

ART. VI – *The hospital of St Nicholas, Carlisle and its masters; Part 2 – The period from 1333*

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IN Part 1 of this paper<sup>1</sup> I examined the period from the institution of the hospital to the eve of the appointment of Thomas de Goldyngton as new master in 1333. It is clear that Goldyngton did spend some time at Carlisle and there can be little doubt that he found life in Carlisle and its environs generally at a low ebb.<sup>2</sup> The hospital in particular was in a parlous state, having been destroyed by the Scots on a number of occasions and having been systematically plundered by a succession of corrupt or neglectful masters. Although it was initially established as a leper hospital<sup>3</sup> it had, by Goldyngton's time, become essentially a hospice for corrodians. Patrons frequently rewarded servants by paying for their residence in hospitals – Crown servants were regularly accommodated – but it was a system open to abuse.

On 5 January 1333 Master Thomas de Goldyngton was granted the custody of the hospital of St Nicholas for life and notice of that appointment was served upon the inmates.<sup>4</sup>

Goldyngton,<sup>5</sup> was a king's clerk and a royal surgeon and, in view of his many royal preferments and survival of criticism, it may safely be assumed that he had served the king well on the battlefields of France and/or Scotland. Battlefields were excellent training grounds for surgeons and they, not inconsequentially, provided an ideal opportunity to attract the attention of those with influence.<sup>6</sup>

The first "reward", for Goldyngton, of which I can find reference is the grant by the king of the mastership of the hospital of St Leonard, Derby on 15 April 1328.<sup>7</sup> This hospital, like Carlisle, had been suffering from abuse and decay as a result of misgovernance<sup>8</sup> and although a useful appointment, it cannot have been particularly rich. I am satisfied that he was not the same Thomas de Goldyngton, king's clerk, who was provided to the canonry and prebend of Norton in the diocese of Durham in May the same year, notwithstanding that he was already rector of Musgrave.<sup>9</sup> By the 21 July 1328 licence was issued for the prior of Bridesdale Park to demise the messuage and land which he held for the king in Horsely and Hareston, co. Derby, to Goldyngton, king's clerk and surgeon, his heirs and assigns for forty years at the same annual rent.<sup>10</sup> On 7 September, together with a William de Notyngham, a Master Thomas de Goldyngton, burgess of Derby, was granted the pontage of the bridges of the town for three years<sup>11</sup> and, although I cannot positively identify this as our subject, his subsequent activities point us in that direction given the fact that in March the following year that grant was withdrawn as both men had "shewn themselves untrustworthy".<sup>12</sup>

On 24 July 1329 the king granted Goldyngton the mastership of another hospital, St Thomas the Martyr, Bolton-on-the-Moor, near Alnwick<sup>13</sup> but on 23 September this grant was revoked on the grounds that the gift was not in the hands of the king and, in any case it was not void as the master, William de Quayham, was alive and still in post.<sup>14</sup> The extent of plurality and non-residence amongst wardens was such that this state of affairs was not uncommon – it must have been very difficult to keep

accurate records of vacancies. Goldyngton appears to have pressed his claim as a further grant was made in similar terms on 22 November.<sup>15</sup> The dispute rumbled on and was finally resolved on 18 July 1331 when the grant was revoked<sup>16</sup> and custody retained by Quykham, who then demitted it to Thomas de Baumburgh.<sup>17</sup>

While this dispute was being heard, Goldyngton was embroiled in further problems in Derby. In 1330 he was summoned by William Tappe of Derby for refusing to admit him to food and lodging in the hospital, as ordered by the king's letters patent.<sup>18</sup> The grant, in June and July 1331, of inspections and confirmations of letters patent relating to the liberties of that house indicate continuing litigation.<sup>19</sup> Indeed Goldyngton was to be involved in constant dispute and under investigation during the whole of his tenure of this house amidst allegations of fraud and bad management but despite a number of commissions and inquisitions no charge appears to have been proved and no direct action appears to have been taken against him.<sup>20</sup>

The grant, on 5 January 1333, of St Nicholas, Carlisle, by the king<sup>21</sup>, may have provided some consolation for the loss of Bolton: certainly Carlisle had been more richly endowed than Bolton but, in view of previous mis-management and the difficult conditions prevalent in Carlisle and its environs, it was hardly financially secure. A mandate, undated but thought to be *c.* 1334, from the bishop, indicated that the master and brethren had complained that "many men have occupied and concealed" their "lands, rents, possessions and other goods for a long time during the wars". The bishop claimed that these were alms given by his predecessors for the support of the hospital and ordered that they should be returned "under pain of excommunication".<sup>22</sup> Apart from the maintenance of life at the hospital itself, money had to be found for property in Carlisle rented by the master – in 1334-5, the Exchequer Accounts record the payment of 7d. per annum for the rent of one house and garden, formerly Robert Cutte's, in Rickergate.<sup>23</sup>

By 1335 there were obviously calls upon the bishop to inquire into the state of the hospital but Goldyngton resisted and on 29 March that year the king issued a writ forbidding visitations other than by his chancellors or deputies as it was a royal foundation.<sup>24</sup> But by 3 November even the king was satisfied that the reports of decay and misrule warranted investigation and he commissioned the Prior of Carlisle, together with Thomas de Eyncourt, vicar of Plumbland, Robert de Barton and Robert de Eaglesfield, vicar of Brough under Stainmore, to make a visitation.<sup>25</sup> The resulting inquisition was held later in that month and reported that "the rules of the hospital were not observed as they used to be for thirty-six years past and more until the arrival of the present warden, because the hospital was burnt and totally destroyed first by the war of the earl of Boghan [Buchan], and afterwards several times by the Scots enemies, so that the rules could not nor yet can be kept"; and that a number of the previous wardens had sold corrodies and demised land. They further reported that Goldyngton had neither alienated anything nor charged the house, that he had recovered "the rent of Blamire, to wit 4s. and the rent of Wederhale, to wit 5s.", which had been long in arrears and that "on his arrival he bought at his own cost oxen, horses, carts, ploughs, and seed to cultivate the land. The chantry in the chapel of St Nicholas has been continuously observed. The master has built two houses within the hospital, and resides there so far as he can; the hospital has in no way deteriorated in his time but is much improved by him".<sup>26</sup>

On 3 October 1336 an order was issued to the collectors of tenths and fifteenths to supersede the taxing and levying of those taxes in respect of the goods of the hospital as the endowments and alms available for the support of the brethren and the poor hardly survived for their maintenance.<sup>27</sup> A similar order had been issued in January 1333 in respect of St Leonard's, Derby.

The relief that such an exemption would bring about was soon ended as further attacks by the Scots in 1336 and October 1337 burnt and destroyed the hospital yet again.<sup>28</sup> During the confusion caused by the raids, hospital property was stolen by, or with the assistance of local inhabitants. At a court hearing on 12 September 1338, two defendants (father and son) with the same name, William Pebbles (probably a corruption of Peebles), stole two oxen and a cow from the hospital on the Wednesday after the feast of St Matthew 1336 and were "received" at a house in Bochergate – perhaps suggesting collusion between raiders and locals<sup>29</sup>. It would appear that after these latest attacks the regeneration of the hospital was slow to commence, although there is a suggestion that the chapel was rebuilt in 1336.<sup>30</sup>

On 23 April 1337, to add to Goldyngton's problems, the long standing dispute regarding rents from the suburbs of Carlisle, first raised in 1320<sup>31</sup>, was aired again and Goldyngton was distrained for the sum of "£140 9s. 4d. by summons of our exchequer, to his no small despite and injury, for which he has begged us for remedy". But the king issued instructions to clear the amount outstanding, wishing "to help the Master and others in this cause".<sup>32</sup> The king also "by special grace" again stayed the hospital contributions to the "tenths and fifteenths" taxes on the grounds that the house was so "impoverished in property and privileges that the goods of the same hospital could hardly suffice for the sustenance of the Master and brothers of the hospital and of the poor and infirm flocking to it, and for the giving of alms there according to the ordinances . . . , and that the grounds of that hospital are now totally burnt and destroyed by our enemies of Scotland".<sup>33</sup>

