

THE PESTILENCES OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK.¹

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The *Archaeological Journal* for December, 1911, contains the results of my analysis of the entries in bishop Gynewell's register at Lincoln which bear upon the mortality caused by the great pestilence of 1349, so widely known as the Black Death.² During the early months of 1912 I was enabled, by the kindness of the archbishop's registrar, Mr. A. V. Hudson, to pursue my researches in the archiepiscopal registers at York. The method of which the present notes are the result may be briefly indicated. Archbishop Zouche's register has been examined for every entry which relates to the pestilence, or throws any light upon the state of the diocese during the periods immediately preceding and following it. Copies or full notes of the contents of such entries have been made, and all the institutions to benefices recorded between the end of 1347 and the end of 1350 have been calendared. Owing to the much smaller number of benefices in the diocese, this work was not so arduous as the work involved at Lincoln, and it has thus been possible to collect in a similar way the details relating to the less familiar but, in some parts of England, hardly less severe pestilences of 1361-1362 and 1369—a work upon which I am still engaged at Lincoln. In the analysis of the material thus obtained, the institutions to benefices have been classified under the several archdeaconries and rural deaneries to which they belonged in the fourteenth century, and, after a careful calculation of the number of benefices in each deanery which were held by institution, the percentage of benefices vacated by death in each has been ascertained for five periods; namely, the fifteen months ending with 24th March, 1348-1349³; the year from 25th March, 1349, to 24th

¹ Read before the Institute, 5th November, 1913.

² See *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxiii, 301-360.

³ This period has been chosen to correspond with that selected at Lincoln, beginning with Gynewell's consecration on 23rd September, 1347.

March, 1349-1350; the remainder of the year 1350; the years 1361 and 1362, reckoning from 25th March, 1361; and the year beginning 25th March, 1369.

The results obtained refer, of course, only to a limited class of society, the beneficed clergy. It is possible to acquire a general idea of the extent of the mortality among the unbeneficed and religious, but no accurate numbers. From court rolls and other sources the mortality may be calculated in limited areas; but there is probably no source from which more satisfactory statistics may be gained for the whole of England than from episcopal registers. Their importance has been insisted upon by cardinal Gasquet in his well-known monograph on the great pestilence; but his examination of them has been by no means exhaustive, and such statistics as he gives are numbers of a very general kind. My own effort has been to examine thoroughly, not only the progress and general extent of these pestilences, but also their geographical incidence; to use the numbers in such a way that they may be made to show upon what districts in a diocese the pestilence fell most heavily, and what districts were most free from it.

The drawbacks to this method may be briefly summarised:

(1) The number of non-resident clergy was very considerable. A mediaeval rector was frequently little more than the impropiator of his benefice; and the richer benefices were practically monopolised by clerks in the service of the king or some noble patron, who held dispensations for more than one benefice, and were otherwise well provided with prebends in cathedral and collegiate churches.¹ Others, even if they held only one benefice, were often allowed to be non-resident for various causes.² Residence was enjoined upon vicars; but even vicars were occasionally pluralists. The notice of the death of a parish priest does not therefore mean that he died in his benefice. At the same time, there can be little doubt that the mortality among the great pluralists was comparatively small. Even in the chapters of York and Lincoln, which

¹ The system by which dispensations for plurality were granted and obtained can be studied in detail in the invaluable *Calendar of Papal Letters*, now in process of publication.

² The most usual causes, as stated in the

dispensations of which episcopal registers afford numerous examples, were absence in the service of a patron, absence for the sake of study at a university, or residence in some other benefice.

included some of the most active clerks of the day, men engaged in the service of the state and deriving a large portion of their income from the churches and prebends which they held, those who died were comparatively insignificant persons.¹ Among the rectors whose deaths are recorded in both dioceses, there is hardly one name of note ; and the number of those who can be proved to have held more than one benefice, at any rate in these two large dioceses, is hardly worth regarding.

(2) In the press of institutions, some may not have been noted in the register. This was certainly the case at Lincoln, where bishop Gynewell was engaged in a visitation during the heaviest period of the pestilence. As the bishop travelled about, his clerks must have noted the institutions as they took place and copied them into the register later. Later registers at Lincoln contain ample proof of this method of composition,² and the internal evidence of Gynewell's register goes far to prove it ; for the institutions were copied out in the quires of their various archdeaconries in anything but chronological order. At York the register was made up more methodically ; and, although it has not been possible to ascertain so thoroughly as at Lincoln how far records of institutions are missing, their chronological arrangement varies so little that the proportion is probably smaller. In any case, when the percentages are obtained, the scale is fairly accurate ; and, were the missing details recoverable, it would probably be found that the scale would be increased, not in one special district, but in all proportionately.

(3) The total number of benefices on which the percentages can be reckoned is somewhat difficult to obtain ; and this is especially the case with the diocese of York, for reasons which will appear presently. Not merely must it be taken into account that occasionally there were two or more distinct benefices in certain churches ; but, as in the dioceses of Hereford and Lichfield, there were several

¹ A note upon the mortality among members of the various chapters in the diocese will be found in appendix iv (pp. 149-151 below).

² Some of the rough sheets upon which notices of institutions were originally entered have been bound into Lincoln

Epis. Reg. Flemyng. The institutions thus recorded were entered subsequently upon the quires allotted in the register to the separate archdeaconries. Reg. Alnwick, in the same series, shows unmistakable signs of having been posted up at long intervals, with much detriment to its accuracy.

free chapels, not strictly parish churches, which were held by rectors, instituted like ordinary parish priests.¹ The actual number of these can be obtained only approximately. Further, there were some churches held by individual rectors, but served, like churches appropriated to a monastery, by vicars; and of these the exact number is hard to calculate. Still, if any of these have not been reckoned, their number is so small as to make the difference merely of a fraction to the percentages. And the percentages, on the whole, tally so closely with those of the adjacent districts of the diocese of Lincoln, that substantial accuracy may be claimed for them with fair confidence.

There are several points of contrast between the two great dioceses of York and Lincoln. The diocese of York was by far the larger of the two. Great as was the area of Lincoln, with its eight counties and part of a ninth and with some four and a half millions of acres, York, with two counties and large portions of three others, included about a million acres more. But, while the diocese of Lincoln contained at this time between 1,800 and 1,900 parishes, few of which were of large area, the number of parishes in the whole diocese of York amounted to less than 1,000. Of these, however, owing to the immense districts of uncultivated and uninhabited land in west Yorkshire and other parts of the diocese, many were very large.² The diocese was divided into five archdeaconries. Those of York or West Riding, Cleveland, and East Riding corresponded roughly to the three Domesday ridings of Yorkshire; while that of Richmond embraced the old district of Richmondshire, now included in the North and a portion of the West Riding, together with Lancashire,

¹ Such were the several chapels, e.g. Broseley and Willey, in the large parish of Wenlock (diocese of Hereford). Grasmere and Windermere, chapels in the parish of Kendal, are cases in point within the diocese of York, documents relating to which during this period are alluded to below (p. 110).

² According to the computations in Lawton's *Collections relative to the dioceses of York and Ripon*, 2nd ed. 1842, the old

parish of Aysgarth, at the head of Wensleydale, contained 79,980 acres; Grinton in Swaledale, 49,810 acres; Arncliffe and Burnsall in Wharfedale, 38,080 and 28,950 acres respectively; Bradford, 33,710 acres; Halifax, 75,740 acres; Almondbury, 30,140 acres; Penistone, 21,580 acres; and Sheffield, 22,830 acres. The last seven parishes embraced about a seventh of the whole area of the West Riding.

north of the Ribble,¹ and those southern deaneries of Westmorland and Cumberland which had not been united with the diocese of Carlisle, when it was formed in the twelfth century. Nottingham archdeaconry included the whole county of Nottingham, and, in its general characteristics and the size of its parishes, bore a very close resemblance to the neighbouring archdeaconries of the diocese of Lincoln.

While, however, the bishop of Lincoln practically had the right of institution to every benefice in his diocese, the number of benefices to which the archbishop of York had this right was small in proportion to the total number of benefices in the five archdeaconries. One entire archdeaconry, that of Richmond, was virtually extra-diocesan. The archdeacon himself was the source of institution to benefices, and exercised all jurisdiction apart from those spiritual functions which could be performed only by the archbishop or a delegated bishop.² Further, the chapters of the four mother churches of the diocese, York, Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell, had similar jurisdiction within the churches and parishes which belonged to them; and, apart from these republics of scattered parishes, there were other peculiars in the diocese. Within the large domains in Howdenshire and Allertonshire, belonging to the bishop and the prior and convent of Durham, the archbishop had retained his right of institution. On the other hand, the liberty of Selby and Snaith was under the jurisdiction of the abbot and convent of Selby, who appear to have served their churches by curates. There were also in certain parts of the diocese, and especially in the North Riding, many churches appropriated to monasteries in which no vicarages had been ordained, and the parochial clergy were simply curates. As the only benefices on which accurate statistics can be founded are those in which the archbishop had complete jurisdiction, we have to deduct a very large

¹ It will be remembered that this part of Lancashire is included in the Domesday survey of Yorkshire; while south Lancashire, between the Ribble and the Mersey, was surveyed as part of Cheshire and formed part of the archdeaconry of Chester, in Lichfield diocese, throughout the middle ages.

² A convention between archbishop

Melton and the archdeacon of Richmond, made in 1331, defines the archdeacon's extraordinary jurisdiction in detail. See *Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 248. For some details relating to the archdeaconry of Richmond in 1361-1362 and 1369, see appendix iv below (pp. 146-148).

number of benefices from the total number to obtain a positive basis ; and this leaves us with only 536, on the most careful reckoning, out of the entire amount.¹ At the same time, if we could obtain the details relating to the other benefices and work out the percentages on the larger number, the results would probably be much the same.

The imminence of the great pestilence of 1348-1349 was proclaimed by archbishop Zouche in a mandate addressed to his official from Cawood castle on 28th July, 1348.² The bishop of Lincoln had issued a similar mandate three days earlier.³ It is noteworthy that, although the pestilence had probably reached the south-west of England at this time, and was raging there during the following autumn,⁴ the bishops of Bath and Wells and Exeter did not give their orders for processions and intercessory prayers until 17th August and 30th October respectively⁵ ; while the mandate of the bishop of London, on which the bishop of Exeter took this action, bears date 28th September. "Inasmuch," wrote archbishop Zouche, "as the life of man upon earth is warfare, no wonder is it if they who wage war amid such worldly wretchedness be shaken by doubtful events, now prosperous, now adverse. For almighty God sometimes suffereth those whom He loveth to be chastened, the while their strength is made perfect in weakness by the outpouring of spiritual grace thereon. How great mortalities, pestilences, and infection of the air there are in divers parts of the world, and are in these days

¹ The present writer has made full lists of the peculiar jurisdictions and their members, as well as of the other parishes of the diocese within the county of York, in *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, iii, 80-88.

² York Archiepis. Reg. Zouche, fo. 247 d. The document is printed in *Letters from Northern Registers* (Rolls Ser.), 395-397.

³ See *Archæol. Journ.* lxxiii, 309, 310.

⁴ In Exeter diocese there were ten institutions in Nov. 1348. Four of these were in consequence of death, three of resignation ; while the cause of three is not stated (*Exeter Epis. Reg. Grandisson*, ed. Randolph, 1368-1369). This, though not a large number, is a great advance on anything in the previous part of the year. In December there were only six institutions. The progress of the plague, however, is shown by the fact that

in January, 1349-1350, the number rises to 32, in February to 35, and in March to 62. The value of the Exeter and Wells registers is somewhat injured by the very general omission of the causes of vacancy in these cases.

⁵ See *Wells Epis. Reg. Rad. de Salopia*, ed. Church (Somerset Rec. Soc.), 555-556 ; *Exeter Epis. Reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. 1069-1070. It is evident that by 17th Aug. the plague had not reached the diocese of Bath and Wells or declared itself noticeably in England, as bishop Ralph writes : " unde quia clades pestilencialis huiusmodi a plaga orientali ad vicina regna pervenit timend umest valde ac devote et incessanter orandum ne ad incolas huius regni pestilencia huiusmodi suam propaginem venenosam extendat ipsosque percuciat et consumat."

threatening the parts of England in special, there is none who knows not, since the news is common ; and this surely is the doing of the sins of men, who, smiling amid prosperity, omit to remember the bounties of the most high Giver. And so, [seeing that] the plight of human fortune and the pitilessness of death, who deigneth to spare no one, are upon us, unless the holy clemency of the Saviour look forth from on high upon His people, it remains, therefore, to have recourse to Him alone, whose mercy is in excess of judgment, and who, with kindly pardon, rejoiceth most pitifully over the conversion of sinners, being instant with meekness in supplications and prayers that He, the tender and merciful Lord almighty, may turn away his wrath, and remove and dispel such pestilence and infection from the people whom He hath redeemed with His precious Blood.”¹ Every Wednesday and Friday the litany was to be sung in procession in every church throughout the diocese, and special collects were to be said daily at mass for the cessation of the plague and for the king, church and realm, “in order that the Saviour, hearkening to our constant knocking, may forgive, and God Himself may succour His creature which he made after His own likeness.”² Forty days of indulgence were granted on the usual conditions to those who showed their zeal by prayers, masses, or taking part in the processions or other works of devotion.

As yet the pestilence was far off, and the mandate was imperfectly obeyed. On 6th November, 1348, it was again directed, with the addition of more stringent clauses, to the chapters of Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell, the

¹ “Cum sit milicia vita hominis super terram, nimirum si militanes in huiusmodi mundi miseria incertis agentur euentibus nunc prosperis nunc aduersis. Omnipotens namque Dominus interdum quos diligit lacerari permittit dum virtus in infirmitate perficitur superinfusa gracia spirituali. Quante siquidem mortalitates pestilencie et aeris infectio in diuersis mundi partibus et presertim Anglicanis imineant hiis diebus non est, cum sit publicum, qui ignoret ; et hoc quippe hominum peccata efficiunt qui aridentes prosperis summi largitoris beneficia negligunt reminisci. Sioque [cum] sortis humane condicio et mortis instent impietas nulli parcere dedignantis, nisi plebi sue

de excelsis prospiciat sancta clemencia Saluatoris, restat igitur ad ipsum solum recurrere cuius misericordia excedit iudicium et qui ignoscens benignius de conuersione congaudet piissime peccatorum, oracionibus insistendo humiliter et precibus vt ipse mitis et misericors omnipotens Dominus iram suam auertat pestilenciamque et infectionem huiusmodi amoueat et repellat a populo precioso suo sanguine quem redemit.”

² “vt frequentem pulsacionem Saluator exaudiens creature ignoscat et subueniat quam ad suam formauerat imaginem ipse Deus.”

warden of the spiritualities of Howden, and the prior of St. Oswald's at Gloucester, who was warden of the archbishop's peculiar jurisdiction in Gloucestershire.¹ On 20th November it was sent to the archdeacon of Nottingham, on 22nd November to the prior of Hexham, as warden of the archbishop's peculiar in Northumberland, and on 28th November to the official of the court of York.² This last letter prescribed a special mass, *pro mortalitate*, according to the ordinal and use of the church of York, on Wednesdays and Fridays in addition to the processions and the daily collects. Although there is nothing to show that the mortality had as yet reached the southern borders of the diocese, it must at any rate have been felt in the isolated domains of the archbishop near Gloucester. The Worcester and Wells registers show that at this very time many of the parishes immediately round Bristol had lost their clergy,³ and during December the number of institutions in the archdeaconry of Gloucester shows a notable increase.⁴ It was on 10th Jan. 1348-1349 that Ralph of Shrewsbury, bishop of Bath and Wells, issued at Wiveliscombe those famous directions for the ministry of the last sacraments which show that the faithful of his

¹ Reg. Zouche, fo. 247 d. The force of these mandates is contained in the following clause: "et quamquam pridem literas nostras vobis mandauerimus pro premissis, vos tamen pericula sic imminencia minus debite ponderantes in executione earundem fuistis improvide negligentes plurimum et remissi."

² *ibid.* ff. 247 d, 248.

³ The following institutions to benefices in Wells diocese within some twelve miles of Bristol occur during November and December: 8th Nov. Saltford; 12th Nov. Easton-in-Gordano vicarage; 27th Nov. Clevedon vicarage; 10th Dec. St. Katharine's hospital near Bristol; 15th Dec. Portishead; 17th Dec. Long Ashton vicarage; 28th Dec. Tickenham vicarage. Keynsham vicarage and Stanton Drew vicarage follow on 4th Jan. and 8th Jan. In Worcester diocese there are institutions to the vicarage of St. Augustine-the-less, Bristol, on 7th Nov; to Yate on 16th Nov; to Iron Acton on 20th Nov; to Frampton Cotterell and St. Stephen's, Bristol, on 13th Dec; to Doynton chapel on 19th Dec; to Winterbourne on 21st Dec; to St. Peter's, Bristol, on 23rd Dec. In Jan. 1348-1349, there are four

institutions to Bristol churches, namely, St. Mary-le-port and St. Nicholas (20th Jan.), St. Ewen and St. Philip and St. James (31st Jan.). One striking feature in the Wells institutions for Jan. 1348-1349 is the simultaneous vacancy of the vicarages of Bathford, Batheaston, Bathampton, and Weston, all adjoining Bath: Bathford was filled on 10th Jan. the others on the day following. Knighton (ed. Lumby [Rolls ser.] ii, 61) notes the arrival of the pestilence at Bristol in 1348: "tunc pestis dolorosa penetravit maritima per Southamptonam et venit Bristolam, et moriebantur quasi tota multitudo ville quasi subita morte preoccupati."

