and Adam Limbergh in 1328-9), and two clerks of the Privy Seal (William Coleby, rector of Willoughby in the Marsh, and Richard de Feriby). Coleby was subsequently controller of the king's chamber.⁵

¹ *Ibid*, vi, p 22.

² *CPR 1327-30*, p 456; *CPR 1334-8*, p 46.

³ Tout, *Place of Edward II*, pp 348-9.

⁴ Tout, *Chapters vi*, pp 27-36.

⁵ Tout, *Chapters vi*, p 51; Conway Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II*, p 226; Tout, *Chapters ii*, p 273, 345.

Some of the royal appointments held by clerks in this group involved work further afield. Thomas de Castro Godrici, rector of Great Marlow, was chamberlain of South Wales.¹ Two of the clerks served in Ireland: Adam Limbergh (as chancellor) and Edmund de Grimesby (as keeper of writs and rolls).² In Gascony, a succession of clerks from this group held the office of constable of Bordeaux: Adam Limbergh (1322-4), John Travers (1324-6, 1331-4 and 1343), and John de Charneles (1350-1, 1352-4).³

Some incumbents in Sample B, not necessarily those who were described as king's clerks, received royal commissions to execute specific tasks. Such commissions involved a wide variety of duties. Thus Nicholas de Belou, rector successively of Thurleigh and of Braunston, was ordered in 1335 to survey the Fossdyke and to inquire into the state of Holland Bridge. Philip de Ravele, rector of All Saints, Huntingdon, was appointed keeper of the bridge at Huntingdon. William de Cossall was instructed to survey Newgate gaol for repairs. Gilbert de Wygeton,

¹ *Cal Inq Misc* ii, p 430.

² *CPR 1330-4*, pp 82, 470.

³ Tout, *Chapters* vi, pp 68-9. For letters sent by Lymberg and Travers from Gascony, see *The War of Saint-Sardos (1323-1325)*, ed P Chaplais (Camden Society, Third Series 87, 1954), pp 3-5, 49-52, 82, 221-3, 224, 233, 240-1.

rector of North Mimms, was given custody of lands of Humphrey de Bohun and other rebels in London and Middlesex after 1322; John de Staunton, rector of Wraysbury, was appointed to audit the accounts of certain other manors forfeited by rebels. Nicholas de Falle, rector of a mediety of Grayingham, was ordered to convey the rolls and memoranda of the Exchequer from Westminster to York in October 1327, while Thomas de Sibthorp, rector of Shenley, was commissioned in 1322 to examine and put in order the charters and other records in the castles of Pontefract, Tutbury and Tonbridge.¹

Some of these royal duties involved travel overseas. John de Melbourn, rector of a mediety of Ellesborough, accompanied the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield on his journey to treat for the marriage between Edward III and Philippa of Hainault in 1327. Similarly, Nicholas de Falle went with Burghersh on his embassies to the Low Countries in May and October 1337.² Maurice de Waleden, rector of Farnham Royal, was sent to Ireland in 1325 on the king's service. In 1330, Master Hugh Elys, rector of Cottered, was given authority to enter into an alliance, on the king's

¹ CPR 1334-8, pp 148, 203, 208; CPR 1327-30, p 379; CCR 1330-3, p 47; Reg 5b no 263; CPR 1321-4, pp 263, 356; CPR 1327-30, p 176; CPR 1321-4, p 191.

² CPR 1327-30, p 177, 179; CPR 1334-8, pp 417, 531.

behalf, with the duke of Brabant and the count of Flanders. In the same year a particularly secret mission was entrusted to Arnold de Tyllio, rector of Ellington, who was sent to explain by word of mouth to the seneschal of Gascony and the constable of Bordeaux certain matters which the king had much at heart.¹

Not all of the royal clerks were in the king's service exclusively. Nicholas de Falle was a king's clerk between 1327 and 1330, and he accompanied Burghersh to Flanders on the king's business in 1337, but he was originally a clerk of the bishop.² Similarly Hugh de Camera, a member of the bishop's administration from 1320; went with Burghersh in the king's retinue in May 1329, when Edward III sailed to France to do homage to Philip VI.³ Nicholas de Fykhton, rector of Skellingthorpe, went from the service of John de Grey in 1332 to that of the Crown in 1335; William Edington; rector successively of Hockliffe, Dallington

¹ *CPR 1324-7*, p 183; *CPR 1330-4*, p 7; *CCR 1330-3*, p 157.

² *CPR 1327-30*, pp 176, 528, 539; see p 355 above. Falle was in the bishop's service from at least October 1324, a month before his institution to Grayingham (App 113, 898). His service with the king in 1327-30 coincided with the tenure by Burghersh of the offices of treasurer and chancellor in the royal administration (Tout, *Chapters vi*, pp 11, 21). See also pp 60-1 above.

³ Reg 5 fo 263v; *CPR 1327-30*, p 388; Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton c1275-1345*, p 187. See also p 43 above.

and Middleton Cheney, was a clerk first of Gilbert de Middelton, archdeacon of Northampton, then of Bishop Orleton of Worcester, before entering the service of the king.¹ Altogether, 18 of the 32 king's clerks in Sample B were also in the service of another lord at some time in their careers.

The bishop's clerks, like those of the king, did not need to have non-residence licences;² it is, however, possible to identify them from the evidence of the episcopal registers. Nine such clerks are to be found in Sample B. Some of them held important positions in diocesan administration: Hugh de Camera, rector of Glatton, was appointed the bishop's Official in 1320 and subsequently became archdeacon of Lincoln; Thomas Louth, rector of Little Bytham, was the bishop's chancellor at the outset of Burghersh's episcopate, and both he and Hugh de Walmesford, rector of Grafham and later of Wyberton, held the position of auditor of causes in the bishop's court of audience. Walmesford, the bishop's registrar, was subsequently granted the office of sequestrator, at a time when the functions of that office were being considerably extended.³

¹ Reg 5 fos 42v, 49 (Fykhton); Reg 5 fo 16; *CPR 1330-4*, p 277; Tout, *Chapters iii*, pp 202-3 (Edington).

² Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 26.

³ Reg 5 fos 319, 342v; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541 i*, p 6. See also pp 32, 43-4, 55, 57 above.

Alan de Lughton, rector successively of Little Bytham and of Aylesby, was the bishop's receiver, a position to which he does not appear to have been altogether suited.¹ The names of other incumbents in Sample B who were members of the bishop's household (William de Thadmarton, rector of Combe; Nicholas de Falle, rector of a mediety of Grayingham; Richard Whitwell, rector of Little Bowden; Robert de Stanford, rector of Boultham) can be noted from the lists of those present at institutions.²

As has been noted in the case of the royal administration, much diocesan business was executed by means of commissions issued for specific purposes. It has already been seen how Burghersh used commissaries on occasion to carry out institutions to benefices;³ details of numerous commissions for other types of business may be found in Burghersh's memoranda register. Such commissions were issued to 34 of the

¹ In 1322, proceedings were brought against Alan (together with Elias Wheteleye, who may have been his predecessor) concerning a debt of £200 owed to Manentus Francesci, merchant; it was reported that nothing could be levied from the goods of Alan who, before Lamma, had sold to his parishioners the harvest tithes and other offerings which each ought to give him, for which fraud the bishop was proceeding against him in accordance with the canons. In the following year, Alan was required to answer the bishop for the time of his receivership (Reg 5b, nos 149, 216, 239; Reg 5 fos 268, 271, 283).

