

THE MARRIED CLERGY OF THE MARIAN PERIOD

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IT was not until the time of Pope Gregory VII at the end of the eleventh century that the celibacy of the clergy became a firmly established rule in the medieval church of Western Europe. Before then, although the marriage of priests had been widely discouraged by those in authority, it had never been definitely forbidden. From early times clerical matrimony had been far from unusual, and in Norfolk this seems to have been so no less than elsewhere in the country.¹ It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that such marriages became fully legalized in England, first by the authority of Convocation and then by Act of Parliament. In the third year of King Edward VI, 1549, it was decreed that all ecclesiastical or spiritual persons, so far from being denied matrimony, had full liberty "by the laws of God lawfully to marry."

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy how many clergy in the country at large availed themselves of this concession. From time to time estimates have been attempted and, though the figures differ in various parts of the country, it is now generally thought that the number of clergy who married in this period must be reckoned in the proportion of about one in ten.

In less than ten years however after clerical matrimony had been legalized the position became completely reversed. In August 1553, hardly a month after her accession, Queen Mary issued her "First Proclamation about Religion." In this she states that "well remembering what great inconveniences had grown up in times past through diversity of opinion" she now desires her subjects to do away with past and present religious differences and to join with her in the re-institution of the old religion "which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy."² Then, early in November 1553, a series of Eleven Articles dealing especially with "ecclesiastical matters and things" was sent to the diocesan bishops who were directed to give it their careful attention and to see that all its orders were carried out "without tract and delay." This was followed on 4 March by further Articles from the Queen authorizing the bishops among other things to proceed "summarily and with all celerity and speed" to deprive from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions "all such persons who contrary to their order and the laudable custom of the church have married and used women as their wives."

So in this way, scarcely more than four years after it had come into force, the whole of the Edwardian legislation with regard to clerical marriage became null and void, and throughout the Kingdom preparations were being made for the enforcement of the new order. Everything was to be done through the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the Queen laid down certain basic rules as to the procedure to be adopted. *All* married clergy were to be summoned to appear before the bishop or his commissaries, and on conviction were to be suspended

from office and to be deprived of whatever benefices they might be holding. This was to apply to all, Seculars and Regulars alike.

THE REGULARS

One of the results of the dissolution of the monasteries had been that many monks and friars who were then dispossessed had drifted into the ranks of the secular clergy, and had found employment in the parishes as incumbents and as parochial or chantry chaplains. Some of these, in company with many of their new colleagues, had entered into matrimony when in 1549 it became lawful for them to do so. But the fact that they had once taken the monastic vows was not forgotten, and in these trials, by the Queen's directions, they were still to be reckoned as "Religiosi" in distinction from the rest who were "Seculares." The two classes were to be handled somewhat differently.

THE SECULARS

With the Secular priests a concession was to be made to those of them who "with the consents of their wives or women do openly in the presence of the Bishop³ profess to abstain," and were willing to separate. In such cases "after penance effectually done, the bishop according to his discretion and wisdom may upon just consideration receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place," that is, they could not be re-appointed to the preferment of which they had just been deprived, but could become eligible for an appointment elsewhere. The Queen also directed the bishops to "use more lenity and clemency with those whose wives be dead than with others whose women do yet remain in life."⁴

To the ex-Regulars, however, there was to be no question of a voluntary separation. Like the rest, they were suspended and deprived, but in addition they were to be immediately divorced by the court in every case.

THE SITUATION IN THE NORWICH DIOCESE

With these details in general as our background we can now go on to consider how these matrimonial trials shaped themselves in the Norwich diocese.