⁴ Worcester Epis. Reg. Bransford, i, records only one institution in November as against twelve in December. This part of the register, which I have been able, by the kindness of Mr. C. T. S. Clarke and his staff at the diocesan registry, to examine in detail, was very irregularly kept, and it is not until the middle of March, 1348-1349 (*ibid.* ii, ff. 10 sqq.) that the institutions for this period begin to be systematically entered.

diocese were almost deprived of the ministrations of the priesthood—directions which have no parallel in the records of northern dioceses.¹

The arrival and duration of the pestilence in York itself are noted by the Dominican Stubbs, the author of the second part of the *Chronicon Pontificum Eboracensium*. It arrived about the Ascension, which fell on 21st May, and lasted till the feast of St. James, 25th July.² Zouche's register shows that the number of benefices in the city, including chantries, to which institutions were made during the summer in consequence of death were: in May, 1; in June, 4; in July, 4; in August, 3; in September, 6.³ Some presentations, of course, may have been delayed; but we may generally infer that the institution followed the voidance without a very long interval. Thus the rector of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, was one of the trustees who presented to the chantry of our Lady on 14th June, 1349⁴: he died not long after, and his successor was instituted on 2nd August.⁵ If, as is possible, he also held the vicarage of St. Helen, Stonegate, the patrons of that church, the prioress and convent of Moxby, did not present till three weeks later.⁶ It may be fairly assumed that the institutions in any given month represent deaths which took place during the previous three or four weeks, and that some of the six institutions in September were to churches which had fallen vacant before the end of July. In Nottinghamshire, where we might expect to find the earliest ravages of the plague, there is only one such

¹ The text, from *Wells Epis. Reg. Rad. de Salopia*, fo. 333 (ed. Church, ut sup. 571, 572), is printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 745.

² *Historians Cb. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 418.

³ Eight churches in the city of York were in the peculiar jurisdiction of the dean and chapter. Some of these may have lost their incumbents, but of this there is no record.

⁴ Reg. Zouche, fo. 31 d. His name was William Skipwith: those who presented with him were Thomas Menthorpe (Menithorp'), Thomas Sigston (Siggeston'), Richard Warwick (Warwyk'), John Beverley (de Beuerlaco), John Davyson, and William Leathley (Lethlay). On 28th July (fo. 33 d) there was another institution to the same chantry on the resignation of the incumbent. The rector was dead by this time, as he does

not appear among the patrons; and, of the other six, only three names are the same, John Davyson now figuring as John, son of Thomas, son of David. A similar indication of the ravages of the pestilence is seen in the case of the chantry of our Lady in All Saints', North street. The rector and six parishioners presented an incumbent on 23rd June (fo. 31). He died before 6th July: by this time the rector was also dead, and only three out of the six lay patrons remain the same. A new rector was instituted on 12th July (fo. 31 d.).

⁵ *ibid.* fo. 34. His successor was Thomas Folkerthorpe.

⁶ *ibid.* fo. 35. Thomas Langtoft, chaplain, instituted at Bishop Burton on 24th August, on the death of William Skipwith.

institution before July. In July there were 15, in August 12, in September 15, in October 8; after which the numbers fall. But we know, from a document already quoted in my paper on bishop Gynewell's register, as bearing upon the progress of the pestilence in the neighbourhood of Lincoln,¹ that on 15th May archbishop Zouche licensed the dedication of a cemetery at Newark, owing to the alarming growth of the pestilence.² This was six days before Ascension day. The archbishop was at this time at Cawood. A few days after the Ascension, he removed to Ripon, where he stayed at any rate until 24th July. This period nearly covers the recorded duration of the pestilence in York; and it may have been that more favourable reports brought him back to Cawood by 28th July. He stayed there only a few days, leaving after 2nd August for Bishop Burton, near Beverley, where he remained until the second or third week in October. Then, when the pestilence had almost entirely abated, he returned to Cawood for the autumn and Christmas.³

But the actual appearance of the mortality in the diocese may be traced as early as the beginning of March. This may be inferred from the bull of Clement VI, addressed on 23rd March from Avignon to the archbishop and the clergy and people of the city, diocese and province. The date of the petition in answer to which the bull was granted is not known, but it stated that the pestilence had begun to harass the city, diocese and province. The bull granted leave for the dying to choose any confessor, and to obtain full remission of all sins confessed in the hour of death. It reached Zouche, who was spending Easter at Bishop Burton, early in April, and was sent by him for publication to the northern dioceses of Carlisle, Durham and Whithorn on the 8th of that month.⁴ He waited to publish it in his own diocese until 28th April; but its earlier transmission to the north of the province proves only that it was

¹ *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxiii, 313.

² Reg. Zouche, fo. 127 d.

³ These dates are obtained by a collation of the dates of documents for this period throughout the register.

⁴ Reg. Zouche, fo. 285 d. Copies were

sent to the bishop of Carlisle, the prior and convent of Durham, the official of the bishop of Durham, the archdeacon of Durham and Northumberland, and the bishop of Whithorn. This is one of the latest documents in which Whithorn is recognised as a suffragan see of York.

desirable that his suffragans should be ready to publish it when it was needed.¹

While archbishop Zouche spent his time between Ripon, Cawood, and Bishop Burton, much of the work of the diocese was entrusted to a suffragan, Hugh, archbishop of Damascus. This prelate appears to have been an Austin friar, and, some years before, had been the hero of an extraordinary episode in the diocese of Exeter, which had brought upon him a sentence of excommunication from bishop Grandisson. Two wandering Austin friars and some of the leading burgesses of Dartmouth had attempted, in defiance of the bishop and of the abbot and convent of Torre, the patrons of the parish church of Townstall, to build an unlicensed chapel in the town of Dartmouth, and had procured archbishop Hugh to consecrate it. On 14th March, 1344-1345, the archbishop came to Dartmouth, "privily and as it were on a sudden, in a layman's dress, with a long sword and buckler, clothed in a tight short-coat with buttons, saying, when he first came, that he was *clavarius*² and minister of our lord the king, sent to arrest ships in that place. And, having entered the place of the friars aforesaid, he there put off his coat, and put upon him the habit which belongs to the condition of a friar of the order of hermits of St. Austin, and straightway took in his hands a pastoral staff and set a mitre upon his head, and caused the parishioners of the church of Townstall to be summoned and gathered together in great numbers; and said and proclaimed publicly that he was the bishop of Damascus, sent to the place of the friars by our lord the pope and by all the lords cardinals, to consecrate the oratory of his brethren in that place; and that the same friars had all their will and the victory in the court of Rome against the abbot and convent; and he sprinkled water and went round the oratory. And after this he granted to the said parishioners and others indulgences, even of a hundred days, confirmed young children and boys and anointed them on the forehead with chrism, and absolved,

¹ Reg. Zouche, fo. 248 and d. This mandate, addressed to his official, contains the general form employed in the mandates to the suffragan sees. For the text of the bull it refers to fo. 285 d. The archbishop describes the bull as "litteras apostolicas

sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis divina providencia pape sext eius vera bulla plumbea cum filis sericis glaucis et rubeis bullatas sanas et integras."

² i.e. a receiver or officer of the treasury.

as he said, certain folk excommunicate. . . . And thereafter he went to many taverns in the said town and drank in them, and showed to women and male folk his hand and a ring which he wore, and said that the lord pope gave it to him with his own hands. And when it was asked of him why and how he could do such things in another's diocese, and it was told him that the lord bishop of Exeter had the right of dedicating the places of his diocese, and of confirming the young, giving absolution, and so on, and no other person unasked of him, he answered and said that he cared not for the said lord bishop, and did and said other outrageous things, to the scandal and despite of our lord the pope, and the lords cardinals and the apostolic see, as also of the church of Exeter." The archbishop pleaded guilty to the substance of the accusation, but denied some of the counts. He had come from Cambridge to Exeter with two other friars, and had disguised himself in a lay habit, because he was told that, as he passed through the domain of the abbot of Torre, he would run the risk of personal violence. He pleaded, however, that when he put on his pontificals, he himself was mistaken for the abbot of Torre, who was evidently unpopular owing to his opposition to the chapel. A sailor, a native of St. Albans, attacked him and struck him on the arm with a bow, believing that he was the abbot and had come to expel the friars; and, owing to the threats of this man and his friends, "induced by fear, which may befall a stout-hearted man," he gave him absolution. He had drunk, not in the inns, but in the hall and the great chambers of the mayor and a leading burgess. His excuse for the whole matter was that the friars had invited him on the ground of an alleged apostolic privilege, which enabled them to have their buildings and churchyards consecrated by any catholic bishop. His quarrel with the bishop of Exeter lasted till 1347, when the matter was referred to the archbishop. On 3rd Sept. 1347, he made his confession at Lambeth to the bishop's commissaries, and, having received absolution from excommunication, was ordered to appear before archbishop Stratford to receive his penance.¹

¹ The original of the passage quoted above is printed in *Exeter Epis. Reg. Grandisson*, ut sup. 1027-1031. The episode, with the

events leading up to and following it, is summarised briefly in *Archæol. Journ.* lxx, 540, 541.

On 5th March following these events, the archbishop received a commission to act for a year as Zouche's suffragan, to dedicate and reconcile churches, chapels and churchyards, and immovable and portable altars, to confirm children and adults, and to consecrate and bless chalices, patens and other ornaments. His stipend was to be forty marks, payable in quarterly instalments.¹ The commission was renewed more than once, and the last entry relating to his salary appears in 1351.² During 1349 he was kept extremely busy. On 6th April he was commissioned to consecrate the chrism in York minster on Maundy Thursday, and on 5th June to hold the Whitsuntide ordination at York.³ From June to August, when the plague was at its height and the old churchyards were insufficient to accommodate the multitude of burials, he received a number of commissions for the dedication of chapels and churchyards. These were the churchyards of Egton in Lythe parish, and of St. Thomas' chapel by Beverley (26th June), the chapels and churchyards of Fulford, a suburb of York, and of Cleasby, in Stanwick St. John parish, Richmondshire (15th July); of Wilton in Kirkleatham parish (17th July), the chapel of Seamer in Rudby parish (23rd July), the chapel and churchyard of Brotton in Skelton parish, and an extension of the churchyard of Guisborough (23rd July), the churchyard of the chapel of Barton in West Gilling parish (1st August), the chapel and churchyard of Easby in Stokesley parish (7th August), and the churchyard of the chapel of Thorpe-in-the-Street in Nunburnholme parish (15th August).⁴ The coadjutor's activities were thus largely confined to the extreme north of the county, to

¹ Reg. Zouche, fo. 259. The commission is granted "ad nostri alleviacionem laboris."

² He was granted a special commission for the archdeaconry of Nottingham on 27th Dec. 1348 (ibid. fo. 260 d). His general commission was renewed on 4th April, 1349 (fo. 261 d). Orders for the payment of ten marks, a fourth part of his salary, are noted among the 'Intrinseca' of the register on 6th March, 1347-1348, 6th Nov. 1348, and 20th Aug. 1351 (ff. 268 d, 269, 270).

³ ibid. ff. 285, 286. After 5th June he received five more commissions to celebrate orders; viz. 16th Dec. 1349, at York on the

Saturday after St. Lucy's day; 5th Jan. 1349-1350, for the Saturday after the Conversion of St. Paul; 6th March, 1349-1350, in Beverley minster on the fourth Saturday in Lent; 20th April, 1350, at York on the Saturday after St. Mark's day; 20th June, 1350, for one of the four extra ordinations allowed by bull of 12th Oct. 1349, on a date unspecified (ff. 286 d, 287 d).

⁴ The commission for Thorpe-in-the-Street is on fo. 261 of the register, among the documents headed 'De diversis litteris.' The others are on fo. 286 and d, in the section 'De episcopis suffraganeis.'

which eight out of the eleven places mentioned belong. The right of burial in several cases was expressly limited to the duration of the pestilence; and on 5th September, 1353, archbishop Thoresby found it necessary to warn the inhabitants of Fulford, "taking an empty delight in novelty,"¹ that they had no licence to continue burying their dead in the temporary churchyard.²

One other churchyard licence belongs to this year, which, although it does not seem to have been issued in connexion with the pestilence, is of interest in view of the celebrity which in modern times attaches to the spot as the burial-place of one of the greatest of English poets. The chapels of Windermere and Grasmere were practically independent parish churches with their own rectors; but their dead were buried in the churchyard of the distant mother church of Kendal. On 15th Sept. 1348, the archbishop ordered the dedication of the churchyard of Windermere,³ and on 3rd March following issued an ordinance permitting burials to take place at Grasmere.⁴ Much the same form was used in both cases. The archbishop mentions the church of Kendal, "to which from of old the bodies of the deceased parishioners of the said chapel were brought, not without grave peril; for the country which lies between is well known to be full of mountains, rocks, woods, and water, and storms of divers kinds are to be feared and are in the same, and chiefly in winter, so that they cannot bring such bodies of the dead that should be buried to the mother church abovesaid; and so sometimes the bodies of the parishioners of the said chapel, when they died, were and are carried thither with cruel roughness, having their bones broken, and are very often left unburied in the waters and the woods."⁵

¹ "in nouis inaniter delectantes."

² Reg. Thoresby, fo. 11 d. The people of Fulford were said to bury their dead here, "sepultura ab huiusmodi defunctis nullatenus preelecta."

³ Reg. Zouche, fo. 71.

⁴ *ibid.* ff. 78 d, 79.

⁵ "cum capella de Gressmere dicti archidiaconatus curata ac per rectorem curam animarum habentem solita gubernari distet ab ecclesia de Kirkeby in Kendale parochiali dicte capelle matrice per sexdecem miliaria wlgaria, ad quam corpora parochi-

anorum dicte capelle defunctorum deferantur non absque graui periculo ab antiquo; que quidem loca sic intermedia montuosa saxosa nemorosa et aquosa fore dinoscuntur; varieque imineant et sint in eisdem et presertim in yeme tempestates quominus corpora defunctorum sepelienda huiusmodi deferre valeant ad matricem ecclesiam supradictam, adeo quod quandoque corpora parochianorum dicte capelle decedencium diruptis ossibus eorundem inhumaniter deferantur et deferuntur et in aquis et siluis frequencius dimittuntur," etc. The

As has already been said, the registers throw no light on the progress of the pestilence in that part of the diocese to which Grasmere belongs; but the inhabitants of the remote chapelries of the large parishes of Richmond archdeaconry doubtless found reason during the year to be thankful, if their churchyards had the right of burial. The archdeaconry was actually vacant at this time; for its incumbent, Jean-Raymond de Comminges, bishop of Porto, died in Nov. 1348.¹ His successor, Henry de Walton, rector of Preston in Lancashire and canon and prebendary of Yetminster in Salisbury, was provided by Clement VI on 23rd April, 1349.² Zouche ordered the dean and chapter of York to assign him his stall on 18th July.³ In this interval, the archbishop exercised his right of institution during the vacancy of the archdeaconry four times: to West Gilling on 13th May, to Langton-on-Swale on 17th June, to the vicarage of Startforth on 9th July, and to Brigham in Cumberland on 16th July.⁴ Only one of these benefices, Brigham, was void by death. Walton entered into full possession of his privileges in July, but did not make his profession of obedience to the archbishop until the autumn of 1351.⁵

We may now turn to the evidence from the other archdeaconries. That for the progress of the plague in Nottinghamshire has already been noticed. Out of 161 benefices in the archdeaconry, 59 were void by death during the year—i.e. 36·54 per cent. This figure corresponds almost exactly to the percentage reached in the adjacent archdeaconry of Leicester in Lincoln diocese—36·53.⁶ Again, while the average percentage for the seven deaneries

Windermere preamble is somewhat shorter: the last sentence has, instead of "et . . . dimittuntur," the words "et propter huiusmodi difficultates in cauernas terre et flumina vt plures sunt proiecta."

¹ See *Archæol. Journ.* lxviii, 306, for the explanation of an error with regard to this point in Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 138, and for additional information about the archdeaconry in Lincoln Epis. Reg. Gynewell (Inst.).

² *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 290.

³ Reg. Zouche, fo. 75. On 9th Dec. 1350, Zouche ordered the dean and chapter to admit Walton canon of York by apostolical provision (fo. 235 d).

⁴ *ibid.* ff. 74 d, 75.

⁵ *ibid.* fo. 74 d.

