

ART. VIII. – *Sede vacante administration in the medieval diocese of Carlisle: the accounts of the vacancy of December 1395 to March 1396*

By R. N. SWANSON

IN the administrative organization of the medieval church, the diocese of Carlisle was one of the two English sees subject to the provincial authority of the archbishops of York. This not only required that the diocese be represented at provincial convocations, but also had a direct impact on the bishopric's government. Intermittently, episcopal authority would be inhibited by an archiepiscopal visitation, during which the archbishop (or his commissioners) would look into the state of the see, and for their pains collect the spiritual revenues of the episcopal office during the time of the visitation. The archbishop's jurisdictional superiority was also recognized during episcopal interregna, when he assumed responsibility for diocesan government (if the archbishopric was itself vacant, then authority passed to the dean and chapter of York as governors of the archbishopric *sede vacante*). Vicars general and other officials would then be appointed to administer the see of Carlisle. These representatives of provincial authority might also hold visitations, providing a useful windfall supplement for the archiepiscopal coffers. Such a system also operated within the province of Canterbury – at least for some dioceses – and has been considered in some detail. For the northern province, however, the evidence is rather scantier; perhaps nowhere more so than for the diocese of Carlisle. There, despite the fairly straightforward nature of the relationship with York during vacancies, the depredations of passing centuries have virtually annihilated the major records of diocesan government of the later middle ages, with no episcopal registers surviving for the fifteenth century at all.¹

Yet some evidence does survive for the governance of the see, in the fourteenth century episcopal registers, in other records which survive among the episcopal archives, and among the records of the superior authority at York. A series of episcopal accounts gives an indication, admittedly intermittent, of continued (and apparently efficient) administration;² while the archiepiscopal and capitular registers at York contain some details of vacancy arrangements. These latter show well enough that the York authorities were concerned to maintain their powers during the interregna, especially in the nomination of appropriate officials.³ The extant material shows that that concern went beyond the mere nomination of bureaucrats, with explicit mention of court proceedings, and the collection of and accounting for the revenues which normally fell to the bishop of Carlisle in his capacity as spiritual head of the diocese.⁴

Among the York material, the fullest indication of the direct impact of vacancy administration on the diocese of Carlisle is provided by a register maintained by the vicars general in the gap between the episcopates of Thomas Appleby and Robert Reade, in 1395-96. Of four folios, this register is now appended to the archiepiscopal register of Archbishop Thomas Arundel among the holdings of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research at York.⁵ Unlike the scanty details usually provided of the vacancy arrangements, this is a relatively full indication of the scope of their activities, especially important for the information it provides on the nature of visitation and its profits.

Thomas Appleby had died on 5 December 1395.⁶ Three days later, at his palace at Bishopthorpe outside York, Archbishop Arundel appointed the vicars general who were to administer the vacant see on his behalf. Those named were his chancellor, John Bottlesham (later bishop of Rochester); John de Suthwell, rector of St Wilfrid, York (who was a notable figure in York's diocesan administration throughout the later fourteenth century); John Karlell, whose suggestive surname is reinforced by his position as vicar of Torpenhow within Carlisle diocese; and William de Stirkland, who is given no official qualification in the commission. Nevertheless, he was to be a significant figure within the diocese. He was apparently chosen as bishop in succession to Appleby, but on this occasion his election was quashed by the Pope in favour of the translation of Robert Reade from the bishopric of Lismore. Stirkland did, however, eventually become bishop of Carlisle, succeeding the translated supporter of Richard II, Thomas Merks, in 1400. Bottlesham, Suthwell, Karlell, and Stirkland were appointed jointly and singularly as Archbishop Arundel's vicegerents in the diocese of Carlisle.⁷ In fact, if this vacancy register is an accurate guide, most of the work was undertaken by Suthwell: it is he who is named as granting the probates, holding the visitation of the prior and convent of Carlisle, and collecting the subsidy voted by the diocesan clergy in lieu of visitation procurations.

Although this is the fullest record of a vacancy government, it is clearly not a complete statement of proceedings. Admittedly, any assessment of how full it 'ought' to be is fraught with dangers, but nevertheless there are obvious omissions. It seems likely that there were other registers which dealt with other material, and the surviving quire records the activities of only one of the officials, emphasising the role of John de Suthwell. It is quite possible that (as in other Carlisle vacancies) an independent registrar was formally appointed; while although the extant record gives information about some receipts, there are other sources of revenue which are not covered in it, and perhaps ought to be. The absence of any record of basic administrative actions like institutions to benefices over a period of four months looks distinctly odd, as does the lack of any reference to ordinations when two of the four canonical ordination dates fell within the period. Admittedly, these omissions can be argued around: in 1507-08 the record of another vacancy shows the dean and chapter of York receiving a presentation to a benefice and instituting accordingly, so perhaps such actions would not necessarily be channelled through the vacancy bureaucracy established at Carlisle.⁸ Equally, the absence of ordinations may not be surprising, although the way in which they are entered in the surviving fourteenth century episcopal registers suggests that they were held regularly within the diocese. However, as Carlisle rarely enjoyed the services of a suffragan bishop, it may be that all ordinands during these vacancy months were required to await the arrival of their new diocesan, or received letters dimissory to take orders elsewhere (in some fifteenth century cases, even when the see was full, that course was adopted during the absence of a bishop when there was no suffragan available).⁹