² See above, pp 54-62.

³ See above, pp 294-6.

clerks in Sample B.

The most widely distributed type of commission was that dealing with testamentary business, usually to hear the accounts of executors.¹ Such commissions were issued to 17 of the clerks in this group; for nine of them, it was the only commission which they are known to have received. The essentially local nature of many testamentary commissions is further illustrated by the fact that they were sometimes issued to vicars, who may be assumed normally to have been resident; William de Baumburgh, vicar of Cadney, was commissioned to hear the accounts of the executors of Henry de Baumburgh, possibly a relative, and John de Oveston, vicar of St Michael, Northampton, received a similar commission for the wills of Joan de Byland and William de Vico of Northampton.²

Judicial commissions, issued to eleven of the clerks in this group, were normally reserved for those more closely involved in diocesan administration, and, almost without exception, for those who were

¹ Reg 5 fos 60-82. For the increasing concentration of testamentary business in the hands of sequestrators at this period, see Morris, 'The Commissary of the Bishop', 57.

² Reg 5 fos 67v, 75v.

magistri.¹ Thus, while an occasional commission might be issued to a local incumbent such as Master Peter de Killingham, vicar of East Halton, the majority were entrusted either to the bishop's own clerks (such as Hugh de Camera, who received eight, and Hugh de Walmsford, who received twelve) or to archdeacons' officials (such as William de Makeseye, who received two, and John de Felmersham, who received seven).² The nature of the judicial business executed by commissaries can be illustrated by an analysis of those issued to Hugh de Walmsford, which included three matrimonial causes, three concerning breach of faith, one concerning tithes, two concerning assaults on clerks, one concerning correction, two concerning benefices, and one concerning the defilement of a churchyard.³

Three other categories of business were also usually

¹ The only non-*magistri* in the Sample to whom judicial commissions were issued were Richard Balle de Kybbeworth (who is, however, known to have studied at Oxford) and Thomas de London: Reg 5 fos 196, 447, 475v-476.

² Reg 5 fo 435v (Killingham); Reg 5 fos 288, 355v, 360v, 378v (2), 386v, 400, 432v (Camera); Reg 5 fos 340, 350, 367v, 390v, 391v, 416, 428, 430v, 438, 459v (2), 469v (2), 471, 473, 509 (Walmsford); Reg 5 fos 421v, 473v (Makeseye); Reg 5 fos 417, 420, 469, 488v, 504v, 515v, 522v (Felmersham).

³ In the absence of any surviving court papers, these commissions provide the only evidence for the nature of the business coming before the courts of the bishop of Lincoln in the fourteenth century. See above, pp 45-6.

restricted to episcopal clerks. Commissions to carry out visitations were issued to Hugh de Camera (the abbey of St Mary Delapré, Northampton), Thomas Louth (the priories of Fosse, Ravenstone and Snelshall) and Hugh de Walmesford (the priories of Heynings, Greenfield, Markby and Fineshade).¹ Hugh de Camera and Hugh de Walmesford were also entrusted with the confirmation of the election of heads of religious houses: the prioress of Wothorpe and the abbess of Delapré (Camera) and the prioress of Greenfield (Walmesford).² These same two clerks were also from time to time commissioned to preside on the bishop's behalf at meetings of the convocation of clergy.³

For beneficed clergy who were in the service of a lord other than their king or their bishop, a great deal of evidence survives in the form of episcopal licences *standi in obsequiis*. During the twenty years of his episcopate, Burghersh granted 776 such licences, an average of 38.8 per year.⁴ Licences of this type were granted to 70 of the clerks in Sample B (16.4 per cent of the total); the details are analysed in Table 5.2:

¹ Reg 5 fos 273, 296, 296v, 375v, 398v, 430, 435, 453v.

² Reg 5 fos 296, 410-11, 432.

³ Reg 5 fos 313, 328v, 356, 375, 410v.

⁴ Reg 5 fos 1-17, 34-59.

TABLE 5.2

Licences for Service Granted
to Incumbents in Sample B

Licences	135
Average Licences per Clerk	1.9
Average Term of Licence	1.6 years
Average Total Period of Service	3.1 years

The figures in Table 5.2 illustrate that the absence of beneficed clergy through such service was generally of a short-term nature, most individual licences being for a term of one or two years, with a total period of absence of about three years. This average, however, conceals a considerable variation, between on the one hand the 24 clerks who were licensed for one year's service only, and on the other hand those eight clerks who were granted successive licences for periods of seven years or more. The longest terms of service discovered among the clerks in Sample B were those of John de Gaddesden, rector of Chipping Norton (ten years, in the service of John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall, and then of Edward, the Black Prince); Hugh de Betune, rector of Linwood (eleven years, in the service of Isabella de Beaumont, lady Vescy), and Richard de Hakinthorp, rector successively of Grimoldby and of Orton Longueville (twelve years, in

the service of Henry de Beaumont, brother of the above-mentioned Isabella).¹

The maximum term of these licences was, as a rule, three years; nineteen of the clerks in the Sample were granted licences for such a term, one of them (William de Nedham, rector of Thoresway) receiving three consecutive three-year licences between 1321 and 1330.² On rare occasions, the bishop might grant an indefinite licence. Thus Edmund de Burnham, rector of Hitcham, was licensed in 1340 to be absent from his church for as long as he should remain in the service of Queen Isabella. A similar licence was granted in 1347 by Bishop Gynewell to Thomas de Castro Godrici, rector of Great Marlow, for the service of the Prince of Wales. It would seem not improbable that the royal connection was the reason for such exceptional treatment.³

¹ Reg 5 fos 43, 50, 52v, 54, 58; Reg 7 fo184v; *BRUO* p 739 (Gaddesden); Reg 5 fos 36, 37, 39, 43v (Betune); Reg 5 fos 13v, 35, 40, 42, 46, 51, 55, 56 (Hakinthorp). The other five clerks whose total period of absence for service exceeded six years were: Edmund de Burnham, rector of Hitcham (Reg 5 fos 42, 50v, 54v, 58); Geoffrey de Hegham, rector of a mediety of Leverton (Reg 5 fos 34v, 40, 42v, 46, 53v; Reg 7 fo 133); John de Heselarton, rector of Hatfield (Reg 5 fos 47v, 50v, 53, 55v, 56, 57v); William de Nedham, rector of Thoresway (Reg 5 fos 5v, 14v, 36); and Henry de Stradbok, successively rector of Offord Darcy, of Holy Trinity Blatherwycke, vicar of Sutterton, and rector of Ashby by Partney (Reg 5 fos 35v, 36v, 38v, 45).

² See note 1 above.