On 26 June 1340 a petition was delivered to William de Kilsby, keeper of the Privy Seal, on behalf of the brothers of the hospital, alleging that Goldyngton "has so impoverished and destroyed the house that they cannot have their sustenance until death as they should have", and requesting "that you will help Thomas de Acton, my poor cousin, bearer of these, so that he can have a royal writ under the Privy Seal to the Chancery [ordering] that if the house be destroyed and impoverished as aforesaid, he have my said cousin appointed if it please you, or another suitable clerk, so that the said house be not destroyed or impoverished for this reason, which would be a great sin and shame were it to happen".<sup>34</sup>

The result of that plea appears to have been the ordering of a commission on 25 July 1340 comprised of the Bishop, the Prior of Carlisle, Robert Parvyng and Robert de Eaglesfield, to survey the hospital which is "reported to be greatly decayed in these days"<sup>35</sup> (a similar commission had been ordered at Derby in March of that year). The hearing was arranged for 5 September; the sheriff of Cumberland was commanded to summon a jury of twenty-four knights and others at the hospital and to warn the master, brethren and sisters to be present in order that they could be informed as to some matters affecting their house.<sup>36</sup>

On the appointed day the commissioners assembled, together with Robert de Tibay, Nicholas le Spenser, Gilbert de Kirkandres, Thomas le Sadler, Edmund de Bolton, John, son of Martin de Karliolo, Robert Grout, William son of Gilbert,

Thomas Malemayns, Henry le Taillour, John son of Thomas and John de Tybay, the jurors and Thomas Goldyngton.<sup>37</sup> Goldyngton was called upon to produce any muniments, memoranda of foundation, or rules relating to the hospital but he stated that all the documents had been burnt long before he was master, although he was able to produce details of the constitution established by Cressingham in 1292/3.<sup>38</sup> Details of the known history of the hospital were recited, including many of the misfortunes and examples of misgovernance by previous masters<sup>39</sup> and other evidence was heard. The jury found that Goldyngton had been trading in corrodies, some established by the king, that corrodians were not living at the hospital and subject to its rules, that "in his [Goldyngton's] time the goods and rents of the hospital are distributed to persons not entitled to them, and not to lepers and poor persons according to the ordinance of the foundation, and divine worship and works of piety are withdrawn". Further examination of Goldyngton revealed that the common seal was "in the custody of Stephen de Akton and Robert de Staynewigges, corrody holders, and that no brethren or sisters are dwelling or making residence there, as required by the constitutions, or have been in his time". Goldyngton was summoned to appear before the king in his chancery at Westminster at Michaelmas, was ordered to abide by the order of the council therein, and the common seal was "taken from the master and corrody holders to be delivered to the custody of the prior of Carlisle, under the seal of the said master, until the king by his council see fit to order otherwise"<sup>40</sup> – a rather different finding to the one from the 1335 inquiry. It should be noted that the sale of corrodies was common practice at this time, one master is reported to have made 500 marks yearly in that manner and at Gloucester pensions, jewel, corn and even beds were sold.<sup>41</sup>

It is interesting that on 13 January 1342, thirteen days before the findings of the inquiry were recorded at Chancery, there was an exemplification of the original grant of St Nicholas to Goldyngton.<sup>42</sup> It may well be that Goldyngton had been petitioning support in anticipation of criticism for there is an undated request to an unnamed bishop "to favour Master T. de G. master of St Nicholas in business which he will personally explain".<sup>43</sup>

Goldyngton clearly survived that "little difficulty" and continued as master but by 16 July 1342 he was having further unrelated problems. Hugh de Moriceby, Ralph de Lepyngton and Robert de Tibay were commissioned by the king to make inquiry "touching the information that Master Thomas de Goldyngton, leech (*medicus*) and John le Spicer of Carlisle passed into Scotland without the time of truce to give medical aid to some of his enemies and rebels there, contrary to their allegiance, and made stay there for some time for that cause".<sup>44</sup> But yet again he was able to extract himself, for on 3 September the same year he was granted a pardon "for his late adherence to the Scots, the king's enemies and rebels in the land of Scotland and for applying his care and diligence to the healing of William de Makeswell, one of such enemies, of an infirmity, and of any consequent outlawry".<sup>45</sup>

Following the 1341 Inquisition, supervision was obviously maintained for, on 20 April 1343, Goldyngton was forcibly reminded, "the king commands the master at his peril", that the rules of the house had to be observed, particularly with regard to residence, corrodians and the attendance to divine worship.<sup>46</sup> With the threats, however, came support, for on 8 December the same year a writ was issued to the sheriff of Cumberland, in favour of Goldyngton, to attempt to recover the thrave of

sheaves due from each carucate of land in the area, “for the maintenance of the poor and other works of piety in the hospital” because “he is newly impeded in the collection thereof by several men of the county”.<sup>47</sup>

It may be that around this time Goldyngton was the victim of a robbery, for an inquisition at Appleby on 28 January 1344 heard that a Thomas de Goldyngton had been robbed of 20 marks by a John de Brampton who had taken the money to his lodgings in Brampton and given it to his concubine Anabella de Colleby.<sup>48</sup>

In 1345 commissions were ordered in respect of St Leonard’s, Derby in June, July, September and November. At Carlisle, on 14 July the Prior of Carlisle, Peter Tilliol and Hugh de Moriceby sheriff of Cumberland were ordered to make a visitation as the hospital was reported to be greatly decayed by misrule, and “to chastize according to the ordinances and statutes such persons as they shall find guilty in the premises and to all that is necessary to reform the state of the hospital”.<sup>49</sup> The outcome is not recorded but local concern must have continued, particularly at the episcopal level for, despite the fact that there is no evidence to suggest that it happened, on 11 August 1347 a writ was issued by the king requiring an explanation for the bishop’s reported sequestration of the hospital.<sup>50</sup>

On 20 September 1348 the king issued yet another commission, again to the Prior of Carlisle, to Richard de Denton and Peter Tilliol, amidst more allegations that Goldyngton was exercising the office of surgery of the commonalty, neglecting his duties as warden, consuming the goods and alienating the lands – similar allegations to the ones which were being made in a contemporaneous inquiry at Derby.<sup>51</sup> But the Carlisle inquiry found that he “sometimes exercises the profession of surgery not to the damage of the hospital but rather to its profit, because he acquires friends for it and economises its goods, which are not sufficient for the maintenance of himself and of the resident brothers and sisters. He attends the wardenship so far as he can and expends the possessions in repairing the houses burnt in the war – there is no default in the management of the hospital except that the warden does not live there continuously and there is not the proper number of brothers and sisters”.<sup>52</sup>

But by 1349 the Black Death was sweeping through the county and St Nicholas may well have suffered in a similar manner to other such institutions, the sick and weak would be more vulnerable to the infection. Goldyngton probably perished in the plague for on 18 August 1349 Henry de Greystok, king’s clerk, was appointed to the wardenship of St Nicholas<sup>53</sup> and a new master was appointed to the wardenship of St Leonard’s, Derby five days later.<sup>54</sup>

It is difficult to deliver a character reference on Goldyngton: suspicion and allegation dogged him at Carlisle as at Derby. In fact, for the whole of his tenure of both houses he was involved in one inquisition after another – with contradicting evidence being given – and many suggestions that he was acting improperly and that his houses at Derby and Carlisle were suffering as a result of his wardenship. Certainly he cannot have exercised proper control over both house, and there is the matter of his time spent in Scotland, “and made stay there for some time for that cause” administering to the Scots army. However, apart from the 1340 inquisition at Carlisle, there is no record of him having been found guilty of impropriety and even in that instance he appears to have escaped serious punishment if any. Indeed, the September 1348 inquiry appeared to praise his efforts. There is no doubt that

hospitals, generally were at a very low ebb at this time<sup>55</sup> but, despite the fact that it was in a "war zone", it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Goldyngton's tenure did little to help to ease the misfortunes which were the continuing lot of St Nicholas. Perhaps the Scottish legal finding of "not proven" would be the most appropriate in his case. A more telling indictment lies in respect of the effectiveness of the commissions. Countless numbers of these inquiries were being held around the country during this period, dealing with the same mischiefs, hearing the same evidence of abuses but they singularly failed to halt the decline.