The information which enables us to do this is by no means scanty. The diocese is fortunate in having at hand a source of evidence which in the opinion of Geoffrey Baskerville is unique and such as is not to be found in the records of any other diocese. There is in the Episcopal Registry at Norwich a stout leather-bound volume of "Miscellaneous Correspondence," mostly of sixteenth-century date, in which is included a complete list of the diocesan clergy who, during the first years of Queen Mary's reign were proceeded against on a charge of illegal marriage. This list was published in full by Baskerville in Vol. XLVIII of the *English Historical Review*, 1933. It seems undoubtedly to be the office copy of the certificate which the bishop had been ordered to send to the Queen when her directions had been complied with, and is thus authoritative.⁵ It is undated but was probably drawn up and sent in the spring of 1555. In this list we have a firm foundation on which to build our inquiry, and it can be

largely augmented by the information given in the minutes of the Consistory court where these matrimonial cases were dealt with.⁶ In addition there are further details which may be gained from the Institution Books and Visitation records of the period, and in certain cases from the last wills and testaments of some of the clergy involved. Putting all this together and in addition a few miscellaneous references from elsewhere it is possible to draw a fairly complete picture of what happened in the Norwich diocese during this period of disturbance.

THE TRIALS

After the receipt of the Queen's instructions there seems to have been very little delay. On Tuesday, 13 March 1553/4 Dr. Miles Spenser and Dr. John Fuller, Vicars General and Principal Officials of the Bishop, presided over a court held at the Consistory Place in the Cathedral. Forty-nine of the married clergy, whose names are given had been cited to appear, and it is noted that they were all in attendance. The Queen's letter was read, and the officials explained that each case as it came before them would be dealt with summarily *juxta vim formam et effectam* of the Royal instructions. Owing to recent changes in the law their marriages had now become illegal, and each of them was charged on this offence.

Preliminary arrangements and matters of procedure seem to have filled up the time at the disposal of the court on this first day, and the sitting was adjourned until the morrow, when three cases were dealt with. Each of the defendants was a member of the Cathedral staff—Dr. Henry King, a prebendary, and two petty canons, John Whight and Thomas Jolly. Their cases were unfinished, and they were ordered to appear again in a fortnight's time.

On the next day the court did not sit, but on Friday, 16 March business began in earnest. On that day forty-four cases were dealt with, followed on the Saturday by nineteen more. After this the court sat practically continuously,⁷ and by 31 March the number of defendants who had been dealt with mounted up to more than 110. From then on business rapidly decreased, and by the end of April, apart from a court held at Ipswich, when fourteen Suffolk clergy were tried, only twenty-two more cases are recorded. By the middle of August the court had ceased altogether to be occupied with these matrimonial cases, though it continued to be concerned with the administration of penance to those who had already been sentenced. During the year 1555 trials for heresy figure very prominently in the Act Book.

Altogether the treatment meted out to 159 of the married clergy is recorded in Act Book VIII, but as 332 names are entered in the official list this leaves 173 unaccounted for in the court records. It is difficult to give a reason for this. It is quite possible that some of the 173 never appeared in court at all, or if they did no record of their appearance has survived. But except in one case when the minutes of a rather heavy session held at Beccles on 20 March stop suddenly in the middle of an entry and two blank pages immediately follow, there is no indication of any omissions of this kind. In other cases it may be that a number, preferring to relinquish their orders quietly and unofficially, ignored the citation

altogether and made no appearance, thereby being judged contumacious and *ipso facto* suspended and deprived. In this way many, retaining their wives, are known to have drifted into lay occupations. Some, like Gilbert Barteley of Attleborough, may have gone abroad, as a number of the higher clergy did at that time and remained in exile until the days of Elizabeth, and a few double-beneficed men may have had their cases tried elsewhere in another diocese. But the fact remains that some 330 clergy in the Norwich diocese were officially declared suspended and deprived during the early part of Queen Mary's reign.

PROCEDURE

Perhaps the best way to explain the procedure of the court will be to take a few picked cases by way of examples. These we will choose from the forty-four cases which were dealt with on 16 March 1553/4 when Mr. John Fuller, LL.D. was the presiding judge. There were no "Instance" cases, and the time of the court was entirely occupied in dealing with the cases brought by the Bishop against the married clergy, according to the Queen's orders. The majority of the defendants on this day were Seculars, twenty-one of them being beneficed and ten unbeneficed. The remaining thirteen were ex-monastic Regulars.