³ Reg 5 fo 58; Reg 9c fo 5.

Exactly one-half (35) of the 70 clerks in Sample B who were granted licences for service also received licences for study. In the great majority of cases (29 of the 35), the period of study preceded the period of service. For some, service began almost as soon as their studies were ended. John de Heslarton was granted licences for study covering most of the period from his institution to Hatfield in February 1328 until January 1334; in September of the latter year, he received the first of a series of six licences for absence in the service of his father.¹ William de Osmygton, rector of Tothill, received only two licences for non-residence: the first, for study, during the period 1324-5, and the second, for service, immediately afterwards from 1325-6.²

A career in which service preceded study was more rare. Four clerks (John de Denton, rector of Loughborough and then of Potton; Richard de Ely, rector of Datchworth; William de Ousthorp, rector of Hatfield and afterwards of Somersham; Roger de Stretton, rector of Oxcombe) were granted licences for study after periods of absence for service.³ John

¹ Reg 5 fos 183, 184, 187v; Reg 5 fos 47v, 50v, 53, 55v, 56, 57v.

² Reg 5 fos 180v, 181.

³ Reg 5 fos 10, 36v; *CPL* 11, p 311 (Denton); Reg 5 fos 36v, 187 (Ely); Reg 5 fos 13, 37; *BRUC*, p 438 (Ousthorp); Reg 5 fos 11, 197 (Stretton).

de Goldesburgh, rector of Kencott, was dispensed for study between 1325 and 1329; in 1331 he was licensed to be absent in the service of his father for one year; and in 1336 he was licensed to study for a year at the university of Oxford.¹

Most of the beneficed clergy who were licensed to be absent for this purpose are only known to have been in the service of one lord: just over three-quarters (54 out of 70) of those in Sample B fall in this category. In addition, there were 14 clerks who received successive licences to serve two different lords, although in some cases there was a family connection between the two. Thus Robert de Kyngesbrygg, rector of Cold Overton and later of Sileby, was in the service of John de Segrave and subsequently in that of John's widow, Christiana.² Walter de Stratton, rector successively of Offord Darcy and of Holy Trinity, Blatherwycke, was in the service of John Dengayne and later in that of Helen, widow of John.³

Two clerks in the Sample had still more varied careers. Geoffrey de Hegham, rector of a mediety of the church of Leverton, was granted licences to be

¹ Reg 5 fos 19, 20, 20v, 40, 195v.

² Reg 5 fos 14v, 34v, 36v; *CIPM* vi, pp 427-30.

³ Reg 5 fos 6, 15; *CIPM* vi, pp 252-4.

absent in the service of Robert de Wateville (1324-7), of Master John de Elham, archdeacon of Essex (1331-2), of Master John de Everdon, dean of St Pauls (1332-3) and of Master Henry Iddesworth, later archdeacon of Middlesex (1334-5, 1337-8 and 1343-4).¹ Thomas de Castro Godrici, rector of Essendon and then of Great Marlow, was successively in the service of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, of the younger Despenser, of William la Zouche of Mortimer, of the king and finally of the Prince of Wales.²

About two-thirds (47 out of 70) of the clerks in Sample B who received licences of this nature were in the service of lay men and women; another 20 were in the service of ecclesiastical patrons. Only three

¹ App 33; Reg 5 fos 34v, 40, 42v, 46, 53v; Reg 7 fo 133; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* v, p 11. For Iddesworth, see above, p 56.

² Thomas de Castro Godrici: presented to the church of Essendon in 1323 by Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and at the same time licensed to be absent for two years in the earl's service. Pembroke died in 1324 before this term had expired and it is known that Thomas then entered the service of the younger Despenser (who in 1325 presented him to the church of Great Marlow), although he received no licence for absence in respect of this service. In 1331, Thomas was granted a licence to be in the service of William la Zouch of Mortimer (who had married the widow of the younger Despenser). In 1341, he was in the king's service as chamberlain of South Wales, and in 1347, as has been seen, he received a licence for indefinite absence in the service of the Prince of Wales. He died in 1349. See App 2480; Reg 5 fo 34; J R S Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-1324*, p 257; App 2230; Reg 5 fo 40v; *GEC* xii (2), pp 957-60; *Cal Inq Misc* ii, p 430; Reg 9c fo 5; Reg 9 fo 283.

clerks in the Sample were successively in the service of both ecclesiastical and lay patrons: John de Denton (Hugh le Despenser the elder and the abbey of St Mary Winchester); Richard de Hertfordyngbyr (the abbot of Waltham and Christina de Brouk, his mother), and Geoffrey de Hegham whose career has already been traced.¹

An examination of these licences reveals a wide variety of patrons served by parochial incumbents. They included members of the royal family such as Queen Isabella (Edmund de Burnham, rector of Hitcham; John de Doune, rector of Ufford; William Giffard, rector of a mediety of Hallaton), and the earl of Cornwall (John de Gaddesden, rector of Chipping Norton).² There were men and women of the nobility, for example Mary, countess of Pembroke (Nicholas de Belou, rector of Thurleigh), Alice, countess of Lincoln (Ralph de Bullemere, rector of Normanton, and Ralph de Sancto Lycio, rector of Radclive), the earls of Warenne (Ralph de Malton, rector of Great Staughton), of Lancaster (William de Puryton, rector of Broadwell) and of Richmond (John de Quengou, rector

¹ Reg 5 fos 10, 36v (Denton); Reg 5 fos 38v, 43v (Hertfordyngbyr). For Geoffrey de Hegham, see above, pp 365-6.

² Reg 5 fos 42, 50v, 54v, 58 (Burnham); Reg 5 fos 38, 41; *CPR 1324-7*, p 91 (Doune); Reg 5 fo 38v (Giffard); Reg 5 fos 43, 50, 52v, 54, 58; Reg 7 fo 131v; *BROU*, p 739 (Gaddesden).

of Wyberton and then of Leadenham), and Elizabeth de Burgh, lady Clare (Alan de Medefeld, rector of East Kirkby).¹ Isabella, lady Vescy, was served by three clerks in the Sample (Thomas de Sonnebury, William de Nedham and Hugh de Betune).²

It has already been shown that a significant number of clerks in Sample B were in the service of a patron who presented them to a benefice, and also that the majority of such patrons were lay people.³ Among these patrons were John de Clavering (John de Blebiry, rector of Iver), John de Segrave (Robert de Byllesdon, rector of Cold Overton), John Darcy (Milo de Dysce, rector of Knaith), William de Clynton (Henry de Meriton, rector of Ibstock), Ralph Basset of Drayton (Thomas de Radeclive, rector of Ragdale), and Helen Engayne (Henry de Stradebrok, rector of Holy Trinity, Blatherwycke).⁴ Sometimes there was a family connection between clerk and lord, for example Hubert le Conestable (in the service of Robert le

¹ Reg 7 fos 131, 134 (Belou); Reg 5 fos 41v, 48v, 55 (Bullemere, Sancto Lycio); Reg 5 fo 34v (Malton); Reg 5 fo 40v (Pryton); Reg 5 fos 4, 5v (Quengou); Reg 5 fo 35 (Medefeld).

