

ART IX – *The hospital of St Nicholas, Carlisle and its masters; Part 1 – The period up to 1333*

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In a previous paper in *Transactions*,¹ I provided a gazetteer and a brief outline of the history of the medieval houses in the present day Cumbria which, at some time in their existence, carried the title of 'hospital'. This paper will examine in greater detail the largest and the best documented of those, the hospital of St Nicholas, Carlisle, and will attempt to construct biographies of its masters.

Until relatively recent times the study of medieval hospitals has rather been neglected: apart from the still valuable work by Rotha Mary Clay in 1909² no major analysis of these important social services has been forthcoming. New work being undertaken by Dr B. Moffat at Soutra in Midlothian,³ at Dublin and Drogheda in Eire,⁴ and at the hospital of St Giles by Brompton Bridge in Yorkshire,⁵ is attempting to gain a greater insight into the medical and surgical activities at these houses, although it is still clear that, in the main, shelter, sustenance and care of the soul was of greater significance than specific care of the body. Biographies⁶ have been compiled of surgeons, barber-surgeons, 'leeches', physicians and apothecaries but, although they add to the general understanding of 'medical practice' and throw light on medical training, they tend to support the view that, certainly in the early period before the Black Death, the practitioners operated without the co-ordinating structure of a hospital service as we know it today.⁷ A survey of the known masters of medieval hospitals fails to reveal more than a handful of known surgeons or physicians – the greater proportion were clerics or civil administrators. The only known surgeon at St Nicholas, Carlisle, was Thomas de Goldyngton.⁸

One of the main difficulties in presenting a study of medieval hospitals lies with the vagueness of the definition which I alluded to in my earlier paper. Many simply provided shelter for the poor, or hospitality for travellers; some were established solely to accommodate lepers, and some were for the aged. Most changed their status over a period of time to meet changing needs but few, so far, have provided any clear evidence of medical or surgical practice. It is certain that further archaeoethnopharmacological study of the type being carried on at Soutra may modify our view in that respect.

A further significant problem is that of the paucity of documentary evidence. The hospitals were generally very small, slenderly endowed establishments and, although their role in society has perhaps been under-estimated, they did not play such an important part in our history as the established religious houses. There is sound evidence to suggest that they were frequently placed under the control of less than scrupulous masters and that their endowments were squandered either by design or by mis-management. This was certainly the case at Carlisle. Many survived only for a very short period of time.

The hospital of St Nicholas was the largest and richest of the medieval hospitals of Cumbria. It stood outside the walls of the city of Carlisle, on the south side, in the area of the present St Nicholas Street, adjacent to St Nicholas Bridge.⁹ The site was

either partially or totally covered by the construction of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway in 1834 when workmen unearthed a number of skeletons, pots and coins.¹⁰ It was usual for leper hospitals to be situated outside the towns, close to a highway and with a good water supply, for it had been long recognised that leprosy was contagious, and there are many instances of local regulation forbidding lepers from entering or dwelling in towns.¹¹

The dedication to St Nicholas was not an uncommon one for hospitals – Knowles and Hadcock¹² record twenty-nine in England and Wales, of which eight were known to be leper hospitals; four are recorded in Scotland;¹³ Appleby had a hospital of St Nicholas as did Clitheroe, and there were at least ten in Yorkshire.

The exact date and circumstance of the foundation of the house is not known. Todd¹⁴ suggests that it was founded by William II, and a petition from the inmates, dated c. 1300, claimed that Henry II had granted guardianship to Athelwold, the first bishop of Carlisle and his successors on condition that a chaplain was appointed.¹⁵ At an inquisition taken at Carlisle in 1341 it was found that all the muniments and memoranda of foundation had been burnt before 1292, ‘. . . And the jurors say on oath . . . that the hospital was founded long before time of memory, by some king of England, whose name they know not, for the sustenance of thirteen lepers, men and women, a master, being a chaplain, resident and singing mass at his will, and a chaplain singing mass daily for the benefactors of the hospital, which said king gave to the master and lepers as brethren and sisters, and their successors, great possessions of lands for their perpetual support of the said alms, appointed for them a chapter, and a common seal which should remain in the custody of the master, and of two, or three or four of the lepers, and ordained that the lepers should always be clad in cloths of russet, and enjoy the said rules for ever. . . .’¹⁶ It was established that the master and inmates should ‘common’ together within the precincts and that the master could appoint a deputy if he had to attend the business of the hospital elsewhere.¹⁷ Clearly a relatively sophisticated institution, *ab initio*, with a written constitution, a master, provision for a deputy and chaplains, an administrative structure, uniforms for the inmates, a chantry chapel or chapels and other buildings, all enclosed within a boundary and, being of royal foundation, probably at least a stone chapel from the start, with the remainder of the domestic buildings of wood.

Considering the position of Carlisle it is likely that a hospice for travellers had existed within its walls from very early times but the evidence of the inquisition, albeit heresay, does tend to confirm, together with the evidence from its position outside the city, that St Nicholas’ was established specifically as a leper hospital. Leprosy had been present in Britain in Anglo-Saxon times and by the late twelfth century it was endemic. It is therefore conceivable, given the evidence of royal foundation, that the establishment could have formed part of either the initial ‘political boundary statement’ of William Rufus, or the consolidation of Henry I. Leper hospitals had been founded at Rochester and Harbledown before 1100¹⁸ and Henry and his queen, Maud, were enthusiastic founders and benefactors.

Certainly by 1200 the hospital was in existence, had its staff, a number of brothers and sisters and was, in keeping with the flush of charitable enthusiasm which was a hallmark of that period, receiving substantial endowments beyond those granted by the royal founder. William, chaplain of St Nicholas, is named as a witness in a grant of land by Robert de Corkeby [Great Corby] to John son of William, which can be

dated to the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth.¹⁹ Sir Gilbert, son of Gilbert de Dundraw,²⁰ gave a parcel of land to the Hospital of St Nicholas, Carlisle and bound that land to grind at his mill at Crofton.²¹ Hugh de Morville, in a grant which must be dated in or before 1201, gave 'a carucate of his demesne in Hoff bounded by the high road from Asby to Appleby (etc.), and a shieling at Drybeck; Richard the smith of Burgh [by Sands] with his brood and land; rents of 40s. in Thurstonfield, 6s. 8d. from Kirkbride mill, 5s. 0d. from demesne land, (a total of 11s. 4d. from 3 farms), and a saltpan.' The brothers of the hospital were to use these revenues to keep a perpetual chaplain celebrating for all souls and were to accommodate three infirm brothers nominated by Hugh and his heirs.²²

Although lepers are mentioned specifically in letters of protection granted to the hospital by King John in 1201,²³ there is evidence that the status was changing slightly and that 'sick' or 'infirm' persons generally were being catered for. By 1214²⁴ the hospital was granted a moiety of the tithes of Little Bampton on condition that two nominated 'sick persons' from the parish should be maintained in perpetuity; if there were no nominations, then the master was to distribute five skips of flour annually on the feast of St Nicholas. In all other events the bishop and his successors were given authority to dispose of the proceeds as they thought fit.²⁵