⁶ Knighton, ut sup. ii, 61, gives approximate details of the mortality in Leicester itself, in which, being a canon of Leicester abbey, he was specially interested. "Et moriebantur apud Leycestriam in parva parochia sancti Leonardi plusquam cccclxxx. In parochia sancte Crucis plusquam cccc. In parochia sancte Margarete Leycestrie vij⁶. Et sic in singulis parochiis in magna multitudine." Two out of the seven parish priests of the town appear to have died during the year: see *Archæol. Journ.* lxviii, 351.

of Leicester archdeaconry is 35·67, that for the four deaneries of Nottingham archdeaconry is 35·30. This is almost exactly the percentage for the deanery of Nottingham, 35·29. The north-western deanery of Retford, including Sherwood forest and the flats in the basin of the Trent, has a slightly lower percentage, 31·91; while Bingham deanery, including much of the vale of Belvoir and some wold country, has the low figure of 25·53. This may seem at first sight to be at variance with the figure for the adjoining Leicestershire deanery of Framland, 38·09; and with that for Grantham deanery in Lincoln archdeaconry, 34·61; but both these figures are swelled by deaths in parishes remote from the vale of Belvoir, few of the numerous parishes of which were void by death.¹ In Newark deanery the number rises to 48·48. Here again, out of 17 benefices, only four belong to the portion of the deanery in the vale of Belvoir, and the Lincolnshire deanery of Loveden adjacent to these yields a percentage only of 31·25. On the other hand, the percentage in the Lincolnshire deanery of Graffoe, which borders on the portion of Newark deanery most affected by the pestilence, is 50.

In Retford deanery, the hilly eastern and southern districts seem to have suffered most. As usual, the low-lying part of the deanery gives little help to increase the percentage. This also applies, when we reach York archdeaconry, to the immense deanery of Doncaster, out of part of which in our own day a whole diocese has been formed. Here, out of 35 benefices vacant by death, only four were in the marshes between Doncaster and the Humber. The percentage is the highest but one in the diocese, 58·89; and it may be remembered that the highest percentages in Lincoln diocese come from the neighbouring deaneries of the archdeaconry of Stow. In Pontefract deanery the figure is lower, 40: here, too, the numbers come mainly from the western valleys of the Aire, Calder, and Hodder, while the eastern flats supply nothing. The evidence from the large deanery of Ainsty is almost exactly similar, the percentage being 47·36; but in the mountainous

¹ It is possible that the small rate of mortality in the vale of Belvoir and other low-lying districts was partly due to the

depopulation of these places by floods, which may have left many villages untenanted. See note 11 on p. 122 below.

and healthy district of Craven, the figure sinks to 26·92. In York itself the percentage is normal, 32·43. The total percentage for the archdeaconry is 44·91.

In the East Riding the percentages are high throughout, with a total of 48·11. The highest is that of Dicking, the north-eastern deanery which includes the seaward portion of the wolds between Driffeld and Scarborough. The actual figure, 60·86, is the highest also to be found in Lincoln diocese.¹ The percentages of the north-western and southern wold deaneries, Buckrose and Harthill, are 43·75 and 47·22; but these also embrace a considerable area of lower land. Between them comes the agricultural deanery of Holderness with 45·16; and, although this is low-lying, it has little in common with the marshes and fenlands from which we expect a diminished figure. Just in the same way, the percentages for the purely wold deaneries of Lincolnshire average about 53 to 55, while the ordinary percentage for those deaneries which fringe the wolds falls below 50.²

The general conclusion that the two extremes, mountainous districts on the one hand and marshland on the other, were comparatively immune from pestilence, while normal agricultural country and the lower highlands suffered most heavily, is borne out by the figures for the three deaneries of Cleveland archdeaconry. Here the large deanery of Bulmer, including the vales of York and Mowbray, the forest of Galtres, and the wedge of land south of York between the Ouse and Derwent, reaches the high figure, somewhat abnormal for this class of country, of 51·51. Ryedale, embracing the vale of Pickering and the Hambleton hills, is much lower, 28·28. Lower still, 21·42, is the moorland deanery of Cleveland. We might perhaps have expected a higher figure from Ryedale, but it will be noticed that the figures for these moorland deaneries stand on either side of the 26·92 of the mountainous deanery of Craven, and are in striking contrast to those of the more thickly inhabited and cultivated wold deaneries of the East Riding. The total percentage for the archdeaconry of Cleveland is 35·36.

Before proceeding to a few general details, we must

¹ viz. in Manlake deanery (archdeaconry of Stow).

² See the percentages in *Archæol. Journ.* lxxiii, 334.

glance at the two lesser pestilences of 1361-1362 and 1369. Archbishop Zouche died on 19th July, 1352, and was succeeded by John of Thoresby, translated from Worcester.¹ Nine years later, on 30th July, 1361, this archbishop, perhaps the most noble in character of all who have filled the throne of York, laid the foundation-stone of his perpetual memorial, the eastern extension of his cathedral church, which rose behind and around the twelfth-century quire and presbytery of Roger.² A fresh visitation of pestilence was then impending, and on 12th July Thoresby had issued a mandate for Wednesday and Friday processions, modelled upon Zouche's mandate of 1348, but with additions to the preamble.³ Once again emphasis is laid upon the sins of the realm. "The almighty Lord scourgeth every son whom He receiveth, and showeth hard things to His people, sending upon them when they err infirmities and tribulations many and evil, and filling their faces with shame, that they may repent and seek His name with more humility." Whirlwinds of war and plague have visited the realm for its sins: the prayers of the faithful must rise to the divine clemency. "that our God and Lord, having compassion on His people, may drive away all sickness, may vouchsafe health, and give rest, concord, and peace, as in heaven, so on earth."⁴

¹ Thoresby had been consecrated bishop of St. David's on 23rd Sept. 1347, when Gynewell was also consecrated bishop of Lincoln. He was translated to Worcester on 4th Sept. 1349. His register at Worcester begins on 3rd Jan. 1349-1350: on fo. 4 d there is a mandate of 27th Jan. to the archdeacon of Worcester directing the publication of letters issued by archbishop Islip on 9th Jan. and communicated by Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, on 12th Jan. These letters mention the decline of the great pestilence and the success of Edward III at Calais, reasons for which "ad laudes et deotas graciaram prorumpere cogimur acciones," and prescribe the recitation of the penitential psalms and litany twice a week in parish churches for the peace of the realm and king, with processions round the church and churchyard. Thoresby granted an indulgence of forty days to all persons, who had made their confessions and were contrite, taking part in such intercessory services.

² See *Historians Cb. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 420, 421.

Reg. Thoresby, fo. 48; addressed to the official of the court of York.

⁴ "Omnipotens namque Dominus flagellat omnem filium quem recipit et ostendit plerumque populo suo dura, immittens errantibus infirmitates ac tribulaciones multas et malas implensque facies eorum ignominia (sic) vt penitentes querant humilium nomen suum. Quantis quidem guerrarum turbinibus pestilenciis et aliis incommotis regnum Anglie peccatis hominum exigentibus fuerit aliquam diu lacescitum satis in publicam noticiam iam deuenit, et sic lacesiri tenetur verisimiliter in futurum nisi prospiciens de celo diuina clemencia ad preces et penitentiam fidelium inclinata misericordie recordetur; propter quod ad deuotarum oracionum suffragia et alia pie placacionis officia iam expedire credimus deuocius et instancius insistendum, vt Deus et Dominus noster plebi sue miseratus omnem pellat languorem tribuat salutem quietemque donet concordiam et pacem tam celitem quam terrenam."

The institutions for the years 1361 and 1362 lead to no very definite conclusions. In the year beginning 25th March, 1361, there were 33 institutions in the diocese to benefices void by death, and in the following year the same number. These numbers are both in excess of the numbers for the fifteen months preceding 25th March, 1349, and for the nine months after 25th March, 1350, which are 24 and 15 respectively. But they are not indicative of a very large mortality, and the percentages throughout are insignificant, save for the deanery of Pontefract, where the percentage, taken over the two years, amounts to 33·33. The highest numbers occur in the autumns of both years, especially in November; and the fact that, out of the 33 benefices vacant in the first year, 16 were in Nottingham archdeaconry, while only five out of the 33 in the second year were in this district, seems to show that the southern part of the diocese was the earliest to suffer.

I have examined some portions of the Lincoln registers for the same period, and find, on a rough calculation which is subject to future revision, that in Lincoln archdeaconry 58 out of 553 benefices were vacant during the first year; in Stow archdeaconry 14 out of 90, in Northampton archdeaconry 78 out of 330, in Leicester archdeaconry 48 out of 208. These numbers indicate that the death-rate was considerably higher in the midlands than in the east and north, and in Northamptonshire was about double that in Lincolnshire. But that it seriously affected Yorkshire is shown by two documents. The first, dated from Cawood on 20th Jan. 1361-1362, is a mandate to the dean of Harthill in the East Riding.¹ The rector of Hotham had made grievous complaint that, "the pestilence has waxed and is waxing so great at present in his said parish that, as it is said, it has carried off from this light almost all the chaplains who celebrate in the said parish."² On this account, he had asked a chaplain named Adam of

¹ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 204 d.

² "licet pestilencia in dicta parochia sua in tanto vigerit et vigeat in presenti quod omnes caapellanos (sic) quasi in dicta parochia celebrantes subtraxit vt dicitur

ab hac luce," etc. Incidentally, the document indicates that, even in a small country parish like Hotham, there were normally several unbeneficed priests who found their living by the celebration of masses for small salaries.

Brantyngham, who had been employed to say mass for divers souls in the parish, to take on himself the office of parochial chaplain, according to an ordinance made by archbishop Zouche. Adam, however, had flatly refused,¹ and the rural dean was ordered to bring him back to obedience. The second document, issued a few days later on 1st February, and entered in the register² as a specimen of other similar forms, is a licence for burial in the churchyard of Stainburn chapel in Kirkby Overblow parish, to last only during the prevalence of the plague, which was daily increasing in the parish.³

Once again, in May, 1369, archbishop Thoresby ordered processions and prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, to ward off the pestilence, which "as is sufficiently clear to every beholder, is at present waxing mightily in divers parts of this realm, as the sins of the people require."⁴ On 5th October, when the pestilence was increasing in Hull and Holderness, the dean of the Christianity of Beverley was commissioned to prove the wills of the dead and dying in those parts.⁵ Again, the statistics do not warrant any minute conclusions. But in the year beginning 25th March, 1369, 72 benefices were vacant by death.

¹ "Idem tamen dominus Adam ordinationi prefati predecessoris nostri in hac parte parere non curans dicte ecclesie loco capellani parochialis deseruire penitus recusavit in ipsius rectoris dampnum ac animarum parochianorum dicte ecclesie periculum manifeste."

² It should be remembered that an episcopal register is primarily a repository of common forms, and that the letters which it contains were preserved, not as historical records of an episcopate, but as models for future compositions on the same lines. Thus the marginal description of the letter in question is "licencia pro sepultura habenda tempore pestilencie," without reference to the special place or circumstances which give the document its historical interest to-day.

³ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 111. "Attendentes quod dicta villa de Staynburn ab ecclesia vestra matrice de Kirkebyorblawres predicta per v leucas notorie distat et quod via intermedia tempore yemali adeo profunda existit et lutosa quod corpora defunctorum infra dictam villam de Staynburn decedencium absque difficultate magna ad dictam

ecclesiam deferri nequeunt tumulanda, et ad hec quod pestilencia in dicta parochia ad presens grauiter inualescit; volentesque vestre in hac parte necessitati consulere vt pro tempore quo presens pestilencia in dicta parochia durauerit corpora quorumcumque in dicta pestilencia decedencium infra dictam villam de Staynburn in cimiterio capelle de Staynburn loco vt accepimus dedicato facere valeatis licite sepeliri, licenciam vobis tenore presencium concedimus specialem. Nolumus tamen quod postquam pestilencia predicta cessauerit aliqua corpora defunctorum ibidem faciatis aliquiditer sepeliri, nec quod pre-textu presentis concessionis nostre prefate matrici ecclesie vel ipsius honori in aliquo derogetur."

⁴ *ibid.* ff. 151 d, 152: "que vt cuilibet intuenti satis liquet peccatis populi exigentibus in diuersis huius regni partibus ad presens plurimum inualescit." The document is undated, but occurs between 8th May and 5th June.

⁵ *ibid.* fo. 224: "attendentes quod in villa de Hulle et partibus Holdernes nostre diocesis pestilencia hominum ad presens plurimum inualescit."

This is little compared with the 237 of 1349; but it exceeds the number of vacancies for the two years beginning 25th March, 1361; and, further, 61 out of the 72 occur in the six months between June and November. Nottingham archdeaconry again evidently suffered first, as nine benefices were vacant in it in July out of 14, and only three in York archdeaconry. In October, on the other hand, the tables were turned: out of 15 benefices, nine were vacant in York archdeaconry, three in Nottingham. The highest percentage in the diocese, 21·21, is reached in Newark deanery; the second, 18·18, in Bulmer deanery. In York itself only one beneficed priest died. Doncaster, Pontefract, and Craven deaneries show figures varying from 15·38 in Craven to 16·66 in Pontefract. Nottingham archdeaconry repeats on a smaller scale the results of 1349. Newark deanery is followed by Nottingham with 17·64, Retford with 12·76, and Bingham with 8·51. Of the East Riding deaneries, Harthill is highest with 13·88; the remaining deaneries and those of Cleveland and Ryedale are practically negligible, the highest, Holderness, falling short of 10 per cent.¹

I have already alluded to the fact that, in spite of the mortality among the clergy in 1349, benefices seem to have been filled up with a minimum of delay. On 18th July, 1349, Robert Codyngton was instituted at Ripon to the chantry of St. Lawrence at Newark. But he died on the same day, and Robert Alyngton was immediately instituted in his place.² Exactly the same thing happened on 21st September at Bishop Burton, where William Tyryngham was instituted to a mediety of Eakring, near Newark, and was succeeded on the same day by Henry Helme of Carlton.³ Both these cases are from a seriously affected district; and, as in both cases the substitute was regularly presented by the patrons,⁴ one can only conclude

¹ The evidence of the Lincoln registers indicates that the mortality among the beneficed clergy in 1369, although above the average, was much less serious than in 1361-1362. Only three deaths occur in Stow archdeaconry as against 14 in the previous pestilence; 18 in Leicester archdeaconry as against 48.

² Reg. Zouche, fo. 130 d.

³ *ibid.* fo. 133 d.

⁴ The patrons of the chantry at the altar of St. Lawrence in Newark church for the souls of William and Maud Sausmer "*post primam pulsacionem campane que vocatur daybelle*" were John the vicar, Alan Flemyng, Robert Newerke, Roger Birn, Richard Tyryngton, Robert Hardi, and Hugh Bote. Dame Margaret, late the wife of John de Roos, knight, presented to the mediety of Eakring.

that two clergy were sent together to the archbishop, and that the letters of presentation named both, in case the original presentee caught the disease and died. As a rule, those who were instituted were in priest's orders; but the occasional difficulty in finding priests is illustrated by the institution of a clerk and of two deacons to the vicarages of Tadcaster, Pontefract and Birstall, which in the nature of the case required priests as their incumbents.¹ We have seen how the want of stipendiary chaplains was felt in 1362, even in such a small church and parish as Hotham. Some time early in 1350 archbishop Zouche sought to increase the number of such chaplains by offering them a temporary stipend of six marks each.² Further opportunities of ordination were given by a special bull issued from Avignon on 12th Oct. 1349, and published by Zouche on 4th Jan. following³; and the four extra ordinations thus conceded were committed, as the time came round, to the archbishop of Damascus.⁴

The scarceness of the secular clergy also led to an increase in the number of religious who were allowed to hold incumbencies. This undesirable practice—undesirable on the one hand because it led to the aggrandisement of the monasteries and the substitution of curates for resident vicars, and on the other because, if a religious attended to his parochial work, he was unable to attend the services of his convent—was generally disliked by bishops.⁵ Premonstratensian canons were chartered libertines in this respect; and the anomaly by which a series of canons of West Dereham in Norfolk held the vicarage of Kirkby

¹ viz. Tadcaster: master Richard Sourby, clerk, presented by the abbot and convent of Sawley, 23rd Dec. 1349 (*ibid.* fo. 44); Pontefract: master Adam Skargylle, deacon, presented by the Crown, 2nd Feb. 1349-50 (fo. 44 d); Birstall: John Rillyngtone, deacon, on the archbishop's collation, 8th Jan. 1349-50 (fo. 43 d).

² *ibid.* fo. 269. This is the ordinance alluded to above in the case of the refractory chaplain at Hotham (p. 116).

³ *ibid.* ff. 248 d, 249. Zouche's petition for the bull represented "quod propter mortalitatis pestem que in provincia [nostra] iminet de presenti presbiteri qui sufficere possint ad curam et regimen

huiusmodi ac ministranda ecclesiastica sacramenta nequeunt inueniri."

⁴ See note 3, p. 109 above.

⁵ The preambles of appropriation deeds frequently dwell upon the exceptional nature of the circumstances which excuse appropriation. See e.g. the appropriation of Mattersey church, Notts. to the canons of Mattersey priory (11th Oct. 1280): "Quamquam ecclesiarum appropriacio canonibus et sanctorum patrum constitutionibus in rei superficie precise et admodum sit exosa, necessitatis tamen caritativa et excusabilis appropriantis compulso apud Altissimum et conditores iurum demeritum non incurrit" (*York Epis. Reg. Wickwane*, ed. Brown [Surt. Soc.], 70).