² Reg 5 fos 4v (Sonnebury), 5v, 14v 36 (Nedham), 36, 37, 39, 43v (Betune).

³ See above, pp 239-41.

⁴ Reg 5 fos 34 (Blebiry), 14v (Byllesdon), 11 (Dysce), 42 (Meriton), 16v (Radeclive), 35v, 36v, 38, 45 (Stradebrok).

Conestable), Walter de Everdon, rector of Everdon (in that of Master John de Everdon) and William de Pulteneye, rector of Whilton (John de Pulteneye).¹

The ecclesiastical lords served by clerks in the Sample included bishops, abbots, archdeacons, prebendaries and other beneficed clerks who were often themselves royal or episcopal officials. Licences were granted for absence in the service of the archbishop of Canterbury (John de Snodeland, rector of Toddington), the bishops of Carlisle (John de Herford, rector of a mediety of Hackthorn) and of Ely (William de Ousthorp, rector of Hatfield and afterwards of Somersham).² Heads of religious houses included the abbots of Croxton (John Basan, rector of Waltham) and of Crowland (William de Glatton, rector of Sapperton and later of Thrapston) and the prior of Bushmead (John de Pabenham, rector of Wilden).³ Peter de Brixia, rector of Welbourn, was licensed to be in the service of his kinsman, Master William de Brixia, archdeacon of Bologna; the archdeacon of Northampton,

¹ Reg 5 fo 53 (Conestable); Reg 5 fo 10v (Everdon); Reg 5 fo 55v (Pulteneye). For John de Heslarton, rector of Hatfield (in his father's service), and Richard de Hertfordyngbyr, rector of a mediety of Leverton (in his mother's), see above, pp 364, 367.

² Reg 5 fo 36 (Snodeland); Reg 7 fo 138v (Herford); Reg 5 fos 13, 37 (Ousthorp).

³ Reg 5 fos 40 (Basan), 6, 17v (Glatton), 41 (Pabenham).

Gilbert Middleton, used two clerks from the Sample (William Edington and William Pachet, rector of Farthinghoe).¹ Prebendaries of Lincoln included Thomas de Northwode (Adam de Beauchamp, rector of St Peter, Mablethorpe), Richard de Stretton (Roger de Stretton, rector of Oxcombe) and John Offord (Arnold de Tyllio, rector of Ellington).² Sometimes one parochial incumbent was licensed to be in the service of another. William de Carleton, rector of Holton, was a clerk of Henry de Carleton, rector of Frodingham; John de Ocle, rector of Noke, was in the service of Richard de Ragenhill, rector of Burghclere in the diocese of Winchester. In two cases, one clerk from Sample B was in the service of another: Nicholas Vigerons de London, rector of Broxholme, was a clerk of Adam Limbergh, rector of Algarkirk, and Gilbert de Sandal, rector of North Mimms, was a clerk of Robert de Sandale, rector of West Halton.³

As well as study and service, there were occasionally other reasons why an incumbent might be granted a licence for absence. One such reason was to go on pilgrimage. Roger de Pincebek, was licensed for a

¹ Reg 5 fos 34v, 181v (Brixia); Reg 5 fos 16, 38 (Edington); Reg 5 fos 35, 38 (Pachet).

² Reg 5 fo 37 (Beauchamp); Reg 5 fo 11 (Stretton); Reg 7 fo 131v (Tyllio).

³ Reg 5 fo 47v (Carleton); Reg 5 fo 51v (Ocle); Reg 5 fos 46v, 47 (London); Reg 5 fo 55 (Sandal).

pilgrimage to Compostella in 1337; Adam de Baldock, rector of Uppingham, John de Fylyngley, rector of Scrivelsby, and John de Kelmescot, canon of Canons Ashby and vicar of Moreton Pinkney, all received licences to visit Rome.¹ Others were granted licences to visit the papal curia: Adam de Beauchamp, rector of St Peter, Mablethorpe, John de Cauntebrigg, rector of Whitwick, and Michael le Engleys, rector of Shelton.² John de Lunderthorp, rector of Cottesmore, was licensed to visit the papal court in 1337 to prosecute a claim to a canonry of Lichfield.³ Others, such as Thomas de Hothum, rector of Broughton Astley, were granted licences for absence in order to visit their native country.⁴ John de Staunton, rector of Wraysbury, was granted such a licence in 1331; three years later, he was licensed to be absent in order to take purer air for the purpose of recreation. Perhaps Wraysbury, beside the River Thames, was not considered

¹ Reg 5 fos 17, 34, 47v, 54.

² Reg 5 fos 39v, 48v, 49v.

³ Reg 5 fo 54v; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* x, p 27. For a commendatory letter issued to Lunderthorp by the university of Oxford for an earlier visit to the Curia in c1317/18, see *Formularies Which Bear on the History of Oxford, c1204-1420*, eds H E Salter, W A Pantin and H G Richardson, (2 vols, OHS New Series 4-5, 1942) 1, pp 30-31.

⁴ Reg 5 fo 181. For a similar licence granted to Michael le Engleys, rector of Shelton, see Reg 5 fo 41v.

to be a particularly healthy spot. ¹

One final reason for non-residence which must be considered here is pluralism. The period of Burghersh's episcopate follows soon after the issue, by Pope John XXII in 1317, of the constitution *Execrabilis*. The effect of this constitution was to compel any clerk who had received a papal dispensation for plurality to resign all but two of his benefices, one with and one without cure of souls. A clerk who held more than one benefice without such a dispensation was to resign all his benefices except the most recent.² Thus Thomas de Segrave was instituted in May 1314 to the three churches of Sileby, Fenstanton and Elkesley. By the date of the issue of *Execrabilis*, he had already vacated Elkesley; in April 1318, he withdrew from Sileby *in forma constitutionis*.³ Dr Wright has calculated that, in the period from December 1317 to December 1319, 40

¹ Reg 5 fos 41v, 47. Purer air was also alleged by Master Simon de Cur Maiori, rector of St Peter Ingoldmells, as his reason for preferring to reside at his previous benefice of Clayworth in Nottinghamshire. See Reg 5 fo 56; *North Notts Clergy*, p 41.

² A Hamilton Thompson, 'Pluralism in the Medieval Church', *AASRP* 33 (1915-16), 61-6; Haines, *Administration of the Diocese of Worcester*, pp 193-4; Wright, *The Church and the English Crown*, pp 12-13.