In 1240 William, chaplain, rector of St Nicholas, and the brothers and sisters thereof, granted to Alice, daughter of Richard Sagittarii (Archer) of Gersinton, all the land in the fee of Ainstable, which Michael, son of David de Valle, John Musey, William, son of Thomas de Ainstable and Cecilia, daughter of David de Ainstable had given to that house, at the yearly rent of sixpence.²⁶ In the same year John, chaplain of St Nicholas, witnessed a grant of five roods of land and a toft in Cumwhinton by John son of Robert of Cumwhinton to Gamello Werrero (Gamell Werrer), but the hospital obviously also held land in Cumwhinton because part of the parcel granted is defined as being to the west side of land held by the hospital and part to the north side.²⁷

On 26 April 1273, Alan of Newby, clerk, quitclaimed to the hospital, *deo et pauperibus sancti Nicholi Karlioli*, his right to two bovates with toft and croft and other appurtenances in the vill of Aglionby which he had previously held from the hospital at a rent of sixpence a year – again an indication of a change in status away from lepers to 'poor' inmates.²⁸

The hospital owned property in Carlisle itself. In 1230–40 John, chaplain, rector of St Nicholas, and the brothers therein granted land and buildings *in vico Bochardi* to John of St Nicholas. The land is described as lying between the land of David of Blackhall on the one side and land of Alexander Bakun on the other. The buildings included a dwelling where Gilbert Collan lived. A rent charge of five shillings was reserved to the Hospital.²⁹ This property was subsequently the subject of a dispute which was not resolved until 1270 when Symon is described as master of the hospital and the land is then described as a waste place between the wall of the Friars Preacher and the house formerly of Richard del More.³⁰ Property in the city was rented by the hospital: in the account of Ranulf Dacre, keeper of the king's castle and demesne at Carlisle, in 1334–5 there is a record of rental of seven pence per annum paid by the master of St Nicholas for one house and one garden, 'formerly Robert Cutte's, in Rickergate.'³¹

Land in the suburbs of Carlisle was also held from the king, and inquests in

1246,³² 1247³³ and 1250³⁴ relate to parcels of between three and five acres in extent. In 1251/2 the king had granted land, meadows, gardens and appurtenances in the suburbs of Carlisle, probably the same parcels of land referred to above, to a number of persons including the brothers of St Nicholas.³⁵ This grant was the subject of a later inquest held on 14 January 1286 at Carlisle before Thomas de Normannerville³⁶ and Ranulph de Dacre, and which related to arrears and proportions of rent to be paid. At this inquest Adam is referred to as the new master of the hospital and it was alleged that he owed the sum of 69s. 3d., but the subsequent judgement ordered that he was only liable for a part.³⁷ Problems with the arrears of rent due from this land were to plague the masters and brethren well into the 14th century.

Nor was it only land and rents which were donated – ‘the commonalty of the city of Carlisle long before time of memory, granted to the hospital on every Sunday for ever a pottle of ale from each brewhouse of the city and a loaf of bread, price $\frac{1}{4}$ d. from each baker exposing bread for sale on Saturday’ in exchange for the right of presentation of lepers and poor persons.³⁸ By statute,³⁹ venison was also provided from deer illegally taken in Inglewood Forest, examples of which are recorded in 1264/5, 1271/2, 1276/7, 1279/80 and 1284/5.⁴⁰

In 1292 a dispute arose as to the right of presentation of the hospital; and the subsequent record provides useful details relating to patronage as well as possibly identifying the first known master. The advocate William Inge⁴¹ appeared for the king as plaintiff against Bishop Halton who claimed the patronage. Inge argued that King John had been seized of the patronage in fee of right and that he had conferred it upon Robert Fitz Ralph, his clerk, who held it and drew revenue there-from. The bishop’s attorney claimed that when the mastership of the hospital was vacant, the brethren, ‘inasmuch as they have the right of election from their own body, choose a fit person and present him to the Bishop as the Diocesan of the place, and he institutes him and he claims nothing else in the said Hospital’. Inge replied that ‘the brethren of the Hospital did not have the right of election from their own body, nor the Bishop any jurisdiction in the said Hospital for the institution of any master, but that the said king John and his predecessors were wont to confer the said Hospital when it was vacant’. In the inquest which followed, the jury found for the king; that Ralph Ireton, late bishop had appointed the present master unlawfully and that the brethren had not been in the habit of electing a master; and ordered that the patronage be restored. The jury also established that the premises of the hospital were of the annual value, after all outgoings, of £35 13s. 4d., that twelve sick men could be maintained there, and that the master and chaplain were to perform services, with a clerk to assist the latter.⁴² Robert Fitz Ralph, king’s clerk, would appear therefore to be the earliest master of whom we have record. A subsequent petition, dated *c.* 1300, from the inmates, ‘poor wretched and ill-used brothers and sisters’, continued the claim that the right of presentation had lain with the bishop from the date of foundation until the king regained it, and as they were suffering as a consequence, they begged the king to order the bishop to be their warden.⁴³ Further confusion is created by a similarly dated claim, by the Prior and Canons, that the hospital had been theirs from the date of foundation until bishop Hugh (1218–1223) ousted the resident canon and gave it to one of his clerks who held it until recovered by the king. They also begged the king to return possession to them to compensate

for the damage caused to them by the Scots.⁴⁴ The king, however, understandably declined both requests.

As a result of the judgement and the re-assertion of his right of presentation, the King, on 6 June 1293, granted mastership of the hospital, for life, to Hugh de Cressingham.⁴⁵

Cressingham is said to have been of corpulent stature, pompous nature, 'uplifted by his advancement, harsh, overbearing and covetous'.⁴⁶ He was a king's clerk, who, in 1282, was employed in an inquiry relating to the abbot of Ramsey. He was attached to the household of Queen Eleanor, was her steward and one of her bailiffs for the barony of Haverford.⁴⁷ On 12 June 1291, he was presented to the church of Ufford in the diocese of Lincoln⁴⁸ and on 12 February the following year was presented to Kingsclere in the diocese of Winchester.⁴⁹

That same year he was employed by the king to audit the accounts of his late father, Henry III, and from then, for the next three years, he was active as head of the justices itinerant for the northern counties.⁵⁰ In 1293 he was a Commissioner of Array, attempting to force the sheriff to find wages for the county contingent at the expense of those who were bound to have arms under the Assize of Arms and the Statute of Winchester of 1285,⁵¹ and on 20 November that year he was presented to the rectory of Kirkclinton.⁵² It also appears that he was either granted a pension or promised one, for notes in the register of Archbishop le Romeyn indicate that he was promised a prebend in York – a pension of 100s. from the archbishop's treasury would be paid to him at Whitsuntide until he was provided to the prebend.⁵³ In October the next year, being granted protection for one year, he is described as canon of the church of St Paul's, London and 'parson of the churches of Enderby, Kingsclere, Hatfield, Chalk, Berlee, Baruton, Dodington, Cressingham and Reymorston'.⁵⁴ On 6 September 1296 he attained the high-point of his career when he was appointed Treasurer of Scotland.⁵⁵