The basic administrative *acta* entered in the register of 1395-96 are, therefore, few: probates of three wills (two of them giving details of bequests), and one licence for non-residence. At the heart of the record lies the process of the vacancy visitation, with the investigation of the prior and convent of the cathedral receiving particular attention. Nevertheless, despite its prominence, this appears to have been a fairly perfunctory process; at least as recorded here. The main interest of the documents lies in the list of

monks, with fifteen being named in addition to the prior and sub-prior. From their surnames all appear to have been relatively local men, their names being generally toponyms from places close to Carlisle itself.¹⁰ The fact of the visitation of the four rural deaneries is also noted, a process completed within little more than a week. The preliminary monition issued to the dean of Cumberland indicates the type of offence which was to be dealt with, but in the end no details are given of precisely what was discovered, or the official reaction.¹¹ The only parochial visitation recorded in any depth is that of St Cuthbert, Carlisle, which was appropriated to the cathedral. This appears divorced from the other decanal visitations, possibly reflecting some sort of peculiar jurisdiction exercised by Carlisle priory over the parish. The precise recording in the register of wills from the city of Carlisle, and the note that they were accounted for separately among the visitation receipts, also suggest some separation of jurisdictions.¹² Despite being separately noted, the visitation of St Cuthbert is relatively uninformative, offering nothing more than a list of the clerics (including the parish clerk), with no statement of presentments, or comment on the state of the church or parish.

It is with the visitation of the deaneries, however, that the record rather comes into its own, for it provides information on the revenues generated by that process, even if fairly skeletal. Most of the money derived from visitation corrections, although none of the crimes is precisely specified. Although procurations would have been due from the parishes which were visited, none are entered here: the clergy in a diocesan assembly had voted the archbishop a subsidy of £40 in lieu of procurations (but equal to the sum considered due from them in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535), which was paid over at Palm Sunday.¹³ The only deanery which gives anything like a breakdown of the receipts during the visitation is Allerdale, but even this is only by category. The figures provided are nevertheless useful, offering material for comparison with figures provided in other accounts (other than for the 'visitation perquisites', presumably the fines for the correction business itself). One will is recorded, at 2s., and a likely maximum of 2s. a time is probably to be deduced from other references in this account and other deanery accounts.¹⁴ As already noted, the separate reference to wills in Carlisle city perhaps reflects a peculiar jurisdiction, and it may be significant that the two wills fully abstracted in the register are those of Carlisle inhabitants.¹⁵ Quite possibly there were other wills (such as those of clerics) which attracted fees above 2s., and were proved elsewhere in more directly episcopal courts – the later bishopric accounts record such probate income among the receipts of the registrar.¹⁶

In the other Allerdale material, the sum entered for non-residence licences reflects an uncertain number of grants. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the general rate appears to have been 6s. 8d, p.a.; but earlier statements (such as that from 1402-03) give sums up to 40s. a year.¹⁷ The questorial letters – the granting of permission to representatives of major charitable institutions to collect within the diocese and sell indulgences – probably reflect charges of around 6s. 8d, p.a., again to judge from similar grants in other Carlisle accounts.¹⁸ However, the total given from Allerdale is an odd sum, so possibly only a portion of a year is accounted for. Just which institutions received these permits is not stated, but other accounts indicate that most of the major national indulgence-selling bodies were collecting within the diocese throughout the period: the London hospitals of St Mary of Bethlehem (Bedlam), St Mary of Roncesvalles at Charing Cross, St Thomas of Acon, and St Anthony, as well as more regionally-focussed concerns

such as the fabric fund of Beverley Minster, or the house of St Robert at Knaresborough. Indulgences were probably being sold for other purposes as well, but it appears that only the major institutions from outside a diocese were charged fees – local collections for bridges, the relief of prisoners, and the assistance of the indigent seemingly produced no profits for the episcopal purse.¹⁹ Finally, the sums entered under Allerdale for ‘releases of religious’ are the most obscure, paralleling a similar heading for the deanery of Westmorland. It seems likely that these refer to the fines imposed for non-attendance at the deanery visitation, either on summoned incumbents or on religious corporations which had failed to send a representative to answer for their appropriated benefices within the deanery. Such fines certainly appear among *mulcta* in one later registrar’s account; but it is possible that the money was collected for other reasons.²⁰