³ Reg 2 fos 208, 246v; *North Notts Clergy*, p 61; Reg 2 fo 215. Segrave received a papal dispensation in 1313 to hold Sileby with an additional benefice: see *CPL* ii, p 116.

benefices in the diocese of Lincoln were vacated as a result of the constitution; the institution register of Bishop Dalderby records the filling of 35 such vacancies during this period.¹ However, not all clerks who held more than one parochial benefice resigned their surplus livings immediately on the publication of *Execrabilis*. Oliver Deyncourt, who was rector of both Potterhanworth and St Peter, Mablethorpe, did not resign the second of these churches until 1324, claiming that he had not been told that the constitution was yet in force in England.²

The constitution *Execrabilis* was undoubtedly directed at the holding of more than one benefice with cure of souls. Any exception to this rule required a papal dispensation.³ The returns of pluralists made in 1366 suggest that such tenure of more than one benefice with cure was comparatively rare. A typical pluralist, according to Dr Pantin, might hold a parish church together with a prebend either in a cathedral or in a collegiate church. An analysis of Professor Hamilton Thompson's annotated translation of the returns for the diocese of Lincoln indicates that only

¹ Wright, *op cit*, p 86; Reg 2 fos 71v, 74, 75v, 99, 134-7, 170, 172, 190, 215, 252-3, 272v.

² Reg 5 fo 371.

³ Hamilton Thompson, *art cit*, 63.

twelve clerks out of the 136 included in the return held two 'incompatible' benefices, both having cure of souls.'

This suggestion that, after the issue of *Execrabilis*, few clerks held more than one parochial benefice at the same time would appear to be confirmed by the evidence of the clerks in Sample B. It must be stressed that this evidence does not present a full picture. No comprehensive survey of pluralism equivalent to the 1366 return exists for the period of Burghersh's episcopate; a search through the unpublished registers of other dioceses might well add further examples. But even after making all these allowances, the evidence for pluralism, in the sense of holding two benefices both having cure of souls, is very thin. Out of the 426 incumbents in Sample B, evidence of such pluralism has been found in the careers of only four. Three of these clerks held more than one parochial benefice. John de Langetoft, rector of Harby from 1321 until 1351, held from 1334 a succession of benefices in other dioceses.² Thomas de Radeclive was rector of Olney from 1318 to at least

¹ Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, p 37; A Hamilton Thompson, 'Pluralism in the Medieval Church', *AASRP* 33 (1915-16), 35-73; 34 (1917), 1-26; 35 (1918-20), 87-108, 199-242; 36 (1921), 1-41: nos 7, 8, 14, 20, 24, 39, 75, 83, 94, 111, 129, 134.

² App 835; Reg 9 fo 349v; *BRUC*, p 351.

1323 and rector of Ragdale from 1320 to 1368.¹ Walter de Stratton was rector of Shellingford in the diocese of Salisbury from 1316 to 1349, during which period he also held the livings of Offord Darcy (1321-24) and of Holy Trinity, Blatherwycke (1324-30).² The other pluralist in Sample B held a parochial benefice together with a cathedral dignity: Thomas Louth, rector of Little Bytham and treasurer of Lincoln from 1321-29.³ The fact that evidence of pluralism can be found in the case of only four incumbents from Sample B suggests very strongly that the problem of non-residence through pluralism was a comparatively insignificant one as far as the parochial clergy were concerned.⁴

Overall, however, the evidence of Sample B suggests that non-residence among the beneficed clergy during Burghersh's episcopate was widespread. Out of the 426 clerks in the Sample, 202 (47 per cent) were non-resident at some time in their careers. But this picture needs to be qualified in two important respects. First, non-residence was controlled through

¹ Reg 2 fo 191; *CPR 1321-4*, p 294; App 824; Reg 10 fo 242. It may be noted that the patron of both livings was Ralph Basset de Drayton.

² *Reg Martival* 1, p 55; *BRUC*, p 563; App 2245, 2485; App 1261, 1385.

³ App 26; *Le Neve Fasti 1300-1541* 1, p 21.

⁴ *Reg Sutton* 1, pp xxi-xxii.

the issue of episcopal licences. The period of absence was almost always limited and the licence normally stipulated that the parish should be adequately served while the incumbent was away.¹ Unlicensed non-residence undoubtedly existed, but where it was detected, vigorous action was taken. In 1336, the bishop issued a commission for proceedings against Robert de Clif, rector of Wigtoft, for non-residence in his church despite episcopal warning made to him previously. It is not known whether Clif complied, although he died in possession of the living not long afterwards.² In May 1335, the bishop ordered monitions to be issued to William de Preston, rector of Dowsby, and to John de Langeton, rector of Church Langton, to reside on their benefices within two months. Frederic Odilie, rector of Miningsby, failed to comply with a similar monition issued to him in 1336, with the result that he was deprived of his benefice.³

Secondly, non-residence by licence rarely meant the permanent absence of the incumbent from his parish.

¹ The memoranda entries of nearly all licences for absence include a clause "*Ita tamen etc*", a short form of "*Ita tamen quod dicte ecclesie per capellanum et alios ministros idoneos congrue deserviri... faciat*" or some similar wording. See Reg 5 fo 34.

² Reg 5 fos 230, 231; App 563.

³ Reg 5 fo 497v; App 530.

It is true that there are examples of lengthy non-residence among the clerks in Sample B (Adam de Beauchamp, 12 years; Richard de Hakinthorp, 12 years; Nicholas Vigerons de London, 12 years; Henry de Meriton, 12 years; Hugh de Betune, 13 years; Thomas de Tyrington, 13 years; Edmund de Morteyn, 14 years; John de Gaddesden, 16 years; and John de Heslarton, 18 years, not to mention the royal and episcopal clerks whose length of service cannot accurately be gauged).¹ But against these must be set the 91 clerks in the Sample (45 per cent of those for whom evidence of non-residence has been found) whose absence was limited to a period of three years or less. Thus, while nearly one-half of the clerks in Sample B were non-resident at some stage during their incumbencies, if the statistics are examined from the opposite point of view there were 315 incumbents in the Sample (74 per cent) who were either non-resident for no more than three years or who are not known to have been non-resident at all.

¹ Adam de Beauchamp: Reg 5 fos 37, 48v, 197v, 200v; Reg 7 fo 139; Reg 9c fos 6, 9. Richard de Hakinthorp: Reg 5 fos 13v, 35, 40, 42, 46, 51, 55, 56. Nicholas Vigerons de London: Reg 5 fos 4, 12v, 46v, 47, 183, 187v, 199. Henry de Meriton: Reg 5 fos 13v, 19v, 20, 42, 182, 184v, 185. Hugh de Betune: Reg 5 fos 36, 37, 39, 43v, 48v. Thomas de Tyrington: Reg 5 fos 11, 13, 18, 20, 185v, 190, 191, 198, 199v. Edmund de Morteyn: Reg 5 fos 19, 19v, 22, 53, 188v, 190; Reg 7 fo 134v. John de Gaddesden: Reg 5 fos 5, 15, 43, 50, 52v, 54, 58, 183, 184v; Reg 7 fo 131v; *BRUO*, p 739. John de Heslarton: *Reg Greenfield* v, p 258; *Reg Melton* ii, p 15; Reg 5 fos 47v, 50v, 53, 55v, 56, 57v, 183, 184, 187v; Reg 7 fo 131.