During his tenure of the hospital he appears to have applied his administrative skills to rationalising the constitution and he established a set of rules for the good management of the house:

1. On initial admission to the hospital all brethren and sisters should take an oath on the Holy Evangelists and do obedience and fealty to the master.
2. they should live chastely and honestly within the cloister and without, where they were sent on the business of the hospital.
3. they should rise in the morning at the ringing of the bell and come in person to the church or chapel to pray for the faithful departed, all benefactors of the hospital, and especially for the king, queen and their children.
4. they should have a cloister which should be secure – all the gates to the cloister should, especially at night, be secured by iron bars and there should be a porter appointed for that purpose.
5. the porter should diligently keep the font [well] and the court within and without the cloister clean from all defilement.
6. that the brethren should sleep together under one roof and in one house and that the sisters should do likewise under a separate roof within the cloister.
7. brethren and sister not allowed to leave the cloister to go into the country or city without special licence from the master and then only for arduous and necessary cause, or on business, and a brother or sister should be specially deputed for this under penalty.
8. brethren and sisters should labour so long as they could for the common utility of the

hospital. 9. no brother or sister should go out of the cloister by night by the walls or by the gate, or by day from the ringing of the bell in the hall until the ringing of the bell in the church under penalty. 10. brethren and sister should be obedient to the precepts of the master or his vicegerent in all things lawful and honest – anyone found refractory or disobedient, for the first offence would lose his or her livery and be admonished, for the second should lose the two next liveries and be admonished to amend, otherwise on the third offence he or she should be expelled from the cloister and be entirely deprived of his or her corrody without hope of return. 11. the master should not permit any married man or woman staying within the cloister to pass the night with wife or husband, or other brother or sister within the cloister to commit fornication or other great carnal sin there, which if they do they should be punished according to the nature of the offence at his discretion, and if the offender when admonished do not amend, but be convicted again of the like offence, he shall lose his corrody and be expelled. 12. a brother or sister making a quarrel or charge against another unjustly, whereby public or private scandal would arise, for the first and second offence should be punished as above and for the third, expelled. 13. none should usurp any office or power within the hospital without the assent of the master and the more discreet part of the chapter.⁵⁶

The details contained in the rules permit us to create a picture of the hospital at this time. The complex clearly stood within a secure perimeter enclosure and it would have been probable that entry was via a gatehouse. There was a chapel with a bell; an inner cloister which probably had the well within its bounds, and an outer courtyard. The men lived together but under a separate roof from the women and, no doubt, in a style similar to that which is so beautifully preserved at Beaune in France. There would appear to have been a common refectory hall (probably the hall with a bell referred to above) and the master, although he would normally live in a house apart, would dine with the inmates. There was also probably separate accommodation for the chaplain(s) and there would have been the usual store-houses and kitchens.⁵⁷ Later evidence indicates that there was an adjacent cemetery and that there were cultivation plots in which those inmates, who were physically able, no doubt laboured.⁵⁸

St Nicholas hospital and its inmates appeared to be assured of a secure and well organised future, but any feelings of euphoria were soon to be dispelled by the outbreak of sustained hostilities between England and Scotland. The minor fracas which had erupted in the past as each side attempted to re-define the parameters of an uneasy co-existence, now burgeoned into full scale war.

On 27 March 1295 Carlisle was besieged and the hospital was burnt and totally destroyed by a force of Scots led by John Comyn, earl of Buchan.⁵⁹ It marked the start of a very difficult period and the re-building which followed was to be repeated on other occasions. Cressingham's attention, however, was diverted to other more pressing matters of state and on 10 September 1297 he was killed at the battle of Cambuskenneth near Stirling. Some sources suggest that one of the main factors in the loss of the battle was a dispute between Cressingham and the earl of Suffolk as to the payments of the troops and the additional costs to be incurred by delay. Cressingham's entreaties to the earl precipitated action which resulted in a singular defeat for the English and heavy losses. It is said that hatred of the Treasurer was so

intense that the Scots cut up his body into small pieces and Wallace ordered that a piece of skin should be taken from the body large enough to make him a sword belt.⁶⁰

Understandable confusion followed and it may be that the hospital ceased to function fully for a short time until order could be restored. It was not until 1 August 1303 that a new master, Henry de Graystoke, was appointed;⁶¹ although he may be the Henry of St Nicholas appointed, on 30 September 1300, by the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle to act as their proctor at the court in Rome in the matter of taxation, in view of the great harm and loss inflicted upon them by the Scots.⁶² If this latter date is correct and Graystoke was already acting in some position of authority at the hospital, the former appointment date may be a confirmation.

Clearly some form of ordered activity was taking place at this time as the ordination of a prebendary of St Nicholas, Andrew Whitby, is recorded; subdeacon on 22 December 1302,⁶³ deacon in Carlisle Cathedral on 1 June 1303,⁶⁴ and priest on 19 September 1304.⁶⁵

Little is known of Henry; indeed his incumbency may have been brief and his impact minimal, as his successor must have been appointed in the early 1300's. Certainly the problems of the time had an effect upon the well-being of the inmates who claimed that they were not receiving the sustenance they used to have; that the rents, houses, profits and all other possessions and goods had been destroyed for lack of guardianship.⁶⁶ The Prior and Canons alleged that 'the clerk of the chancery' who held the mastership 'does no good there but takes what he can and does no singing, and the king has no profit from it. . . .'⁶⁷ Henry certainly was a king's clerk and is probably the same as the Henry de Graystock who was appointed, on 9 October 1291, with others, as a proctor for the Archbishop of York in a dispute with Canterbury.⁶⁸ He may be the same person who was presented, by the king, to the church of Rollesby in the diocese of Norwich on 29 November 1302⁶⁹ and the church of Goldeston, also in that diocese.⁷⁰ It is more certain that he was the clerk of that name detailed, on 9 April 1303, to pay the wages of 1,600 footmen from West Riding on service for the king against the Scots,⁷¹ and the person who's good service in Scotland led to a pardon, on 28 October 1310, for an eight year old boy, William son of John de Burbank, accused of the death of another.⁷² A difficulty arises from the fact that a Henry de Greystock appears again in 1349 as master of St Nicholas.⁷³ He was also a king's clerk and the careers of the two, not being easy to separate, have caused confusion.⁷⁴ Drawing an arbitrary line for the two, assuming an age of at least thirty for appointment as master, I have concluded the first Henry's career at the age of sixty. All references, therefore, after 1340 are assumed to relate to the second Henry.