The receipts of the visitation counted as one form of windfall which fell due to the provincial authorities. However, beyond this the archbishops (or dean and chapter) of York were also entitled to receive all the other episcopal spiritual revenues during the vacancy. (The temporality receipts, of course, fell to the Crown.)²¹ Of the various sources of spirituality income which the bishops of Carlisle received, however, only one appears in this register: the receipts from the deaneries. Before considering these in any detail, it is worth noting the types of income which this account apparently makes no claims to deal with. As already noted, it is quite likely that there were separate accounts for administrative activity maintained by the registrar for various licences (some already encountered in the visitation accounts) which brought their own specific fees; and probably for other lesser spiritual income, such as the revenues of vacant benefices, and mortuaries from deceased incumbents.²² The registrar when the see was full also seems to have accounted for the proceeds of the central diocesan courts; presumably something similar applied with the vacancy administration, as court receipts other than visitation material are noticeably lacking in 1395-96.²³

The principal absence among these accounts is of any mention of income from the several benefices which were appropriated to the see of Carlisle. In part this is doubtless due to the fact that several of them were actually located outside the bounds of the diocese, thereby creating their own administrative inconveniences – Melbourne in Derbyshire, Horncastle in Lincolnshire, and revenues from Newburn, Warkworth and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne in Northumberland.²⁴ Certainly, in another vacancy, officials were independently appointed to collect the receipts from the Northumberland benefices.²⁵ Nevertheless, some receipts might have been expected to be noted from the benefices located within Carlisle diocese, of Dalston, Penrith, and Newton, and the scatter of tithes collected from other parishes. Two possibilities occur; not necessarily mutually exclusive. First, and obviously, this source of income could have been placed under the supervision of other officials, responsible explicitly for such collections within the diocese. A second possibility is that no money actually fell due during the time of the vacancy. The main receipts from an appropriated benefice would be provided by the great tithes – as is demonstrated in the other episcopal accounts for these parishes – with the oblations and small tithes going to the vicar (the bishop might also have received the live mortuaries). Clearly, considering the months covered by the vacancy, there would be no harvest tithes to collect. Possibly, if the tithes were farmed out, rents should have been due at some stage (at least one quarter day would have fallen during the

period), but much here would have depended on the arrangements for payment specified in individual leases.²⁶

Similarly missing from the spirituality receipts is any mention of pensions due to the episcopal coffers from churches within the diocese, payable in compensation for the rights which might have been due during a vacancy but which were lost at a benefice's appropriation to a perpetual institution. Here the explanation for the absence is straightforward: the vacancy occurred at the wrong time. The several pensions due to the bishop of Carlisle were payable at Easter, Michaelmas, Pentecost, and Martinmas, none of which fell during the vacancy.²⁷ (The payments from the rural deans are ostensibly for the period from Christmas to Easter, but this seems to build in a certain amount of leeway, as will be argued below.)

The normal spirituality receipts which are entered in the record of the 1395-96 vacancy, those of the rural deaneries, merit some comment. Although the system of ruridecanal administration generally seems to have been in decline in late medieval England, and apparently became completely moribund in the sixteenth century, the diocese of Carlisle perhaps contradicts the general picture. Although the deans' jurisdictional competence may have been limited (for it appears that the rural chapters were held under the presidency of the archdeacon's official), nevertheless the decanal system seems to have been remarkably lively. The deans in fact render accounts in many of the surviving statements of episcopal revenues through to the early sixteenth century.²⁸ The archbishop of York would have been entitled to receive the fruits of the deaneries only during the time of the vacancy, hence the accounts cover only a portion of the year; but the fact that the accounts were rendered is significant. The two categories of receipt which appear provide headings in all the deanery accounts: the perquisites which reflect jurisdictional fines for minor offences, and probates of wills (with the deanery of Carlisle presumably here excluding the receipts from probates within the city). One source of revenue is markedly absent from these decanal statements, of particular importance insofar as they are declared to cover the period from Christmas to Easter. There is no mention of synodals, the half-yearly payment levied from incumbents throughout the diocese, and due at Easter and Michaelmas. As the Easter payment is not recorded this rather proves that the vacancy had ended by that date. Robert Reade, the bishop whose appointment terminated the vacancy, received his temporalities on 30 March,²⁹ so may just have received his spiritualities before the synodals fell due. The sum payable would have amounted to £4 17s., not immense, but nevertheless a worthwhile addition to the totals recorded in the register.³⁰

There is one further feature of the decanal accounts which needs to be pointed out. Presumably the provincial authorities were concerned only with the sums directly due to them, and therefore passed over in silence the fact that the sums proffered by the deans in all probability are not a statement of the full amount they collected in the course of their duties. In the full-scale episcopal accounts, it is clearly stated that the receipts from corrections within the deaneries were divided, with the bishop receiving two-thirds, and the archdeacon of Carlisle the remaining third.³¹ That one of the figures entered (12s. 5½d. for chapter perquisites in Cumberland) cannot be divided into two may argue against that arrangement operating in this instance, but that seems unlikely. As these particular decanal accounts are not concerned with the visitation receipts, I

assume that they have not built in any reflection of an inhibition of archidiaconal authority which would probably then have applied.