The first on the list was Mr. Roger Overy, rector of St. Michael Coslany, Norwich, who brought with him his wife, Margaret Vale, her *married* name (as in all these cases) being ignored. They admitted their marriage, and the question was then put to them whether for the future they wanted to remain separate, *utrum dehinc vellent ab invicem remanere*. To this both of them answered No. The same question was apparently put to all the thirty Seculars who were in court that day and the answers of twenty-three of them are recorded. Eighteen of them answered definitely No, while five others expressed their willingness to conform to the law and to live apart. Thomas Hawgh, rector of Wolterton, and Ann Moore his wife, both promised *abhinc separatim caste et continenter vivere*, while Nicholas Crow, an unbeneficed priest and his wife Alice Thurston undertook to do so *sponte et expresse*.

There were two to whom the question could not apply, Martin Swallow of Walsoken, an unbeneficed priest, informed the court that his wife, Elizabeth Brown, had died on the Sunday after the previous Epiphany, and Richard Chipper, a Regular, also reported that his wife was dead. Both these men, in accordance with the Queen's wishes were treated with "lenity and clemency," and apart from suspension no further penalties were imposed.

Obviously in the citation the presence of the wife was ordered, for there are several cases in which the defendant came to the court alone. William Stamp, rector of St. Augustine's, Norwich, was one who did so. He was suspended and deprived, and was ordered to appear again on the following day, this time accompanied by his wife Cecily Baxter.

THE MONASTIC VOWS

The thirteen Regulars who appeared at this court on the same charge of illegal marriage, were treated somewhat differently. Like the rest they acknowledged their marriage, but in their cases no option was given as to a voluntary

separation. In addition to suspension and deprivation they were all of them immediately divorced by the court. A question was however put to the wife as to whether she knew at the time of her marriage that her husband was an ex-Religious bound under the monastic oath. It is rather difficult to see what was the purport of this question, but in at least a dozen cases during these trials the reply was in the negative, *ipsa nesciente eundem fuisse religiosum*, the wife saying that she was then unaware of her husband's past monastic career. Such an answer to the question may have brought some alleviation in the sentence, and in most cases the answer may have been genuine, but in such a case as the marriage of Robert Shinkwyn with Christiana Dingle, and that of Thomas Hall, parochial chaplain of St. George, Norwich, with Margaret Hayles, it is difficult not to suspect some sort of connivance in the matter. Both these men had originally been friars, Hall had been professed forty years at the Dissolution, and Shinkwyn for forty-six. Both were old men who would not find it easy to shed their long past so completely.

UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

Among these dispossessed clergy there are but few outstanding names. Most of them seem to have been average medieval parochial incumbents of no particular attainment, though there are a few—thirty-three out of a total of 332 who were University graduates. These are distinguished from the rest by the prefix "Mr."—all the others being in the custom of the time designated "dominus"—Sir Thomas Hunt, Sir Nicholas Appleby, and so forth. Most of the graduates, so we may suspect, hailed from Cambridge, and several of them are known to have been fellows of Colleges. William Whight, rector of Rollesby and vicar of Trowse, and Stephen Pherne (or Ferne), rector of Horstead, were fellows of King's. Anthony Temple, who as a double-beneficed man held the livings of Saxthorpe and Mundesley, was a fellow of Clare, William Boteswayne, rector of Benacre and William Parkyn, vicar of Burwell, fellows of Gonville Hall, William Dawson, rector of North and West Barsham, a fellow of Peterhouse, and Thomas Boningfant, rector of Hinderclay, a fellow of Corpus Christi College. The last named was once Principal of Physwick's Hostel which in 1546 had been swallowed up in the foundation of Trinity College. He is reputed to have become "disordered in his senses,"⁸ and when he appeared before the court at Ipswich on 24 April he was treated with "lenity" and absolved. Three more men, Peter Brinkley, an ex-Franciscan of Babwell near Bury St. Edmunds and rector of Great Moulton, Richard Gamon, vicar of Docking, and William Latymer, rector of Witnesham attained to the degree of D.D.