Malham in west Yorkshire from the thirteenth century onwards was as yet tolerated in no other order. There is a theory that houses of Austin canons were intended to be centres of parochial ministrations. It is probable that this intention may have been partly responsible for the orders of canons regular,¹ but the episcopal ideal was that of a resident priest in every parish, and the ordination of vicarages served by secular priests in appropriated churches applied to canons as well as to monks, and doubtless went far to obliterate the distinction between these two classes of religious.² When Zouche, on 8th Sept. 1349, admitted a canon of St. Oswald's priory to the vicarage of Tickhill, he allowed the favour for this time only, "by reason of the scarcity of secular persons who have been taken away from among us by the plague of mortality that hangs over us."³ In 1369 Thoresby admitted a canon of Marton to the vicarage of Thirkleby, and a canon of Worksope to the vicarage of Carcolston, because the vicarages were so poor that no secular priest was willing to take them.⁴ The same excuse of poverty was no doubt the reason of the succession of canons to other vacant benefices on the death of secular vicars. Zouche in 1348 licensed the Trinitarians of St. Robert's at Knaresborough and the canons of North

¹ The survival of this ideal after Saxon times is seen here and there in chapters of secular canons which had originated in the design of bringing together bodies of clergy under a common rule of life. Thus at Beverley and Ripon a cure of souls was attached to each prebend. Each of the altars in Beverley minster which gave its name to a prebend had its own parishioners in Beverley; while six out of the seven canons of Ripon were charged with as many districts of the large parish dependent on the minster. In all these cases, the parochial duties were actually performed by the stall-vicars of the canons. The seventh canon of Ripon received his income as such from the church of Stanwick St. John, near Darlington: he was bound to reside at Ripon, while his vicar served Stanwick church. Gifts of churches for Austin canons in the twelfth century (see M. H. Frere's essay on Barnwell priory in *Fasciculus J. W. Clark dedicatus*, Cambridge, 1908) may sometimes have been made on the understanding that the canons would serve them; but such churches were seldom served by canons for any length of time.

² Numerous examples of vicarages ordained in churches appropriated to canons may be found in the *Liber Antiquus* of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln (ed. Gibbons). See *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 59, for five vicarages ordained in 1220 in churches appropriated to the canons of Dunstable.

³ Reg. Zouche, fo. 36 d: brother Thomas Stodeley, canon of St. Oswald's priory, on the death of Hugh Darfield (Derfelde). "Te de cuius meritis et virtutibus sinceram in Domino fiduciam optinemus ad vicariam que per capellanum secularem solita est gubernari pro raritate personarum secularium per plagam mortalitatis iminentem de medio sublatarum ista dumtaxat vice suplenda (sic) admittimus intuitu caritatis."

⁴ Brother John Thirsk (Threske), canon of Marton, was instituted on 4th Dec. to Thirkleby vicarage, "quam propter ipsius exilitatem nullus presbiter secularis ad presens vult admittere" (Reg. Thoresby. fo. 189). The same phrase, without "ad presens" is used of the institution of brother Hugh Hucknall (Hokenale) to Carcolston vicarage on 19th Jan. 1369-70 (*ibid.* fo. 272).

Ferriby to present one of their brethren to the vicarages of Pannal and Ferriby on the next vacancy.¹ On 6th April, 1350, he licensed the Cluniacs of Monkbretton to present a religious to the vicarage of Royston, and the licence was acted upon a little more than a fortnight later.²

Such licences were due to the poverty of the houses concerned. It is certain that the decline in the religious life had begun long before the era of the great pestilence. No one who understands the method of composition and the real significance of episcopal injunctions to religious houses can doubt this: in York diocese alone, the thirteenth-century registers of archbishops Giffard, Wickwane and Romeyn give ample proof of the entrance of carelessness and even of moral corruption into houses whose early fervour had departed.³ The northern houses, moreover, had suffered greatly during the wars with Scotland, to which archbishop Zouche himself had helped to give a triumphant ending at Neville's Cross in 1346. Egglestone abbey, situated in a sterile country where summer came late, and near a high-road which brought to it a constant stream of guests; injured by Scottish inroads, suffering from the consumption of all its produce during the stay there for two days of the English army on its way to Neville's Cross, and further burdened by debt, was brought to the extreme of poverty. Zouche alleviated its misfortunes in 1348 by appropriating to it the church of Great Ouseburn.⁴ The distant houses of

¹ The vicarage of Pannal was ordained at this time, and brother John Broune, confrater of the house, was instituted on 5th Nov. 1348 (*ibid.* fo. 24 d.). The licence to the canons of North Ferriby, "ordinis templi Domini Jerusalem," bears date 16th May, and confirms a licence of archbishop Melton (fo. 189.) They presented brother William Gerveldale on 10th Oct. 1348 (fo. 192).

² *ibid.* fo. 47 d. On 23rd April, Robert Hayrone having resigned, brother John Birchwayt was instituted (fo. 48). Brother Roger Petton was instituted on 1st Oct. following, when Birchwayt had resigned (fo. 51 d.).

³ See, e.g. the visitation of Selby in 1275 (*York Epis. Reg. Giffard*, ed. Brown [Surt. Soc.], 324-326), and preamble to the notice of visitation sent to Thurgarton priory in 1286 (*Reg. Romeyn*, ut sup. i, 242).

⁴ This interesting document bears date 23rd May, 1348 (*Reg. Zouche*, fo. 71 d). "Sane vestra nuper nobis exhibita peticio continebat quod cum monasterium vestrum a tempore fundacionis eiusdem paupertati et inopie manifeste propter ipsius exilem et insufficientem in spiritualibus et temporalibus dotacionem notorie subiectum fuerit, et sit in locis sterilibus paucos fructus plus solito afferentibus in quibus etiam annis quasi singulis talis habetur frigiditas et tante eueniunt tempestates quod fructus pendentes tempore messium minime maturescunt vnde commodum de eisdem non prouenit vt deberet, necnon prope stratum publicum vbi comunis habetur transitus plurimorum ad dictum monasterium vestrum confluentium et hospitancium in eodem cum refrigerium prope in partibus non habeant aliunde, quibus esculentis et poculentis

Richmond archdeaconry were hard to rule. Conishead priory appropriated five parish churches and several chapels without licence¹: the archbishop's commissaries in 1348 found Cartmel priory in need of correction.² But naturally the poverty and desolation after the pestilence were greater than before. Many heads of houses had died—in York archdeaconry the abbots of Kirkstall³ and Roche,⁴ the priors of Drax⁵ and Monkbretton,⁶ and the prioresses of Arthington⁷ and Kirklees⁸; in Cleveland, the abbots of Byland⁹ and Rievaulx,¹⁰ the prior of Marton,¹¹ and the prioress of St. Stephen's¹²; in East

eciam si vobis religiosis deficiat providere necessarie oportebit, situatum, ac per subtractionem possessionum et reddituum vobis religiosis in prima fundacione vestra collatarum per diuersos vestrorum penitus sine culpa, necnon per exactiones et taxationes papales et regias que a viris ecclesiasticis et potissime religiosis fiunt plus solito hiis diebus, frequentesque incursus Scotorum, incendia domorum quas reedificare oportet cum nec ecclesias nec domos alias habeatis competentes, depredationes et inuasiones rerum et animalium vestrorum, et presertim per accessum et aduentum exercitus anglicani nuper versus Dunelmum in defensionem ecclesie et regni ac repulsionem Scotorum ibidem hostiliter congregatorum notorie properantis, qui quidem exercitus in dicto vestro monasterio et grangiis vestris adiacentibus et locis vicinis per duos dies continuos morabatur blada fenum animalia siluas aliaque bona dicti vestri monasterii que ad valorem non modicum extendebant, de quibus vos religiosi pro anno subsequente sustentacionem vestram sperabatis firmiter habuisse, totaliter consumendo, ac eciam per tam graue es alienum quod ex causis prenotatis et aliis vrgentibus contrahere necessario oportebat, aliaque onera importabilia adeo pregrauatum ac suis exhaustum facultatibus et dilapsum quod canonicos dicti monasterii in dispersionem emittere cultum diuinum minuere ab hospitalitate aliisque piis operibus et oneribus vobis incumbentibus cessare necessario oportebit nisi vobis religiosis de alicuius vberioris subuencionis presidio provideatur celerius aliunde, quatinus ex causis huiusmodi ecclesiam parochialem de Magna Useburne," etc. The church was actually given to the convent by Thomas de Rokeby, who held it in chief as of the honour of Knaresborough. The royal licence for the alienation bears date 28th Jan. 1347-1348 (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 1).

¹ Reg. Zouche, fo. 72 d. The churches were Ulverston with its chapels and Pennington in the deanery of Furness; Whitbeck, Ponsonby, and Muncaster with Drigg and other chapels in the deanery of Copeland.

² *ibid.* A fresh commission was issued on these grounds, 11th Jan. 1348-1349, to the abbot of Furness and Ralph Waleys, precentor of Beverley.

³ Roger Leeds (Ledes) received benediction, 15th Dec. 1349 (*ibid.* fo. 43). In the case of this and other houses of the exempt Cistercian and Premonstratensian orders no cause of voidance is noted; but the cause may be fairly assumed to have been death.

⁴ Simon Bakewell (Baukewell) received benediction, 25th Oct. 1349 (*ibid.* fo. 41).

⁵ John Saxton, confirmed 14th Aug. 1349, on the death of Gilbert York (*ibid.* fo. 35 d).

⁶ Hugh Brerelye, confirmed 17th Oct. 1349, on the death of William Staynton (*ibid.* ff. 39 d, 40).

⁷ Isabel Barrowby (Berughby), confirmed 14th Sept. 1349, on the death of Isabe Dautry (*ibid.* fo. 37).

⁸ Margaret Savile (Seyville), confirmed 10th May, 1350 (*ibid.* fo. 48 d.). No cause of vacancy is given.

⁹ John received benediction, 1st Nov. 1349 (*ibid.* fo. 166 d).

¹⁰ Richard received benediction, 1st Nov. 1349 (*ibid.*).

¹¹ John Thirsk (Threske), confirmed 18th Sept. 1349, on the death of Hugh Riccall (Rikale) (*ibid.* fo. 165 d).

¹² Alice Gower, appointed and admitted 12th April, 1350 (*ibid.* fo. 168). No cause given. The nunnery was very small, and is not heard of again. See *V.C.H. Yorks.* iii, 116, where additional facts in connexion with this admission are summarised.

Riding, the priors of Haltemprice¹ and Kirkham,² and two priors of North Ferriby³; in Nottingham, the abbot of Welbeck,⁴ the priors of Shelford,⁵ Felley,⁶ Newstead⁷ and Thurgarton,⁸ and the prioress of Wallingwells.⁹ At the end of 1349 Blyth priory was in a state of destitution, weighed down by debt, and "by other infirmities, not to say miseries": this, however, was chiefly due to indiscreet governance and improvident grants of convent property for the sake of ready money.¹⁰ In December, 1350, Zouche appropriated the church of Cotham, near Newark, to the prior and convent of Thurgarton. Their petition pleaded the watery and low-lying country, the vale of Trent, in which their possessions were situated, the damage which floods did to the crops, the total unproductiveness of the land for some time past, the floods of the previous year which, here as elsewhere, were the heralds of pestilence; the pestilence itself, and the death of tenants. Altogether their loss was estimated at £200 and more, and their debts were so heavy that dissolution was imminent unless the archbishop came to the rescue.¹¹

Zouche, as we have seen, did no visitation work in 1349.

¹ Robert Hickling (Hyklynge), confirmed 29th Aug. 1349, on the death of William Wolfreton (Reg. Zouche, fo. 196 d).

² John Hartlepool (Hertipole), confirmed 6th March, 1349-1350, on the death of Adam Warter (ibid. fo. 202 d).

³ John Beverley, appointed 24th July, 1349, on the death of Walter Hesse (Hesille). Beverley died before 3rd Aug. when John Preston was appointed (ibid. fo. 197 d).

⁴ John Workop (Wirsop) received benediction, either 15th Oct. or 13th Nov. 1349 (ibid. fo. 136).

⁵ Stephen Bassingbourn (Bassyngborne), confirmed 29th Oct. 1349, on the death of William Leicester (ibid. fo. 135 d).

⁶ Richard Sherbrooke (Shyrebroke), confirmed 11th Sept. 1349, on the death of John Holbroke (ibid. fo. 133 d).

⁷ Hugh Collingham (Colyngham), confirmed 3rd Oct. 1349, on the death of William Thurgarton (ibid. fo. 135).

⁸ Robert Claxton, confirmed 5th Oct. 1349, on the death of Robert Hickling (Hikelynge) (ibid. fo. 135 d).

⁹ Alice Sheffield (Shefelde), confirmed 11th Dec. 1349 (ibid. fo. 138). No cause is given.

¹⁰ ibid. fo. 53 d. (26th Dec. 1349). "Statum vestrum desolabilem vestrique monasterii tam ere alieno quam aliis infirmitatibus ne dicamus miseriis per indiscretas vestrorum reddituum possessionum ac aliorum bonorum alienaciones hactenus factas inprovidie nimium pregrauati suisque notorie colapsi facultatibus attendentes," etc. The archbishop inhibited the prior and convent from making grants or leases of manors, etc. without licence.

¹¹ ibid. fo. 145 (1st Dec. 1350). The petition of the prior and convent represented that they were in poverty, since its lands, meadows, etc. for the most part "in locis profundis et aquis existant et notorie situantur de quibus propter ipsorum sterilitatem et varias aquarum inundaciones plus solito imminentes quasi nulla comoda proueniunt hiis diebus nec a multis retroactis temporibus obuenerunt nec speratur quod de terris pratis et possessionibus vestris huiusmodi prouentus et comoda verisimiliter proueniunt in futurum." The plea of debt and request for immediate assistance are worded very similarly to those in the Egglestone document quoted in note 4, p. 120.

Here and there a document relates to the corrections necessary in certain convents, as at Cartmel.¹ Three special commissioners were appointed in May, 1350, to inquire into, and correct the crimes, defaults, and transgressions in the nunnery of Arden.² When Thoresby became archbishop, he was active in attempting to raise the religious houses from their fallen state. In 1353 and 1354 he issued a number of commissions of inquiry. He had been informed that in Blyth priory, "because of the fewness of the monks and also of the carelessness and dissolute living of the same, the service of the Lord is neglected, and the observance of the rule is generally abandoned."³ Indiscreet governance threatened the total extinction of Shelford priory.⁴ The prior and convent of Monkbretton were at variance, the monks disobedient, the prior vindictive, and the archbishop had to warn them to treat his commissary properly.⁵ The nunnery of Hampole was in the same plight as Shelford.⁶ Strife, dissension and scandals were said to be prevalent in Kirkham priory.⁷ Newburgh priory was in dire poverty, and there

¹ See note 2, p. 121.

² Reg. Zouche, fo. 168 d. The commission is directed to William Wirksworth (Wyrksworth), rector of Slaidburn, and Henry Acaster, rector of Hawnby. The phrase employed is the ordinary "crimina defectus et excessus" constantly used in injunctions to religious houses.

³ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 13. Commission (4th Nov. 1353) to master William Fenton, "iuris perito," and master Richard Blithe, chaplain. "Accepimus quod . . . propter paucitatem monachorum et etiam incuriam et dissolutionem eorundem Domini seruicium negligitur et multum deseritur obseruancia regularis, ac alii defectus quamplurime tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus ibidem iminent."

⁴ *ibid.* Commission (same date) to master William Barneby, canon of Southwell, master William Fenton, and William Melton, rector of Willoughby [on the wolds], "quia fama publica referente accepimus quod prioratus de Shelforde nostre diocesis per indiscretum regimen et causas alias adeo in facultatibus est collapsus quod de dispersione monachorum ibidem formidatur nisi ipsis celerius et vberius succurratur."

⁵ *ibid.* Notification (12th Nov. 1353) to the prior and convent of commission to

master John Makhalle to survey the convent "quia pridem . . . ad nostrum deuenit auditum quod plures de conuentu libitum licito preferentes non curant priori suo . . . obedire, et quod prior quandoque fratres delinquentes non in lenitate et more paterno corripit . . . sed procedit plerumque plusquam expedit rigore, propter que et alia oriuntur inter vos dissensiones . . . et domus vestra patitur tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus enormia detrimenta." The portions omitted are words near the end of the lines in the MS. of which those essential to the construction are illegible.

⁶ *ibid.* fo. 15. Commission (1st Jan. 1353-1354) to William Wirksworth, rector of Slaidburn, Walter Thornton, vicar of Doncaster, and Richard Ferer, vicar of Brodsworth. The preamble is the same as that used for Shelford priory, *mutatis mutandis*.

⁷ *ibid.* fo. 22. Notice of visitation (17th Aug. 1353) to be held on Monday after St. Bartholomew's day. "Sane ad nostrum nuper deduxit auditum fidedignorum clamosa relacio repetita que quod dolenter referimus pungit acriter mentem nostram quod inter vos qui filii pacis et concordie iuxta doctrinam dominicam

were "certain things hidden therein, which, if they be true, call for the due chastisement of correction."¹ We know nothing of the conditions actually discovered, and it is fair to give these houses the benefit of the doubt, where moral offences are concerned; but in October, 1354, the prior of Drax, feeling himself unable to cope with "the great and intolerable burthens of the offences of his house," resigned his dignity.² It will be noted, however, that the urgent necessity of reform appears to have been felt entirely in canons' houses, which generally gave some trouble, in small and poor nunneries, and in alien houses such as Blyth, which had suffered during the French war from their anomalous and uncertain position.