Beyond this, the vacancy record requires little comment. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that in the declaration of accounts it is only a statement of receipts: its incompletenesses extend not merely to the omission of several major categories of revenue, but also to the lack of any reference to expenditure incurred by the ordinary bureaucracy, as well as the extraordinary administration of a visitation. Details from other dioceses make it clear that expenses could make fairly substantial inroads into the value of spirituality revenues. The vacancy administrators would themselves have to be paid, and the tidying up which would be necessary on the termination of the vacancy might prove troublesome, with the central authorities at York inspecting and enquiring into what had been done on their behalf.³²

Despite its incompletenesses, and its failings, this brief record of administration in the vacant diocese of Carlisle between December 1395 and the end of March 1396 nevertheless is significant. It provides useful evidence of the integration of Carlisle within the province of York; and also of the financial benefits of spiritual jurisdiction both to the provincial authorities, and to the diocesan. Carlisle may have been a small diocese, and not especially rich in itself (although the extra-diocesan appropriated rectories to some extent made up for that), but it was decidedly a suffragan of York. Thomas Arundel was never one to allow rights to pass unused if the opportunity arose for their exercise, and this Carlisle vacancy provided just such an opportunity. Moreover, vacancy administration could provide a useful windfall to archiepiscopal coffers, and here clearly did. Even if the sum received was not exactly spectacular, from the sources here recorded it nevertheless amounted to a healthy £64 15s. 1d. (perhaps more was actually received, bearing in mind the potential for other unrecorded income). The record of the vacancy provides a glimpse into the administration of the diocese, a snapshot similar to those offered by the later series of episcopal accounts, and thereby serves to raise the curtain of obscurity which surrounds one of the least considered of the bishoprics of the medieval English church.

Appendix

York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Reg. 14, ff. 77r-81v. (Conjectural readings and editorial additions are enclosed in []. Dates falling between 1 January and 24 March are given as, e.g., 1 January 1395/96, to allow for the conversion from old to new style dating).

[f.77r] REGISTER OF THE REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST AND LORD, LORD THOMAS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, PRIMATE OF ENGLAND, AND LEGATE OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE, WITHIN THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE (THE SEE BEING VACANT) OF ALL AND SINGULAR PERTAINING TO THE CHANCERY OF THE SAID SEE DURING THE TIME OF VACANCY, COMPOSED AND MADE UP IN THIS MANNER BY MASTER JOHN SUTHWELL, VICAR GENERAL AND OFFICIAL OF THE SAID REVEREND FATHER IN THE AFORESAID DIOCESE (THE SEE BEING THUS, AS AFORESAID, VACANT), BY VIRTUE OF A CERTAIN COMMISSION OF THE SAID REVEREND FATHER, OF WHICH THE TENOR IS SET OUT LOWER DOWN.

1. [f.77r-v] Will of Richard de Cardewe, mercer, of Carlisle. Wednesday, the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary [8 December], 1395. Leaves soul to God, St Mary, and All Saints, requesting burial in the cemetery of St Mary, Carlisle, his parish church. Leaves to that church a horse with a saddle and bridle as mortuary, with his best cloth likewise. For lights around his corpse, 5 waxes each of 21b. with 3 new torches and 1 old torch now in his chamber, to be distributed to certain altars in the parish church by his executors. To be distributed for his soul 3 cows and 2 skeys of wheatmeal. 12d to each secular chaplain attending his exequies in his surplice. 24 marks to a secular chaplain to celebrate for his soul and for [Agnes]³³ his wife and all his kin and benefactors for 3 years, or to 3 secular chaplains [for one year]³⁴ in the said parish church or in the church of St Alban, by decision of his executors. To friars of Penrith, 13s. 4d. To friars preachers of Carlisle, 13s. 4d. To friars minor of Carlisle, 13s. 4d. To mend the bell of St Alban, Carlisle, and to make half of a window there with glass, 20s. To the fabric of Carlisle cathedral, 6s. 8d. To John his son, 10 marks. All utensils in the house to Agnes his wife. All unbequeathed residue of the estate to his executors, to distribute for his soul and that of Agnes his wife, as seems best to them. Executors: Thomas Boget and Thomas de Grisdall, chaplains; Agnes his wife; Thomas de Cardewe his brother; William Dawyson his servant. Sealed by his own hand in the presence of Robert Mich[ael]son³⁵ his servant; Robert del More, clerk; Robert Tyngate; Christiana his servant; and others. To Agnes his wife, for life, two tenements in *Richardgate* and *Fyschergate*, Carlisle, with remainder to Joan the daughter of Alice Childe and her legitimate bodily heirs, or if she dies without heirs to John son of Thomas de Cardewe of Penrith and his legitimate bodily heirs, or if he dies without heirs they are to be sold by the surviving executors and the sum distributed for his soul and that of his wife. To Thomas de Grysdall, parish chaplain, to pray for him, 13s. 4d.
2. [f.77v] Probate of the above will, before John Suthwell, William de Stirkland, and John Karlele as vicars general for the archbishop of York, sede vacante. Administration was granted to the executors. Chapel of Rose Manor, 1 January 1395/96.
3. Summary of the will of Thomas Wyly, dated 20 September 1395 [Millesimo CCC^{mo} lxxxix^ov^{to}]. Leaves his soul to God, St Mary, and All Saints, requesting burial in the cemetery of St Mary, Carlisle. Leaves his best vestment as mortuary. 41b of wax to burn about his body at burial. To parish chaplain, 12d. To 4 other chaplains and the parish clerk, coming to his exequies, 2s. 6d. divided equally. To the fabric of St Mary a brass pot containing 2 gallons. To St Mary's light, 12d. To the fabric of St Alban's chapel, 12d. Residue not specifically bequeathed,