Henry's successor, Richard Oriell, clearly made an effort to restore the fortunes of the house and his arrival heralded the commencement of a period of reconstruction. The date of his appointment is not known, but he is described as master when named, *c.* 1300, as one of the bishop's attorneys for claiming clerks accused of felony.⁷⁵ He arranged that each of the brethren and sisters should receive annually 'from the hospital, by the hands of the master, for sustenance, two skips of barley, two skips of oats, two skips of oat flour, three strikes of wheat, if there was wheat enough from the wainage of the hospital, and if not, as much as could reasonably be had, according to his portion, two cart and two wagon loads of wood, a portion of

the bread and ale received from the commonalty of Carlisle and 4s. out of the rents of the hospital for clothing and other necessities until the house should be relieved'.⁷⁶ On 12 September 1304 the king granted them three acres of land in Hayton in Gilsland⁷⁷ and, on 12 April 1305, ten oaks fit for timber were granted from the forest of Inglewood for the building of the houses within the hospital which had been destroyed by the Scots and for the enclosing of the hospital.⁷⁸ Oriell was resident in the hospital, caused the existing constitutions and rules to be observed, enriched the house and increased the number of inmates beyond the original thirteen, taking inmates who were described as 'poor' rather than specifically ill.⁷⁹ He died in office and, as his successor was appointed by Edward I, this must have occurred before 7 July 1307.⁸⁰

The period of reconstruction was continued by the next master, John de Crosseby, and his appointment was confirmed by Edward 11 on 29 December 1309, 'subject to the maintenance of all constituted alms and other charges'.⁸¹ The view of the jurors in the Commission of 1341 was that 'John had maintained the hospital in his time, in the same manner as Richard had done, or in better, only he did not reside there'.⁸² This was a remarkable commendation given the period of his incumbency. The political instability of Edward II's reign; the continuing depredation by the Scots,⁸³ and the famines and livestock plagues which affected the whole of Europe from 1315–1322, were all significant factors which create an impression of a very bleak existence in Carlisle at that time and must have strained the charitable will in respect of donations to the hospital.

Crosseby was a 'king's clerk' and in 1316 was employed in the chancery.⁸⁴ In 1319 he was involved in the payment of wages to footmen in the king's service.⁸⁵ He appears also to have been in the favour of Aymer de Valentia, the earl of Pembroke, who, on 16 June 1316, ensured Crosseby the promise of a grant of the first void church in the king's gift under the taxation of £20.⁸⁶ The provision, on 13 April 1317, of a canonry of Beverley 'at the request of the earl of Pembroke', may well have been the result.⁸⁷

Crosseby was a pluralist and held a number of churches during his career. He may be the John de Crosseby provided to the vacant church of St Mary in the Forest of Selkirk⁸⁸ on 9 September 1298.⁸⁹ On 1 May 1308 he was presented to the church of Perham in the diocese of Chichester⁹⁰ and on 1 November 1315 was presented to the church of Knaresdale in the diocese of Durham,⁹¹ but there was an appeal against this latter presentation, to the court of York which, after consideration, was settled in Crosseby's favour and he was instituted on 13 July 1317.⁹² On 16 February 1318 he was presented to the church of Tollesbury in the diocese of London⁹³ but this also was subject of a dispute.⁹⁴

He was obviously a busy man, was not resident, and can have spent little time at Carlisle; the records of protection during absence both from St Nicholas and from his other vicarages are numerous.⁹⁵ In January 1310 a writ was issued to him for the delivery of a John de Culgayth from prison;⁹⁶ in 1316 he acted as attorney for Gilbert Pecche, knight, who was going to Gascony for three years on the king's service;⁹⁷ on 6 July 1317, with another, he conducted an examination of the muniments of the abbey of Alnwick in connection with an inquiry into the inheritance of William de Vescy of Kildare,⁹⁸ and on 14 November 1320 he was nominated as attorney for Aymer de Valencia, earl of Pembroke and John Merlin,

going with the earl, on service overseas.⁹⁹ On 15 May 1321, with others, he was commissioned to inquire into the tenure of the lands of Binakre priory;¹⁰⁰ on 10 December 1325 he was dealing with park lands at Enfield¹⁰¹ and on 31 January 1327 he had a similar brief at Hadley.¹⁰² He was dead by 1 April 1330.¹⁰³

Despite all these other activities Crosseby appears to have managed affairs at the hospital *in absentia*. On 12 July 1319, John de Crumbwell, keeper of the Forest of Inglewood, was ordered by the king to supply Crosseby with three oaks 'fit for timber' for the rebuilding of the hospital chapel.¹⁰⁴ Reconstruction was again going ahead and the finances were being attended to anew. The 1319 Taxio for the diocese shows that Crosseby, as master of St Nicholas, received the sum of 20s. as his portion from the church of Bampton [Kirkbampton].¹⁰⁵ On 22 January 1320, the king ordered his barons to inquire into a claim by Crosseby that, 'unjustly and to the master's no small loss', he was being 'harrassed' and had received a summons from the exchequer for arrears of rent, to the total of £140 18s. 6d., for the lands held in Carlisle suburb.¹⁰⁶ The king was further petitioned by Crosseby, in 1324, on the same subject¹⁰⁷ and, on 13 October the same year an inquest was held before Antony de Lucy and Robert de Barton, at Carlisle, to consider the issue.¹⁰⁸ The evidence which was heard, reiterated that which had been presented at the earlier enquiry in 1286, and the jury found that all the required rents had been regularly paid by the keeper of the king's socage in Carlisle.

By 1327 Edward II was dead, and prior to his death Thomas de Wederhale had taken the place of Crosseby who had resigned his mastership of the hospital.¹⁰⁹ Wederhal's appointment was confirmed by the new king, Edward III, on 3 May 1327¹¹⁰ and heralded the start of a long period of neglect, corruption and decline in the story of the hospital. From this time on the hospital appears to have lost its eleemosynary character and to have taken in paying residents, corrodians. The change in status may have been the result of two main factors – the reduction in gifts and endowments, and the predatory nature of the masters. But it was a change which was not confined to Carlisle alone – in national terms there is clear evidence that hospitals were being similarly depleted.¹¹¹

Wederhale was another king's clerk, but unlike his predecessors he appears to have used the office to his own advantage. The evidence of the 1341 Commission suggests that he failed to ensure that the rules and constitutions of the hospital were observed. Contrary to the accepted norm, he kept the common seal in his own possession and used it without reference to the other appointed co-holders. Corruptly, he charged the hospital with corrodies in the names of non-existent or dead men and kept the monies for himself, making no use of them for the hospital. He disbanded the chapter and failed to take in new brethren or sisters when inmates died. Numbers were reduced and communal divine worship terminated, although a chaplain was retained to sing mass daily. Non residents were admitted – at one time eight poor persons were living away from the hospital but dependant upon it for support. The goods of the hospital were wasted.¹¹²

Wederhale died in office and was replaced by yet another king's clerk, Ralph Chivaler. The Commission evidence indicates that Chivaler was appointed by Edward II, but this proposition creates problems and is not supported by a confirmation, on 1 May 1331, of an earlier grant for life, in his name, by letters patent dated 1 February 1329.¹¹³

Little is known of his antecedents but a Ralph Chivaler, clerk is recorded in Yorkshire in 1327.¹¹⁴ The period of decline continued as Ralph converted the resources of the hospital to his own use. He demised to William de Morleye, a brother of the hospital, nine acres of land called 'Gimelflat', for forty years at a yearly rent of 11s. 0d.¹¹⁵ and again retained the seal which he used for corrupt purposes, admitting corrodians and keeping the payments. He also retained a chaplain but apparently only to assist him in the sequestration of the hospital income.¹¹⁶ He may well have resided at Carlisle, making it easier to conduct his activities, but he left in October 1331, being granted protection for one year,¹¹⁷ and resigned before the expiration of that year.