It can indeed be argued that 'non-resident' is the wrong term to describe these clergy, and that 'partially resident' might be more accurate. As has been seen, a substantial proportion of non-residence was limited to three years at the most. Of those clerks in Sample B who were non-resident for longer periods, very few were continuously absent throughout their incumbencies.¹ While it is possible that gaps in an incumbent's licensed non-residence might be caused by short periods of unlicensed absence, it is equally possible that these gaps might have been spent in residence in his parish. In any case, it must not be thought that a non-resident incumbent would never go near his parish. Master Walter Stauren, archdeacon of Stow and a member of the bishop's household, might be thought to have regarded his church of Sherington purely as a source of income; yet the institution register reveals that he spent some days there in June 1329, while acting as vicar-general during the bishop's absence abroad.² It has been seen that John de Gaddesden, rector of Chipping Norton, was licensed for non-residence for a total of 16 years, yet in 1323

¹ A rare exception is Hugh de Betune who was non-resident by licence during all but a few months of his known incumbency, first of a mediety of South Witham and subsequently of Linwood (see above, p 377 note 1). However, his last recorded licence for absence expired in January 1336, and it is not known when he vacated the living of Linwood.

² App 2284; App 2278, 2544. See also p 33 above.

he was granted a licence to have oratories both in his house in Oxford and in his rectory manse at Chipping Norton. It would seem unlikely that he would have gone to the trouble of obtaining such a licence if he had no intention of ever residing in his parish. Similarly, the career of Adam Limbergh in the royal administration has already been traced, but it may also be noted that in January 1331, during a break in that career, he was granted a licence to hear the confessions of his parishioners at Algarkirk.¹

VACATING A BENEFICE

There were three ways in which a clerk might vacate a benefice: by resignation, by deprivation, or by death. The causes of vacancy recorded in the institutions in Sample A have been analysed, with results as shown in Table 5.3.

In just over half of the institutions in Sample A, the cause of vacancy was the resignation of the previous incumbent. Details of the resignation are given in only three cases and this paucity of evidence makes it

¹ Gaddesden: Reg 5 fo 339v; see also p 377 above. Limbergh: Reg 5 fo 443; see also pp 352-4 above.

TABLE 5.3

Causes of Vacancy of Benefices
in the Diocese of Lincoln
1320-1342

Resignation		
by exchange	579	
on institution to another living	106	
by dimission	11	
for reason not specified	483	1179
Deprivation		10
Death		994
Cause of vacancy not specified		102
<i>Total</i>		<i>2285</i>

difficult to be certain about the normal procedure. Although there are 52 instances in the Sample where it is specified that resignation was made orally,¹ it appears that some form of written document was usually necessary. The resignation in 1330 of Gilbert Lovel, rector of Titchmarsh, provides an illustration of the form such a document might take. Beginning with a greeting

*Venerabili in Christo patri et domino
domino Henrico dei gracia Lincoln' episcopo
suus si placet humilis et devotus Gilbertus
Lovel Rector ecclesie de Tichemersh' vestre
diocesis salutem cum omni obediencia
reverencia et honore debitis tanto patri*

Lovel's resignation continues with a short preamble

¹ 'per resignationem... oretenus factam': see for example App 22, 49, 425, 481, 2471.

Cum ego compos mentis mee certis et legitimis decausis a cura animarum dicte ecclesie mee cupiens totaliter exonerari

leading up to the resignation itself

eandem ecclesiam meam cum suis iuribus et pertinenciis universis in sacras manus vestras pure sponte simpliciter et absolute et ex certa scientia resigno per presentes.

This is followed by a request that the bishop accept the resignation

vestram paternitatem reverendam humiliter implorans quatinus ipsam resignationem sic per me factam benigne dignemini acceptare.

The document concludes with a sealing clause which is reinforced in this instance with the seal of a diocesan official

In cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum presentibus est appensum. Et quia idem sigillum meum pluribus est incognitum sigillum officii Officialis Officialitatis Archidiaconatus Buck' per modum collationis apponi procuravi

The resignation of Gilbert Lovel was executed in the manse of the rector of Asthall (the Lovel family were lords of the manor both of Titchmarsh and of Minster Lovell, the parish adjacent to Asthall) before witnesses who included William Everard knight and John de Wilton, rector of Suthmere in Norfolk (another Lovel manor). The whole transaction was attested by a

papal notary, Richard de Ledburi.¹ The resignation of John Cok of Exeter, rector of Cottered, follows a similar pattern but lacks the notarial attestation.²

This evidence is too limited to draw more than the most tentative conclusions about resignation procedure in the early fourteenth century. It may be noted, however, that this incomplete picture is not inconsistent with early sixteenth-century practice in Lincoln diocese. In her account of the resignation deeds of this period, Dr Major has shown how in some cases a written resignation was read out by the clerk in the bishop's presence while in others a notarial exemplification of the reading before witnesses of such a resignation was delivered to the bishop by a proctor of the resigning incumbent.³

The words *pure sponte absolute et simpliciter* were an essential part of the resignation, since it would be held to be invalid if any condition were attached. There were, however, two exceptions to this rule. In

¹ App 1408 (Reg 4 fo 188v); *CIPM* v, pp 141-2. For a contemporary example of a notarial instrument recording a resignation, see Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, pp 173-4.

² App 2703, Reg 4 fos 394v-395.

³ K Major, 'Resignation Deeds of the Diocese of Lincoln', *BIHR* 19 (1942-3), 58. For examples of the use of proctors for resignation, see App 718, 1443, 1446, 2610.

the case of exchanges, the resignation could be made conditional on the exchange taking full effect. Thus the resignation of John de Oxendon, rector of Sywell, for the purpose of an exchange with the church of Salthouse in the diocese of Norwich, follows a similar form to that outlined above, but in place of the clause requesting the bishop to accept the resignation there is the condition

volens huiusmodi resignationem meam tunc demum valere cum dicta permutatio debitum sortiatur effectum, insuper protestans cum effectu quod si ex causa alicuius inhabilitatis personam prefati domini Simonis ac statum eiusdem concernentis... contingat prefatam ecclesiam de Salthus a me quod absit evinci infuturum ad prefatam ecclesiam de Sywell' intendo habere regressum et de eadem disponere ut rector non obstante resignatione mea supradicta.'

It also appears to have been possible for an incumbent to resign a benefice conditionally if he did so in accordance with the provisions of the constitution *Execrabilis*. When Oliver Deyncourt, rector of Potterhanworth and of St Peter, Mablethorpe, was compelled in 1324 to give up the latter benefice, his resignation was made conditional on the constitution

' App 1230 (Reg 4 fo 165).

Execrabilis remaining in force.¹

In normal circumstances, however, it was not possible to make a conditional resignation of a benefice. There have been found in Burghersh's registers two instances of incumbents who resigned their livings and who subsequently had second thoughts on the subject. Robert Fitz Bernard resigned the church of Leckhampstead some time before November 1323; he claimed afterwards that he had acted *per vim ac metum* and while insane (*mente sua alienatum*). Burghersh issued a commission for the investigation of the matter on 20 November, but the institution of a new incumbent two days later indicates that Fitz Bernard's appeal was unsuccessful.² Richard de Helmeswell was vicar of the prebendal church of St Mary Crackpole, Lincoln, from 1318 until 1330 in which year he entered the Carmelite order. Before his year of probation had elapsed, however, he laid aside the habit, returned to secular life and sought the vicarage which he had formerly held. But while he had been in the religious life, in July 1330, one John Sampson had been instituted to the vicarage. Helmeswell brought a suit against Sampson, and the bishop issued commissions to

¹ Reg 5 fo 371. See also Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* i, pp 113-14 and ii, pp 31-2, where the resignation was made conditional on the successful retention of the second benefice.