- after funeral debts paid, to John de Nesse and Avota his wife, with the former as executor. Witnesses: Adam del More, John Mercer.
4. Memorandum of probate of the above will, before M. John Suth[well] as vicar general, with a commission to the executor. Cathedral of St Mary, Carlisle, 4 January 1395-96.
 5. Memorandum of a licence for non-residence granted by M. John Suthwell to Richard de Langoby, rector of Hutton in the Forest, broken by age and infirmity, to go to a suitable place for half a year. Carlisle, 12 January 1395-96.
 6. Memorandum of the probate of the nuncupative will of Elena, wife of John Bell of the parish of Bromfield [Brownflete], before M. John Suthwell. Administration was granted to John Bell. 12 January 1395/36.
 7. Rubric noting that the visitation of the prior and convent of Carlisle cathedral in head and members was held in the chapter house of the cathedral by M. John Suthwell on the Wednesday after St Hilary, i.e. 19 January 1395/96., by virtue of the following archiepiscopal commission.
 8. [f.78r] Commission from the archbishop of York to M. John Botelesham, inceptor in decrees, canon of Lincoln, and archbishop's chancellor; John de Suthwell, rector of St Wilfrid, York; William de Stirkland; and John Karlell, vicar of Torpenhow (diocese of Carlisle), bachelor of both laws. It recites that jurisdiction within the diocese of Carlisle had devolved to the archbishop as metropolitan following the death of Thomas [Appleby], the late bishop. They are appointed jointly and singularly as vicars general and officials, to enquire into faults and correct and punish them, to impose pains and penalties to secure canonical reformation, to receive presentations to benefices with or without cure, enquire into vacancies, and institute suitable people, to seek and receive canonical obedience and oaths of obedience from abbots, priors, archdeacons, rectors, vicars, chaplains, and other prelates, grant licences for celebration in chapels and oratories, and letters dimissory, and do all else, with power of canonical coercion. The subjects of the diocese of Carlisle, both lay and clerical, are ordered to obey them. Bishopthorpe, 8 December 1395.
 9. Memorandum of the mandate sent on 30 December 1395, warning the prior and convent to be present in their chapter house on 19 January for visitation. Robert Edenhall, prior, and Robert Clyfton, subprior, and others of the convent as detailed in the certificate appeared before M. John Suthwell, vicar general and official, sitting in tribunal, and submitted to visitation.
 10. [f.78-v] Certificate from the prior and chapter of Carlisle to William Stirkland, rector of Horncastle (diocese of Lincoln), and MM. John Suthwell and John Karlell, bachelors of laws, as vicars general for Thomas [Arundel], archbishop of York, reciting the monition sent from them (dated at Carlisle, 31 December 1395) and addressed to Robert de Edenhall, prior of St Mary's cathedral Carlisle, and the chapter, which sets out the vicar's authority to act *sede vacante*, and warns of their intention to visit the cathedral in head and members on the Wednesday after St Hilary [19 January], requiring the attendance of all to be visited (including brethren and *conversi* now absent), and inhibiting any actions prejudicial to the visitation. Their actions are to be certified, and a list provided of the monks both present and absent. Names of the monks: Robert de Clyfton, sub-prior; John Penreth; William de Dalston; Richard Bully; John Overton; John Asprygg; Hugh Kyrkeby; Thomas de Hoton; John de Crosseby; William Camerton; William Burgham; John Burgh; Thomas Porter; John Burn; Thomas Barneby; Nicholas de Byrteby. Sealed with the seal of the prior's office, 18 January 1395-96.