William de Northwell (or Norwell), king's clerk, was appointed on 21 July 1332¹¹⁸ but remained in office for barely six months until he resigned, no doubt eager for richer pickings; the peculations of successive masters had obviously reduced the resources of the hospital to a very meagre level. During his short term of office he continued the plunder; he 'levied from the hospital as much as he could, doing nothing for the good of the hospital'¹¹⁹ and retained the seal, using it, allegedly, to seal a document in the name of his predecessor John de Crosseby, granting one Robert de Stanwix yearly corrody for life.¹²⁰ No doubt the proceeds were committed to his own purse.

It has been suggested that he was native of Norwell in Nottinghamshire¹²¹ and Tout describes his career as illustrating 'very completely the graduated rise of the successful wardrobe clerk'.¹²² He first comes to notice as clerk of Queen Isabella's kitchen in 1311–1312¹²³ before taking the same post with the king. On 17 April 1312 he was in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in charge of provisioning for the king's stay,¹²⁴ and in October 1314 was still employed as clerk of the kitchen.¹²⁵ He travelled to France, being granted protection in 1320, going overseas on the king's service.¹²⁶

By June 1324 he was surveyor of all serjeants deputed to make purveyances under the privy seal and great seal.¹²⁷ In November the same year he was charged with the task of making purchases of hay and other necessities for the office of the steward of the household.¹²⁸ Transferred to Queen Isabella's service, in February 1325, he went with her to France on an expedition which was to have grave consequences for the King and which was to cause Northwell some considerable difficulty.¹²⁹ Ostensibly, the mission was an attempt to resolve the problem of Edward's property in France. The English embassy in Paris had failed to achieve a resolution and the papal nuncios suggested that she should intervene between her husband and her brother. She sailed on 9 March with many members of her household including, it would seem, Northwell. He could hardly have failed to be aware of the plot which was evolving and as she refused to return and retreated to the Low Countries to prepare for invasion it would have been abundantly clear that the deposition of the king was her intention. But Northwell was a king's man and sometime, either prior to, or during Isabella's invasion he must have returned and aligned himself with Edward, for as the rebel army moved west from Suffolk and into Wales between September and November 1326, along with others, he was holding Caerphilly castle for the King. On 20 March 1327, after the deposition, he received a pardon for this 'trespass' and his possessions which had been seized were restored to him.¹³⁰ In view of the executions and general repercussions of Edward's deposition, Northwell

appears to have been fortunate in being pardoned and was quickly restored to favour with the new monarch; indeed his career appears to have been enhanced. On 14 April 1329 he accompanied Edward III to Amiens following the crowning of Philip VI.¹³¹ He rose to become cofferer of the wardrobe from 13 April 1331.¹³² When Tawnton, keeper of the wardrobe, died in office in 1335 before rendering his final account, Northwell as his cofferer, having earlier acted as his *locum tenens*, took responsibility for presenting that account to the treasurer although it was not delivered to the exchequer until 30 January 1336, and his expenses appear in the controllers account.¹³³ On 2 April 1335 he was appointed keeper of the Great Wardrobe.¹³⁴ From April 1335 to Michaelmas 1337, the period covered by keeper Northwell's account, the office of the Great Wardrobe rented quarters at York. There was, however, a London storehouse (Lombard Street) for part, if not for the whole, of this period and there was sometimes a subsidiary establishment at Newcastle.¹³⁵ From 31 August 1337 to 11 July 1338 he was controller of the king's wardrobe¹³⁶ but he was not able to deliver at the exchequer his counter-roll as controller of Keeper Beche's account from August 1337 to July 1338, until 30 April 1341. Indeed he was still being persecuted by the exchequer in February 1339 for his own great wardrobe account, which ended in 1337, and had long been presented for audit; and a chancery writ was required to stop such proceedings.¹³⁷ From 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340 he was keeper of the king's wardrobe,¹³⁸ described by Tout as 'a man who had worked his way, step by step through the wardrobe departments. Lacking great personality, he was competent to conduct business on a scale unprecedented in wardrobe history'.¹³⁹ His account for that period was delivered to the exchequer on the 14 May 1341, immediately following his previous one as controller and covers the whole period of the early Netherlandish campaigns and negotiations, and the three months after Edward's return to England.¹⁴⁰

Tout suggests that on retirement Northwell was appointed baron of the exchequer,¹⁴¹ but other sources indicate that he resigned in May 1340 to accept the post, on 21 June,¹⁴² although this proved only to be a relatively short appointment, replacing William de la Pole who had been engaged elsewhere, and he resumed his office at the wardrobe.¹⁴³ Tout draws attention to the fact that he was the last of the *garderobarii* of Edward II's reign to be given high office by Edward III and that he survived to direct for some two years the wardrobe's extended operations which followed upon the great wars with France and Scotland.¹⁴⁴

In 1342, he was appointed to audit the account of Bartholomew Burghersh¹⁴⁵ for his payments to the emperor, the German allies, and creditors of the English king¹⁴⁶ and, on 27 May 1343, together with Philip Weston, he was appointed as the king's proctor, 'to procure the redemption of the great crown pledged in parts beyond the seas and to procure its safe custody'.¹⁴⁷ This appears to be the last public business with which he can positively be identified, although it was probably he who, described as 'keeper of the king's wardrobe', was with the king on his Crecy campaign keeping the accounts of the expedition from the landing on 12 July 1346 until the end of the siege of Calais.¹⁴⁸ As there are no definite references to him after this date he may well have died in 1347-8.