It is a debatable question how far the pestilence affected the lives of the laity. The material discomfort which it caused was of course obvious; but its permanent effect upon their religious and moral life appears to be a matter of optimistic general statement rather than of history. The fact that mediaeval wills are far more plentiful for the period after the pestilence than for that before it, and that they are full of bequests for masses, fabric funds, and other pious objects, is no proof of an actual increase in the number of such bequests after the pestilence, still less an increase in personal piety. While ordinations of chantries are a very important feature in the York registers before the pestilence, they decrease in number afterwards. In Newark church ten of the fifteen permanent chantries which were suppressed in 1548 were founded before 1349³: an eleventh, Alan Flemmyng's chantry of Corpus Christi,

debetis et merito nominari rixe dissensiones et scandala quamplura nouiter sunt suborta quibus nisi per salutaris reformationis remedium celerius obuietur in vestrum et domus vestre subuersionem et oppressionem manifestam in breui vt accepimus redundabunt."

¹ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 28 d. Commission (10th Aug. 1354) to master John Crakehall, "quia nuper ad nostrum peruenit auditum quod prioratus de Novo Burgo nostre diocesis in suis facultatibus miserabiliter est collapsus et quedam inibi latent que si vera sint . . . limam correccionis exposcunt."

² *ibid.* fo. 29 d (3rd Oct. 1354). The prior was John Saxton (see note 5, p. 121): he is described as "providē attendens eorum monasterium huius diebus magnis et intollerabilibus delictorum oneribus ac aliis incommodis multipliciter depressum." In the margin of the register Kirkham has been written in error instead of Drax.

³ For the Newark chantries see the present writer's edition of *The Chantry Certificate Rolls for the county of Nottingham in Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 1913, 68-88, where the documentary evidence of the York registers with regard to them is summarised.

was founded in that year.¹ Although the Newark chantry-priests had a common house,² and archbishop Thoresby prescribed them a distinctive and common quire habit,³ the charter of incorporation, which would have welded them into one of the noblest chantry colleges in the kingdom, was never sued for. In 1347 Thomas Thweng, rector of Kirkleatham, founded a chantry of thirteen priests in his church, intending no doubt to erect it into a college. Institutions were made to all these chantries, but the pestilence seems to have arrested further progress, and we hear no more of them.⁴

The conviction that the pestilence was due to the sins of the people must have been impressed upon archbishop Zouche by such events as, to judge from a document of 11th May, 1348, had become an almost yearly circumstance of the Whitsuntide procession at Southwell. Sons of iniquity, clerks and laymen, armed with swords, clubs, and other weapons, attacked the priests who stood at the high altar to receive the oblations of the faithful. With blasphemous and abusive outcries, brandishing their weapons, and using threats and menaces, they got hold of the offerings in wax and coin, broke the iron herse which was placed in front of the altar to receive candles, and filled with their spoils a dragon's head which they carried before them on a pole.⁵ This was before the pestilence,

¹ Reg. Zouche, ff. 74-76. The ordination of the chantry occurs *ibid.* ff. 128 d-129 d. The first chaplain, Lawrence Dry of Winthorpe, was instituted on 29th May, 1349 (fo. 128).

² *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* ut sup. 87-88.

³ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 127: letters patent of 1st April, 1351. At the request of the parishioners of Newark he grants a faculty to the eleven chantry priests, who are specified with their chantries by name, "vt decetero in omnibus festis ix leccionum nigris amiciis cum superpelliciis mundis more vicariorum in ecclesia nostra collegiata Suthwell' libere vti valeant." They are to come together in quire on such festivals and sing and say the hours according to the use of York.

⁴ Five institutions were made on 19th June, 1348, three on 6th July, two on 9th August, two more on 9th March, 1348-1349. Meanwhile, on 3rd Aug. 1348, one chaplain exchanged his chantry for the vicarage of

Kirkby-in-Cleveland; and another institution was made on 12th Feb. 1348-1349 in consequence of a resignation (Reg. Zouche, ff. 161 d-163). The rector, who presented to the chantries, was evidently intended to be the head of the college.

⁵ *ibid.* fo. 228 and d. "Littera generalis sentencie contra impediens processionem Suthwellie in festo Pentecostes." The chapter is charged to excommunicate the offenders, who "in ecclesiam iam multis retro temporibus ingressi cum gladiis fustibus variisque armorum generibus vsque summum altare eiusdem ecclesie properantes in ministros altaris et inibi deputatos pro oblacionibus Christi fidelium vt conuenit recipiendis vibratis gladiis diuersisque extensis armis irruere irreuerenter presumpserunt, ipsosque ministros omnipotentis Dei glorioseque virginis Marie in cuius honorem dicta ecclesia intitulata dinoscitur ac omnium sanctorum reuerencia et timore postpositis vtpote bestialem rabiem in-

and there is no record of the continuance of such scandals afterwards; but it is certainly strange to find that, early in 1350, when it might have been expected that men's minds were humbled by the lesson of the pestilence, the churchyard of St. Mary's at Beverley was the scene of bloodshed, chosen by two laymen to wreak their malice upon a fellow parishioner.¹ The clergy, however, set little example of piety to lay-folk. In 1363 archbishop Thoresby found it necessary to warn the chantry priests of St. Mary's, Nottingham, to mend their ways. They hurried over their morning masses, and diverted the oblations of parishioners by finishing their services before the parish mass at the high altar: they neglected the quire offices, and spent their day in idle visiting or walks in the fields, during which, if they said their office at all, they hurried over and abridged it.² It would be unfair to lay too much stress upon what may seem to be isolated instances; but emphasis should be laid on the fact that an episcopal register is not a detailed documentary history, but a collection of precedents, and that forms such as those relating to the bloodshed at Beverley were entered to serve as models for other such contingencies. While the great pestilence and its successors lasted, and the daily mortality suspended ordinary business, the consolations of religion were doubtless sought more earnestly than in times of prosperity; but the era of economical depression and

sequentes non solum vociferacionibus blasfemie et conuicii set minis et terroribus inhumaniter afficiunt et lacescunt, quousque inaudita feoda de oblacionibus huiusmodi tam in sera (*sic*) quam pecunia numerata pro sue libito voluntatis quin potius detestabili infamia bestialiter extorserint ab eisdem. Quidam insuper iniurias iniuriis cumalantes ceram et candelas ibidem oblatas a dictis ministris nequiter auferentes os draconis quem in hasta coram se leuari faciunt et deferri violenter et temere replent pariter et asportant; nonnulli necnon quamdam herceam ferream et candelabra coram dicto altari pro luminaribus in honorem Dei glorioseque virginis Marie et ecclesie supportandis infixas et pendencia cum gladiis et fustibus furibundo impetu confregerunt."

¹ *ibid.* fo. 203. Commission of inquiry (17th March, 1349-1350) to master William Scorbrough and master William Austwick,

dean of [the Christianity of] Beverley, concerning "nonnullas violencie pulsaciones et iniurie graues eciam et enormes" perpetrated in St. Mary's churchyard by Thomas Dousyng and Hugh Lockington of Beverley.

² *Reg. Thoresby*, fo. 254 d. Mandate (8th July, 1363) to the dean of Nottingham. The chantry priests "seorsum in cameris campis et locis aliis minus congruis euagantur et inibi matutinas et alias horas canonicas absque deuocione debita dicunt quinimmo cincopant (*sic*) et transcurrunt et vt verisimiliter credi potest cum sufficienti testimonio careant in hac parte quidam eorum horas prorsus transiliunt et omittunt." The dean is to warn them to take part in the hours in quire daily, especially on Sundays and feasts of nine lessons, and not to begin their daily masses, "nisi prius ad prefacionem misse parochialis in dicta ecclesia sit processum," under pain of suspension.

social change to which this period was the prelude, was unfavourable to the continuance of a permanently high standard of life; and it is hardly surprising that, even while, as Zouche and Thoresby recognised, the wrath of God overshadowed the land, the transgressions of their diocese still required all the care which human vigilance could give.¹

¹ The writer is much indebted to Mr. A. V. Hudson, the archbishop of York's registrar, for the kindness with which he has allowed him to examine the archi-

episcopal registers in his care, and to Mr. William Brown, F.S.A. for kindly reading the proofs of this article and supplying information on doubtful points.

APPENDIX I.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF INSTITUTIONS IN THE ARCH- DEACONRIES OF YORK, CLEVELAND, EAST RIDING, AND NOTTINGHAM, FROM THE AUTUMN OF 1347 TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1350.

The method on which these tables have been compiled has been fully explained on pp. 97, 98 above. The number of institutions to churches void by resignation in each period is followed by that of institutions to churches void by death, and by the total of the two combined. On the right hand of each table are given the percentages of churches void by death in each of the three periods, reckoned upon the whole number of benefices in the deanery.

At the foot of each table are given the various totals for the whole archdeaconry. The figures, however, at the foot of the percentage columns are the *average* percentages for the archdeaconry *per* deanery. The total averages have been already given in the text.

The foot-notes to each table contain (1) the names of benefices in each deanery in which more than one death is recorded in the course of the year; and (2) details as to chantries voided by death, which are not reckoned with the other benefices. In working out the percentages, benefices in class (1) are treated as single benefices, and the extra institution or institutions deducted from the total of vacancies by death.

The sign (v.) signifies vicarage.

It should again be noted that the total number of benefices in each deanery given here is the number to which the archbishop had the right of instituting rectors or vicars, so far as it can be positively stated. Churches belonging to peculiar jurisdictions, to which the archbishop had not a normal right of institution, and churches served by stipendiary curates are not reckoned.

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF YORK OR WEST RIDING (5 DEANERIES).

Deanery.	No. of benefices.	Institutions, 1347-1349.			Institutions, 1349-1350.			Institutions, 1350			Percentages.		
		Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death	Total.	1347-1349.	1349-1350.	1350.
Christianity of York	37	1	0 ¹	1	5	13 ²	18	3	2 ⁶	5	0	32·43	5·40
Ainsty	38	5	1	6	4	19 ³	23	3	2	5	2·63	47·36	5·26
Craven	26	4	1	5	1	7	8	1	1	2	37·84	26·92	3·84
Doncaster	56	4	4	8	4	35 ⁴	39	5	2 ⁷	7	7·14	58·89	3·57
Pontefract	30	2	3	5	4	16 ⁵	20	0	0	0	10·00	40·00	0
Total	187	16	9	25	18	90	108	12	7	19	4·72	41·12	3·61

¹ Four chantries void by death, viz. at the altar of our Lady in All Saints', North street (27th March, 1348), at the altar of our Lady in St. Cross for the soul of Adam Nayrone (22nd August, 1348), at the altar of our Lady in Holy Trinity, King's court (4th Nov. 1348), and at the altar of St. James in the same church for Roger de Renstone and Beatrice his wife (15th March, 1348-1349). ² St. Denis twice vacant. Eleven chantries void by death, one twice, viz. in St. Mary's, Castlegate, for the souls of Nicholas de Northfolke and John le White (31st May), at the altar of our Lady in Holy Trinity, King's court (21st June), at the altar of our Lady in All Saints', North street (23rd June and 6th July), Roger Basy's chantry in St. Mary Bishophill senior (6th July), our Lady's in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate (14th July), at the altar of our Lady in St. Wilfrid's (18th September), in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, for the soul of Elias de Wandesforde (24th September), our Lady's in St. Saviour's (8th October), in St. William's chapel on Ouse bridge (4th November), our Lady's in St. George's, Fishergate (3rd February, 1349-1350), at the altar of our Lady in St. Cross (9th February, 1349-1350). ³ Whitkirk (v.) twice vacant. Three chantries void by death, viz. in the chapel of Gateforth (9th August), in the chapel of Hambleton (7th September), in the chapel of Haddlesey (17th October), the first two in Brayton, the last in Birkin parish. ⁴ Maltby (v.) and Womersley (v.) twice vacant. One chantry void by death, viz. Thomas de Fledburgh's in St. George's, Doncaster (31st July). ⁵ Calverley (v.), Darrington (v.), Halifax (v.) and Rothwell (v.) twice vacant. Two chantries void by death, viz. in our Lady's chapel at Ferrybridge in Ferry Fryston parish, founded by the will of archbishop Gray (23rd June), and our Lady's in Holy Trinity, Rothwell (29th September). ⁶ Two chantries void by death, viz. our Lady's in St. Peter the little (11th June), and our Lady's in All Saints', Pavement (2nd August). ⁷ One chantry void by death, viz. at the altar of St. John the Baptist in Owston church (21st June). As the archbishop collated by lapse, the previous chaplain must have died at least six months earlier, before the end of 1349.

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF CLEVELAND (3 DEANERIES).

Deanery.	No. of benefices.	Institutions 1347-1349.			Institutions, 1349-1350.			Institutions, 1350			Percentages.		
		Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	1347-1349.	1349-1350.	1350
Bulmer	33 ¹	2	0	2	6	19 ³	25	1	0	1	0·00	51·51	0·00
Cleveland	28 ²	4	1	5	4	7 ⁴	11	1	0	1	3·57	21·42	0·00
Ryedale	21	0	0	0	2	6 ⁵	8	1	0	1	0·00	28·28	0·00
Total	82	6	1	7	12	32	44	3	0	3	1·19	33·74	0·00

¹ Including three benefices in the peculiar of the prior and convent of Durham. ² Including six benefices in the peculiar of the bishop, and three in the peculiar of the prior and convent of Durham. ³ Bossall (v.) and Elvington twice vacant. Two chantries void by death, viz. the principal of the two chantries in Hemingbrough church for the soul of Henry de Clif, canon of York (3rd December), and one in the chapel of Eldmire (Eluedmere) in Topcliffe parish (4th March, 1349-1350). ⁴ Kildale twice vacant. One chantry void by death, viz. at Skelton (24th October). ⁵ One chantry void by death, viz. at Brompton in Pickering lythe (3rd September).

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF EAST RIDING (4 DEANERIES).

Deanery.	No. of benefices.	Institutions, 1347-1349.			Institutions, 1349-1350.			Institutions, 1350.			Percentages.		
		Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	1347-1349.	1349-1350.	1350.
Buckrose	16	0	1	1	1	9 ³	10	1	0	1	6·25	43·75	6·25
Dickering	23	0	1	1	4	15 ⁴	19	2	1	3	4·34	60·86	4·34
Harthill	36 ¹	5	3 ²	8	6	17 ⁵	23	1	1	2	5·55	47·22	2·77
Holderness	31	3	2	5	0	15 ⁶	15	2	1	3	6·45	45·16	3·22
Total	106	8	7	15	11	56	67	6	3	9	5·64	49·24	4·14

¹ Including five benefices in the peculiar of the prior and convent of Durham. ² Brantingham twice vacant. ³ Langton and Sherburn in Hartford lythe (v.) twice vacant. ⁴ Seamer (v.) twice vacant. Two chantries in the collegiate church of Lowthorpe void by death (22nd September and 24th October). ⁵ Two chantries void by death, viz. in Lund church (5th October), and in St. Nicholas' chapel, Holme-on-Spalding-moor (7th October). ⁶ Barmston twice vacant. Two chantries void by death, viz. Sutton in Holderness (14th July) and our Lady's in Winestead (28th October).

IV. ARCHDEACONRY OF NOTTINGHAM (4 DEANERIES).

Deanery.	No. of benefices.	Institutions, 1347-1349.			Institutions, 1349-1350.			Institutions, 1350.			Percentages.		
		Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	1347-1349.	1349-1350.	1350.
Bingham	47	2	1	3	5	12	17	4	1	5	2·12	25·53	2·12
Newark	33	1	1	2	4	17 ¹	21	2	1	3	3·03	48·48	3·03
Nottingham	34	3	4	7	5	14 ²	19	1	1	2	11·76	35·29	2·94
Retford	47	2	1	3	8	16 ³	24	3	2	5	2·12	31·91	4·25
Total	161	8	7	15	22	59	81	10	5	15	4·75	35·30	3·08

¹ Eaking mediety twice vacant. Five chantries void by death, one twice, viz. at the altar of St. James for the souls of William and Isabel Durant (16th July), at the altar of St. Lawrence for the souls of William and Maud Sausmer (*bis*), Alan Flemyng's chantry of Corpus Christi (18th July), at the altar of St. Nicholas for Robert and Maud de Bosco (27th September), at the altar of the Holy Trinity ordained by the guild of the Holy Trinity and St. Peter the Apostle (30th November), all in Newark church. ² Broxtow and Epperstone twice vacant. One chantry void by death, viz. our Lady's in the chapel of Mansfield Woodhouse (13th November). ³ Sutton upon Lound twice vacant. Two chantries void by death, viz. wardenship of the altar of St. Margaret in Edwinstowe (commission, 21st July), St. Mary Magdalene's in Tuxford church (28th August).

APPENDIX II.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF INSTITUTIONS FOR THE YEARS 1361-1362 AND 1369.

In this case two periods are taken, viz. (1) the two years beginning 25th March, 1361-1362 and ending 24th March, 1362-1363, and (2) the year from 25th March, 1369, to 24th March, 1369-1370. In other respects the tables are similar to those in appendix I.