11. [f.78v] After the reading of the certificate, first Robert the prior, then Robert the sub-prior and John Penreth, then other monks of the convent appeared before the vicar general and officials two together, and underwent visitation, and were examined on articles regarding the state of the church and chapter, prior and convent, individual officials of the convent, and their religion, deposing scarcely anything. Then the visitation was dissolved.
12. Visitation of the church of St Cuthbert, by M. John Suthwell, 25 January 1395-36.
 - i. The prior of the cathedral, as rector of St Cuthbert, appeared in person, and showed sufficient.
 - ii. Ds. Thomas de Overende, parochial chaplain, appeared, swore obedience, and exhibited his letters of orders.
 - iii. Ds. John Colte, chaplain of St Mary in the church, appeared, swore obedience, and exhibited his letters of orders.
 - iv. William, the parish clerk, appeared and swore obedience.
13. [f.79-v] Certificate of the dean of Westmorland (not actually named in the addressing clause) to M. John Suthwell, bachelor of laws and vicar general and official, *sede vacante*, reciting a mandate from Suthwell (dated at Carlisle, 20 January 1395-96) setting out his claims to authority (with his colleagues) and declaring his intention to visit the clergy and people of the deanery. The dean was to cite all rectors, vicars, and priests of parish churches and chapels, and others of the deanery, and priests and clerks ministering in churches and chapels, religious and other ecclesiastical persons with appropriated churches or portions of tithes or pensions or holding oratories and chapels, with four or six parishioners of parish towns according to the size of the town, to appear at the date and place on the annexed schedule before Suthwell or his commissary. Rectors and vicars are to show their letters of institution and titles to their benefices, chaplains their letters of orders and their commendations if they were from another diocese; appropriators and those claiming portions, pensions, and tithes are to justify their claims; those with perpetual chantries, perpetual chapelries, or oratories, are to show the legality of the foundation and ordination of chantries and for the celebration in chapels and oratories. The laity to be summoned are to be of good repute. The dean is to certify his actions, and list the names of those holding churches, chapels, appropriated churches, pensions, portions of tithes, chantry chapels, and oratories. The mandate had been fulfilled, those cited being named on the annexed schedule. Sealed with the seal of the dean's office, Appleby, 6 February 1395-96.
 Note that the deanery of Westmorland was to be visited in the churches of St Michael and St Lawrence, Appleby, on the Tuesday and Wednesday after the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, i.e. 8-9 February 1395-36.
14. [f.79v] Memorandum of the visitation by M. John Suthwell of the deanery of Cumberland in the church of Penrith on 10-11 February, 1395-96, following reading of certification of receipt of the monition by the dean, at Penrith, 10 February 1395-96.
15. Memorandum of the issue on 22 January 1395-96, of the monition to the dean of Allerdale for the visitation of that deanery in the church of Wigton on 13-14 February 1395-96, certified by the dean in Wigton church, 13 February 1395-96.
16. [f.80r] Note of the visitation of the deanery of Carlisle in the church of St Cuthbert, Carlisle, by M. John Suthwell, on 16-17 February 1395-96, following reading of the certificate of the monition, sealed by the dean at St Cuthbert's, 16 February 1395-96.
17. Memorandum of a convocation of the clergy and prelates of the diocese of Carlisle in the chapter house of Carlisle cathedral. After discussion with the archbishop's counsel they agreed

- to pay a tenth to the archbishop on Palm Sunday next, i.e. £40, provided that the visitation occurred in four places: the city and deanery of Carlisle at Carlisle, the deanery of Allerdale at Wigton, the deanery of Cumberland at Penrith, and the deanery of Allerdale at Appleby, in the manner and form as above, at the archbishop's costs and charges. 15 January 1395-96.
18. Memorandum that on Palm Sunday [26 March 1396], M. John Suthwell accepted £40 from the proctors of the clergy for the above reasons.
19. [f.80v] *Visitation corrections, deanery of Westmorland:*
M. John Suthwell received, from *comperta* of the visitation, February 1395-96 £5 11s. 4d.
Perquisites of releases of religious and beneficed 33s. 4d.
20. *Visitation corrections, deanery of Cumberland:*
Visitation corrections £2 8s. 6d.
1 licence for non-residence granted to a beneficed 6s. 8d.
21. *Visitation corrections, deanery of Allerdale:*
Visitation perquisites 39[s.] 8d.
Will of a deceased 2s.
Non-residence licences 33s. 4d.
Releases of religious 13s. 4d.
Questorial letters 8s. 4d.
22. [f.81r] *Visitation corrections, deanery of Carlisle:*
Perquisites £5 7s. 8d.
Perquisites of wills in Carlisle city 8s. 8d.
23. *Perquisites of chapters, Westmorland:*
M. John Suthwell received from the dean of Westmorland, for perquisites of chapters from Christmas 1395 to Easter 1396 8s. 8d.
Probates of wills 10s.
24. *Perquisites of chapters, Cumberland:*
M. John Suthwell received from the dean of Cumberland, for perquisites of chapters from Christmas to Easter 12s. 5½d.
Wills, nothing
25. *Perquisites of chapters, Allerdale:*
M. John Suthwell received from the dean of Allerdale, for perquisites of chapters for the above time 15s. 4d.
Probates of wills 6s.
26. [f.81v] From dean of Carlisle for perquisites of chapters for the above period 26s. 5½d.
Probates of wills 3s. 6d.