In terms of ecclesiastical preferments he appears to have benefited from his royal service in the way that many of his contemporaries did. He may be the William de Northwell appointed to the church of St Clement's, Candlewick Street, London, on

1 March 1310.¹⁴⁹ On 16 February 1323 he was granted the custody of the hospital of St Leonard, Newark¹⁵⁰ but he had resigned or died by 1347 when a new custodian was appointed.¹⁵¹ On 5 May 1323 he was presented to the church of Ribchester.¹⁵² On 28 September 1324 he was given the church of Possewyk in the diocese of Norwich.¹⁵³ On 1 May 1325 the church of Arkesy in the diocese of York followed¹⁵⁴ and in October the same year, at the request of Queen Isabella he was granted the prebend of Aukland.¹⁵⁵ There is then an understandable hiatus until 10 February 1329 when Ekyngton in Coventry and Lichfield became his,¹⁵⁶ followed on 27 July 1329, by Wystoew in Lincoln.¹⁵⁷ On 12 December 1330 Ekyngton was exchanged for Gillyng.¹⁵⁸ On 14 August 1331, he was granted Baynton in the diocese of York¹⁵⁹ but this was revoked on 28 September 1331 for an unspecified reason.¹⁶⁰ On 21 July 1332 he was granted the custody of the hospital of St Nicholas, Carlisle¹⁶¹ but had resigned that position by January 1333. In 1332 Northwell received the rich prebend of Norwell Overhall in the collegiate church of Southwell, a special preserve of household clerks,¹⁶² by royal grant, but the Archbishop of York disputed the right of presentation and, after judgement in the King's Bench, Northwell was finally installed on 13 September 1333.¹⁶³ On 26 September 1334 he was presented to the church of St Mary Waynfilet in the diocese of Lincoln.¹⁶⁴ On 21 June 1338 he was granted the prebend of Monemere in the king's free chapel of Wolverhampton.¹⁶⁵

We leave the hospital in 1333, following Northwell's resignation and on the eve of the appointment of the next master, Thomas de Goldyngton, as a very much poorer institution than that of a hundred years previous. Ravaged by the Scots, weakened generally by the decline of the war years and latterly systematically sapped by the corruption of its masters, its function had changed from being that of a leper hospital, to acting as a refuge for the infirm and poor, down to an institution where dependant poor were farmed out and corrodians accommodated to provide further funds for sequestration. A valuable social service had become a source of pickings for non-resident, pluralist royal servants. It was a situation which was repeated throughout the realm¹⁶⁶ and, as far as St Nicholas' is concerned, it tends to reflect the general picture presented by Carlisle and the surrounding area at this time in its history.¹⁶⁷

Notes and References

- ¹ CW2, lxxxvii, 83–100.
- ² Rotha Mary Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England* (London, 1909) hereafter *RMC*.
- ³ *Sharp Practice Reports* 1–4 (1986–1992); and personal correspondence from Dr Moffat.
- ⁴ E. Halpin *et al.*, *The Excavations at the Abbey of St Mary D'Urso Drogheda* (n.d.) and A. Hayden, *Excavations at St Stephen's Leper Hospital Stephen Street Lower, Dublin* (1992) – from information kindly supplied to me by Dr Victor Buckley.
- ⁵ P. Cardwell, *Excavations at St Giles Hospital Brough, North Yorkshire – Interim Report* (1990).
- ⁶ C.H. Talbot and E.A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England* (London, 1965); Robert S. Gottfried, *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England 1340–1530* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1986) and Robert S. Gottfried, 'English Medical Practitioners 1340–1530' in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85 (1984), 164–182 are particularly useful.
- ⁷ Gottfried (*op. cit.*, 259–260) suggests that before the Black Death only five of the doctors he recorded were connected with hospitals and between 1349–1530 that number rose to fifty – a very small proportion.

- ⁸ Goldyngton will be dealt with in Part 2.
- ⁹ O.S. Ref. NY 406550. 'Foundations of unidentified buildings, almost certainly connected with the hospital, have been found just south of Old St Nicholas during recent excavations' – pers. comm. from I.D. Caruana.
- ¹⁰ *CW2*, vi, 299.
- ¹¹ *RMC*, 51–58; Charles A. Mercer, *Leper Houses and Medieval Hospitals* (London, 1915).
- ¹² D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (London, 1971), 313–339.
- ¹³ I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland* (London, 1976), 163–168.
- ¹⁴ H. Todd, *Notitia Ecclesiae Cathedralis Carloliensis et Notitia Prioratus de Wedderhal* (CW Tract Series 6, 1892), 35.
- ¹⁵ Ancient Petitions SC8/322 no. E517 in Summerson's Transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle DX/1090/5 f.888–9).
- ¹⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 121.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.*, 121.
- ¹⁸ *RMC*, 37.
- ¹⁹ J.E. Prescott (ed.), *Register of the Priory of Wetheral* (London, 1897), 114 hereafter *Reg. Wetheral*.
- ²⁰ Probably Gilbert son of Gilbert de Crofton who occurs 1198, 1201 and died c. 1230 *CW2*, xxxii, 15; F. Grainger and W.G. Collingwood (eds.), *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (CW Records Series VII) (Kendal, 1929), 33 hereafter *Reg. Holm Cultram*.
- ²¹ *N&B*, ii, 202; *VCH Cumberland*, 200, citing J. Denton, *Cumberland*, 83, identifies the land as Gillmartinriddan at Crofton.
- ²² R.L. Storey (ed.), *The Register of John Kirkby Bishop of Carlisle 1332–1352* Vol. 1 (Canterbury and York Society 79) (1993), 38 (hereafter *Reg. Kirkby*, i). Not dated but a witness was Thomas son of Patrick who died in 1201 and Hugh de Morville himself died in 1202.
- ²³ *VCH Cumberland*, 199 citing Rot. Chart 2 John – Record Commission, 101b. A further grant of protection in simple terms occurs on 11 July 1259 – but in that instance it refers to the master and brethren – *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258–1266*, 30.
- ²⁴ *Monasticon* vi, 757 gives 1180, but bishop Bernard, a witness, occupied the episcopate from 1200–1214.
- ²⁵ *Reg. Kirkby*, i, 158; *CW2*, xxxi, 40.
- ²⁶ *Reg. Wetheral*, 276ff; *CW2*, xx, 48.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*, 158–9.
- ²⁸ C.R.O. (Carlisle) D/AY1/3 (15th century copy).
- ²⁹ *Reg. Wetheral*, 176–9.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*, 180, 506; *CW2*, lxxvi, 88; *CW2*, xcii, 280.
- ³¹ Exchequer Various Accounts E101/18/40 in Summerson's Transcripts C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/5 f.946.
- ³² *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, 10.
- ³³ *Cal. Docs relating to Scotland 1108–1272*, 318.
- ³⁴ *ibid.*, 331.
- ³⁵ see F.H.M. Parker, *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222–1260* CW Extra Series XII (Kendal, 1905), 146, 151, 157, 171, 177, 185, 194.
- ³⁶ 1256–1295 – judge, governor of Baumburgh castle and king's escheator beyond the Trent, 1276; justice in eyre in Nottinghamshire and Lancashire, 1286; summoned to council at Westminster, 1288; held pleas 'de quo warranto', 1292 – *DNB*.
- ³⁷ Exchequer Inquisitions E143/2/4 in Summerson's transcriptions in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f.731–3.
- ³⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 121. A 'pottle' was a liquid measure equivalent to four pints.
- ³⁹ *Statutes of the Realm*, i, 244.
- ⁴⁰ *CW2*, vii, 7, 14, 17, 27, 19, 21.
- ⁴¹ King's advocate, see G.S.H.L. Washington, *Early Westmorland MPs* (CW Tract Series XV) (Kendal, 1959) 28 and *The Oxford History of England – The Fourteenth Century 1307–1399*, 27n. Was in the household of Queen Isabella; in 1313, 'at the king's bidding' he accompanied her to France. Ten years before he was doing business for Edward, Prince of Wales, and in 1305 Edward, describing him as 'our dear bachelor' begged the king not to remove him to become a justice in Scotland, T.F. Tout,

- Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, v, 242 (6 vols Manchester, 1920–1933) (hereafter Tout, *Chapters*); was licenced on 17 December 1315, with John de Insula and John de Doncastre, to take assizes of novel disseisin in Advent, W. Brown and A.H. Thompson (eds.), *The Register of William Greenfield Lord Archbishop of York 1306–1315* (Surtees Society CLIII) (1940), v, 243 (hereafter *Reg. Greenfield*).
- ⁴² *Placita de Quo Waranto*, 122.
- ⁴³ Ancient Petitions SC8/322 no. E517 in Summerson's Transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/5 f.888–9.
- ⁴⁴ Ancient Petitions SC8/319 no. E372 in Summerson's Transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/5 f.887.
- ⁴⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292–1302*, 20.
- ⁴⁶ *DNB*
- ⁴⁷ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281–1292*, 432.
- ⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 475.
- ⁵⁰ *DNB*.
- ⁵¹ W.N. Thompson (ed.), *The Episcopal Registers of Carlisle. The Register of Bishop John de Halton*, i, 2, 3 (2 vols. Canterbury and York Society XII and XIII) (hereafter *Reg. Halton*).
- ⁵² *Reg. Halton*, i, 1; described as Levington in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292–1301*, 51.
- ⁵³ W. Brown (ed.), *The Registers of John le Romeyn Lord Archbishop of York 1286–1296* (Surtees Society CXXVIII) (1917), ii, 167n (hereafter *Reg. Romeyn*).
- ⁵⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292–1301*, 120.
- ⁵⁵ *Cal. Docs. relating to Scotland 1272–1307*, 225; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 42].
- ⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 120.
- ⁵⁷ see *RMC*, 106–125, 146–7 and Elizabeth Prescott, *The English Medieval Hospital c. 1050–1640*.
- ⁵⁸ see Part 2 forthcoming.
- ⁵⁹ *CW1*, x, 103; Jefferson's, *History of Carlisle*, 146; Summerson, *op. cit.* i, 194.
- ⁶⁰ *DNB*.
- ⁶¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1301–1307*, 151.
- ⁶² *Reg. Halton*, ii, 130; J. Raine (ed.), *Letters from Northern Registers* (1873), 145.
- ⁶³ *Reg. Halton*, ii, 200.
- ⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 186.
- ⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 223.
- ⁶⁶ Ancient Petitions SC8/322 no. E517 in Summerson's Transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle DX/1090/5 f.888–9.
- ⁶⁷ Ancient Petitions SC8/319 no. E372 in Summerson's Transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle DX/1090/5 f.887.
- ⁶⁸ *Reg. Romeyn*, ii, 8.
- ⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1301–1307*, 97.
- ⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 532.
- ⁷¹ *ibid.*, 132.
- ⁷² *ibid.*, 349.
- ⁷³ see Part 2 forthcoming.
- ⁷⁴ Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 307n.
- ⁷⁵ *Reg. Halton*, ii, 130.
- ⁷⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 121.
- ⁷⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls 1302–1307*, 172 – possibly 'St Nicholas landes' in *Place Names of Cumberland*, pt.i., 90–1.
- ⁷⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls 1302–1307*, 256 – a further order was also made to cause the citizens of Carlisle to have in the king's quarry within the forest of Inglewood stone for roofing and repairing their houses in the city *ibid.*, 257.
- ⁷⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 121–2.
- ⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 122.
- ⁸¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307–1313*, 97.
- ⁸² *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 122.
- ⁸³ Carlisle was again besieged by the Scots in July 1315 – they damaged crops, stole the cattle and destroyed the suburbs – Jefferson, *op. cit.* 20.

- 84 *Cal. Close Rolls 1313–1318*, 343, 443.
- 85 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317–1321*, 387; similar in *Cal. Close Rolls 1318–1323*, 152 – same date. Numerous references to Crosseby in *Cal. Close Rolls 1318–1323*.
- 86 *Cal. Close Rolls 1313–1318*, 343.
- 87 *Cal. Papal Letters 1305–1342*, 144.
- 88 possibly the church of Yarrow, also known as St Mary of the Lowes or St Mary of Fairmainshop – see Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1967), 211.
- 89 *Cal. Docs. Relating to Scotland 1272–1307*, 258.
- 90 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307–1313*, 66.
- 91 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313–1317*, 364.
- 92 *Reg. Greenfield*, v, 297.
- 93 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317–1321*, 105.
- 94 R.C. Fowler (ed.), *Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Ricardi Newport, et Stephani Gravesend, episcoporum Londoniensium* (Canterbury and York Society, 1911), 179.
- 95 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307–1313*, 111; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313–1317*, 365; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321–1324*, 47; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321–1324*, 216; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317–1321*, 207.
- 96 *Reg. Halton*, ii, 29.
- 97 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313–1317*, 512.
- 98 *Cal. Close Rolls 1313–1318*, 482.
- 99 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317–1321*, 520, 589, 590.
- 100 *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, ii, 111.
- 101 *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, ii, 219.
- 102 *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, ii, 237.
- 103 R.C. Fowler (ed.), *Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Ricardi Newport, et Stephani Gravesend, episcoporum Londoniensium* (Canterbury and York Society, 1911), 179.
- 104 *Cal. Close Rolls 1318–1328*, 148.
- 105 *CW2*, xxxl, 46; *Reg. Halton*, ii, 184.
- 106 KR Memoranda E159/93 m19(i) in Summerson's transcriptions in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f.660–1. This may have been the result of a petition by Crosseby, dated c. 1308 in which he referred to arrears of £89. 0s. 6d – Ancient Petitions SC8/39 in Summerson's transcriptions in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/5 f.889–890.
- 107 Exchequer Inquests E143/8/3 m19(i) in Summerson's transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f.734–5.
- 108 Writ dated 13 June 1324 – Exchequer Inquests E143/8/3 m 19(2) in Summerson's transcripts in C.R.O. (Carlisle) DX/1090/4 f.735–6.
- 109 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 122.
- 110 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327–1330*, 102.
- 111 *RMC*, 212–225.
- 112 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 122.
- 113 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 113.
- 114 *Cal. Close Rolls 1323–1327*, 207. A Ralph de Chivaler, rector of Blinstone, Exeter diocese, was ordained subdeacon at Ledbury on 23 September 1329 – William W. Capes, *Registrum Thome de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis* (Canterbury and York Society 9, 1913), 105.
- 115 *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, 354–5.
- 116 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1340–1343*, 122.
- 117 *Cal. Pat. Roll 1330–1334*, 186.
- 118 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 319. There is clear evidence that there were two related William Northwell's in royal service at this time and a clear identification as to which was the master of St Nicholas cannot be totally certain. I am satisfied that the one described in the text is the correct one, but for reasons of completeness I include details of the second.