There are numerous references to Greystok, as a king's clerk, in a variety of roles within a chamber department which had undergone significant restructuring in 1337, and now operated under the control of John Molyns, with Nicholas Buckland acting a deputy.<sup>56</sup> Greystok's many duties included the supervision of men repairing the king's ship *le Alalghcogg*, and as auditor and surveyor.<sup>57</sup> Royal service generally brought preferments and he may be the Henry Graistoke, clerk, who as a deacon was granted letters dimissory for ordination to priest on 15 March 1340<sup>58</sup> and who was instituted to the rectory of Langtree on 15 April 1339.<sup>59</sup>

In November 1340, Molyns was removed; Buckland took his place as chief steward and a new deputy, John Cory, was appointed but by 23 February 1342, Philip Weston was appointed to replace Cory and he appears to have taken the position of chief steward from the start, with Buckland playing a subordinate role.<sup>60</sup> Greystok remained in the department and was appointed keeper of the manor of Easthampstead on 2 July 1343, an estate which was formally reserved to the chamber.<sup>61</sup> At some time before 26 January 1346, when Weston went to France with the king, he appointed Greystok as his deputy,<sup>62</sup> and on 8 November that year Greystok was presented to the church of Rouleye in the diocese of York.<sup>63</sup> In the early part of 1347, despite Weston officially still being in post, he was occupied elsewhere, and on 31 May, Greystok was appointed surveyor to the chamber [in Weston's place], "to survey all works and repairs of castles, manors, ships reserved to the king's chamber, payments of wages to ministers in attendance on the chamber, and receipts and issues of moneys arising from the lands reserved to the chambers, also all accounts and other things pertaining to the same or reserved thereto, and to control all receipts and payments made about the premises, as well as to examine and enrol letters under the seal called 'le griffoun', taking 2s. daily for his wages in the office".<sup>64</sup>

By 23 May 1349, Buckland was dead and Greystok, with his considerable experience, was clearly in an ideal position to take sole charge. Buckland's executors had not made the transfer of archives within his charge by that date and were ordered by the king to hand them over to Greystok to enable him to carry out his newly augmented duties.<sup>65</sup> Tout makes it clear that Greystok "was put in supreme control of the chamber in May 1349, because he was already pledged to the policy either of making the chamber administration of its estate thoroughly effective, or else of restraining and curtailing such activities. Within a month of the several mandates of May 1349, exchequer help for the chamber was increased by the instruction to the exchequer to levy the sums due to the king in his chamber, and to force chamber ministers to account before the auditors of the chamber, according to the information to be supplied to them by Henry Greystok. In other words the more efficient machinery of the exchequer was to be used for the chamber in the attempt

to render the continuance of a chamber estate practicable".<sup>66</sup>

On 16 February 1350 Graystok was named with others as a commissioner in an inquisition at Hedon in Holderness.<sup>67</sup> On 4 January 1351 he was operating as prosecutor at an inquisition in Berkshire<sup>68</sup> and that same year and the one following he was surveying the king's studs and horses.<sup>69</sup> On 1 April 1353 he is recorded as steward of lands reserved for the king's chamber in an inquisition re. tithes of fish from lands of the priory of Burstall.<sup>70</sup> On 12 February 1354 he was a commissioner in an inquisition at Thornton in Lonsdale to identify lands granted by Mary de Sancto Paulo, countess of Pembroke with those granted to John de Coupland<sup>71</sup> and three days later he was in Kendal to inquire into the concealment of wardships of land late of William and Robert de Coucy and Ingelram son of Ingelram de Gynes.<sup>72</sup>

But he did not spend all his time travelling the country. Most of his days were occupied at Westminster where he was able to exercise some influence on governmental affairs. In the parliament of Hilary 1352, it was ordered that the triers of petitions of England, besides enjoying the usual assistance of the chief ministers, should always have with them, in case any petitions were considered touching the king's chamber, either the receiver, Thomas Bramber, or the auditor, Henry Greystok, to give information on the king's behalf, or to the king. Similarly, in the April parliament of 1354, it was provided that Greystok was to be called in by the triers of petitions when they were considering the petitions touching lands and tenements reserved for the chamber.<sup>73</sup>

Despite his activity at the seat of government it was clear that the days of the chamber lands, as a separate entity, were numbered. Tout<sup>74</sup> says that "the death knell had been sounded in the changes which followed, in 1348-9, the death of Buckland and the retirement of Weston. As a result, Henry Greystok became the autocrat of a chamber, perhaps even then a little restricted in its scope, coexisting with the exchequer, yet subordinated to it". Greystok's appointment to this position was confirmed in a patent dated 11 May 1349, which superseded and amplified his previous appointment. He was "to survey the lands reserved to the king's chamber and dispose of these as shall be best for the king's honour and profit, as well as to audit the accounts . . . of all ministers of the chamber who have to render account". A new wage of £50 a year, to be paid "out of the money in the chamber" was assigned to him. Not only was he called steward of the lands of the chamber, but indifferently also their surveyor, auditor, administrator and disposer.<sup>75</sup>

On 20 January 1356, as a result of a royal writ, the chamber lands were absorbed into the office of the exchequer and seven days later Greystok appeared at the exchequer and surrendered his account books, memoranda and records.<sup>76</sup> But there was much work left to be done in finalising the business. Greystok was still acting as commissioner on 16 July that same year at an inquisition at Rothwell re. lands, rents etc., in the hands of the abbot of Pipewell<sup>77</sup> and he is recorded at an inquisition in York in 1359.<sup>78</sup> In appreciation of his services Greystok was appointed, on 6 October 1356, Baron of the Exchequer.<sup>79</sup>

He was still acting as baron in 1362<sup>80</sup> and was so trusted by the council that, in 1361, he had been added to a committee of the commons, appointed to audit a war subsidy account that the exchequer was forbidden to meddle with.<sup>81</sup>

As far as St Nicholas is concerned Greystok was obviously non-resident, was using the services of a proctor and can have had little time to involve himself with

the affairs of the hospital but, despite the degenerate state in which it was left by Goldyngton, life there clearly continued in some form. On 15 June 1357 a writ of aid was granted in favour of Greystok, to again attempt the collection of sheaves due from each carucate of land in the county, as the master was again being impeded in the collection by many men from the county.<sup>82</sup> On 16 July 1357 an inquisition was held to recover those lost benefits – “a thrave of sheaves of oats is due to the hospital from every plough used in Cumberland from time of beyond memory. For eight years these thraves have been withheld by Simon Arnaldson” and others. A total of 178 persons were named from parishes in Cumberland, the thraves were said to be worth 2d. each and an order was made that they be delivered in autumn to the proctor.<sup>83</sup> Whether the thraves were delivered is not recorded but the clear reluctance of persons to part with valuable commodities can be understood in the light of an order issued by the king on 20 January 1356, “in consideration of the dearness of wheat and other victuals in the city of Carlisle and other adjacent parts” that the mayor and bailiffs were to buy wheat, wine and other victuals in Ireland or where they thought fit, “as quickly as possible” and to hire ships for the purpose of transporting it to the city.<sup>84</sup>

In 1361/2 the Black Death again struck Carlisle but no details of its effect can be traced upon a hospital perilously close to extinction. On 30 October 1365 a writ was issued by the king to the barons of the Exchequer discharging Greystok, as master, from further arrears of rent amounting to 69s. 9d. for the lands in the suburbs (see above);<sup>85</sup> no doubt in sympathy for the lack of funds.