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF YORK OR WEST RIDING (5 DEANERIES).

Deanery.	No. of benefices.	Institutions, 1361-1362.			Institutions, 1369.			Percentages.	
		Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	1361-1362.	1369.
Christianity of York	37	8 ¹	3 ⁴	11	1	1 ⁷	2	8'10	2'70
Ainsty	38	7 ²	3 ⁵	10	4	6 ⁸	10	7'89	15'78
Craven	26	6	3	9	2	4	6	11'53	15'38
Doncaster	56	6 ³	6	12	2	9 ⁹	11	10'71	16'07
Pontefract	30	2	10 ⁶	12	0	5	5	33'33	16'66
Total	187	29	25	54	9	25	34	14'31	13'31

¹ Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, twice vacant by resignation. ² Aberford and Long Marston (Hoton Wandesley) twice vacant by resignation. ³ Kirk Bramwith twice vacant by resignation. ⁴ One chantry vacant by death, viz. at the altar of our Lady in St. Saviour's in the Marsh (26th January, 1361-1362). ⁵ The chantries at Haslewood near Tadcaster vacant (no reason given) and collated owing to lapse to one chaplain (28th January, 1361-1362). The chantry in Hambleton chapel for the soul of William de Hamelton, dean of York, vacant 8th December, 1362: wrongly entered in Cleveland archdeaconry. ⁶ The chapel on the mount at Pontefract for the soul of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, vacant (no reason given: 12th December, 1361). ⁷ Two chantries vacant, viz. at the altar of our Lady in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate (12th July), and at the altar of our Lady in St. Michael's, Ouse Bridge (4th March, 1369-1370). The hospital of blessed Mary, Bootham, vacant 5th August. ⁸ One chantry vacant, viz. the chapel or hermitage of our Lady by Sherburn-in-Elmet (19th December: no reason). ⁹ One chantry vacant, viz. at the altar of St. Nicholas in Doncaster church (21st December).

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF CLEVELAND (3 DEANERIES).

Deanery.									No. of benefices.	Institutions, 1361-1362.			Institutions, 1369.			Percentages.	
										Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	1361-1362.	1369.
Bulmer .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	8	4	12	1	6	7	12·12	18·18
Cleveland .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	2	3	5	1	2	3	10·71	7·14
Ryedale .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	1	3 ¹	4	0	2	2	14·28	9·52
Total .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	82	11	10	21	2	10	12	12·37	11·61

¹ One chantry vacant, viz. at the altar of St. James in Malton castle (14th July, 1361).

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF EAST RIDING (4 DEANERIES).

Deaneries.									No. of benefices.	Institutions, 1361-1362.			Institutions, 1369.			Percentages.	
										Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	1361-1362.	1369.
Buckrose .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	3 ¹	2	5	0	1	1	12·50	6·25
Dickering .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	1	4	5	1	2	3	17·39	8·69
Harthill .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	6	1	7	0	6 ²	6	2·77	13·88
Holderness .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	0	3	3	1	3 ³	4	9·67	9·67
Total .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	106	10	10	20	2	12	14	10·58	9·62

¹ Settrington twice vacant by resignation. ² Everingham twice vacant. ³ Two chantries in the church of Sutton vacant (18th November and 23rd November). No cause is given in the second case.

IV. ARCHDEACONRY OF NOTTINGHAM (4 DEANERIES).

Deanery.										No. of bene- fices.	Institutions, 1361-1362.			Institutions, 1369.			Percentages.	
											Res.	Death.	Total.	Res.	Death.	Total.	1361-1362.	1369.
Bingham	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	2 ¹	6	8	0	4	4	12·76	8·51
Newark	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	4 ²	6 ³	10	1	8 ⁵	9	15·15	21·21
Nottingham	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34	3	4	7	1	7 ⁶	8	11·76	17·64
Retford	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	2	5 ⁴	7	1	6 ⁷	7	10·63	12·76
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	161	11	21	32	3	25	28	12·57	15·03

¹ Langar twice vacant by resignation. ² Sutton-on-Trent (v.) twice vacant by resignation. ³ Cotham (v.) twice vacant. Three chantries in Newark church vacant, viz. at the altars of St. James (3rd November, 1361), St. Peter (4th December, 1361), and St. Katherine (17th January, 1361-1362). ⁴ A chantry in Tuxford church vacant (25th May, 1361). Bawtry hospital twice vacant (6th October, 1361, and 20th October, 1362: no reason). ⁵ A mediety of Eakring twice vacant. ⁶ A mediety of Gedling twice vacant. ⁷ A chantry in Tuxford church vacant (20th September, 1361).

APPENDIX III.

LISTS OF BENEFICES VACATED BY DEATH IN THE ARCHDEACONRIES
OF YORK, CLEVELAND, EAST RIDING AND NOTTINGHAM.

- (A) 25th March, 1349, to 24th March, 1349-1350.
 (B) 25th March, 1361, to 24th March, 1362-1363.
 (C) 25th March, 1369, to 24th March, 1369-1370.

In these lists the names of benefices are arranged under the deaneries and archdeaconries to which they belong, and are grouped in the chronological order in which institutions to them were made. The name of each archdeaconry and deanery is followed in brackets by the number of benefices vacated in each; and the names of benefices are printed in separate paragraphs for each month in which institutions to them are recorded, with the total number bracketed after the name of the month, and with the day of the month after each name or group of names. Names of benefices in which the probable, but not the certain, cause of voidance was death are italicised. The sign (v.) = vicarage.

Chantry institutions are not included.

In the foot-notes are given (1) notes of crown presentations recorded in the patent rolls, with their dates, where the names of the presentee and the incumbent who was instituted agree; (2) notes of the names of patrons presenting to portions or medieties of churches, which enable the particular mediety to be distinguished; (3) forms of place-names in the register where they differ noticeably from modern names or are erroneously spelt.

The spelling of place-names in the list is that of the ordnance survey.

A.

25TH MARCH, 1349, TO 24TH MARCH, 1349-1350.

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF YORK OR WEST RIDING (90).

I. DEANERY OF THE CHRISTIANITY OF YORK (13)

June (2)	St. Denis, 22; St. Mary Bishophill senior mediety ¹ , 28.
July (1)	All Saints, North street ² , 12.
August (3)	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, 2; St. Mary with St. Margaret, Walmgate, 14; St. Helen, Stonegate, 24.
September (4)	St. Saviour, 2; St. Mary, Castlegate, mediety ³ , 5; St. Peter the Little, 18; St. Sampson, 20.
October (1)	St. Martin, Micklegate, 21.
November (1)	St. Denis, 23.
December (1)	Holy Trinity, King's court, 5.

¹ Patron, Sir Richard le Scrop, knight.

² Robert de Hydingham (Aldyngham in register), chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Holy

Trinity priory, York, 29th June (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 326).

³ Patrons, the prior and convent of Kirkham.

2. DEANERY OF AINSTY (19)

July (1)	Garforth, 27.
August (5)	Otley (v.), Whitkirk (v.), 11; Birkin, 12; Bolton Percy, 15; Acaster Malbis, 20.
September (4)	Guiseley, Newton Kyme, 16; Hampsthwaite (v.), 21; Ledsham ¹ (v.), 22.
October (4)	Adel, 2; Cowthorpe, 6; Bardsey (v.), 7; Long Marston ² , 30.
November (1)	Pannal (v.), 18.
December (3)	Barwick-in-Elmet, 19; Collingham (v.), Tadcaster (v.), 23.
March (1)	Whitkirk (v.), 5.

3. DEANERY OF CRAVEN (7)

June (1)	Arncliffe, 11.
August (1)	Kettlewell mediety ³ , 29.
September (1)	Kildwick (v.), 8.
October (2)	Kirkby in Malhamdale (v.), 17; Gisburn (v.), 27.
November (1)	Addingham, 27.
January (1)	Thornton, 3.

4. DEANERY OF DONCASTER (35)

April (1)	Kirk Bramwith, 4.
June (1)	Womersley (v.), 16.
July (2)	Brodsworth (v.), 24; Maltby (v.), 29.
August (4)	Darfield mediety ⁴ , 13; Womersley (v.), 18; Armthorpe, 21; Conisbrough (v.), 30.
September (7)	Felkirk (v.), 6; Tickhill (v.), 8; Darfield mediety ⁵ , 14; High Hoyland mediety ⁶ , Maltby ⁷ , 17; Ecclesfield (v.), 18; Royston ⁸ (v.), 27.
October (9)	Warmsworth ⁹ , 2; Rawmarsh, 3; Penistone ¹⁰ , Thurnscoe, Whiston ¹¹ , 23; Hatfield (v.), Rotherham mediety ¹² (v.), Sandal Parva, Tinsley chapel, 24.
November (4)	Harthill, Tankersley, 13; Hooton Pagnell (v.), Wickersley, 14.
December (4)	Barnburgh, High Hoyland mediety ¹³ , 7; Stainton (v.), 8; Darton ¹⁴ , 19.
February (2)	Brodsworth (v.), 5; Dinnington, 27.
March (1)	Maltby (v.), 8.

¹ William de Castelford, chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Pontefract priory owing to the war, 7th September (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 377).

² Hotone Wandesleye.

³ Patron, Sir John de Grey of Rotherfelde, knight.

⁴ Patron, Sir John de Grey of Rotherfelde, knight.

⁵ Patron, John de Wodehale.

⁶ Patron, Sir William Skote, knight.

⁷ William de Tikhull (Tikhill in register),

presented by the crown as guardian of the lands and heir of Robert de Clifford, 2nd Sept. (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 374).

⁸ Rustone.

⁹ Wrongly entered in Nottingham archdeaconry, f. 134 d.

¹⁰ The benefice was vacant, but the institution was postponed until 4th November.

¹¹ Whitstane.

¹² Patrons, the abbot and convent of Rufford.

¹³ Patron, John de Burghe.

¹⁴ Dertone iuxta Neutone.

5. DEANERY OF PONTEFRACT (16)

- July (1) Darrington¹ (v.), 28.
 September (5) Kellington (v.), 1; Calverley (v.), *Rothwell* (v.), 2;
 Batley (v.), 6; Huddersfield (v.), 13.
 October (4) Halifax (v.), Wakefield (v.), Warmfield (v.), 8; Darrington²
 (v.), 29.
 December (4) Calverley (v.), Rothwell (v.), 2; Emley, 15; Crofton, 19.
 February (2) Pontefract³ (v.), 2; Halifax (v.), 4.

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF CLEVELAND (32)

1. DEANERY OF BULMER (19)

- July (1) Overton⁴ (v.), 28.
 August (7) Bossall (v.), 2; Bulmer, 16; Sheriff Hutton⁵ (v.),
 Terrington⁶, 18; Escrick, 19; Brandsby, 24;
 Elvington, 26.
 September (4) Wheldrake, 5; Dunnington, Whenby (v.), 11; Bossall (v.),
 19.
 October (3) South Otterington mediety⁷, 8; Elvington, 9; *Feliskirk*, 29.
 November (1) *Kirkby Knowle*, 18.
 December (1) Thirkleby (v.), 21.
 February (1) *Brafferton*, 20.
 March (1) *Easingwold* (v.), 20.

2. DEANERY OF CLEVELAND (7)

- September (4) Sigston, 5; Easington, 13; Kildale, 22; Ormsby (v.), 23.
 October (1) Cowesby, 4.
 February (1) Kildale, 13.
 March (1) Sneaton, 9.

3. DEANERY OF RYEDALE (6)

- September (2) Helmsley (v.), 15; Normanby, 18.
 October (2) Hawnby⁸, 3; Kirkby Misperton⁹, 23.
 January (1) Nunnington, 31.
 February (1) *Edstone* (v.), 19.

¹ Darthyngtone. Wrongly entered in Nottingham archdeaconry, f. 131. John Tourge, chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Pontefract priory owing to the war, 14th July (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 337; also 13th July, p. 341).

² Roger de Brotherton, chaplain, presented by the crown as above, 22nd August (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 377).

³ Adam de Skargill (Master Adam de Skargyll, deacon, in register), presented by

the crown as above, 18th August, 1349 (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 366).

⁴ Also entered in York archdeaconry, f. 30.

⁵ Hotone.

⁶ Tiuaryngtone.

⁷ Patron, Sir William Malbys, knight.

⁸ Halmeby.

⁹ Thomas de Sandhoton (Sandehton in register), chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the lands and heir of William de Ros, 10th October (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 394).

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF EAST RIDING (56)

I. DEANERY OF BUCKROSE (9)

- August (2) Kirby Underdale¹, 16; Sherburn in Hartford lythe (v.), 28.
 September (3) Langton, 5; Settrington, 15; Wharram Percy (v.), 26.
 October (4) Scrayingham, 2; Langton, 21; Kirby Grindalyth² (v.), 24; Sherburn in Hartford lythe (v.), 30.

2. DEANERY OF DICKERING (15)

- August (2) Nafferton, 21; Seamer (v.), 28.
 September (5) Lowthorpe, 9; Hunmanby (v.), 18; Thwing mediety³, 22; Scarborough (v.), 26; Folkton, 30.
 October (5) Argam,⁴ Folkton (v.), Willerby (v.), 6; Ganton (v.), Seamer (v.), 24.
 December (3) Foston-on-the-Wolds⁵, Wold Newton⁶ (v.), 11; Reighton (v.), 12.

3. DEANERY OF HARTHILL (17)

- June (3) Etton⁷, Kirk Ella⁸ (v.), 26; Full Sutton, 29.
 July (2) Hessle (v.), Sculcoates, 31.
 August (1) Holme-in-Spalding-moor, 30.
 September (3) Huggate, 9; Walkington, 10; Everingham, 27.
 October (4) North Ferriby (v.), Sancton (v.), 10; Welton, 17; Aughton, 29.
 November (2) Burnby⁹, 1; Sutton on Derwent, 18.
 January (1) Warter¹⁰ (v.), 27.
 March (1) Harswell, 1.

4. DEANERY OF HOLDERNESS (15)

- July (1) Kilnsea¹¹ (v.), 31.
 September (6) Roos, 3; Aldbrough¹² (v.), Holmpton chapel, Skeckling¹³ (v.), 4; Barmston, Catwick¹⁴, 11.

¹ Kirkeby Hondoldale.² Kirkeby in Crendale.³ Patrons, prior and convent of Bridlington.⁴ Erghom.⁵ Fostetone iuxta Wandesforde.⁶ Neutone Rocheford.⁷ John de Colne, clerk, presented by the crown as guardian of the lands and heir of Thomas Wake of Lidell (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 299).⁸ Elueleye.⁹ Brumeby.¹⁰ Wartria.¹¹ Peter de Lythum (Lythom in register), chaplain, presented by the crown asguardian of the temporalities of the abbey of Aumale owing to the war, 17th July (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 347).¹² John Coillour (Colliour in register) of Halsham, chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Birstall priory owing to the war, 18th August (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 368).¹³ John de Kernethby, chaplain, presented by the crown as above, 18th August (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 369).¹⁴ Adam de Byrkyn, chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Pontefract priory owing to the war, 25th August (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 370).

October (4)	Beeford, Winestead, 9; Goxhill, 26; Withernsea ¹ (v.), 28.
November (1)	Hilston ² , 16.
January (1)	Humbleton (v.), 25.
February (2)	Barmston, 19; Owthorne ³ (v.), 25.

IV. ARCHDEACONRY OF NOTTINGHAM (59)

I. DEANERY OF BINGHAM (12)

July (4)	East Bridgford, Orston (v.), 11; Sutton Bonnington ⁴ , West Bridgford ⁵ , 28.
August (3)	Costock ⁶ , 21; Thorpe in Glebis, Widmerpool, 29.
September (2)	Wysall ⁷ (v.), 15; Adbolton, 28.
October (3)	Whetton (v.), 1; Ruddington (v.), 24; Wilford, 28.

2. DEANERY OF NEWARK (17)

July (4)	Cromwell, 5; North Muskham ⁸ (v.), 16; South Scarle (v.), 24; <i>Weston-in-the-Clay</i> , 29.
August (2)	Elston ⁹ , 1; Thorney ¹⁰ (v.), 15.
September (7)	South Collingham, 5; Laxton, 6; North Collingham, 14; Eakring mediety ¹¹ , 21 (<i>bis</i>); Kilvington, Shelton, 25.
October (2)	Staunton, 2; North Clifton (v.), 28.
November (1)	<i>Fledborough</i> , 30.
January (1)	Normanton-on-Trent (v.), 30.

3. DEANERY OF NOTTINGHAM (14)

May (1)	Epperstone, 23.
July (5)	Trowell mediety ¹² , 8; <i>Nottingham St. Mary</i> ¹³ (v.), 11; Epperstone, 19; Broxtow ¹⁴ , 20; Basford (v.), 21.
August (1)	<i>Lowdham</i> ¹⁵ (v.), 7.

¹ John Duynes of Waltham, chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Birstall priory, 1st October (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 400).

² Hilderstone.

³ William Andreu of Ravenserod (Andreu of Ravenserodde in register), chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Birstall priory, 23rd January (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 447).

⁴ Suttone super Sore.

⁵ Briggforde atte Bruggende.

⁶ Cortelyngstoke. William de Paxton, clerk, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Lenton priory owing to the war, 8th July (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 337).