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Notes and References

- ¹ For the relationship between Carlisle and York, R. Brentano, *York metropolitan jurisdiction and papal judges delegate (1279-1296)*, University of California publications in history, 58 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959), 85-93; on the medieval Carlisle episcopal registers, and references to the *sede vacante* administration of Carlisle among the York records, D. M. Smith, *Guide to bishops' registers of England and Wales, a survey from the middle ages to the abolition of episcopacy in 1646* (London, 1981), 254-7 (the reference to the register of archbishop William Wickwane for the vacancy of 1278-80 should be corrected to nos. 536-43; the few entries for the vacancy of 1400 are now calendared in R. N. Swanson, *A calendar of the register of Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, 1398-1405, part 2*, Borthwick texts and calendars: records of the northern province, 11 [York, 1985], 36); I. J. Churchill, *Canterbury administration* (2 vols., London, 1933), i, 161-240, 288-347, ii, 41-118, 141-57, 254-72.
- ² Extant episcopal accounts for Carlisle are in Carlisle: Cumbria County Record Office (hereafter, C.R.O.), DRC/2/7-25 (for discussion, C. R. Davey, 'Early diocesan accounts at Carlisle', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 [1965-69], 424-5; see also the comment on them in *VCH, Cumberland*, ii [London, 1905], 44). For reference in these to receipt of revenues by the archbishop of York *sede vacante*, C.R.O., DRC/2/12.
- ³ For references, see note 1.
- ⁴ Especially important in this regard are the entries in York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (hereafter BIHR), Reg. 5A, ff. 608r-v. These include a commission to receive revenues and hear accounts, and refer to a register of vacancy acts maintained in Carlisle by a clerk acting as a deputy for the chapter's own registrar. Reg. 20, f.357v (for 1462) similarly appoints a receiver and registrar.
- ⁵ BIHR, Reg. 14, ff.78r-81v, calendared in the appendix.
- ⁶ E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy, *Handbook of British Chronology* (3rd. ed., London, 1986), 235.
- ⁷ Appendix, no. 8. For the careers of Bottlesham, Karlell, and Stirkland see A. B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to 1500* (3 vols., Oxford, 1957-9), iii, 1806; A. B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), 76, 334 (Karlell also acted in the vacancy of 1400: Swanson, *Reg. Scrope, part 2*, 36). Although Suthwell was a graduate, he does not appear in Emden's compilations.
- ⁸ BIHR, Reg. 5A, ff.606v-607r. The vicars general in 1395-96 were given authority to deal with institutions (see appendix, no. 8); see also the commission of 1400 in Swanson, *Reg. Scrope, part 2*, no. 867.
- ⁹ Apart from the ordination of an individual subdeacon in September 1388, the last recorded Carlisle ordinations in the extant episcopal registers occurred at Pentecost, 1382 (C.R.O., DRC/1/2. 282-3: R. Rose, "Priests and people in the fourteenth century diocese of Carlisle", *Studies in Church History*, 16 [1979], 207-18, consistently dates the last ordination to 1383). For later reference to the absence of a suffragan and the free granting of letters dimissory, C.R.O., DRC/2/11 (cited in *VCH, Cumberland*, ii, 40).
- ¹⁰ Appendix, nos. 9-11. On the personnel of Carlisle, R. B. Dobson, "Cathedral chapters and cathedral cities: York, Durham, and Carlisle in the fifteenth century", *Northern History*, 19 (1983), 24-5.
- ¹¹ Appendix, nos. 13-16.
- ¹² The statement of *VCH, Cumberland*, ii, 123, suggesting a separate 'deanery of the cathedral church' on a par with the rural deaneries is misleading. The survey of the diocese made in 1563 does identify a deanery of the cathedral alongside the rural deaneries (London, British Library, MS Harley 594, f.85r), but the statement seems to reflect confusion caused by identity of titles rather than of jurisdictional competence in a defined area. The dean of Carlisle cathedral could not normally be considered of the same standing as a rural dean. In the survey of 1563, the parish of St Cuthbert, Carlisle, is in fact located within the rural deanery of Carlisle (*ibid.*, f.85v).
- ¹³ Appendix, nos. 17-18; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter (6 vols., London, 1810-34), v, 273.
- ¹⁴ For other decanal accounts C.R.O., DRC/2/7, 8, 16, 18, 19, 20; see also summaries of deanery receipts in registrars' accounts in C.R.O., DRC/2/11-13. For other use of these accounts, *VCH, Cumberland*, ii, 122-3. I hope to give this material more detailed consideration in the not-too-distant future.
- ¹⁵ Appendix, nos. 1, 3, 21.
- ¹⁶ C.R.O., DRC/2/7, 11-13; see also the reference to the absence of larger wills in registrar's accounts, C.R.O., DRC/2/16. 18.
- ¹⁷ C.R.O., DRC/2/7, 8, 12, 16, 18-20, 23.
- ¹⁸ C.R.O., DRC/2/10 seems to settle at 6s. 8d, p.a., but in DRC/2/12 the sums charged range from 3s. 4d. to