On 20 May 1368 the mastership was granted to John de Appelby, archdeacon of Carlisle<sup>86</sup> and brother of Thomas who was to become bishop of Carlisle (1363-1395).<sup>87</sup> Confusion between the two has occurred as Thomas is not infrequently referred to as John.<sup>88</sup>

They were probably of the Appleby family of Avera Holme, Carlisle, who also had land at Strickland Ketel near Kendal and, if John can be identified with John, brother of Thomas, son of Thomas, grandson of Walter, then, from the evidence of various inquisitions, he was probably born in 1322 and died c. 1384/5.<sup>89</sup>

He may be the John de Appleby who was clerk to Bishop Kirkby<sup>90</sup> and is probably the same of that name who was rector of Ormside in September 1352 but who had resigned from there by April 1362.<sup>91</sup> He is certainly the person who was collated to the mastership of the hospital of St Edmund, Bishop and Confessor, Gateshead on 20 August 1353<sup>92</sup> and on 7 April 1362 was admitted to the vicarage of Kirkoswald.<sup>93</sup>

In 1363 Thomas became bishop of Carlisle and in that year he petitioned the pope, and was granted “for himself, his brother John de Appleby and John de Horncastell, prior of Carlisle”, a plenary remission at the hour of death.<sup>94</sup> By this time John was described as Bachelor of Civil Law, was master of a second hospital of St Edmund in Gateshead – that of St Edmund, King and Martyr, and had a canonry and prebend of Norton, near Stockton-on-Tees for, again in 1363, Thomas petitioned “on behalf of his brother John de Appleby BCL for a benefice in the gift of the archbishop of York value £40 with a cure of souls or £30 without, notwithstanding that he has the church of Kirkoswald and a canonry and prebend of Norton and two hospitals of St Edmund (sic) in the diocese of Carlisle [clearly a mistake] and Durham, which hospitals he is ready to resign”. The petition was granted on condition that he resign all but Kirkoswald.<sup>95</sup>



John assisted his brother in his episcopal duties and was designated Official of Carlisle for a period before 18 May 1364 when he resigned to become Archdeacon of Carlisle, at which time he also resigned Kirkoswald.<sup>96</sup>

On 20 May 1368, whilst retaining the archdeaconry, he was granted the mastership of St Nicholas, Carlisle.<sup>97</sup> During his long tenure of the hospital he appears to have attempted to restore its fortunes for, in 1371, the problem of the missing thraves of corn which had been raised in 1358 was again at issue. Appleby complained to the bishop that "the house was cheated and defrauded of a great part of their necessary sustenance", and the bishop issued a monition to all rectors and vicars in the neighbourhood "that all unjust detainers of thraves of corn or other goods belonging to the hospital shall make full payment or restitution within the space of ten days, on pain of the greater excommunication".<sup>98</sup> Clearly there were not the resources available in the diocese to support the ailing house and it is probable that local charitable sympathies may well have been hardened by the knowledge of what had happened in the past to the hospital revenues – in 1379 Richard del Sandys bequeathed 12d. to each leper in the diocese but made no reference to the hospital, perhaps a significant omission.<sup>99</sup>

On 16 November 1372 and again on 6 April 1374 the long standing matter of arrears of rent for the land in the suburbs was tested. The hospital was alleged to be in arrears to the sum of 69s. 3d. but because of the slender resources Appleby obtained a discharge.<sup>100</sup>

Corrodians were still being accepted for on 1 December 1377 William Nelleson was sent to the hospital "to have such maintenance therein as Robert le Cue had by the king's grant".<sup>101</sup>

By 1379 Appleby had resigned as archdeacon<sup>102</sup> and he may well have resigned the hospital about the same time for his successor was appointed the following year. If he was the John de Appleby of Avera Holme then he died *c.* 1384/5.<sup>103</sup> The 1379 date for the resignation may well be supported by the dating of a commission on 1 March 1380 to the prior of Wetheral, Hugh de Westbrok, clerk, and Master Adam, parson of Bolton, to make a visitation to the hospital, "wherein exist divers defects in respect of its houses, books, vestments and other ornaments, diminution of its chaplains, alienation and waste of its lands, quarrels among its ministers";<sup>104</sup> a course of action which would not perhaps have been politic whilst the bishop's brother had still been in charge.

On 19 August 1380, William de Cottingham, king's clerk, was granted the custody of the hospital for life.<sup>105</sup> He may possibly be the clerk of that name who occurs in 1341<sup>106</sup> or the person who was presented, by the king, to the church of Wypmel in the diocese of Exeter on 4 December 1343<sup>107</sup> and to the church of Hatcliffe, in the diocese of Lincoln on 23 September 1380.<sup>108</sup>

Further preferments are recorded; on 24 November 1388, the prebend of Mathry by royal grant;<sup>109</sup> on 20 September 1390, the deanery of the collegiate church of Tamworth<sup>110</sup> and on 4 July 1391, the prebend of Ruyton in the cathedral church of Lichfield.<sup>111</sup>

In terms of his position as king's clerk, he comes to notice on 12 December 1386, named in an order given to Baldwin de Radyngton, controller of the households regarding the supervision and delivery of Genoese merchant ships, "taken lately at sea by the king's admirals", to Sandwich.<sup>112</sup> On 25 October 1392, together with

Ralph Repyngton, another king's clerk, he was controlling the custody of corn, goods and chattels of the priory of Tykford, which had been held to pay the farm for the previous year.<sup>113</sup> The last apparent mention of him is on 9 February 1393.<sup>114</sup>

His impact upon the running of the hospital appears to have been minimal. Certainly the evidence relating to his ecclesiastical and clerical responsibilities indicates that if he was ever at Carlisle he can have spent little time there. Corrodians appear to have been the mainstay at this time and, on 7 November 1380, a Katherine Spicer was nominated by the king for admission and such maintainance for life as "Dionysia Englishh deceased had at the late king's nomination".<sup>115</sup>

On the 16 April 1388, following the resignation of Cottingham, Nicholas Lodall, chaplain, was appointed as master<sup>116</sup> but he remained in office for little over a year. He is probably the Nicholas de Lodalle shown in the clergy return for the 1379 poll-tax account as paying 2s. but with no benefice specified (possibly a chaplain) in the deanery of Cumberland.<sup>117</sup> It is unlikely that this Nicholas Lodalle is the same as the Nicholas de Lodelowe, chaplain, who was presented to the vicarage of Box in the diocese of Salisbury, on 12 June 1349,<sup>118</sup> to the vicarage of Fekenham three days later,<sup>119</sup> the vicarage of Esteleye (Presteleye) in the diocese of Worcester on 4 April 1351<sup>120</sup> and the church of Sodyngton in the diocese of Worcester on 7 March 1353.<sup>121</sup>