⁷ Wyshowe: the entry in the margin is Attyngwyke (i.e. Atwick, E. R.), by some inexplicable mistake.

⁸ Patrons, prior and convent of Shelford. This was the vicarage of a mediety, the other mediety being appropriated to the prebendary of North Muskham in Southwell and within the peculiar jurisdiction of that chapter.

⁹ Eylstone.

¹⁰ Thornhaghe.

¹¹ Patron, Margaret, late the wife of John de Roos, knight.

¹² Patrons, prior and convent of Sempringham.

¹³ Date of commission of inquiry into voidance and presentation. Richard de Swanyngton, chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Lenton priory owing to the war, 20th June (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 335).

¹⁴ Brokelstowe.

¹⁵ Date of commission of inquiry.

- September (4) Lenton¹ (v.), 6; *Gonalston*, 21; Gedling mediety², 24; Trowell mediety³, 25.
 November (2) *Broxtow*, Teversall⁴, 13.
 December (1) Bulwell⁵, 5.

4. DEANERY OF RETFORD (16)

- July (2) Misterton, Sutton-upon-Lound⁶ (v.), 6.
 August (6) Headon (v.), Walkeringham (v.), 1; East Markham⁷, 5; Mattersey⁸ (v.), 7; Edwinstowe⁹ (v.), 24; North Wheatley (v.), 27.
 September (2) Egmanon (v.), 2; Sutton-upon-Lound (v.), 8.
 October (3) Cuckney (v.), 3; Markham Clinton¹⁰ (v.), 5; Walesby (v.), 28.
 November (1) *Warsop*, 25.
 December (1) Kirton¹¹, 13.
 January (1) Elksley (v.), 17.

B.

25TH MARCH, 1361, TO 24TH MARCH, 1362-1363.

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF YORK OR WEST RIDING (25)

1. DEANERY OF THE CHRISTIANITY OF YORK (3)

- 1361 August (1) St. Wilfrid's, 30.
 1362 September (1) St. Cuthbert's in Peasholme, 6.
 1362-1363 March (1) *St. Helen in Werkedike mediety*¹², 14.

2. DEANERY OF AINSTY (3)

- 1361-1362 March (2) Kirkby Overblow, 1; Spofforth, 16.
 1362 June (1) *Fewston*¹³ (v.), 1.

¹ Robert de Radford (Radeford in register), chaplain, presented by the crown as guardian of the temporalities of Lenton priory, 12th August (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 358.)

² Patron, Agnes, late the wife of Thomas Bardolfe.

³ Patron, Robert de Brynneslee.

⁴ Tyuersholt.

⁵ Michael de Lindeby (Lyndeby in register), presented by the crown, 16th October (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 413).

⁶ Sutton iuxta Retford.

⁷ Magna Markham.

⁸ Wrongly entered in York archdeaconry, f. 33.

⁹ Edenestowe.

¹⁰ Marcham parua.

¹¹ Kyrketone in le Clay.

¹² Collated owing to lapse of presentation. This church is sometimes known as St. Helen's-on-the-walls.

¹³ Foscetton.

3. DEANERY OF CRAVEN (3)

- 1362 August (1) Gisburn¹ (v.), 29.
November (2) Arncliffe, 1; Marton, 16.

4. DEANERY OF DONCASTER (6)

- 1361 November (1) Stainton chapel (v.), 26.
December (1) Harthill, 29.
1362 July (1) Tickhill (v.), 23.
August (1) Braithwell chapel (v.), 14.
September (1) Hatfield (v.), 7.
November (1) Darton, 9.

5. DEANERY OF PONTEFRAC^T (10)

- 1361 August (1) Ackworth, 20.
November (1) Sandal Magna (v.), 30.
1361-1362 January (1) Kirkburton², 11.
March (1) Dewsbury (v.), 12.
1362 May (1) Wakefield (v.), 11.
June (1) Kirkheaton³, 5.
October (1) Crofton, 30.
November (2) Halifax (v.), 10; Adlingfleet (v.), 20.
1362-1363 January (1) Kellington (v.), 31.

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF CLEVELAND (10)

1. DEANERY OF BULMER (4)

- 1361 September (1) Huntington (v.), 28.
October (1) South Otterington mediety⁴, 3.
1362 June (1) Brafferton, 1.
December (1) *Sessay*, 10.

2. DEANERY OF CLEVELAND (3)

- 1361 June (1) Ormsby (v.), 11.
1362 May (1) Kirkby-in-Cleveland (v.), 2.
October (1) Stainton (v.), 11.

3. DEANERY OF RYEDALE (3)

- 1362 October (1) Levisham, 8.
November (1) Stonegrave, 19.
1362-1363 February (1) Lastingham (v.), 14.

¹ Wrongly entered in Cleveland arch-deaconry, f. 180, probably by confusion with Guisborough.

² Birtone.

³ Hetone.

⁴ Patron, Sir William Malbys, knight.

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF EAST RIDING (10)

1. DEANERY OF BUCKROSE (2)

1361-1362	January (1)	Thorp Basset (v.), 29.
1362	September (1)	Wharram Percy (v.), 11.

2. DEANERY OF DICKERING (4)

1361	November (1)	Reighton (v.), 20.
1361-1362	March (1)	Thwing mediety ¹ , 16.
1362	April (1)	Folkton (v.), 26.
	October (1)	Burton Agnes (v.), 16.

3. DEANERY OF HARTHILL (1)

1362	May (1)	Hessle (v.) with Hull chapel, 10.
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4. DEANERY OF HOLDERNESS (3)

1361	August (1)	Winestead, 4.
	December (1)	Skipsea (v.), 20.
1362-1363	March (1)	Little Coldon chapel, 1.

IV. ARCHDEACONRY OF NOTTINGHAM (21)

1. DEANERY OF BINGHAM (6)

1361	October (2)	Elton, 6; <i>Kinoulton</i> (v.), 19.
	November (1)	Rempstone, 18.
	December (2)	Cotgrave mediety ² , 6; <i>Stanford-on-Soar</i> , 11.
1362-1363	January (1)	Keyworth, 18.

2. DEANERY OF NEWARK (6)

1361	May (1)	Shelton, 1.
	October (1)	Cotham (v.), 7.
1361-1362	January (1)	Cotham (v.), 22.
	February ? (1)	Winthorpe. ³
1362	September (1)	Barnby-in-the-Willows, 15.
	October (1)	North Clifton (v.), 23.

3. DEANERY OF NOTTINGHAM (4)

1361	April (1)	Mansfield (v.), 17.
1361-1362	January (1)	Wollaton, 16.
	February (2)	Gedling mediety ⁴ , 12; Teversall, 17.

¹ Patron, Sir Thomas de Thweng, son of Marmaduke de Thwenge. Wrongly entered in York archdeaconry, f. 111 d.

² Patrons, prior and convent of Lenton.

³ Date not entered.¹

⁴ Patron, Sir John Bardolfe. Wrongly entered in York archdeaconry, f. 111.

4. DEANERY OF RETFORD (5)

1361	November (2)	Saundby, 19; East Retford (v.), 27.
1361-1362	January ? (1)	<i>Egmanton</i> ¹ (v.).
1362	April (1)	Walkeringham (v.), 15.
	November (1)	<i>Mattersey</i> (v.), 5.

C.

25TH MARCH, 1369, TO 24TH MARCH, 1370.

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF YORK OR WEST RIDING (25)

1. DEANERY OF THE CHRISTIANITY OF YORK (1)

July (1)	St. Martin's, Micklegate, 13.
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2. DEANERY OF AINSTY (6)

July (1)	Healaugh, 31.
October (3)	Hampsthwaite (v.), 9; Cowthorpe, 13; Drax (v.), 16.
November (1)	Ryther, 13.
January (1)	Harewood (v.), 24.

3. DEANERY OF CRAVEN (4)

June (1)	Burnsall mediety ² , 13.
September (1)	Bingley (v.), 6.
October (1)	Carlton (v.), 17.
March (1)	Burnsall mediety ³ , 13.

4. DEANERY OF DONCASTER (9)

June (1)	Tankersley, 25.
July (1)	Thrybergh, 13.
September (2)	Thurnscoe, 14; Armthorpe, 22.
October (4)	Treeton, 11; Badsworth, Burghwallis, 14; Ecclesfield ⁴ (v.), 29.
November (1)	Maltby, 30.

¹ No date given : the reason of avoidance is left blank.

² Patron, Sir Richard de Hebden, knight.

³ Patron, Henry Fitzhugh.

⁴ In Reg. Zouche, f. 38, the presentee, Robert Guillelmi or Guillermi, a monk of Saint Wandrille (Seine-Inferieure), is described as instituted "ad ecclesiam

vicariam custodiam seu prioratum beate Marie de Eglesfeld." The vicar was thus the *custos* or prior of the alien priory. Guillermi died in 1369, and a secular priest, William Fulmere, was presented by the crown to the vicarage of the church, "cuius cura per personam regularem hactenus est solita gubernari" (Reg. Thoresby, f. 153 d.

5. DEANERY OF PONTEFRAC^T (5)

August (3) Wakefield (v.), 6; Bradford (v.), 8; Sandal
Magna (v.), 31.
October (1) Huddersfield (v.), 31.
December (1) *Darrington* (v.), 23.

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF CLEVELAND (10)

1. DEANERY OF BULMER (6)

June (1) Escrick, 19.
August (2) *Stillingfleet* (v.), 3; Huntington (v.), 20.
September (1) Overton (v.), 1.
December (2) Thirkleby (v.), 4; South Kilvington, 20.

2. DEANERY OF CLEVELAND (2)

September (1) Osmotherley (v.), 3.
October (1) Rudby¹, 5.

3. DEANERY OF RYEDALE (2)

April (1) Appleton-le-Street, 30.
July (1) Levisham, 17.

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF EAST RIDING (12)

1. DEANERY OF BUCKROSE (1)

1369-1370 January (1) Thorp Basset, 19.

2. DEANERY OF DICKERING (2)

August (1) Nafferton² (v.), 9.
September (1) Foston on the Wolds³, 28.

3. DEANERY OF HARTHILL (6)

March (1) Everingham, 28.
July (1) *Everingham*, 19.
August (1) Warter (v.), 1.
September (2) Lund, 5; Lockington, 14.
October (1) Kirk Ella⁴, 11.

4. DEANERY OF HOLDERNESS (3)

October (1) Goxhill, 12.
November (2) Aldbrough, Garton (v.), 21.

¹ Commission to sequestrate.

² Entered twice in the register by mistake.

³ Foston iuxta Wandesford.

⁴ Elulay.

IV. ARCHDEACONRY OF NOTTINGHAM (25)

I. DEANERY OF BINGHAM (4)

- July (2) Clifton, 10; Bingham, 23.
 September (1) West Bridgford¹, 23.
 January (1) Carcolston (v.), 19.

2. DEANERY OF NEWARK (8)

- July (4) Eakring mediety², 1; Farndon and Balderton (v.), 6; Eakring mediety³, 17; East Stoke (v.), 26.
 September (3) Hockerton, 12; Holme, 13; Thorpe by Newark, 24.
 October (1) Normanton-on-Trent (v.), 23.

3. DEANERY OF NOTTINGHAM (7)

- April (1) Broxtow, 4.
 July (2) Gedling mediety⁴ (v.), 8; Gedling mediety⁵, 31.
 August (2) Hucknall Torkard (v.), 6; Gedling mediety⁴ (v.), 21.
 October (1) Gonalston, 9.
 January (1) Lambley, 8.

4. DEANERY OF RETFORD (6)

- June (1) Sturton,⁶ 27.
 July (1) Cuckney (v.), 29.
 August (1) Headon, 24.
 October (1) Sutton-on-Lound, 13.
 November (2) North Wheatley (v.), 15; Rossington, 20.

¹ Bridgeforde iuxta Nottingham.² Patron, Robert de Mortone.³ Patron as before, of Bawtry.⁴ Patrons, the prior and convent of Shelford.⁵ Patron, the queen.⁶ Strettone.

APPENDIX IV.

INSTITUTIONS IN THE ARCHDEACONRY OF RICHMOND DURING
THE YEARS 1349, 1361 AND 1362, AND 1369.

An explanation has already been given of the reasons for which the archdeaconry of Richmond has been omitted from the foregoing calculations. The registers of its archdeacons, containing notices of institutions to benefices, no longer survive; and although it appears from the preface to the volume of *Richmondshire Wills* printed by the Surtees society that registers, covering portions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, existed at Richmond about the middle of the nineteenth century, these have now disappeared, probably by the carelessness of some borrower. An abstract of their contents, however, was made in one of his note-books by Matthew Hutton (d. 1711), the well-known rector of Aynho, Northants. and remains with his other MS. extracts from mediaeval registers, in the British museum (Harleian MS. 6978, p. 5 sqq.). His contemporary, James Torre (d. 1699), also noted the institutions contained in them, and from Torre's notes the lists of incumbents printed in Whitaker's *Richmondshire* were compiled. Hutton's MS. begins with a register originally marked B, which opened with an institution to Manfield in Richmond deanery on 2nd April, 1361, the archdeacon at that time being Humfrey Charlton. It is thus possible to recover the institutions for 1361 and 1362 and 1369. At the same time, it is not possible to obtain trustworthy percentages for each deanery, because (1) in the absence of earlier registers and the fragmentary state of such information as remains, the actual number of benefices on which percentages can be reckoned is hard to obtain; and (2) the cause of voidance is in many cases left without mention.

The institutions for 1361-1362, classed under their several deaneries, are as follows. Benefices void by resignation are not included: those for which no cause of voidance is given are italicised.

I. DEANERY OF AMOUNDERNESS (1)

1362 August (1) *Kirkham* (v.), 28.

2. DEANERY OF BOROUGHBIDGE (3)

1361 September (1) *Staveley*, 4.

1362 June (1) Allerton Mauleverer, 30.

1362-1363 January (1) Allerton Mauleverer, 24.

3. DEANERY OF CATTERICK (8)

1361 July (1) *East Witton* (v.), 31.

September (1) *Wensley*, 29.

1362 July (1) Thornton Steward, 30.

August (1) *East Witton* (v.), 22.

October (3) *Catterick* (v.), 10; *Grinton* (v.), *Hauxwell*, 11.

November (1) *Wath*, 19.

4. DEANERY OF COPELAND (1)

1362-1363 January (1) *Bootle*, 19.

5. DEANERY OF FURNESS (1)

1361 July (1) *Urswick* (v.), 15.

6. DEANERY OF KENDAL (2)

1362 November (1) *Heversham*, 9.

December (1) *Grasmere*, 30.

7. DEANERY OF LONSDALE (none)

8. DEANERY OF RICHMOND (7)

1361 November (1) *Brignall*, 12.

1362 August (1) *Wycliffe*, 2.

October (3) *Easby* (v.), *Marske*, 24; *Middleton Tyas*
(v.) 29.

1362-1363 February (2) *Melsonby*, 2; *Langton-on-Swale*, 11.

These figures indicate that there was possibly some mortality in the deaneries of north-west Yorkshire during the summer and early autumn of 1362. If all the foregoing institutions in Catterick and Richmond deaneries were due to death, the percentage for Catterick deanery (22 benefices) is 31·81, for Richmond deanery (21 benefices) 33·33.

Eleven institutions are recorded in 1369 as follows :

1. DEANERY OF AMOUNDERNESS (none)

2. DEANERY OF BOROUGHBIDGE (3)

August (1) *Ripley*, 7.

September (1) *Ripley*, 14.

March (1) *Goldsborough*, 1.

3. DEANERY OF CATTERICK (2)

May (1) *Bedale*, 23.

August (1) *Spennithorne*, 23.

4. DEANERY OF COPELAND (2)

October (1) *Millom*, (v.), 8.

February (1) *Gosforth* (v.), 2.

5. DEANERY OF FURNESS (1)

January (1) *Dalton* (v.), 12.

6. DEANERY OF KENDAL (2)

November (1) *Beetham*, 6.

December (1) *Heysham*, 19.

7. DEANERY OF LONSDALE (none)

8. DEANERY OF RICHMOND (1)

October (1) *Wycliffe*, 7.

No definite conclusions can be arrived at from these instances. It may be noted that the alien priory of Lancaster (Amounderness deanery) was void by death in September, 1369, and a chantry at Brigham (Copeland deanery) in January, 1369-1370.