- 8s. In DRC/2/11 are entered sums for incomplete parts of a year during a vacancy, with further fees being charged when the see was filled in due course.
- ¹⁹ On indulgences M. Rubin, *Charity and community in medieval Cambridge*, Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought, 4th ser., 4 (Cambridge, 1987), 264-9. I have not come across any reference to fees for such small indulgences in any of the episcopal accounts which I have consulted. C.R.O., DRC/2/11 contains an explicit statement that some had been granted freely.
- ²⁰ C.R.O., DRC/2/23. Elsewhere in the Carlisle accounts, *mulcta* are levied for failure to attend diocesan synods (DRC/2/7, 12), and in the decanal accounts for failure to attend chapters (e.g. DRC/2/20-1). The registrars' accounts include a heading for *dimissorie* for abbots and priors, e.g. DRC/2/18, 23 (especially full).
- ²¹ On 26 March 1396, before recognition of his translation to Carlisle, Robert Reade received from the Crown a grant of the income from the temporalities back-dated to the death of Thomas Appleby: *Calendar of the patent rolls, Richard II, vol. V, A.D. 1391-1396* (London, 1905), 687.
- ²² For receipt of such mortuaries C.R.O., DRC/2/18, 23 (this last also in J. E. Prescott, "The officers of the diocese of Carlisle", CW2, xi, 101).
- ²³ C.R.O., DRC/2/12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20.
- ²⁴ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 273.
- ²⁵ BIHR, Reg. 20, f.357v.
- ²⁶ For the benefices within the diocese appropriated to the bishop, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 273. Details of receipts from them appear regularly in the episcopal accounts, C.R.O., DRC/2/9, 10, 13-17, 24. For receipt of mortuaries, DRC/2/17. See also R. M. T. Hill, *The register of William Melton, archbishop of York, 1317-1340*, Canterbury and York Society, 70 (1977), no. 254.
- ²⁷ R. A. R. Hartridge, *A history of vicarages in the middle ages* (Cambridge, 1930), 128; for the total amount from pensions due to the bishop of Carlisle, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 273; details of payment dates occur in e.g. C.R.O., DRC/2/10.
- ²⁸ For discussion of the medieval Carlisle rural deaneries, *VCH, Cumberland*, ii, 121-3. On rural deans in general, R. N. Swanson, *Church and society in late medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), 2, 4, 25; R. W. Dunning, "Rural deans in England in the fifteenth century", *Bulletin of the institute of historical research*, 40 (1967), 207-13; A. H. Thompson, "Diocesan organization in the middle ages: archdeacons and rural deans", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 29 (1943), 178-94. For decanal accounts, above, n.14.
- ²⁹ For Reade's accession, Fryde et al., *Handbook of British chronology*, 235.
- ³⁰ For the total due from synodals, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 235.
- ³¹ For the division, *VCH, Cumberland*, ii, 119, reflected in the deanery accounts (above, n. 14). The relevant wording from the account of 1468-69 is quoted by Prescott, "Officers of Carlisle", 100-1.
- ³² On expenses, R. N. Swanson, "Episcopal income from spiritualities in later medieval England: the evidence from the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield", *Midland history*, 14 (1988), 11-12; R. N. Swanson, "Episcopal income from spiritualities in the diocese of Exeter in the early sixteenth century", *Journal of ecclesiastical history*, 39 (1988), 529. See also the details of visitatorial and other expenses from the 1380's for the diocese of Exeter in F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, *The register of Thomas de Brantyngham, bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1370-1394)* (2 vols., Exeter, 1901-6), i, 214-19.
- ³³ Conjectural: the MS is faded and stained, and illegible under ultra-violet. However, as the reading is "et . . . uxoris mee", the insertion of his wife's name is the only logical possibility.
- ³⁴ Conjectural: the MS is faded and stained, and illegible under ultra-violet. Given the mathematics of the finances, this seems the only possible construction.
- ³⁵ MS: Mich'son.