Lodall resigned and on 11 June 1389 John Grysedale, chaplain, succeeded.<sup>122</sup> He may be the same as John de Grisdale, vicar of Scaleby, who, on 12 February 1400, exchanged his benefice with Alan de Kirkbride of Arthuret.<sup>123</sup> As with his predecessor, his tenure was short and the indications are that the decline continued. On 18 May 1393 a commission was issued to the priors of Carlisle and Lanercost, Master Adam de Bolton official of Carlisle, William Strickland parson of Horncastle, and Master John Carill clerk, "to visit, in place of Thomas, archbishop of York, chancellor of the king, to whom the visitation by right of his office belongs, but who is too busy, the hospital of St Nicholas by Carlisle, wherein by the carelessness and negligence of the master and ministers notorious defects exist, both in the buildings, books, vestment and other ornaments, and in the diminished number of chaplains, brethren and sisters, to correct and reform the same, take order for the application of the profits and emoluments to repair of the buildings and support of the master, brethren and sisters dwelling in them, remove useless officers, ministers and servants and substitute others, and punish delinquents, certifying what alienations of lands, tenements and goods bestowed on the hospital have been made and by whom, whether the number of chaplains ordained at its first foundation has been reduced, and all their proceedings herein".<sup>124</sup> I am unable to trace the result of this commission, if indeed it ever completed its investigation but Grysedale resigned shortly afterwards and John Ambell took possession on 19 June 1393.<sup>125</sup>

Ambell was chaplain to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland and, in addition to the gift of the hospital, he was granted the rectory of Tring in the diocese of Lincoln on 7 October 1399.<sup>126</sup> Even the lucrative business of maintaining corrodians appears to have been badly managed during this period. The order, issued on 7 November 1380 and apparently repeated on 13 July 1389, for Katherine Spicer, nominated by the king, to be admitted and maintained at the hospital, had again to be repeated on 3 April 1400.<sup>127</sup> Apart from reluctance, probably for financial reasons, to accept

pensioners paid for by the patron, the king, it is also interesting that Katherine had been subject of maintenance for at least twenty years – clearly corrodians, at this stage, were not totally aged and infirm.

The next step in the succession is not altogether clear. Ambell may have died in early March 1404, as on 10 March a pardon was issued to John Ambell, sometime chaplain to Henry Percy “chivaler”, deceased, for all treasons, insurrections, felonies and trespasses committed by him before 7 March last<sup>128</sup>. Certainly on 8 December 1404 William Kirkeby, chaplain<sup>129</sup>, was granted the wardenship of the hospital “void by the death of John Ambell, chaplain”.<sup>130</sup> The matter is complicated, however, by the fact that, on 30 July 1403, Robert de Louthur,<sup>131</sup> king’s clerk and rector of Skelton, was also granted the wardenship.<sup>132</sup> It may be that Louthur was granted the wardenship following the death of Ambell in 1403 but never took possession or the grant was revoked but the wording of the subsequent grant to Kirkeby specifically indicates that the post was void as a result of Ambell’s demise.

By 14 February 1404 yet another commission was issued. This time it was to Bishop Strickland, the prior of the cathedral church of St Mary, Carlisle and Thomas Barton parson of the church of Caldbeck to visit the hospital, again on behalf of the chancellor, “to whom the visitation of the hospital pertains by his office”, who was otherwise engaged. The terms of reference of the inquiry were similar to the preceeding one, to look into “divers defects in the houses and other buildings and the book, vestments and other ornaments through the negligence of the master and wardens and other ministers, the dissipation and alienation of its lands, possessions and goods and the diminution of divine services and other works of piety and to correct the defects and prove the wills of persons dying within the hospital and its precinct and commit the administration of their goods to their execution”.<sup>133</sup> As with the previous commission, it is not clear whether it did complete its task but in any event Kirkeby continued in office until 1413 when he resigned. On the 17 February that year John Kirkeby took over.<sup>134</sup>

The frequent occurrence of the name John de Kirkeby renders an accurate identification impossible. So far as the hospital is concerned, his incumbency appears to have been uneventful but a gift recorded on 22 February 1416 refers to land in and around “Hubrightly” (Upperby) and “half an acre near le Hungryhill between land of the Master of St Nicholas and land of William of Aglionby”<sup>135</sup> – an indication that, despite all the sequestration of resources, the hospital did still own some land.

In national terms the scandal of the abuse of the hospitals was expressed when, in 1414, a statute was enacted “to inquire into the state of hospitals:

For as much as many hospitals within the realm of England, founded as well by the noble kings of the realm, and lords and ladies both spiritual and temporal as by divers other estates, to the honour of God and of his glorious mother, in aid and merit of the souls of the said founders, to the which hospitals the same founders have given a great part their moveable good to the buildings of the same, and a great part of their lands and tenements, therewith to sustain impotent men and women, lazars, men out of their wits and poor women with child, and to nourish, relieve, and refresh other poor people in the same, be now for the most part decayed, and the goods and profits of the same by divers person as well spiritual as temporal withdrawn and spent in other use, whereby many men and women have died in great misery for default of aid, living and succour, to the displeasure of God, and peril the souls of such manner of disposers”.

The king ordered that the inquiry examine "the manner and foundation of the said hospitals, and of the governance and estate of the same, and of all other matters necessary and requisite in this behalf and make thereof correction and reformation, according to the laws of the holy church, as to them belongeth".<sup>136</sup>

Warden Kirkeby was dead by March 1417 and this effectively eliminates him from being identified with the person of that name who was archdeacon of Carlisle in 1415 and who was still alive in 1422.<sup>137</sup> William Hayton, king's clerk, was appointed as the next warden on March 1417, following Kirkeby's death.<sup>138</sup> He can probably be identified as the person of that name who studied at Oxford, was charged for the rent of a room in Queen's College 1421-2, and in 1428-9,<sup>139</sup> was Bachelor of Civil Law and a king's clerk. He was ordained acolyte on 27 February 1423, deacon on 20 March 1423 and priest on 3 April 1423.<sup>140</sup> He was presented to the prebend of Crowhurst and Ticehurst on 23 October 1416.<sup>141</sup> As a king's clerk he was granted letters of protection on going overseas to the king's army in France 15 July 1417<sup>142</sup> and is probably the person of that name who was secretary of the Signet office in April 1419,<sup>143</sup> and who was granted a pension from Salisbury on 25 September 1417.<sup>144</sup> He was dead by 28 September 1435.<sup>145</sup>

Hayton resigned before 13 February 1423 when his successor, John Canonby, chaplain, was appointed for life.<sup>146</sup> Emden suggests that Canonby originated from the Carlisle diocese: he certainly attended Queen's College as a "poor boy" in 1402-3, was still there in 1411-12 and was a chaplain in 1413-14. He was admitted as a fellow in 1415 and was M.A. by 1413-14.<sup>147</sup> He was ordained subdeacon to the title of St John's Hospital, Oxford on 21 September 1415<sup>148</sup> and deacon to the title of the fellowship on 14 March 1416, followed by ordination as priest to the same title on 4 April 1416. He received 40 shillings from the will of Roger Whelpdale, bishop of Carlisle, who died 4 February 1423<sup>149</sup> and who had been a Queen's fellow, treasurer and provost during Canonby's time there.<sup>150</sup>

Records of the activities at St Nicholas for this period are scant but details of a theft from Katherine Andrewson, an inmate, are rather telling – she had stolen from her, a rosary, a coffer containing seven kerchiefs, a green gown, a kirtle and four pairs of linen sheets, together worth 39s. 4d.<sup>151</sup> – belongings, which for a period of such general poverty, clearly indicate that accommodation was being provided for persons of means rather than the indigent. Either the hospital was being burdened by relatively wealthy Crown pensioners or was taking in "paying guests" – such a situation was not uncommon in a national context.<sup>152</sup>