Among the Regulars there was Gilbert Barteley who in 1554 was rector of the "*minor pars*" of Attleborough. He was a B.D. of Oxford, and later in 1560, under the name of Berkley, he became bishop of Bath and Wells (1560-81). He was in exile at Frankfort during the reign of Mary, presumably accompanied by his wife Agnes Wynter. Strype describes him as "a prelate of great gravity and singular integrity of life," Harrington speaks of him as being sometimes overruled by his wife and adds "fame went that he died very rich, but the same importunate woman carried it all away that neither the church nor the poor were better for it."⁹

THE WIVES

In the official list the names of the unhappy women who found themselves in such a parlous position owing to this sudden *volte face* in the marriage laws of the realm, are not mentioned. Their existence is just assumed, and it is only in the minute book of the court that we learn their names and are incidentally able in some cases to get an indication of personality. Twenty-two of them were widows when they married their clerical husbands. This seems rather a surprising number, but perhaps it may be accounted for by the fact that many of these clergy in 1549 must have been elderly men who took the occasion of the Edwardian legislation to procure a wife to look after them in their old age. This certainly must have been the case with William Harman, *alias* Barker, who had held the vicarage of Scottow since 1504. He married Joan Collins, a widow, and in 1554 he was obviously well over 70. Many of the ex-Religious, too, must have been men of advanced age, for it was already getting on for twenty years since the monasteries had been dissolved. The cases of Robert Shinkwyn and Thomas Hall have already been mentioned. In the same way John Kempe, an unbeneficed priest had been "in religion" for forty years, William Ballard, parochial chaplain of Wymondham for thirty years and Thomas Hyll, rector of Erpingham and formerly a monk at St. Benet's had been professed for twenty-two years. These certainly must have been men of very considerable age at the time of the trials.

As has already been stated it is only from the Consistory Court records that we learn the names of these unfortunate wives, and even then only in the case of 132 out of the 159 who are listed. But they are merely names, and to gain any personal information about them we have to turn elsewhere. One source from which it is possible to know something of the future of these deprived clergy and their "pretensed" wives is to be found in the last wills and testaments of some of them. Accordingly, with this purpose in mind, search has been made in the will registers of the Consistory Court of Norwich.¹⁰ Sixty-four of these wills, proved between 1554 and 1593 have been scanned, and the following details have been forthcoming. Twenty-four of them had been drawn up during the period from the beginning of Queen Mary's reign in 1553 until the accession of Queen Elizabeth in November, 1558, and taking these first, we notice certain characteristics. In ten of them no mention is made of a wife at all, and obviously the marriage had ceased to be, naturally so in the case of three ex-Religious who had been divorced. But in most of the rest the existence of the deprived wife is indicated in one way or another, in spite of the difficulty experienced in wording any bequest. Robert Thorne, rector of Burgh Castle, who on 20 March had been deprived of his living because of his marriage with Marion Pecok, a widow, boldly speaks of her as "Marion my wife" in his will made only three months later on 15 July 1554, but this at that time is exceptional. Others who made their wills during this troubled reign all seem to have maintained their wives, or were ready to make some provision for them and their children. In eight cases the bulk of the estate is left to the deprived wife, generally in trust for any children of the marriage. James Cocke, rector of Antingham St. Mary, making his will on 28 August 1557, speaks of himself as

parson of Swafield, and leaves all his goods and chattels to his two base sons when they came of age, and until then to their mother, Agnes Barrett, who is to bring them up and find them in school "until they canne bothe wrighte and reade, and then to sette them to some good occupatione."

In the same way Robert Ullathorne, deprived of the rectory of Bradwell and Geldeston for his marriage with Alice Puttock, but afterwards appointed rector of Wheatacre St. Peter, made his will on 12 November 1555 and appointed Alice Puttock his executrix and left her all his property in Geldeston in trust for her three children until they reached the age of 13. The will was proved less than two years later.

It was because of his marriage with Christiana Kersey that Roger Sydall was deprived of his living of Swardeston. He made his will just before the death of Queen Mary and left bequests to "Edward Kersey, my boy" and to "Elizabeth Kersey, my boy's sister." He did not die until 1561 so that if these children were his, as presumably they were, they would by that date both have become legitimized.