² App 2207, 2285; Reg 5 fo 353v.

hear the cause in October and November of 1330. It is clear, however, from the evidence of the next institution to the living that Sampson had retained possession.¹

The majority of resignations were made for the purpose of moving to another benefice. The statistics in Table 5.3 demonstrate that this was the case in at least 696 (59 per cent) of the vacancies in Sample A which were caused by resignation. The bulk of resignations in this category were made by reason of exchange. In 106 other cases, the benefice to which the resigning clerk had been instituted is specified. Another eleven resignations were made 'by dimission', the phrase used when a benefice was resigned for reasons of plurality.

There is no case in Sample A where an incumbent can be shown to have resigned because of old age or illness, and it would appear that such a practice was rare. In only two examples is reference made to the provision of a pension to the resigning incumbent. A sum of £10 per annum was assigned to William de Offynton on his resignation of the vicarage of Padbury in 1326, while William de Morton, rector of a mediety of Beachampton, was bound to provide Richard his predecessor with a

¹ Reg 2 fo 69v; App 274, 521; Reg 5 fos 437v, 439v.

suitable maintenance in housing, food and clothing, or else to pay him a yearly sum of 10 marks, for life.¹

The normal solution to the problem of an incumbent who either through age or infirmity was unable to carry out his duties was the appointment of a coadjutor.² A number of such appointments may be found in Burghersh's memoranda register. The reasons given include weakness, ill-health and old age;³ poor eyesight or blindness,⁴ and mental illness.⁵ Thus Thomas de Dingele, rector of North Witham, was in ill health and raving; Richard de Berewyk, vicar of Charlbury, was old and blind; Simon, rector of Hacconby, was weak, old and mentally ill.⁶

Although unbeneficed clerks were occasionally

¹ App 2242, 2303-4. Neither of these two benefices was assessed for the *Taxatio* of 1291, so either the pensions were extremely generous or the benefices were considerably under-assessed. The provision of pensions to resigning incumbents had become a great deal more common by the early sixteenth century: see P Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1969), pp 183-4.

² Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp 201-2; *Reg Sutton* iii, pp lv-lvi; Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, p 43.

³ Reg 5 fos 301, 315, 320v, 346v, 379v, 460, 473v, 492v.

⁴ Reg 5 fos 285, 295v, 300, 317, 320, 351, 441.

⁵ Reg 5 fos 283, 314v, 328.

⁶ Reg 5 fos 314v, 317, 328.

appointed,¹ in most cases the coadjutor was another incumbent, usually from a nearby parish. The rector of Folkingham (and later the vicar of Osbournby) acted for the rector of Newton; the rector of Broughton for the rector of Bottesford; the vicar of Chacombe for the rector of Culworth; and the rector of West Barkwith for the rector of Hatton.² Some coadjutors, however, came from further afield: the rector of St Peter *ad fontem* in Lincoln was coadjutor for the vicar of Risby, and the rector of Great Carlton for the rector of Hacconby.³ The unusual appointment of Roger de Solers, rector of Great Rollright in Oxfordshire, to be coadjutor of Roger de Assherug, rector of Beeby in Leicestershire, may be explained by the fact that Assherug was the predecessor of Solers at Great Rollright.⁴

Some incumbents were already mortally ill when the coadjutor was appointed. William, vicar of Willoughton, was dead within a month of his coadjutor's taking office. Simon, rector of Hacconby, survived for no more than three months after the

¹ For example, Walter de Westhaddon (Reg 5 fo 268), Robert de Culbworth (Reg 5 fo 318), Peter de Wylghueton (Reg 5 fo 346v) and John de Redburn (Reg 5 fo 473v).

² Reg 5 fos 295v, 300, 301, 351, 460.

³ Reg 5 fos 318, 328.

⁴ Reg 5 fo 285; Reg 2 fo 147.

appointment of his coadjutor, and William, rector of Bottesford, for no more than five.¹ In other cases, however, the stricken incumbent lived on for a number of years. Robert, rector of Great Bowden, was given a coadjutor in 1322 but remained as rector until his death six years later.² Alexander, rector of Scrafield, who in 1321 was unable to carry out his duties because of mental illness, was still in possession of the benefice at his death ten years afterwards.³ Roger de Assherug, rector of Beeby, for whom a coadjutor was appointed in 1321 on account of his old age and blindness, survived for another fourteen years' incumbency.⁴

To guard against any possible abuse of his office by the coadjutor, arrangements were made for the audit of his accounts. A commission to carry out this task was issued in 1321 to John de Horblyng, vicar of Billingborough, for the accounts of the coadjutor of the rector of Hacconby. On other occasions, such a commission might be issued to two clerks: the dean of Corringham and the rector of Oadby (for the coadjutor of the rector of Scotton) and the rectors of Asfordby

¹ Reg 5 fo 346v, Reg 4 fo 98v; Reg 5 fo 328, Reg 4 fo 9; Reg 5 fo 301, Reg 4 fo 115.

² Reg 5 fo 315, Reg 4 fo 125.

³ Reg 5 fo 283; Reg 4 fo 35.

⁴ Reg 5 fo 285; Reg 4 fo 143.

and of Denton (for the coadjutor of the rector of Ab Kettleby).¹

The regular appointment of coadjutors testifies to the fact that an incumbent, even when blind or mentally ill, was not liable to be removed from his benefice simply because he was unable to perform his duties.² There were, however, ten instances in Sample A where a benefice became vacant through the deprivation of the previous incumbent.³ Reasons for such deprivation included non-residence (as in the case of Frederic Odilie, rector of Miningsby), concubinage (Hugh de Okkebourn, rector of Turvey), and involvement in homicide (John Gentilcorps, rector of a portion of Waddesdon, a party to the killing of John Darches, rector of Pitchcott).⁴ In normal circumstances, the deprivation was carried out by the bishop or his commissary. Ralph de Arnale, rector of Little Bowden, was deprived in the bishop's court of audience; Frederic Odilie, and Fanton Marsopini, rector of Ibstock, were deprived by commissary.⁵ However, there

¹ Reg 5 fos 282, 301, 301v.

² R E Rodes, *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, 1977), pp 97-8.

³ App 530, 824, 942, 1051, 1061, 1255, 1280, 1698, 2290, 2692.

⁴ App 530; Reg 5 fo 264; App 2289-90.