Canonby resigned and on 22 March 1446 the king's chaplain, Master Nicholas Close, was appointed.<sup>153</sup> The *DNB* indicates that Close was a native of Westmorland but Venn<sup>154</sup> states that he was of a Flemish family. Whatever his origins he was certainly a scholar at Cambridge, becoming one of the original fellows of King's College on 12 February 1441.<sup>155</sup> He was granted the wardenship of King's on 30 November 1446,<sup>156</sup> M.A., D.Theology by 1445, Proctor of the University 1433-5, overseer of building works for the construction of King's College in its early stages – during which time his efficiency won him the regard of the King – Chancellor in July 1449.<sup>157</sup> He was admitted vicar of St John Zachary, Cambridge on 16 May 1445<sup>158</sup> but probably resigned in 1446 when he was appointed to St Nicholas. By 9 January 1448 he was archdeacon of Carlisle, warden of St Nicholas and still chaplain to the king, when he obtained a papal dispensation to hold an additional incompatible

benefice – the hospital at that time being governed by secular clerks.<sup>159</sup> As a result of this dispensation he was collated to the canonry of Wells and prebend of Wedmour IV on 16 May that year.<sup>160</sup>

On 8 June 1448 he was granted an indult for life at his own petition and that of the king, to visit his archdeaconry by deputy and receive procurations in ready money.<sup>161</sup> By 15 February 1449 he was archdeacon of Colchester, an office he vacated when he was promoted to the see of Carlisle.<sup>162</sup> By July 1449 he was one of the commissioners for proclaiming a truce with Scotland<sup>163</sup> and by 30 January 1450 it is believed that he was granted arms from Henry VI, “for the laudable services rendered by him in many diverse ways, both in the works of the building of our College Royal and in other matters”. The arms are:- Argent, on a chevron sable three passion-nails of the first; on a chief sable three roses argent. A nail, clou, was probably chosen as canting on the name Close.<sup>164</sup> He was papally provided to the bishopric of Carlisle on 30 January 1450; temporalities restored 14 March 1450<sup>165</sup> and was consecrated the next day at York House, Westminster by Archbishop Kemp of York. On 19 March he was granted an indult to choose his own confessor and an indult to have plenary remission at the hour of death.<sup>166</sup> On the same date he was further granted an indult “for life and as long as he is bishop of Carlisle, to visit his city and diocese by deputy (he being hindered so much by the service of Henry, king of England that he cannot conveniently do so in person) and to receive procurations in ready money”.<sup>167</sup> On 23 August 1450 he was granted a papal indult to have a portable altar<sup>168</sup> and by 1451 he was a Commissioner for investigating whether the conservators of the truce with Scotland had been negligent in their duty or not.<sup>169</sup> On 30 August 1452 he was translated to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield<sup>170</sup> and he died in October 1452.

Clearly Close was an absentee warden, the hospital was administered by secular clerks and its status as an independent institution was already severely eroded. Surviving documentary evidence relating to St Nicholas during this period is almost non-existent and is consistent with the prevailing hostile conditions of the time, the increased destruction in 1448/9 and the siege of Carlisle in 1461.<sup>171</sup>

Normal life was impossible and all institutions were in difficulty. In the early part of 1477 the Prior and convent of Carlisle sent a petition to the king,

To the king oure liege lord most humbly besechith your highness your true subjects and – continuell oratours the priour and convent of your monastery of Our Lady Carliol that whereas within the west bordours of thys your reame opyn upon the Scottys by whom they daily abiden in grete jeoperde of lesynge of their godes and often times destruction of their pore lyvelode wherethrough they be sore enpoverysed, and without your most gracious almesse to them shewed at thys time Dyvyne Service can not there be well contynued That therefore it would please your said Highness the premisses considered into their Relief to graunte unto them your gracious Lettres patentes to be made in due fourme after the Tenur that ensueth. And then shall ever pray to God for ye preservation of your most noble Astate.<sup>172</sup>

On 10 May 1477, as a result of the petition, the death knell was sounded when the grant was made to the prior and convent, “of the hospital of St Nicholas by Carlisle and all its lands, rights, liberties, franchises, commodities and emoluments” immediately after the death of the warden at that time, John Thorpe, or whenever it should become void. A condition of the grant was that the prior and convent should find “a canon priest to be called the king’s chaplain, to celebrate masses and other

divine services in the monastery for the good estate of the king and his consort Elizabeth and their children and for their souls after death".<sup>173</sup> I have been unable to discover any detail about this warden, although a John Thorpe occurs as prebendary of Hova Ecclesia in Chichester diocese on 25 July 1482 and 20 July 1486.<sup>174</sup>

Prior to the Dissolution many charitable institutions had already disappeared for a variety of reasons and their property transferred to other bodies. An examination of the list of hospitals in Knowles and Hadcock<sup>175</sup> detail many which did not survive into the 16th century. Although it was the end of an independent existence for St Nicholas it was not the end of the story – it continued in its role of taking in corrodians and as a bede-house for many years. The inquest of Humphrey, Lord Dacre on 31 January 1486 revealed that he still had the right of ". . ., the donation and nomination of a corrody for a poor man in the hospital of St Nicholas by Carlisle, worth 13s. 4d., per year . . ., a piece of land near the leper house of Carlisle etc."<sup>176</sup> The arrangement with the priory was still in operation for in 1521 a canon from there held the post of warden.<sup>177</sup>

An account of the possessions of Carlisle Priory c.1540 previous to the endowment of the cathedral gives the following details – ". . . And for £6 10s. 2d. farm of the manor or dwelling house of St Nicholas hospital . . . Alms . . . and in money paid annually to John Salkeld, chaplain, for celebrating mass in St Nicholas hospital before three beadles and the leprous men living there, 46s. per annum payable in equal portions at Pentecost and Martinmas out of the foundation of Lord E. late king of England – will also pay the three beadles 9d. a week each, out of 117s. per annum".<sup>178</sup>

On 6 May 1541 the hospital passed to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle under the endowment Charter of Henry VIII.<sup>179</sup> On 4 May 1550 there is a record of a bond for £10: "Francis Blenerhasset of St Nicholas near Carlisle bedeman, Clement Dalton of Carlisle tanner to Edward Aglionby of Carlisle esquire – to observe covenants in deed of equal date. Witness John Thomson "the writer".<sup>180</sup>

On 1 October 1580, lands which had belonged to the hospital were transferred by "Deed of entail: John Aglionby of the city of Carlisle esquire to George Salkeld of Corby esquire and Leonard Aglionby of the city of Carlisle, gentleman – manor of Aglionby, Cumwhinton and Terraby . . ., lands and tenements known by the name of St Nicholas, lands in towne hamlet or fields of Cumwhinton in the parish of Wetheral . . .",<sup>181</sup> and by 3 June 1581 a John Selbye was described as "of St Nicholas".<sup>182</sup>

Certainly the Parliamentary Survey of 1650 indicates that the hospital "was altogether ruynated in the tyme of the leaguer before Carlyle" (1645) and describes the extent of the property, together with "the Church Yarde abuttinge upon the highe waye on the easte and southe" to be 2½ acres<sup>183</sup> and it was in that area that a stone coffin and a pewter chalice were found by Joseph Studholme, the occupier in the 1770s.<sup>184</sup> Jefferson, writing in 1838, indicates that "a modern dwelling house has been erected near the site of the hospital, the property and residence of the Misses Studholme".<sup>185</sup>

Hopefully, excavations undertaken by the Lancaster University Archaeological Unit in the early part of 1996 may clarify and consolidate our knowledge of the development of the site.