Unfortunately, no help from similar sources is afforded us for the pestilence of 1349. The few crown presentations recorded in the patent rolls for that year may be noted, however. At the same time, these give no cause of voidance. Further, a crown presentation is no guarantee that the person presented actually received institution, as such presentations were frequently made without proper reference to facts, and in such cases often proved inoperative or were actually revoked.¹

12th June, 1349. Thomas de la More, to Heysham (Kendal deanery), owing to the temporalities of Lancaster priory being in the hands of the king by reason of war.²

27th September. Edmund de Ursewyk, to Grasmere (Kendal deanery), owing to the knight's fees and advowsons of William de Coucy, deceased, being in the king's custody.³

3rd October. Henry de Tatton, to Kirkby Wiske (Richmond deanery), owing to the lands and heir of John le Conestable of Halsham being in the king's custody.⁴

7th October. John de Fisshewyk, to the vicarage of Poulton-le-Fylde (Amounderness deanery), owing to the temporalities of Lancaster priory, etc. as before.⁵

16th October. William de Rudham, chaplain, to Bentham (Lonsdale deanery), owing to the lands and heir of John, son of Henry being in the king's custody.⁶

Cartmel priory was vacant on 20th September, when a *conge d'élire* was issued, the king then having custody of the knight's fees and advowsons of the late patron, Lawrence de Hastynges, earl of Pembroke.⁷ We know also from Zouche's register that the abbeys of Jervaulx and Egglestone were vacant during the year. John, abbot elect of Jervaulx, and Alexander Easby (Eseby), abbot elect of Egglestone, made their professions of obedience to the archbishop of Cawood on 25th October.⁸

¹ Thus, on 22nd January, 1349-1350, Thomas de Rugge was presented to the vicarage of Pontefract (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 447). Adam de Skargill, however, who had been presented on 18th August, 1349 (*ibid.* 366), was instituted on 2nd February. A presentation to Scrayingham, made on 10th November, 1349, was revoked on 10th February following (*ibid.* 418, 473).

² *ibid.* 333.

³ *ibid.* 400: repeated on p. 403. He was

presented again on 3rd November in the proper form, which required nomination to the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, York, who proceeded with the actual presentation (*ibid.* 421).

⁴ *ibid.* 398.

⁵ *ibid.* 401.

⁶ *ibid.* 396.

⁷ *ibid.* 411.

⁸ Reg. Zouche, fo. 77 d.

APPENDIX V.

CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGIATE CHAPTERS IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK DURING THE THREE PERIODS OF PESTILENCE.

1. The vacancies in the chapter of York during 1349 were not many. The earliest collation of a prebend recorded is on 20th May, when Masham prebend, void by the promotion of John Ufford (Offord) to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was collated to master Reynold de Bryan, who, a year later, became bishop of St. David's, and was succeeded on 25th May, 1350, by master Andrew Ufford, archdeacon of Middlesex.¹

During the year, however, two of the chief offices of the church, which involved cure of souls and residence at York, fell vacant owing to death. Master Simon Beckingham (Bekyngham) succeeded master Robert Patrington as precentor on 26th August,² and also had collation of the chancellorship on the death of master William Alburwyk, 17th November.³ He appears to have combined both his dignities for a time, as his successor in the precentorship, master Hugh Wymeswold (Wymondeswolde), did not obtain collation until 19th April, 1352.⁴ The treasurership and subdeanery were also vacant. The crown presented John Winwick (Wynwyk) to the first, on 25th July⁵: the collation is not recorded. There were four crown presentations to the subdeanery, on 12th April to John Pyrie,⁶ on 10th May to John de la Chaumbre,⁷ and on 4th July and again on 23rd January to William Retford.⁸ In the last instance all previous presentations were revoked, and Retford had collation on 19th February.⁹

Only two collations of prebends are recorded in addition to those of Masham. On 5th September John Helewell succeeded to Barnby on the death of Reynold Donyngton.¹⁰ John Giffard, prebendary of Grindale, the founder of the college of Cotterstock in Northamptonshire, died before 4th November, when the prebend was collated to master Nicholas Hawe of Welton.¹¹ Hawe does not seem, however, to have been installed, as on 9th March, 1350-1351, the archbishop issued a mandate to the dean and chapter to admit John Chesterfield, the death of John Giffard being still given as the cause of avoidance.¹²

Four prebends were vacated, three certainly and one probably, by death in 1361-1362. These were as follows:

5th April, 1361. Riccall. Mandate to admit master Humfrey Charleton, professor of theology, on the death of master William Exeter (de Exonia).¹³

10th October, 1361. Wistow with the archdeaconry of York. Mandate to install sir Stephen, cardinal deacon, on the death of sir Peter, cardinal bishop of Palestrina.¹⁴

¹ Reg. Zouche, ff. 230 d, 236. Andrew Ufford's estate in the prebend was ratified by royal letters patent of 14th May, 1350 (*Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 500).

² Reg. Zouche, fo. 230 d.

³ *ibid.* fo. 232.

⁴ *ibid.* fo. 239 d.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1348-1350, p. 355.

⁶ *ibid.* 271.

⁷ *ibid.* 295.

⁸ *ibid.* 340, 447.

⁹ Reg. Zouche, fo. 235 d.

¹⁰ *ibid.* ff. 230 d, 231.

¹¹ *ibid.* fo. 232.

¹² *ibid.* fo. 236.

¹³ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 47 d.

¹⁴ *ibid.* fo. 49.

20th October, 1361. Bole. Collated to master Alexander Nevyll, M.A. No reason of avoidance.¹

20th March, 1361-1362. Ampleforth. Mandate to induct master William Courtenay (Cortenay) on the death of master Henry la Zouche.²

It appears, however, that the prebend of Bole was either not vacant in 1361, or that its collation to Nevyll was over-ridden by a papal provision, as Nevyll again obtained collation on 27th June, 1370, on the death of the cardinal of St. Marcellus.³

In 1369 Simon Beckingham vacated the chancellorship by death, and was succeeded on 20th September by master Thomas Farnilawe, professor of theology.⁴ Two deaths of prebendaries are noted in this year, viz. Richard Retford and Stephen, cardinal of San Lorenzo in Lucina. Their successors were master John Irford, rector of West Rasen, Lincs. collated to Tockerington prebend on 19th July,⁵ and Simon, cardinal priest of San Sisto, collated to Wistow prebend on 10th February, 1369-1370.⁶

2. No collations of prebends in Beverley minster are noted in 1349. One of the vicars, John Benyngholm, died, and was succeeded on 11th August by Geoffrey Barowe.⁷ Nicholas Sigglesthorne (Syglesthorne), vicar of the prebendary of St. Martin's altar with the chapel of St. Mary in Beverley annexed, died by 20th August, when Gregory Pocklington (Pokulyntune) was instituted. On 20th September Robert Aston was instituted to the same vicarage on the death of Gregory Pocklington (Pokelyngtone): both were presented by master Roger Nassington, prebendary of St. Martin's altar.⁸

The only prebend noted as void in 1361-1362 was that of St. Peter's altar, but this was due to an exchange.⁹ Robert Aston (Hastone), however, died, and Peter Ellington (Elyngtone) was presented by Roger Nassington to the vicarage of St. Mary's, and was instituted on 12th August.¹⁰

Nothing occurs in the register for 1369.

3 and 4. No entries for any of the three periods refer directly to the chapters of Ripon and Southwell. Two institutions by the archbishop, however, are recorded to vicarages of prebendal churches in the liberty of Southwell. On 7th July William Ferriby (Feryby) the younger was instituted to Dunham-on-Trent vicarage, on the death of John Maresshalle. Thomas Helwelle was the prebendary who presented: the new vicar was admitted later by the chapter of Southwell.¹¹ On 5th August John Bingham was instituted to Eaton vicarage, on the death of Ralph Misterton (Mistertone) and at the presentation of master Gilbert Welton, the prebendary.¹²

5. Among the entries relating to the spiritualities of Allertonshire and Howdenshire for 1349 is the institution of Thomas, son of Robert the smith (*fabri*) of Howden, to the vicarage of the prebend of Saltmarsh in Howden, on the death of William Barneby (3rd September).¹³ Two more vicarages in the church fell vacant by death, and institutions were made on 14th September, when William Lynton, chaplain, succeeded Alexander Benet

¹ *ibid.*

² *ibid.* fo. 52 d.

³ *ibid.* fo. 68 d.

⁴ *ibid.* fo. 67 d.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ Reg. Zouche, fo. 230 d.

⁸ *ibid.* ff. 196, 231.

⁹ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 52.

¹⁰ *ibid.* fo. 54.

¹¹ Reg. Zouche, fo. 130.

¹² *ibid.* fo. 131 d.

¹³ *ibid.* fo. 275.

in the vicarage of Saltmarsh prebend, and John Lenay, chaplain, succeeded Robert Kelkefeld in the vicarage of Barnby prebend.¹ The prior and convent of Durham presented to these benefices. There is no record of the death of any of the prebendaries; but the fact that the vicars of three out of five stalls died is significant of the mortality at Howden in the summer of 1349.

In 1362 John de Provano, prebendary of Skelton, died, and master Alexander Neville, subdeacon, was instituted on 8th November. This was the future archbishop of York, who, as has been said, had collation of Bole prebend in York during 1361. On 20th August, 1362, John Easington (Esyngtone), chaplain, was instituted to one of the stall-vicarages, void by the death of John Skarlete.²

On 16th November, 1369, William Blake, priest, was instituted to the vicarage of Saltmarsh prebend, void by the death of William Cayville.³

6. Four out of the twelve prebendaries in the chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, also known as St. Sepulchre's, which stood north of the nave of York minster, died in 1349. These were Richard Snoweshulle, John Barneby, Thomas Reynham, and master John Pickering (Pikerynge). Their successors were William de Burgh, clerk (11th September); Henry Hay of Aughton, chaplain (19th September); John Acomb (Acome), clerk (3rd September), and Roger Danet, clerk (11th September).⁴

Master Nicholas Whitby (Whiteby), who had been admitted to a deacon-prebend on 20th or 21st April, 1348,⁵ died by 16th November, 1361, when Thomas Middleton, chaplain, succeeded him.⁶

No vacancies seem to have occurred in 1369.

¹ *ibid.*

² *Reg. Thoresby*, fo. 282.

³ *ibid.* fo. 284.

⁴ *Reg. Zouche*, ff. 231 and d, 232 d.

⁵ *ibid.* fo. 230.

⁶ *Reg. Thoresby*, fo. 51.

APPENDIX VI.

TABLE OF ALL INSTITUTIONS IN THE ARCHDEACONRIES OF YORK, CLEVELAND, EAST RIDING, AND NOTTINGHAM, FROM 25TH MARCH, 1349, TO 24TH MARCH, 1350.

This table is intended to show the progress of the mortality month by month among the clergy, so far as it can be gathered from the register.

The whole number of institutions, in which those to chantries are reckoned, is 361, of which 285 were due to death. Collations of prebends have not been reckoned, with the exception of those in St. Sepulchre's chapel at York, the canons of which were usually resident. These are counted among the figures of York archdeaconry, while the vicars of Howden and Beverley are counted among those of the East Riding.

If this table is compared with that for the diocese of Lincoln in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxviii, 358, it will be seen that there is a similar rise and fall in figures; but, while the maximum number of institutions in Lincoln diocese was reached in July, that for York was reached in September, when the numbers for Lincoln show a considerable falling off.

The details for 1361-1362 and 1369 are of comparatively small account beside those for 1349, and the numbers for 1361-1362 are small, the highest number of institutions being reached in the autumn of 1362. In 1369 the highest numbers are for July, when the pestilence was evidently at its height in the archdeaconry of Nottingham, and for October, when the maximum for the diocese was reached, viz. 16. The total number of institutions for 1361-1362, not counting the archdeaconry of Richmond, is 147, 80 of which were to benefices void by death. In 1369, 81 benefices out of 101 were void by death.

Archdeaconry.			Total.	April 1349.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan. 1349-1350	Feb.	March.
York	..	{ Res. .	27	—	1	2	1	3	4	3	4	1	4	2	2
			Death	112	1	1	7	9	14	29	8	12	1	6	2
Cleveland	..	{ Res. .	14	—	2	—	1	1	—	5	1	1	—	—	3
			Death	36	—	—	1	7	11	7	2	1	1	3	3
East Riding	..	{ Res. .	12	—	1	—	—	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	—
			Death	68	—	—	3	4	7	22	21	3	3	2	1
Nottingham	..	{ Res. .	23	—	—	—	—	2	1	10	3	3	2	—	2
			Death	69	—	1	—	21	14	16	8	2	1	—	—
Total	..	{ Res. .	76	—	4	2	2	7	7	20	10	7	7	3	7
			Death	285	1	2	10	35	42	78	58	19	5	11	6

APPENDIX VII.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

The details already given for 1361-1362 and 1369 may be supplemented by a note upon the vacancies in the headships of religious houses, otherwise than by resignation, during these years. Only one occurs during the first period, viz. Bridlington priory. Prior Cotes (brother Peter) died about the end of 1362: his successor, confirmed on 3rd January, 1362-1363, was John Thwing (Thwenge), who became famous in later days as St. John of Bridlington.¹ On 2nd October, 1369, Robert Otley (Otteley) was confirmed as prior of Bolton, on the death of Robert Harton.² On 13th September Thomas Husthwaite (Hustewayte) succeeded John Thirsk (Threske) as prior of Newburgh.³ On 25th July in the same year George Gamston (Gamelstone) made his profession of obedience as abbot of Welbeck; but, as is usual in the case of exempt monasteries, no cause of avoidance is stated.⁴ Two similar professions in Richmond archdeaconry during the earlier period have been noted in appendix iv.

No ordination lists for 1349 appear to survive; at any rate, there are none in Zouche's register. Those in Thoresby's register, although the numbers in 1361-1362 are larger than usual, and those in 1369 abnormally large, supply no further evidence with regard to the mortality in those years. The following details, however, may be given. In the four ordinations between Trinity, 1361, and Lent, 1361-1362, 158 secular clerks were ordained acolytes, the highest number being 64 at Trinity, and the average 39. 137 subdeacons were ordained: highest number, 43 in Advent; average 34. 128 deacons: highest number, 36 in Lent; average, 32. 101 priests: highest number, 31 in September; average 28.

There were seven ordinations between the Saturday before Passion Sunday, 1361-1362, and the similar date in 1362-1363. 84 acolytes, 37 at Trinity; average 12. 94 subdeacons, 32 at Trinity; average 13. 101 deacons, 29 at Trinity; average 14. 111 priests, 36 at Trinity; average 16.

From Easter eve, 1369, to Lent, 1369-1370, there were five ordinations. 241 acolytes, 85 at Trinity, 63 in September; average 48. 133 subdeacons, 39 at Trinity; average 33. 113 deacons, 36 in September; average 28. 113 priests, 32 at Trinity; average 28.

The largest numbers of religious ordained during these periods were at Trinity and in September, 1369. At Trinity 16 acolytes, 26 subdeacons, 11 deacons, and 17 priests; in September 16 acolytes, 11 subdeacons, 16 deacons, and 20 priests were ordained.

In *Archaeol. Journ.* lxviii, 329, some details were given at second hand of the numbers supposed to be ordained by bishop Gynewell in 1349. Since these appeared, his ordination register, long absent from the registry at Lincoln, has been discovered. An examination of it, together with a note-book which hitherto supplied the information, shows that they were

¹ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 207 d.

² *ibid.* fo. 155.

³ *ibid.* fo. 188 d.

⁴ *ibid.* fo. 270.

wrongly calculated. For the sake of comparison with those in Thoresby's register, the actual numbers may be stated.

In five ordinations from Lent, 1348-1349, to Lent, 1349-1350, bishop Gynewell ordained 94 secular acolytes. The highest number was 41 in September; average 19. 167 subdeacons, 60 in Advent and 54 in Lent; average 33. 101 deacons, 61 in Lent; average 20. 56 priests, 20 in Lent; average 14.

From the second Lent ordination in 1349-1350, to September, 1350, there were four ordinations. 20 acolytes, 7 in September; average 5. 52 subdeacons, 15 at Trinity; average 13. 75 deacons, 46 in Lent; average 19. 136 priests, 50 in Lent; average 34.

It will be seen that, although at Advent, 1349, and in the two Lent ordinations of 1349-1350, the number of candidates in Lincoln diocese was large, there is no vast difference between it and the numbers for the later periods in York diocese. It certainly does not corroborate the statement which is often made, that one result of the great pestilence was a series of unwieldy ordinations with little respect of persons. This is apparently founded on a passage in Knighton (ed. Lumby [Rolls Ser.], ii, 63). "*Eodem tempore tanta penuria erat sacerdotum ubique, quod multe ecclesie viduate erant carentes divinis officiis, missis, matutinis, vesperis, sacramentis et sacramentalibus. Vix posset homo habere unum capellanum infra x li. vel x marcas ministrare alicui ecclesiae, et ubi homo posset habere unum capellanum pro v aut iv marcis vel pro ij marcis cum mensa, quando copia extitit sacerdotum ante pestilentiam, vix erat in isto tempore qui acceptare vellet unam vicariam ad xx li. aut xx marcas; sed infra breve confluebant ad ordines maxima multitudo quorum uxores obierant in pestilentia, de quibus multi illiterati et quasi meri laici nisi quatenus aliquantulum legere sciebant licet non intelligere.*" To the truth of a certain amount of this lamentable statement episcopal registers bear witness; but it is coloured by the dislike of a regular canon for the secular priesthood. Although not all the institutions to vacant benefices in York and Lincoln dioceses are recorded, yet the records which remain show that such benefices were filled with as little delay as possible, and that the persons instituted to them were in a large number of cases already in priests' orders. Most of Gynewell's ordination candidates in 1349 and 1350 were beneficed clergy: the institutions of all but two or three are recorded in his register, and the proportion of those instituted to a cure of souls while in minor orders is no larger than may be found at any time during the century preceding the pestilence. After the pestilence this proportion certainly became much smaller, which was on the whole to the advantage of the Church, even though the standard of learning may have been lowered.