The will of Mr. Thomas Downing, vicar of Besthorpe supplies us with several interesting details. The wife that he had married in Edwardian days was Isabel Cowell, and we learn that she was the daughter of John Cowell, of Lopham, "gentylman's servant wythe my lord of Norfolk's grace," and to her he leaves all his property in Banham for life, on condition of her bringing up her two children Henry and Agnes, and keeping the buildings in repair. One of the witnesses to his will is Mr. John Cowell, "a scholar in Cambridge," who is probably to be identified with one of that name who was rector of North Creake until 1562.

The wife of Edmund Fuller, parson of Bawdeswell, might have been of *clerical* origin, for her father is named as Sir James Gylbert. Thomas Hall, an ex-Religious, parochial chaplain of St. Gregory, Norwich, married Margaret the widow of William Hayles of Norwich "callinder."

It is difficult to realize what must have been the position of these wives during Queen Mary's reign. In many cases their husbands, after penance, had been appointed to new benefices, and took with them perhaps their wives and children. But it was an invidious position, and owing to the changed state of the law it must have been impossible for these rectors and vicars to speak of their "wives," and all the time there was the taint of illegitimacy overlying their children. This difficulty and uncertainty is, as we have seen, reflected in several of the wills. Later on, when Elizabeth came to the throne and clerical marriage (though frowned on by the Queen) again became legal, the position was simplified, though for quite a long time these Edwardian marriages were still spoken of rather guardedly. In wills made after 1558 we get more mention by name of "my wife." Gregory Madys, of Cantley, Stephen Long of Syderstone, and Geoffrey Lawes of Sandringham, all mention their wives by name. But there are variations which recall the past. John Rutter, of Long Stratton, who had been deprived of his rectory because of his marriage with Margery Meake, seems to have had some doubt, when he made his will in 1569, as to the correct legal term to be used, and speaks of her as "Margery Meake otherwise called Margery Rutter."

Nicholas Church of Antingham, adopts the same form, and as late as 1576 Peter Becke, who in Edwardian times had married Elizabeth Draper, a widow, and thereby had forfeited his living of Wiggshall St. Mary, speaks of her in his will as "Elizabeth, by God's lawe my spoused wieff," though later on as "Elizabeth sometime wife of William Draper, of Tilney, deceased."

In the parish register of West Rudham there is a curious note about one of these married clergy. In 1554 Peter Stancliff had been deprived of the living on account of his marriage with Alice Scotte, but later in 1556 he had been appointed rector of Burnham Thorpe. When he made his will on 2 October 1562, he seems to have been a little doubtful as to her status but speaks of her as his wife "if the lawe will permitte I may call her so, otherwise Alice Scotte, late daughter of Richard Scotte of West Rudham." The parish register, in a note made in 1626, more than sixty years later, sums it up like this—"Mr. Peter Stancliff Vicar of this Church, was in the daies of Queen Mary inforced to put away his wife, who ther-upon married to another man, but (when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown) he took her back again from her second husband."

PENANCE

As has been stated, most of the Seculars, after having undergone penance became eligible for re-appointment to a benefice elsewhere. It was not until later in the year 1554 that these penances were administered. Many of those who had already been suspended and deprived at earlier courts appeared again later and submitted to the court. A few were able to clear themselves and were absolved. On 24 April 1554 five Suffolk clergy brought letters testimonial as to their conduct and the judge released them; and in the following August Nicholas Reyner, rector of Hethel brought to the court the rectors of Braconash and Mulbarton, who testified as to his conduct, and he was absolved and restored to his church of Hethel.

A similar case occurred a fortnight later when James Lawson of Carleton Colville brought four witnesses to the court to testify as to his orthodoxy and behaviour and affirmed that he was "an honest and an obedient subject and a catholik prest, and one that doth not repine against anye ordre sett forth by the Quene's Majestie, and say further that he, the same Sir James hath been sorowful and penitent for his former fautes, and that they trust he wyll hereafter behave him self honestlye and obedyentlye as yt becometh a good subject and catholyck prest, saying that yf he do not, they will be the first that shall present the saide Sir James."

But between 14 November and 20 December in thirty-one cases penances were imposed. Most of these were to take place in the Cathedral, though sometimes a man's own parish church was ordered. On 3 December 1554 Nicholas Appleby, vicar of Gateley, and Ann Leveriche his wife were ordered penance in Gateley church, and on the same day Thomas Gayton, rector of Intwood, and Margery Lucy received a similar sentence, but in this case the man's penance was to be in the Cathedral, and the woman's in Colney church. As late as 22 April 1555 three of the wives, apart from their husbands, were to undergo penance at the church of St. Martin-at-Palace.