⁵ App 1280; App 530, 1061.

were some cases where an incumbent was removed from his benefice on the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury: Roger de Tabeleye, rector of Ragdale, during the metropolitical visitation of archbishop Reynolds in 1319; William de Gaddesby, vicar of Stapleford, by sentence of the dean of Arches, and William de Burton, rector of Barford St Michael, by definitive sentence of the official of the court of Canterbury.¹

As the figures in Table 5.3 show, more than two-fifths of vacancies were caused by the death of the previous incumbent. Usually, the fact of death could readily be certified at the inquiry held into the vacancy of the benefice.² On two occasions during Burghersh's episcopate, however, the previous incumbent having died overseas, it was thought necessary to provide additional details. At an inquiry held in 1325 into the vacancy of the church of Lutterworth, it was found that the previous rector, William de Oterhampton, had died *in transmarinis partibus*. The abbot of Leicester (the bishop's commissary for carrying out the institution) accordingly held a further inquiry, attended by three members of William's household. It

¹ App 824, 1051, 1698.

² As in the case of Turweston, vacant by the death of Robert Casteleyne (App 2310). See also above, p 283.

was found that William had died in Gascony on 26 July and that he had been buried on the following Saturday in the abbey of St Romain at Blaye.¹ A similar inquiry was held in 1329 into the death of Nicholas de Gevelden, rector of Chellington, which took place in a small town near Cosenza in Calabria, witnessed by a motley group of people including a priest from Bedfordshire, a regular canon, a carpenter from Swalcliffe in Oxfordshire, and two Irishmen.²

Not all incumbents met a peaceful end. As has already been seen, John Darches, rector of Pitchcott, was murdered, between Winchendon and Wormstone, by a gang including John Gentilcorps, rector of a portion of Waddesdon. John de Folville, rector of Rearsby, was killed at Hoby in 1327. Perhaps the most spectacular and best-known example of such violence was the beheading of Richard de Folville, rector of Teigh and a member of the notorious Folville gang, following a siege of his parish church during which he had with

¹ App 910. William de Oterhampton, a king's clerk, was accompanying the king's fleet to Gascony with money and supplies, in a ship called *la Marie* of Yarmouth; he died between Bordeaux and Blaye. See *The War of Saint-Sardos*, ed P Chaplais (Camden Society Third Series 87, 1954), p 210 note 1.

² App 2039. Nicholas de Gevelden was granted a licence in 1322 to visit Compostella, and may have been on another pilgrimage at the time of his death, although no other licence survives. See Reg 5 fo 9v.

bow and arrows killed one of those attempting his capture, and wounded others.¹

The welfare of the soul after death was a widespread concern in the middle ages and it is not surprising to find that it was one fully shared by the beneficed clergy. Thus indulgences of 40 days were granted to those praying for the soul of Robert de Stakethirn, vicar of the south mediety of Grantham, who was buried in that church; for that of John de Aula, rector of Swineshead, buried in the chancel of the parish church of Pyrton; and for that of Master William de Brunneby, rector of St Peter, Torksey, who was buried beside the door of the chancel of his church.²

Wills and other records show that this concern for the health of the soul prompted some at least of the beneficed clergy in Sample B to become benefactors. Some made bequests to parish churches of which they had been incumbents: Adam Limbergh to Algarkirk,

¹ App 2289-90; *CPR 1327-30*, p 213; E L G Stones, 'The Folvilles of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire, and Their Associates in Crime, 1326-1347', *TRHS Fifth Series* 7 (1957), 117. It is not clear whether the murder of John de Folville of Rearsby was connected with the activities of the Folville gang.

² Reg 5 fos 281, 320v, 509. Master John de Aula was presented to Swineshead in 1287 by Hawise widow of Robert de Grelle, lord of Pyrton: see *Reg Sutton* 1, p 96; *VCH Oxon viii*, p 148.

William de Ousthorp to Hatfield and Somersham, William Edington to Dallington and Middleton Cheney, Richard Whitwell to Oadby, Brighthurst and Swalcliffe, and probably to Little Bowden as well.¹ Others remembered the place of their birth: William de Cossall, rector of Sibson, founded a chantry at Cossall in Nottinghamshire; Thomas Louth endowed chantries at both Louth and Dalderby.² Two incumbents who were also canons of Lincoln (Hugh de Walmesford and Richard Whitwell) founded chantries in the cathedral.³

The greatest of benefactors among the clerks in Sample B was undoubtedly William Edington, who not only augmented with a sum of 100 marks the chantry founded at Wappenham by his early patron Gilbert de Middelton, but also founded a collegiate chantry, subsequently converted into a house of regular canons, at his

¹ Limbergh: App 84, 603; Reg 5 fo 81v; Ousthorp: App 2465, 2520; A Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills* (Lincoln, 1888), p 19; Edington: Reg 5 fo 359v; App 1314; *Reg Langham*, p 321; Whitwell: App 962, 967, 1280, 1826; *Lincoln Wills I, 1271-1526*, ed C W Foster (LRS 5, 1914), p 8.

² *Newstead Priory Cartulary, 1344*, eds V W Walker and D Gray, (Thoroton Society Record Series 8, 1940), pp 36-42; *CPR 1317-21*, p 21; *CPR 1327-30*, pp 167, 369.

³ D & C A/1/8, nos 1205, 1236. Richard Whitwell also founded chantries at Whitwell (his birthplace), at Swalcliffe (where he was rector) and at Empingham (of which he was prebendary): see *VCH Rutland* ii, p 168; *VCH Oxon* x, p 249; *Lincoln Wills I* (LRS 5), p 10.

native Edington where the magnificent church which he rebuilt between 1352 and 1361 remains as a witness to the scale of his munificence.¹ By this date, of course, Edington was no longer merely a promising clerk in the household of the archdeacon of Northampton, but had progressed to the bishopric of Winchester, one of the wealthiest sees in England, and to high office under the Crown.² Perhaps a more typical example of the type of benefaction to which a beneficed clerk might aspire is that of William Jarpunvile, rector of Radnage, who in 1349 bequeathed a tenement in the parish of St Mary Magdalen, Oxford, for the provision of a chaplain to celebrate for his soul in the church of Radnage for one year after his death.³

As has been seen above, the tombs of some of the incumbents whose names are recorded in Burghersh's registers still survive.⁴ One of the most striking of these monuments is the brass commemorating Laurence de St Maur, rector of Higham Ferrers, who died in 1337.

¹ *Reg Langham*, p 318; J R L Highfield, *William of Edington* (Friends of Edington Church, 1962), pp 5-7.

² Highfield, *op cit*, pp 3-5.

³ *Liber Albus Civitatis Oxoniensis*, eds W P Ellis and H E Salter (Oxford, 1909), p 51.

⁴ See above, p 341.

He is shown with his hands held together in prayer; his priestly status is attested by his tonsure and by his richly decorated eucharistical vestments. On his breast are the words *Fili dei miserere mei*, and on a canopy over his head is inscribed the further prayer *Suscipiat me Christus qui vocavit me et in sinu abrahe angeli deducant me*. At the conclusion of this survey of the beneficed clergy in Lincoln diocese in the early fourteenth century, there is some satisfaction in seeing one of their number so finely portrayed.¹

¹ App 1569; *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, ed J Alexander and P Binski (London, 1987), p 293.

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