## Acknowledgements

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## Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> CW2, xcv, 93-109.
- <sup>2</sup> see H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle* CW Extra Series XXV (1993) i, 220-81 – henceforth Summerson, *Carlisle*.
- <sup>3</sup> For an interesting study of the decline of leprosy in Britain see K. Manchester and C. Robert, “The palaeopathology of Leprosy in Britain: a review” in *World Archaeology* (1989), 265-72.
- <sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-1334*, 491.
- <sup>5</sup> I can find no evidence to suggest that he was related to the Goldington family of Appleby or that he can be identified as the Thomas de Goldington of that ilk. Indeed, of two of their Thomas’ of roughly the right period, one was dead by 1322 and the other had an adult son by 1291, suggesting that he would have been at least ninety by the time our Goldyngton was dead – see George S. H. L. Washington, *Early Westmorland M.P.s* (CW Tract Series XV, 1959), 26-35. There is a Goldington in Bedfordshire and it is possible that his family was from there.
- <sup>6</sup> For an interesting study of royal surgeons of the time see George Gask, *Essays in the History of Medicine* (London, 1950), 55-94.
- <sup>7</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327-1330*, 256.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.
- <sup>9</sup> *Cal. Papal Letters 1305-1342*, 274. That particular Thomas de Goldington was ordained acolyte at St Lawrence, Appleby on 23 September 1307 [*Reg. Halton*, i, 290], instituted to the rectory of Musgrave in June 1317 [*ibid.*, ii, 146], granted dispensation to study for three years in November the same year [*ibid.*, 152], ordained subdeacon at Durham on 18 December that year [*ibid.*, 155] and granted licence to study for two years in 1324 [*ibid.*, 209].
- <sup>10</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327-1330*, 306.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 318.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 374.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 410 – mistakenly referred to as Holy Trinity.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 447.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 461.
- <sup>16</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-1334*, 155.
- <sup>17</sup> *The Northumberland County History*, vii, 210; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327-1330*, 410, 447, 461; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-1334*, 155, 157; *Cal. Close Rolls 1330-1333*, 118, 281.
- <sup>18</sup> *VCH Derbyshire*, 85 citing Assize Roll 167, m. 3d.
- <sup>19</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-1334*, 150.
- <sup>20</sup> see *VCH Derbyshire*; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1338-1340*, 496-7; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340-1343*, 37, 306, 583; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1345-1348*, 30; *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. xl (1918), 10.
- <sup>21</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-1334*, 491.
- <sup>22</sup> R. L. Storey (ed.), *The Register of John Kirkby Bishop of Carlisle* (Canterbury and York Society, 1993), i, 30 henceforth *Reg. Kirkby*.
- <sup>23</sup> Exchequer Various Accounts E101/18/40 in H. Summerson’s Transcripts C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/5 f. 946.
- <sup>24</sup> *Reg. Kirkby*, i, 56.
- <sup>25</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334-1338*, 216.
- <sup>26</sup> *Cal. Inq Misc.*, ii, 354-5.
- <sup>27</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1334-1338*, 616.

- <sup>28</sup> *CW1*, x, 103 citing Inq. ad quod damnum 9 Edward III (1336) No.6; *CW1*, x, 104.
- <sup>29</sup> Carlisle and Penrith Goal deliveries JUST/3/132 in Summerson's Transcripts C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/3 f. 554.
- <sup>30</sup> Samuel Jefferson, *The History and Antiquities of Carlisle* (1838), 146 states that it was rebuilt by order of Gilbert Welton, afterwards bishop of Carlisle.
- <sup>31</sup> See Part 1 *CW2*, xcv, 101.
- <sup>32</sup> KR Memoranda Rolls E 159/113 m115d in Summerson's Transcripts C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f. 616-7.
- <sup>33</sup> KR Memoranda Rolls E159/115 m42(3) in Summerson's Transcripts in C.R.O.(Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f. 617-8.
- <sup>34</sup> Ancient Petitions SC1/39 in Summerson's Transcripts C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/5 f. 823.
- <sup>35</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340-1343*, 89.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 119-120.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>38</sup> see Part 1 *CW2*, xcv, 97-8.
- <sup>39</sup> see Part 1 *CW2*, xcv, 97-104.
- <sup>40</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340-1343*, 119-23.
- <sup>41</sup> Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (London, 1909), 223 – henceforth RMC.
- <sup>42</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340-1343*, 82.
- <sup>43</sup> *Reg. Kirkby*, i, 114.
- <sup>44</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340-1343*, 544.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 507.
- <sup>46</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1343-1345*, 85.
- <sup>47</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1343-1346*, 199.
- <sup>48</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, ii, 480.
- <sup>49</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1343-1345*, 575.
- <sup>50</sup> *Reg. Kirkby*, i, 167.
- <sup>51</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-1350*, 176.
- <sup>52</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, 2.
- <sup>53</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-1350*, 368. For a note as to confusion regarding the identification of this Henry Greystok see Part 1 *CW2*, xcv, 99.
- <sup>54</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-1350*, 370.
- <sup>55</sup> see Part 1 in *CW2*, xcv, 104.
- <sup>56</sup> see *Cal. Close Rolls 1341-1343*; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, (6 vols Manchester 1920-1933) iv, 265-267 – henceforth Tout, *Chapters*.
- <sup>57</sup> M. Lyon, B. Lyon, H. S. Lucas, *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340* (Brussels, 1983) lxxii, cvi, 6, 58-9, 64, 75, 233, 385, 412.
- <sup>58</sup> F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, *The Register of John de Grandisson. Bishop of Exeter* ii (London and Exeter, 1897), 923 – henceforth *Reg. Grandisson*.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 907, 924; iii, 1324, 1368.
- <sup>60</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 268; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340-1343*, 386.
- <sup>61</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1343-1346*, 158, 192, 257, 331-2, 603-6, 610; *Cal. Fine Rolls*, v, 334; *Cal. Close Rolls 1346-49*, 437; Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 242n, 269.
- <sup>62</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, iii, 167; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1345-1348*, 431.
- <sup>63</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1345-1348*, 201.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 299.
- <sup>65</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-50*, 307; *Cal. Close Rolls 1349-54*, 38.
- <sup>66</sup> Tout *Chapters*, iv, 284.
- <sup>67</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, 45; *Cal. Close Rolls 1349-54*, 263; Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 271.
- <sup>68</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, 28.
- <sup>69</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1350-54*, 48, 275-6.
- <sup>70</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, 46.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.
- <sup>73</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 285-6.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 300-1.
- <sup>75</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-50*, 293.