By way of illustration of the way in which penance was carried out, that imposed on John Fisher and Cecily Harward may be quoted. Both had originally appeared before the court on 16 March, when Fisher, who was an unbeneficed priest of Norwich, had been suspended. On 14 November they appeared again before Dr. Michael Dunning¹¹ who accepted their submission and ordered

“that uppon Sondaye next the saide Sir John shall bring with him a whight rochet, a rodd, a booke and a taper the price of a penye; and that he, the same Sir John shall put on the saide Rochet and go in the same before the procession within the Cathedral church of Norwiche having the saide booke in his one hand and the same rod in thother. And the saide procession ended, the same Sir John shall turne to the people, shewing the cause of his doing the saide penance.”

He is then to offer the candle to the priest saying high mass. The same penance was ordered for Cecily

“saving that the saide Cecilie shall do the same within the parishe of Sanct Gyle, and having a shete abowt her and a paper uppon her heade in which shalbe written that she is a fornicatrix.”

The following statement was also to be made by Fisher and afterwards certified to the court

“Derelye beloved. Forasmoche as I have taken to wyffe one Cecylie Harward, and therbye (using her as my wyff) have offended bothe God and all faithfull and catholik people, I do here, from the botomp of my harte, confesse that this my doinge was evell and detestable before the face of God, contrarye to Gode’s lawes, the decrees of auncient fathers, and the King and Quene’s graces lawes, and therfor I am hartelye sorye. And whereas I have offended you trewe Christian people, I desyer of you forgiveness, beseching you of Christian charitie to praye to God to forgive me my former ungodlye usage, and to give me grace that hereafter I may frame my lyffe after suche sort as maye be to Gode’s glorye, the Kinge and Queene’s expectation, the good example of you all, and the helthe of my soule. God save the Kinge and Quene.”

Most of the penances follow some such form as this, though there are variations in some cases. John Kempe who was ordered to do penance at Knapton church on a Sunday at morning prayer, and to kneel before the high altar in the chancel during the time of mass, standing up at the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, and offering a rod and a candle, was ordered to repeat this penance on two other days.

It had become usual for many of the reforming clergy to cultivate beards. Thomas Norley of Swanton Morley, Nicholas Corker of Bixton (Bickerston), and Peter Watts of Winterton, had evidently done so, for when they appeared in court and were sentenced to penance, they were all of them ordered to cut off their beards as quickly as possible, *abradere barbam cum omni celeritate*.

BISHOP HOPTON'S VISITATION, 1556

When the matrimonial trials which have been described were being enforced, the bishop of Norwich was Thomas Thirlby, but in September 1554 he was translated to the see of Ely and his place was taken by John Hopton who was consecrated on 28 October. Under Cardinal Pole, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, a general visitation throughout the realm was ordered and Bishop Hopton was directed to see to this in the diocese of Norwich. The visitation began on 13 April 1556 and continued until 12 June. The records of it supply us with a few additional notes on our subject.

On 24 April, James Scamler, rector of Colveston, whose name does not appear in the official list of married priests, together with Gregory Platt, curate of Yarmouth, and Thomas Marten *alias* Welles, of Great Melton, were presented for consorting with their wives after they had undertaken not to do so. They were all of them sentenced to penance, which seems to have grown severer and more public than the earlier penances. Starting their journey *ab aula vulgariter nuncupata the guyld hall* they were ordered to go round the cross in Norwich market place, with "schedules"¹² on their shoulders, and this done, they were to return to the bishop's palace. Scamler, who had "often been warned," was also deprived of the benefice of Colveston.