Tout [Chapters, iv, 80] expresses the not unreasonable view that the second William Northwell was a relative of the first. Certainly, the tenure of the prebend of Southwell may support this view. Held by the first William until 1340, it then passed to a John Northwell on 2 May that year [Cal. Pat. Rolls 1338–1340, 463] and on to the second William before 1346. (This John would appear to be the same as rector of Kingswinford, Coventry and Lichfield diocese, who exchanged Clent and Rowley in Worcester diocese on 10 September 1343 [*Reg. Wolstan de Bransford* 99, 377] and who, as canon of

Southwell, exchanged Clent and Rowley, with William Northwell, rector of Owston, York diocese on 22 March 1344 [*Reg. Wolstan de Bransford*, 106, 379]. It is not clear whether Southwell was included in this exchange.

This second William is probably the person mentioned as a clerk of the kitchen on 16 October 1331 [*Cal. Close Rolls 1330–1333*, 347], as the first William had been appointed cofferer by then [see above]. The second William rose to high office in the household of Edward, Prince of Wales. He was keeper or treasurer of the prince's wardrobe from 1345 onwards [Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 80n; v, 337n, 350–1, 434]; his accounts run from 1 June 1345 to 31 January 1349, when his lieutenant Henry Blackburn presented them until 30 November 1349. Northwell was still acting in that capacity in December 1354, but by 10 July 1355 he is described as 'late keeper' [Tout, *Chapters*, v, 327, 434]. For a short time in the spring of 1346, he was also Receiver-General [Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 80n; v, 327, 438]. At some time prior to March 1347 he is described as Keeper of the prince's Great Wardrobe, an office which after 1346 appears to have become linked to the offices of Receiver-General [Tout, *Chapters*, v, 327, 350–1, 436]. In 1362 he functions as chief baron of the prince's exchequer, an office whose definition is not clear, but in effect he may have been concerned solely with the administration of the principality of Aquitaine. He was paid 5s a day for his wages by the constable of Bordeaux and his name occurs in a combined list of officials of the household and of Gascony issued when the prince was about to set off for Aquitaine [Tout, *Chapters*, v, 334]. He was dead by 1363 [DNB; Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 80n].

With regard to his ecclesiastical preferments, it can be said with certainty that he was granted the prebend of Freford in the church of St Chad, Lichfield on 14 December 1332 [*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 377]. This gift was obviously the source of some dispute as the king issued prohibitions, on 6 January 1333 and 1 April 1335, to all ecclesiastical persons from proceeding in derogation of the king's right to present [*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 381; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334–1338*, 92]. By 31 December 1346 he was a canon of Southwell and was granted a papal indult to choose his own confessor [Cal Papal Letters, 1342–1362, 194]. On 8 December 1348 he was presented by the Black Prince, as Earl of Chester, to the living of Stockport [DNB], and on 4 May the next year his patron made a successful petition to the Pope on behalf of his treasurer William de Northwell for a canonry of Lincoln with expectation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he has the church of Stockport, canonries and prebend of Lichfield and Southwell [*Cal. Papal Petitions 1342–1419*, 155]. On 1 August 1350, as a canon of Southwell he was granted papal dispensation to hold two or more benefices, one of which may have the cure of souls [*Cal. Papal Letters 1342–1362*, 387].

¹¹⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 122.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*

¹²¹ DNB; Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 80.

¹²² *ibid.*

¹²³ Tout, *Chapters*, v, 246.

¹²⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307–1313*, 455; *Reg. Kellawe*, pt. iv, 103; *Cal. Close Rolls 1313–1318*, 10, 31.

¹²⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313–1317*, 194–5.

¹²⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317–1321*, 418, 422.

¹²⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321–1324*, 435.

¹²⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1324–1327*, 50.

¹²⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1324–1327*, 92, 96.

¹³⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327–1330*, 38.

¹³¹ DNB; on 16 May 1329 his journey 'going beyond the seas' with the bishop of Lincoln was noted and he deposited letters nominating his attorneys during absence *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327–1330*, 388.

¹³² *Cal. Close Rolls 1330–1333*, 501; Tout, *Chapters*, vi, 31.

¹³³ *Cal. Close Rolls 1333–1337*, 419; Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 78, 95.

¹³⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334–1338*, 151; Tout, *Chapters*, iii, 53n; iv, 80; vi, 36.

¹³⁵ Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 395–6.

¹³⁶ Tout, *Chapters*, iii, 53n; iv, 80, 381; vi, 29.

¹³⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls 1339–41*, 9; Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 95–6.

¹³⁸ Tout, *Chapters*, iii, 53n, 87; iv, 381; vi, 27.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, iii, 87.

¹⁴⁰ Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 96, 102; Northwell's accounts for his period of tenure have been published – see M. Lyon, B. Lyon and H.S. Lucas, *The Wardrobe Book of William Norwell 12 July 1338 to 27 May*

- 1340 (Brussels, 1983).
- ¹⁴¹ Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 80.
- ¹⁴² DNB; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1338–1340*, 551; Lyon, Lyon and Lucas, *op. cit.*, lxi.
- ¹⁴³ DNB, cf. Palgrave, *Ancient Kalendars and Inventories*, vol. iii, *passim*.
- ¹⁴⁴ Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 80.
- ¹⁴⁵ King's Chamberlain 1345–1355, see Tout, *Chapters*, vi, 46.
- ¹⁴⁶ Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 80.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1343–1345*, 27. It is worth noting that Henry de Graystock, the next but one master to Northwell had very close connections with Weston. In 1342 Weston became chief steward to the Chamber Estates – Graystock worked in that department and subsequently became deputy to Weston, succeeding him in 1347.
- ¹⁴⁸ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles* (Camden Society, 1880), 85; DNB.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307–1313*, 220.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321–1324*, 245.
- ¹⁵¹ For a history of the house see *VCH Notts*, ii, 167.
- ¹⁵² *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321–1324*, 284.
- ¹⁵³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1324–1327*, 28, 35.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1324–1327*, 120.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 247.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327–1330*, 359.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327–1330*, 410, 469.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 31.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 163.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 170.
- ¹⁶¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 319.
- ¹⁶² Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 80n; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327–30*, 484, 493.
- ¹⁶³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330–1334*, 468; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334–1338*, 147 and Le Neve, *Fasti* iii, 437; the dispute relating to this position did not stop there. On 8 June 1335 Northwell was cited before the pope on a petition from John de Denton who had had the prebend and canonry reserved to him by Pope John XXII. John de Thoresby had claimed them and taken possession but the papal auditors sequestered the fruits. It was alleged that Northwell then, by force of arms, violated the sequestration, incurred excommunication and intruded himself. He then hindered officials, imprisoned them and forced John de Denton to leave the country *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 528–9.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334–1338*, 12.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1338–1340*, 96; similar grant dated 17 July 1338 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1338–1340*, 301.
- ¹⁶⁶ see *RMC*, 212–225.
- ¹⁶⁷ see Summerson, *op. cit.*, i, 220–281.