- <sup>76</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 305-6.  
<sup>77</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, 80.  
<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.  
<sup>79</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 306; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1354-58*, 438.  
<sup>80</sup> *Cal. Close Roll 1360-64*, 308-9.  
<sup>81</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 306-7.  
<sup>82</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1354-1360*, 369.  
<sup>83</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, iii, 89.  
<sup>84</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1354-1360*, 178.  
<sup>85</sup> KR Memoranda E159/142 m24(1) in Summerson's Transcript at C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f. 672-3.  
<sup>86</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-1370*, 115.  
<sup>87</sup> *Cal. Papal Petitions 1342-1419*, 437.  
<sup>88</sup> See A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* (Oxford, 1957) i, 40-1 – henceforth Emden, *BRUO*; in this respect, an analysis of appointments relating to persons of the name John de Appleby for this period leads me to the view that the John de Appleby who was dean of St Paul's from 1365 was either Thomas, the bishop or may have been an unrelated John.  
<sup>89</sup> For a discussion on the family see *CW2*, xi, 32-3.  
<sup>90</sup> *Reg. Kirkby*, i, 109.  
<sup>91</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, 41 citing *Reg. Hatfield*, f.7 ; *Reg. Welton*, f.44v-45  
<sup>92</sup> *VCH Durham*, 119 citing *Reg. Hatfield*, f. 74.  
<sup>93</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, 41 citing *Reg. Welton*, f. 44v-45.  
<sup>94</sup> *Cal. Papal Petitions 1342-1419*, 437.  
<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>96</sup> *CW2*, xi, 99, 111 citing *Reg. Appleby*, f. 143.  
<sup>97</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-1370*, 115.  
<sup>98</sup> *CW1*, x, 108.  
<sup>99</sup> Summerson, *Carlisle*, i, 358.  
<sup>100</sup> Memoranda Rolls Edward III E 159/149 in Summerson's Transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f. 637-8; KR Memoranda E159/150 in Summerson's Transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f. 674-5.  
<sup>101</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1377-1381*, 104.  
<sup>102</sup> *CW2*, xi, 99.  
<sup>103</sup> *CW2*, xi, 32-3 citing Pipe Roll for 8 Richard II.  
<sup>104</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1377-1381*, 468.  
<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 536.  
<sup>106</sup> *Cal. Close Roll 1341-1343*, 262.  
<sup>107</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1343-1345*, 151  
<sup>108</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1377-1381*, 547.  
<sup>109</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti*, xi, 70.  
<sup>110</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-1392*, 301.  
<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 449.  
<sup>112</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1358-1389*, 200.  
<sup>113</sup> *Cal. Pat. Roll 1391-1396*, 190.  
<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.  
<sup>115</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1377-1381*, 484.  
<sup>116</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-1389*, 431.  
<sup>117</sup> *CW2*, lii, 78 citing P.R.O., Exchequer, KR, clerical subsidies, E 179/60/1.  
<sup>118</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-1350*, 303.  
<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 307.  
<sup>120</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1350-1354*, 61; *Register of the Diocese of Worcester – Registrum Sede Vacante*, iii, 199.  
<sup>121</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1350-1354*, 415.  
<sup>122</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1388-1392*, 46.  
<sup>123</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1399-1401*, 196 and 240.  
<sup>124</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-1396*, 294.  
<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 288.  
<sup>126</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1399-1401*, 7.

- <sup>127</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1399-1402*, 76.
- <sup>128</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-1405*, 371.
- <sup>129</sup> He may be the William Kirkeby, chaplain, who, on 19 November 1385, was enfeoffed by William Dacre, of a messuage called "Trostormouth" in Barton on his manor of Barton valued at 2s. per year and held in chief by knight service at a rose rent and for the feoffee, after seizin had to re-enfeoff him thereof, in fee simple at the said rent *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-1389*, 58.
- <sup>130</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-1405*, 455.
- <sup>131</sup> He is unlikely to be the Robert Louthier who was a commissioner for array in Cumberland in 1392 [*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-1392*, 351] and who was named as a Justice of the Peace for Westmorland in 1391 [*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-1396*, 292; see also Hugh Owen, *The Lowther Family* (1990), 31-34].
- <sup>132</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-1405*, 247 there was a ratification of the estate which he had as parson of Skelton dated 12 May 1400 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1399-1401*, 138 and there was also a Robert de Louthier who, as vicar of Wigton, had his property in the church ratified on 8 February 1401 *ibid.*, 410 – they may be the same person. As rector of Skelton, Louthier was present at an inquisition on 9 March 1403 at York Minster to inquire into the vacancy and patronage of the church of All Saints, North Street, York R. N. Swanson, *A Calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope Archbishop of York. 1398- 405* (Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 1981) i, 37.
- <sup>133</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-1405*, 423.
- <sup>134</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1408-1413*, 466.
- <sup>135</sup> C.R.O.(Carlisle) D/Y1/ 118.
- <sup>136</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, i, 212.
- <sup>137</sup> CW2, xi, 100; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1413-1416*, 372, 401.
- <sup>138</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1416-1422*, 66.
- <sup>139</sup> Emden, *BRUC*, ii, 897 citing Queen's College Long Rolls.
- <sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, citing Reg. Ph. Morgan, Worcs., pt. ii, f. 60, 62, 62v.
- <sup>141</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1416-1422*, 49; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-1436*, 488; *Cal. Close Rolls 1413-1419*, 324.
- <sup>142</sup> *Deputy Keeper Public Records 44th Report*, 597.
- <sup>143</sup> *Cal. Signet Letters of Henry IV and Henry V* (HMSO, 1978), xii, 4.
- <sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 166. He was apparently discharged from his office as Secretary for an unspecified cause in March 1432 Sir H. Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* iv (1835), xli; vi (1837), civ.
- <sup>145</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-1436*, 488.
- <sup>146</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1422-1429*, 62.
- <sup>147</sup> Emden, *BRUC*, 347.
- <sup>148</sup> R. L. Storey (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Langley Bishop of Durham 1406-1437* (Surtees Society), v, 81.
- <sup>149</sup> E. F. Jacob and H. C. Johnson (eds.), *The Register of Henry Chichele. Archbishop of Canterbury. 1414-1443* (Canterbury and York Society, 1938), ii, 239 – will proved 8 May 1423.
- <sup>150</sup> Emden, *BRUC*, 347, 2031.
- <sup>151</sup> Summerson, *Carlisle*, i, 358 citing Goal Delivery Rolls.
- <sup>152</sup> *RMC*, 98-103, 213.
- <sup>153</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441-1446*, 425.
- <sup>154</sup> J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, Part 1, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1922), 358.
- <sup>155</sup> A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), 142 – henceforth Emden, *BRUC*.
- <sup>156</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-1452*, 20.
- <sup>157</sup> Emden, *BRUC*, 142.
- <sup>158</sup> Emden, *BRUC*, 142 citing Reg. Bourghier, Ely, f. 60v.
- <sup>159</sup> *Cal. Papal Letters 1447-1455*, 11, 15.
- <sup>160</sup> H. C. Maxwell-Lyte and M. C. B. Dawes (eds.), *The Register of Thomas Bekynton. Bishop of Bath and Wells. 1443-1465* (2 vols., Somerset Record Society, 1934-5), i, 95.
- <sup>161</sup> *Cal. Papal Letters 1447-1455*, 25.
- <sup>162</sup> Emden, *BRUC*, 142 citing Reg. Gilbert, London, f. 211.
- <sup>163</sup> *DNB*; Emden, *BRUC*, 142 citing Rot. Scot., ii, 334a.
- <sup>164</sup> *DNB* and see C. Roy Huddleston and R. S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry*, CW Extra Series XXIII, 66.
- <sup>165</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-1452*, 310.

- <sup>166</sup> *Cal. Papal Letters 1447-1455*, 56.
- <sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.
- <sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.
- <sup>169</sup> *DNB*.
- <sup>170</sup> *Cal. Papal Letters 1447-1455*, 595; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-1461*, 19.
- <sup>171</sup> see Summerson, *Carlisle*, ii, 445-448.
- <sup>172</sup> *CW1*, x, 109.
- <sup>173</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476-1485*, 35.
- <sup>174</sup> John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541 – Chichester Diocese* (London, 1962-7), 31.
- <sup>175</sup> D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (London, 1971), 313-339.
- <sup>176</sup> *Cal. Inq. P.M. Second Series Henry VII*, i, 69.
- <sup>177</sup> *Northern History XIX* (1983), 26 citing Borthwick Inst. Reg. 27, f. 136v.
- <sup>178</sup> Possessions of Religious Houses SC6/Henry VIII 478 in Summerson's Transcriptions in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f. 755.
- <sup>179</sup> J. E. Prescott, *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal* (London, 1897), 177; *Cal. Letters and Papers 1540-1541*, 418.
- <sup>180</sup> C.R.O. (Carlisle) D/AY1/218.
- <sup>181</sup> C.R.O. (Carlisle) D/AY1/235.
- <sup>182</sup> C.R.O. (Carlisle) D/AY1/238.
- <sup>183</sup> J. E. Prescott, *op. cit.*, 178.
- <sup>184</sup> *CW2*, vi, 292-9 – the coffin is at Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.
- <sup>185</sup> Samuel Jefferson *op. cit.*, 148.