A curious episode relating to this period came to light at Hopton's visitation. On 5 June at Walsingham church, Mr. William Dawson, formerly rector of North and West Barsham, who in 1554 had been deprived on account of his marriage with Margaret Emmerson, made the following confession to the bishop—

"I, William Dawson, M^r of Art, do confesse before you, right Reverend father in God, John nowe the Bishop of Norwiche, that I, the forenamed Wylliam, felowe of the House or College of Saint Peter in Cambridge, ded take uppon me to be prest in thend of the Reigne of King Henrye theight that I might by that meanes enjoye a certayn exhibition in the Howse or College aforesaid, being boldened so to do in that the masse and ceremonies wer begon to be assaltd and spoken agaynst at that tyme. And so for a space ded saye masse at certayn tymes bicawse my exhibition ded so require me to do. And whan the tyme came that a newe order of apoynting of ministers¹³ was taken and certayn Eccliasticall promotions was offered me, I, consydering that I could not enjoye the same nor have Institution and Induction of the Bishop of the dioces except I were made minister according to the Statute made in King Edward the Sext dayes, ded resort unto the Bishop of Lyncolne and was made minister after the forme of the statute before named. And thus untill suche tyme as I was Sequestred from my promocios by the order of the Eccliasticall Lawes. By me Wyllm. Dawsonne."

A somewhat similar reference to the Edwardian ordinal had occurred earlier. At the court held in St. Mary le Tower at Ipswich on 24 April 1554, the chancellor had warned William Scryvener of Battisford, who had been ordained *secundum novum librum*, "that henceforth he is not to minister until he has received other orders."

FURTHER CASES

It may be that there were other married priests in the diocese in 1554, whose names for some reason or other neither occur in the official list or in the records of the Consistory court. The following entries in parish registers suggest that this may have been so.

Akenham, Suffolk. 1548-49. "The xxvj day of Feb^{ry} was married Willm. Hayforth, parson of Akenham & Alice Jackson.¹⁴

St. Martin-at-Palace, Norwich. 1549. 4 June. "Edmund Multon, presbyter, and Christian Lany were married."

Swannington, Norfolk. 1549. "Lancelot Robinson, presbyter, and Margaret Labourn were maryed ye 19 Octob."¹⁵

These, if they had not died before 1554, or by then had left the diocese, must certainly be added to the list. And there may be other similar entries.

Much more could be said about this particular episode in the ecclesiastical history of the Norwich diocese. But the above notes will give a rough indication of the sufferings which some of the clergy were called upon to go through during that restless period of the sixteenth century.

¹See *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. IX, pp. 187-200, "Married Clergy in Norfolk," Jessopp; also Baskerville, *English Historical Review*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 43-64; Dickens, *Marian Reaction in the Diocese of York*, Vol. I, p. 14, etc.

²Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, Vol. I, p. 103.

³This of course means openly in court.

⁴Clerical marriage having now been declared illegal, these unhappy "wives" are as often as not in the courts referred to as "women."

⁵That the list is not a preliminary one made up before the proceedings against the married clergy were begun, but carefully compiled after the trials had taken place and judgment had been given, is indicated by the fact that all the beneficed clergy are described as having been "lately" (*nuper deprivati*) rectors or vicars of the livings of which they had just been deprived.

⁶For this period the minutes are to be found in Vol. VIII of the Act Books.

⁷Quite a number of isolated or adjourned cases between the appointed court days were taken by the Chancellor in his own home, or wherever he happened to be at the time. Thus on 18 January a session was held "within a certain parlour in the dwelling-house of Dr. Miles Spenser, vulgariter nuncupatum the Chapell in the Fields."

⁸Masters, *History of Corpus Christi College*, 1831, p. 313.

⁹D. N. B. and Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, Vol. I, p. 446.

¹⁰Until recently these were at the Probate Registry, but they are now deposited at the City Hall, Norwich.

¹¹Upon the appointment of Bishop Hopton, Dunning became co-Chancellor with Miles Spenser. He gained for himself the reputation of being a cruel and unmerciful persecutor who "played the devil himself, enough to make wood dear, so many did he consume to ashes." *Fuller Church History*, Vol. VIII, p. 13.

¹²That is to say notices proclaiming the fault for which they were undergoing penance.

¹³Apparently "The Form and Manner of making and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons," 1549.

¹⁴*East Anglian Notes and Queries*, New Series, Vol. XI, p. 51.

¹⁵Robinson lived until 1596.